CHANNELING JUSTICE?
A FEMINIST EXPLORATION OF NORTH AMERICAN TELEVANGELISM IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

By

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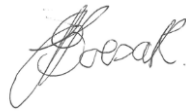At the

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8 December 2016

DECLARATION

As required by University regulations, I hereby state unambiguously that this work has not been presented at any other University or any other institution of higher learning other than the University of KwaZulu-Natal, (Pietermaritzburg Campus) and that unless specifically indicated to the contrary within the text it is my original work.
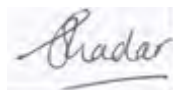
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8 December 2016

As candidate supervisor I hereby approve this dissertation for submission.

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PROF. SAROJINI NADAR

8 December 2016

ABSTRACT AND KEY TERMS

In this dissertation I argued that despite the South African Bill of Rights many women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations remain marginalised and vulnerable in this country. The same hegemonies that denied them their rights in a pre-democratic South Africa are still the root causes of their disempowerment.

I proposed that during Apartheid the preservation of white, Western, heterosexual male domination (political, social and economic) was a main priority and that strategic mass media communication (―the media") played a significant role in protecting and maintaining such dominance. This role continues in different guises in South Africa in an era of globalisation. Globalised strategic Christian mass media communication, such as transnational religious broadcasting, is one example.

My study of how gender is mediated in samples of North American televangelism that exhibits a profile in a South African constitutional democracy, was theoretically framed through intersectional, decolonial feminist lenses. In this regard I took a pan-African stance. I did Comprehensive Critical Rhetorical Discourse Analysis (CCRDA) to examine three DVD teachings each of the African American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum. This situated my enquiry within an ethico-political paradigm. The intersection between media/strategic mass media communication (―the media"), religion and gender was investigated in an interdisciplinary fashion as I drew from, and built on, media and communication, gender and feminist, theological, and political science theories.

I identified and deconstructed the themes in their content and the rhetorical processes and methodologies that Jakes and Bynum apply in their messaging. I then investigated how their communication challenges or upholds hegemonies that fuel gender power imbalances.

My analysis revealed that both televangelists construct gender in a fashion that justifies and maintains various manifestations of hegemonic dominance. Their use of specific communication biasing frames and other methods reinforce the ideological content of their rhetoric, obstructing the potentially transformative power of the South African Constitution.

In order to address these problems I proposed that such globalised mainstream New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism is an imperialist tool used for the re-colonisation of the religious convictions of African Christians. It should be recognised that in a New Media Age, transnational electronic churches have, in their reach, become omnipresent. They have the potential to manufacture consensus around harmful beliefs, values, norms and practices that hamper gender equality and justice and ―radical‖ reconciliation in South Africa. It is my argument that such ―media‖ constitutes *sanctification communication*. This term refers to strategic religious communication that is distributed in a purposeful fashion and carries mediated messaging that originates from authoritative figures. As the interpretations therein is ―sanctified‖ through an association with the divine, it has enhanced value and thus power. The sanctification communication in question is combatant and defensive and has a political agenda. It should be critically engaged as an enlistment and mobilisation tool for a global fundamentalist Christian movement that challenges human rights.

Key Terms: *Apartheid, gender rights, South African constitutional democracy, domination, "the media", globalisation, North American televangelism, intersectional, decolonial feminism, "radical" reconciliation, re-colonisation, electronic church, sanctification communication, fundamentalist Christian movement.*

ABBREVEVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAWORD: Association of African Women for Research and Development

ACBN: African Christian Broadcasting Network

ACLJ: American Center for Law and Justice

AFM: Agenda Feminist Media

AMI: Alleluia Ministries International

ANC: African National Congress

AUC: African Union Commission

CAN: Christian African Network

CBN: Christian Broadcasting Network

CCRDA: Comprehensive, Critical, Discourse Analysis.

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CEDAW: Committee of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

CSW: United Nations Commission on the Status of Women

CSW95: Fifty-ninth session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women

DAW: United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women

DL: ―Own Low‖

ERKG: Evangelisch-reformierte Kirche Germany

FEMNET: African Women's Development and Communication Network

FPI: Family Policy Institute

FWI: Family Watch International

GAMAG: Global Alliance for Media and Gender

GBV: Gender-Based Violence

GMMP: Global Media Monitoring Project

IAM: Inclusive and Affirming Ministries

IAMCR: International Association for Media and Communication Researchers

ICESCR: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ILO: International Labour Organisation

IS: Islamic State

IWMF: International Women's Media Foundation

LGBTQIA+: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex and Asexual. The + sign indicates unfolding shifts in expansive and expansive expressions of gender and sexuality.

MMA: Media Monitoring Africa

MMC: Mighty Men's Conference

MP: ManPower

NAFCOC: National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry

NOM: National Organization for Marriage

NWM: New Women's Movement

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OHCHR: Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights

PAWO: Pan-African Women's Organisation

PME: Artscape Plus-Minus Equal Women & Justice 2011 Initiative

RSV: Revised Standard Version

SABC: South African Broadcasting Corporation

TBN: Trinity Broadcasting Network

TEASA: The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa

The Circle: Circle for Concerned African Women Theologians

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UN CESCR: United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

UN DESA: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

UN Habitat: United Nations Human Settlements Programme

UN Women: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNHRC: United Nations Human Rights Council

UNIFEM: United Nations Fund for Women (Now incorporated in UN Women)

URCSA: Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa

VOC: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)

WACC: World Association for Christian Communication

WICCE: Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange

WTAL: Woman Thou Art Loosed

WWC: Worthy Women Conference

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An ―acknowledgement‖ is the expression of gratitude. Much gratitude needs to be expressed when it comes to this dissertation. Where to begin?

I have never envisaged myself as a scholar. My career as a journalist and producer was firmly rooted in thirty years of ―in the trenches‖ experience, when a perfect storm of circumstances led me to the open door of academic deliberation. There were, however, pebbles in the path that led me to this moment.

I entertained the possibility of post-graduate research for the first time seriously in the early 1990s, when renowned theologian and philosopher, Prof. Nicholas Wolterstorff (then at Yale University), read some of my preliminary thoughts on the importance of ―media ethics‖. The link between ―the media‖ and ―justice‖ was then already one of my prime interests. Nick encouraged me to pursue this matter. This resulted in a stint at the Graduate Theological Union (GTU) in Berkley, California in the USA, where I completed courses in Liberation Theology and New Testament Studies. Prof. George Cummings and Prof. Joel Green stimulated my interest in the importance of context and perspective in religion. Influential and gifted African American Baptist preacher, respected homiletics scholar and mentor, Dr. J. Alfred Smith, inspired me to continue ―thinking about‖ the link between religion, justice and strategic mass media communication.

Dr. Smith‗s insistence found an echo ten years later in the serious conversations that I had with the late Dr. Gerrit Brand; a colleague but also ethics scholar at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa. Gerrit shared my interest in the relationship between ―the media‖ and (in)justice. He understood and appreciated my commitment to journalism, but insisted that I consider pursuing academic deliberations in a concurrent fashion.

I discovered the final pebble in the path when my work as journalist and public form presenter intersected, in a very specific way, with my interest in the root causes of gender inequalities and injustices, and with the perspectives of African feminist scholars. In my preparations for and facilitation in 2011 of the Artscape Plus-Minus Equal Public Conversation (on gender justice) in Cape Town, I had the opportunity to work with Prof. Sarojini Nadar (Religion and Gender), Prof. Cheryl Potgieter (Psychology) and Prof. Amanda Gouws (Political Science). The rest is, as the saying goes, history.

Prof. Nadar played a key role in my eventual enrolment in a Masters degree in Gender and Religion at the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. This, and the PhD study that followed, would not have been possible without her invaluable assistance, and that of Prof. Simangaliso Kumalo. This resulted in a UKZN research scholarship for which I am very grateful. (Whilst I recognise this financial assistance, the opinions that I express in this study are my own.) Prof. Nadar has since been journeying with me as my supervisor. The fact that we are at present literally worlds apart – me in the Mid-West of America and she in South Africa – demanded so much more patience and planning and a great amount of logistical manoeuvring. I owe Prof. Nadar also my gratitude for her constant ‒vigilance". She made sure that I tread carefully on the thin line between journalistic investigation, thinking, and writing and academic research, interpretation, and theorising. Her editing and input kept me ‒on the straight and narrow" and helped me to ‒juggle balls" in this interdisciplinary study. Six and sometimes twelve hour time differences often resulted in her sacrificing personal time. This is much appreciated.

I must and want to also acknowledge the support and assistance of many others. My gratitude to Dr. Iva Carruthers for inviting me to attend and participate in 2015 in the historic UN Women NGO Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) meetings in New York. Being a member of the delegation of the Chicago-based Samuel DeWitt Proctor Conference consolidated my commitment to Global South/Global North collaboration and my understanding of an appreciation for the prophetic Black church. In this regard, Dr. Jeremiah Wright is one of the most eloquent and prophetic Black preachers in North America. Like Iva, he is a dear friend and was a constant inspiration.

Finally: how does one "acknowledge" the love, support, loyalty, sacrifices, encouragement, constant emotional presence and the prayers of your nearest and dearest? I cannot even begin to do so. Thank you, thank you, thank you... To God goes all the glory!

DEDICATION

Listen, they weep...

This study was inspired by the courage and tenacity of every single individual that has in the past been, and is today, economically disempowered, discriminated against, stereotyped, exploited and face violence, because of global gender inequality and injustice. I salute you for claiming your voice and agency despite these obstructing realities. The content is dedicated to those who have died, those who continue to suffer, and those who work tirelessly to challenge and eradicate such injustices.

For my daughters Sarah and Andrea; inspiring young activists that understand and embrace the tasks at hand. Finally, for Allan, my best friend and comforter, intellectual sparring partner and one of the most remarkable theologians of our time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The dominance of women by men, common to the cultural patterns of most all civilizations in the last few millennia, appears to be the longest lasting and most basic level of authoritarianism. The persistence of male authority, perhaps, has more resonance for the average citizen (female as well as male) than any other arbitrary assumption of power conferred by tradition. (Brouwer, Gifford and Rose (Eds.), 1996: 221)

Until relatively recently, to talk about gender was to talk almost exclusively about the negative construction of ―woman‖ and sex-based discrimination, but over the past two decades, we have become more sophisticated (and indeed accurate!) in how we understand the complexity of and variations in our social and sexual relations, and the public and private contexts in which we perform our sexed and gendered selves. (Ross, 2014b: xx)

I believe that God has raised up this powerful technology of radio and television expressly to reach every man, woman, boy and girl on earth with the even more powerful message of the gospel. (Ben Armstrong, the executive secretary of the USA Evangelical Association of National Religious Broadcasters, quoted in Horsfield, 2015a: 248

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. Background and Context

‖I believe in your journalistic potential, but tonight I am deeply concerned about your integrity." It was shortly before midnight when this judgment was levelled at me by a senior white, male radio news manager. He had just listened to a special report that I had compiled on the inevitability of negotiations between the South African Apartheid regime and the then banned liberation movement of South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC). I needed the official ‖green light" to broadcast the report the next morning. It was the late 1980s and yet another state of emergency was regulating the official production, content and flow of information in the country. Tensions were running high and so were the physical and emotional costs of the political conflict.

In dispute was the nature of the interviews that I had conducted with political activists – ‖underground" supporters of the ANC. These interviews challenged the official interpretation of a Communist-inspired terrorist organization, which sowed anarchy and unrest and was threatening the future of a hardworking, ‖God-fearing" nation. The same organisation was framed as a movement of the oppressed, who were resisting white supremacy and were advocating for an equal and just society. Our confrontation about censorship was brief but fierce and led to my immediate resignation. Disagreement revolved around the importance of perspective and interpretation. Less than ten years later, the leader of the ANC became the country's first democratically elected President. The world celebrated.

From the moment of colonisation, strategic communication was at the heart of the forging a unifying identity for the settlers. It was also crucial in the building and protection of their power base and their justification of the notion of white exceptionalism. In Apartheid, mainstream communication legitimised the beliefs, values, priorities and agendas of the

powerful. The overriding task of "the media" was to play their part in preserving "The Great Myth"[1] (Boesak, E., 2016).

At this point it is important to explain my application of the term *"the media"* in this dissertation.

The media, then and now, can be considered as communication industries that produce, package and distribute information about, to and between "the masses". They use various technological media "tools and "vehicles" to do so. Hence globalised communication industries connect and entertain global citizens and represent and interpret "the global village" that people live in. They also interpret the place and role of individuals, groups and nations in this world and the profile and state of the Earth. Media tools and vehicles include "traditional" and "new" communication technologies. The first includes print media such as books, newspapers, magazines and journals. It also includes electronic (once referred to as "electric") media such as radio, television, and film. *New media* refers to digital and on-line media. This includes the use of the Internet for websites, blogs, live streaming, podcasts and social networking. *Social media* is the use of "cyberspace" through various "tools" such as mobile phones to communicate and network. This includes YouTube and social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Pinterest, Snapchat and Tumblr. In this study I use quotation marks throughout to represent strategic mass media communication that has ideological value.[2]

During the "heyday" of Apartheid traditional media were crucial tools that were used of strategic mass media communication. The regime's main objective was to preserve white, Western, heterosexual male domination (political, social and economic). "The media" was used to justify and maintain the worldview that underpinned Apartheid. Such communication ensured that perspectives that favoured a Puritan, European expression of Christianity and the ideological hegemonies of racism, capitalism and class materialism, hetero-patriarchy (e.g.

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[1]This notion is discussed in Chapter Five.
[2]See Jeffrey Mahan's discussion on the various uses and understanding of "the media" (2014: 13).

sexism and homophobia) and the justification of the use of war and violence were prioritised and amplified in ‑the media". Voices that challenged and critiqued the *status quo* were marginalised or muted. Rhetorical discourses were constructed through specific communication processes and methodologies (e.g. the application of biasing framing techniques) with the aim to mainstream the perspectives and ‑truths" that justified beliefs, values, norms and attitudes and fortified harmful stereotypes, and validated oppressive customs and practices.

As an investigative news journalist and documentary producer I gained firsthand experience of the causal link between strategic mass media communication, oppressive dominant ‑grand narratives"[3] and injustice. This study was propelled by a conviction that the determining role that ‑the media" played in Apartheid continues even in post-Apartheid South Africa in different guises, one of which is strategic religious mass media communication (e.g. religious broadcasting such as televangelism).

In order to explicate this claim more fully, an overview of the links between global injustice, ‑the media" and religion is first needed.

1.1 Global gender injustice, strategic mass media communication and religion

> At a time when women and girls have almost equal opportunities when it comes to education, why are only half of women of working age in the labour force globally, and why do women still earn much less than men? In an era of unprecedented global wealth, why are large numbers of women not able to exercise their right to even basic levels of health care, water and sanitation?
> (UN Women, 2015: 11)

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[3] I use the concept *grand narrative* to refer to dominant societal accounts in which selective perspectives and re-presentations/interpretations of reality (‑truths") are embedded. Such narratives suppress, neutralise and/or marginalise alternative discourses or stories.

I would argue that this question, raised by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), foregrounds the necessity of unremitting investigations into the root causes of tenacious and continuing global gender inequalities and injustices.

Women are today in political leadership. They have the legal right to employment, ―own and inherit property and get married and divorced on the same terms as men‖ (2015: 10). Women have access to schooling and ―violence against women and girls is at last on the public policy agenda‖ (2015: 10). Why then, indeed, is such progress still overshadowed, if not neutralised, by the marginalisation, discrimination, stereotyping and violence that mark the lived realities of many women and persons with non/conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations?[4] UN Women offers an explanation;

> Making women‘s rights real requires more than just legal reform. The translation of equality before the law into equal outcomes is not automatic. Even where gender-equal laws have been put into place, entrenched inequalities, discriminatory social norms, harmful customary practices as well as dominant patterns of economic development can undermine their implementation and positive impact. (2015: 12)

Of importance is their recognition of the detrimental impact of ―discriminatory social norms‖ and ―harmful customary practices‖; the influence thus of harmful beliefs, values, norms and practices. The organisation accepts the observation of Raywen Connell and Rebecca Pearse (2014) that

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[4]With this term I built on Melanie Judge‘s understanding of ―non-conforming sexualities‖ (See Judge, 2009: 12.) It suggests resistance against ―othering‖ through exclusive gender norms (e.g. patriarchy and heteronormativity). The use of ―non-conforming‖ might be viewed as language that reinforces gender binaries. I use this term purposefully, however. I include those women, whose identities and behaviours disrupt harmful gender norms, in this category. (See Judge, 2009: 12 and Keevy, 2014: 78). The term also refers to persons who live in between, across, or outside of gender binaries. I expand on this when I explain my use of the term LGBTQIA+.

even in countries where gender-equal laws have been put in place, power inequalities between women and men as well as gender stereotypes and discriminatory social norms are deeply embedded. (UN Women, 2015: 33)

This raises a fundamental question that is not comprehensively discussed in the report: what are the origins and/or main sources of such stereotypes and norms?

―The media" and religion – and particularly-strategic *religious* mass media communication – play a determining role in this regard. It is therefore important to start with a reflection on the relationship that exists between this intersection and the marginalisation and multi-dimensional challenges that many women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations face across the world.

Any examination related to gender equality and justice and the empowerment of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations demands a critical investigation of how power relations are mediated in and through the interface between ―the media" and religion.[5]

I do not consider religion to be inherently patriarchal. I would argue, however, that certain harmful ideological interpretations or mediations[6] thereof are. Stewart Hoover observes that

music, dance, images, texts, talismans, narratives, dramas, all of these and more have been ways that ‗the religious' has been expressed, codified, circulated, critiqued, consumed, embodied, understood, taught, reconsidered and struggled against (Hoover, 2014: xiii).

Many critical theology scholars - such as those that view religious texts through liberation (e.g. feminist, womanist and queer) and de-colonisation theoretical lenses – punctuate and

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[5] See Bennett, 2016.

[6] Regis Debray defines *mediation* as a complex process in which both ―sender and receiver are modified from inside the message they exchange, and the message itself modified by its circulation" (Debray, 1996: 44).

engage the manifestations and influences of the mediation processes ("layered filters") that Hoover describes.

At the heart of the matter are the subjectivities that propel the perspectives that shape religious interpretations. Offered as commanding beliefs, values and norms, such interpretations are maintained and mainstreamed through "vehicles" such as music, narratives, images, talismans, sermons and more. Critical scholars point out how - more often than not -the lived realities, interests and agendas of the powerful have, over many decades and are still, "expressed, codified, circulated, critiqued, consumed, embodied, understood, taught". Text translation, selection and interpretation are key mediation processes. In this regard, feminist, womanist and queer theology scholars identify and deconstruct the sometimes obvious and often subtle ways in which the notions of, for instance, race, class and especially gender are constructed and stereotyped. Power imbalances are justified and maintained through the application of dominant biblical translations and text exegesis that serve racism, classism and hetero-patriarchal interests and agendas. Such critical deliberations "reconsider" and "struggle against" biasing filters by applying hermeneutics of suspicion when engaging claims to the "original divine truth". Through their critique alternative interpretations are offered. The question is: to what extent are such alternative mediations successfully mainstreamed or obstructed?

The application of different mediums to convey and thus mediate interpretations of Christian meaning making has been transforming this religion over centuries. In past decades media mediation was facilitated in the "industrial media of the mass-press era, and later the electric media and electronic media as the so-called _media age'" (Hoover, 2014: xiii). The complex and extensive nature of the role of media tools in mediated religion is, for example, evident in the distinction that is now made between "online religion" and "religion online". Televangelism – the use of the audio-visual medium – is a manifestation of mediated religious messaging.

Harmful religious beliefs, values and norms are often still at the heart of marginalisation, discrimination and harmful gender stereotyping. UN Women accepts that there is a causal

link between these and the obstruction of the practical and sustained realisation of gender equality and justice – particularly in private (e.g. sacred) spaces.

> Analysis reveals that there is a powerful association between the character of the state-religion relationship and the degree of gender equality in family law. In countries where the state plays an active role in upholding religious practices, doctrines and institutions, family law tends to discriminate against women. In contexts where political and ecclesiastical institutions are more separated, family laws tend to be more egalitarian. (UN Women, 2015: 30)

Gender inequalities and injustices that are justified and encouraged by certain manifestations of religion and culture are also maintained through the content of and processes that are embedded in both secular and religious dominant globalised ―media‖. Technological advancement has not resulted in the successful reversal of women‗s underrepresentation and misrepresentation in globalised ―media‖, including Internet news.

Research has shown that during the past three decades, hetero-patriarchy has remained one of the most dominant hegemonies that shapes ―the media‖ worldwide. This reality has resulted in global society being represented as one ―in which women are largely absent, a picture that is incongruent with reality‖ (Mohr and Macharia, 2011: 23). Drawing from the theories of scholars such as Margaret Gallagher, Ester Adagal, Wambui Kiai, Lilia Quindoza-Santi, Wagaki Mwangi, Victoria Goro, Sophie Muluka-Lutta, Catherine Rugene and Anne Obura, Leslie Steeves argued ten years ago that the content of and processes that are embedded in global strategic *news* ―media‖ entrench patriarchal values

> by ignoring and excluding women, by stereotyping women in narrow traditional roles, and by degrading women via representations of them as sex symbols or objects of abuse...Very little news is for or about women such as child care, women‗s health, women‗s economic status, abortion, or gender violence. Moreover, even when these topics do make the news, most sources are male and stories are neither sensitive to women‗s needs nor reflect feminist viewpoints. (1997: 7-8)

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Various research studies that examined causal links between the media and gender before and since then have come to similar conclusions. There has thus been continuity in this regard.

In 1995 an international survey of the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP)[7] found that women constituted only 17 per cent of all news subjects (men constituted the other 83 per cent). In 2000, the GMMP again found that – despite much ―activity around gender issues in the media‖ – women were central in only 10 per cent of stories and that women's views on political, economic or social matters that influenced their lives rarely propelled the coverage (Hermano and Turley, 2001)[8]. Even in stories about women, others (men) spoke for them. Where their voices were heard, it was ―in the margins of the news agenda, rather than at its core‖ (Hermano and Turley, 2001)[9]. Teresita Hermano and Anna Turley stated then that

> when we look at news coverage through the prism of gender, what we discover ought to startle those who think women's perspectives and issues are being well represented. Even though the number of women journalists is increasing, when it comes to coverage by news organisations women's visibility is much more limited. (2001)[10]

When women were represented in the media they were portrayed in a stereotypical fashion. Although a small percentage of coverage did focus on the ―more serious achievements of women‖ and substantial matters such as women's rights or status in the political or social world, women were mostly portrayed as victims (particularly of crimes) and success stories in beauty contests or weight reducing competitions (2001)[11].

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[7]GMMP is supported by the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and facilitated by the Women and Media Project of the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). It is a long-running international study that was launched in 1995 and that investigates the portrayal of gender and representation of men and women in the media (newspapers, television and radio news). Apart from gathering data in five year cycles, the project advocates for gender sensitivity and equality in the media. The South African organisation Gender Links and Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) assist with monitoring tools, methodology and data analysis.
[8]See http://niemanreports.org/articles/who-makes-the-news/. [Accessed 23 October 2013].
[9]See http://niemanreports.org/articles/who-makes-the-news/. [Accessed 23 October 2013].
[10]See http://niemanreports.org/articles/who-makes-the-news/. [Accessed 23 October 2013].
[11]See http://niemanreports.org/articles/who-makes-the-news/. [Accessed 23 October 2013].

The findings offered in the report ―Who Makes the News? The Global Media Monitoring Project 2010‖[12] is rooted in research that was conducted ten years later by the GMMP in 108 countries (twenty-seven African) that represent 82 per cent of the global population. This investigation involved 1,365 newspapers, television and radio stations, and Internet news sites, 17,795 news stories and 38,253 persons in the news (IPS Communicating MDG3, 2010)[13]. It was found that the global news media ―show significant gender bias with 46 per cent of news stories reinforcing gender stereotypes‖ and that the ―gender bias in Internet news is similar and in some respects even more intense than that found in the traditional news media‖ (2010)[14]. The report also pointed out that in the span of fifteen years (1995-2010) there had been an increase of only 9 per cent in the number of female reporters that covered stories; 28 per cent in 1995 and 37 per cent in 2010. Despite the positive findings that stories by female reporters ―challenge gender stereotypes twice as often as stories by male reporters‖ (2010)[15] the research indicated that women were the main focus in only 13 per cent of news stories and that women‗s ages were ―mentioned twice as often and family status almost four times as often as for men‖ (2010)[16].

At that time Colleen Lowe Morna, Thabani Mpofu and Danny Glenwright, examined the causal link between gender and the media in Southern Africa. They identified manifestations of patriarchy in the content of and processes that are embedded in ‗the media‖ in that part of the African continent. They stated that

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[12]For the full report see ―Who Makes the News?: Global Media Monitoring Project 2010.‖ (Macharia et al., 2010). For highlights of the report see http://cdn.agilitycms.com/who-makes-the-news/Imported/reports_2010/highlights/highlights_en.pdf/. [Accessed 12 November 2014]. For additional credible findings and data on women‗s profile and role in global news media industries, see ―Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media.‖ (International Women‗s Media Foundation (IWMF) 2013. See http://www.iwmf.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/IWMF-Global-Report-Summary.pdf./ [Accessed 12 January 2012].). This two year global initiative was spearheaded by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the IWMF and found, among others, ―glass ceilings‖ for women in twenty of fifty-nine countries studied and that, with the exception of Eastern Europe, women were underrepresented in the journalism occupation in most of the other global regions.

[13]Seehttp://www.ips.org/mdg3/women-still-underrepresented-in-news-media-coverage-according-to-the-4th-global-media-monitoring-project-report-just-released/. Accessed [20 November 2013].

[14]See http://www.ips.org/mdg3/women-still-underrepresented-in-news-media-coverage-according-to-the-4th-global-media-monitoring-project-report-just-released/. Accessed [20 November 2013].

[15]See http://www.ips.org/mdg3/women-still-underrepresented-in-news-media-coverage-according-to-the-4th-global-media-monitoring-project-report-just-released/. Accessed [20 November 2013].

[16]See http://www.ips.org/mdg3/women-still-underrepresented-in-news-media-coverage-according-to-the-4th-global-media-monitoring-project-report-just-released/. Accessed [20 November 2013].

women predominate as beauty contestants, health workers, home-makers and sex workers. Women are more likely to be identified by a personal tag than men (mother, wife or daughter, compared to father, son or husband). (Lowe Morna et al., 2010: 13)

A year later, political communication scholar Ibrahim Saleh identified the role of "the media" as a significant stumbling block for gender equality and the empowerment of women in South Africa. Saleh proposed that gender was still framed and branded within a male dominant (patriarchal) societal order and that women were represented as "sexual tools" (Saleh, 2011: 21). He argued further that the application of limited analytical framing indicated a disregard for the fact that "different voices represent different positions about different issues" (2011: 22).

Of interest is the research of Joyce Smith (2013). It is situated in a Canadian context and offers a perspective on "the way in which women both produce and are reflected in reporting about religion" (Smith, 2013). Smith argued that

> [j]ournalism itself is being tested in this century. Old business models are not working in a digital age, and news outlets are scaling down operations. Citizen journalism, blogs and aggregators are challenging the role of the reporter. Women occupy more journalism jobs than ever before, but are still not equally represented in the higher levels of editorial decision-making. (Smith, 2013: 77)

Smith's research showed that religion "surfaced" mostly when male journalists reported on international conflicts. In such cases, religion (predominantly Islam) was often associated with violence. There was still the general sentiment that married women with children were not fit for such reporting. Motherhood was still considered as her primary role and responsibility (Smith, 2013: 66). Women, as well as religion, were often still depicted visually (2013: 73). Her research illustrated furthermore how the tradition of journalistic "beats" – although it is "no longer a given" (2013: 77) – upheld gender biases (Smith, 2013: 75-78). (A "beat" suggests "a level of expertise which outstrips that of a general assignment

reporter" (2013: 75)). Both religion and matters related to women were traditionally considered as peripheral ―beats". Smith argued, however, that

> [s]tories about and by women and religion will have a much better chance of being read, heard and watched than ever before. But only if the opportunity to produce them is seized. (Smith, 2013: 79)

In 2015 the GMMP found that ―women make up only 24% of the persons heard, read about or seen in newspaper, television and radio news, exactly as they did in 2010" (Who Makes the News 2015b). It was furthermore found that

> women's relative invisibility in traditional news media has crossed over into digital news delivery platforms: Only 26% of the people in Internet news stories and media news Tweets combined are women.....A breakdown of the people by sex, by the roles they fulfil in stories published on news websites reveals some striking similarities with, as well as differences from, print and broadcast news. (2015b)

The world that is portrayed in global news ―media" ―is largely male" (Mohr and Macharia, 2011: 23).Women continue to be framed within a patriarchal worldview and are thus stereotyped in a hegemonic fashion in the gender roles of a mother and wife and/or daughter, and as sex objects and victims (e.g. violence or disease). Men are, on the other hand, represented in various roles that range from the powerful decision-maker to ordinary ―man on the street". These roles do not, however, include those of homemaker, caregiver or nurturer. Hence the hegemonic gender roles that certain manifestations of religion and culture ascribe to men and women are reinforced by the fact that they are ―echoed" in the global news ―media".

Of fundamental importance in any discussion on gender justice – and thus a central motivation for this study - is the reality that whilst the construct of *gender* is today increasing being contested, the justification, normalisation and mainstreaming of harmful constructions

of gender identities and roles continue to obstruct the voice and agency of thousands of girls, women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. Cleary the dominant ―media‖ play no small role in this regard. More often than not, stereotypical gender representations - that suggests, for instance, what a ―real woman‖ and a ―real man‖ is - intersect with other manifestations of marginalisation.

The above research findings and observation can be viewed against the backdrop of Michael Parenti‘s contention twenty-five years ago that the North American news ―media‖ were ―largely an affluent White male domain‖ in which ―blacks, Latinos, Asians, women and the poor are accorded brief mention on special occasions‖ (1986: 10). He stated then that ―the more general battle for economic, social and sexual equality and for material survival and betterment that women are waging on many fronts is ignored or slighted‖ (1986: 11).

The global news ―media‖ is clearly a societal influence concern in terms of gender justice. As Macharia points out, ―20 years after Beijing[17], there have been gains, but the road to quantitative and qualitative media gender equality remains arduously long‖ (Who Makes the News 2015a).

Apart from my focus on women, an additional research objective was to examine how North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalists mediate non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations in their messaging. In terms of the global secular ―media‖ more diverse and inclusive perspectives on gender and sex/sexuality are today recognisable and the voices of representatives of (LGBTQIA+)[18] communities are heard in mainstream discourses.

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[17]In September 1995 UN Women hosted the Fourth World Congerence on Women in Beijing, China. The Declaration and Platform and Action (to advance women‘s empowerment was adopted. In the strategic objective J.1. women‘s participation in and access to media were prioritised. In J.2. so was advocacy for balanced and non-stereotyped representations of women in the media.

[18]This term refers to a community of people who identify with one or more diverse sex/sexual orientations and gender identities. These include but are not limited to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, pansexual, genderqueer, non-binary, tri-gender, two-spirit, omnisexual, and demisexual. As persons living in a heteronormative world, this community has been historically and is still marginalised and discriminated against. This is reflected in the emerging term sexual and gender minorities (SGM). Sexual orientation and gender identity continue to be conflated. As a result several identities in the LGBTQIA+ community remain invisible or misunderstood. This stresses the importance of comprehensive education on SGM and legislation that protect SGM discrimination and violence. Despite the continuing discrimination, marginalisation and violence SGM claim their voice and agency in an assertive fashion in certain countries,

Evidence suggests, however that whilst there are some ‒media" sources that encourage tolerance and acceptance of non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations, many still incite hostility and even violence against individuals who do not adhere to hetero-patriarchal norms (Mason and Menaker, 2014)[19].

In light of the distinct South African (and broader pan-African) lens[20] through which I viewed my research topic, it is important to note particular developments in this regard in the African continent. The role that ‒the media" have and are playing in a country such as Uganda substantiates this.

In 2014 the newspaper *Red Pepper* published the names of Uganda's ‒top 200" homosexuals in a front page article under a bold heading ‒EXPOSED!" In so doing, the paper did not only exhibit and encourage heterosexism and homophobia, but added significantly to the vulnerability of members of the LGBTQIA+ community, those who support them and advocates of human rights[21]. Randal Mason and Drusilla Menaker state that

> in many countries where media sectors are struggling due to repressive laws
> and lack of resources, journalists and editors have few opportunities to expand
> their own understanding. Also, media standards are not under systematic
> scrutiny by advocacy groups. Not coincidently, these are often also places
> where the media discourse is not fostering greater acceptance and respect for
> the human rights of LGBT people – or worse. (2014)[22]

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including South Africa and the USA. See Byne, 2014, Hequembourg, 2009, Lambda Legal, 2009, Mayer et al., 2008, and Schuman, 2013. The use of the + sign indicates unfolding shifts in this regard.

[19]See http://www.huffingtonpost.com/randal-mason/mixed-messages transgender-issues_b_5331519.html/. [Accessed 23 May 2014].

[20]I discuss the over-arching pan-African and decolonial framing in this study in Chapter Two.

[21]See ‒Ugandan newspaper Red Pepper publishes ‗top 200' homosexuals list." (Gander, 2014). See http://www.huffingtonpost.com/randal-mason/mixed-messages-transgender-issues_b_5331519.html/. [Accessed 23 May 2014].

[22]See http://www.huffingtonpost.com/randal-mason/mixed-messages-transgender-issues_b_5331519.html/. [Accessed 23 May 2014]. In February 2014 the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) warned that the Ugandan newspaper's conduct was a violation of the basic rights to privacy and dignity and called on strategic mass media communication outlets (media outlets) to refrain from actions that fuel hatred and violence. See ‒UN warns against inciting hatred after Ugandan newspaper publishes names of gays." (UN News Service, 2014). See http://www.refworld.org/docid/531091444.html/. [Accessed 19 May 2014].

"Cyber homophobia" – the use of the Internet and social media networks for homophobic attacks and campaigns – is a global reality today. In its 2013 International Day Against Homophobia, Fondation Èmergence focused on the theme "Fight the Homophobia Web Virus". It was proposed that "the anonymity of the Internet facilitates the spread of abusive comments and cyber homophobia that could have serious consequences" (Fondation Èmergence, 2013)[23].

> It [cyber homophobia] is the circulation of negative attitudes towards homosexuality and gender identity. It often presents sexual minorities as inferior and abnormal and can be expressed in the form of jokes, teasing, hateful or hostile remarks, denigration and stereotypes toward homosexual or transsexual persons. (2013)[24]

I propose that whilst there is noticeable growing sensitivity for, and the application, of gender-"fluid" framing approaches apparent in the content of some globalised "media" sources, the extent to which hetero-patriarchy is still encouraged in same sex relations requires critical engagement. So does the role that other social constructs (e.g. race and class) play in the quest for gender and sex/sexual identity justice, particularly in contexts such as a post-Apartheid South African society.[25]

Pierre De Vos argues that "in an open and democratic society, the media is an important and powerful player" (2010: 2). This proposition further strengthens my argument that in South Africa religious "media", such as globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism, should be critically engaged. This is particularly important because the potential negative influences of "the media" and religion are merged therein. This assertion requires a brief reflection on the link between gender and religion.

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[23]See http://www.homophobiaday.org/default.aspx?scheme=4271/. [Accessed 2 September 2013].

[24]See http://www.homophobiaday.org/default.aspx?scheme=4271/. [Accessed 2 September 2013]. English words and expressions associated with cyberhomophobia include "fag", "faggot", "so gay", "lesbo", "butch" and "homo". A pejorative Russian term used frequently on Twitter is "pidoras".

[25]For a reflection of the role that digital media technologies play to facilitate discourses around this intersection, see McLean, 2013. See http://agi.ac.za/sites/agi.ac.za/files/features_digital_as_an_enabler-_a_case_study_of_the_joburg_pride_2012_clash.pdf/. [Accessed 18 November 2014].

In this study my focus was on a Christian religious manifestation that is termed *New Christian Fundamentalism*; a particular religiosity that is often associated with Evangelicalism[26]. It represents but a single element in Christianity but is recognised as the fastest growing religious expression in an era of globalisation. New Christian Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism has a significant worldwide profile and influence today.

―The media" is a highly effective tool through which particularly mainstream, conservative North American New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists extend their global reach and influence. Brent Sleasman argues that

> in the Electronic Age, American evangelicals [*sic*] have perhaps done more than any other Christian community to adapt the biblical message for transmission via radio, television and digital media. But this ... is fraught with difficulty. (2016: 128)

How did I interpret the term New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism in this dissertation?

There is diversity in scholarly perspectives on the profile, characteristics but also unfolding developments and tensions within what is today broadly termed as ―evangelicalism". The scope of this study did not allow for a reflection on the North-American rooted history of Christian Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism. Neither did it demand an investigation of the differences and/or similarities that are evident in the scholarly theological and other deliberations of Global South and Global North scholars, white scholars and scholars of colour, scholars who frame their arguments within a gendered perspective and those who do not. In light of the South African perspective and de-colonial paradigm that shaped this study, I chose to rely mainly on the work of critical scholars (including white males) who recognise and fore ground Global North and Global South power imbalances and North American religious expansionism, non-Western/ised scholars and scholars of colour in this study. These

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[26]The term *Evangelical* is used in various sources that I consulted with reference to Baptists, Pentecostals, Neo-Pentecostals, Seventh Day Adventists, Charismatic Christians, and various nondenominational churches and parachurch ministries. As I proposed, it is recognized by such scholars as an expression (though not the only) of Christian Fundamentalism. In Chapter Two, the characteristics of expressions of such Christianity are identified. In general, the footprints of Evangelicalism include Bible schools, crusades or revivals (which include draw-cards such as gospel music events), conferences and pastors' workshops.

include my understanding and application of the term *New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism* is thus informed by their perspectives, analysis and arguments. It was, furthermore, motivated by my ethico-political departure and application of ideological criticism. Of relevance in this regard is Peter Horsfield's consideration of *fundamentalism* as a theory of texts that,

> far from simply taking the literal meaning of a text, integrates the open complexity of literal meanings into a closed ideological construction to serve a particular political and cultural purpose. (2015a: 256)

This interpretation propelled my examination of how the humanist values of *equality* and *justice* – that are embedded in the South African Bill of Rights and the ethos of universal human rights[27] – are mediated in the rhetorical discourses of the televangelists in question. In this regard I prioritised what I would term a *chain of consequence*, by drawing causal links between beliefs, values, norms, hegemonic ideologies and power.

In the next section, I provide a brief sketch of the profile of and the role that New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism plays in a South African constitutional democracy.

1.2 Globalised dominant North American televangelism in contemporary South Africa

Signs of Christian religious push-backs against the political changes in South Africa surfaced a year before the adoption of the 1996 Constitution. This was evidenced by a number of initiatives opposed to the new constitutional democracy. For example, a coalition of church groups protested in defence of ‒Christian principles" under the banner of ‒The Christian Voice" (Sidley, 1995). Prior to this a conference entitled ‒Christianity and Democracy" was hosted in which ‒conservative Protestants" challenged the principles of a secular human rights-based constitutional democracy (*Challenge* Magazine, 1996: 10).

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[27]Later in this chapter I contextualise my application of these terms within the decolonial paradigm in this study.

Since 1994, religious and secular South African "media" outlets have been providing local and global (mostly North American) New Evangelical/Fundamentalist celebrities with platforms to discuss and promote their beliefs on the "restoration" of "godly" masculinities, femininities and gender power relations. In 2011, more than forty different religious television channels were hosted by the public South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and local cable networks (DSTV and TopTV)[28]. Since the democratic transition in the early 1990s a handful of affluent and influential North American televangelists have built up significant followings in South Africa.[29] These include Bishops T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum. The Christian faithful in South Africa have also, over several decades, had access to the content of "The 700 Club" programme on the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN). The programme is hosted by CBN founder, business person and Evangelical fundamentalist, Pat Robertson.

How are issues of gender constructed in this religiously mediated space, and do these constructions of gender align with constitutionally enshrined notions of gender equality and justice? These are pertinent questions to raise at a time that the line between the church and the state is becoming increasingly blurred in South Africa?[30] In 2013 President Jacob Zuma spoke at a Presbyterian Synod in Giyani South Africa and is cited as stating that

> Whether we like it or not, God has made a connection between the government
> and the church...Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for
> there is no authority except that which God has established (Pillay, 2013)[31].

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[28]These included the North American Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) and Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) and Christian TV, Unity Broadcast Network, Hope Channel, Spirit World Channel, Faith TV (DSTV), Love World, Kruis Kyk, Rivers of Living Waters, Kingdom Life Network, Impact television Network, El Shaddai TV, Olive, God TV, Hosanna TV, Overcomers TV, Living the Kingdom Experience, and GodTV. These channels broadcast in a wide variety of the eleven languages of South Africa, French and Portuguese. Most of the programming is available around the clock and most channels host North American televangelists as a significant part of their programming.

[29]See the televangelists that are listed in the two tables in Addendum A.

[30]In a paper entitled "Facts and Fiction: The Development of Church and State Relations in a Democratic South Africa", delivered on 21 June 2012 at the Joint Conference of Academic Societies in the Fields of Religion and Theology (University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa), Raymond Simangaliso Kumalo presented a critical analysis that shed light on this phenomenon.

[31]See http://mg.co.za/article/2013-10-08-cursed-if-we-criticise-zuma-think-again/. [Accessed 15 February 2014].

As is the case with President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Zuma has been forging relationships with New Evangelical/Fundamentalist church groups since becoming President. He is an honorary pastor in an independent charismatic church and often attends worship services at Evangelical mega-churches. In 2011 he appointed Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng, a neo-Pentecostal lay preacher, as Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court of South Africa and other conservative Christians with significant influence are considered to be close allies of Zuma. They include the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NAFCOC) president Joe Hlongwane (pastor in the Assemblies of God Church) and Barnabas Lekganyane (the leader of the Zion Christian Church) (De Waal, 2013). In 2013 the Deputy-President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa, was reportedly waving a Bible in the air during a public address on the rape pandemic in the country[32].

It is my view that the civil religion culture that characterised Apartheid has been ―resurrected" in a secular, democratic South Africa. Such a culture encourages Christian believers to advocate their religious convictions from media platforms, as the following account illustrates.

> Is the government aware that there is a programme against gays and lesbians
> which is at 1 am in the morning on Umhlolo [*sic*] Wenene[33] and the presenter
> of that programme talks about the constitution of SA ‗which is a Sodom and
> Gomorra' because it is allowing gays and lesbians and it suggests that men are
> going to overpower the government because of allowing gays and lesbians in
> the constitution. Is government aware of this radio programme? (Boesak, E.,
> 2011: 57)

This question - asked during the Artscape Plus-Minus-Equal (PME) Women & Justice 2011 Public Conversation by a representative of the New Women's Movement (NWM) - was directed at the country's erstwhile Deputy-Minister for Human Settlement, Zou Kota-

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[32]See Gerald West's contextualisation of this alleged incident in ―People's Theology, Prophetic Theology, and Public Theology in Post-Liberation South Africa." (West, 2013).
[33]*Umhlobo Wenene* FM is a radio station of the SABC. See
http://www.uwfm.co.za/portal/site/umhlobowenenefm/menuitem.4716362f2ea650941f6f5763a24dae69/.
[Accessed 3 March 2013].

Fredericks. The aim of the said event was to obtain an overview of the progress that had been made with gender equality and the empowerment of women since the implementation of the 1996 South African Constitution.[34] This is a (legal) framework that is hailed as one of the most inclusive and empowering in the world.

The government was not aware of such a radio programme, Kota-Fredericks stated in that discussion, but should there be content "that discriminated against gays and lesbians it must be stopped" (Boesak, E., 2011: 57). She did not comment on the alleged role of the radio station in providing a platform from which unconstitutional and anti-human rights sentiments[35] were expressed and hetero-patriarchy and militarism[36] were advocated. This encounter accentuates the importance of sustained critical engagement of the "media" (e.g. religious broadcasting) that serves as a significant source of the dominant New Evangelical/Fundamentalist religiosity that is flourishing in South Africa[37].

This brings me to the purpose and aim of this study, a clarification of the stances that I took in terms of present unfolding debates in South Africa and the specific research objectives that I had.

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[34]See "The South African Constitution." (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, Republic of South Africa. b.)

[35]The Constitution is clear on gender equity. In the Bill of Rights that is entrenched in the Constitution it is stated (Section 9 (1)) that "Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law". "Equality," it is stated in Section 9 (2) "includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms". In section 9 (3) the Constitution reads as follows: "The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth". In Section 9 (4) it is stated that "No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination". Finally in Section 9 (5) it is made clear that "Discrimination on one or more of the grounds listed in subsection (3) is unfair unless it is established that the discrimination is fair". (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, Republic of South Africa, a: 5-6). See http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/SAConstitution-web-eng-02.pdf/. [Accessed 10 June 2012].

[36]In this study I work with the notion of *the power of intimidation* as the latter is embedded in suggestive body and oral "violence language". For a perspective that is relevant in this regard, see Mama and Okazawa-Rey, 2008, Ahikire et al., 2015.

[37]In 2006 twenty different South African Evangelical groups were members of The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa (TEASA), an organization that claims to represents twenty million Christians in that country (Smith, 2006b: 170). I wish to argue that these Christians are all potential "consumers" of globalised dominant New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media" products such as televangelism.

2. Purpose and Aim

The central objective of this dissertation was to examine how dominant globalised Christian ―media‖, such as televangelism, impact on matters related to gender equality and justice in South Africa. Given that a large percentage originates from North America and has particular Christian traits, the main purpose of this study was:

To explore the relationship between globalised North American televangelism and gender justice within a South African constitutional democracy.

My investigation revolved around the norms of *equality* and *justice*,[38] norms that are entrenched in the ethos of a political instrument, the Bill of Rights and how these are mediated in the religious messaging in question. I examined this interplay through a gendered lens. It is important to position this departure point within examples of contemporary scholarly discourse on related issues in South Africa.

2.1. Contextualisation of decolonial stance

A decolonisation movement that is a fairly wide and sweeping one has taken off in South Africa. It ranges from academic debates to political, social, and economic matters embraced by activists. As such it offers a new challenge to scholars. It is an unfolding phenomenon that is by its very nature marked by fluidity and openness for the expansion of debates. There are, therefore, in various disciplines, rigorous debates that embody interpretations of an over-arching decolonisation paradigm. The scope of this study does not allow for expansive investigation and explanation of these debates. I do, however, acknowledge the importance of these and will now situate this study within examples of evolving discourses. This suggests an openness to develop my own thinking.

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[38]I discuss this ethico-political departure point in more detail later in Chaper Two.

I join the ―decolonialisation discourse" as a critical media and communication scholar with a journalistic professional background. One that is interested in external (Global North) ―media" presences in this Global South country. I would argue that, in an era of globalisation and a ―Media Age",[39] but also significant global power imbalances[40], globalised ―media" are important phenomena that demands continued critical scholarly examination. Strategic *religious* ―messaging without borders" constitutes a crucial ―frontier" for ethico-political examination that is rooted in a decolonisation paradigm. It was my aim to venture into that frontier.

It was not my purpose to engage in or offer in-depth reflections on debates that reflect contestations of the concepts of *rights* and *democracy* and the merit of the South African Constitution. My applications of key concepts such as *human rights* and *South African constitutional democracy* need, however, to be contextualised The same applies for my use of terms such as ―marginalised", ―vulnerable" and ―suffering".

What is my stance on the concept of *democracy*? I do not understand this term as ―market democracy" – as viewed through the lens of neoliberalism.[41] In my interpretation, the inclusion of the perspectives and opinions of all citizens (―the people's voice") is a guiding policy. I understand democracy therefore to be the outcome of a credible political process in which the interests of a whole nation are placed above the interests of a particular interest group[42] or political party. This was in my view not the case in the 2016 USA Presidential election.

In scholarly circles, as, for example, certain African feminist discourses, the transformative power of the South African Constitution is also questioned today. In certain instances it is critiqued as an obstruction to deep-rooted economic and social transformation. Some contestations are thus focussed on challenges related to constitutional development and are related to matters relevant to this intervention as measure to secure equality and justice for all South Africans constitutionally. Critique is not always levelled at the fundamental value and

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[39]In the next chapter I introduce the ways in which I entered conversations about the ―Media Age."

[40]I understand this term to refer to the extensive presence and determining role that evolving media tools and the content thereof play as societal influences.

[41]To understand this qualification see the insights that are offered in Chomsky, 1993 and Taylor, 1995.

[42]In this regard I refer to the role of race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, faith and other differentiating markers.

importance of the constitutional ethos of equality and justice or the Bill of Rights in general. There are rather contestations of interpretations of the foundational philosophy of this political intervention and certain individual rights.

An example of the latter is critical examinations of the protection that the Constitution offers of private property. In these, questions are raised that are critical to land reform.[43] Mogobe Ramose critiques the application of the concept of the philosophy of *Ubuntu*[44] as a grounding concept for the Constitution. He as argues that the Constitution is the product of ―secret talks‖ between political elites (an elite compromise). He points out that the property clause in the Constitution is ―the longest‖ and posits the notion of ―constitutional supremacy‖. This, he argues, is a ―tactic to defend wealth gained and accumulated on the basis of unjust acquisition‖ (2014: 132.)

Another example of critique of Ubuntu as foundational prism through which the Constitution is interpreted, are the views of African feminist scholar Ilze Keevy[45]. She posits that unless critically approached, Ubuntu – a ―moral philosophy‖ that is ―inseparable from African religion‖ (2014: 75) – functions as a patriarchal, hierarchical, and exclusivist concept. It is not open to the legitimate concerns of and individual rights of women, the LGBTQIA+ community and the strangers (2014: 77-78). Drawing from the theories of various African scholars, she concludes that

> As collective philosophy, ubuntu sustains not only communities, extended families, values, beliefs, traditions, morals, law and justice in these societies, but also the patriarchal hierarchy, discrimination, inequality and stereotyping of women, children, homosexuals, lesbians, witches, strangers and others. (2014: 78)

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[43]In this regard see Romose, 2014.
[44]Perhaps the most concise understanding of *Ubuntu* is given by Desmond Tutu. See Tutu, 1999. For an example of ongoing academic discourses, see the contributions in Praeg and Magadla, 2014.
[45]See Keevy, 2014.

This brings me to academic conversations in which a possible tension exists between the concept of *justice as rights* and decolonisation. I considered the suggestion that a theoretical departure point of ―justice as rights‖ is in tension with a decolonising /anti-imperialist approach. As, for example, Nicholas Wolterstorff has shown, justice as rights can be viewed as more than a mere ―Westernised‖ concept.[46] His theories advanced the debate beyond such a reductionist view. He critiques the concepts of *justice* and *rights* as these were developed in Western philosophy; for example Socrates, Plato, Locke and Kant. By engaging these concepts as they are interpreted in Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament, he developed a telling critique of Western/-ised interpretations of Christianity.[47]

The application of a decolonisation paradigm in which the notion of justice as rights is rejected, suggests, for instances, the scrapping of the Bill of Rights from the South African Constitution. In this dissertation I argue that this is precisely the departure point of religious fundamentalists who ―combat‖ secularisation and human rights. I am not of this school of thought. I would, however, propose that, with the exception of the right to life, all rights are to certain degree curtailed a communal ethos. There is therefore the need for continuing critical examination of the interplay between different rights, but also the intersection between the Bill of Rights and interpretations of the norms of equality and justice; e.g. within African gender and feminist scholarly circles.

With this study I enter such conversations; particularly those on the importance of a relationship between a communal ethos of empowerment and liberation and individual rights. It is my argument that the one does not exclude the other; they are interdependent. In this regard my enquiry advances conversations on constitutional development. It focuses attention on how gender inequalities and injustices still slip through cracks in the Bill of Rights. One example is the constitutional protection that religious freedom is guaranteed. ―Sacred spaces‖ are often the sources of harmful religious beliefs and values and religious ―media‖ the conduits thereof.

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[46]For insight into Wolterstorff's theorising see Wolterstorff, 2008.

[47]I would argue that my application in this dissertation of critical African liberation and feminist theological frame works constitute a decolonisation stance on Christianity. Situated in Global South perspectives, these frameworks critique harmful Western/-ised Christian biblical interpretations.

There is another example: the constitutional right to *freedom of speech*, a notion that I accept. It was my purpose to problematize this concept by examining to what extent the freedom that North American televangelists have to speech in this country is in tension with the constitutional norms of equality and justice. This was my motivation for making the Bill of Rights central in my investigation. This is a political instrument that ensures that women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations have the constitutional right to claim equality and justice. Legislative developments in the USA and African countries such as Uganda – that discriminate against and demonise the LGBTQIA+ community and those who support and are in solidarity with them – underlines the importance of such a constitutional approach.

How did I describe and interpret gender inequalities and injustices in this study without minimising the importance of the voice and agency of many women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations? How should the language that I use to describe the challenges that they face (―marginalisation", ―vulnerability" and ―suffering" be understood?

2.2 Research objective, framing and language

History has taught us (e.g. the resistance against Apartheid) that through the power of ―collective imagination" (of empowerment and liberation) and sustained collective action the marginalised and vulnerable claim their voice and agency against all odds. I would argue that the claiming of their voice and agency by the marginalised and vulnerable – in an effort to establish equality and justice for all people in the face of the empowered and privileged – results, in itself, in a ―domino" or ―knee-jerk" effect. This is especially the case in a climate of injustice and inequality. The Ugandan example illustrates how a ―push-back" climate leads to the legalisation of equality and injustice. Actions of resistance result in additional marginalisation, vulnerability and suffering. There is thus, I would argue, a causal link

between the claiming of voice and agency and increased marginalisation, vulnerability and suffering.

Those that are marginalised, vulnerable and suffering do not need to be ‑saved". I would argue, however, that the respect and solidarity of the empowered could strengthen their resolve. One manifestation of such respect and solidarity is the courage of the empowered to use the platforms that they have to voice, from their positions and perspectives of privilege, their interpretations of the extent and nature of injustices that cause marginalisation and suffering.

I engaged in this study fully conscious and constantly cautious of my own ‑rootedness" and subjective perspective as researcher; a white, western-educated, heterosexual. One that grew-up in an upper-middle class context. In this study I use my voice and agency to claim the identity of an ‑African". By doing so, I align myself and my own personal and professional commitments, perspective and agendas to that of pan-Africanist feminism(s).

In this study I had, furthermore, great sensitivity for the power relationship that exists between me as researcher and those individuals, groups and communities that are related to the obstructive realities that I described in this dissertation as manifestations of marginalisation, discrimination, vulnerability and suffering. [48] (Generational poverty, Gender-Based Violence and the stereotyping stigmatisation of members of the LGBTQIA+ community.) I was also conscious of the fact that interpretive and critical methodological approaches are often treated with suspicion as having Western/-ised/Euro-America research biases. It would have been ideal to include empirical research (e.g. audience studies) that confirmed my recognition of the importance of the voice and agency of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. This methodological addition would have placed the power of certain data in their hands and would have centered their epistemology without a ‑filter". Participation-based research was however not one of the original research objectives.

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[48]For an example of a critical African feminist engagement of ‑socially-engaged scholarship" (Dube, 2012: 22) see Nadar, 2012.

The original aim of the study was to focus on the Bill of Rights – a political intervention that aims to deliver the very voice and agency mentioned above.

By placing a focus on the relationship between the televangelism in question and the South African Constitution, I embraced a communal ethos. Throughout the research I was reflective and self-critical and fully conscious of the importance of these processes. This included an ongoing process of reviewing my research parameters and my own reaction to the data that I was engaging. I attempted to remain accountable to the over-arching scholarly intent, research statement and objectives of this study. This brings me to my next argument.

In Western/Global North-centred discourses (even ―critical‖ ones such as post-colonial critique) the realities created by imperial domination tend to be ignored or suppressed, because these realities are at the same time exposure and critique of the ―Sitz im Leben‖ of those who profit from imperial situations. These realities reveal complicity and self-interest, hence the tendency to label their explicit naming ―emotional‖, ―un-academic‖, and not ―useful‖ in the name of a non-existent ―objectivity.‖ In anti-imperial discourse the aim is to expose this ―objectivity‖ as partisanship and complicity in imperial oppression which causes acute suffering, vulnerability, marginalisation, exploitation and exclusion.

These remain crucial concepts and categories. They describe the *reality* of people that are subjected to imperial rule. As we have learned from Fanon[49], Biko[50] and others, it is the *understanding* of situations of oppression, their causes, the way they work and their reasons for existence that ignites the agency of the oppressed. My use of these words is in line with critical, anti-imperial discourse as understood by many scholars from the Global South.

I engage the challenges that obstruct the delivery of equality and justice for many South African women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations as a critical media and communication scholar. In this regard it was important for me to consider the framing and language that are used by credible and accountable global

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[49]See Fanon, 1963.
[50]See Biko, 1886.

research initiatives such as the GMMP. This initiative is rooted in a participatory research methodology; ―in the trenches‖ lived realities. The following is a key 2015 observation:

> Four GMMPs have been carried out so far....Participation increased...evidencing a growing interest, willingness to engage on issues of gender in the media. The monitoring shows extremely slow progress in bringing women‗s voices to bear in public discourses taking place through news media. Not only does the news present a male-centric view of the world, it is also marked by gender bias and extensive stereotyping that underpins marginalisation, discrimination and violence against girls and women (Who Makes the News, 2015a).

In this study I therefore use terms such as ―marginalisation, discrimination and violence‖. It refers to ―vulnerability‖ and ―suffering‖. To name these conditions for what they are does not, I would argue, suggest that I ignore, minimilise or trivialise manifestations of voice and agency and the importance of prioritising manifestations of these in critical research. This was, however, not my research aim. Finally, language is an important epistemological indicator for me as researcher. That is why I, for example, made the distinction between Global South and North rather than using terms such as ―developing countries‖.

2.3 Specifics of study objectives

In this study I identified the characteristics that are embedded in the globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in a contemporary South Africa and investigated how such religious broadcasting – a significant stakeholder in globalisation – mediates the issues of gender justice that the South African Constitution guarantees.

The questions that this study sought to answer were:

1. How can globalised dominant North American televangelism – as an expression of globalised New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‑media" – be understood and interpreted within the context of globalisation?

2. What characteristics do globalisation, globalised mainstream ‑news" media, globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism, and globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism, have in common?

3. How are gender and gender power relations constructed through the application of particular communication processes and methodologies in the rhetorical discourses of North American televangelists, Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum?

4. To what extent do tensions exist between the mediation of gender and gender power relations in the North American televangelism that has a profile in a South Africa, and the secular norms of *equality* and *justice* that women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities can claim through the Bill of Rights?

It was my objective to explore possible answers to these questions. I did so, by applying both interpretive and critical research stances and merging Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Rhetorical Analysis (RA) in my data analysis. I examined the phenomena in question through a decolonial, intersectional, (pan-) African feminist lens. My micro and macro structural analysis, conceptualisation and theory-building were shaped by an interdisciplinary theoretical approach.

3. Outline of Dissertation

In this **Chapter One**, I explored the causal link that exists between ‑the media", religion and gender inequality. I offered a personal anecdote of my experiences, as a female radio news executive and investigative journalist, during South African Apartheid. This illustrated the importance of *perspective, grand narratives* and the role that ‑the media" played as vehicles

for hegemonic beliefs, values, norms and practices. I proposed that this ideological influence continues today in the guise of *religious* ‒media". I then explored the interplay between global gender injustice, mediated religion and the dominant, globalised *news* ‒media". I introduced North American televangelism as manifestation of New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‒media" that have a global presence and influence; also in Africa and, particularly, in the South African constitutional democracy. My research statement was then situated within *empire* and *cultural expansionism* discourses. It was also grounded in contemporary scholarly debates that have resulted from a decolonisation movement that has taken hold in South Africa. In conclusion, I identified the overarching research questions that marked the parameters of the study.

Chapter Two: In this chapter I reflect on and illustrate my underlying scholarly intent: to engage in critical Global South ‒thinking" that contributes to an epistemological shift in the field of media, religion and gender. I also illustrate how such a shift relates to theories on *secularisation* and *globalisation*. Furthermore, I explain the nature of my aim to disrupt the Western/-ised/Global North/Euro-American and (still) predominantly male perspectives that shape most examinations of the intersection between religion and media. This explanation is grounded in an intersectional, decolonial, pan-African feminist paradigm. I introduce my theory about the *recolonisation and neocolonisation of the religious convictions* of African believers. Then I situate this study in existing literature on the relevant phenomena. I present an in-depth literature review to point out how this interdisciplinary study fills gaps and expands on existing bodies of knowledge. I show how I, through my interpretive and critical examination of globalised North American televangelism, built on existing methodological and theoretical approach and enter conversations about the ‒Media Age".

Chapter Three: In this chapter I explain my *Comprehensive, Critical Rhetorical Discourse Analysis* (CCRDA) research method in more detail. This includes a discussion of the ‒dual approach" of this method. I also introduce the concept of *a chain of consequences* – central to my ethico-political stance – in my reflection on the key concepts that propelled my investigation. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the interdisciplinary theoretical character of this study. I introduce my theories on *sanctification communication* that is

defensive and combatant. I root these in existing media agenda-setting and culture war theoretical stances. I explain how these theories offer a foundation for the development of a *just "media" ethic*. I also shed light on my *holistic, completed, gender justice* approach to feminism.

Chapter Four: Why did I decide on *televangelism* as source for my data selection and Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum as research cases? My response to this question, as well as detail of my data sampling and collection processes, are given in this chapter. In an explanation of my choice of televangelism as primary source for my data, I introduce the term *synergetic, seamless mass media communication* strategy. I substantiate this term by presenting research that I have done on televangelist's use of a diversity of ―media" tools. I then discuss the different theoretical frameworks that directed my train of thought and the specifics of the multidimensional examination that I did of the data.

Chapter Five: In this chapter I investigate to what extent there is an overarching hegemonic struggle unfolding globally and how this maintains and contributes to the root ideological causes of power imbalances. I do a comparative and critical analysis of the ideological hegemonies that globalisation, globalised mainstream news ―media", and globalised North American New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and its related televangelism have in common. This is done against the back-drop of the gender equality and justice that are entrenched in globalisation.

Chapter Six: In this chapter I examine how North American televangelists, particularly Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum, construct gender and gender power relations in the rhetorical discourses of their teachings. This includes an investigation of how their use of communication processes and methodologies strengthen the ideological content of their normative directives. I then introduce a deconstruction of the worldview (―The Great Myth") that underpinned colonisation, Slavery and Apartheid and conclude the chapter by drawing a comparison between the mutually re-enforcing hegemonies that shaped that

worldview and those that globalisation, globalised dominant New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and globalised North American televangelism share.

Chapter Seven: In this chapter I explain my understanding of the concept of *gender justice.* I do so by reflecting on Nicholas Wolterstorff's theories on the notion of ―justice as rights‖. I discuss the extent to which Jakes' and Bynum's mediation of gender and gender power relations reflect ideological hegemonies that are similar to those that underpinned gender inequality and injustice during colonialism, Slavery and Apartheid. This illustrates tensions that exist between the beliefs and values in their normative directives and the norms of equality and justice that are embedded in the South African Bill of Rights. I interpret these tensions with the gender-oppressive hegemonies in past unjust South African societies, and the challenges, that many South African women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities an orientations still face, in mind.

Chapter Eight: In this last chapter of this study chapter I give my final conclusions – ―answers‖ to the questions I raised at the outset of the study. These are offered against the back-drop of the demands of deep-rooted societal change and ―radical‖ reconciliation in South Africa. I discuss the various contributions that this study makes and reflect on possible scholarly response.

CHAPTER TWO: SCHOLARLY INTENTION

What does the decolonial paradigm in this study suggest? It indicates a critical approach - my scholarly stance on manifestations of power imbalances. It suggests, furthermore, that my examination was situated within an overarching paradigm of ―disruption‖.

It was my intention to contribute to:

1.   An unfolding epistemological shift that is evident in increasing numbers of Global South studies that investigate the intersection between media, religion and gender.[1]

2.   Continuing scholarly discourses on the concepts of *empire* and *cultural imperialism*. Mahan (2014) asserts that today

> culture is a product to be produced and reproduced and marketed to distant audiences. In such a system, those who controlled the means of cultural production imposed cultural forms and assumptions on distant and less powerful cultures.... In doing so, they teach cultural norms and values that are often foreign to their international consumers. (2014: 40)[2]

It is my argument that epistemology is not ―neutral‖. It is rooted in and shaped by vantage points and perspectives. I would argue further that Western/-ised/Global North/ Euro-American perspectives still dominant the globalised production, distribution and engagement of scholarly bodies of knowledge. In terms of distribution and engagement, this is also (still) the case in South Africa. It was my intention to disrupt this phenomenon. I therefore aimed to build and expand on empire and disruption theories by producing a study in which aspects of ―the Media Age‖ was examined through a critical Global South/African/South African prism.

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[1]For examples of these in Lövheim, 2013a and Ross, 2014a.
[2]See Mahan‘s examples that are related to research in the Pacific Islands (Mahan, 2014: 40).

1. Epistemological Intent

I conducted my research and theorised from a distinct ‒pan-Africanism from below" (Ossome, 2015: 19) vantage point. This is a South African-particular study, but my intent was also to describe, interpret and critique the present neoliberal world order (globalisation) as the context of manifestations of empire. Lynn Ossome (2015) argues that

> some authors present neoliberalism as the decay of an inflexible state, or as the inexorable advance of its right hand, but it is clear that the impact cannot be understood ahistorically, or acontextually. This in itself requires thinking beyond a Western-centred global view of neoliberal expansion, to consider its variations in diverse African contexts. (2015: 15-16)

It is within this context that I used the term *North America* in the title of and in the rest of this study. I considered two concepts that are not only widely recognised and discussed by critical scholars, but that serve to identify past and present global power imbalances: ‒Global *North*" and ‒Global *South*". My inclusion of the term ‒North" related to the distinct South African/Global South perspective that propelled the study and my positioning thereof in contemporary discourses on *empire* and *cultural imperialism*. Equally widely argued today, by especially Global South scholars, is that *North* America ‒the USA, and not Mexico, Canada or South America - is today still the most important empirical force and the source of harmful political, economic and social influences globally. Neither Canada nor Mexico is considered as dominant imperial forces. Viewed from these vantage points, my use of the term ‒North America" was necessary.

I aimed to engage in Global South ‒thinking" that disrupts the continuing dominance of Western/-ised/Global North/Euro-American and (still) predominantly male perspectives in examinations of intersection between media and religion and gender. I brought my disruption approach and epistemological intent, in various ways, to bear on my research.

1.1 Questioning a secularisation paradigm

The concept of secularisation is still a foundational departure point and analytical paradigm in many Western/ised/Global North/Euro-centric studies on the interplay in question. There is today also a scarcity of studies that examine the ethico-political character of manifestations of Western/ised Christianity. It was my purpose to disrupt this state of affairs. Mahan (2014) asserts that

> noting the decline of once-dominant religious traditions and the rise of a seemingly more secular way of life, particularly in the public square, some people have suggested that religion would disappear from modern society. But this has not happened. Religion remains vital and active, though sometimes in new and unexpected ways. (2014: xviii)

During the past three decades religion might have gone ‒underground" in certain Global North regions and countries, but it has surely not disappeared. It clearly still competes for public space in North America. In this study I posited that religion remains an important global political, economic and social influence. The Global North no longer dominates global religiosity though. Mahan (2014) posits that

> many religious institutions have lost members and influence. This is particularly true in the industrialized West, especially northern Europe, where religious identity and practice have markedly declined. In the global South, meanwhile, especially Africa and Latin America, both Pentecostal Christianity and Islam have spread. (2014: 23)

Musa Dube points out that there are ‒470 million Christian in sub-Saharan Africa and that one in every five Christians in the world lives in Africa" (Dube, 2012: 1). She indicates that

> biblical faith is expressed alongside other faiths-alongside four hundred million Muslims, mostly in upper Africa, though not exclusively so, and the uncounted number of adherents to African Indigenous Religions...(Dube, 2012: 1)

In recent years secularisation theories have become increasingly contested.[3] Why then the lack of focused attention by international advocacy stakeholders, such as UN Women, to the potential obstructive influence of religion on gender equality and justice? With this study I built on the insights of scholars such as Dube.[4] I viewed the prevailing Western/ised notion of the ―Africanisation" of Christianity through a decolonial, intersectional pan-African feminist lens.[5].

1.1.1 Dominant scholarly vantage points

Many recent mainstreamed studies on the intersection in question are still predominantly shaped by Western/-ised/Global North/Euro-American biases. This includes studies on the phenomenon of the Christian *electronic church*.[6] These are manifested in the geographical ―situatedness" and perspectives of scholars and the departure points and themes that shape the enquiries.

In *Religion, Media, and Social Change* (Granholm, Moberg and Marcus, 2015) contributions focus on ―interrelated macro-level processes that are typically taken to have impacted greatly on the socioeconomic and cultural makeup of Western societies in particular" (Granholm et al., 2015: 1). Distinct European analytical framings are applied.[7]

I was for obvious reasons interested in the epistemological profile of The Electronic Church in the Digital Age: Cultural Impacts of Evangelical Mass Media. Volume 1: How Evangelical

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[3]I would argue that the role that New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists played in Donald Trump's election as President of that country, might lead to renewed critical scholarly engagement of secularisation theories. The recent developments have allowed for conservative Christianity to (again) take ―centre-stage" in that country. I view the USA as a society that has and is shaped by a noticeable civil religion culture. See in this regard Robert Bellah's theories (Bellah, 1992).

[4]For valuable insight into the historical roots of and contemporary developments in manifestations of Christianity in Africa, see Dube, 2012.

[5] Dube foregrounds the importance of the identification, deconstruction and replacement of Western/-ised/Euro-American biblical interpretations. I return to the notion of the ―Africanisation of Christianity" later in this chapter.

[6]I discuss this term later in this chapter.

[7]Scholars that participate are from Australia, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Switzerland and the United Kingdom participated. Seven of the thirteen were male.

Media Shape Evangelical Culture (Ward (Ed.). 2016a) and The Electronic Church in the Digital Age: Cultural Impacts of Evangelical Mass Media. Volume 2: How Evangelical Media Engage American Culture (Ward (Ed.). 2016d). All of the contributors to these two volumes are North American.[8]

Critical empire, decolonisation and cultural imperialism theoretical stances rarely frame studies. The same applies for comprehensive ethico-political examinations of the ideological character, and influence in the Global South, of Western/-ised/Global North Christian ―media‖.

My purpose was to do an epistemological disruption on all these levels. This aim was in line with Dube‗s critical postcolonial African feminist stance that

> interpretations of the Bible remain generated by the former colonial ―mother countries‖[9] while formerly colonized Christian countries, like children, continue to eat from their mother‗s hand. Nowhere is this more evident than in the wholesale transfer of popular American evangelism into Africa via TV programming, whose producers do not even make the effort to erase the locally irrelevant 800 numbers from the screens (Dube, 2012: 5).[10]

1.1.2 A gender bias

Amina Mama and Teresa Barnes (2007) reflect on the tenacious and harmful gendered character of higher education in Africa and the importance of critical examinations of

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[8]Ten of the twelve contributors to Volume 1 and ten of thirteen to Volume two are male.
[9]The use of ―mother countries‖ and ―mother‗s hand‖ invites exploration, which the scope of this study does not allow for.
[10]This argument substantiates my ―disruptive‖, decolonial examination of globalised North American religious ―media‖ and the notion of the ―Africanisation‖ of Christianty.

the depth of the challenges and the extent of the problems – but also the continuing importance of the crucial investigative, profile-raising and support work of transnational feminist networks and organisations (Mama and Barnes, 2007: 6).

They raise an important question: ―If the universities remain unequal and difficult places for women, what kind of male and female citizens are they now turning out?‖ (2007: 6)[11]

Gender is a more than important epistemological factor. Interpretations related to this socially constructed notion play a profound role in both ―the media‖ and religion. Mia Lövheim (2013c) argues that ―gender deeply informs the production of media texts, the symbols circulated through the media and popular culture, as well as the uses of these texts‖ (Lövheim, 2013b: 2).[12] Drawing from Pamela Klassen's (2009) views she asserts that

> gender is simultaneously a fundamental source for structuring identities, traditions, values and rituals within religious traditions *and* an unstable and contested category questioning these distinctions (Lövheim, 2013: 2).

Lövenheim (2013b) posits furthermore that

> gender as dimension of media representations and media practice can no longer be ignored if we are to understand the interplay between religion, media and culture in late modern society. As gender highlights the complexities of bodies, social relations, cultural conventions and individual agency in mediations of religion, why should gender not be important and make a difference? (Lövheim, 2013b: 2)

Lövheim indicates that gender ―has remained a neglected field‖ (2013b: 3). Whilst significant studies with such perspectives have emerged in recent years, ―gender has for most part

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[11]See Mama and Barnes, 2007.
[12]In this regard, see Gill, 2007 and Gauntlett, 2002.

remained an ‒add on'" to other theoretical developments (2013b: 5).[13] Reflecting on the research of Linda Woodhead (2001), she argues that

> the understanding of religion and religiosity underpinning western, academic discourses is largely modeled after the experiences and interests of male, religious elite. The experiences and practices of women and other groups that have traditionally made up the silent majority in religions have largely been left out of the picture. (Lövheim, 2013b: 6)

Lövheim points out that whilst, in sociology of religion and religious studies theories, there has been a recognition and engagement of religion as cultural source for meaning making, this is not necessarily ‒enough to challenge this bias" (2013b: 6). She states that

> a critical analysis of gendered values and relations also within these forms of religion, and how media contribute to uphold or challenge these, is needed in order to better understand for whom and with what consequences religion is changing in contemporary society. (Lövheim, 2013b: 6)

It was my aim to investigate to what extent the audio-visual religious texts that I engaged reflect meanings (interpretations) and resistance to meanings that are related to gendered values of power relations. Of importance was to ‒ from a particular feminist and gender perspective ‒ investigate how the televangelists in question mediate tensions that exist in battles for ‒truth, value and meaning" (Lövheim, 2013b: 7).

1.1.3 Presence of a gender paradigm, absence of an African presence

I would argue that there is still, however, a Western/-ised/Global North/Euro-American bias evident in gendered examinations of the intersection between media and religion. While Global South investigations are emerging, Africa remains underrepresented if not absent.

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[13]See Lövheim's review of relevant publications in Lövheim, (2013b).

Karen Ross states that the contributions in the seminal publication *The Handbook of Gender, Sex and Media* (Ross (Ed.), 2014a) reflect a commitment ‑to move beyond the narrow lens of the Western paradigm, to embrace other regions and places" (Ross, 2014b: xxi.). There is, however, no African scholarly participation.[14] The book *Media, Religion and Gender: Key Issues and New Challenges* (Lövheim (Ed.), 2013a) offers valuable insight into research developments and trends. It also directs scholarly attention to new avenues of thinking and themes for investigation. There is, again, not an African ‑footprint" visible. [15]

With this study I ‑joined the struggle" of women on the African continent ‑to produce new and relevant knowledge in the 21st century" (Mama and Barnes, 2007: 1) As Ross (2014b) points out;

> So many contemporary texts on gender and media speak of global phenomena but actually discuss a highly restricted and restrictive cultural landscape that is limited not just to ‑the West" but often merely the US and the UK. (2014b: xxi)

1.2 Application of a decolonisation paradigm and advancement of a *holistic gender justice* feminist stance

I conducted this study at a time of – what Ossome describes as

> various manifestations of cultural imperialism – the economic, technological and cultural hegemony that industrialised nations sustain at a global level – whose impacts negatively affect African women in particular. (Ossome, 2015: 17)

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[14] The following regions are represented in the contributions: the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, the United States of America, Canada, Brazil, New Zealand and Israel.
[15] The following regions are represented in the contributions: Canada, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark and Israel.

I aimed to ground this study within a decolonisation paradigm by arguing that the religious convictions of African Christians have in the past three decades been *recolonised* and *neocolonised* by North American New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism.[16] This departure point is substantiated by Dube's propositions in ‒Introduction: The Scramble for Africa as the Biblical Scramble for Africa: Postcolonial Perspectives" (2012). She argues that

> biblical interpretations in the sub-Saharan Africa cannot be separated from politics, economic and cultural identity, of past and present. Biblical interpretation in the African context is thus intimately locked in the framework of scramble for land, struggle for economic justice and struggle for cultural survival. Biblical interpretation remains wedged between Western and African history of colonialism, struggle for independence, post-independence and the globalisation era (Dube, 2012: 4).

The aim of my data analysis was to examine the biblical interpretations in the teachings of the North American televangelists against this backdrop, and with the South African constitutional norms of equality and justice in mind. I viewed these through an intersectional, decolonial, pan-African[17] feminist lens.

The multidimensional and wide-ranging legacies of extended periods of colonialism and the continuing signs of present day imperialist expansionism necessitate the centrality of colonialism, as foundational hermeneutical departure point, and source of continuing global dichotomies. The following question underpinned the purpose of this study: to what extent is globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist a ‒media" tool for spiritual (religious convictions) recolonisation and neocolonisation in Africa?

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[16]This notion is related to my discussion later in this chapter in the section ‒Globalisation, North American Christian expansionism and the ―Africanisation" of Christianity".

[17]I understand Pan-Africanism to be an ideological stance that advocates the complete political, social and economic liberation of the whole African continent (transnational) from imperialistic (and thus external) legacies, influences and exploitations and the restoration of the dignity, security and potential of all of the continent's citizens.

I would argue that the concepts *colonialism* and *decolonisation* remain critical in examinations of global, national and local power relations and inequalities. On political, social and economic levels both history and geography still matters. Amina Mama and Hakima Abbas (2015) argue that ‒neoliberalism and neo-colonialism have distorted and obscured feminist articulations of the pan-Africanism dream" (Mama and Abbas, 2015: 1).

The purpose of my application of a decolonisation paradigm was to focus attention on *values* and thus *ethics,* rather than on *history* (e.g. past periods) and *alignments*. The South African constitutional norms of equality and justice that I brought to bear on my research are related to power relations. I therefore prioritised equality and justice for the politically, socially and economically disempowered over and against the hegemonically dominant powerful. In this regard, racial, class, gender, ethnic, faith and additional ‒Othering" differentiating markers were of importance. Equally important, however, was to foreground geo-political power relations; in this instance those between Africa (including South Africa as representative of the Global South) and the West/Global North/ North America. I thus aimed to do critical micro and macro- structural and conceptual analysis of the nature and root causes of global gender power imbalance. Mama Ata Aidoo (1989) observes that.

> [w]hen people ask me rather bluntly every now and then whether I am a feminist, I not only answer yes, but I go on to insist that every woman and every man should be a feminist – especially if they believe that Africans should take charge of African land, African wealth, African lives and the burden of African development. It is not possible to advocate the independence for the African continent without believing that African women must have the best that the environment can offer. For some of us, this is the crucial element in our feminism (Nnaemeka, 1989: 47).

These departure points constituted the pillars on which the *holistic*[18] *completed*[19] *gender justice feminist*[20] approach, that I introduced in this study, rests. The latter was furthermore a

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[18]The accent that I placed on the term *holistic* is to prioritise intersections between race, political, economic and social status, geographic and historical location, cultural and religious status and other markers, without reinforcing gender binaries.

response to the centralisation of the concept of *women's rights* in contemporary discourse of organisations such as UN Women (2015);

> Rights are...indivisible; how can women claim the rights to quality care, to decent working conditions or to own land on which to grow food without the rights to information about laws, policies and government budget allocations and the right to organise to claim their rights? (UN Women, 2015: 13)

In this study I aimed to problematize secular rights discourses, but also to prioritise the African-rooted intersectional lens through which I viewed the televangelism of Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum – these are two Black televangelists that find themselves in a Western/-ised context. How do these televangelists mediate the intersection between real life South Africa realities[21] and the constitutional norms of equality and justice? Can their Western/-ised/ biblical interpretations be aligned with African-rooted liberation theological and gender and feminist understandings of equality and justice? How do they give content to the notions of *liberation* and *self-determination*? How do they engage the multi-dimensional and deep-rooted structural challenges that obstruct the voice, agency and empowerment of many South Africans?

I would argue that holistic and completed liberation relates to the way in which human security is defined in 1994 by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as ―freedom from want', ‗freedom from fear', and ―freedom to live in dignity'" (Hendricks, 2015: 43). Ossome argues that

> pan-African feminists are faced with the task of forging solidarity beyond a
> gendered identification, toward a class solidarity that engages and amplifies

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[19]My reference to *completed* suggests that not only political, but also economic and social justice is required.

[20]It is not a single, universal, monolithic globalised expression of ―feminism". The diversity of theoretical and activist traditions that centre around the equality, empowerment and autonomy of women and – in recent years – of those individuals with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and lifestyles – include, among others, mainstream feminism, black feminism, womanism, Africana womanism and African feminism. Unfolding theoretical and epistemological developments are described as ―waves" of advancement.

[21]These include generational poverty and injustice related to Gender-Based Violence and the demonization of persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations.

various mechanisms of labour organising in recognition of a shared *systemic* oppression under global capitalism, which manifests also at the level of the household unit. (Ossome, 2015: 21)

Ossome speaks to my ethico-political aim to analyse globalisation from a Global South perspective in her argument that ―the depoliticisation that has come about under neoliberalism...conceals the multiple dimensions of dispossession under capitalism" (2015: 17).

There was thus an additional dimension to my choice of an intersectional decolonial, pan-African feminist analytical framework; to foreground the potential justice consequences of globalised North American ―media" – not only for South Africa – but for the whole of Africa. This possibility demands critical, coordinated pan-African scholarly deliberations. Dube's early cited references to the ―wholesale transfer of popular American evangelicalism [*s*] via TV programming" (Dube, 2012:5) underlines my premise of religious imperialism.

African feminists have for decades considered transnational strategising, organising and cooperation central imperatives. These are now also recognisable in Western/-ised feminist discourses (Mama and Abbas, 2015: 4). The African Feminist Forum has been initiating ―a series of remarkable continent-wide convenings to invoke pan-African traditions to promote solidarities and shared agendas" (2015: 4). Mama and Abbas dispel the notion of a simplistic ―post-feminist" stance – at least within the African context.

Feminists in Africa share a regional experience of the incompleteness of the struggle for African liberation. We see the inter-connection between multiple oppressions, and are set to continue pursuing freedom in the firm belief that a just and humane order – another world – is possible. The struggle continues. (Mama and Abbas, 2015: 5)

Diversity, continuity and collaboration are central characteristics of pan-African feminisms. Such feminisms have for decades been, and are today, clearly recognisable and influential.

This includes, for example, a significant theoretical tradition in African feminist and gender theological theorising.[22] This is a discipline that has in recent years been largely sidelined in mainstreamed global deliberations on gender equality and justice. This is despite of a dramatic resurgence in religion and spirituality in the past twenty years. This motivated my application of African feminist and liberation theological theories in this study.

This brings me to the following question: how is this study situated within existing literature on the phenomena that I identified in the above section?

2. Literature Review

The interdisciplinary nature of this my study demanded a thematic approach in my literature review. A ‒bigger picture" does, however, emerge in my composition of themes.

This investigation was done at a time of unprecedented scholarly interest in ‒The Media Age". The impacts of the related technological proliferation continue to be profound and are continuously and rigorously investigated. Why and how did I engage this extensive subject?

My interest in this complex phenomenon was of an ethico-political theoretical nature and rooted in my professional career as journalist. This is a career that has been characterised by a commitment to critical political, economic and social investigation but has also been impacted by ideological hegemonies such as racism and patriarchy.

The use of different mediums for strategic mass media communication purposes is woven into the very fabric of a changing world and South African society. A series of interrelated questions propelled my interest in the ethico-political aspects of the ‒The Media Age" in which we find ourselves. What are the political and ethical consequences of a ‒borderless" cyber world? Where is the epicentre of the dominant ‒media" universe? How are media

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[22]Of note in this regard are the valuable contributions of the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians. See Dube's observations in Dune, 2012.

"tools" used in the midst of significant global power imbalances and geo-political shifts between the South and North? Are "the media" central players in global hegemonic struggles and culture wars? Which political, economic and social priorities are mainstreamed in the "media"? What agendas are set? What is the relationship between "the media", religion and justice? To what extent are "the media" used in dominant Christianity? How do manifestations of Christianity mask political agendas? Are there tensions between rights such as the freedom of speech and an ethos of communal empowerment and rights to religious freedom and the individual rights of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations?

These questions underpinned my "wide angle" theoretical and methodological approaches in this study. Departing from the understanding that "the media" are value-laden global societal influences, I applied the South African constitutional democracy and Bill of rights as contextual filters. I centered the national priority of gender justice ("rights as justice") as ethico-political focus point. My literature review showed that through such a theoretical approach I addressed a scholarly vacuum in more than one way.

The past three decades have seen extensive and growing scholarly interest in globalisation, the notion of empire, North American Christian expansion and the interplay between "the media", religion and culture.

2.1 Spirituality and strategic religious mass media communication in an era of globalisation

Globalisation, a multifaceted, political and socio-economic process, has been unfolding over the last three decades or more. This has resulted in equally significant global changes and shifts and is now termed *globalisation*.

Granholm argues that globalisation "is often presented as something of a ‚prime mover' of most other processes of social change" (Granholm, 2007: 2). In *Religion, Media, and Social Change* (Moberg et al., 2015) Moberg et al. assert that

encapsulating the constantly intensifying global movement and criss-crossing of populations, information, economics and ideas and so on, globalisation has had far-reaching implications for social and cultural life, including religion and religious life, across the globe. Among many other things, globalisation has cultivated religious diversification and pluralisation in many parts of the world through migration, the emergence of transnational religious diasporas and the global flow of religious ideas. (Moberg et al., 2015: 2)

In *Exporting the American Gospel – Global Christian Fundamentalism* (Brouwer et al., 1996) Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford and Susan Rose (1996) describe globalisation as an era in which ‒spiritual fervor is burning in many parts of the world" (1996: 2) and Muslim, Hindu, Jewish, and Christian believers – popularly labeled as *fundamentalists* – are ‒in conflict with the secular processes of modernization and global development" (1996: 2).

Globalisation is also an era characterised by rapid technological development, a proliferation of media/communication technologies and the extensive reach of transnational media/mass media communication networks.

The significance in the 21st century of mediated religion and globalised ‒media" – and particularly the ‒merging" of these phenomena – hold significant consequences for the world society. It demands continuous scholarly attention. To what extent is the profile and influence of dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‒media" critically engaged as a phenomenon that is deeply entrenched in globalisation?

In *Dreaming a Different World: Globalisation and Justice for Humanity and the Earth* (Boesak et al., 2010) various realities related to the prevailing world order are discussed from an ethico-political vantage point. With the exception of a brief reference to the link between gender justice and globalised communication, this extensive report does, however, not recognise and engage globalised religious fundamentalism (New Christian Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism in particular) and the reach and influence of its ‒media" as central features of globalisation. The same applies for the publications *Globalisation (Volume*

1): The Politics of Empire, Justice and the Life of Faith (Boesak and Hansen, 2009) and *Globalisation (Volume 2): Global Crisis, Global Challenge, Global Faith – An Ongoing Response to the Accra Confession* (Boesak and Hansen, 2010).

In 2000 there were an estimated 2.1 billion Christians in the world. This spread Christianity over a greater proportion of the globe than Islam (Siewert and Kenyon, 1993: 3) Brouwer et al. (1996) argue that ―restorationist fundamentalism‖ is a response to the urbanisation, industrialisation, and the ―nuclearization of the family‖ that result from globalisation (Brouwer et al., 1996: 246). Religion is thus central to people's attempts to reformulate disintegrating societal structures (1996: 246). The authors also discuss *fundamentalism* and introduce views on New Christian Fundamentalism. The posit that

> a new kind of Christian fundamentalism, once thought to be unique to the United States, is spreading across the globe. A transnational religious culture is meeting a common need in the mega-cities of the developing world, in the slums that surround them, and in outlying agricultural districts... In tiny brick and mud tabernacles with metal roofs and dirt floors and in huge downtown auditoriums seating five thousand or twenty thousand, pastors are delivering the same message to their congregations: beseech God for your individual salvation, attend to the literal word of the Bible as the basis of truth, and spread the good news in preparation for the miraculous end of history and the beginning of Christ's millennium. (Brouwer et al., 1996: 1)

In *Freedom's Distant Shores – American Protestants and post-colonial alliances with Africa* (Smith (Ed.), 2006a) Drew Smith argues that ―a doctrinal emphasis on self-determination, new methods, members, and material resources‖ (2006c: 183) have encouraged the dramatic expansion of the denominational infrastructure, parachurch ministries and congregational-level ministries of Evangelical Christians. Global north churches, especially conservative North American churches use print and electronic media to extend their reach and influence within the developing world (Smith, 2006b: 2).

Televangelism, an expression of religious broadcasting, is associated with Evangelical leaders that apply media synergy to extend their ministries and mainstream their beliefs. In *Global and Local Televangelism* Pradip Ninan Thomas and Philip Lee (2012a) point out that televangelism is

> no longer limited to television but is increasingly a new media phenomenon – amplified and shaped on social media sites and accessed by mobile technologies in ever more complex circuits of production, distribution, and consumption...One outcome of media liberalization throughout the world has been opportunities for new religious content distributed through cable and satellite channels. (2012b: 1)

In *Holy Mavericks: Evangelical Innovators and the Spiritual Marketplace* Shayne Lee and Phillip Sinitiere (2009) analyse the success of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist celebrities who share one skill: the masterful application of ―the media". All of these televangelists have profiles and followings in South Africa: Pastors Joel Osteen and Rick Warren, Bishop T.D. Jakes and Evangelist Paula White.

Religious broadcasting content includes sermons, lectures and religious gatherings, talk shows, motivational and gospel music programmes and docudramas. Live streaming accommodates interaction through the medium of television (telephoning, texting, or e-mail in ―real time") and blogs, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube serve as market places for ―faith products" such as books, CDs and DVDs.[23] Global audiences/congregation/―constituency" are served with what Quentin Schultze describes as ―information, entertainment, edification, and instruction" (1990b: 14). North America is still the most dominant source of globalised Christian televangelism.

Global societal shifts, that have been unfolding in recent years, relate to developments in the ―media" sphere. In ―Changing Societies, Changing Media Systems: Challenges for

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[23]See the information that I provide in Table One of Addendum A.

Communication Theory, Research and Education", Lance Bennett (2013) recognises the negative impact of globalisation on social institutions such as churches and discusses the implications of large-scale networked publics linked to media systems and communication processes (2013: 3). In *Rethinking Media, Religion, and Culture* (Hoover and Lundby (Eds.), 1997a) Hoover and Knut Lundby recognise transformation within Judeo-Christian religious cultures, They relate a decline in the support for and influence of ―mainline‖ institutions to an era in which media institutions wield significant influence in the public sphere (1997b: 5).

Thomas and Lee (2012b) investigate the prevalence and impact of televangelism in a global context of increasing denominationalism and a decline in ecumenism; at a time that ―mainline‖ Christianity around the word faces a crisis with dwindling congregations and finances. They suggest that this phenomenon is exacerbated by ―the proliferation of Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches and their new theologies for a globalizing world‖ (Thomas and Lee, 2012b:9-10). In ―Resistance Through Mediated Orality‖, Keyan Tomaselli and Arnold Shepperson (1997) discuss the ―political economy of the *electronic church* in the era of information capitalism‖ and argue that televangelists use ―highly personalized communication‖ to finance multimedia networks that form part of ―an evangelical-fundamentalist movement organized through local church infrastructures‖ (1997: 209).

In *Media, Religion and Culture* Mahan (2014) argues that

> the religious task is increasingly understood as a matter of crafting individual
> identity rather than adopting a community identity, and this often happens in
> less fixed and institutionalized spaces. Traditional centres of religious authority
> are challenged by the contemporary media culture. (2014: xviii)

In ―The Medium Is the Ministry: Televangelism and the Electronic Age Church‖, Brent Sleasman (2016) argues that the

> ―electronic church‖ is less about logic and more about meeting felt needs.
> Further, the media ecology produced by a generation of televangelism has

necessarily altered the practice of American evangelicalism....Evangelicals now regard the meeting of felt needs – what others have, less charitably, called religious consumerism – as ―cultural relevance‖ and a legitimate religious mission (2016: 129).

The term ―electric church‖ was coined in the era of ―traditional media‖. *Electronic church* was termed to describe

the specific audience of a specific televangelist – the term quickly morphed into ―the‖ electronic church and referred to the entirety of the evangelical mass media enterprise as an *institution* of American evangelicalism. (Ward, 2016b: xviii)

Keyan Tomaselli and Arnold Shepperson (1997) argue that the electronic church includes televangelism (―broadcast of a theology of expressive Calvinism‖) and *teleministries* (―institutional business operations and administrative structures run by televangelists‖) (1997: 209). I would argue that, in light of technological developments such as digital media, the use of the Internet and the continuous evolution of social media networking, religion is today all the time, everywhere. I therefore propose that there is today the phenomenon of *omnipresent electronic churches*.

This substantiated my interest in globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media‖ products. For example: are their content shaped by criteria such as individualism, personality, accessibility and universality rather than the specifics of the biblical text? It also strengthened my aim to investigate the extent to which the content of North American televangelism is in tension with the South African constitutional norms of equality and justice, as these are reflected in individual rights and a communal ethos. Hoover (1990) observes that the electronic church

cooperates with other para-church institutions to affirm that the traditional social, religious, and cultural structures are no longer adequate to meet the

demands of the age. It has given this community of common purpose a new status in public discourse – some would say it has actually captured that discourse. On a societal level, the electronic church proposes to transform society. (1990: 245-246)

Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (2012) states in ―Hearing, Viewing, and Touched by the Spirit: Televangelism in Contemporary African Christianity", that

the representative face of contemporary African Christianity is now very much a Pentecostal one and this has been so because of the dissemination of this sort of spirituality on television and through other media sources. (2012: 143)[24]

Do South African scholars recognise that ―the church" is no longer restricted to bricks and mortar influences and that globalised televangelism (and its myriad of related ―media") has become a new globalised ―pulpit"? Do they examine televangelism as electronic churches with ―congregations"/audiences that extend beyond geographical, cultural, racial, ethnic and other boundaries?

In ―Oor die Kerk as Unieke Samelewingsverband" [On the Church as Unique Social Institution] Dirkie Smit (1996) discusses the multi-dimensional influence of the church on the South African society[25]. He does, however, not consider the role of the electronic church. In *The Evil of Patriarchy in Church, Society and Politics* (Inclusive and Affirming Ministries (IAM), 2009) critical questions are raised about the role of the Church as source of harmful beliefs in general, and in a South African constitutional democracy in particular. None of the contributors, including theologians Sarojini Nadar, Christina Landman and Tinyiko Maluleke, refer to or engage with the prevalence and potential gender justice implications of the strategic North American New Christian Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media" that has a profile in the country. This demanded a scholarly response; especially in light of the

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[24]This is in line with Dube's earlier cited observation.
[25]It is important to compare these views with Hoover's observations about the role of the electronic church (1990: 231-249). Wuthnow also reflects on the ―demise of the neighborhood church" and influence of religious broadcasting (including the electronic church) is the private and public spheres (1990: 209).

argument of Thomas and Lee that televangelism ‑is the site for attempts to re-negotiate religion with audiences" (2012b: 10). The scholars propose that

> television offers opportunities to both brand and re-brand faith, to offer a religious experience suited to individuals and communities living globalized lives delivered in a language and rhetoric of popular culture. (2012b: 9)

This ‑re-branding" is also occurring in Africa[26] and require critical engagement. Hence I prioritised this aspect in the literature review that I conducted, which I now turn to below.

2.2 Globalisation, North American Christian expansionism and the "Africanisation" of Christianity

I will now return to my proposition that North American New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and its related ‑media" should be critically engaged as tools of Western/ised influences that result in the recolonisation and neocolonisation of the convictions of African Christians.

At a time when globalisation is putting pressure on traditional political, economic and social entities and power relations, North America is still a significant global power and influence. Brouwer et al. (1996) point out that ‑American-led economic development" offers ‑access to a smoothly running well-integrated world system" (1996: 7). I propose that in the context of unfolding global geo-political shifts that threaten North American political and socio-economic (also cultural) dominance and interference, in the African continent[27] stakeholders in North America have, in response, stepped-up involvement in countries in the Global South (also in Africa). They are targeting nations as potential ideological and cultural allies, new

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[26]Such ‑re-branding" relates to my arguments on the recolonisation and neocolonisation of African religious convictions. See the discussion in the next section.

[27]Of relevance in this regard is China's expansion in developing nations and resistance and expansionism by proponents of certain manifestations of the Islamic faith. In my discussion of my methodological and theoretical stances I return to this matter.

markets and economic growth nodes. I would argue that the recent Trump victory will result in increased interest in African resources such as oil. This political development will also lead to an increased North American security and military presence in the continent.[28] There are already significant economic consequences; also in South Africa. Sampie Terreblanche (2012) argues in *Lost in Translation – South Africa"s Search for a new Future Since 1986* that.

> the intensification of the PUI [Poverty, Unemployment, Inequality] problem [in South Africa] can be ascribed partly to the co-option of South Africa as a satellite of the American-led neoliberal empire, and partly to the misguided and myopic policy initiatives of the ANC government. Ironically enough, the power and wealth of the white controlled capitalist sector was enhanced by its American orientated neoliberal global economy. (Terreblanche, 2012: ix)

In *Freedom"s Distant Shores: American Protestants and post-colonial alliances with Africa* (Smith (Ed.), 2006a), North American and African scholars reflect on the cultural, ideological, organisational, and historical dimensions of contemporary North American Protestant involvements in Africa[29]. Such influences have, in some instances, been for the good but have more often than not held detrimental implications for justice in the continent. Smith provides insight into how CBN's Pat Robertson has, over several decades, been asserting his normative directives through his televangelism (e.g. ―The 700 Club") and has forged political alliances that delivered lucrative business contracts in more than one country, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo. While this study is germinal, it lacks a gender perspective and Smith, like the other contributors, does not offer a critical analysis of the increased profile and political implications of strategic North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media" in a developing South African constitutional democracy.

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[28]See Azikiwe, 2016 and Bond, 2016.

[29]See also the chapter entitled ―New' Christianity in Africa: The Charismatic Explosion" in Brouwer et al., 1996, 151-178. It provides insight into the emergence in the eighties and early nineties of New Christian Fundamentalism in Africa.

I would argue that the dramatic growth of New Evangelical/Fundamentalist spirituality in Africa is the result of the concerted efforts of North American proponents of such Christianity to fuel such religious ―expansion‖ in the continent. Brouwer et al. posit that

> Bible-believing Protestants have a special mission to win souls for Jesus in every country on earth. They have emerged from the broad ranks of socially conservative evangelical Protestantism, and include members of various denominations and independent churches. (1996: 3)

The alleged comment on *Umhlobo Wenene* (Boesak, E., 2011) can be located within the ―Bible-believing‖ paradigm; so can Christian crusades/campaigns that support anti-homosexual legislation in countries such as Uganda. Developments in several African countries (including South Africa) indicate the possibility that there is a global overarching reality (hegemonic struggle) unfolding; also in the continent. In *C Street: The Fundamentalist Threat to American Democracy* (Sharlet, 2010a) and *The Family: The Secret Fundamentalism at the Heart of American Power* (Sharlet, 2010b), Jeff Sharlet offers insight into the extensive research and influence, also in Africa, of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist groups. He provides information on connections between Ugandan role players such as the author of the ―anti-gay‖ bill, David Bahati, and conservative Christians and members of the USA Republican Party.[30]

My research for this dissertation was rooted in a South African context where the line between the state and church has become blurred and at a time that a civil religion culture is growing significantly. In this regard I propose that some of the views of Brouwer et al. (1996) substantiate my proposition that the potential gender justice implications of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism in a secular South African constitutional democracy require critical engagement. They argue that the overriding emphasis that such New Christian Fundamentalism places on evangelisation has political significance as it

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[30]The ethico-political stance and the communication theoretical stances that underpinned this study are substantiated by these findings.

carries with it a criterion for assessing governments that is rather simplistic. Since evangelization is all that is required, a government that allows this is a good government and one that does not is a bad government. One that positively encourages the work of missionaries is regarded as an *excellent* government, whatever its record might be sociopolitically. This attitude has been used by several African dictators. (Brouwer et al., 1996:175)

This proposition substantiates my argument that globalised dominant strategic New Christian Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media" should be considered as communication with political consequences; political communication thus that has the potential to impact negatively legislation that guarantee gender equality and justice. I return to this argument later in this chapter when I introduce the concept of *defensive, combatant sanctification communication*.

In *The Tenderness of Conscience – African Renaissance and the Spirituality of Politics* Allan Boesak (2005) reflects on the role that spirituality has and continues to play in ongoing struggles for justice in South Africa. He refers to a significant increase, after the democratic transition, in ―Charismatic" churches with ―a strong Christian right wing agenda" that is similar to the one that is evident in North America (2005: 146). Boesak proposes that ―it will be interesting to continue to observe both their astounding growth and their chosen role in post-apartheid politics in South Africa" (2005: 146). He does not, however, engage the significantly growing presence and implications of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist strategic mass media communication (e.g. televangelism) in the country.

In *Watch This!: The Ethics and Aesthetics of Black Televangelism* Jonathan Walton (2009b) offers a critical analysis of African American televangelists that have a significant influence in North America. All of these televangelists exhibit New Evangelical/Fundamentalist traits and, with the exception of one, all have profiles in South Africa: Bishops T.D. Jakes, Eddie Long and Pastors Creflo and Taffi Dollar. Walton evaluates their theological convictions and offers views on their ideological stances regarding gender equality and justice. This is done with a particular focus on realities in African American communities. Whilst I accept that

there are substantial contextual and other differences between North America and South Africa, his findings shed light on some realities that are similar to some in South Africa. His description of televangelism as both ‒a microsocial ritual of self-affirmation and resistance" and a ‒ritual of social accommodation" (2009b: 178) further supports my proposition that religious ‒media" – of especially African American televangelists that have a profile in South Africa today – requires critical engagement.

2.3 Globalised strategic religious mass media communication, a popular Christian culture and gender justice in Africa

In Progress of the World's Women 2015-2016: Transforming Economies, Realizing Rights UN Women (2015) confirms its stance that

> international human rights standards provide an understanding of gender equality – substantive equality for women – that goes beyond formal equality to emphasize women's enjoyment of their rights in practice. (UN Women, 2015: 24)

Fundamental questions are, however, raised; about ‒why progress in ensuring women's practical enjoyment of a range of economic and social rights has been slow and uneven across countries and between social groups" (2015: 26).

In the article ‒The Maputo Protocol[31] Its potential for a revolution in women's rights" Moreen Majiwa (2013) points out that although most countries in the African continent have ratified this Protocol ‒several...have placed reservations on the articles considered controversial e.g. marriage, property rights, sexual and reproductive rights" (Majiwa, 2013)[32]. Gender reform initiatives fail to address root causes of gender inequality and many African

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[31]Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women.
[32]See http://www.afronline.org/?p=30667/. [Accessed 10 February 2014].

women remain socially and economically marginalised and disempowered (2013)[33]. Majiwa states that

> despite encouraging trends and an increasingly enabling women's rights legislative and policy environment gender gaps still exist...Women in most parts of Africa continue to face cultural, social and economic barriers...Gender roles continue to influence crucial societal and individual decisions on educating women, women's political and economic participation, and on fertility. (2013)[34]

This study was situated in a South African context where the implications of, not only, globalisation are felt but also the consequences of the democratic transition are evident. As pointed out previously, the country is hailed for its inclusive and empowering Constitution and Bill of Rights that guarantees equality for and the empowerment and protection of all women, no matter what their differentiating markers are. Amanda Gouws argues that

> it is through the democratic procedures that we have made the most important gains for women: that of an array of laws that were supposed to change the lives of women... [W]e have equal opportunities for anyone who can compete equally and we have managed through a persistent process of law reform to change de jure discrimination. (2014: 2)

Gouws asserts that ―[p]atriarchal values and dominance" are, however still evident and the *status quo* is characterised by ―saturation without parity – when men had heard enough about women's equality but parity does not yet exist" (2014: 6). In ―Feminist Dialogue: ‗Who's Afraid of Feminism?‘ The State of Gender Equality 20 Years After the Democratic Transition – Key issues and concerns raised for inclusion and discussion at the Commission for Gender Equality Summit" (Agenda Feminist Media (AFM) and the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), 2014), South African feminist scholars and civil society stakeholders identify the following gender-related challenges in South Africa: Gender-Based

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[33]See http://www.afronline.org/?p=30667/. [Accessed 10 February 2014].
[34]See http://www.afronline.org/?p=30667/. [Accessed 10 February 2014].

Violence (GBV); sexual identity and orientation; women's poverty and access to land and resources; women's access to health rights and sexual and reproductive health and services. They state that ―democracy in itself has not changed structural inequality in South Africa and its negative impacts are felt mainly by women" (AFM and the HSRC, 2014)[35].

This position statement provides a critical view on priorities related to, and the stumbling blocks that are in the way of gender equality and justice in South Africa. It is stated that ―social relations between women and men must shift in order to affect social justice" and that ―the emphasis on the preservation of the family results in women being seen as derivatives of the family rather than as persons with rights" (AFM and the HSRC, 2014)[36]. Heteronormativity is still ―the dominant sexual order" that ―excluded GLBTI [LGBTQIA+] individuals" (2014)[37]. It is also pointed out that

> recent experience in Uganda, Zambia and Nigeria and other countries has
> shown that the legal rights of GLBTI people are under homophobic attack and
> they have been demonised as a sexual minority although they are guilty of no
> crime. (2014)[38]

In ―Editorial: Feminism and Pan-Africanism" Mama and Abbas (2015) argue that

> today the continental mainstream pan-African agenda is dominated by powerful
> men who are mostly concerned about using conservative pan-African rhetoric
> to the service of their anti-democratic purposes. The varied grassroots pan-
> African movements of the past have been reduced into a hegemonic pan-

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[35]See http://www.agenda.org.za/feminist-dialogue-whos-afraid-of-feminism-the-state-of-gender-equality-20-years-after-the-democratic-transition-key-issues-and-concerns-raised-for-inclusion-in-discussion-at-the-comm/. [Accessed 1 June 2014].
[36]See http://www.agenda.org.za/feminist-dialogue-whos-afraid-of-feminism-the-state-of-gender-equality-20-years-after-the-democratic-transition-key-issues-and-concerns-raised-for-inclusion-in-discussion-at-the-comm/. [Accessed 1 June 2014].
[37]See http://www.agenda.org.za/feminist-dialogue-whos-afraid-of-feminism-the-state-of-gender-equality-20-years-after-the-democratic-transition-key-issues-and-concerns-raised-for-inclusion-in-discussion-at-the-comm/. [Accessed 1 June 2014].
[38]See http://www.agenda.org.za/feminist-dialogue-whos-afraid-of-feminism-the-state-of-gender-equality-20-years-after-the-democratic-transition-key-issues-and-concerns-raised-for-inclusion-in-discussion-at-the-comm/. [Accessed 1 June 2014].

Africanism narrative that has become an institutionalised support for patriarchal values. (2015: 1)

The scholars assert, among other things, that a ‑new hegemonic meanings of ‗Africa' are being articulated" by certain African leaders that at times ‑entrench localised authoritarian rule, buttressing this with nationalist, patriarchal, anti-feminist rhetoric that all too many of us remain gullible to" (2015: 1-2).

Today calls are made for interrogations of the reasons why women's rights and gender equality frameworks and mechanisms are failing. Recommendations are offered on how the *status quo* should be challenged. No reference is, however, made to the importance of examining the role of globalised strategic religious fundamentalist mass media communication as potential negative influence. This is despite the fact that recent studies – such as those that cited earlier – confirm the detrimental influences that strategic mass media communication has on gender justice; also in Africa. This is also despite recent warnings from global civil society leaders, such as the former UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon;

> Even where progress towards equality in family law has been achieved, sustaining progress can be challenging, especially in countries where conservative forces and extremist groups that resist gender equality are gaining ground. These groups, in developed and developing countries alike, misuse religion, tradition and culture to reshape laws, state institutions and social norms to curtail women's and girls' human rights and entrench stereotypical gender roles, both within the ‑private space" as well as public life. (UN General Assembly, 2012 in UN Women, 2015: 31)

The scarcity of extensive and continuing critical gender and feminist scholarly examinations of the potential role of globalised dominant New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‑media" in mainstreaming harmful interpretations of gender and gender power relations leaves a critical vacuum. With this study I aimed to address this gap.

In an era of globalisation, the above-mentioned ―media" play a significant role in shaping a popular Christian culture with harmful consequences for gender equality and the empowerment of women. In *Sacred Selves, Essays on Gender, Religion and Popular Culture* Juliana Claassens and Stella Viljoen (2012) argue that critical discussions on gender are today hindered by ―monosyllabic slurs of consumerism through pop-psychology self-help books, television programmes and websites" (2012: ii). They further contend that

> within religious culture in general and Christian culture in particular, the concern for establishing ethical approaches to understanding gender have in recent years been broadly undermined by the impatience of a market that demands instant answers to difficult questions. (2012: ii)

Contributions in this publication engage in a very limited way with strategic religious ―media" as central element in Christian popular culture spirituality. Globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism is not critically examined as a potential vehicle for cultural imperialism and harmful hegemonies. Commenting on American Christianity, Steiner (2016) argues that the ―trends... [of] self, entertainment, and gratification...have combined with the dominant American market ideology" (2016: 12). Shirley Steinberg and Joe Kinchoe (2009) refer in this regard to a ―Christotainment" industry (Steiner, 2016: 12). With this study, I engage the televangelism in question as possible manifestations of such ―Christotainment".

In an era of globalisation, constantly evolving communication/media technologies are wiping away national and geographical borders. This allows for New Evangelicals/Fundamentalist to use globalised dominant North American televangelism – as manifestation of globalised ―Media" – for the worldwide expansion of this particular manifestation of Christianity. This raises a critical question: should this phenomenon be recognised as evidence of an unfolding global reality?

2.4 North American televangelism and a global New Evangelical/Fundamentalist movement

Jeremy Stolow (2010) explains the concept of *media* as ‒technologies, institutional arrangements, circulatory systems, and shifting modalities of reception" (2010: 544). Moberg et al., assert that ‒seemingly accelerating developments"

> have no doubt … increasingly come to both provide the environments and set
> the parameters for how religious communities of virtually all strands organize,
> function, interact, construct, express and communicate their messages and
> activities (both out ward and inward) in ways unknown to previous generations.
> (Moberg et al., 2015: 2)

The ‒out ward and inward" use of media tools constitutes the backbone of a present day global phenomenon that is continuing to emerge dramatically: transnational religious movements. New Evangelical/Fundamentalist Christianity played a pioneering role in this regard.

Hoover argues that a ‒para-church religiosity" defines a ‒neoevangelical movement" and refers to the electronic church as both one of the agencies of the para-church and an important tool of enlistment (1990: 233). This argument is similar to some of the theories of Tomaselli and Shepperson. In his reflection on the theories and findings of Robert Wuthnow, Schultze similarly proposes that televangelism audiences ‒feel that they are part of a national social movement and not merely part of a local religious group" (1990a: 16). Tamar Gordon (2005: 309) asserts that religious media ‒propel audiences into imagined communities where there is tangible evidence of the spirit operating through people, villages, neighbourhoods, cities, nations and the world" (2005: 309).

In an era of globalisation, North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism audiences across the world (including those in South Africa) view themselves as members of a networked society and a particular global Christian network. They see themselves, in other words, as "belonging" to a movement with the divine mandate ("Great Commission") to internationalise a conservative Evangelical/Fundamentalist worldview. "The media" is a crucial enlistment and mobilisation tool in such a network/movement[39].

In "The Internationalisation of Struggle and the Need for Global Solidarity" Tomaselli (1996) critiques the role that religious fundamentalism and televangelism plays to rejuvenate the spiritual "mostly as a means of capital centralisation and accumulation" in "First and Second World settings" (1996). Whilst the scholar identifies capitalism as an ideological hegemony that "has shown itself to be largely impervious of basic human values, human rights and freedom" (1996), he does not investigate globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism as potential vehicle for other ideological biases that might hold implications for human (women's) rights in a post-Apartheid South Africa. He does, however, critique North America's global hegemonic influence, arguing that

> while cultural strategies of Third World countries have little option but to acknowledge that the US remains hegemonic in the cultural and economic spheres, they also need to understand that engagement becomes the principle of change. (1996)[40]

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[39]The vision, mission and motto of Alleluia Ministries International (AMI), based in Johannesburg South Africa, offer evidence that strengthens my arguments regarding a conservative global Christian movement. (See the number and locations of AMI churches http://www.alleluiaministries.com/index.php/about-us/church-locations/. [Accessed 14 August 2014].) North American televangelist Prophetess Juanita Bynum has a close relationship with AMI and has preached/performed in AMI churches in person on more than one occasion. (See as an example http://www.alleluiaministries.com/index.php/gallery/112-breaking-away-from-struggle-with-juanita-bynum-22-23-jan-2014/. [Accessed 14 August 2014]. Led by Pastor Alph Lukau, services of this church are not only live streamed, but are broadcast on TBN and Soweto and AlexFM. On the website the main branding line of the ministries reads: "2014 Our Year of Invasion." The church's vision is stated as being "to conquer the world for Jesus Christ," its mission is "to expand the borders of the Kingdom of God through evangelism and outreach and to awaken the church of God in our world today" and its motto is "to know God and make him known". AMI is "a Bible believing Christian Church, with its foundation rooted on the word of God" and the church's "Pillars Of Discipline" are "Love, Commitment, Submission and Holiness. (Alleluia Ministries International, 2014a. See http://www.alleluiaministries.com/index.php/gallery/112-breaking-away-from-struggle-with-juanita-bynum-22-23-jan-2014/. [Accessed 10 October 2014]).
[40]See http://www.waccglobal.org/en/19963-alternative-communication-networks/968-the_internationalisation-of-struggle-and-the-need-for-global-solidarity._html/. [Accessed 21 September 2012].

This study could be viewed as a response to Tomaselli's call for engagement.

The Rwandan genocide is often cited as an example of how "the media" can, if not monitored closely, become powerful societal catalysts that serve destructive agendas. As was the case during Apartheid, several strategic mass media communication outlets in Rwanda served as "echo chambers" in which biased/selective information and inciting views, perspectives and beliefs were augmented and reinforced through repetition and the exclusion of alternatives (grand narratives)[41]. In *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide* (Thompson (Ed.), 2007a) history, law, public and international affairs, communication and journalism scholars discuss the role of "hate media" in the run-up to and during genocide. Allan Thompson observes that

> hate media organs in Rwanda – through their journalists, broadcasters and media executives – played an instrumental role in laying the groundwork for genocide, then actively participated in the extermination campaign. (Thompson, 2007b: xi)

This confirms the view expressed by Aryantungyisa Kaakaabaale Otiti of The Media Project in "Media and the Rwanda Genocide" (Otiti, 2010);

> The power and influence of radio cannot be denied, especially in illiterate and semi-literate communities. The radio is considered gospel truth, and for most of these communities the words 'I heard it on the radio.' mean a claim cannot be disputed. (2010)[42]

At the outset of Chapter One I argued that "the media" played a pivotal role in an Apartheid South Africa. In *Endgame – Secret Talks and the End of Apartheid* Willie Esterhuyse (2012) confirms the powerful influence that the media enterprise Naspers – in cooperation with "the

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[41]For a perspective on the concept of *echo chambers*, see *Echo Chamber: Rush Limbaugh and the Conservative Media Establishment* (Hall Jamieson and Capella, 2010). This study investigates the role that strategic mass media communication sources (the media) play as echo chamber that influence political thinking in North America.

[42]See http://themediaproject.org/article/cam-media-rwanda-genocide/. [Accessed 24 February 2014].

Bible and the Dutch Reformed Church" (2012: 154) – had played in maintaining Apartheid. In a society that was shaped by and controlled through, among other things, ―the media" and a civil religion culture[43], there was thus a very specific rationale behind the regime's use of strategic communication. The content of these societal influences were directly related to political, socio-economic and cultural agendas. There was thus also diversity in the responses of a segmented and a diverse and segregated citizenry – various ―audiences".[44]

This brings me to literature related to a focused examination of the specific departure points applied and themes addressed in most recent literature on the intersections between media, religion and culture. I also reviewed studies in which this intersection is viewed through a gendered lens. Why my particular interest in reviewing these?

Continuous, critical, ethico-political, scholarly examinations of the *content*[45] of new globalised dominant New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media", and an analysis of the aims with such communication, remain relevant and important. Especially ―at a time of unprecedented global economic inequalities, heartbreaking human displacement, destructive cultural, religious and ethnic exclusivism and conflicts and tenacious racism, misogyny, sexism, and homophobia" (Boesak, E., 2016).[46]

This is a relevant agenda not only for Global South scholars, but – maybe equally importantly – also for Global North scholars; the region from where harmful Christian religious influences originate and have slipped through the ―back door" of neoliberalism. Moberg et al. asserts that

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[43]I shed light on this matter in Chapter Five under the heading ―North American Televangelism and the Re-emergence of a Civil Religion in Post-Apartheid South Africa."

[44]See my observations in this regard in Boesak, E., 2016.

[45]I expand on the importance that I attached in this study to the *content* of ―the media" in the next chapter when I discuss my choice of televangelism as source for data.

[46]These realities should not be delinked from the re-emergence of conservative, and in some cases, far right political and social (extremist) shifts in many regions and countries. Central to these is a push-back against the ethos of human rights. It is my argument that ―The media" are crucial influences at this time of fundamental societal change.

> if any emerging consensus suggests that religion is everywhere now, thanks in
> no small measure to the media technologies that carry it into our homes and
> streets and places of power, it is hardly evident that there exists a readily
> available conceptual language for making this ubiquity intelligible…These
> observations highlight the *extent* to which various forms of media have become
> integrated into the very fabric of both public and private social and cultural
> everyday life. (Moberg et al., 2015: 5)

In response to this observation, I propose that the concept *electronic church* is developed. In an era of globalised religion, the electronic church has become a globalised *omnipresent* church. Bennett (2016) discusses the comprehensive profile and reach of religious "media", stating:

> As for television, all the major evangelical TV networks are now streaming
> their programs for HDTV media players such as Roku and Apple TV, and some
> have created their own mobile apps. Virtually everything that goes out over the
> airwaves can now be accessed, in some fashion, via digital media. And these
> outreaches are supplemented by email newsletters, online chat, blogs, and
> social media. (Bennett, 2016: 80)

The ethico-political departure point that I applied in this study, and the focus that I placed on communication ethics, are rooted in an understanding that strategic mass media communication – and technologies, methodologies, processes and practices that are related to the production of such communication – have political, economic and social value. This raises questions about access, power, equality and justice. It was therefore important to examine recent literature for:

1.   The application of ethico-political departure points, but ones that propel enquiries into, specifically, the profile and potential nature of the political, economic, and social influence of globalised North American New Fundamentalist/Evangelical "media" in Africa,

and therefore South Africa. My interest was furthermore focused on scholarly agendas and studies that examine televangelism (manifestation of the electronic/omnipresent church) as manifestation of North American religious imperialism.

2.   Studies that investigate possible tensions that exist between the beliefs, values, norms and practices that are embedded in the said globalised ―media‖ and the humanist norms of equality and justice, entrenched in political interventions such as the South African Bill of Rights. Also in the ethos that is central to the notion of universal human rights and specifically women‗s rights (as per organisation such as UN Women).

3.   Departure points, themes and subjects that situate examinations of the intersection between ―the media‖, religion and culture within critical macro-level structural analysis (e.g. globalisation and geo-political developments).

Media and Gender: A Scholarly Agenda for the Global Alliance on Media and Gender (Vega Montiel, 2014) has contributions of scholars and practitioners from various geographical areas. They are ―all experts on the advancement of gender equality‖ who have been involved in ―scholarly and advocacy actions with visible impact at global, regional and national levels‖ (Berger, 2014: 8).

In his reflection on the aim of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) – ―to ensure that women and men benefit equally from freedom of expression as basic right‖ – Guy Berger (2014) identifies several key obstacles that are addressed as priorities. One is ―the prevalence of stereotypical media content and information regarding gender‖ (Berger, 2014: 8). Contributions in this publication centre around four main thematic sections: gender-based violence, media and information, women‗s access to media, gender and media policy and strategies and gender, education, and media and information literacy (2014: 8).

Janet Wasko (2014) points out that the mission of the Gender and Communication Section of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) – a co-publisher of the publication – is to ‒foster and encourage any and all aspects of scholarship relating to the nexus of gender and communication". It ‒is centrally concerned with how gender considerations and identities are reproduced and consumed through media production and consumption." Also important is how ‒members' papers yield new insights into the way similarity and differences are experienced in the everyday lives of audiences" (2014: 9). Wasko asserts that the section is

> concerned to transcend the often artificial boundaries that give rise to divisions
> in the conduct of social science. They are committed to avoiding racial, ethnic,
> national, gender, ideological or philosophical descriptions. (2014: 9)

No reference is made in this publication to the importance of scholarly research on globalised religious ‒media". The profile and ideological influence of conservative and extremist globalised religious movements that apply such ‒media" is also not singled out as an important research theme. This is despite Margaret Gallagher's (2014) observation that ‒the fundamental issues at the heart of feminist media scholarship remain the same: power, rights, values and representation" (2014: 11). I would argue that these issues are all central pillars on which the content of globalised ‒media" rest.

In *Islamic State: The Digital Caliphate* (Bari Atwan, 2015) Abel Bari Atwan examines the Islamic State (IS) movement's strategic use of ‒the media". He proposes that

> without digital technology it is highly unlikely that Islamic State would ever
> have come into existence, let alone been able to survive and expand. This is
> why I describe the new entity as a ‒digital caliphate". Islamic State has been
> able to encompass a territory the size of Great Britain as a result of a perfect
> storm of political, historical, cultural and technological circumstances. (Bari
> Atwan, 2015: 1)

There is not a gendered perspective in this publication, but it offers insight into the context, content and political aims of the religious messaging in question, the distribution methodologies and methods, the targeted audiences and their reception of the messaging. Bari Atwan observes that

> [i]n terms of audiences, such groups can address hundreds of thousands, if not millions. Not only that, they acquire their own select audience: those who are already interested for one reason or another...Conformity of message and shared religious zeal are essential ingredients for expanding a caliphate, or indeed and state institution predicated on ideology. The internet allows for millions of Muslims to stay ―on message" and hear the same sermons, view the same video messages, witness the same punishment, simultaneously (Bari Atwan, 2015: 2)

In the past three years much focus has been placed on the use of globalised strategic mass media communication by proponents of the Muslim faith. The same cannot be said about a Christian counterpart. Very little scholarly attention is given to ideological criticism of the strategic use of media tools, for much longer, by conservative Christian networks and movements. Of note, however, is the timely and relevant multidiscipline publication *New Media and Religious Transformations in Africa* (Hackett and Soares, 2015). In the insightful contributions the continuously developing profile and application of media tools by Africa Christian, Muslim and Traditional/Indigenous religious leaders and communities are critically engaged. The fast developing communication technological landscape in this continent is viewed as a site for, among others, social change and political struggles. Of importance is a recognisable general departure point: the content of media products is not neutral, but value-laden and such products are carriers of messaging that often result in divisions, marginalisation, conflict and, ultimately, violence. Although this publications contributes in a valuable fashion to Global South-focussed studies on the intersection between religion and media, it is not situated within discourses about empire and does not apply an overarching distinct critical gendered perspective.

With this study I fill an important gap by widening the lens through which an agenda for gender and media scholarship is viewed. I went beyond a secular prism, by putting media use, for the purpose of globalised strategic religious communication, on the agenda. I viewed New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‒media" through a gendered lens and described and interpreted this value-laden phenomenon through a macro and micro analysis. This was in line with Gallagher's assertion that ‒gender justice in the media – and in society as a whole – depends on wide-scale social transformation" (2014: 11). Gallagher argues that

> media representations and gender discourses take shape within particular socio-economic formations – buttressed and underpinned by specific ideologies which must themselves be analysed and understood before change can be effectively advocated. (2014: 11)

By situating this study within an ethico-political paradigm, I thus ‒appl[ied] the political weight of feminist theory toward the real-life practical advancement of women in society" (Vega Montiel, 2014: 10).

My inclusion of an examination of the profile and role of women in New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism, and of the messaging of a female televangelist, spoke to ‒a contemporary media narrative that relies heavily on notions of women's individual choice, ‗empowerment' and personal freedom" (Gallagher, 2014: 11). ‒Feminist discourse," argues Gallagher, ‒has been incorporated in various ways across all media genres – from advertising, to newspaper, to television" (2014: 11). By addressing the ‒feminisation" of religious audio-visual messaging (e.g. televangelism), I expanded contemporary feminist scholarship in which ‒global patterns of incorporation" are explored (2014: 11).

Ross says about *The Handbook of Gender, Sex and Media* (Ross, 2014a) that

> what this collection demonstrates...is both the resilience of sex-based stereotypes and also the way in which our own agency can subvert normative

renditions of femininity and masculinity, women and men – which has in turn encouraged at least some parts of the media to move closer to where many of us in the ―real‖ world already stand. (Ross, 2014a: xxi)

The essays ―explore the nuances of contemporary sex and gender scripts as they are played out in popular media‖ and examine ―both normative (traditional) renditions of gender and sexuality as well as texts that challenge and therefore move beyond the heteronormative and sexist‖ (Ross, 2014a: xxi).

Valuable light is shed on recent societal developments and unfolding theoretical deliberation. The contributions do, however, not include critical analysis of globalised ―media‖ as a site of hegemonic battles.

Intersections between media and religion, media, religion and culture and a gendered investigation of this interplay, can and have been examined through diverse broad themes that include, the ethnography of religious organisations, the portrayal of religion in mainstream ―media‖, media ecology and the study of contemporary churches, digital media and the Evangelical media industry. In terms of the research priorities in this study, there is a relative vacuum.[47]

In the book *Media, Religion and Culture* (Mahan (Ed.), 2014) contributions are offered on the mentioned interface as it relates to a ―matter of personal identity‖ and ―individual religious practices‖ (Mahan, 2014: 51). The profile and characteristics of ―new media‖ that ―enable multiple voices and multiple centers of religious and cultural authority‖ (2014: 51) are also examined. So are ―the influence of developments in a larger media culture on religious practices, theologies, authorities and communities‖ and media as ―location for emerging religion‖ (2014: 52.). The departure points that I applied in, and themes that underpinned, this study are not explored.

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[47]For insight into the diversity of some of the themes and related topics that have examined , in the past, see the contributions (and work previously done by scholars) in Schultze (Ed.), 1999a, Lövheim (Ed.), 2013a, Ross (Ed.), 2014, Mahan (Ed.), 2014Ward (Ed.), 2016a, Ward (Ed.), 2016d and Granholm et al. (Eds.), 2015,

This is also the case with the publication *Religion, Media, and Social Change* (Granholm et al. (Eds.), 2015). In this publication, attention is directed towards the said intersection "in relation to broader processes of social and religious change since the mid-twentieth century, particularly as theorised in the sociological study of religion" (2015: 1).

In *From Jesus to the Internet: A History of Christianity and Media*, Peter Horsfield (2015a) offers a "historical dimension as a way of relating what is happening now to what has happened in the past" (2015: 2). Horsfield discusses the cultural and political consequence of "twentieth century electric Christianity" and identifies

> an alignment of Christian ideology with the ideologies of western capitalist consumer commodification, with all of the exploitation, inequality, dehumanization, and environmental damage that brings with it. (2015a: 254)

The scholar does, however, not engage in a critical reflection of the ethico-political consequences of a globalised North American electronic church and the religious expansion (imperialism) of the related Christianity.

The publication *Media, Religion and Gender: Key Issues and New Challenges* (Lövheim (Ed.), 2013a) addresses the intersection of media, religion and gender with the aim to address "gender blindness in previous research" and, from diverse perspectives, examine how "inequality, domination and oppression" result from "social, cultural and religious structure that assign women and men different positions, value and agency" (Lövheim, 2013b: 8). Contributors "problematize and nuance stereotypical understandings of gender, particularly _woman' and _femininity', but also _masculinity', in media texts and cultures" (2013b: 8). The publication makes a valuable contribution to studies on the mediatisation of religion. This is investigated as it pertains to and is informed by the "experiences and expressions by

women and other groups marginalized by religious institutions as well as the media" (Lövheim, 2013c: 184).[48]

Lövheim argues that contemporary media tools serve

> as a resource for individuals and groups in performing religious identity and social relations, and the implications of our research for the wider religious, cultural and political context in contemporary society. (Lövheim, 2013c: 184)

This underline the relevance of my examination of the strategic use of the audio-visual medium (e.g. televangelism) for religious messaging that encourages individual and collective ―religious identity and social relations." This theme and its related priorities are not addressed in the publication.

This study extends existing bodies of knowledge in various ways. It fills ―vacant spaces" in studies on globalisation, but also those in the overarching field of media, religion, culture and gender. Many these publications have a *cross*-disciplinary character. Most individual enquiries in the volumes are, however, conducted from specific disciplinary vantage points.[49] This was an *inter*disciplinary enquiry: media and communication, religion and theology, gender and feminism, and political science. Finally, I would argue that this study substantiates Gallagher's assertion that

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[48]Examples of the case studies that contributors focus on in order to explicate their theorising include investigations of the use of digital media and the Internet by Christian ―mommy bloggers" acting as spiritual guides, interpretations of the Qur'an by female Muslim believers and examinations of the supernatural by Danish teenage girls.

[49]Scholarly perspectives represented in recent publications are, for example, rooted in studies of culture, sociology, communication, film and media, communication and arts, communication and media ecology, communication and cinema, the cultural religious and religious, Islamic, religion and art, religious sociology, gender studies, journalism and multimedia journalism, electronic media, international and media communication, the international cultural, intercultural communication, communication and identity , history and visuality, media arts, theology and ministry, creative documentary production and visual anthropology, culture, media and drama, sex, communication and culture, cinema and embodiment, gender, sexuality and representation, gender and postcolonial critique, information technology, sociology and social and cultural anthropology, rhetoric, visual communication and narrative theory and semiotics.

the push and pull between theorising, research and activism, has always been a feature of feminist approaches to the media. Since its beginnings, a good deal of feminist scholarship has been motivated by a desire for political and social change. (2014: 11)

The dramatic progression of the continuing ―new millennium‖ media and communication evolution is reflected in developments and trends in and diversity of theoretical, methodological and conceptual schools of thought. Where and how is this study situated?

3. Methodological and Theoretical Approaches

In the 1980s it was mostly North American scholars that did examinations of the interplay between media and religion, and later media, religion and culture. Research methodologies have since evolved in various contexts and along recognisable tracks, for example: *technological* (―first wave), *cultural* (―second wave‖) and *pragmatic* (―third wave‖).

Initially, attention was focused ―either on how evangelicals used the institution [electronic church] to gain power in the American society or on how the technological imperatives of the institution were changing the American evangelical movement‖ (Steiner, 2016: 6). What followed was interest in the cultural aspects of, for example, the electronic church as ―epiphenomenal – manifestations of deeper structural processes occurring in society at large‖ (Ward, 2016b: xix).

Much work has been and is still of an *interpretive* nature. In this regard various ―relationship‖ warrant(ed) attention. For instance: the one between the ―communicator‖ and the ―message‖, the ―communicator‖, ―message‖ and ―context‖ and the ―message‖ and ―receptor/s‖ thereof. The emergence of ―new media‖ (e.g. digital and interactive media) has resulted in a shift.

There is now, for instance, keen scholarly interest in digital and online religion[50] and the agency of audiences. The latter are no longer viewed as "receptors", but as "actors" or "participants". This shift has in is resulting in, for instance a proliferation of *ethnographic* research models (e.g. participatory research).

This study has ushered me into debates on the characteristics of globalisation, the concepts of *empire* and *cultural imperialism* and complexities related to media ethics and freedom of speech. I do so from a particular geographical vantage point and as a pan-African feminist. Through this enquiry, I participate in discourse about the root causes of the discrepancy between political gender equality and the lived realties of many women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. I entered conversations about "The Media Age" through an ethico-political door, followed an interdisciplinary path and engaged globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism as potential ideological influence. I went about this task in a particular fashion.

My interpretive and critical methodological approaches:

A fundamental question set the parameters for my interpretive and critical investigation of the examples of globalised New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media". Is there tension between the equality and justice ethos that is embedded in the South African Constitution and the way in which gender power relations are mediated in globalised North American televangelism? To situate my enquiry in "Media Age" discourses, and to find an answer to this question, I did a multi-dimensional investigation that involved macro and micro structural and conceptual interpretation, analysis and theory-building. I described and interpreted the interplay between globalisation, conservative North American Christian "media", the South African Constitutional democracy and gender justice. I engaged New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism as a global, intercultural phenomenon. I grounded my macro analysis by illustrating and comparing the ideological biases in the prevailing

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[50]For valuable insight see Campbell, 2012.

world order, North American news ―media" and the dominant Christianity from that country that has footprints in Africa.

There were two mediations of gender power relations at play in my interpretations: the one that is imbedded in the Christian teachings in question and the one that is entrenched in the South African Constitution. I thus examined the extent to which ideological hegemonies shape the normative directives of Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum against the backdrop of the ideological character of the South African Bill of Rights. I viewed the latter as a political intervention that aims to deliver gender equality and justice in the form of human rights. I decoded samples of teachings for evidence of values, beliefs and ideologies that obstruct this democratic process and uphold the root ideological causes of realities such as generational poverty, Gender-Based Violence and the demonisation of members of the LGBTQIA+ community.

Critical:

In this study, I investigated the extent to which North American ―media" industries, such as New Evangelical/Fundamentalist broadcasters, align themselves with an imperialist worldview and agenda that hold consequences for the delivery of gender justice in South Africa. My interpretations were rooted in two critical paradigms: there is a relationship between dominance and resistance, and a causal link between inequality, injustice and disempowerment. In this regard communication – discourses and semiotics – is an important site of struggle. It is shaped by political cultural, economic and social perspectives, assumptions and understandings.

My critical departure point was that Global North/Western/Euro-American dominance is evident in the production of mainstreamed globalised secular and Christian ―media". The South African Constitution ―resists" racial, class, gender, sex/sexuality and other forms of domination – the Bill of Rights promises gender equality, justice and empowerment. This begged the following question: to what extent are such dominance and resistance ―playing

out" in the globalised Christian televangelism? In my interpretations I thus aimed to expose manifestations of inequality, injustice and disempowerment in the discourses and semiotics of the televangelists. I brought the discursive interplay between the televangelists and the South African Constitution to bear on the delivery of justice that address the root ideological causes of generational poverty, GBV and the marginalisation and stigmatisation of the LGBTQIA+ community.

In the next chapter I explain my Comprehensive, Critical Rhetorical and Discourse Analysis (CCRDA) research method in more detail. This includes a discussion of the "dual nature" of this method. I also expand on the "how and why" of my data production and sampling process, the key concepts that propelled my investigation and theoretical stances that directed my train of thought.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS, CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

What was my ultimate research goal?

Lövheim (2013c) discusses ―three crucial challenges‖ for researchers that engage ―religion as an individual resource and a social and cultural force in contemporary society, and how the media shape this process‖ (2013c: 191). These challenges centre around ―how to analyze context, how to analyze change, and the question of power‖ (2013c: 191). This describes my overarching goal. I worked to achieve this through my selection of a critical research method, the application of key concepts and theoretical departure points.[1]

1. Comprehensive, Critical Rhetorical Discourse Analysis (CCRDA)

Mahan (2014) argues that

> understanding media, religion, and culture requires paying attention to the material ―stuff‖ of religion, to religious texts, physical and digital spaces, and the sounds that give religion a voice, as well as to what people do with this stuff. Without a clear picture of the material, we are unlikely to understand what people are doing with it. (2014: 123)

In this study I merged both Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Rhetorical Analysis (RA) for the purpose of my *Comprehensive Critical Rhetorical Discourse Analysis* (CCRDA). I did so to ―understand‖ the intersection between North American televangelism and gender equality

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[1]For valuable insight into research methods and theories in this field see, Schofield Clark and Chiou, 2013.

and justice. This research method allowed for socio-political, semiotic, rhetorical and communication theories to guide me.

The identification and interpretation of institutional injustice and abuse of power – framed within a democratic understanding of ethics – were central objectives of the CDA component of my research. I aligned macro political and socio-economic rhetorical processes with those evident in micro discursive texts. I recognised North American televangelism as multi-dimensional and powerful Western/Westernised/Global North institution. By applying CDA I was able to situate my examination of the linguistic and semiotic character of the texts within the larger national and global contexts in which they are distributed. I therefore investigated not only the South Africa context in which gender injustice is still a reality, but also globalisation. This was done from the vantage points of the televangelists and the South African Constitution.

The RA approach in my research led to the application of various rhetorical variables. I did a detailed examination of the televangelists' texts (teachings) as communication that could persuade individuals and groups about public matters. I focused my attention on the power of their discourses and semiotics and identified and described how the texts in question uphold gender power imbalances.

My concurrent use of CDA and RA resulted in a coherent exploration of the ideological character of globalisation and globalised North American televangelism, but also the causal link between these phenomena and gender inequality and injustice. It resulted in a comprehensive understanding of the potential influence of North American televangelism on the delivery of gender justice through the South African Bill of Rights. My dual methodological approach assisted me to constantly foreground the relationship between the televangelists, the South African Constitution and gender inequalities and injustices. It furthermore facilitated my exploration of the causal link between global power relations, social institutions, and globalised texts.

Through my use of CCRDA I interrogated both the macro and the micro dimensions of power relations and the global reproduction and resistance of these through and in North American televangelism. My examination of the extent to which harmful ideological hegemonies are embedded in Jakes' and Bynum's rhetoric was systematic, exhaustive and explanatory. In combining RA with CDA I grounded my in-depth analysis of the rhetoric in the audio-visual texts within an over-arching ethico-political conceptual perspective.

1.1 CCRDA and methodological schools of thought

In 1979 Ben Armstrong, of the Evangelical Association of National (USA) Religious Broadcasters, stated that;

> I believe that God has raised up this powerful technology of radio and
> television expressly to reach every man, woman, boy and girl on earth with the
> even more powerful message of the gospel. (Armstrong, 1979: 7)

―Armstrong,‖ argues Horsfield ―saw God through these media creating a new kind of church, an electric church – ‗a great and new manifestation of the church created by God for this age'‖ (Horsfield, 2015a: 248). This stance can be associated with an instrumentalist departure point; one that is now slightly passé in media and religion studies (technological determinism). I would argue that this approach remains relevant today. My attention was thus focussed on media, in this case the audio-visual medium, as ―instruments‖/tools that are strategically applied for the ―transmission‖/distribution of content (religious messaging).

I did not take an unconditional technological determinist stance or apply a transmission model unconditionally. Steiner (2016) argues that there is ―epistemological blindness‖ evident in notions that ―the primary feature of human communication is the conveyance of information and ideas from place to place and, ultimately, from mind to mind‖ (Steiner, 2016: 4). I do not view media simply as technological ―carriers‖ of communication that are

expected to bear fruit.[2] I took the personal, social, cultural, political and technological dynamics that are embedded in human experiences and interaction into account (Horsfield, 2015a: 5). Horsfield asserts that

> social reality itself is a mediated phenomenon, a communication ecology in which individual and social exchanges take place within a social matrix that is already rich in communicative materials such as traditions, material practices, symbols, artifacts, technologies and techniques, institutional structures, and patterns of relationships. To understand media then, one needs to look not simply at individual media technologies, but also at the cultural contexts in which these have emerged and to which they contribute. (2015a: 5)

I consider ―the media" to be more than mere ―vehicles" for ―neutral information". They are – as Bari Atwan's study evidenced – often conduits for belief – and value-laden interpretations (meaning making) and representations that individuals, groups and movements share. As Daniel Stout argues;

> [h]umans inevitably seek community and will assuredly find it in some combination of mediated and nonmediated experiences. From the standpoint of pragmatics, the issue is not how the electronic church is undermining community, but how audiences instinctively use media to build community within a complex array of experiences. (Stout, 2016: xii)

Ward asserts that

> audience not only made individuals choices about what to consume and how to interpret and act upon its message; collectively they create... ―interpretive

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[2]Relevant in this regard is Quentin Schultze's critical theories on the New Evangelical/Fundamentalist movements' embrace of the ―mythos of the electronic church" – the notions that mass media communication was a divine gift to spread the Christian faith and message globally. See Schultze, 1987.

communities"[3], people brought together by a shared interpretation of media.
(Ward, 2016b: xix)

Of relevance in this regard are the theories of David Holmes (2005). Communities have foundational, shared religious worldviews. Shared beliefs, values and norms could result, in practice, result in political outcomes that entrench power imbalances. It is this possibility – which the Trump victory has now highlighted, that motivated my ethico-political theoretical approach. In light of the ―blurring of the line" between state and religion in South Africa, of importance is the assertion of Scott Dunn and Adam Tyler that;

[t]he emerging body of research on politicians' evolving use of religious language raises intriguing questions about possible parallels or disjunctions with the political discourses of the electronic church and tactical adjustments of its message. (Dunn and Tyler, 2016: 36)

I would argue that there are causal links between the content of the omnipresent New Evangelical/Fundamentalist electronic church and the prevailing global political, economic and social order. The theoretical character of my study is therefore grounded in sociocultural and political theoretical traditions within media and communication studies.

It was not my primary goal to examine the characteristics of the *medium* that ―carries" the strategic communication of the televangelists' in question, but the *content* of the audio-visual medium that they utilise; more specifically, the potential ethico-political implications of it in a South African constitutional democracy. Jason Wrench (2016) asserts that ―keeping a critical eye on ―Christian radio" [and television] has real importance for gauging political discourse in the United States" (2016: 181). He argues that ―even in the digital age, the ―old media" of broadcasting still carries much of the weight in creating evangelical consensus on the movement's social and political agenda" (2016: 181).

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[3]For insight into this theoretical concept, see Lindlof, Thomas, R., ―Interpretive Community: An Approach to Media and Religion" in *Journal on Media and Religion* I (2002): 61-74 (p.72. cited by Ward).

The same can be said about the potential influence of such USA societal catalysts on African (and thus South African) political discourses. Of note is Ward's (2014) argument that

> although the electronic church has adjusted its messaging tactics in response to social change, the larger metanarrative of evangelical mass media have remained remarkably consistent for more than a century. (2014: 117)

1.2 The "What", "How" and "Why" of CCRDA

My application of CCRDA had more than one aim. I examined the audio-visual teachings of Jakes and Bynum to critically examine *what* they say, *how* they say it and *why* they say it.

I accept Ruth Wodak's (2009) proposition that critical discourse analysis (CDA) is not focused on ―investigating a linguistic unit per se". (Wodak, 2009: 2), but rather the study of multifaceted social phenomena through the application of multidisciplinary approaches. This proposition suggests that there is a dialectical relationship between their teachings (discursive event) and ―the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Fairclough and Wodak propose that discourse

> is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. (Fairclough and Wodak, 2009: 258)

I applied CCRDA to widening the analytical lens through which I viewed the communication/discourses of the televangelists in question wide as possible.[4] My overarching objectives were to

1. Investigate how gender and gender power relations are constructed (mediated) in Jakes' and Bynum's teachings.

2. Examine to what extent their biblical interpretations[5] re-enforce the harmful political, economic and social ideological hegemonies and power imbalances that characterised colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. In other words: if they engage in the re-colonisation and neocolonisation of African Christian convictions.

With these objectives I situated my study within a media effects research tradition (media agenda-setting models) and within a political communication theoretical stance. In order to ground this explanation, I will now shed more light on the nature of my CCRDA.

1.2.1 Critical examination of "the What"

I prioritised the rhetorical character of the televangelism in question. Cheryl Potgieter and Sarojini Nadar (2010) argue that ―rhetorical criticism[6] is an examination of how a text persuades us of its point of view" (Potgieter and Nadar, 2010: 48). They propose that

> traditional modes of rhetorical criticism examine the mechanics of a text and analyze how a speaker or author structured the text to make the text to make an argument and thereby persuade the audience. (Potgieter and Nadar, 2016: 208)

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[4]I built therefore on the solid foundation that has been left by feminist scholars such as Razelle Frankl, Janice Peck, Marie Gillespie, Purnima Mankekar, Brigit Meyer, Rosalind Hackett and Ruth Marshall-Fratani.

[5]For example their representation of marginalised and vulnerable women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and lifestyles.

[6]I shed light on the ideological criticism that marked my analysis when I discuss the key concepts in this study and that my holistic gender justice stance rest upon.

John Katsion (2016) discusses Barry Brummett's theory (1991) that rhetoric serves both social and deliberate purposes and singles out Brummett's proposition that, in order to determine the social function of rhetoric, attention should be transferred from the speaker/s to the audience (Katsion, 2016: 156). Brummett theorized that rhetoric is ―the social function that influences and manages meaning" (1991: xii) and suggested the ―site of struggle" be moved from the text ―which is merely product, to the logics that create texts, and to choices among and awareness of those logics and how they position us" (Brummett, 1991: 89).

Connable asserts that a ―narrative accumulates rhetorical power by responding to a perceived crisis and by manufacturing crisis" (Connable, 2016: 186). In my critical examination I identified rhetoric around themes such as the crisis in masculinity, the social vulnerability of the single women, sexuality, gender power relations and economic vulnerability. Applying Katsion's proposition that themes need to be held together in a coherent whole by a ―glue" or homology (Katsion, 2016: 159), I identified overriding shared notions of God's will and/or divinely sanctioned orders, of sin and liberation and of empowerment through obedience and faith as potential ―glue".

1.2.2 Critical examination of "the How"

There was a ―how" dimension in my CCRDA and one that is substantiated by Mahan's assertion that

> paying close attention to the elements of narrative (e.g. character, narration, plot and dialogue), visual composition (e.g. point of view, angle, editing, lighting, and color), and musical structure (e.g. meter, timbre, and rhythm) provides a clearer picture of the forms of these created worlds, their internal structures and logic. (Maha, 2014: 125)

In this study I chose to ―listen and watch more carefully" (Mahan, 2014: 124). I examined the televangelists' use of specific communication methods and processes – which, apart from their personal biblical interpretations, constitute a dimension of mediation – to explore how these reinforces the beliefs, values and norms that they aim to convey. Hence I viewed the rhetorical discourses that I examined – Jakes' and Bynum's primary language use in speech, but also their body language/communication and physical actions – as forms of social practice.

I analysed the televangelists' homiletical (preaching) style for the application of communication practices that assist to capture the attention of their audiences and to enunciate and accentuate their normative directives. Of importance was to also critically examine the signifying elements that characterise their rhetoric. I identified signs and symbols that carry and strengthen the ideological values that are entrenched in their normative directives.

1.2.3 Critical examination of "the Why"

I went ―beyond mechanics and mov[ed] into the terrain of politics" (Duerringer, 2016: 208) to address the ―why" aspect of the televangelists' strategic communication. I thus reflected on ―the material conditions that motivate an utterance" and what resulted from it and ―scrutini[zed] the rhetorical act to illuminate the consciousness – the unacknowledged commitments and assumptions – that undergird the act" (2016: 208-209). Of importance was to reflect on the ―ethico-political implications of adopting that consciousness" (2016: 209). My examination was thus firmly rooted in Philip Wander's (1984), proposition that ―[ideological criticism] takes in a set of assumptions about the connections between consciousness, human communication, and social justice" (Duerringer, 2016: 209).

I concur with Connable's assertion that ―rhetorical theory teaches us that persuasion only occurs when speaker and audience work from a common assumption" (Connable, 2016: 184).

It is my proposition that the televangelists in question and many of the believers in the South African audiences that consume their products share a particular commitment to a certain specific Christian spirituality, notions of God's authority and that the latter is under attack in a secular society. I would argue that there is a shared resolve to ―hold onto" specific Christian convictions at a time of increasingly diverse beliefs, values, views and practices in both the USA and contemporary South Africa.[7]

In my engagement of Jakes' and Bynum's communication content, I drew on the argument of Fairclough: ―discursive practices may have major ideological effects" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). They assert that such practices

> can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258)

One of the important objectives of my CCRDA was therefore to examine the teachings in question as manifestations of ―media" (discourses) that influence the organisation and structuring of political, economic and social life. Particularly as such organisation and structuring hold implications for relationships between individuals and groups with different political, economic and social markers.

There were key concepts that served as ―anchors" in which the ethico-political nature of my examination was grounded. I viewed the strategic communication of Jakes and Bynum as potential dynamic sites for the unfolding of a *chain of consequence* – causal links between beliefs, values and norms, dominant hegemonic ideologies and gender power imbalances.

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[7]The scope of this study did not include a focus on audiences. Of importance for continued examination of the argument that globalised North American televangelists and many South Africans ―share a common assumption" see, Chong and Druckman, 2007. The scholars identify four steps as a methodology for research on framing, particularly in political communication.

1.3 A "Chain of Consequences"

It is my argument that strategic (*purposeful*) communication – the conduit for ideological beliefs, values and norms – is at the heart of inequality and injustice and the conflict that is related to these political, economic and social realities. Duerringer's (2016) argues

> communication is symbol use and therefore preceded by assumptions that specify appropriate modes of expression, qualify persons as appropriate subjects, and guide appropriate interpretations of meaning. Further, communication propagates ideology insofar as participants are prompted to accept, at least conditionally, the assumptions and values required to make sense of the symbol use. (Duerringer, 2016: 209)

Also of importance is Hoover's (2014) assertion that

> today we can see that processes of mediation and communication are at the center of religious meaning, practice and evolution, and that their logics actually determine what it is possible for religious or spiritual impulses, practices, networks, and movements to be or to achieve. (Hoover, 2014: xiv)

By applying an ethical stance in my research, I viewed the religious messaging of Jakes and Bynum through the filter of beliefs, values and norms and investigated how their ‒sacred" directives mediate secular understandings of equality and justice.

One of the key concepts that was at play in this study was *religion*. In my CDA of Jakes' and Bynum's normative directives, I recognised religion ‒as it functions in society...as part of a larger society that is served by the religion" (Mahan, 2014: 8). I propose that there is a relationship between ‒the media" and the political landscape of any given society. Maxwell McCombs's (2004) argues that ‒the media construct and present to the public a pseudo-

environment that significantly shapes how the public views the world". (McCombs, 2004: 22.[8]

In terms of the ethical nature of my investigation, the following questions pertained:

1.   How do the *interpretations* (mediated religious beliefs, values and norms) give content to a divine will?

2.   To what extent do the televangelists' mediated religious directives encourage the notion of a God that favours constitutional gender equality?

This brings me to a key concept that propelled my critical analysis: a *chain of consequences* that exist between, beliefs, values, ideology and power. *Ideology* and *power* are central ―pillars‖ of this concept. I would argue that beliefs and values are the building blocks that constitute ideologies and that the latter holds profound power implications. I brought Fairclough's interpretation of *ideology* to bear on the rhetoric that I examined:

> Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to
> establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation.
> They may be enacted in ways of interaction (and therefore in genres) and
> inculcated in ways of being identities (and therefore styles). Analysis of
> texts…is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique….
> (Fairclough, 2003: 218)

Hence my application of ideological criticism as analytical method in this study. Duerringer posits that ―ideologies promote particular material relations that are frequently unjust and demand scrutiny‖ (2016: 209). Such criticism was my primary methodological aim. I examined the Televangelists' normative directives traces of hegemonic ideologies that

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[8]I reflect on a media effects theoretical stance when I shed further light later in this chapter on the media and communication theoretical media approach that shaped my thinking.

prescribe appropriate topics for investigation, authorize particular subjectivities to speak from particular locations, and provide appropriate modes of enunciation" (Duerringer, 2016: 209). I examined their rhetoric for manifestations of ideologies that

> promote particular material relationships that empower some while disempowering others, that make visible some objects of discourse while occluding others, that legitimate particular subjectivities while delegitimating others? (Duerringer, 2016: 209)

Cheryl Potgieter and Sarojini Nadar argue that ―ideologies offer explanations for the real world in which people live" (Potgieter and Nadar, 2010: 51). In their African feminist critical rhetorical discourse analysis of the normative directives of the founder of the ―Worthy Women Conference" (WWC), Greta Wiid, they propose that through her teachings Wiid helps her followers to ―make sense of issues" (2010: 51). In so doing, she relies on manifestations of patriarchy and sexism.

Two methodical grids focused my conceptual analysis and interpretations;

1.   The ideological hegemonies that I wish to argue are root causes of gender power imbalances: racism, post-racialism, neoliberal capitalism, consumerism and class materialism, hetero-patriarchy (e.g. sexism, homophobia and heteronormativity) and the justification of militarism/the use of violence. Most of these hegemonies, I would argue further, were entrenched in the worldviews that propelled colonisation, slavery and Apartheid and denied the ―Other" her/his universal, natural human rights and thus justice.

2.   Those human rights in the South African Constitution that pertain in a particular fashion to gender equality and the empowerment of women.

In terms of the concept of *power*, I analysed the *what, how* and *why* of the televangelists' the teachings as of religious communicators that have the power to influence power relations. I considered them as religious figures that have an amount of authority over those that listen to them. Hence an aim of my CDA was to examine how the discourses that are embedded in their teachings either resist or reproduce power abuse of one group/groups over others.[9]

Potgieter and Nadar reflect on the value of feminist discourse analysis that ―deals with critique of hierarchically gendered social order" (2010: 144). They draw on the CDA theories of John Thompson (1984) and prioritise the role that ―language realised in speech and writing" play to maintain gender inequalities (Thompson, 1984: 144). Building on the theories of Vivian Burr (1995) they point out that the term *discourse* could also encompass ―a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, and images that in some way produce a particular version of events" (Nadar and Potgieter, 2010: 145).

Nadar and Potgieter rely on the theories of Norman Duncan (1993) and Cheryl Potgieter (1997) to prioritise the way in which for*men*ist[10] discourse ―reflects, entrenches and justifies discourses of racism, sexism and heterosexism through the media, academia, families and religion" (Nadar and Potgieter, 2010: 145).

In my CCRDA, I did not only have micro manifestations of power imbalances through ideological hegemonies in mind. I also prioritised multi-dimensional manifestations of exclusion, underrepresentation, marginalisation, misrepresentation and exploitation.

Theorists that engage in CDA show ―the common interests in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)" (Wodak, 2009: 3). This task propelled my examination. My CCRDA

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[9]I understand such abuse of power as being related to gender, race, class, other differentiating markers, and violence.

[10]I shed light on this concept when I introduce it as a central component of one of the theoretical frame works that underpinned my CCRDA in the next chapter.

allowed for me to ―reveal recurrent patterns of inequality, domination and oppression within the complexity and diversity of intersecting contexts" (Lövheim, 2013c: 193).

What is the relationship between my CCRDA and the theoretical train of thought – particularly on communication – that I applied in this study?

Wodak argues that within a CDA paradigm ―all approaches are problem-oriented, and thus necessarily interdisciplinary and eclectic" (Wodak, 2009: 3). In order to investigate the worldviews that direct the televangelist' teachings and to critique, but also to contribute to a change in imbalanced political, economic and social gender power relations, I merged various interdisciplinary theoretical stances. I was intent on engaging their social cognition; the way in which they organised attitudes through their strategic communication. Hence my integration of more than one social scientific theories.

2. An Interdisciplinary Approach

My CCRDA examination was underpinned by theoretical frameworks from five relevant disciplines: media and communication studies, gender and feminism studies, religious studies, theology and political science (social ethics). I had, however, a primary field of interest: media and communication studies.

2.1 Media theories

My ―media" theoretical approach was rooted within a ―push-back" paradigm. Of relevance in this study was the *media effects* theoretical traditions. Ripley Smith and Mark Seignious (Smith and Seignious, 2016) argue that these traditions ―have demonstrated that audience attitudes on significant social issues are influenced by how these issues are covered in the media" (Smith and Seignious, 2016: 103). Hye-Jin Paek and Zhongdang Pan assert that

media play a significant role in shaping people's values and value orientation in contemporary society....Media content may articulate a value, demonstrate its applications, and foster a cultural environment for its adoption as preferred standard for social comparison (2004: 495).

In this study I drew and built not only on *media agenda-setting*[11] models in media studies, but also on *culture-war theoretical*[12] models. I furthermore viewed North American televangelism through the lens of *practice*.[13] In this regard I accept Horsfield's (2015a) assertion that

media need to be approached and analyzed, not only just from an atomistic way that looks at individual situations of communication but also as a holistic cultural matrix that forms around patterns of mediation, including groups and traditions of practice, patterns of production and consumption, protocols of power and authority, political associations, sources of identity, hierarchies of technical competencies, shared sensory expectations, and protocols of performance, experimentation, and change. (Horsfield, 2015a: 7)

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[11] *Framing*, *agenda-setting*, and *priming* are fundamental departure points in media research. Agenda setting theory holds that mass audience are influenced by the emphasis that the media places on given issues, so that issues given greater coverage are perceived by audiences as more important. Priming theory extends the agenda-setting hypothesis by holding that, when audiences perceive certain issues as more important, they use these issues as markers for making judgments about political issues and candidates. Thus both theories assume that audiences form attitudes and make judgements based on media coverage that is most accessible to them" See Dunn and Tyler, 2016: 137-138. I drew and built on the theories of scholars – from various disciplines – that have contributed to this theoretical position, for example Michael Parenti, Maxwell Mc Combs and Donald Shaw.

[12] In ―Settig the Evangelical Agenda: the Role of ‗Christian Radio'", Jason Wrench (2016) situated his theorising within reflections on ―how evangelical media discourses construct the foil or ―other" against which evangelical identity and community is counter posed" (Ward, 2016b: xxii). By applying McCombs and Shaw's media agenda-setting theory (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) he analyses ―culture-war rhetoric" (Ward, 2016b: xxii) and sheds light on the role that both conservative Evangelical strategic mass media industry networks (syndicators of specific programming) and clergy (as representative of the listening audiences) play in setting specific political and social agendas.

[13] Of relevance is Couldry's proposition of a practice approach to media that starts

not with media texts or media institutions, but from the media-related practice in all its looseness and openness. It asks quite simply: *what are people* (individuals, groups, institutions) *doing in relation to media* across a whole range of situations and contexts. (Couldry, 2012: 37)

I will now expand on media agenda-setting and cultural wars trains of thought and specifically as these relate to my concept of *defensive, combatant sanctification communication.*

Wrench argues that ‟as long as there have been politics, people with agendas have tried to persuade those around them" and that ‟the modern invention of mass media...gave this dynamic a new twist" (2016: 176). He offers a basic model for media agenda-setting in which he draws a causal link between media agenda, public agenda and political agenda and asserts that

> those who control a given medium transmit their agenda...and thereby impact their publics' agenda – which in turn impact what is deemed politically important in society. Yet even media moguls must, to retain listeners and viewers, be attuned to what their publics are thinking. Thus, their publics' evolving political agendas continuously circle back and impact the media agenda. (Wrench, 2016: 177)

Wrench states that US-based organization *The Focus on the Family* ‟is quite open about its positions on a range of social issues, from abortion and homosexuality to stem cell research and transgenderism" (2016: 179). He argues that ‟for many evangelicals, these and other nationally syndicated radio programs reinforce listeners' religious, political, and ideological agendas on a daily basis" (2016: 179). Wrench posits furthermore that

> the regular users of evangelical media were, as compared to lighter users, more likely to be conservative Republicans, to publicly support political candidates, to take public stand on social and political issues, to speak out from the pulpit during elections, and to participate in partisan politics. (Wrench, 2016: 179-180)[14]

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[14]See Guth et al., 2003: 501 – 514.

Wrench also asserts that ‒in turn, ministers can exert a strong influence on churchgoers' voting behaviour", often functioning as ‒opinion leaders when followers look to them for religious interpretations of social and political issues". The scholar points out that ‒at the same time, however, many clergy attune their own communicative behaviour on political issues to the agendas of their members" (Wrench, 2016: 180).[15]

This substantiates my concept of *sanctification communication*. It also strengthens my argument that – at a time of global societal transition – the televangelism of North American New Evangelicals/Fundamentalist demands comprehensive critical examination as manifestations of media-agenda-setting. My motivation for applying this paradigm should be understood against the backdrop of existing theories on *empire* and specifically on North American cultural (religious) imperialism. Alan Wolf (2003/2005) argues that ‒American evangelicalism has been fundamentally transformed and co-opted by the dominant interests in American society (Steiner, 2016: 12). Wolf argues that in the United States

> culture has transformed Christ, as well as all other religions found within these
> shores. In every aspect of the religious life, American faith has met American
> culture – and American culture has triumphed. (Wolf, 2005: 3)

Steiner identifies ‒the depth to which the evangelical movement, and even evangelical identity itself, has been co-opted by political interests (Steiner, 2016: 12). These arguments substantiate my acceptance of a media agenda-setting paradigm and the positioning of this study within cultural imperialism and empire discourse. These also further strengthen my proposition that a process of recolonisation and neocolonisation of the convictions of African Christians have been unfolding in the past three decades.

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[15]Wrench draws here on findings in Djube, P. and Gilbert, C. 2003. *The Prophetic Pulpit: Clergy, Churches and Communities in American Politics*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield). For a perspective on examples of North American Evangelical radio programmes, personalities and sponsors (some of which are present in South Africa) and the conservative political agendas that drive the content of programming, see Wrench's conclusions in Wrench, 2016: 173 – 192.

This brings me to a reflection on the communication theoretical traditions that I drew from and built on in this study.

2.2 Communication theories

Steiner (2016: 7-9) discusses five recognisable communication theoretical traditions that ‑primarily...*describe* observed communication processes" (2016: 9): *cybernetic*, *sociopsychological*, *semiotic*, *sociocultural* and *rhetorical*. Communication is ‑the practical art of discourse" that occurs when a ‑social exigency requir[es] collective deliberation and judgement" (Steiner, 2016: 9).

Steiner argues that the following communication theoretical traditions seek to ‑*prescribe* practices that are just and humane" (2016: 9). Whilst this study does describe the communication practices of the televangelists in question, my primary intent was to contribute towards the development of a just mass media communication ethic – to prescribe practices that are ‑just and humane". This situates my choices of the specific communication theoretical frameworks that I applied in this study within the following traditions: *phenomenological* and *critical*. The concept of defensive, combatant sanctification communication is rooted in the ethico-political character of these traditions.

Some scholars suggest that there has been a noticeable shift within dominant globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist strategic mass media communication. There has been an adjustment away from an ‑offence" to a ‑defence" approach in dominant framing, vernacular and discourses[16]. There is a causal link between individual beliefs, public opinion and the state (Duerringer, 2016: 205). Duerringer states that

> communication is the key for constituting a public....most American
> evangelicals cannot objectively claim to be directly ‑prsecuted" for their faith.

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[16]See Mesaros-Winckles, Christy and Winckles, Andrew O., 2016.

> Yet through the mass media of the ―lectronic church" they have perceived a
> mutual interest in ―wining back the culture"....A public is constituted largely
> by symbolic actions – by communication – that hails people to recognize their
> consubstantiality with other people who perceive a mutual interest. (2016: 207)

In a phenomenological approach, accent is placed on describing ―dialogue or experience of otherness" (Craig, 1999: 133) and scholars prioritise ―the interplay of identity and difference" and argue for ―communication practices that enable and sustain authentic relationships" (Craig, 1999: 138).

In terms of my proposed ―just" mass media communication ethic, I accept David Bohm's notion of a ―collective" mindset, ―in which human communication is reconceived" (Bohm, 1996: 3-4) and becomes a process

> to create something in common, something that takes shape in mutual
> discussions and actions, rather than something that is conveyed from one
> person who acts as an authority to the others, who act as passive instruments of
> this authority. (Bohm, 1996: 3-4)

Critical communication theories aim to challenge ideological biases in and through the use of media mediated communication. In this study I identified and critically engaged discourses where ―hegemonic ideology systematically distorted speech situation[s]" (Craig, 1999: 133). I examined the discourses of Jakes and Bynum for biases that ―unjustly privilege dominant interests and marginalize other voices". Of importance to me was the argument that ―dominant interests secure their positions through discourses that make the status quo seem the only natural and legitimate order" (Bohm, 1996: 11). Craig argues that critical communication scholars ―address such injustices" through ―a process of discursive reflection that moves towards a transcendence that can never be fully and finally achieved – but the reflective process itself is progressively emancipator" (Craig, 1999: 147).

This study is, in more than one way, a response to Steiner's argument that

> even to raise the question of how the electronic church has impacted American evangelicalism is to create a space for considering previously foreclosed possibilities and hearing previously silenced voices. (2016: 12)

In this dissertation I therefore raised the following questions. Does the religious communication in question:

1. Serve as a tool to co-opt South African believers into dominant North America's ideological hegemonies?

2. Subvert the humanist values that are entrenched in the South African Constitution?

2.3 Gender and feminist theories

I have previously already discussed the intersectional, decolonial, pan-African feminist stance in this study. I did not apply a single-minded women-centred theoretical approach in this study. Whilst I was conducting my examination *as* a woman, I was not exclusively *for* women. I purposefully merged a feminist/womanist and gender perspective. I thus analysed how gender is – on various levels – mediated in the televangelism in question. Of importance is Cheryl Hendricks's (2015) assertion that a gender mainstreaming approach (e.g. inclusion and capacity-building) does not take into account ~~the~~ reality of men's resistance to women's equal participation, and outright hostility to anything that might be associated with feminism" (Hendricks, 2015: 52). Similarly, Mama and Abbas (2008) argue that in a post-colonial era

> unfortunately, even Africa's more revolutionary movements were to lapse into patriarchal state-centred politics and economic policies that ensured that national liberation did not mean liberation for women, or victory for pan-

Africanist visions of a liberated Africa. Pan-African feminist movements have emerged since flag independence, as women have risen to the challenge of engaging in a whole new struggle, not merely to secure better political representation, but further – to challenge multi-facetted cultural and material oppressions based on gender and sexuality. (Mama and Abbas, 2008: 4)

These arguments further strengthen my holistic gender justice approach and accent on the inseparable character of the humanist values of equality in justice. I would argue that most expressions of African feminism(s) share many (if not all) of the following fundamental objectives;

1. To prioritise the relevance of contextual particularities;

2. To change unequal and unjust societies;

3. To unmask, challenge and dispel harmful beliefs, values, norms, traditions and practices that hamper gender equality and justice, and the empowerment of women;

4. To affirm the inclusion, dignity, productivity and security of, particularly, African personhoods in the face of local, national and global political, social and economic power imbalances; and

5. To include persons of all sexes in the tasks of transforming societies and establishing equality for all human beings.

Pinkie Mekgwe (2008) broadly describes the decolonisation[17] theoretical approach – ―the decolonisation project" (Mekwe, 2008: 11) – that has been ―shaping debates on African

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[17]I view theories that are offered from *postcolonial* perspectives as prioritising and largely responding to particular common historical-geograpical developments that have held and still hold implications for particular collectives. The intersection between past periods and particular groupings is thus the foundation on

feminism", as constituting an ‒anti-colonial, anti-̱father' stance" and as seeking ‒differences from the West" yet is ‒anti-differences, anti-gender-separatism and pro-male" whilst advocating for ‒female agency and autonomy" (Mekgwe, 2008: 11). The intersectional approach that I applied in this study can, among other things, be aligned to a socialist feminist model. Leslie Steeves argues (1997) that socialist feminism is ‒a useful critical perspective that seeks to recognize diversity (by gender, race, class and by other social divisions) while also locating conceptual and political common ground" (1997: 6-7).

I drew on and built on various recognisable critical feminist media/communication traditions in this study. As already indicated, I engaged the selected data with the understanding that globalised mainstream strategic mass media communication industries are ‒powerful agents controlling and reproducing ideological values in society" (Lövheim, 2013b: 17) I do, however, recognise the diversity in strategic mass media communication representations of gender today and the influence that particularities and complexities of histories, contexts and experiences can have on the shaping of the production of and representations in media texts. In this study I prioritised the African and South African context.

With my conceptualisation of a defensive, combatant sanctification communication theory, I expand on existing *resurgence*, *representation* and *absence* feminist and gender media theoretical approaches. Of importance to me was, among other things, the interpretative value of applying a feminist *framing* theoretical stance. Robert Entman (1993) describes framing as;

> [t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more
> salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem
> definition, causal interpretation, more evaluation, and/or treatment
> recommendation for the item described. (1993: 52)

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which theorising is built. I would argue that a decolonization approach constitutes an epistemological shift towards an accent on values and practices.

Dietram Scheufele and David Tewksbury (2007) posit that

> framing...operates both at a macro level where the _modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information ...resonate[s] with existing underlying schemas among their audiences,' and at a micro level where _people use information and presentations features regarding issues as they form impressions'....Frames may _become invaluable tools for presenting relatively complex issue[s]...efficiently and in a way that makes them accessible to lay audiences because they play to existing cognitive schemas'. (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007: 12)

In light of the gendered lens through which I examined the data, I drew from and built on theories regarding *patriarchal media framing*.

2.4 (Religion) Theological and Political Science theories

In terms of the theological theoretical stance evident in this study, I relied on frameworks that are rooted in a liberation paradigm that prioritise religious interpretations of the concepts of equality and justice[18]. I did so in light of the ethico-political nature of this study and my proposition regarding the development of a just mass media communication ethic. Such an ethic should be applicable in critical examinations of both secular and religious media products; to include a theological perspective is thus important.

The ―why‖ dimension in CCRDA grounded this study firmly in the broad field of political science and, specifically, the interface between political economy and communication (political communication). In this regard I applied theories on *social accommodation communication* and furthermore brought theorists' views on *expansive hegemony* and *false consciousness* to bear on the rhetorical discourses that I examined.

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[18] I propose that *liberation theology* is the foundational theology that propels most expressions of *public theology*, including African feminist theology. For views and theories that substantiate this proposition, see Maluleke, 2010, Vellem, 2007 and Boesak, 2015.

In the next chapter I reflect extensively on my data selection process and the specific theoretical frameworks that I applied in this dissertation.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA DETAIL AND THEORETICAL LENSES

In this study I used examples of the North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism of Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum for the selection of primary data for this dissertation. In the next chapter I explain my motivation for focussing on these two televangelists. I transcribed three audio-visual presentations of each televangelist for the purpose of my CCRDA.

Darnell Moore (2011) researched the use of the Internet (e.g. *YouTube*) by conservative North American Christian preachers to mainstream their normative directives. Her investigation showed how harmful interpretations of gender power roles (dominance and subservience/submission) are mainstreamed through new media tools.[1] Many Black feminist theologians consider new media as ―terrains of conflict" (Moore, 2011: 270). Why then my choice of televangelism as source for my data selection? This question demands an explanation.

1. Why Televangelism?

This question brings me to a discussion of the use of the audio-visual medium and the relationship between ―old media" and ―new media"? It also leads to an additional question: what is the relationship between televangelists and the use of contemporary media tools?

Sleasman describes the media period that we now witness as an age of ―not merely the electronic church" but

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[1]Reflecting on the findings and arguments of Michele Rosenthal, Lövheim points out that ―new media can become powerful tools for religious communities to sanction certain forms of piety that reinforce obedience to traditional, strongly gendered, authorities and strictures" (Lövheim, 2013c: 187).

the full flowering of the Electronic Age Church – that is, the church adapted to a media ecology whose habits of mind privilege sound over print, orality over literacy, immediacy over linearity, feeling over logic. (Sleasman, 2016: 137)

Ward (2016c) argues that ―today's journalistic disinterest in televangelism[2] is matched by scholarly disinterest" (2016c: 194). He argues further that

research on religious television became passé as scholars directed their attention to ―online religion". … We are left with a body of literature on the ―electronic church" that is largely outdated, written when free over-the-air broadcast television was still the primary media platform and the ―50-channel universe" of cable TV was not yet a realty. What then of televangelism in our digital age of streaming and multiplatform viewing? (Ward, 2016c: 194)

According to Stephen Winzenburg's 2004 North American-related research ―it [televangelism broadcasting] is one of the biggest Christian industries with little true accountability" (Ward, 2016c: 195). Twenty-six broadcasters that he had investigated had, collectively, ―spent more than a billion dollars, most of it raised from viewers". I concur with Ward's assertion ―the medium of ―Christian TV" remains integral to the evangelical subculture" (Ward, 2016c: 195).

Certain contexts (.e.g. North America and Europe), televangelism – as manifestations of omnipresent New Evangelical/Fundamentalist electronic churches – might have become less visible, but ―remains a decisive social institution for the evangelical movement" (Stout, 2016: xviii). Within the African (and thus South African) context it is not only visible, but constitutes the foundation of a popular New Evangelical/Fundamentalist culture. Rather than replacing it, the emergence of ―new media" – e.g. digital and social media – has led to the proliferation of the electronic church.

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[2] Of interest is Joyce Smith's exploration (2013) of how the intersection between women, journalism and religion ―connect and collide" (Smith, 2013: 68). She argues that ―[w]hether or not violence is present, the subjects of religion (particularly Islam), women and reporting get mashed together more often than one might imagine (Smith, 2013: 67).

Ward's stance on the electronic church substantiates my choice of televangelism as source for my data selection. He observes that;

> [E]vangelical broadcasters, both the religious networks and the individual syndicators, have seized on digital media and stream their programs over multiple video platforms. Content is still a key to streaming media – and televangelists are the experts. (Ward, 2016c: 213)

In a ‒new" media age televangelists, and the networks that they represent, have indeed become experts at applying what I would term a *synergetic, seamless strategic mass media communication* approach. This became clear in the research that I conducted into the use of various media tools by non-South African televangelists that are popular in contemporary South Africa. For a summary of this research see Table 1 ‒Social Media Use of Non-South African Televangelists" and Table 2 ‒Televangelist Merchandise Availability: Legal and Illegal" in Appendix A.

The Table 1 illustrates how the televangelists make use of major social media platforms in order to advertise/promote their ministries and teachings. These platforms – particularly *Youtube* and *Facebook* – serve to distribute/circulate ‒trailers" and/or ‒highlights" from the individual televangelist's latest teachings/event presentations. The content of their strategic mass media communication that are mainstreamed through social media platforms such as these are thus extensions or ‒spin offs" of their extended messages.

Table 1 furthermore illustrates how televangelists use these platforms in order to gain new members and grow their followings. The latter becomes clear in the *Youtube* section of the table. This column indicates that each televangelist has relatively few subscribers, those who have followed their particular channel for an extended period, in comparison to a dramatic increase in the number of views per channel, which represents those who may not yet be subscribers, but who access/consume entire clips that are hosted on the channel. The

Facebook column – as indicated by showing "people talking about this page" – serves to further illustrate how the televangelists utilised social media platform supporters to increase their own following through the online sharing of their messages.

Table 2 sheds light on the merchandise that televangelists sell in order to 1) generate income and 2) circulate/distribute their sermons and teachings. This table also illustrates that whilst the televangelists use the sales of their DVDs to generate income, it does not mean that economically marginalised and vulnerable persons cannot access/consume their strategic mass media communication products (e.g. extended teachings/sermons/presentations). This table shows the number of ‒official" products of each televangelist that can be downloaded illegally (for free).

Both tables substantiate my proposition that the televangelists utilise the Internet and social media to recycle and build on their initial extended audio-visual teaching/sermons/presentations (televangelism). Their primary aim is not to generate income, but rather to recruit new followers – including those who may not have the financial means to buy their merchandise. The platforms mentioned in both tables are readily available to anyone with a smartphone. This suggests that economically marginalised and vulnerable persons do not need to pay excessive amounts in order to access, duplicate, consume, utilise and distribute the teachings of the televangelists of their choice. In so doing they become ‒marketers" and ‒campaigners" for the televangelist of their choice.

This research substantiates Ward's argument that

> even if television as we know it is in slow decline, the medium will still matter
> for a very long time....For half a century the electronic church has
> simultaneously reflected and shaped broader trends in evangelicalism and in the
> movement's dynamic relationship with American society. That will continue –
> not matter what screens happen to carry the message. (Ward, 2016c: 213)

The same can be said about South Africa.

The significant economic inequalities in South Africa continue to result in what I would term *technological oppression* and that radio and television (including the use of CDs and DVDs) are still the main informational, educational, inspirational and entertainment sources for millions of believers.

Although North American televangelists mainstream their messaging via various media – each with its own affordances (liberties of action)[3] that create certain advantages – I accept the assumption that it is ―these affordances and their relevance to the needs of a particular society that give a medium its social power and capital‖ (Horsfield, 2015a: 5). Whilst many socially and economically empowered South Africans have the resources, are equipped and feel comfortable to access and capitalise on the basket of media ―tools‖ that an increasing ―high-tech‖ contemporary communication landscape has to offer, a significant percentage of South Africans (if not the majority) remain socially and economically vulnerable. Such disempowerment translates into a lack of resources for and opportunities to acquire access and utilise cutting-edge and mostly costly communication technologies.

The social and economic advances that have been made in the past twenty years might have eclipsed with dramatic global technological proliferation, but not with the delivery of local technological equality and justice. I would argue that many poor individuals, families, groups and communities and marginalised organisations and institutions are still travelling in the ―slow lane‖ of the Internet, digital and social media highways.[4] In terms of the relatively high

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[3]Walter Ong pioneered work on the transition (in the Western culture) between oral and print communication and the impact of mediums that followed later: telephone, radio and television. He advanced the concepts of *primary orality* and *secondary orality*. See Ong, 1982/2012. I accept Ong‘s departure point (1967, 1982), that each medium addresses and activates different physical senses and that these hold consequences for ―social perception and bodily participation.‖ (Horsfield, 2015a: 6) I also accept his arguments on ―how a particular medium sets people in relation to each other, and the influence that has on how relationships and patterns of authority are formed‖ (Horsfield, 2015a: 6). I would argue that the influences of the audio-visual medium are ―subtle and subconscious‖ but ―profound and extensive‖. (Horsfield, 2015a: 6)

[4]My premise about ―technological oppression‖ and existing arguments about global technological power imbalance are important stand-alone research field subjects that demand full attention. The scope of this study did not allow for such research, analysis and interpretations.

mainstreamed profile that the products of North American televangelists have in comparison to those of local South African Christian leaders, the following observation is of note;

[t]he abilities of particular Christian institutions or leaders to adapt their message or practice to available media industries and to establish their own media industries have been important factors in some major shifts that have taken place within Christianity since its earlier days. (Horsfield, 2015a: 6)

The synergetic, seamless mass media communication character of the televangelism that has a footprint in South Africa indicated that there are not only economic, but might also be socio-political reasons for such an approach. It is against this backdrop that I understand Ward's observation that ―the electronic church has entered a new era dominated less by faces and more by corporations" (2016b: xix). War argues that

these evangelical [*sic*] media conglomerates are...incredibly resourced to leverage today's emerging digital media technologies. They are embracing, not fighting, the advent of cross-platform listening and viewing. (Ward, 2016b: xix)

Drawing on the theories of Kathleen Jamieson and Joseph Capella (2008), Connable (2016) argues that

in today's vast media universe, audiences are fragmented; media consumers must *search* for what they want. Still, the ―electronic church" has not gone away. Rather, via digital technology the evangelical mass media enterprise has proliferated – for those who seek out its offerings. Thus, the electronic church in the digital age has become…a vast ―echo chamber". (Connable, 2016: 185)

An echo chamber for what? This is an important question. The domain of the New Evangelical/Fundamentalist omnipresent electronic church[5] – over which the seeds of religious convictions are sown – is vast. Bennet (2016) asserts that

> media are not just information conduits, but are also social environments where people can interact and form communities. And if each new medium also amplifies and extends existing media, then evangelical identity and community shaped in the ―old electronic church‖ will be amplified and extended in the ―new.‖ (2016: 81)

These arguments substantiate the focus that I placed on the *communication content* of the televangelists in question rather than on the diversification in the utilisation of media. I agree with Steiner's (2016) stance that there is little value in making distinctions between North American Evangelicals' applications of ―old‖ and ―new‖ media. A recognition and interpretation of ―the dynamic workings of the evangelical subculture‖ demands a ―bigger picture‖ approach that ―charts cultural continuities in American evangelicalism across multiple platforms‖ (Ward, 2016b: xx-xxi).[6] Therefore my focus in this study on the globalised communication texts of Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum; the locations in which their worldviews – and thus the beliefs, values and norms that constitute the cornerstones of a New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism – are ―housed‖.

2. Data Sampling

Why my decision to select the teachings of Jakes and Bynum as examples of globalised dominant North American televangelism that has a profile in contemporary South Africa?

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[5] Connable argues that ―digital media afford virtually unlimited, borderless, instantaneous access to almost anything. For the electronic church…these media have opened new avenues to disseminate its message‖ (Connable, 2016: 188). He asserts furthermore that hyperlinks ―furnish an illusion of vast resources – these media limit discourse by directing users to a network of equally conservative evangelical outlets that world with and support each other‖ (2016: 197).

[6] See Steiner, 2016.

The ―media‖ products of Jakes are well branded and marketed in South Africa. His ―The Potter‗s Touch‖ presentations are available on CBN and TBN programming on South African Christian channels such as DSTV‗s Faith TV[7]. His teachings have also, in recent years, been broadcast on national public radio stations such as SAFM (SABC) and his presentations can be accessed through live streaming and podcasts. A variety of Jakes‗ teachings are available in print and electronic formats (CDs, DVDs) in South African *Struik* Christian Media bookstores such as PNA, CNA and CUM Books[8]. His faith products are also purchasable from the e-commerce site of T.D. Jakes Ministries, the website of CUM Books and from *Amazon.com*.

Jakes‗ ―Woman Thou Art Loosed‖ (WTAL) series is extensively and multi-dimensionally marketed globally; also in South Africa. These are collections of teachings that formed part of the WTAL conferences that The Potter‗s House hosts annually for women. Inter-genre marketing for the WTAL series is stimulated by two popular culture films of the same title[9].

Originally Juanita Bynum‗s primary profile in contemporary South Africa was that of a gospel music artist and several of her music CDs are available for purchasing from bookstores such as CUM Books and from e-commerce sites (e.g. CUM Books website and *Amazon.com*). The three DVD sermons that I selected for examination are examples of teachings that were, over a period of two years, available to South African faith product consumers through CUM Books (stores and website[10]) and from e-commerce sites such as *Gospel Direct* and *Amazon.com*. In December 2012 several of her DVD teachings – including

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[7]The Potter‗s House has regular weekly slots at strategic times of the day. See http://www.myfaithtv.com/public/docs/Faith%20TV%20Guide%20New%20-%20November%202014.pdf/. [Accessed 17 November 2014].

[8]In 2012 CUM Books had 41 stores across South Africa. In November 2014 it listed T.D. Jakes as one of its top ten speakers and catalogued 419 of his faith products.

[9]A ―Woman Though Art Loosed‖ gospel stage play, directed by the well-known North American director and actor Tyler Perry, preceded the release of two movies with the same title but with two different story lines (2004 and 2012). Both of these films are based on Jakes‗ writing/teachings. Well-established North American actors and actresses were involved in the productions.

[10]In November 2014 CUM Books catalogued 20 of Bynum‗s faith products.

the three that I engaged in this study – were on the ―Top Ten list‖ of the *Gospel Direct* website[11].

Various teachings of both Jakes and Bynum are available on YouTube. I propose that the continuous availability of both these televangelists' strategic mass media communications products indicates consistency in the interest that the South African faithful have in their normative directives.

There are additional reasons for my selection of these two televangelists as samples of globalised dominant North American televangelism.

The scholarly contributions in *Freedom"s Distant Shore: American Protestants and Post-Colonial Alliances with Africa* (Smith (Ed.), 2006a) offer insight into the constructive role that two African American Christian church leaders played in the 1900s in the African continent. Reverend James H. Robinson supported African democracy and nation-building[12] and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. involved himself in the struggle against white supremacy and oppression in South Africa[13].

The publication also sheds light on the affinities, connections and collaborations between African American and African (including South African) Christian leaders and theologies[14]. I would argue that struggles to democratise Africa and rid the continent of supremacy and oppression continue today and are related to gender inequality and the disempowerment of women. Such struggles unfold at a time of continuing ―American religious outreach to contemporary Africa‖ (Smith, 2006a: 1), but also in an era that the ―Africanisation‖ of Christianity‖ is evident. As I argued before, globalised dominant North American New

[11]These included: 1. ―Breaking the Spirit of Jezebel‖, 3. ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel‖, 4. ―Spiritual Authority‖, 5. ―No More Sheets‖, and 8. ―When the Righteous Cry‖.
[12]See the insights in Sarkela and Mazzeo, 2006.
[13]See Lewis Baldwin's analysis in Baldwin, 2006.
[14]For valuable insight, see Dwight Hopkins's reflections in ―A Transatlantic Comparison of a Black Theology of Liberation.‖, 83-109 and Nico Koopman's observations in ―Contemporary Public Theology in the United States,‖ 209-222.

Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism plays a significant role in the recolonisation and neocolonisation of the convictions of African believers. Such televangelism is represented by a noticeable number of African American televangelists. Hence, my decision to focus on two African American televangelists was motivated by;

1.   The historic role that African American Christian leaders have played to address injustice in Africa.

2.   Evidence of past affinities, connections and collaborations, The potential thus of mutually re-enforcing relationships between African American and African (South African) Christian leaders that advocate theologies that hold gender justice implications, based on evidence of past affinities, connections and collaborations.

3.   The profile that African Americans have in dominant contemporary globalised North American televangelism.

Globalised dominant North American televangelism plays in manufacturing consensus and building a collective consciousness around a New Evangelical/Fundamentalist worldview. Jonathan Walton (2009b) argues that it is an ―undeniable fact‖ that American Evangelical Christianity uses religious broadcasting ―as an essential proselytizing tool‖ (2009b: 19). He points out that many scholars have addressed the North American Christian Religious Right, which can be ―read [as] conservative, white evangelicalism‖ (2009b: 19), and critiques the fact that ―televangelism in the African American community has been largely ignored‖ (2009b: 19). This is due to the perception that members of the black (African American) church are opposed to the Religious Right (2009b: 19). Walton contends that

> religious broadcasting is presented as representative of the white Christian
> Right, and African American religion is presented as typically left-leaning,
> more progressive religious orientation embodied by the civil rights movement
> in America. In reality though, the electronic media have been a primary

component of African American Christian practices for nearly a century. (2009b: 20)[15]

Although there are contextual differences between North America and South Africa, there are historical, social and religious similarities between the countries that could encourage South African Christians, specifically those of colour, to identify in a particular fashion with the theologies (e.g. biblical interpretations and normative directives) that are embedded in the teachings of African American televangelists.

I propose that South Africans – particularly Christians of colour – would be attracted to Bynum's teachings because she is a person of colour, a woman and a Christian believer that makes personal witness central to her teachings. She does not shy away from building her normative directives on her own intimate experiences regarding her sexual identity and conduct, and her personal economic and spiritual struggles. This allows for many believers to identify with her in a very personal way. My choice of Bynum was also motivated by the potential influence that her critique of the global church might have. In an African context (also South Africa), where there is historical evidence of the influence of African female religious leaders, her claim to the status and thus authority of ―Prophetess‖ could hold power[16].

Both Jakes and Bynum have been to South Africa in person and have built substantial relationships with local Christian religious leaders and artists[17].

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[15]See Walton's views in ―We Too Sing in America – Racial Invisibility, Respectability, and the Roots of Black Religious Broadcasting‖ in *Watch This! – The ethics and aesthetics of Black televangelism* (Walton 2009b), 19-45.

[16]For valuable insight into the contribution that the Congolese woman Kimpa Vita made to African theology, see Dube, 2012b and Maluleke, 2009.

[17]I offered information earlier on Bynum's relationship with the Johannesburg-based church AMI. As a gospel artist she has performed with various well-known South African artists. In 2007 she recorded a two CD set with world-renowned South African jazz/gospel artist Jonathan Butler. The CDs are described as being ―crammed with joyous vocal tunes, spoken-word spirituals and testimonials‖. See ―Juanita Bynum & Jonathan Butler: Gospel Goes Classic.‖ (Soergel, 2007.) See http://jazztimes.com/articles/18777-gospel-goes-classical-juanita-bynum-jonathan-butler/ [Accessed 13 March 2013]. In 2012 Bynum was the lead artist in the ―Ayihlome International Gospel Blestival‖ that was hosted in Albert Park, Durban from 6pm on 31 December 2012 to 6am on 1 January 2013. The aim of the event was advertised as to ―uplift, replenish and inspire‖. See ―Juanita Bynum joins Benjamin Dube, Hlengiwe Mhlaba for Ayihlome International Gospel Blestival.‖ (Mkize, 2012.) See

3. Data Collection

In ‒The Revolution May Not be Televised...But ‒Redemption" Just Might", Marla Frederick (2010) reflects on ‒the future and global import" (2010) of the religious broadcasting of African American New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists after she had conducted ethnographic research in Kingston, Jamaica. She argues that the impact of North American televangelism is evident globally; especially as it pertains to women (Frederick, 2010)[18]. Fredericks discusses her interview with a woman that holds a leadership position in a local Pentecostal church;

> raped at gunpoint for the third time, her story bears all the weight of unimaginable pain and trauma. The encouragement she received from American televangelists T.D. Jakes and Juanita Bynum was, she insists, central to her healing. Sequestered by a culture of silence, she had never heard anyone speak publicly about rape before the Oprah Winfrey Show, and then a television sermon by T.D. Jakes. Since then she has been an avid follower of his ministry. Jakes' *Woman Thou Art Loosed* series and Juanita Bynum's ‒No More Sheets" testimony of shame and redemption offered Valencia [name

http://www.yeahbo.net/2012/12/juanita-bynum-joins-benjamin-dube-hlengiwe-mhlaba-for-ayihlome-international-gospel-blestival/. [Accessed 16March 2013]. In October 2008 Jakes' ‒MegaFest" was hosted for the first time outside the USA in the Johannesburg Convention Centre. The event was described as ‒part religious festival, part self-help fair, part gospel concert" (Dominique, 2008). See http://www.1800gospel.com/2008/10/td-jakes-brings-megafest-to-south-africa/. [Accessed 13 August 2013]. It was officially supported by, amongst others, the SABC news department and *Metro FM* radio station and the *Sowetan* newspaper. See ‒TD. Jakes Brings MegaFest to South Africa" (Dominique, 2008). See http://www.1800gospel.com/2008/10/td-jakes-brings-megafest-to-south-africa/. [Accessed 13 August 2013]. See also ‒Bishop T.D. Jakes Electrifies South Africa: MegaFest International Transcends Cultural Divides" (Slagle, 2008). See http://www.christiannewswire.com/news/997598221.html/. [Accessed 13 August 2013]. In 2010 Jakes returned to South Africa to again share the stage with another African American televangelist that has a significant profile in the country, Noel Jones. Hosted in Soweto, the event was described as a ‒full day convention offering transformative spiritual, personal and business insights to tens of thousands of delegates. ‒See ‒Bishop T.D. Jakes and Noel Jones in Soweto." (Just Curious News 2010.) See http://www.justcurious.co.za/2010/09/bishops-td-jakes-noel-jones-in-soweto/. [Accessed 13 August 2013].
[18]See http://www.patheos.com/Resources/Additional-Resources/Revolution-May-Not-be-Televised-but-Redemption-Just-Might.html/. [Accessed 20 January 2012].

changed for privacy] a lens through which she could ―see herself‖ and recapture her own sense of dignity and worth. (2010)[19]

This observation substantiates an argument that teachings of the televangelists have the potential to shape the thinking and doing patterns of South African female believers.

Through his WTAL brand, Jakes is associated with gender justice and he has prioritised sexual abuse and domestic violence in some of his WTAL teachings (Walton, 2009b: 118). Walton points out that Jakes‘

> ministerial success is built upon speaking to what he, as well as hundreds of thousands of women who watch his broadcast, purchase his books, and attend his conferences deems to be critical issues affecting women‘s lives. (2009b: 118)

Shane Lee argues that, within the Evangelical African American church, Jakes could be considered as a ―male feminist‖ who acknowledges and affirms ―the concerns of African American women like no other black male preacher of his status‖ (Walton, 2009b: 177). I submit that in his marketing of the WTAL global ministry Jakes targets South African women as a particular group of interest. During the 2012 conference he established a familial (and patriarchal) relationship with such women when he announced the 2013 event as follows:

> Get ready, get ready, get ready...I'm calling my daughters home from all over the world. From North America, from South America, from Africa, from South Africa, from all over Europe, from Australia, from Japan. I'm calling them home. There's going to be a supernatural release. (Jakes 2012b)

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[19]See http://www.patheos.com/Resources/Additional-Resources/Revolution-May-Not-be-Televised-but-Redemption-Just-Might.html/. [Accessed 20 January 2012].

Jakes' normative directives for men are best captured in his ManPower (MP) conferences and series. Apart from hosting these conferences The Potter's House also presents ―Man Talk‖ events in which matters such as the role of men in combating domestic violence are prioritised (The Potter's House, 2014b)[20].

Some of the most advertised and available DVD teachings of Bynum focus on women's empowerment. She is a former member of Jakes' church and his protégé; she was initially included in WTAL conference programmes. Walton argues that after a dispute that saw her being replaced in Jakes' public events, Bynum underwent an ―extreme image makeover‖ (2009b: 226) that resulted in ―a more docile, ‗soft‘, and aesthetically effeminate‖ look and a Bynum that ―now sat supportively in the audience as her husband ministered to women about ―how to love‖ (2009b: 226).

In her public reconciliation with Jakes Bynum

> literally crawled on her hands and knees toward the bishop, who sat approvingly on stage in his chair, while begging for his forgiveness. During her plea in front of a capacity crowd of women, Bynum profusely apologized to Bishop Jakes while attributing her actions to ―the spirit of Jezebel‖. (Walton, 2009b: 226)

In 2007 the televangelist's husband, Bishop Thomas Weeks III allegedly attacked Bynum in public, ―violently kicking her in the stomach and groin‖ (Ahmed, 2007). Walton states that after the domestic violence incident Bynum

> to the chagrin of many activists against domestic violence, hit the media circuit providing an account of the attack that many considered to be overly spiritualized, sensationalist, and self-serving. (2009b: 227)

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[20]See http://www.thepottershouse.org/Local/Local-Ministries/Mens-Ministry.aspx/. [Accessed 20 November 2014].

Of note is a 2012 radio interview (‖Frank & Wanda in the Morning") in which Bynum ‖encouraged the program's listeners to take ownership of their actions as she has in her life" (Manuel-Logan, 2012)[21]. She is cited as stating:

> I've been there and I've done it all. I did the drugs, I've been with men, I've been with women...These were my choices and I made these choices due to a lack of wisdom. (Manuel-Logan, 2012)[22]

Do the normative directives of Bynum and Jakes hold potential influence in terms of the convictions and actions of female believers, particularly those of women of colour?

Women of colour played a determining role in the extended resistance against Apartheid and in the democratic transition that resulted in the country's 1996 Constitution. Their lobbying and activism were also instrumental in mainstreaming women's rights as a national priority[23]. South African women – 51 per cent of the population with the majority being of colour – represent a significant constituency and a segment of the population. Their beliefs, values and norms matter. As was the case during the political struggle, personal religious convictions propel many women's thinking and doing patterns, including their political actions. The Christian religion and manifestations of such spirituality remain dominant in South Africa. This suggests that there is the possibility that Christian women of faith do access the media products of the televangelists in question. Their teachings do therefore have the potential to shape the beliefs, values, norms and practices of many women.

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[21]See http://newsone.com/2025697/juanita-bynum-gay-lesbian/. [Accessed 12 January 2013].
[22]See http://newsone.com/2025697/juanita-bynum-gay-lesbian/. [Accessed 12 January 2013].
[23]Shireen Hassim sheds some light on the role that women played in the run up to and during the democratic transition in ‖Voices, Hierarchies and Spaces: Reconfiguring the Women's Movement in Democratic South Africa. A case study for the UKZN project entitled: Globalisation, Marginalisation and New Social Movements in post-Apartheid South Africa." (Hassim, 2004).

For the purpose of the critical engagement of the normative directives that are embedded in the sermons/presentations of Bynum and Jakes, I selected the following DVD teachings as data for my CCRDA.

Bishop T.D. Jakes:

The WTAL 2012 conference theme was ―You Have It In You: Stir Up The Gift Of God That Is In You – II Timothy 1:16‖ (T.D. Jakes Ministries, 2012). On the back of the seven discs DVD set, of which two of the three teachings that I engaged form part, it is stated that

> [t]housands of women descended upon Atlanta, Georgia to receive the Truth: God *intentionally* formed you with destiny!....[T]his powerful collection of *WTAL* messages ...will help you discover the talent, strength and tenacity you need to accomplish all that God has assigned you. (T.D. Jakes Ministries, 2012)

I also did a critical analysis of the rhetorical discourses that are evident in Jakes‗ teachings ―The Pecking Order‖ (Joshua 6: 20-25) (Jakes, 2012a) and ―The Waiting Jesus‖ (John 4: 23-29) (Jakes, 2012b). In both presentations the televangelist addresses a significantly sized female audience and the original presentations were live streamed worldwide, including to South Africa. I also examined his rhetoric in the teaching ―Conquering the Conflict‖ (Mark 9: 14-29) (Jakes, 2010); a presentation that he delivered during the MP ―Mended‖ conference in 2010. This message was delivered to a sizable male audience and was also live streamed.

Prophetess Juanita Bynum:

In this dissertation I also examined the rhetorical discourses that are embedded in Bynum‗s teachings ―No More Sheets‖ (Bynum DVD3), ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel‖ (Bynum DVD2) and ―Breaking the Spirit of Jezebel‖ (Bynum DVD1). I selected ―No More Sheets‖ on the grounds of the emphasis that Bynum places in this teaching on her status as a divorced

single woman and the choices she had made as a single person. Of importance to me was also the priority she places on, and the interpretations she offers in this teaching, of the concept of *marriage* and her normative directives on ―God‘s will‖ for single women. On the back of the DVD Bynum addresses the (potential) viewer and states:

> You may be asking yourself these questions, ―Why did I have to be sexually promiscuous? Why am I still a partner and not yet satisfied?‖ Trust me when I tell you, that upon completing this walk with me, you will have experienced the working of Satan and will no longer have to become vulnerable to his tactics, because you will have embraced the Spirit. Journey with me to your Divine Destination down the road to ―No More Sheets!‖ (DVD3)

My selection of the teachings ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel‖ and ―Breaking the Spirit of Jezebel‖ was motivated by the fact that in these presentations Bynum offers normative directives on matters related to gender and sexual identity and gender power relations as determining priorities for the global Christian Church.

4. Ethical Considerations

No interviews were conducted as part of my research for this dissertation. I relied on existing scholarship and did rhetorical discourse analysis of samples of the globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in a contemporary South Africa. I obtained ethical clearance for the research methodologies that were applied in my research. See Appendix B.

5. Theoretical Frameworks

It was pointed out earlier that interdisciplinary approaches are often evident in CDA. Such is the case in this study. Whilst I relied predominantly on critical feminist and intersectional theories in the fields of gender, theology, and media/communication, I also drew on critical political science theories. This was done in order to broaden my investigation into a potential dialectical relationship between the rhetorical discourses of globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists and the South African national priorities of political, economic and social justice, deep-rooted societal change and sustained reconciliation.

In line with my interdisciplinary inquiry, I extracted the following helpful concepts from the theoretical work done by various feminist and other scholars; palatable patriarchy (Nadar, 2009), for*men*ism (Nadar and Potgieter 2010; Potgieter and Nadar, 2010), hetero-patriarchy (Judge, 2009), radical reconciliation (Boesak et al., 2010), social accommodation communication (Walton, 2009b); Patriarchal communication (media) framing and expansive hegemony (Steeves, 1997) and political communication (Parenti, 2006). I will discuss each of these concepts and their usefulness for my dissertation.

5.1 Palatable patriarchy

In her reflections on the theology of masculinity that is embedded in the normative directives of the MMC and its founder Angus Buchan in ─Who's Afraid of the Mighty Men's Conference? – Palatable Patriarchy and Violence Against Wo/men in SA", Sarojini Nadar (2009) argues that ─masculinism is the antithesis of feminism" (2009: 20) and cites the understanding of Chris Haywood and Mairtin Mac an Ghaill (2003) of *masculinism* as an ideological system that maintains male power and ─stresses the natural and inherently superior position of males, while serving to justify the oppression and subjugation of females" (Hayward and Mac an Ghaill, 2003:10 in Nadar, 2009: 20).

The scholar identifies various characteristics of the MMC's and Buchan's theology of masculinity. These include the notions that masculinity is in crisis (Nadar, 2009: 20) and that God ("the Lord") is to restore men's leadership roles as "prophet, priest and king" in their homes and societies (*Joy* Magazine, 2008 in Nadar, 2009: 21). Men "should love their wives and their wives should respect and submit to their husbands" (Nadar, 2009: 21) and "men should be able to show emotions and remorse, by crying and repenting (2009: 21-22). Nadar contends that

> in the first instance he [Angus Buchan] establishes hetero-normative principles for marriage, and then asserts that restoring these norms is God's initiative – not his. It is clear how power is established here through an appeal to religious language – after all one can argue with Angus Buchan, but who can argue with God?...The focus on the man as priest, provider and king in his home are reiterated over and over again in Buchan's sermons. (2009: 24-25)

Nadar points out that Buchan denies encouraging male superiority, but that he uses his religious authority to advocate biblical interpretations that set up proportional and hierarchical relations between husbands and wives. By admonishing men to be responsible and loving, he exhibits, however, "a very palatable patriarchy that is difficult to argue with" (2009: 23).

Nadar addresses the causal link between the submissive paradigm and GBV and points out that

> the belief that women must be submissive to their husbands begs the question what are the consequences when women don't submit? ...[T]here are enough feminist research to show that the apparent lack of submission from women is what leads to violence, but also that the belief that men are the heads of homes, is what causes violence to go unchallenged and women to remain in abusive partnerships. (2009: 24)

She rejects dismissals that those who make a link with violence against women misunderstand the concept of headship and argues that ―we should be sitting up and taking notice of the empirical evidence (i.e. the numerous studies conducted on violence), which suggest otherwise" (2009: 24).

In a reflection on the importance of male role models ―who actually value women" (2009: 29), the scholar offers views on the masculinity of Jesus and argues that ―the problem is that not more men are like Jesus" (2009: 29). She contends that

> 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...Jesus certainly did show the men of his time an alternative masculinity, one that not just tolerates but embraces differences, one that is based on mutuality rather than dominance, partnership rather than hierarchy, and most of all on love rather than fear. He was a mighty man indeed, but fortunately one that we don't need to be afraid of. (2009: 29)

In my examination of the characteristics of the globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in South Africa and my critical investigation into what content Jakes and Bynum give to the concepts of *masculinity* and *femininity* and how they construct gender power relations, I examined their rhetorical discourses data for,

1.   Manifestations of masculinism that suggest that men are naturally and inherently superior to women and that male superiority and female inferiority constitute a natural and divine order.

2.   Manifestations of theologies of masculinity and characteristics of palatable patriarchy that suggest that

   a. Masculinity is in crisis.

   b. It is God's will that masculinity is restored.

   c. God wants to restore men's headship (leadership) in homes and society.

   d. Wives should be respectful and submissive followers.

   e. Men should love their wives and should be more responsible in their homes and societies.

   f. Men should repent and show remorse and emotions.

3.   If and how content is given to the masculinity of Jesus.

5.2 For*men*ism

In this dissertation I applied the views that Nadar and Potgieter offer on the for*men*ism that characterises the rhetorical discourses that are embedded in the advice that Greta Wiid gives to women (Nadar and Potgieter 2010; Potgieter and Nadar, 2010). In ―Liberated through submission?: The Worthy Woman's Conference as a case study of For*men*ism" (Nadar and Potgieter, 2010) the scholars reflect on the distinction that Oren Martin and Barak Tjader make between complementarian and egalitarian approaches to gender (2006: 137) and point out that complementarian approaches are often considered as ―less radical" than egalitarian standpoints that reject a theological headship-submission paradigm. Citing Martin and Tjader, they point out that a complementarian approach

recognizes the full personal equality of the sexes, but couples that ‗with an acknowledgement of role distinctions in the home and church.‗ An egalitarian subscribes to ‗undifferentiated equality‗ (in other words, they see no scriptural warrant for affirming male headship in the home or the church). (Nadar and Potgieter, 2010: 148)

The content of Wiid‗s advice columns is discussed as an example of a complementarian approach to gender. The scholars critique the advice that she offers to vulnerable women as a manifestation of a hegemony that exhibits hierarchical social positioning that mostly benefits men (*for* men) (2010: 141). Like masculinism, for*men*ism

> subscribe[s] to a belief in the inherent superiority of men over women (in other words, only men can be leaders), but unlike masculinism, it is not an ideology developed and sustained by men, but one constructed, endorsed and sustained by women. (2010: 143)

Nadar and Potgieter argue that ―contrary to feminist beliefs that female submissiveness leads to oppression", the for*men*ist position entrenches and romanticises patriarchy as a ―system of ‗natural order‗ that does not harm women and indeed better[s] their lives" (2010: 144). Submission ―lead[s] to women‗s liberation and to lifelong happy marriages" (2010: 144). The patriarchy that is embedded in the WWC is not forceful but women are still subject to disciplinary control (2010: 146-147).

The scholars reflect on Michel Foucault‗s views on disciplinary power (Foucault, 1979) that – in contrast with sovereign power that is mostly forceful – relies on

> individuals controlling and monitoring themselves and being monitored and controlled by willingly subjecting themselves to the control of scrutiny of experts (for example, religious ―experts"). (2010: 146)

Wiid exercises such disciplinary power by insisting "that women should 'lovingly' submit to their husbands and that they should do so willingly" (2010: 146). Nadar and Potgieter substantiate their argument that for*men*ist discourses serve patriarchal aims by drawing from the observations of John Stuart Mill (1869) regarding the patriarchal indoctrination and subjugation of women. Mill argues that "men do not want solely the obedience of women, but their sentiments" (1869: 27). "All men," suggests Mill, "expected the most brutish, desire to have, in the woman most nearly connected to them, not a forced slave, but a willing one" (1869: 27). He further states that

> all women are brought up from the earliest years in the belief that their ideal of character is the very opposite to that of men; not self will, and government by self-control, but submission, and yielding to the control of others. All the moralities tell them that it is the duty of the women, and all the current sentimentalities that it is their nature, to live for others, to make complete abnegation of themselves, and to have no life but in their affections. (1869: 27)

Nadar and Potgieter introduce the concept of *patriarchal bargaining* and cite William Bradford-Wilcox's view that "conservative Protestantism offers men a 'patriarchal bargain' that offers ... symbolic authority in the home in return for their exercise of greater responsibility for the wellbeing of their families" (2004: 10).

Although for*men*ist discourses might appear "liberatory and harmless" (Nadar and Potgieter, 2010: 151), these discourses are, when viewed through a feminist lens, harmful. Religious leaders such as Wiid, that "claims that she speaks on behalf of God", has "a power over the women who listen to her" (2010: 151). She draws on their "moral and God given duty to submit to their husbands" (2010:151). Nadar and Potgieter reflect on the findings of Isabel Apawo Phiri (2000) and Mary McClintock Fulkerson (1994) to substantiate their proposition that for*men*ist discourse could, ultimately "put women's well-being and fundamental freedoms at risk" (2010: 151). They identify "unacceptably" high levels of violence in South Africa as a challenge and describe such discourses as "dangerous for women" (2010:151). They draw on the argument of Anne Borrowdale (1991) that "if submission continues to be

the ‚theory', then abuse will inevitably continue to be the ‚practice'" (Borrowdale 1991:61). Nadar and Potgieter assert that ―the constitutionally guaranteed rights of women in South Africa will never be fully realized as long as discourses of for*men*ism continues to be endorsed" (2010: 151).

In ―‚Don't touch me on my psychology and religion!' Feminist backlash in a wearable cloak and different voice", Potgieter and Nadar (2010) accept that women (people) who embrace ideologies ―are not merely powerless and ignorant subjects" (2010: 52), but that their consciousness is influenced by the role that *pathos* and *ethos* play in their internalisation of ideologies. In a discussion on psychologisation (pathos) and pastoralisation (ethos) they investigate the influence that Wiid wields by adopting the roles of ―psychologist and priest" (2010: 52).

The scholars draw from Nikolas Rose (1991), who argues that ―psychology has become one of the most popular means by which people seek to make meaning of their everyday life"; a process he refers to as the ―psychologisation of the mundane" (1991: 244). Such psychologisation ―educates the subject in the arts of coping" and allows ―quotidian affairs of life [to] become the occasion for confession, for introspection, for the internal assumption of responsibility". (1991: 244) Potgieter and Nadar point out that ―the ‚business' of religion has become a ‚business' of psychology too" (2010: 48). People who face life challenges are increasingly seeking advice from religious authorities rather than accessing professional psychological assistance (2010: 48). They argue that ―the language of psychology which Wiid usurps is a current day discourse which women identify with" (2010: 50).

Citing Potgieter and Reddy (2009) the scholars argue that

> from her [Wiid's] advice it is clear that men's behaviour is constructed as
> inherent, and as a result of culture and ‚being born that way'. Taking the
> argument to its logical problematic conclusion that women should not get mad
> as men are not bad, they are as Potgieter and Reddy (2009: 87) assert: ‚just

behaving in a way which was perfectly acceptable in [their] culture.' Men will not change and therefore it is women who must. It is because of women's emotional and strategic deficits that their men react in selfish ways. (Potgieter and Nadar, 2010: 48)

Potgieter and Nadar assert that ―there is ample evidence of the way in which the subject position of the psychologist is taken up by Wiid through the advice column" (2010: 48). In one case she ―devolves the man of any responsibility for any bad behaviour but blames it on family background including a father that was emotionally absent" (2010: 49) and in another ―her diagnosis for men's bad behaviour is attributed to their upbringing" (2010: 49).

The scholars contend that religious rhetorical discourses are particularly authoritative because they are ―sacred" (2010:51); the roles of ―priest and prophet" are conjured up (2010:51). Wiid establishes herself as a religious leader and ―imbues herself with a particular authority" (2010:51). Potgieter and Nadar point out that

> in traditional Aristotlean rhetorical terms she imbues herself with a particular ethos. The ethos of a speaker encompasses those characteristics which establish authority and credibility ...Religious ethos has a particular credibility, especially to believing audiences. (2010: 51)

Wiid's response to a woman who asks ―how she can be subservient while being dynamic" is that ―God is mad about dynamic women" (2010: 51). The scholars point out that

> by making this statement Wiid takes on the role of a prophet, but also suppresses it. A prophet is regarded as a person of authority who speaks as through divine inspiration or conveys what God is saying….[B]y asserting what God feels…and what God does…Wiid immediately establishes herself as an authority. She wields the power of a prophet and a pastor… (2010: 51)

As is the case with psychologisation, harmful ideologies are ―masked and neutralised when religious leaders take up prophetic and priestly roles that offer them an ‗ethic of character'" (Potgieter and Nadar 2010: 52). Such roles establish them as mediators for God – the faithful do not hear their voices but God's voice (2010: 52).

In my critical analysis of the rhetorical discourses that are embedded in the normative directives of globalised dominant North American Evangelical/Fundamentalists televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum, I identified:

1.   The following characteristics of for*meni*sm:

    a. Suggestions that there is equality of the sexes but such equality is linked to role distinctions in the home and society.

    b. Scripture is used to justify male headship.

    c. Patriarchy is entrenched and romanticised through normative directives that advocate that male leadership and female submission is the ―natural" or divine order and that submission ―liberates" women and guarantees them happy marriages.

    d. Normative directives that suggest that a ―godly" or ―pure" woman submit to the husbands willingly.

    e. Manifestations of patriarchal bargaining that offer men authority in return for greater responsibility in their homes and societies.

2.   Evidence that the televangelists build their authority and power over those who listen to them by taking up the role of a psychologist that:

a. Addresses existential realities that people can identify with and uses these to introduce personal spiritual responsibilities.

b. Absolves men from taking responsibility for their bad behaviour and attributes men's bad behaviour to circumstances beyond their control.

c. Spiritualises the bad behaviour of men and the oppressive circumstances women find themselves in and attributes these to women's irresponsible conduct, emotions, lack of faith and ―disobedience" to God.

3.   Evidence that the televangelists build their authority and power over those who listen to them by claiming that they speak on behalf of God.

4.   Evidence that patriarchal aims are equated with God's will or presented as God's orders.

5.3 Hetero-patriarchy

In ―In the Garden of ‚good' and ‚evil': Lesbians and (in)visible sexualities in the patriarchy" Melanie Judge (2009) argues that, like race, class and gender, sexuality is socially constructed and influenced by norms, values and stereotypical roles (2009: 12). She contends that

> we live in a world in which identities, including gender and sexuality, are constructed through hierarchical dichotomies: male-female/man-woman/heterosexual-homosexual. It follows a similar pattern to race with its white-black division, in which white often equals ‚good' and black ‚bad'. Each dichotomous position comes with its prescribed roles, values, expectations and responsibilities. (2009: 12)

These positions, argues Judge, creates "socially appropriate" feelings and thinking and doing patterns on "how to be 'man', 'woman', 'gay', 'straight'" and "craft the contours of 'right', and 'wrong' and 'good' and 'bad' sex" (2009: 12). Drawing on the theories of Anne Cranny-Francis, Wendy Waring, Pam Stavropoulus and Joan Kirby (2003: 1-40) she asserts that the patriarchal notion that "*bodies* determine the superiority of men and the inferiority of women" is a manifestation of biological determinism and that "sex is only *a theory about human* beings which divides them into two biologically-based categories (male and female)" (2009: 12). Judge cites Glassgold and Iasenza (Glassgold and Iasenza (Eds.) 1995: 19-38) and points out that sexuality and gender shape each other.

> Gender, by extension, is the 'natural' splitting of the world into masculine and feminine experiences. This split between 'good' and 'bad' gender identity extends to sexuality with heterosexuality socially positioned as 'good, mature sexuality' and homosexuality as 'bad, primitive sexuality'. As such, gender relations in the patriarchy demand a particular sexual system – called heterosexuality. (2009: 12)

Building on the views of Cranny-Francis et al. (2003) Judge asserts that in the patriarchy male sexuality is privileged as the "active" sexuality whilst female sexuality is deemed as "passive"; motherhood being its "natural" expression (2009: 12). "Social pressures are applied to men and women," states Judge, "to ensure that 'real men' and 'real women' only exist within this notion of heterosexuality" (2009: 12). Judge identifies lesbians as being representative of "deviant, minority sexualities" (2009: 12) and states that

> those sexualities that don't conform to dominant moulds are stigmatized and pushed to the margins. Non-conforming sexual identities are varied and include gay men; transgender people; HIV positive people who are sexually active; women who refuse to have sex with their husbands; women with multiple partners; women who report rape; sex workers and others whose behaviors and identities disrupt gender norms. (2009: 12)

Judge attends in a particular fashion to the threat that lesbian women pose to the hetero-patriarchy, arguing that a lesbian woman ―does not inhabit the role of female sexuality; neither does she represent the female gender (which is constructed through relationships with men)" (2009: 12-13). The lesbian woman defies and disrupts the heterosexual prescription by having ―a sexuality that is potentially autonomous from the male" (2009: 13).

> She must be silenced, invisibilised, insulted, raped or even killed. Her sexuality
> remains obscured – ‗what do lesbians do in bed' – her masculinity undermined
> – ‗how can she be a man without a penis'. Even when she conforms to the
> feminine, she is still, by virtue of her sexual expression, a threat. In this sense
> the lesbian represents ‗evil'. She is invisible in plain sight. (2009: 13)

Sexism, homophobia and other prejudices serve a hetero-patriarchal hegemony that is not only about same-sex sexuality, ―but also involves upholding the stereotype of male sexuality and male gender" (2009: 13). Derogatory terms and insults, contends Judge, are used to wield power and establish and perpetuate the barriers between the ―normal" and the ―stigmatized" (2009: 13).

Judge concludes that ―religious doctrine and the practice of patriarchy are deeply interconnected and that existing gender and sexual relations have been entrenched through religious discourses" (2009: 15). She reflects on Genesis 3:16[24] as an example of biblical ―discourse of male superiority, women's subjugation, prescribed heterosexuality and motherhood" (2009: 15) and argues that

> we have to break the dichotomies of good/evil, male/female, and gay/straight.
> And we need lots of gender trouble makers to do this work within religious
> fraternities, in order to challenge the formative myths that perpetuate gender
> and sexual inequalities. (2009: 16)

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[24]Revised Standard Version (RSV): To the woman he said, ―I will greatly multiply your pain in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you."

In this dissertation I examined the rhetorical discourses of globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum and focused specifically on identifying messaging that:

1.   Privilege a hetero-patriarchal view on gender and sexual identities as "natural"/"good"/"godly".

2.   Ascribe specific roles, responsibilities, expectations and values to the concepts of *male-female* (maleness-womanhood) and *man-woman* (masculinity-femininity).

3.   Prioritise heterosexuality as the "natural"/"good"/"godly" sexual system.

4.   Advocate that male sexuality is the "active" sexuality and female sexuality is "passive".

5.   Prioritise the marriage between a "real man and woman" as ultimate "godly" adult relationship.

6.   Prioritise motherhood as ultimate expression of female sexuality.

7.   Exhibit manifestations of sexism, homophobia and other prejudices that marginalise, stigmatise or demonise non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities.

8.   Are rooted in biblical interpretations that justify hetero-patriarchy.

5.4 Liberation theology/public theology

In *Radical Reconciliation: Beyond Political Pietism and Christian Quietism* Allan Boesak and Curtiss DeYoung (2012) critique reconciliation processes that constitute ‒political accommodation" that does not ‒address the critical questions of justice, equality, and dignity that are so prominent in the biblical understanding of reconciliation" (2012: 1). They contend that such processes favour the rich and powerful whilst ‒depriving the powerless of justice and dignity" (2012: 1). Arguing for reconciliation that is ‒radical" they assert that political accommodation ‒employs a language that sounds like the truth but is, in fact, deceitful" (2012: 1).

The scholars' theories are rooted in ‒grass root realities, reconciliation reflections, postcolonial critique, feminist insights and liberation theology" (2012: 2). They introduce the concept of *Christian quieitism* and state that

> Christians measure these matters with the yardstick of the gospel and therefore know better. When we discover that what is happening, is in fact, not reconciliation, and yet for reasons of self-protection, fear, or desire for acceptance by the powers that govern our world seek to accommodate this situation, justify it, refuse the risk of challenge and prophetic truth telling, we become complicit in deceitful reconciliation. We deny the demands of the gospel and refuse solidarity with the powerless and oppressed. (2012: 2)

Boesak and DeYoung propose that there is a dominant ‒biblical postcolonial reconciliation process that became an inauthentic form of reconciliation defined and dispatched from the womb of privilege" (2012: 153). They draw on the views of Michael O. Emerson and Christian Smith (2000) who argue that, as far as racial reconciliation in North America is concerned, discourses have in recent years shifted from black to white communities and that accent is today placed on individual reconciliation (2012: 153). Emerson and Smith also contend that dominant discourses on reconciliation lack ‒radical components" that ‒challenge social systems of injustice and inequality" and ‒confess social sin" (2000: 67).

132

Christian reconciliation, propose Boesak and DeYoung,

> is radical, costly reconciliation: not papering over the cracks, knowing it is not possible between equals. It calls for systemic justice, a radical reordering of power relationships and sustained transformation of society. (2012: 154)

The scholars state that ―[r]adical reconciliation means that the deeply personal does not cancel out the thoroughly systemic" (2012: 155) and conclude their reflections by proposing that the battleground for radical reconciliation is today relocated in the real and everyday vulnerabilities, suffering, oppression and marginalisation of people (2012: 156-157).

In my critical investigation of the gender justice implications of globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism (e.g. the normative directives of Jakes and Bynum) that has a profile in South Africa, I reflected on the extent to which the content of such televangelism contributes to deep-rooted societal shifts in power relations and sustained (―radical") reconciliation in a multi-tiered post-Apartheid South African society in transition. I examined the content of such televangelism for discourses that:

1.   Exhibit solidarity with powerless and oppressed people and identify and challenge inequalities and injustices that favour the rich and powerful.

2.   Shift the focus away from individual/and personal empowerment and reconciliation to communal empowerment and reconciliation.

3.   Address gender inequalities and injustices by name.

4.   Manifest prophetic calls for systematic and structural gender justices.

5.   Prioritise and serve the interests of South African women who face vulnerabilities, suffering, oppression and marginalisation related to generational poverty, their non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and GBV.

6.   Contribute to a shift in gender power relations (race, class, gender and sexual identity) in contemporary South Africa.

In *Dreaming a Different World: Globalisation and Justice for Humanity and the Earth* (Boesak et al., 2010) the URCSA and ERKG Globalisation Project task team[25] states that ―the church and theological arguments should acknowledge that the symbols of gender, race, and class are socially constructed" (Boesak et al., 2010: 65) and offers a theological understanding of gender power relations:

> The Lordship of Christ reveals a new humanity and a relational anthropology in Christ. Humanity can envision a new relatedness in Christ's image. It is in Christ's relatedness towards us that non-relationality is overcome and we are established in a new humanity. Christ moves us from non-relational apathetic beings to relational and compassionate beings. This relatedness questions hierarchical patterns and enables us to relate anew with one another as respected children of God. (2010: 65)

It is argued that humanity is participating ―in the images of God in Christ's new community" (2010: 65); a community in which domination and oppression are challenged and questioned and respect, compassion and justice are lived in and through Christ (2010: 65).

In my critical examination of the gender justice implications of the globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in South Africa (e.g. normative directives Jakes and Bynum), I identify discourses that:

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[25]Task team members included African feminist theorists such as media studies theorist Christi van der Westhuizen, African theologians Puleng Lenkabula and Anlené Taljaard and feminist theologian Antje Donker.

1.   Challenge and question gender and sexual domination and oppression.

2.   Encourage compassionate, inclusive community relations that are based on respect for all human beings.

3.   Advocate equality between women and men as foundation for the liberation of both women and men.

In ―Contemporary Public Theology in the United States and South Africa", Nico Koopman (2006) reflects on the relevance of public theological discourses in a contemporary South African context and the various spheres of a modern democracy that are influenced by churches and theologies. Drawing from the theories of Dirkie Smit (1996), he identifies these as being the political-, economic-, civil society- and public opinion spheres (Koopman, 2006: 212). He introduces James Gustafson's views (1988) on the manifestations of moral discourse: prophetic discourse, narrative discourse, ethical and technical discourse, and policy discourse. Prophetic discourses often exhibit ―indictment" that ―points to the roots of moral or social problems" or these discourses come in a utopian form that evokes hope and ―proclaims an ideal state of affairs in the future and motivates people towards its realization" (2006: 213). Koopman argues that ―in dialogue and engagement of theology with the various spheres of society on issues like social and economic justice, attention is to be given to all these discourses" (2006: 213). He points out that

> a cherished notion in Christian theology about which Liberation Theology reminded us ...is the conviction that God is especially the God of the poor, the destitute, and the wronged. The acid test for our social and economic discourses, policies, and priorities is the question on how they impact on the most vulnerable in society. (2006: 214)

Koopman draws on James Cone's (1999) appeal to theologians to prioritise a prophetic dimension of theology to substantiate his (Koopman's) argument that in a contemporary

South African context – where political but not economic liberation has been achieved – ―critical prophetic speaking in order to address poverty and economic injustice deserves our attention" (2006: 215). He also reflects on the views of Cornel West (1982. rpt. 2002) who stresses the importance of a thorough understanding of

> the internal dynamics of the society from which people must be liberated. Without this clear-cut social theory about what is, it is difficult to say anything significant about what can be. The possibility of liberation is found only within the depths of the actuality of oppression. Without an adequate social theory, this possibility is precluded. (West, 1982 rpt. 2002: 111-113)

Koopman proposes that ―in a new complex context of democratization, modernization, globalization, and post-modernism, we need this analysis for the sake of faithful living today" (2006: 317). He refers to the various modes that Smit identifies as vehicles through which the church and theology have the potential to impact on a society:

> *Worship services* have the potential to transform people into people committed to justice and the social and economic transformation of society; various *practices of congregations* (both related to spiritual formation and social service) may enhance the realization of a society of humaneness; *denominations and ecumenical bodies* may engage in a range of programmatic activities intended to show solidarity with the marginalized and the wronged and *individual Christians in their normal daily roles and in voluntary organizations* may bring into these two contexts spiritual resources derived from their institutional church involvements that move these contexts in truly progressive directions. (2006: 218-219)

Koopman recognises the globalised context in which churches and theologies are evolving at present as one that facilitates ―higher levels of interconnectedness and interdependence of nations" and one that's makes ―greater ecumenicity, greater interaction, and greater fellowship" possible (2006:221). He concludes with the assertion that past engagements and

dialogue between North American and South African theologians have resulted in the assumption that ―the faithfulness of any public theology is measured in terms of its attention to the agenda of the poor, marginalized, and the destitute" (2006:221).

In this study I investigated globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism as manifestation of globalised electronic churches with teachings and ministries, in which public theologies are embedded, that have the potential to influence the South African political-, economic-, civil society- and public opinion spheres. Hence I examined the content of the teachings of televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum with a number of aims:

1.   I engaged globalised dominant New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism as source for globalised North American televangelism and investigated if the theologies that are embedded in this manifestation of Christianity move the globalised world in a progressive direction towards gender equality and justice.

2.   I examined the rhetorical discourses that are embedded in the teachings of globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum for prophetic discourses that:

   a. Identify the moral roots of social problems.

   b. Exhibit utopian discourses that offer alternative visions of hope and ways in which these can be realised.

   c. Address the everyday realities from which vulnerable South African women – the poor, marginalised and destitute – must be liberated.

3.   I investigated how the teachings of such televangelists encourage those that listen to them to work for gender justice and the transformation of gender power imbalances (race,

class and gender and sex/sexual identity) in the political-, economic-, civil society- and public opinion spheres of that country.

5.6 Social accommodation communication

Walton reflects in *Watch This!: The Ethics and Aesthetics of Black Televangelism* (2009b) on the role that African American televangelism (black televangelism) plays as manifestations of a ―ritual of accommodation". He argues that such strategic Christian mass media communication re-enforces certain cultural myths that are already embedded in the dominant North American society (2009b: 179-198). He explains that cultural myths are widely accepted grand narratives of any given society that ―both guide that society and glue it together" and ―bind people together through a collective way of thinking that encourages cultural cohesion and stability" (2009b: 179). The stories that a society tells itself, contends the scholar, ―are fundamentally moral in scope and romantic in outlook" and

> distracts attention away from disturbing experiences of the past and the harsh
> realities of the present by offering a nostalgic tale and an embellished
> conception of what our society is and what persons can expect from a future
> that offers infinite possibilities. (2009b: 179)

Walton proposes that critical questions need to be raised about the role that cultural myths play in public discourses and in the private sphere (2009b: 180). He reflects on the strategic mass media communication - that has ―ecclesiastical aims" (2009b:180) - of particular North American New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists. These religious leaders include T.D. Jakes, Eddie Long and Creflo Dollar. Walter asserts that in their religious broadcasting there are ―dominant themes and messages" that are ―based on persistent cultural myths concerning American society" (2009b:180). These myths are presumed to be true (2009b: 180).

The first myth that Walton discusses is The Myth of American Success (2009b: 180-185) that encourages the notion that ―neither family lineage, nor class can supplant individual ability to

control one's destiny… Success is deemed the reward for moral virtue and good personal character" (2009b: 180).

Such a notion ―obscure[s] the social and tragic dimensions of life" (2009b:181), argues Walton. According to such a myth

> the self-made man or woman is essentially an ahistorical, decontextualized character who can guide his or her own destiny over and through the complex web of social relations (2009b:181).

The dominant themes of personal and economic empowerment that are embedded in African American religious broadcasting presuppose that ―the larger society is conducive to social mobility on a large scale" (2009b: 182). Discussing the theologies of *Word of Faith* preachers such as Creflo Dollar, Walton contends that for Dollar ―America's social systems are inconsequential" (2009b: 183), and that the normative directive that advocates ―commercial enterprise as a means of African American social upliftment" presupposes that ―America's capitalist economy is just" and that there is ―equal opportunity for wealth attainment in any society where he ministers" (2009b: 183). Walton states that in such a paradigm

> the magico-religious rituals of forming a covenant with God through the Word, positive confession, and seed sowing allow persons to reach a state of *metaphysical physicality* that surmounts the restrictions of America's capitalist economy. (2009b: 183)

The scholar argues that the ―recirculation of melodramatic mantras and cultural myths obscure the real economic and social conditions that parishioners face" (2009b: 185).

The second cultural myth that Walton identifies is that of ―The Myth of Black Victimology" (2009b: 185-190). He reflects on what I would refer to as post-racialism and links The Myth

of the Strong Black Man to a trend in the past forty years of ―neoconservative academics, public intellectual policy makers, and everyday neighborhood race theorists" (2009b: 185) minimilising the role that race plays in America. He argues that

> end-of-racism discourses assumes that racism can be defined only in terms of
> the personal interactions of individuals rather than the terms of systematic,
> ideological, or institutionalized effects of four hundred years of white
> supremacy. Moreover, anyone who seeks to call attention to the ill effects of
> racism in any form is raising false alarms of white supremacist threat ―|aying
> the race card" for his and her own selfish interests. (2009b: 185-186)

The scholar points out that in recent decades two dominant notions about black people have emerged: that they are not intellectually or culturally prepared for ―full and equal participation in American society" and that African Americans as a whole ―would rather wallow in victimhood and accuse others of racism than accept personal responsibility that could lead to success" (2009b: 186). He asserts that there is ―a new generation of African Americans who became representative spokespersons for this white supremacist view point" (2009b: 186). It is Walton's assertion that such African Americans are thus part of a strategy in which blacks are used ―to regulate their own people and reinforce the mores of the dominant society" and in which there is ―the systematic silencing of African American voices committed to racial justice in the public square" (2009b: 186). He points out that

> oppositional voices that sought to extend the legacy of civil rights activism and
> social justice came to be viewed by the dominant society with skepticism and
> suspicion. (2009b: 186)

The argument about black victimology – that African Americans ―have pathologically embraced victimhood as an identity" (2009b: 186-187) – assumes a colour-blind society and, argues Walton, harmful dominant myths that perpetuate ―the belief that race is reduced to insignificance for African Americans who work and play by the rules to achieve success"

(2009b: 187). Hence the eradication of racism ―begins and ends with the individual" (2009b: 187).

Walton finally reflects on The Myth of the ―Strong Black Man" as ―Saviour of the Race" (2008b: 190-198); the ―most prominent myth expressed in African American religious broadcasting". Drawing on the theories of Mark Anthony Neal (2005:21), he contends that the ―Strong Black Man" is an imaginary hypermasculinist hero;

> essentially a constructed archetype of black male perfection and refinement, the Strong Black Male holds the future of African Americans in his powerful hands. He is a model of racial respectability, familial stability, and economic prosperity. He is respected by old men, emulated by young men, and desired by all women – as either father, son or lover. (2009b: 190)

Offering the theories of Steve Estes (2005), Walton proposes that there is a continued black masculinist movement in American society which originated as a counteroffensive against ―white masculinist terror" in slavery (2009b: 190). He points out that ―the struggle for black emancipation was conceptually bound up with a struggle to assert black manhood" (2009b:190-191) and states that

> many early race men interpreted the social and civic death experienced by slaves as symbolic castration of black masculinity, since chattel slavery made it impossible for African American men to conform to the masculine standards of American patriarchal values. Naturally black men were frustrated by their inability to protect women and children from the physical and emotional abuse of white male domination. At the same time black men still viewed white male patriarchal domination as the authoritative ideal of manhood. Therefore, ever since emancipation, black men have wrestled with this paradoxical relationship to white masculine power that is grounded in both disdain and emulation. The schizophrenic result is that African American men attempt to fight fire with fire, countering white masculinity with black masculinity. (2009b:191)

141

Walton also introduces the views of Patricia Hill Collins (2004) on ‖culturally dominant and enduring demarcation of gender roles and hegemonic masculinity and femininity" (2009b:191). Drawing on Hill Collins he contends that

> hegemonic masculinity becomes the standard by which all ‖real" men are judged. Its benchmarks include being the opposite of feminine (hard, strong and forceful), having control over the women in one's life (girlfriend, wife, daughter), and not being like a boy (boys are quasi-women in that they are less muscular than grown men and have not yet matured into responsibility), and being homosexual (‖real" men are not sissies, faggots or queens). (2009b:191)

As hegemonic masculinity is ‖a parasitic identity – being masculine depends on one's capacity not to be whatever is culturally deemed as feminine, boyish, or gay" (2009b:191) – such an identity is supported by a culturally correlate feminine identity to which men must adhere and without which it is impossible for men to be ‖real men" (2009b:191). Such femininity is benchmarked by

> the appropriate bodily and behavioural demeanour (soft, deferential, and demure), being domesticated (married and managing a family), not being taken for a man (accentuation of bodily parts, straight or long hair, soft and/or light skin) and being heterosexual and sexually pure (a woman's body is meant to be given to one man). (2009b:191)

Walton interprets Neal's views to point out that the consequences of The Myth of the Strong Black Male ‖can be faulted for championing a stunted, conservative, one-dimensional, and stridently heterosexual vision of black masculinity" (2009b: 192). In its manifestations such a vision can range from an ‖idealised romantic form" in which such a man becomes ‖the protagonist who [is] able to redeem the black woman, black family, and larger community by

virtue of their stronger character and testicular fortitude" to more —brutal manifestations" such as the justification of rape (2009b: 192).

Walton argues that —the dominant themes in African American religious broadcasting that are based on the myth of the Strong Black Man are legion" (2009b: 193) and investigates such themes in the normative directives of T.D. Jakes.

In a concluding observation the scholar argues that —pulpit practitioners" have used the advanced tools of mass media to

> create a mythic world of racial harmony and economic justice in the television studios of megachurches and Christian networks across this country. A contemporary class of preachers appears to believe that by creating that world on television they will not have to courageously confront the very real world of white supremacy, class exploitation, and gender discrimination. (2009b: 232)

In my critical examination of the globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in a contemporary South Africa and the rhetoric of televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum, I looked for:

1.   Manifestations of cultural myths that:

   a. Divert attention away from the realities of an unjust South African past and from present day —real life" challenges that face those that listen to the teachings.

   b. Have the potential to create collective thinking among the South African faithful that listen to them on masculinity, femininity and gender power relations (race, class and gender and sexual identity).

2. Manifestations of The Myth of American Success that encourage the notions that:

    a. Despite realities related to familial and class circumstances one can achieve personal and economic empowerment if one has moral virtue and a good personal character.

    b. A covenant with God, positive confession and "seed sowing" places one in the position to overcomes restrictions in the way of personal and economic empowerment.

    c. A capitalist-driven society makes it possible for one to control one's own destiny. In other words: historic and contemporary social realities in one's life do not influence one's ability to be personally and economically successful.

    d. Capitalism is a just system that allows for all moral (–godly") persons to become economically empowered if they assert themselves.

    e. Enterprise (capitalism) is the key that unlocks social upliftment.

3. The use of communication methodologies such as repetition, mantras and slogans that obscure or minimilise the origin, nature and extent of generational political, social and economic realities that are embedded in the society.

4. Manifestations of the Myth of Black Victimology that encourage post-racialism that:

    a. Minimilises or challenges the importance of race by presuming that those that listen to the teachings live in a colour-blind society.

    b. Personalises racial reconciliation and minimilises or omits the systematic and structural roots of the marginalisation, suffering and loss that are caused by institutionalised white supremacy.

c. Questions, challenges or demonises discourses that investigate causal links between race, ethnicity, culture (including faith) and political, economic and social inequalities and injustices.

d. Encourages white supremacy by advocating that black people embrace an identity of victimhood rather than accepting personal responsibility that would lead to their success.

5. Manifestations of the Myth of the ―Strong Black Man" as the ―Saviour of the Race" that advocate:

a. Gender power relations in which a specific manifestation of masculinity is linked – in a hierarchical and dependent fashion – to a specific manifestation of femininity.

b. The notion that a ―real" man exhibits specific hyper masculine characteristics and a ―real" woman exhibits specific hyper feminine characteristics.

c. Masculinism that requires that a ―real"/"godly" man is:

   i. Racially acceptable and ensures his family's stability and economic prosperity.

   ii. Heterosexual.

   iii. The redeemer of women, families and communities.

   iv. Have the responsibility/right to have power over women and girls in his life.

6. Normative directives on masculinity, femininity and gender power relations that have the potential to incite emotional, psychological and physical violence against women with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities.

5.7 Patriarchal communication (media) framing and expansive hegemony

As pointed out in the previous chapter, in *Gender Violence and the Press: The St. Kizito Story*, Steeves (1997) conducts a critical investigation into print mass media communication sources' coverage of a GBV incident at the St. Kizito Secondary School in Meru District, Kenya in 1991. It is her central assumption that ―the messages of mass communication contribute significantly to cultural ideology, that is, to shared values about what constitute appropriate attitudes and behaviours" (1997: 2-3). She also accepts that the *content* of strategic mass media communication (such as news communication) is just one aspect of communication that requires critical attention (1997: 3). In her study, Steeves views strategic mass media news communication production as a hegemonic process; specifically as a process of patriarchy.

The scholar contends that ―mass media, along with other ideological institutions (such as schools, churches, and families), help sustain societal values, and are also capable of challenging them" (1997: 3). She reflects on Louis Althusser's (1971) theory that a society consists of economic (production), ideological (representation) and political (social) components and his premise that such ideological institutions sustain and reproduce social relations and production (1997: 3). Steeves furthermore accepts Antonio Gramsci's (1971) views on hegemony – the processes of cultural rule through the structuring of ideology – and his theory that ideologies ―organise' human masses, and create the terrain on which men [*sic*] move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc." (Gramsci, 1971: 377). Steeves points out that hegemony

> refers to an ongoing *process*, not merely to ideas imposed by the ruling class. It relies on the creation of ideological common ground, or a degree of collective consciousness. It is revealed in everyday life, including popular culture and what is assumed to be common sense. In essence, it is the process by which society are led via structuring and restructuring of ideology, involving both persuasion from above and consent from below. Hegemony is constantly formed and reformed by social practices. (1997: 4)

Introducing Chantal Mouffe's (1979) reflection on Gramsci's argument that a hegemonic class uses processes of domination and intellectual and moral leadership to ―articulate the interests of subordinate (subaltern) groups to its own by means of ideological struggle‖ (Mouffe (Ed.), 1979: 181), Steeves presents Mouffe's views as she discusses the difference between *transformative hegemony* that uses legal and political force to secure unification and win passive consent and *expansive hegemony* that is ―more pervasive and subtle‖ (1997: 5). Expansive hegemony is exercised by intellectual and moral leaders to create consensus (Mouffe, 1979: 182-183). Steeves argues that

> dominant groups remain dominant by securing the active consent of subaltern classes. They do this by accommodating some of the subordinate group's interests but in a way that does not jeopardize dominant interests. (1997: 5)

In expansive hegemony

> elements of an old system may be broken down and then rearticulated to meet a contradiction that has arisen in society, hence forming a system that can better accommodate the new situation. (Mouffe, 1979: 192)

Steeves contends that ―as hegemony is grounded in people's everyday lives, mass media and popular culture constitute important battle grounds for hegemonic struggle‖ (1997: 5). Referring to the views of critical culture studies scholars, she points out that mass media communication content is ―encoded‖ to serve dominant ideologies by favouring certain meanings and excluding or de-emphasizing alternative perspectives (1997: 5-6). The media thus ―functions as agents of expansive hegemony by articulating interests of subaltern classes within the dominant view‖ (1997: 6). Certain media traditions and values play a significant role in reinforcing such expansive hegemonic processes (1997: 6).

Drawing on the theories of Stuart Hall (1980: 129-138), Steeves proposes ―that discourses are *polysemic,* that is, carry multiple and contradictory meanings, yet are encoded to carry

preferred or dominant meanings for audiences" (1997: 7). She argues that "the most powerful global and national institutions are owned and operated by men, and their behaviours are not gender neutral" (1997: 6).

Steeves reflects on feminist cultural studies findings that identify how ideological mass media communication processes and structures both "reflect and contribute to mutually reinforcing forms of oppression" (1997: 8). She engages Todd Gitlin's (1980) exploration of communication (media) framing methods that indicate hegemonic processes in examples of North American news coverage. The scholar directs attention to Gitlin's explanation that

> media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual. (1980: 7).

Gitlin identified the role that the following communication (media) frames play to reinforce the hegemonic economic and political interests of certain strategic mass media news communication organisations that he had studied: trivialisation (making light of crucial matters), polarisation (e.g. emphasising counter-rights messages), marginalisation (further marginalizing vulnerable people by portraying them as deviants) and disparagement by numbers (undercounting). Certain mass media communication traditions strengthen these "biasing devices": the tendency to focus on events rather than context, conflict rather that consensus and individuals rather than groups (Steeves, 1997: 25).

Referring to the studies of Heleen Benedict (1992) and Elizabeth Farstad (1989), Steeves contends that the research of these scholars revealed "considerable evidence of patriarchal hegemony as opposed to feminist points of views" in the framing devices that were used in specific instances of the "media" representation of rape (1997: 25). Steeves draws on both scholars and points out that

[p]atriarchal hegemony is indicated in part via ‗framing devices' …
marginalizing key facts, disproportionately showing concern for criminals
versus victims, grounding explanations in social problems other than gender
oppression, and emphasizing themes and information consistent with rape
myths, including involving intersections of gender, race, and class. (1997: 25-
26)

In conclusion to her study Steeves identifies seven mutually re-enforcing communication
(media) biasing framing techniques – many of these replacement strategies – that served to
support patriarchy in the Kenyan strategic mass media communication sources' coverage of
the GBV event at the St. Kizito Mixed Secondary School (1997: 42-83). These include
ignoring or marginalising rape (1997: 42), an emphasis on government-source explanations
(1997: 48), an emphasis on school-critic explanations (1997: 53), the reinforcement of ethnic
prejudices (1997: 56), the reinforcement of patriarchal rape myths (1997: 63), the
identification of surviving victims but not assailants (1997: 68) and suggestions of survivor-
assailant equality via labels (1997: 78).

In terms of feminist communication (media) framing in the coverage of the St. Kizito GBV
event, the scholar found that although such framing ―both challenged patriarchal frames...and
the common media tendency to focus on events rather than context by exposing and
confronting gender violence and oppression in society as a whole" (1997: 94), such coverage
was ―very small compared to that supporting patriarchal perspectives, and rarely given
prominence" (1997: 95). She points out that

this is consistent with patterns and behaviors of expansive hegemony, which
secure consent by incorporating small amounts of feminism while placing an
overwhelming emphasis on reports favouring the dominant ideology. (1997:
95)

I engaged the globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in contemporary South Africa and specifically samples of the teachings of Jakes and Bynum as case study with the aims to investigate:

1.   How the content of such strategic Christian mass media communication creates ideological common ground and collective consciousness (shared values) on preferable power relations (race, class and gender and sex/sexual identity).

2.   How such strategic Christian mass media communication organises those that listen to the teachings on grounds of their personal struggles and mobilises them towards consensus on certain values.

3.   How the ministries of the televangelists in question exhibit expansive hegemonic approaches and strategies in that they use their influence as moral leaders and their electronic church ministries to wield ideological influence and justify, maintain and encourage gender-oppression.

4.   How the discourses in the globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in a South African constitutional democracy exhibits the following manifestations of expansive hegemonic processes:

   a. There is the active consent and participation of representatives of race, class and gender and sex/sexual identity groups that remain in large part racially, socially and economically subordinate (subaltern groups) in South Africa: mostly poor people, people of colour and women.

   b. There is the articulation (limited or not at all), and thus inclusion, of the interests of vulnerable South Africans, the majority of whom are of colour and poor (the majority being women).

c. There is the presentation of perspectives that challenge the ideological hegemonies that were embedded in colonialism, slavery and Apartheid (e.g. racism, capitalism and classism and hetero-patriarchy – e.g. sexism and homophobia) and the justification of the use of abuse/violence.

d. The interests of people who were/are marginalised and made vulnerable as a result of white supremacy are positioned within the dominance of the hegemonies that were embedded in the worldview that underpinned colonialism, slavery and Apartheid.

e. The use of communication processes and methodologies (e.g. biasing communication (media) framing) that serve the ideological hegemonies that were embedded in the worldview that underpinned colonialism, slavery and Apartheid.

f. Evidence of hegemonic struggles in rhetoric that challenges gender-oppressive ideologies, but evidence of hegemonic dominance – that are detrimental to gender justice – in such discourses.

5.7 Political communication

In *Dirty Truths: Reflections on Politics, Media, Ideology, Conspiracy* Michael Parenti (1996) offers theories on the role of politically conservative North American strategic mass media news communication sources in maintaining societal imbalances in Northern America. He proposes that citizens' awareness of realities and judgement of what benefits them is ‒subject to social control" and influenced by various factors, ‒including the impact of social forces greater than themselves" (1996: 209). The scholar examines the role of strategic mass media communication in this process by contextualising this societal stakeholder's influence within a reflection on the concept of *false consciousness*. He contends that people are often not only unconscious of their situations, but ‒falsely conscious" of the origins, nature and extent of the realities that face them. Their real interests are not necessarily the focus of their attention (1996: 209). Parenti argues that

to deny the possibility of false consciousness is to assume there has been no indoctrination, no socialization to conservative values...and that a whole array of powers have not helped prestructure how we see and define our own interests and options. (1996: 210)

I conducted my critical investigation of the content of, and communication processes and methodologies that are embedded in, the globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in a South African constitutional democracy with the aim to determine what the potential impact of such strategic Christian mass media communication might have on the individual and collective (shared) consciousness of the South African faithful that "consume" such faith products; especially women who continue to be racially, economically and socially marginalised and vulnerable in a post-Apartheid society.

6. Summary of Analytical, Conceptual and Theoretical Framework Application

In this study I explored the concept of "gender justice" as it relates to the globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in a South African constitutional democracy and its positioning of such strategic Christian "media" in the context of globalisation. I applied an ideological analytical approach that is based on the hegemonies that I argue are root causes of gender inequality and injustice and those ideologies that were, in my view, embedded in the worldview that underpinned colonialism, slavery and Apartheid.

In order to investigate the possibility that an overarching hegemonic reality is unfolding globally today, I used this analytical approach to identify the characteristics that globalisation, globalised mainstream mass media news communication, globalised New

Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and globalised dominant North American televangelism share.

Manifestations of racism, post-racialism, neoliberal capitalism and class materialism, hetero-patriarchy (e.g. sexism and homophobia) and the ways in which the use of abuse and violence is justified, were identified through a critical interdisciplinary (mostly feminist) exploration of the rhetorical discourses of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum. The normative directives that are evident in the rhetoric of these televangelists were analysed with the purpose to investigate a primary intersection: causal links between gender, communication (the media) and religion. In order to do so I applied the following theoretical concepts

1.   Palatable patriarchy,
2.   For*men*ism,
3.   Hetero-patriarchy,
4.   Liberation/public theology,
5.   Social accommodation communication,
6.   Patriarchal communication (media) framing,
7.   Expansive hegemony, and
8.   Political communication.

In the next chapter I describe and interpret globalisation and the role of religion and media in this world order. I will also explore my proposition that a global overarching hegemonic struggle is unfolding today.

CHAPTER FIVE: GLOBALISATION AND THE ROLE OF HEGEMONIC STAKEHOLDERS

What are the characteristics of globalisation and who are important stakeholders in the prevailing world order? Are there ideological hegemonies evident in globalisation and how are these maintained? Do globalised religion and ‒the media" play a role in this regard? Do globalisation, dominant news ‒media" and its related ‒media" share ideological biases? These are some of the questions that I explore in this chapter,

1. Globalisation, Globalism and Gender Justice

With reference to the UN Women's report *Progress of the World"s Women 2015-2016: Transforming Economies, Realizing Rights* (UN Women, 2015), the secretary-general of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon argued that the findings and recommendations are offered at a time that ‒the world is poised to embark on a transformative post-2015 sustainable development agenda". He proposes that the report indicates that

> governments and the international community have fallen short on realizing the
> full inclusion of women and girls and illustrates how and where immediate
> action can redress this critical imbalance. (2015: Foreword)

Ban Ki-moon asserts that the content of the report prioritises the importance of respect for and the promotion of ‒specific needs and rights" of women and girls and the need ‒to integrate gender equality in all dimensions of sustainable development" (UN Women, 2015: Foreword).

UN Women (2015) argues that

[m]ilitarism and violent conflicts, the global financial crisis, volatile food and energy prices, food insecurity and climate change have intensified inequalities and vulnerability, with specific impacts on women and girls. Dominant patterns of development have led to increasingly precarious livelihoods. (2015: 26)

These observations demand a reflection on the global ―bigger picture‖.

The turn of the twentieth century has witnessed a noticeable worldwide shift from governmental to corporate power. This trend has and continues to result in economic deregulation, the privatisation of public institutions and the commercialisation of social services that mostly benefit vulnerable and marginalised communities[1]. Arguing the importance of a ―rights-based framework for global economic governance‖ (UN Women, 2015: 226), UN Women relies on Baker‗s assertion that

the current system of global governance exacerbates, rather than mitigates, the problems with macroeconomic policy, reinforcing the divide between ―social policy‖ and ―economic policy‖ and the lack of attention to distributive outcomes, including persistent gender inequalities. (Baker, 2014)

Drawing on the views of Don Slater, Moberg et al. (2015) assert that

globalisation and technological development are intimately connected to a range of significant changes and restructurings of the global political economy following the spread and implementation of neoliberal ideology since the 1980s, the emergence of transnational corporations and the establishment of consumerism as the dominant cultural ethos of late modernity. (2015: 2)

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[1]For a perspective on globalisation see *Year 501: The Conquest Continues* (Chomsky, 1993). The scholar analyses the contours and powers behind and the characteristics and implications for humanity of the prevailing world order.

These characteristics of globalisation hold significant implications for global political, economic and social power balances and justice.

The URCSA and the ERKG Globalisation Project task team explores justice issues related to globalisation in the publication *Dreaming A Different World: Globalisation and Justice for Humanity and the Earth* (Boesak et al., 2010) and defines globalisation boldly as an era of ―empire‖; ―a reality and a spirit of lordless domination, created by humankind‖ in which economic, cultural, political and military power merge and reign (2010: 2). The interests of ―powerful corporations, nations, elites and privileged people‖ are protected and benefitted whilst creation is exploited and humanity is ―imperiously‖ excluded and enslaved (2010: 2). The task team argues that, across the globe, there is

> the colonization of consciousness, values and notions of human life by the imperial logic; a spirit lacking compassionate justice and showing contemptuous disregard for the gifts of creation and the household of life. (2010: 2)

Of relevance in this regard is the assertion of Moberg et al. (2015) that

> the development of modern communication technologies and digital technologies in particular has fundamentally altered not only our means of communication and interaction but also our sense of time and space. As argued by some influential theorists, in an age of instantaneous global communication, social relations have become ever more characterized by relations between ―absent‖ others, locationally distant from any given situation of face to face interaction. (2015: 2)

I propose that the hegemonic nature of globalisation serves power imbalances between the Global North and Global South, but also specific interest groups and, ultimately, individuals. Moberg et al. argue that ―the processes of social change …have … brought about both a

certain homogenisation of life worlds and intensified polarisation between different populations and regions of the world (e.g. between rich and poor)" (2015: 3).

The arguments and views that I presented in the previous chapters established that North America is still one of the most important dominant Western (Global North) powers that sets agendas and influences realities that protect and expand the prevailing world order. UN Women (2015) states that

> [t]he growing integration of the world's economies means that actions taken by one government affect the realization of rights elsewhere. Moreover, the proliferation of agreements to liberalize trade and financial flow between countries limits the policies that individual governments can adopt. Increasingly, this disjuncture between national policy processes and global integration comprises economic management. (2015: 223)

Basing their view on the research of Dowell-Jones, UN Women argues, quite rightly in my view, that

> [t]he United States financial crisis, which affected countries around the world, was due in part to inadequate regulatory safeguards. Innovative financial products are often poorly regulated and contribute to systemic risks that, in the event if a meltdown, generate enormous human costs extending beyond national borders. (2015: 224)

The earlier cited premise put forward by the URCSA and ERKG task team encourages, in my view, a closer examination of the characteristics of and ideological biases in globalisation; specifically as these pertain to political, economic and social power imbalance that hold implications for gender justice.

The present world order is, as proposed above, predominantly an economic one that is increasingly being scrutinized for its embedded neoliberal capitalist ethos – "an ideology of market deregulation...with the promise that individuals would experience great freedom of choice in an enhanced consumer marketplace" (Bennett, 2013: 1).

The URCSA and ERKG task team reflects on *globalism*[2] as an ideology that serves a hegemony that is driven by neoliberal capitalism, arguing that "the worship of money, goods and possessions; the gospel of consumerism, [is] proclaimed through powerful propaganda and religiously justified, believed and followed" (Boesak et al., 2010: 2).

It is also argued that globalisation allows for corporate and financial market decisions that impact severely on the lives of millions of people across the globe (2010: 4). The consequences of continuing global economic instability –unemployment and increased poverty – are most intensely felt in developing nations (2010: 37-38); in sub-Saharan Africa the impact has been particularly devastating (2010: 63). Globally the divide between the economically privileged classes and the working class poor and unemployed has grown substantially in recent decades and has seen the rich getting richer, the "middle class" shrinking and more and more people joining the ranks of the poor that suffer injustices such as chronic hunger.

This proposition is substantiated by the findings at the end of 2014 of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) – with a membership of thirty-four countries – that globally the gap between the rich and the poor was at its highest level in thirty years (OECD, 2014: 1). In a report[3] the OECD stated that

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[2]Charles Amjad-Ali makes a distinction between *globalisation* and *globalism*. The process of *globalisation* is described as "an historical, rational phenomenon, the product of technological, civilizational development", and *globalism* as "an ideological phenomenon" (Boesak et al., 2010: 4).
[3]See "Focus on Inequality and Growth" (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2014).

today, the richest 10% of the population in the OECD area earn 9.5 times more than the poorest 10%. By contrast, in the 1980s the ratio stood at 7:1. The average incomes at the top of the distribution have seen particular gains. However, there have also been significant changes at the other end of the scale. In many countries, incomes of the bottom 10% of earners grew much more slowly during the prosperous years and fell during downturns, putting relative (and in some countries, absolute) income poverty on the radar of policy concerns. (2014:1)

In 2015, the World Bank found that 1 billion people across the world are living in extreme poverty (World Bank, 2015 in UN Women, 2015: 26) and, argues UN Women, ―many more survive without access to basic services and social protection, exposed to recurring economic shocks, ecological crises, health epidemics and armed conflict" (UN Women, 2015:26).

Globally an increase in income inequality has seen the very rich 1 per cent of the world population ―pulling away", while families with lower income slipped behind (OECD, 2014: 4). Hence, I submit that globalisation has worsened the existing economic power imbalance and injustices that marginalised and vulnerable communities face worldwide. This applies especially to those that continue to suffer generational political, economic and social disempowerment and inequality due to centuries of imperialism, colonialism, slavery and in South Africa, Apartheid[4]. I propose that in an era of globalisation, neoliberal capitalism, consumerism and class materialism maintain and exasperate a causal link between race and economic and social inequality. Ossome (2015) asserts that

> neoliberalism's particular (and ongoing) impacts on the continent have been
> weighty. .... [Its] impacts bear particular implications for pan-African cultural
> and political movement, historically concerned with reconstructing and
> explaining global relationship from the perspective of

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[4] A national census survey that was conducted by Statistics South Africa in 2011 confirms a continuing link between race and wealth inequality in that country almost twenty years after the democratic transition in the early nineties. Despite a sharp increase in the income of the households of people of colour (80 per cent of the population), the income of white households still remained six times higher. See ―Census Statistical release (Revised) P0301.4." (Statistics South Africa, 2012).

Africans....Neoliberalism's effects have been felt across...movements by disarticulating economic from political questions, and concealing women's structural positions. (2015: 17)

Because of the vast array of interrelated vulnerabilities that they live with, women and girls, especially in developing countries, suffer the worst impact of the dramatic increase worldwide in the extreme global poverty that globalisation has resulted in[5]. The URCSA and ERKG task team points out that women and girls generally have less social protection than men, and in 2010 seven out of ten of the world's hungry were women and girls and 60 per cent of the world's working poor were women (Boesak et al., 2010: 63).

Gender inequality is, however, not only evident in this manifestation of economic power inequality. Globally, women and girls continue to have less access to secondary and tertiary education than men and boys. As a result women are, more than men, in ―vulnerable forms of employment‖ without job security, benefits or safety standards and they remain under-represented in non-agricultural wage employment. Women and girls, far more than men and boys, are denied opportunities to embark on professional careers (Boesak et al., 2010: 63). Women are, far more than men, pressured or expected to provide vastly under-remunerated or non-compensated labour in the private and community/public sphere. The majority of women in the world (predominantly women of colour) face threats and vulnerabilities that are directly related to their economic disempowerment; human trafficking is one example of such threats and vulnerabilities. The above-mentioned task team argues that the trade of people is one of the most lucrative illegal economic activities today, with the majority of those who are trafficked being women and girls (e.g. as ―spoils of war‖, labourers and sex workers). In 2010 an estimated 80 per cent of those that were trafficked transnationally were women and girls; girls constituted 50 per cent of the total (2010: 64).

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[5]For a gendered perspective on globalisation, see the observations of Puleng Lenkabula, Christi van der Westhuizen, Anlené Taljaard and Antje Donker in the chapter entitled ―Becoming a new humanity: Globalisation and Gender Relation‖ in *Dreaming a Different World: Globalisation and Justice for Humanity and the Earth* (Boesak et al., 2010), 63-67.

Apart from injustices that are rooted in economic imbalances, women across the world also face an array of additional gender inequities that are caused by ideological hegemonies such as hetero-patriarchy (e.g. sexism, heteronormativity and homophobia) and by the use of abuse and violence that are entrenched in these hegemonies. There is evidence that confirms a relation between hegemonic dominance and violations of women's rights (e.g. rights to safety and security, gender and sexual identity and reproductive health).

In 2013, Amnesty International USA linked GBV to governments' and societies' failure to protect women's rights and ─a global culture of discrimination...that legitimises the appropriation of women's bodies for individual gratification or political ends" (Amnesty International USA, 2013c)[6]. In that year one in three women in the world experienced violence that manifests and reinforces gender power imbalances. Such violence included being ─abused in custody, raped by armed forces as ─spoils of war," or terrorised by violence in the home" (2013c)[7]. In 2012 it was estimated that 603 million women and girls still lived in countries where domestic violence was not considered a crime (UN Women, 2013)[8]. In 2014, GBV against female students in schools and on university and college campuses, and against women with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities were recognised as global scourges.

GBV is both a cause and a consequence of HIV (UN Women, 2012a)[9]. In sub-Saharan Africa – the world region with the highest burden of HIV/AIDS – young women represent the majority of new infections and their high risk status is now linked to gendered vulnerabilities and violence. Nduku Kilonzo points out that

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[6]See   http://www.amnestyusa.org/our-work/issues/women-s-rights/violence-against-women/.   [Accessed   23 November 2013].
[7]See   http://www.amnestyusa.org/our-work/issues/women-s-rights/violence-against-women/.   [Accessed   23 November 2013].
[8]See   http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2012/11/getting-to-zero-working-together-to-end-the-twin-pandemics-of-hiv-aids-and-violence-against-women/. [Accessed 28 December 2012].
[9]See   http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2012/11/getting-to-zero-working-together-to-end-the-twin-pandemics-of-hiv-aids-and-violence-against-women/. [Accessed 28 December 2012].

young women who have experienced intimate partner violence or who are in relationships with low equality are at greater risk of getting infected with HIV, compared to those who do not experience violence. (UN Women, 2012a)[10]

Millions of women are denied the right to decide whether or how they have sex (including the use of condoms). Dean Peacock of Sonke Gender Justice Network argues that women's HIV transmission risk is significantly increased

in a world where many men still equate manhood with dominance over women, sexual conquest and entitlement to women's bodies, and where too many men use violence to reinforce and police inequitable gender norms. (2012a)[11]

In 2012, it was estimated that 222 million women did not have access to modern contraception and in the developing world nine thousand unintended pregnancies happened every hour. Unsafe abortions claimed the lives of 47 000 women yearly and maternal deaths were rampant. Globally, it was particularly young women between the ages of fifteen and nineteen that died due to pregnancy related complications and in childbirth (UN Women, 2012b)[12].

Heterosexism and homophobia propel various manifestations of gender power imbalances across the globe. LGBTQIA+ individuals face hate-violence (sexual violence and physical assault) and discrimination in housing and health care (Human Rights Watch. 2013)[13]. In 2013 consensual same-sex relations and acts were still criminalised in an estimated 40 per cent (seventy-six) of UN member states (Itaborahy and Zhu, 2013)[14]. Consensual same-sex

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[10]See http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2012/11/getting-to-zero-working-together-to-end-the-twin-pandemics-of-hiv-aids-and-violence-against-women/. [Accessed 28 December 2012].

[11]See http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2012/11/getting-to-zero-working-together-to-end-the-twin-pandemics-of-hiv-aids-and-violence-against-women/. [Accessed 28 December 2012].

[12]See http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2012/12/removing-barriers-to-women-s-participation-fuels-economic-development/. [Accessed 28 December 2012].

[13]See http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/09/26/un-landmark-ministers-meeting-lgbt-rights/. [Accessed 7 November 2013].

[14]See http://old.ilga.org/Statehomophobia/ILGA_State_Sponsored_Homophobia_2013.pdf/. [Accessed 21 November 2013].

relations remained illegal in thirty-eight African countries, with lobby groups in many sub-Saharan Africa nations pushing for the extension of existing discriminatory laws (Amnesty International USA, 2013b)[15].

These findings on HIV infections, GBV, unintended pregnancies, maternal deaths and the marginalisation of the LGBTQIA+ community substantiate my view that there has been a significant re-emergence of hetero-patriarchal (sexist, heterosexist and homophobic) worldviews on womanhood and gender roles globally in the past thirty years. I wish to argue that this global phenomenon should be recognised as a general push-back against the progress that is being made with the normative legal mainstreaming of women's rights and empowerment of women. I would argue further that the noticeable increase in the brutality and pervasiveness of various forms of gender abuse and violence (e.g. economic, emotional, psychological and physical) is an indication of the passionate convictions that fuel this ―knee-jerk‖ reality.

The URCSA and ERKG task team asserts that ―a pervasive spirit of destructive self-interest‖ prevail in an era of globalisation (Boesak et al., 2010: 2). Bennett substantiates this notion in his identification of a ―consuming emphasis on personal lifestyle affordance as the building blocks for a meaningful life‖ (2013: 21). In his reflection on the way in which particular notions and manifestations of individualism have in recent decades distorted the moral language of rights, Nicholas Wolterstroff argues that

> [a]n ethos of possessive individualism employs the language of rights for its
> own purpose. But for the origin of the ethos we have to look elsewhere: to
> modern capitalism, to that understanding of liberal democracy that says that the
> governing idea of such polity is that everyone is to be ensured equal freedom to
> act as he and she sees fit. And deeper: to the dark side of the human self, to the
> flaws that afflict all of us and always have, to our inveterate inclinations to

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[15]See http://www.amnestyusa.org/research/reports/making-love-a-crime-criminalization-of-same-sex-conduct-in-sub-saharan-africa/. [Accessed 7 November 2013].

> pride and self-preoccupation and to hardening our hearts to the plight of the
> other. We twist the culture of rights to our malign impulses. (2008: 388)

What Bennett and Wolterstorff describe is the logical outcome of decades in which unqualified individualism – that challenge the African philosophy of *Ubuntu* – has been unconditionally encouraged by the powers that govern the global dominant culture. Hence my proposition in Chapter One that a just South African society is more likely to be realised in a social democracy than in one that is built on neoliberal capitalism and class materialism. Bennett proposes that in an era of globalisation

> the focus of a great deal of social, political and economic life…has been up
> close and personal, as exemplified by expanding numbers of self-help books,
> multiplying therapeutic talk programs [and] ever-surprising reality TV genres.
> (2013: 21)

It is my view that the individualism and personalisation that are embedded in globalisation are detrimental to justice for vulnerable women; a significant global population group. The identification and dismantlement of systematic and structural gender inequities requires, in my view, consensus and mass mobilisation. A growing global focus on personalisation and a continuing culture of destructive individualism isolate and marginalise vulnerable women further by prioritising individual rather than group interests. Such ideological tendencies discourage and interrupt holistic and sustained women's empowerment initiatives as attention is directed away from deep-rooted and sustained analysis of and responses to gender power imbalances.

A critical question that needs to be raised is *how* the hegemonies that are embedded in globalisation – neoliberal capitalism and class materialism, hetero-patriarchy (e.g. sexism, heterosexism and homophobia) – are reinforced, maintained and expanded in an era of globalisation. This requires a critical investigation of the structures and institutions that have

significant profiles and influence in the present world order and have the potential to serve as vehicles for harmful ideological values and hegemonies.

2. Global Ideological "Vehicles"

Religion and ―the media‖ are two of the most important global societal catalysts that are, as Althusser and Steeves proposed, ideological in nature. They have the potential to shape mindsets, attitudes, norms and beliefs that propel traditions, practices and power relations. The analyses that I provided in the previous chapters shed light on the influences that ―the media‖ have on global gender equality and confirmed that globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and its related ―media‖ industries (e.g. globalised North American religious broadcasting networks) have established significant in globalisation. The characteristics that are embedded in these global role players therefore required critical engagement.

2.1 Globalised strategic secular mass media communication – North American news media as a case in point

Globalisation has ushered in a ―media millennium‖ that is characterised by unprecedented technological advancement. The past three decades have witnessed a proliferation in communication (media) technologies that has swept away geo-political and cultural borders and barriers. Public information is ―washing‖ over the global village. Drawing from the theories of Jacques Ellul (1981: ch. 2), Clifford Christians warns that ―technology is not merely one more arena for philosophers and sociologists to investigate, but a new foundation for understanding the self, human institutions, and ultimate reality‖ (1990: 335). The global culture is today dominated by technological structures. Labels such as ―the telematic society‖, the ―communication revolution‖, and the ―television generation‖ are regularly used to describe a prevailing information age (1990: 336). Today ―the Media Age‖ and ―The Digital

Era" can be added. Christians points out that Ellul views modern mass media communication as ―sociological propaganda" (Christians, 1990: 336) and states

> [l]ike the fish's perfect adaption to its water environment, we are enveloped in data, absorbed in a mono-dimensional world of stereotypes and slogans, and integrated into a homogenous whole by the ―propaganda of conformity. (1990: 337)

Despite new entrants from other world regions in recent years, Global North countries such as North America, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy and Japan account for ―a very substantial share of all international media influences around the world" (Boyd-Barrett, 1977: 17)[16]. The power to control globalised strategic mass media communication is largely vested in the hands of a dozen or more giant global corporations and their affiliates and subsidiaries. There is seamless synergy between the different genres (news, entertainment, religion/spirituality, etc.) and the strategic messages that are distributed across the world.

Global strategic mass media communication (production and distribution) have in recent decades surpassed predictable approaches and globalisation is characterised by what Bennett refers to as ―the modernist mass media public sphere" (2013: 1)[17]. Social media sites and networks such as Facebook, Twitter and others created ―vibrant issue communities" (2013: 7) and

> new technologies and channels enable more fine-grained ―many-to-many" communication within fragmented societies. Communication has become increasingly personalized, both in the way messages are framed, and how they

[16]For a critical perspective on the global mass media communication landscape, see ―Understanding Media Imperialism" (Sulheria, 2011). See http://pakistaniaat.net/2011/02/understanding-media-imperialism/. [Accessed 15 May 2014].

[17]The period between 1930 and 1990 is recognised as an era of ―mass media" when a relatively small number of information sources provided ―essentially similar products to the vast majority of consumers". Today ―highly personalized media" allow for people to choose among numerous cable channels, computerized information services, and specialised publications (Bennett, 1996: 14).

are shared across social networks. Individuals become active agents in the production and transmission of information, which leads to ...[c]ommunication as political organisation (That goes beyond messages, framing and effects). (2013: 3-4)

Bennett (1983/1996) discusses ‖media" monopolies and the consequences of the deregulation of information industries. Opponents of media regulation accentuate the number of information outlets that are available today as evidence that increased personalised access is proof of positive change. He argues that the information that people have access to may however not display more diversity than before; ‖[i]ndeed, the worst-case scenario has people receive even less diverse information under more socially isolated conditions than they did in the traditional mass media environment" (Bennett 1996: 14). Parenti goes further. He asserts that a ‖media" market that brims with information pays little attention to ‖meaningful political and social affairs" (1986: 32). This proposition encourages an investigation into how the communication processes and methodologies that are embedded in globalised ‖media" industries (e.g. the mainstream strategic mass media news communication networks) – such as the use of biasing devices (e.g. specific analytical frames and other biasing methodologies) – serve the hegemonies that are entrenched in globalisation.

As I pointed out earlier, globalised Global North news ‖media" networks, especially those from North America, continue to dominate worldwide news production and distribution. They do not only represent and interpret realities from specific perspectives, but also set worldwide trends in media and strategic mass media communication practices. Hence I paid particular attention to the identification of ideological ‖patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion" (Gitlin, 1980: 7) in the content of globalised dominant strategic mass media news communication. The aim of my examination was to identify specific communication processes and methodologies (e.g. the already mentioned application of biasing frames that serve as replacement strategies and methodologies that assists with amplification and exclusion). My decision to do so was motivated by Steeves' proposition that in patriarchal communication processes various replacement strategies are often used to serve the dominant hegemony. An example of the use

of such strategies is the way in which many strategic mass media communication sources ground social problems (e.g. GBV, rape) in explanations other than gender oppression.

Do certain specific strategic mass media communication processes and methodologies uphold and reinforce harmful hegemonies?

2.1.1 Simplification, selective perspectives and superficiality

In recent decades many global news ‒media" sources (including many in South Africa) have moved away from extensive investigative journalism that requires in-depth research, the contextualised interpretation of facts and the application of an inclusive approach to perspectives. The largest percentage of the ‒news" that is produced globally is today framed by selective perspectives and is brief and often presented in an anecdotal reporting style that focuses on singled-out events. ‒Hit-and-run" approaches marginalise important facts, allow for sensationalism, circumvent critical deconstructions of systemic and structural global societal fault lines and serve hegemonic interests.

Trudy Lieberman (2000) argues that right-wing think tanks in North America have found a ‒congenial home" for their messages in simplified journalism. The application of strategic mass media communication replacement strategies such as simplification has significant consequences. It encourages false consciousness by preventing a scrutinisation of the extent and nature of political, social and economic power imbalances that cause injustice. In effect, superficial journalism in mainstream news coverage protects and maintains prevailing societal inequities by limiting insight into, understandings of, consensus on and mobilisation around crucial matters. Lieberman states that

> shorter stories inevitably mean less context and less analysis to help readers or
> listeners [or viewers] understand what's really at stake. The new-model

journalism is tailor made for the simplistic, even alarmist, messages preached by the right wing. (2000: 10)

2.1.2 Amplification, omission and trivialisation

Thirty years ago Parenti argued that North American ―media‖ sources gave more credence to ―public officials, corporate representatives, church leaders, and university officers than it does to protesters, taxpayers, consumers, workers, parishioners, and students‖ (1986: 13). In an era of globalisation the voices, perspectives and interests of those who are politically, socially and economically powerful are still privileged in the grand narratives that are embedded in globalised mainstream news ―media‖. This is whilst the voices, perspectives and interests of the disempowered and vulnerable across the world (the majority of whom are children and women of colour) are excluded or marginalised. Hence selective perspective and analytical framing play a determining role in terms of the omission and minimilisation of societal inequities and the trivialisation of the suffering of those that are on the receiving end of power imbalances.

Steeves posits the use of trivialisation as biasing device make light of the nature and implications of important political, social and economic matters (1997: 25). In research Steeves found that the initial coverage of the GBV crime at St. Kizito ―all but excluded mention of rape‖ (1997: 42). She argues that

> the near-absence of the word rape...and the failure to consider seriously the gendered nature of the crime at the outset and in much of subsequent reporting indicate consistency with hegemonic views that deny the seriousness of violence against women. The frequent use of the term ―tragedy‖ supports this denial by suggesting blamelessness or forces beyond human control. (Steeves, 1997: 42-43)

Bennett identifies the tendency of ―the media‖ to ―downplay the big social, economic, or political picture in favour of the human trials and triumphs that sit at the surface of events‖ (1996: 39) as a significant flaw. He proposes that ―power and process‖ are not engaged because of ―the journalist's fear that probing analysis will turn off audiences‖ and it is easier to tell a human interest side of a story than to explain ―deeper causes and effects‖ (Bennett, 1996: 39).

2.1.3 Myths, stereotyping, labels and prejudices

In her reflection on the causal link between mutually re-enforcing communication (media) biasing framing techniques and gender inequality, Steeves reflects on the way in which the mainstreaming of harmful myths, stereotypical labels and ethnic prejudices maintain patriarchy (e.g. sexism). In her research on the coverage of the mass rape of female students by a mob of male students in Kenya she found, *inter alia*, that the application of rape myths was a prevalent communication replacement strategy that reinforced a patriarchal hegemony. The scholar points out that studies on GBV and the media ―have reported a consistent finding: that media coverage reinforces patriarchal conceptions of rape and other forms of gender violence‖ (1997: 10).

There is evidence that the use of myths, stereotypes and prejudices that serve other harmful hegemonies (e.g. racism, post-racialism and exclusivism) also serve as biasing frames that encourage, and thus maintain, global political, social and economic power imbalances[18]. The role that ―the media‖ played to justify, maintain and encourage Apartheid in South Africa, the Rwandan genocide and in anti-homosexual campaigns in Uganda pertain to this argument.

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[18]An example of this communication strategy is to be found, I would argue, in the way in which the majority of globalised strategic mainstream mass media news communication networks (specifically Global North networks) cover and represent the Israel/Palestine crisis. Although there has been a very slight change in recent years, most rhetorical discourses (grand narratives) reinforce myths, stereotypes and prejudices that favour Zionism and Israeli expansionism. Palestinians are predominantly labeled as ―Arabs‖ and framed as supporters of a radical, militarised Islamic faith that poses constant security risks and in which terrorism is entrenched as a method of intimidation and coercion.

2.1.4 Repetition and slogans

The repetitive biased use of specific imagery and slogans/phrases is one of the most important tools in the basket of prejudicial mass media communication methodologies. Through the regular repetition of arresting audio-visual material (e.g. photos, footage and sounds), opinions, descriptions and interpretations that re-affirm and encourage particular emotions and perceptions in especially dominant segments of the society, globalised dominant news ―media‖ networks mainstream both positive and negative myths and stereotypes about individuals, groups, communities and nations. Such myths and stereotypes are, I would argue, linked to people's race, ethnicity, culture (e.g. faith), class, gender and sex/sexual identities, mental and physical profiles, and age. Value-laden labels such as ―acceptable‖, ―good‖, ―able‖, ―righteous‖, ―worthy‖ and ―unifying‖ versus ―deviant‖, ―bad‖, ―incompetent‖, ―evil‖, ―undeserving‖ and ―divisive‖ are subtly encouraged.

The applications of communication methodologies such as repetition and slogans are not only instrumental in maintaining myths and stereotypes, but are also tools through which thinking and doing patterns are shaped and public consensus and mobilisation are manufactured. The earlier referenced Apartheid, Rwandan and Ugandan experiences are again cases in point. It is important to note Lieberman's assertion that repetition is a successful strategy applied to different audiences by North American right wing think tanks (2000: 34)[19].

2.1.5 Personalisation, individualism and infotainment

As argued earlier, the consumerism that propels the production and distribution of globalised ―news‖ today reflects the ethos that drives globalisation: a commitment to neoliberal capitalism. Mark Kelly (2006) asserts that North American ―media‖ organisations place high priority on the expansion of their consumer bases and thus on income generation (2006: 96).

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[19]See the views of Jim Naureckas of the media monitoring organisation FAIR (http://fair.org/.) in Lieberman, 2000:35.

This is a worldwide phenomenon and most news organisations (businesses) serve their profit-making interests through the production of messaging that stimulates and invites corporate advertising and sponsorships. Such investments are mostly guaranteed by media companies' ability to draw customers with spending power rather than citizens with information needs.

In order to secure and retain readers, listeners and viewers with spending power, the operations, approaches and processes that are embedded in global strategic mainstream mass media news communication today, I would argue, are aimed at producing content that confirms, comforts and entertains existing and potential consumers. Messaging that confronts them with and informs them about the systematic and structural roots and societal manifestations of power imbalances do not necessarily serve these objectives. Kelly identifies ―preferable" communication content criteria as being ―human interest, the unusual [and] the unique" (2006: 96). These criteria should be viewed against the back-drop of two of the phenomena that I have previously identified as being central characteristics of globalisation: destructive individualism and personalisation. I would argue that these hegemonies maintain and exacerbate global societal divisions in an era when the quest for reconciled diversity is under pressure.

Bennett proposes that the focus that most news sources place on ―personalized human interest news" directs attention away from ―the big (institutional) picture" (1996: 40). He argues that personalisation encourages people to take an egocentric rather than a ―socially concerned view" (1996: 39), as it creates a ―can't-see-the-forest-for-the-trees' information bias" (1996: 40). When the personal and dramatic are prioritised, perspectives on realties and events are, more often than not, presented in silos or ―self-contained, isolated happenings" (1996: 40) and a view on the bigger picture is fragmented. Rather than assisting readers, viewers and listeners to understand the world that they live in better, most news ―media" sources ―pander more to our common curiosity…and in the space and time that could have been used to explore significant issues, we get what some people call *infotainment*" (1996: 40). The applications of methodologies that dramatise mass media news communication blur the line between fact and fiction. The main priority is thus indeed to entertain rather than to inform, educate and sensitise. Hence such strategies divert attention away from the deficit of systemic

and structural societal challenges that impact most severely on the marginalised and vulnerable of the world (e.g. ―inequality, hunger, resource depletion, population pressures, environmental collapse, toxic waste, and political oppression" (Bennett, 1996: 40).

In summary, the content of, and communication biasing processes and methodologies that are today embedded in such communication both reflect and maintain hegemonies that are similar to those that propel globalisation. Is this the case with globalised dominant New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and its related globalised ―media" (e.g. globalised North American televangelism)?

2.2 Globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and globalised dominant North American televangelism

New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism is a ―big church" that houses many expressions. Horsfield (2015a) relies on the assertions of Lehman and asserts that

> the term ―Evangelical" as it is used today incorporates a wide variety of Christian expressions, including Fundamentalism, Pietism, Evangelicalism, Revivalism, Conservatism, Confessionalism, Millenarianism, and the Holiness and Pentecostal movements. Yet, even within that variety a continuum exists, such as left-wing, progressive, moderate, and right-wing positions. (2015a: 247)[20]

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[20]In *From Jesus to the Internet: A History of Christianity and Media*, Horsfield (2015a: 254-258) reflects on ―the phenomenon of Global Pentecostalism and Prosperity Christianity" under the heading ―Fundamentalism and Pentecostalism". See, as an example of ―progressive" Evangelical scholarship, North American Soong-Chang Rah's *The Next Evangelicalism: Freeing the Church from Western Cultural Captivity* (2009). The scholar's critique and interpretations of ―traditional", dominant Evangelicalism represents the progressive thinking of a younger generation of non Westernised Evangelical scholars. He does, however, not address the global priority of gender injustice. For mainstream North American progressive perspectives on and representations of this ―umbrella" manifestations of Christianity, see the scholarship of David Bebbington and Mark Noll and the publications of Jim Wallis.

Brouwer et al. argue, however, that this expression of Christian religiosity has in recent years become ‟a more dynamic social and political movement” and that differences have ‟receded in importance and [have] provoked less conflict” (1996: 5). Of importance is also the argument of Lee and Sinitiere (2009) that ‟religious practitioners and spiritual professionals must reimagine religion for each generation” (Lee and Sinitiere, 2009: 149). These views offer some explanation for the nuances that are today evident in globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism. Such nuances are reflected in ultra-conservative, more ‟palatable” innovative strands, and what I would term as a ‟developing and selective justice-based progressive” groupings.[21] In terms of the latter strand, Lee and Sinitiere argue that North American televangelists such as Joel Osteen, T.D. Jakes, Rick Warren and Paula White

> preach edgy, sexy, iconoclastic sermons that are light on doctrine and heavy on experience, light on fire and brimstone and heavy on therapy and self-empowerment. They mix secular with the sacred and are undaunted by the personal. They are business-savvy, media-sophisticated, high-tech preachers who not only are acquainted with the sight-and-sound generation but also affable to nonbelievers and the unaffiliated. They are trend-sensitive, socially curious preachers who adjust their methods and messages to the needs and tastes of the masses. (2009: 150)

A substantial percentage of conservative manifestations of globalised strategic New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‟media” engage ‟controversial polemics” (Horsfield, 2015a: 251) – especially those that hold political value. This is the case exactly because this might draw large mass audiences. In this study I critically engage shared cultural and theological values (e.g. confessional positions) that are shared by proponents of, what Horsfield describes, as ‟a movement running through modern Christianity” (2015a: 247); this is in terms as ‟the Evangelical Coalition” (2015a: 247).

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[21]For an example of biblical interpretations that represent progressive North American Evangelical thinking – including stances on gender justice - see Griffen 2017.

Most, if not all, New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists prioritise enlistment and mobilisation as central aspects of their faith tradition; in other words, a missionary zeal to convert the non-Christian world to a particular expression of Christianity. Globalised ‒media" play a determining role to build consensus and manufacture collective consciousness around specific New Evangelical/Fundamentalist priorities.

Smith (2006a) and Brouwer et al. (1996) discuss the fundamental principles that are entrenched in such Christian religiosity. Although there are noticeable differences in the various denominations that are categorised under the umbrella of New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism, there are certain common traits. These include a ‒born-again" relationship with Jesus (Brouwer et al., 1996: 3), commitment to Biblical literalism/inerrancy (1996: 3) and conservative prescriptions for personal behaviour (1996: 3-4). An accent is often placed on ‒heavenly" or spiritual matters rather than ‒worldly" or contextual issues (1996: 4) and in certain cases there is evidence of creationist and/or millennialist and/or dispensationalist worldviews (1996: 4). Other central characteristic are an emphasis on the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and trust in the miraculous (1996: 4). In certain instances priority is placed on prophecy, healing and speaking in tongues (1996: 4-5)[22]. I would argue that in recent decades a commitment to promote a Judeo-Christian heritage has become an additional common goal for most New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists across the globe.

Drawing on the estimations of Barrett et al. (2001), Smith pointed out in 2006 that fifty million people across the world consumed 34 500 Christian periodicals, serials, magazines, journals and newspaper and that 510 million people worldwide accessed the programming of 4 000 Christian radio and television stations (Smith, 2006b: 2-3). The largest percentage of such globalised Christian ‒media" is, I would suggest, related to globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism. Such communication (e.g. transnational religious broadcasting) has been creating vibrant religious communities across the world[23]. As I argued

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[22]For a comprehensive perspective on New Evangelical/Fundamentalist priorities see Brouwer et al. 1996: 3-5.
[23]There is a wide range of manifestations of religious broadcasting in various faiths. In several world regions ‒local variants" of ‒US-style televangelism" have ‒hybrid identity[ies]" that were shaped by domestic cultures

previously, North America is the headquarters of the most dominant globalised New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media‖ industries (e.g. religious broadcasting networks)[24]. Brouwer et al. describe CBN – that owned only one station outside of the USA (Middle East Television in Israeli-occupied Lebanon) in 1996 – as ―the largest and most ambitious international religious TV network‖ (1996: 166). They observe that

> in Africa it sells its programs to the state systems. In this way the CBN‗s international 700 Club has been shown in South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, [the former] Bophuthatswana, and Liberia. In these countries CBN has an aggressive follow-up program, through ‗ministry centers‘ where viewers can telephone and write. (1996: 166)

CBN‗s ―Proyecto Luz‖ (―Project Light‖) – a television revival initiative that was aimed at the whole of Central America – has had a significant impact since its launch in 1990. By the turn of the century the initiative had reached over 60 per cent of the Guatemalan audience; a ―record for any kind of programming‖ (Brouwer et al., 1996: 1). The thinking and behavioural patterns of thousands of New Evangelical/Fundamentalist believers in that region of the world have thus, in the last fifteen years, been influenced by this strategic religious mass media communication campaign. Of importance to note is that CBN claims to broadcast in over two hundred countries in the world today and has regional offices in Africa, Asia, China, Europe, India, Indonesia, Latin America, the Middle East, Siam, and Singapore (CBN Ministries, 2014b)[25].

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and traditions (Thomas and Lee, 2012b: 7).Thomas and Lee argue that local manifestations of televangelism could be considered as ―indigenous‖ in terms of the ―aesthetics of production‖, but that their rhetorical styles are ―heavily influenced by Western televangelists‖ and ―the spatial feel, routines such as healing, use of testimonies, reliance on the spectacular along with …the economies of televangelism, is universal‖ (2012b: 8-9). Echchaibi proposes that the televangelism of Egypt‗s Amr Khaled – who ―has built a formidable media empire‖ – was inspired by ―the elaborate media networks of US televangelism‖, but that globalised experiences of televangelism today were not uncritically replicating North American televangelism (Echchaibi, 2012: par. 1-2).
[24]For insight into the history and characteristics of North American televangelism, see *American Evangelicals and The Mass Media*. (Schultze (Ed.) 1990a) and *Watch This!: The ethics and aesthetics of Black televangelism.* (Walton, 2009b).
[25]See http://www.cbn.com/partners/about/where-we-work/. [Accessed 2 April 2014].

TBN claims to have offices in twenty-one African countries with production facilities in Nigeria and South Africa (CBN Ministries, 2014b)[26]. It is telling that this network established its first South African station during Apartheid – in the ―homeland‖ of the Ciskei in 1987 and the second station was based in the ―homeland‖ of Transkei in 1989 (Brouwer et al.,1996: 165-166)[27]. I propose that due to societal shifts in North America the influence of Christian networks such as CBN and TBN might have in recent decades decreased in that country, but that such networks have, increased their reach and influence in nations that are in transition; particularly those in the Global South.

Phillip Wagner observes that

> compared to the 1980s when the bulk of religious TV programming emanated from just three networks – TBN, CBN, and PTL – today a host of other channels are also on the scene: ChurchChannel, Cornerstone TV, daystar, GOD TV, His Channel, The Inspiration Network, NRB Network, Seven Angels, TCT Network, The Word Network, World Harvest Television, and others. Even so, the Trinity Broadcasting Network remains the largest of all and attracts more U.S. viewers than the rest of its ―Christian TV‖ competitors combined. (2016: 57)

The extensive global reach and potential influence that globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media‖ sources have today, accentuate the importance of an investigation into the ideological nature of the their content. In 1996, Parenti described North American religious broadcasting networks that wield significant power in that country as ―fundamentalist‖ (1996: 100). He asserted that there were ―gross imbalances of right over left‖ in content that was produced and distributed by such networks. CBN‗s Pat Robertson was a ―homophobic, sexist, reactionary televangelist‖ (Parenti, 1996: 100) with significant power of influence. Of importance to note is that Robertson‗s discourses are today regularly

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[26]See http://www.cbn.com/partners/about/where-we-work/. [Accessed 2 April 2014].
[27]See the perspective that Brouwer *et al*. provide on the presence and profile of globalised New Evangelical/Fundamentalist strategic mass media communication in Africa (Brouwer et al., 1996: 164-168).

flagged as fundamentalist and detrimental to human rights by Right Wing Watch, the monitoring initiative of the organization People for the American Way[28]. Most of the globalised dominant North American televangelists that are discussed in this study have been guests on Robertson's ―The 700 Club‖. This televangelist represents the ultra-conservative strand of globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism. I would argue further that networks such as CBN and TBN expect religious leaders that are affiliated with/have programming on these networks to adhere to the owners'/share holders' fundamental visions, values and principles. These are more or less summed up in the following branding on the TBN Africa website:

> TBN Africa offers you a viewing environment, rooted in sound moral principles with strong wholesome family values, credible faith and Word based programming as well as a wide variety of credible Christian entertainment. With our selection of the best local and international pure programs and shows, our aim is to facilitate and shape a well rounded Christian lifestyle, as we lead the way into a new exciting era of Christian broadcasting. (TBN Africa, 2014)[29]

I accept that not all New Christian Evangelicals are ―abortion fighting, gay-bashing, patriarchal, politically posturing religious zealots‖ (Lee and Sinitiere, 2009: 6). Lee and Sinitiere (as does Walton) caution against generalisation and a ―singular focus‖ on Evangelicalism that ―prize[s] femininity, patriarchy, or a disturbing theocratic wing that teaches a spiritualized religious and political militancy‖ (2009: 7). The scholars propose, however, that the messages of New Evangelicals such as Rick Warren – ―the vanguard of innovative evangelical leadership‖ (2009: 5) –, ―remain true to core [fundamentalist] beliefs‖ (2009: 154). Walton observes that despite being diverse in theological thought, ecclesial outlook, and political and social orientations, T.D. Jakes, Eddie Long and Creflo Dollar are united by ―three common themes: economic advancement, the minimizing of race, and Victorian ideals of family‖ (Walton, 2009b: 171).

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[28]See ―700 Club – 700 Club Top Postings.‖ *Right Wing Watch* [Online].
[29]See http://www.tbn.co.za/. [Accessed 12 January 2014].

These views and the profile of proponents of globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism in nations such as Uganda, Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa, underline the necessity of my critical engagement of the communication processes and methodologies in the "media" (televangelism) that is freely available in this country. South African Christians are, I would argue, not exempt from the circumstantial realities and trends that make millions of Christians elsewhere in the world susceptible to conservative Christian propaganda. I therefore examined the extent to which the ideological hegemonies that are root causes of gender inequalities and injustices – and are evident in globalisation and globalised news "media" – are visible in this manifestation of Christianity. It is, however, important to first provide a brief reflection that will give context to my critical analysis.

Nabil Echchaibi points out that the dramatic emergence in recent decades of popular religious leaders (of various faiths) happened at a time that contemporary "spiritual seekers" are less concerned about a distinction between a "religious and material commodity". There is an openness to embrace "experiential and sensational forms of divine persuasion" (Echchaibi, 2012: par.2). Today, technological advancement and growing seamless synergy between "the media", religion and commercialism, are wiping away national borders and pushing down geographical barriers. The inherent nature of globalisation is facilitating the streamed-lined export and import of religious convictions through globalised "media". Contemporary transnational "media" companies are capitalizing on the needs of faith consumers across the world. Globalised religious "media" offer instant gratification, entertainment and religious affirmation. In globalisation modes of rreligiosity are much sought after international commodities.

The New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media" products that "gratify, entertain and affirm" believers, are loaded with ideological values. Brouwer et al. argue that this manifestation of Christianity supports the neoliberal capitalism that is embedded in globalisation. They assert that "this association seems to accelerate the transmission of faith, not because there is an ethical core hidden in the heart of the transnational business culture" (Brouwer et al., 1996: 262). They propose that

the new evangelical movement, because it is accompanying the global dissemination of American products and Western values, substantiates the idea that Protestantism can propel economic development…It can help usher in modern industrial capitalism. (Brouwer et al., 1996: 229)

Prevailing prosperity theologies – such as the Word of Faith theology that Walton (2009b) reflects on – promise ―material ‗blessings' to the lower classes" (Brouwer et al., 1996: 7)[30]. Such theologies flourish in times of economic uncertainty and social change – which both globalisation and the democratic transition represent in contemporary South Africa. Many Christian believers prioritise personal salvation and earthly ―blessings." (1996: 244). The faithful are encouraged to ―select personally efficacious items from the racks of religious commodities and then bear witness to the astounding change in their personas" (1996: 238). Walton proposes that

the aesthetic dimension of religious broadcasting shows how the myth of American success has adjusted to the gilded sensibility of the contemporary era…A life of prosperity and commitment to God are synonymous. (2008b: 207)

The neoliberal capitalist, consumerist and class materialist characteristics of globalisation and globalised mainstream news ―media" is evidence of a dominant global popular culture in which emphasis is placed on the well-being and empowerment of the individual (personalisation), rather than on that of the collective. This same culture is entrenched in globalised dominant New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism. Brouwer et al. propose such Christianity is

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[30]For perspectives on the history, profiles and manifestations of prosperity faith/gospel/theology in denominations and churches in North America see *Live Long and Prosper: How Black Megachurches Address HIV/AIDS and Poverty in the Age of Prosperity Theology* (Barnes, 2013) and *Blessed: A history of the American Prosperity Gospel* (Bowler, 2013).

devoted to a form of hyper individualism, a transformation of one's personal relationship with Jesus into regular concentration on one's own piety, one's own feelings, one's own health, and one's own financial security. As Ray McCauley, pastor of Rhema church in South Africa, advises: ‗Be concerned about yourself rather than everyone else around you. If you have Jesus he will take care of others as he sees fit.' (1996: 241)

There are various aspects of contemporary globalised televangelism (in various faiths) that confirm that an ethos of neoliberal capitalism and class materialism are firmly entrenched in dominant manifestations of such ‗media". Religious broadcasting industries are highly profitable. They are not only used as vehicles through which belief systems are disseminated worldwide, but also serve as fundraising platforms for such businesses and for individual mega-message celebrities. Most contemporary high profile televangelists (of all faiths) are fully-fledged business persons that run income generating initiatives parallel to their non-profit ministries. Lee and Sinitiere (2009) describe the present global religious sphere as a ‗competitive spiritual marketplace" in which ‗suppliers" compete and – in a speedy and flexible yet decisive fashion – package and market their ministries in response to changing conditions, offering ‗spiritual rewards that resonate with the existential needs and cultural tastes of the public" (Lee and Sinitiere, 2009: 3)[31].

Televangelists are marketed and branded like ‗movie stars, popular musicians, and athletes" (Walton, 2009b: 5-6) and their luxurious lifestyles are generally socially accepted. For many of their followers such lifestyles are theologically expected as material rewards of a life committed to spiritual discipleship (2009b: xi). Brouwer et al. argue that ‗neo-Pentecostal preachers would be the first to admit the connection between their ‗sales pitch" and the methods of the most successful marketing companies" (1996: 243).

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[31]For an analysis of five of the most successful North American Christian ‗religious suppliers" or ‗spiritual innovators/empires" (Joel Osteen, T.D. Jakes, Brian McLaren, Paula White and Rick Warren), see *Holy Mavericks: Evangelical Innovators and the Spiritual Marketplace* (Lee and Sinitiere, 2009).

T.D Jakes is as an example of a high profile North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelist that succeeds in using globalised ―media‖ to mainstream his theological convictions, but also to increase and synergise his financial interests. Jakes has identified economically upwardly-mobile women (specifically women of colour) as a lucrative global target market for income-generation. Whilst manufacturing consent, common ground and collective consciousness on specific ideological beliefs and value, he maintains his profile as a well-known religious commodities business entrepreneur. An example of his business skills is the way in which Jakes uses the public platforms that he has created for marketing purposes. One of his teachings that I examined serves as an example. Prior to commencing with the presentation ―The Pecking Order‖, Jakes spends ten minutes on information about the next year's (2013) WTAL conference. He strengthens the marketing for these conferences, by combining the commercial and spiritual successfully. He accentuates the global popularity of the WTAL ministry and contributes such success to divine intervention and favour. He states:

> *I'm so grateful, so grateful to God for all of His many blessings, and all His benefits toward me...I am grateful for all the people who are watching on the internet, who are streaming on the internet. I mean thousands and thousands and thousands of people...There are almost thirty different countries represented in this room right now...There is some divine, supernatural purpose that the Holy Spirit allowed you to be in this place tonight to experience the power of God.* (Jakes, 2012a)32

The concept of using ministry platforms and audio-visual teachings for commercial (e.g. marketing) purposes is evidently not unique to Jakes. In her teaching ―Breaking the Spirit of Jezebel‖ Bynum does not rely in the first place on substantial biblical readings, but refers to and cites from one of her own books and makes comments about her television teachings.

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32 In this study I apply italics when citing directly from the six Jakes and Bynum presentations that serve as research data for my CDA. This is done to distinguish these quotations from other sources citations.

It says here that the Lord became angry. In the book that I wrote there's a chapter in there called „The Seduction of Jezebel"...Many of you may have heard me say on TV, but I'll say it again... (Bynum, DVD1)

Thomas and Lee argue that all contemporary forms of televangelism rest on two pivotal pillars: the globalisation of confessional identities and television viewing as global leisure activity (2012: 1). Walton (2009b), Brouwer et al. (1996) and Lee and Sinitiere (2012) propose that economic wealth and prosperity are central themes in many New Evangelical/ Fundamentalist teachings. These ideological pillars support a worldview in which neoliberal capitalism, consumerism and class materialism are fundamental hegemonies.

How are these hegemonies and race linked? Of relevance are the theories of Walton (2009b) on traces of racism and post-racialism in the teachings of high profile African American televangelists. He discussed such televangelism as a ―ritual of social accommodation" in dominant North American culture (Walton, 2009b:178). Walton reflects on the consequences of rhetorical discourses that encourage the Myth of American Success. In the teachings of televangelists such as Jakes and Creflo Dollar, themes related to this myth idealise a capitalist society, as one that allows for the personal and economic empowerment of all citizens who assert themselves and abide by the rules (2009b: 184). This notion is encouraged in globalised New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media" products.

Walton points out that in his teachings Dollar asserts that ―self-discipline, and mastery of the principles of the Word of Faith theology, can take persons up the economic ladder" (2009b: 184). This ―reveals his assumption that America's capitalist economy is just" (2009b: 184). Walton states that that

> Bishop Jakes's rhetoric of self-choice, controlling one's own destiny, and moving beyond self-hatred in the service of promoting entrepreneurship and economic empowerment operates with the assumption, as in the myth of

American success, anyone with a frontier spirit can claim possession of the golden apples of prosperity. (2009b: 183)

Some African American televangelists, argues Walton, do encourage those that listen to them to be economically responsible by advocating ―saving and wealth creation‖ (Walton, 2009b: 207). In her teaching ―No More Sheets‖ Juanita Bynum uses her own experiences, as a single person with a desire to marry, to critique women on their financial lifestyle and their spending priorities and habits. She states:

You know [what] *God said to me? „First of all...you gotta come out of debt...Tear up all them credit cards.‟ Y‟all I‟m not talking to you, I‟m turning my back, I‟m talking about me. That‟s what He told me. Two years ago brother Marcus said: „Cut up all the credit cards, quit trying to be a diva. Prepare your mind to be a wife.‟*(Bynum, DVD3)

Bynum‗s criticism in ―No More Sheets‖ of materialism and irresponsible spending patterns is directed exclusively at the women in the audience. It is rooted in a hetero-patriarchal (sexist and homophobic) worldview. Her normative directives idealise the economic empowerment and thus stability (no debt) of a single woman as divine requirement. If economically empowered, God will provide her with a good husband and a lasting marriage.

In ―Breaking the Spirit of Jezebel‖ Bynum gives an explanation of the ―perversions‖, ―sins‖ and ―weaknesses‖ (in women *and* men) that constitute a ―Jezebel spirit‖. This discussion could be interpreted as critique of proponents of prosperity theologies and the megachurch phenomenon. Bynum asserts that

Jezebel targets worship leaders, pastors and elders of the people in authority and their spouses. Jezebel prefers refined qualities. That‟s a hot demon. She loves the best Gucci. That demon gonna dress sharp for you. Versace suits and

lizard skin shoes and Versace ties…It's a deceiver. That spirit's gotta make you think it's so prosperous that it can take you somewhere, or it's above you. It may be rich on the outside, but I'm telling you it's bankrupt in its spirit. I'd rather have a raggedy dress and got the power of God in me and a pure life. You don't hear me. If I'm a pastor of a church, I'd rather have five people that know how to touch God than to have fifty thousand demons that's perpetrating and pretending. (DVD1)

Walton posits that due to ―healthy public critique", (2009b: 207) Jakes ―is beginning to develop a heightened social consciousness and more mature social analysis that sets him far beyond his televangelist colleagues" (2009b: 207). He contextualises this observation by pointing out that in some of Jakes' teachings, ―the few messages of fiscal responsibility that are intermittently offered as ancillary points are drowned out by far more plentiful and powerful messages promoting crass materialism" (2009b: 207). Walton argues that Jakes ―embraces equally his role as a Christian minister, business entrepreneur, author, recording artist, playwright, and movie producer" and is ―multivocational when it comes to the respective spheres of the church and corporate America" (2009b: 207). Though Jakes ―disavows the prosperity gospel in theory, he unabashedly embraces and aesthetically performs a prosperous lifestyle in practice" (2009b: 117).

In the rhetorical discourses that are embedded in the Jakes presentations that I examined, the televangelist prioritises neoliberal capitalism and its related corporate structures. In a prayer at the outset of his ―The Waiting Jesus" presentation, Jakes states:

Thank you Lord…I dispatch new CEOs, with fresh revelation. They are going to go in the boardroom with equipment that the other people don't have. They're gonna go in with favour and they're gonna get things done like they'd never done before. I dispatch new negotiators, who are going to go back and negotiate the kinds of deals and the kind of real estate that we're going to possess the land that God lays before us with power and integrity… (2012b)

Apart from Evangelists and prayer intercessors, the only other women that are privileged in his prayer are those that are successful business professionals. Jakes also applies communication biasing devices that uphold a neoliberal capitalist hegemony. In ―Conquering the Conflict‖ he uses a metaphor that aligns/compares Jesus to a Chief Executive Officer:

> *And He* [Jesus] *comes rushing into the crowd and He see* [sic] *this crowd and says: „What are you saying to my Board of Directors? What are you saying to my disciples?"* (Jakes, 2010)

Walton's (2009b) theories substantiate the argument that many New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists advocate normative directives that, inevitably, re-enforce class materialism, but also racism and post-racialism. Both Jakes and Bynum ignore the role that racism (white supremacy) has and continues to play in generational economic power imbalances.

In the teaching ―The Pecking Order‖ Jakes equalises the challenges that women face. He takes trouble to explain that he does not make a distinction between women on grounds of their race, culture or ethnicity. To accentuate the importance and the power of personal faith, he applies metaphorical discourse. ―Chicks‖ (women) should ―peck‖ (persevere in their faith) through the ―egg shells‖ (challenges) that restrict them in order to become the ―strong hens that rule the roost‖ (become successful, empowered and the best). Jakes instructs the women in the audience to reach out and touch another woman, stating:

> *That chick you touching, she might be a young chick, she might be an old chick, might be a black chick, might be a white chick, maybe a Latino chick, maybe an African chick, maybe a European chick, maybe a Japanese chick, maybe a South American chick, maybe an Australian chick. But I guarantee you, that chick you touching, she got some things she trying to peck out. I don't care how educated she is. I don't care how intellectual she is. I don't care how pretty she is. Nobody escapes the need to peck out of something.* (Jakes, 2012a)

In his explanation of the theme for this particular teaching Jakes offers an interpretation of the origins of the expression. This prioritises a "survival of the fittest" philosophy – "chickens have an order, and a structure, and the strongest hen rules the roost" (Jakes, 2012a). Jakes asserts that the expression would mean "different things to different people" (2012a). He (again) introduces a corporate perspective to emphasise his directive. He asserts that a woman's sense of responsibility and strength of faith, rather than her past and present contextual realities – such as generational political, social and economic power imbalances – are determining factors that guarantee success:

> *Corporate America uses that term "pecking order" to suggest that when you get ready to organize structure in an organization, the giving of that structure and that order is called pecking orders. You must understand that ...God wants to bring your life into order. When your life is not in order, there is discomfort.* (Jakes, 2012a)

Walton (2009b) proposes that most African American televangelists endorse and thus perpetuate a "white supremacist response". This directs attention away from a critical engagement of inequities ("ill effects") that are caused by racism (e.g. and suggests that the identification and deconstruction of such inequities boil down to "playing the race card") (Walton, 2009b: 186). He argues that those who engage in rights and social justice discourses are viewed with "skepticism and suspicion" (2009b: 186)[33]. In both "Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" and "Breaking the Spirit if Jezebel" Bynum levels critique at "the church". Such criticism could be interpreted as messaging that attempts to undermine the authority and credibility of Christian leaders that, especially in previous decades, involved themselves

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[33]An example of the demonisation of religious leaders that provide critical alternative perspectives on political and socio-economic realities in North America is the aggressive campaign in 2008 to undermine the presidential candidacy of then senator Barrack Obama by associating him with Dr. Jeremiah Wright of *Trinity United Church of Christ* in Chicago. The extent and effectiveness with which Wright – a liberation theologian that is unapologetically critical of the notion of post-racialism and an advocate of gender equality and the empowerment of women – was demonised in and by the "dominant society". For a perspective on this, see "Jeremiah Wright in the Propaganda System." (Herman and Peterson, 2008.) See http://monthlyreview.org/2008/09/01/jeremiah-wright-in-the-propaganda-system/. [Accessed 12 June 2012].

personally, their churches and ministries in matters of equality and justice. In ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" she states that:

> *The only way that Baal gets worship, Baal is worshipped when that spirit has found the weakness of the believer. And whatever that weakness is, that becomes the praise of that spirit. That"s why in some churches, homosexuality runs rampant. Because whatever the weakness is in the leader, that is the spirit that dominates the church...If the Pastor let"s his wife take over the church, then you have a bunch of strong out of control woman. And that is the spirit that takes over the church. If the Pastor"s daughter is a lesbian and he does not put that in check, then whatever the weakness is in the family of the leadership becomes the glory of the house...* (Bynum, DVD2)

In ―No More Sheets", Bynum does not only ignore and trivialise the historical and contextual roots of the political, economic and social power imbalances between women of colour and white women. She unapologetically advocates white supremacy. She starts off by mimicking a stereotypical black woman by saying sarcastically:

> *„I wanna get married" and you"re here at the conference and your bedroom at home is tore up and you house is nasty...Oh, you y"all aint saying nothing. You ain"t gonna pay your bills. Every dime you get in is on your back right now, Miss „I wanna get married". I love you don"t keep the gas on. I love you don"t keep the bills paid...I"m just gonna tell you the truth. We all just* [say]*: „Oh that brother is going out and his getting all these white ladies. Eh-eh, what"s wrong? We ain"t good enough?"No, we"re too needy!* (Bynum, DVD3)

It is clear that in the rhetorical discourses of many proponents of New Christian Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism there is not only evidence of a neoliberal ethos and post-racialism that serves racism. Earlier I cited Parenti's assertion that Pat Robertson is a ―homophobic, sexist, reactionary televangelist" and referred to the fact that Robertson and his

‖The 700 Cub‖ are regularly red flagged by the organisation Right Wing Watch. Closer examination of these red flags indicate that the violation of people's (women's) human rights often relate to the hetero-patriarchal nature of the rhetorical discourses of Robertson and his guests.

Brouwer et al. (1996), Walton (2009b) and Marla Frederick (2010) argue that globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and its related ‖media‖ products are vehicles for not only neoliberal capitalist, but also hetero-patriarchal mindsets. The earlier cited discourses of Bynum further substantiate this proposition. Brouwer et al. contents that in times of change many Christians desire imposed social control. They argue that ‖[t]he next layer of order and discipline above the self-pertaining to family and the church falls back on the paternalistic control of the authorized male: the father, the husband, and the pastor‖ (1996: 244).

Again, I acknowledge that not all New Evangelicals/Fundamentalist exhibit extreme and undiluted patriarchy. There are indeed more ‖palatable‖ manifestations of New Christian Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism in which there has been a ‖reconfiguration of patriarchal power‖ (Brouwer et al., 1996: 9). This has led to the feminisation of this expression of Christianity. Female participation is now welcomed and womanly qualities celebrated, but only when it can subordinate women to male control (1996: 9). Brouwer et al. argue that

> [i]t is not a contradiction to point to the importance of male authority within the
> new fundamentalist framework, while allowing that this authority may be
> wielded in a more humane and respectful manner than in the predominant
> familial and religious traditions of a particular culture. In this way the church
> can provide a modernizing influence, by offering a revised family structure that
> is more congenial to social reorganization without betraying the legacy and
> expectations of patriarchal control. (1996: 223)

The inclusion of women's perspectives and the ‖equity‖ that is exhibited in certain expressions of New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and its related ‖media‖ (e.g. the

teachings of Jakes) do not jeopardise hetero-patriarchal dominance and interests. This argument is not only strengthened by the above-mentioned observation of Brouwer et al., but also by Frederick's (2003) critique of the fact that televangelists such as Jakes ‖allow men to preach at conferences for women only but has yet to allow a woman to preach at a conference for men only" (Walton, 2009a: 27-28). She states that ‖evidently a man can liberate a woman but a woman cannot liberate a man" (Walton, 2009a: 28).

In the previous chapter I introduced Walton's analysis of the prevalence of the Myth of the ‖Strong Black Man" as the ‖Saviour of the Race" in the teachings of African American televangelists such as Jakes and the role that such a myth plays to justify, maintain and encourage gender-oppressive hegemonies. As is the case with the Myth of ‖American Success", this North American notion is being exported and encouraged in countries such as South Africa where the Bill of Rights aim to address gender power imbalances and deliver equality and justice. This suggests an end to masculinism. The role of power and control is also central to this myth. Whereas power relates to racial and class domination in the Myth of American Success, it is related to gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations in the ‖Myth of the Strong Black Man". Walton points out that in Eddie Long's worldview men ‖take on a messianic role, since neither women nor children can be what they are called to be unless they are supported and guided by a Strong Black Man" (2009b: 195). In such a worldview women's humanity and capacity (voice and agency) depend on men's power to complete and realise these.

I previously cited a branding message of TBN Africa that privileges ‖family values" and referred to Walton's argument that African American televangelists such as Jakes, Long and Dollar advocate Victorian ideals of family. In the majority of expressions of New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and globalised North American televangelism, the concept of *family* is framed as a social construct in which very specific gender and sex/sexual characteristics and roles are assigned to men (manhood/the male sex/masculinity) and women (womanhood/the female sex/femininity). Religious unions between such ‖godly men and

women" are privileged as divinely-sanctioned adult relationships. The individual's status and value are measured accordingly[34].

I previously offered arguments and views on the role that globalised North American New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism plays in continuing ―anti-gay" campaigns in Africa. These substantiate Judge's (2009) theory that religion wields a significant influence in terms of re-enforcing and maintaining hetero-patriarchy that results in the demonisation and marginalisation of individuals with non-conforming gender and sex/sexualities, including members of the LGBTQIA+ communities. In recent decades well-financed North American Christian fundamentalist organisations such as the National Organization for Marriage (NOM), the World Congress of Families, the Family Research Council and – noticeably aggressive in its support for the criminalisation of same sex relationships – Family Watch International (FWI)[35] have propelled such activism in countries such as Uganda, Kenya and Nigeria. Observers argue that ―support ranges from popular agitation and sideline cheerleading to outright intervention" (Baptiste and Foreign Policy in Focus, 2014)[36].

I propose that in most globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism biblical interpretations, persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations are framed in an unequivocally negative fashion. Hetero-patriarchal prejudices

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[34]In Chapter Six I will offer arguments on the way in which gender and sex/sexual identities were given content in the Victorian ideals that were entrenched in the worldview that underpinned colonialism, slavery and Apartheid.

[35] The FWI was launched in 1999 and have affiliations in 170 countries. See an example of a FWI newsletter: ―CSW 2012: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly." (Family Watch International, 2012.) See http://www.familywatchinternational.org/fwi/newsletter/0572.cfm/. [Accessed 14 April 2014]. For perspectives on the activities and impact of conservative Christian initiatives on African LGBTQIA+ communities, see ―It's Not Just Uganda: Behind the Christian Right's Onslaught in Africa" (Baptiste and Foreign Policy Focus, 2014.) See http://www.thenation.com/blog/179191/its-not-just-uganda-behind-christian-rights-onslaught-africa/. [Accessed 8 April 2014]. See also ―The bigger picture: understanding antigay laws in Africa" (McEwen, 2014). See http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-01-20-the-bigger-picture-understanding-anti-gay-laws-in-africa/#.U02XzDqPJHM/. [Accessed 14 April 2014].
Other influential fundamentalist organisations include the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ), a law firm that was founded by Pat Robertson and that has Zimbabwean and Kenyan equivalents – African Centre for Law and Justice and East African Center for Law and Justice.

[36]http://www.thenation.com/blog/179191/its-not-just-uganda-behind-christian-rights-onslaught-africa/. [Accessed 8 April 2014].

such as sexism, heterosexism and homophobia contribute to stigmatisation, stereotyping and discrimination. This further obstructs the voice and agency of many people worldwide.

Jeff Sharlet states that ―a militarised, politicised fundamentalism‖ is embedded in the North American Christian influences that are evident in Africa (2010b)[37]. Reflecting on the North American context, he discusses Christian members of the USA military that define their mission as ―reclaiming territory for Christ in the military, not allowing the opposition..., all of which is spearheaded by Satan, to stand in their way‖ (2010b)[38]. There is, suggests Sharlet, ―a very strong core... that sees their mission not as defending democracy, but as expanding Christ‗s Kingdom‖ (2010b)[39]. This phenomenon could be related to the observation of Brouwer et al. (1996) regarding the impact of Christian fundamentalism on African traditional religions and cultures:

> Anything ‗outside Christ‗ is automatically ‗in the domain of Satan‗…Many preachers can find nothing good in African culture and categorize all of it as ‗witchcraft‗. They have no understanding of, say, the varieties among Africa's traditional healers. All institutions through which Africans have been humanized over centuries are despised and rejected. (Brouwer et al., 1996: 173)

Both Jakes and Bynum prioritise ―spiritual; warfare‖ in their rhetorical discourses. Such as ―battle‖ is fundamental to causes of and solutions for individual and generational life challenges. Political, social and economic injustices and physical and mental health challenges are framed as the doings of ―the enemy‖ (Satan). They suggest that oppressive circumstances and challenging realities can and must be primarily overcome by a focus on the spiritual. In ―The Pecking Order‖ Jakes states:

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[37]See http://www.democracynow.org/2010/10/21/anti_gay_fervor_in_uganda_tied/ . [Accessed 29 January 2014].
[38]See http://www.democracynow.org/2010/10/21/anti_gay_fervor_in_uganda_tied/ . [Accessed 29 January 2014].
[39]See http://www.democracynow.org/2010/10/21/anti_gay_fervor_in_uganda_tied/ . [Accessed 29 January 2014].

You will not win this battle with your old tools, this is a spiritual battle and God's gonna give you the strategy to break through the stronghold that is standing in between you and what God has promised to deliver into your hands...I'm gonna give you some tools that's gonna help you so that you don't waste your energy fighting in your old weaponry. (2012a)

In both of her ―Jezebel‖ teachings spiritual warfare is one of Bynum‗s continuing and significant themes. She makes references to the power of witchcraft. This substantiates arguments about the demonisation of African culture and traditions. In ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel‖ Bynum states:

The book of Ezekiel tell [sic] *me to prepare my people for the battle of the day of the Lord because many... are in Christ, but you're not ready for the battle...Witchcraft has you bound up. And you don't think it's witchcraft but it is. Anytime you disobey God and you continue to disobey Him, witchcraft is in operation in your life. It is no different than if somebody sprinkled salt in your shoes and put something in your food...But the Lord said: „Tonight I end the cycle in your life. ...This very night, I bring you to a new place in me."* (DVD2)

The application of a ―spiritual warfare‖ paradigm and the use of related language and imagery (e.g. ―warriors‖ for God) encourage polarisation and, ultimately, serves a militarist hegemony. Such militarism is underpinned by a sense of superiority and exclusivism. Pat Robertson (1986) states that ―Evangelicals are finding themselves more and more united...they are committed to a speedy and wholehearted return…to her Judeo-Christian heritage‖ (Brouwer et al., 1996: 5). Robertson has, on several occasions, likened Islam to Nazism and argued that Muslims aim to dominate the world and alienate Christians from Jesus (Robertson, 2014)[40]. He warned viewers of his ―The 700 Club‖ programme that North American government officials‗ involvement in peace talks between Israel and Palestine was

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[40]See http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/pat-robertson-likens-islam-nazism-again/. [Accessed 1 October 2014].

‒asking for the wrath of Almighty God to fall on this nation and that peace deals related to territorial concessions to the Palestinians will lead to divine retribution" (Robertson, 2013)[41].

New Evangelical/Fundamentalist exclusivism is also evident in the perspective that Bynum gives on Catholicism in ‒Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel". She states:

> *Ashtaroth and Baal, her son, now becomes boyfriend and girlfriend. Why did that anger God? Because they tried to duplicate the birth of Christ. They tried to beat God to the punch...Because Mary would give birth to Christ, leaving Mary to be classified as the church...After she gave birth to Christ and He was transformed, transfigured into Christ – went to the cross. She now was left on earth to be called the church with everybody else. So now she"s part of the bride. So this spirit tried to duplicate that spirit. That"s why Catholicism is a cult, because they praise Mary as much as they do God. Putting Mary on the same level as God.* (DVD2)

Rhetoric such as these pronouncements encourages Christian exclusivism that results in the stigmitisation and marginalization, as deviants, of certain individuals and groups. It also encourages religious and sectarian conflict and, ultimately, the use of violence in the name of God.

I will now make some conclusive observations.

Christi van der Westhuizen (Boesak et al., 2010) proposes that globalisation ‒is not a benign and neutral process, but is ideologically driven in the service of the rich and powerful, globally" (2010: 4). My research showed that of the millions of people that are negatively impacted by globalisation, a large percentage live in the Global South and are predominantly

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[41]See http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/robertson-america-asking-wrath-almighty-god-pursuing-mideast-peace-plan/. [Accessed 1 October 2014].

people of colour. The voice and agency of particularly many women, girls and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities are further obstructed by inequalities and injustices related to the generational political and social and economic disempowerment that resulted from colonialism, slavery and, in South Africa, Apartheid. Globalisation upholds the ideological hegemonies that are root causes of these power imbalances.

Globalised ―media‖ industries – such as globalised mainstream news ―networks‖ and New Evangelical/Fundamental ―media (e.g. globalised North American televangelism) – are important stakeholders in globalisation. These phenomena exhibit ideological hegemonies that are similar to those that are embedded in globalisation. The following hegemonies are distributed by these societal role players ―beyond borders‖ and around the clock:

1. Neoliberal capitalism,
2. Consumerism and class materialism,
3. Destructive individualism and personalisation,
4. Racism and post-racialism,
5. Hetero-patriarchy that fuels prejudices such as sexism, heterosexism and homophobia,
6. The justification of the use of abuse and violence, and
7. Exclusivism and militarism.

There is thus indeed an overarching global hegemonic reality unfolding worldwide today. Nations that are in transition are most severely impacted by this phenomenon. In an era of globalisation the ―media‖ of the role players that I engaged in this chapter, are significant societal influences. The worldviews (beliefs, values, norms and practices) that are entrenched in content of these ―vehicles‖ obstruct gender equality and justice. Ideological biases in these worldviews are root causes of gender power imbalances – also those that are still evident in a South African constitutional democracy. Despite bringing some opportunities, globalisation – an era that has seen the deliberate American-―Africanisation‖ of Christianity – is thus particularly detrimental to gender equality and the empowerment of many women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. Global

gender injustice is one of the most significant consequences of the intersection between globalised ‚the media" and religion.

This encourages a closer examination of how gender and gender power relations are constructed in the rhetorical discourses of North American televangelists. How do they use specific communication processes and methodologies? How do these strengthen the content of their normative messaging? In the next chapter I explored these questions through CCRDA of examples of the teachings of T.D. Jakes and Juanita Bynum.

CHAPTER SIX: COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES AND THE REINFORCEMENT OF GENDER CONSTRUCTS

This chapter constitutes the ―heart‖ of my study: the comprehensive, critical rhetorical discourse analysis (CCRDA) of samples of the audio-visual teachings of Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum. I will examine how they construct gender and gender power relations through the use of specific rhetorical communication methodologies and processes. I will, furthermore, identify and interpret traces of ideological biases in their normative directives. In order to compare the televangelists‗ religious beliefs, values and norms and the ideologies that propelled colonialism, Slavery and Apartheid, I will then deconstruct the worldview (―The Great Myth‖) that underpinned these unequal and unjust South African societies.

1. New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and the Art of Strategic Communication

Strategic mass media communication enjoys high priority in New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism. Much effort goes into constantly improving and expanding ―media‖ capabilities and reach. Brouwer et al. (1996) propose that they have ―more tools…more money and more missionaries‖ than ever before‖ (1996: 216). Proponents of this expression of Christianity successfully harness the prevailing global media consciousness and constant evolutions in communication technologies successfully. This sets New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists apart from traditional mainline churches, argue Brouwer et al.:

> These charismatic churches, even the poorest and newest of them, move in a
> media culture. A public address system is the first thing they save for. As soon
> as they are established they record pastors‗ sermons. Soon they move to
> videotaping pastor's sermons. It is standard procedure to advertise tapes and

books of the pastor services. This emphasis on media has been learned from the
West. (Brouwer et al., 1996: 167)

The content of religious ‒media, such as the programming of ‒The 700 Club", mimics the characteristics and methodologies of secular commercial broadcasting (Hoover, 1990: 245). At play is the art of strategic communication and the expertise and resources to do control narratives effectively. This is a determining prerequisite in both secular and religious ‒media". Seeing that the power of narratives remains undisputed, televangelism is a ‒pre-eminent space and source for religious identification and religious storytelling" (Thomas and Lee, 2012b: 2). Most North American televangelists are master communicators. They manufacture the content of their ‒media" in a highly controlled fashion and for maximum impact. Tomaselli and Shepperson discuss how televangelists use – mainly through the visual medium – ‒oral codes that revive the rituals and language structures of preliterate forms of expression" (1997: 209-210). They explain the interplay between televangelistic oratory that uses primary orality, and secondary electronic orality, that involves codes of radio and television (1997: 209-210).

My CCRDA has three objectives that can be related to specific questions. Are the strategic communication processes and methods in the rhetoric of the televangelists similar to those that are embedded in the globalised news ‒media"? Secondly: to what extent do Jakes and Bynum apply these to give content to and strengthen their constructions of gender and gender and gender power relations? (For example: what are their understandings of the relationship between spirituality (faith) and ‒liberation" and ‒empowerment".) Lastly: to what extent do their rhetorical discourses re-enforce the ideological hegemonies that characterise New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism?

2. The Strategic Construction of Gender Power Relations in the Rhetoric of T.D. Jakes and Juanita Bynum

2.1 Simplification through spiritualisation

2.1.1 Liberation and empowerment

Both Jakes and Bynum apply a common, yet significant, strategic communication replacement strategy: hyper-spiritualisation.[1] Through the application of this strategy, the televangelists frame women's ‒empowerment" and ‒liberation" in a particular fashion. This allows for selective perspectives – the televangelists' personal views, from their own positions of empowerment – on the life realities that obstruct the voice and agency of many women. The spirituality/faith and lived realities of persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations are ‒outside" of Jakes' and Bynum's hyper-spiritualised framing of ‒empowerment" and ‒liberation". Hyper-spirituality does not only result in over-simplified and inadequate interpretations of real life challenges, but contributes to more pressure on those who are already marginalised and vulnerable. The responsibility to change their oppressive circumstances (liberation) is placed squarely on the shoulders of the already marginalised. The televangelists advance the notion that ‒the enemy" (Satan) is largely to blame for their circumstances. The solution, therefore, lies in the strength of their faith in God's intervention. In ‒The Pecking Order" (Joshua 6: 20-25) Jakes tells the women:

> *It will not take you as long to step into what God showed you, as it took you to*
> *wander through the wilderness...I don't know how bad it might seem outwardly,*

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[1]The identification of this characteristic should be understood against the backdrop of the value I place on the important and positive role that faith and spirituality often play in the lives of believers who are caught in traumatic and harmful circumstances and to not only survive, but resist oppressive existential realities and oppressive power relations. Of relevance, as an example and as suggested before, is the extensive and determining influence of faith and spirituality in and during the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa.

> *but if you have it in you, if you have it in you, the faith in you, in yourself and in*
> *your God...*(2012a)

In ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" (Chronicles 21: 1-7) Bynum exhibits a similar hyper-spiritualisation approach when she interprets unidentified biblical references to the story of Queen Jezebel (1 and 2 Kings). She places ultimate priority on the role that individual repentance plays:

> *The fire isn't stopped in just mere prayer. The enemy's hand is not tied behind*
> *his back because you give God fifteen minutes of prayer...David found a*
> *threshing floor place to lay himself down and repent and lament before the Lord,*
> *this is where death was halted.* (Bynum, DVD2)

In their rhetoric Jakes and Bynum encourage the notion that God is not concerned about and thus does not consider political, economic and social inequalities as ―excuses" for wavering faith. Such simplification and superficiality protect not only the status quo, but those who are responsible for and benefit from such power imbalances. Women's disempowerment and marginalisation can thus not be altered by shifts in societal power relations, as these are due to circumstances beyond human control. Only God can intervene directly and perform miracles that change oppressive and harmful realities.

I submit that Jakes' and Bynum's application of hyper-spiritualisation maintains gender inequalities and injustices. It gives shape to an analytical framework that directs attention away from a deconstruction of the systematic and structural racial, class, gender and sexual inequities that marginalise and hamper the voice and agency of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities. It, furthermore, serves a prevailing global culture of ―the power of positive thinking" and down-plays the importance of critical engagement. Brouwer et al. contend that

much attention to troubling external events could be interpreted as disturbing ‗the power of positive thinking' that was incorporated into fundamentalism via the charismatic revival. In the personal psyche of the ‗new Christian' the ‗rational' and the ‗positive' could very well be at odds. (1996: 242)

The televangelists' application of a hyper-spiritualised perspective facilitates additional communication methods that direct attention away from gender inequality and injustice.

2.2 Amplification, omission and trivialisation

2.2.1 Liberation and empowerment

Both Jakes and Bynum *amplify* relationship between ‒the spiritual" and well-being in various ways through their rhetoric. The obstructive and destructive impact of realities, such as generational poverty, GBV and homophobia, are *ignored* and/or *trivialised*. In ‒Breaking the Spirit of Jezebel" (Reference to ‒1 Kings 12 and 8" and citation from her own unnamed publication). Bynum states that:

> *God said: „You ain't got no relationship with me* [if] *you don't talk to me in the morning, noon and night. You haven't got before me to be purged in the spirit. I'm not getting ready to let you prosper."* (DVD1)

Although Jakes clearly prioritises women and inspires them by placing priority on their uniqueness and potential, the motivation he offers is, I would argue, superficial. Despite the fact that these are significant factors that shape the lives of millions of women, he does not reflect on or offer a theological perspective on the extent to which generational discrimination, stigmatisation, exclusion and marginalisation hamper many women's voice

and agency. Racism, capitalism and class materialism and hetero-patriarchy are never engaged as root causes of inequalities and injustices.

In ‟The Pecking Order” Jakes teaches women how to become ‟successful”/"the strongest hens that rules the roost”. Rather than drawing attention to the importance of shifts in prevailing structural and systematic political, economic and social power imbalances, he prioritises spiritual ‟positioning” as precondition and warranty that women will overcome challenges such as economic vulnerability, health problems and other debilitating realities. He states:

> *You get it in your spirit, before you get it in your life. You get it in your spirit, before you get it in your cheque book...You're healed in your spirit, before you're healed in your body. You're free in your spirit, before you're free in your life. You are blessed on the inside before you're blessed on the outside. What you are feeling in your belly, is a preview of what God is about to do in your life. So you've been positioned.* (Jakes, 2012a)

The root causes of the discrimination, stigmatisation, marginalisation and vulnerability of many women and persons with non-conforming sex/sexual identities and orientations are thus ignored and/or minimilised. Inequality and injustice are framed within God's will.

> *The reason why I don't want you to bemoan the storms, the tests, the tears, the divorce, the abuse, the injustice, the improprieties, because God used those things to position you, in a strategic place, for a strategic time...Do not despise the wind that blew you. Do not despise the force that took you, just rejoice in the fact that you are in the right place at the right time to do the thing that God has called you to do.* (Jakes, 2012a)

2.2.2 Race and class

The particular role that causal links between gender, race and class play in imbalanced power relations, receives no attention in the Jakes and Bynum teachings. Such omission is, for example, evident when Jakes urges women in ―The Pecking Order‖ to exhibit the ―courage‖ that is needed to be successful:

> *It takes courage to be successful. It is far easier not to be successful....It takes courage to be exceptional. It takes courage to be wise. It takes courage to be rich. It takes courage to be educated. It takes courage to be knowledgeable...I‟m wondering if there‟s anybody left that‟s got the courage left to say: „After all I‟ve been through, and all my ancestors have been through, and all my parents have been through...I have the courage to go after my dream and stand for the Lord.‟*
> (2012a)

The televangelist‗s side reference to the challenges that the ―ancestors‖ and ―parents‖ of women – in a predominantly women of colour audience – faced, exhibits, I would argue, a post-racialist approach. This negates the causal link between gender, race and class. It also minimilises the obstructive consequences of generational historical political, economic and social inequalities and injustices that were and are still caused by white supremacy. Jakes justifies and maintains harmful power imbalances by suggesting that God ―uses‖ people‗s economic and social marginalisation strategically to exhibit God‗s miraculous powers. He tells women:

> *You don‟t have that couch you got to have, don‟t have a car you got to have...You are living in that neighbourhood for a purpose...Stop complaining, stop whining. God is shifting you into a place.* (Jakes, 2012a)

Like Jakes, Bynum does not only ignore the intersections between race, class and gender, but frames those who are poor in a negative and superficial fashion. In ‒No More Sheets" (no specific Biblical references except for ‒the Bible says") she preaches to an audience that consists predominantly of people of colour and asserts:

> *If you are an individual who is without anybody...let me tell you how messed up*
> *you are because...By now you ought to at least have one piece of property that is*
> *in your name. You ain't even got nothing. You live in a* [sic] *apartment.* (DVD3)

The amplification, omission and trivialisation that are embedded in their rhetoric, indicate that both Jakes' and Bynum's discourses can be described as social accommodation communication. Their rhetoric deflects arguments about the nature, extent and consequences of hegemonies such as racism, post-racialism and neoliberal capitalism and class materialism. Chronic poverty is not framed as the economic legacy and continuing impact of white supremacy. They therefore maintain imbalanced power relations by directing attention away from the importance of a political will that propels practical, deep-rooted and sustained responses to race and class inequities.

2.3 Myths, stereotypes, labels and prejudices

2.3.1 Class, race and cultural diversity (ethnicity and faith)

Both Jakes and Bynum rely heavily on gender-oppressive myths, stereotypes and labels to give content to key concepts and construct gender and gender power relations. These replacement strategies encourage stigmatisation and various prejudices.

One of the most prominent myths that is reinforced in their rhetorical discourses is, as indicated, the notion of a post-racial society in which there are no causal links between race

and realities such as generational marginalisation and stigmatisation. Lee and Sinitiere (2009) argue that the teachings of televangelists such as Jakes, Joel Osteen and Paula White ‒transcends race, ethnicity, and class" (2009: 154) and that they ‒rebrand God in a manner commensurate with our [American] self-indulgent, therapeutic culture" (2009: 155). Such ‒rebranding" can be related to Walton's assertion that televangelists such as Jakes rely on ‒pervasive cultural myths to garner mass acclaim" (2009b: 15). Walton states that

> the larger the crowd that televangelists seek to attract, the more they must refer
> to collective ways of thinking and cultural myth systems that are often used to
> bond otherwise diverse communities. (2009b: 15)

The myth of a post-racial society adds, I would argue, to the pressure that is already on many marginalised women and persons with non-conforming gender and se/sexual identities and orientations –those who do not have the means or interest to immerse themselves in a ‒self-indulgent, therapeutic culture". Furthermore, it stigmatises them, in a significant fashion, as being ignorant. The following statement of Jakes exhibits such post-racialism,

> [f]rom my pulpit I not only sought to win souls to Christ but to also challenge
> them that they be freed from poverty, narrow-mindedness and the lack of
> information that can keep you still enslaved even in our contemporary society.
> (Jakes and West, 2005)

Walton argues that a negation of the link between race and class is manifestation racism. In their hyper-spiritualised rhetorical discourses both televangelists ignore such connection. Both encourage harmful myths related to racial, class and cultural difference by, for example, negatively stereotyping and labelling people that find themselves in contexts of economic vulnerability. In Bynum's case she attributes stereotypical racist characteristics to poor communities (ghettos). The majority of global citizens that live in such communities are people of colour and in some instances people who are not Christian believers. In ‒No More Sheets" the televangelist explains sarcastically:

I went to court and, and the judge said to me, he said: „Was this marriage consummated?" And you know me being slow and from the ghetto I leaned to my lawyer and said: „That's a big word. What does that mean?" (Bynum, DVD3)

Bynum's rhetoric reinforces the myth that a neoliberal capitalist society is just and beneficial to every person that puts his/her mind to it. This notion directs attention away the extent to which the voice and agency of especially poor women (mostly of colour) and many persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations remain obstructed today. In the previous chapter I argued that Bynum critiques prosperity theologies, but in the three teachings I examined, the televangelist does, like Jakes, not engage matters related to the deep-rooted and structural consequences of neoliberal capitalism and class materialism.

I suggest that Walton's theories on post-racialism should be expanded beyond race, to include other socially constructed cultural markers such as ethnicity and faith traditions. In the rhetoric of both Jakes and Bynum people (women) are negatively stereotyped and labelled on grounds of their ethnicity and faith traditions. Such exclusion and stigmatisation are propelled by harmful myths related to a zealous and mythological primacy that is placed on their understanding of the Christian faith.

In ―The Waiting Jesus" (John 4: 4-26) Jakes interprets the questions that the Samaritan woman asks Jesus about the political tensions and religious and cultural differences between Samaritans and Jews, in a fashion that ignores and/or minimilises the implications of racial, cultural and religious differences and tensions. In effect, it also casts doubt on theological assertions that political conflict and racial, cultural and religious diversity play significant roles in power relations. Jakes stereotypes and labels ―relationships" in a superficial way and asserts that Jesus calls the Samaritan woman's remarks and questions ―false ideas" (anti-―progressive") and was ―really sick of this now". He states

This woman has religion, but she didn't understand that Jesus...came to bring you relationships. So she's got a religious way of looking at things...If you are addicted to religion, you'll be focus [sic] *on what I've got on and miss what I'm saying. You'll worry about the style that I speak in and miss the power of the words I deliver...You worry about the colour of my skin or my denomination and miss the power and the impact of the glory that's on my life... Because you are holding on to the familiar, you miss the extraordinary.* (Jakes, 2012b)

As has been shown, race, ethnicity and culture (including faith traditions) most definitely matter today. There are causal links between these and a multitude of power imbalances and, thus, marginalisation, vulnerability and suffering. In certain instances, also death.

2.3.2 "Family" and "marriage"

Walton discusses gender equality in the context of an analysis of The Myth of the ―Strong Black Man‖ as ―Savior of the race‖ (2009b: 190-198). He relies on the theories of Steve Estes (2005) when he proposes that ―the social and civic death‖ experienced by African American men during slavery was experienced as ―a symbolic castration of black masculinity‖ that prevented conformation to ―the masculine standards of American patriarchal values‖ (Walton, 2009b: 191). Whilst they were frustrated about not being able to prevent the physical and emotional abuse of women and children by white male domination, they embraced this as ―ideal of manhood‖ (2009b: 191). Walton makes a connection between race and gender in his assertion that most African American churches have, over a long period of time, ―extolled the virtues of adhering to rigid gender roles within the family as effective strategy of gaining social acceptance‖ (2009b: 171). Of note is his assertion that in dominant African American televangelism

the ―ideal‖ American marriage and family is based not on mutual respect, cooperation, and reciprocity, but on dominance, compulsion, and social control to protect white male hegemony. (Walton, 2009b: 224)

207

Bynum encourages various gender-oppressive myths and stereotypes through her prioritisation and interpretation of *family*. This concept serves as the hetero-patriarchal lens – similar to the one that Walton describes above – through which she views gender, gender power relation, and sex/sexuality.

In ―No More Sheets" Bynum encourages harmful gender stereotypes when she interprets certain feminine appearances and specific lived realities (e.g. economic vulnerability and singlehood) within a sexist understanding of marriage.

> *I'm* [a woman is] *supposed to be a help meet...When you get ready to get married, what are you bringing to the table Miss Sister-thing, besides eyeliner and lipstick?...God is calling you to accountability today.* [Speaking in tongues] *Get yourself together. You ain't no help!* (DVD3)

In the same teaching Bynum reprimands women about their expectations of marriage and advocates that their main priority should be to ―minister" to ―men of God". She states:

> *Sit your hips down. You don't want no man, you want sex. You don't want a husband, you want a midnight rendezvous. Marriage is not sex. Marriage is ministry. And unless you're prepared to minster to the men of God, don't mess over 'em!* (Bynum, DVD3)

Bynum also declares:

> *God said: „Now go to the grocery store and put stacks and stacks of washing powder in the basement, and stacks and stacks of salt, and stacks and stacks of dishwashing." Because, you know what, He's preparing me for my mate. He*

come [sic] *to you in the shower and he ask you for some salt... „We ain't got none. I gotta run out." No, no, no. Prepare yourself!* (DVD3)

2.3.3 Leadership, male superiority and masculinity in crisis

The prevalence of harmful stereotypical gender labels and myths in the rhetoric of the televangelists indicates that their views on hetero-patriarchal hierarchical social gender positioning are rooted, as Walton suggests, in a long standing white Christian fundamentalist tradition[2]. Brouwer et al. argue that

> the patriarchal elements of early fundamentalism are unabashedly proclaimed in contemporary circles. The director of counseling for Jerry Falwell's Thomas Road Baptist Ministries issued the simple directive: ‗The Bible clearly states that the wife is to submit to her husband's leadership.' And evangelist James Robison's comment on working women speaks directly to the male fear of lost prestige: ‗The man's attraction is you a [*sic*] woman, not to a ‗professional person', and certainly not to a competitor whose success makes him feel inadequate in his God-given role as a provider.' (Brouwer et al.,1996: 220)

Both Jakes and Bynum re-enforce the myth that men's headship (leadership) is God's will and God wants to restore male dominance. This suggests that imbalanced gender power relations are divinely sanctioned. Especially Bynum refers to ―the Bible" as her constant source and presents biblical interpretations that justify male headship. In her rhetoric, she (more so than Jakes) advances a theology of masculinism that encourages the notion that men are naturally and inherently superior to women. Female submission is God's will. In ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" Bynum states:

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[2]The scope of this study does not allow for a critical examination of the rhetorical discourses of white North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalists such as Pat Roberston. My research did, however, show that Robertson freely applies gender-oppressive stereotypes and labels that re-enforce harmful hetero-patriarchal (sexist, heterosexist and homophobic) myths and prejudices.

To all you weak jelly-backed men who don't know how to stand up and be men of God the minute you start relinquishing your power…Too many weak men in the church…too many homosexual preachers. Too many spirit of feminism that is in the church. Too many men that aren't crying out to God. Where are the real men of God that's [sic] *got a praise in their spirit? I tell you something, the devil has already designed the woman that can take your place. You don't hear what I just said to you. I said Jezebel!* (DVD2)

Although there is a hetero-patriarchal bias detectable in his teachings, Jakes clearly attempts to project a complementarian approach to gender. He exhibits a more ―palatable‖ patriarchy that allows for women's empowerment in the corporate sphere.

Nadar (2009) points out that in complementarian approaches to gender (such as palatable patriarchy) men are often reprimanded for not taking more responsibility in their homes (family life) and societies and are encouraged to love their wives. Hegemonic struggles unfold in rhetorical discourses that are shaped by such a stance. Such struggle is a response to growing societal concern about the implications of men's irresponsible conduct. These include concerns about infidelity and men not taking financial responsibility and being physically and emotionally involved as partners and fathers. In ―Conquering the Conflict‖ Jakes critiques men for the ―messes‖ that they get themselves in. Referring to the request that the father of the boy with the unclean spirit makes to Jesus – ―If thou canst do anything, have mercy on us, and help us‖ – Jakes argues that:

He [the father] *threw the onus on Jesus to straighten out the mess. It's like what some people do: „Lord, if you really are real, get me out of this…‟ People who test God after you made the mess, then you give God the test and say: „If you're real, get me out of this.‟ He* [God] *outta say to you: „If you was* [sic] *real, you wouldn't be in this mess!‟*(2010)

This criticism is, however, vague and does not address conduct directly related to family responsibilities and gender power relations. The omission of such criticism suggests that Jakes still prioritises patriarchal aims and interests. Later in this presentation he suggests that God must and will restore men's ―rightful‖ positions. In his interpretations of the biblical story in question Jakes levels criticism at the ―church‖ for not being able to address the crisis men find themselves in (disciples' inability to help the father). He also reprimands men (the father) for a lack of ―radical‖ faith and for allowing women to take spiritual leadership in the church, homes and communities. He tells men:

> *...You got family problems. And financial problems. And emotional problems.*
> *And medical problems. Job problems...The problem with men and church is that*
> *we've been letting the women do all the believin" and all the prayin" and all the*
> *sowin" and all the studyin". And God said: „Until you take your rightful place..."*
> (Jakes, 2010)

This assertion reinforces the myth of male spiritual headship and leadership in the home and the church. In the six teachings that I examined neither Jakes nor Bynum exhibit ―patriarchal bargaining‖ in which men's authority, headship and leadership are linked to them taking greater responsibility in their homes and societies. They do, however, accentuate spiritual leadership (e.g. the responsibility of biblical interpretation). Neither one of the televangelist encourages the principles of shared domestic responsibility and of husbands showing love and respect to their wives.

Walton (2009) argues that whilst Jakes – who brands himself as a feminist that works for justice for women – calls men to take responsibility, he encourages ―parasitic female dependence on a loving God at best and an earthly male figure at worst‖ (2009b: 195). Jakes ―claims to move African American women toward positive self-actualisation‖, but ―the messages of his ministry suggest an obsession with having power over women‖ (2009b: 195). Walton argues that,

> [t]hough Jake's catchy book, sermon, and conference titles may prove effective at garnering mass appeal, they implicitly reinscribe the submission of women under a Strong Black Male. The passive acceptance of liberation signified in ‗Woman, Thou Art Loosed' is in sharp contrast to the virile exercise of agency suggested by his popular conference title ‗ManPower'. (2009b: 195)

Although he does this in a more diplomatic fashion than Bynum, Jakes also encourages the notion that male superiority and female inferiority is a natural and divine order. This is in line with Walton's content that the televangelist considers women to be ―naturally [more] vulnerable because of their open feminine nature" (2009b: 121). In *Daddy Loves His Girls* (Jakes, 1996) Jakes states:

> God as father is not averse to femininity but seeks to provide and protect. God as father blesses his sons who are made in his image but nurtures his daughters because they are weaker vessels. (Jakes, 1996: 35)[3]

Jakes qualifies the term ―weaker" as;

> [n]ot weak in terms of substandard, but weak in terms of softer...A silk shirt is more delicate than a cotton one. But it is also more valuable. Weaker doesn't mean lesser, just softer, more satin like. (1996: 35).

Although this assertion is packaged in a ―palatable" metaphor, it still reinforces the myth of male superiority. Both Bynum and Jakes encourage the notion that *masculinity* is, for various reasons, in crisis and that it is God's will that it is restored.

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[3]Note Jakes' use of the term ―father" with reference to God. This is, I would argue, a manifestation of patriarchal language use. I shed more light on the use of language as strategic communication biasing device later in this analysis.

The earlier cited reprimands that Bynum level at ‖jelly-backed men‖ and ‖feminists‖ confirm the hetero-patriarchal worldview that underpins the televangelist's defence and sanctification of hierarchical gender power relations. She considers societal developments – the humanist norms of equality and justice that resists this ideological hegemony – as threats to masculinity (crisis). Bynum therefore advocates for the restoration of a ‖godly‖ hetero-patriarchal masculinity that is anchored in male leadership and headship in the church, family home and society. It is thus the televangelist's conviction that a man has the divine responsibility and right to wield power over the women and girls in his life.

Jakes also encourages the notion that masculinity is in a crisis. In ‖Conquering the Conflict‖ he speaks on behalf of men, stating:

> *Somebody holler: „Help us!" [Audience: „Help us!"]...Our women have run away...with other men. Help us! She left me...and it wasn't even for a man. Help us! ... My little baby girl...is pregnant. Help us! When I come home from work, sit down on the couch and beneath my breath I think „Lord, help us." [Unclear] comin" in her arguin" about the same thing ... Lord ... Help us! I got fired at work. I gotta fight my way home. I gotta fight in the house. Lord! I thought I'd be farther than I am right now. Lord, help us! I thought we'd be livin" our dreams out. Instead, I'm sitting on this couch. Lord ... help us!" (Jakes, 2010)*

The overarching theme of the MP 2010 series – ‖Mended‖ – confirms Jakes' conviction that God can and will ‖mend‖ men (their masculinity). Of note is the following comment in his prayer:

> *Come now Holy Spirit. Come real close. Lord, we didn't come here just to have church. We have church all the time. We didn't come to dance, we can dance anywhere. We came because we are...your sons. We need your mending touch...to mend us...to heal us. To direct us. To empower us... (Jakes, 2010)*

2.3.4 Masculinity and femininity

Both Jakes and Bynum construct *gender* and *sex* in a hetero-patriarchal fashion. They apply gender-oppressive stereotypes and labels to give content to the concepts of *masculinity* and *femininity*.

Their interpretations of masculinity are, as suggested before, rooted in the paradigm of inherent male superiority. I have discussed Walton's theories on the role of a dominant white male hegemony in many African American televangelists' views on marriage and gender power relations. Brouwer et al. says of such hegemonic masculinity;

> [t]he shift from an agrarian to an industrial society had made it more difficult for men to live out ‗traditional' notions of masculinity...While the Boy Scouts of America were trying to devise new ways to create ‗real men' out of boys, the revivalists were echoing the challenge from the pulpit…The Victorious Life Movement emphasized filling the young man with the Holy Spirit so he ‗can of course do what a thousand cannot do...He is the strong man, the wise man, the effective man.' (1996: 220)

Despite the fact that he applies a complementarian approach to gender and the ―palatability" of his interpretations, Jakes advocates hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, Walton (2009) asserts that the televangelist's ―romanticisation of hyper-femininity in women, rather than his call for a renewal of hyper-masculinity among men" is problematic (2009b: 193). He argues that in his book *He-Motions* (Jakes, 2004), Jakes attempts to ―affirm the beauty and sanctity of women" (Walton, 200b: 193). In the process of doing so, he ―promotes, not relations of mutual respect between the sexes, but a naturalized gendered understanding of the female body as something that should be paternalistically protected" (2009: 193). Drawing from the views of Shayne Lee (2005), Walton argues further that ―implicit in Bishop Jakes' description of women, as in the case of Eve, is the symbiotic relationship to and dependence upon a masculine presence" (Walton, 2009b: 194). I found that the televangelist's gender

stereotyping and labelling – although it is more subtle and ―palatable" than the undiluted hetero-patriarchy that characterises Bynum's for*men*ist rhetoric – still justify, maintain and encourages prejudices such as sexism and homophobia.

Walton argues that the hegemonic nature of Jakes' convictions become particularly evident in his hyper-feminine and -masculine construction of gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. I would argue that Jakes purposefully aims and tailors his teachings specifically at and for either a female or a male audience. In ―Conquering the Conflict", he raises questions about the importance of men – that find themselves in crisis situations – questioning the inability of the present day church to play a relevant role and states:

> *Will there ever be anybody who rises up with enough guts and gonads to say what we are doing does not* [work]. *Yeah, I said gonads, sister, you are not be watching this ManPower video if you can't handle it. Log off.* [Audience: „*Yeah!'*] (Jakes, 2010)

In 2009, Walton proposed that Jakes cannot be seen as ―a paragon of progressive black male sensibilities", but that he ―does now to some extent critique the rhetoric of a hyper-masculinity that can be found in his earlier work" (Walton, 2009b: ch. 7 note 40). He then pointed out, however, that especially Jakes' earlier work ―reveals themes of manhood that rely upon and promote the myth of a salvific black masculinity" (2009b: 193). Walton states that

> [i]n his book Loose That Man and Let Him Go! [Jakes 2003:29] Jakes constantly appeals to the myth by calling for men to be restored to a place of authority and purpose...He employs hypermasculinist metaphors to explain the essence of manhood. Comments like ‗There is a hunter in you whether you are stalking a contract, a deer or a woman' reinforce the themes of male domination and female subjugation. (2009b: 193)

An example of how Jakes' rhetoric constitutes a site for hegemonic struggle related to hyper-masculinity can be found in ‑Conquering The Conflict". He encourages men to be vocal about and show their emotions. He asserts that

> *there is a reason the devil doesn't want men to talk. There is a reason he tries to get you to suffer in silence and deal with everything by yourself...Never open your mouth. And never cry out! ... But the devil is a liar! Squeeze that hand you're holding right now... There are issues that he can't talk to anybody about...* (2010)

Although the televangelist challenges masculinism to a certain extent in this teaching, other manifestations of a hegemonic masculinity overshadow such slight adjustments. In the same presentation Jakes interprets Jesus as having a particular manifestation of hyper-masculinity. He interprets Jesus' response – when he returns from the mountain top and finds some of his disciples in a confrontation with the Pharisees – in the following assertion:

> *I like this text...Because it does not portray Jesus...as this...very passive...limp wristed, indifferent Christ who is...floating through tulips and with harps in his hands. But it is a* [sic] *aggressive, a little angry kind of Christ. A...belligerent Christ. A protective Christ. A stirred up Christ. A Christ full of wrath and hostility.* (Jakes, 2012a)

Brouwer et al. reflect on the contrast between the

> ‑feminine' aspects of Catholicism and the masculinity that is embedded in Protestantism; particularly the ‑muscular' Christianity that evolved out of the late nineteenth-century evangelization campaigns in the U.S. and still characterizes fundamentalist evangelicalism. (1996: 224)

Brouwer et al. point out that Evangelist Billy Sunday advocated – especially to his male converts – ‖that Christianity was ‗a man's religion', not a ‗pale, effeminate proposition...Jesus was no ascetic, but a robust, red-blooded man who lived to the full'" (1996: 224). They argue that this sentiment was evident in the 1980's when ‖Ray McCauley, a body builder and former Mr. Universe (and now the pastor of the Rhema Church outside of Johannesburg), would flex his muscles as he gave his testimony at crusades throughout South Africa" (1996: 224). The same notion of virile Christian masculinity was also evident in North America at mass rallies staged exclusively for male believers under the banner of the ‖Promise Keepers" (1996: 225).

Jakes encourages the notion that Jesus was a ‖robust, red-blooded man". In his reflection on African–American televangelism, Walton argues that believers constitute ‖a community of faith that is committed to an ideal of masculinity defined by the capacity to conquer and subdue" and where ‖manhood is ...measured by the capacity to force another into submission" (Walton, 2009b: 223). Drawing on Painter (2002b: 18), he argues that

> rather than promoting a vibrant space of human flourishing and egalitarian
> mutuality, the myth of the Strong Black Man encourages black men to embrace
> the violent virtues of slavery and white supremacy in order to be regarded as
> respectable members of society at best and to overcome a masculine inferiority
> complex vis-á-vis white maleness at worst. (Walton, 2009b: 224-225)[4]

Walton's argument that ‖manhood is...measured by the capacity to force another into submission", is substantiated by the way in which Jakes stereotypes Jesus as a hyper-masculine man in ‖The Waiting Jesus". In his interpretation the televangelist reinforces various gender-oppressive myths by suggesting that Jesus rescues the Samaritan woman despite the fact that she was wasting his time and acting ‖foolish". By implication, Jakes suggests that a ‖godly" man should not engage women intellectually, but should brush their

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[4]See Walton's views and propositions under the heading ‖Woman, Thou Art Lashed!" (2009b), 223-227. In Chapter Five, I reflect briefly on the implications that this notion holds for South African women that suffer injustices that are related to GBV.

arguments aside and declare ―the truth". Jakes aligns his own leadership and argumentative approach to Jesus' perceived masculinity.

> *I don't argue well...And I don't like to fight and I'm not a really good fighter, which makes make me kinda dangerous...Since I'm not good. I go for the jugular quick...In case you might whip me, I'm a gonna right for the throat...Jesus is tired of the fight. So he goes for the jugular and says: „Where* [sic] *your husband?"*(2012b)

Jakes' comment that Jesus ―goes for the jugular" could be interpreted as an encouragement that women that argue with men should be discouraged if not disciplined. In the same teaching there is another example of gender-oppressive stereotyping that entrenches myths about masculinity and femininity that have, in my view, the potential to encourage the abuse of women who argue with men. The televangelist refers to Jacob wrestling with the angel of God and states that it was a physical engagement because

> *men are physical. But because He* [Jesus] *is after a woman* [Samaritan woman]*, and woman are verbal, He fights in her language. „Cause you know you are verbal somebody in the earth. Y"al will talk back if we knock you down you still: „So you gonna knock me down? You still ain't a man." And your words are coming from your thoughts. But if your words were right, and your thoughts were right, why are you still in the cycle? Only a lunatic keeps doing the same thing expecting a different result...So – I'm not talking to you, I'm talking to the woman at the well – maybe you ought to shut-up for a minute...and rethink your truth. Where did you get your truth from anyway girl? Have you ever thought that you might not be as smart as you are?* (Jakes, 2012b)

It is clear that these pieces of rhetoric have the potential to encourage various harmful stereotypes and myths about masculinity and femininity. The interpretation that Jakes offers of (a very busy) Jesus' masculinity (the ultimate Godly masculinity) and the fashion in which

he frames the conduct of the Samaritan woman in this teaching is an example of the application of an expansive hegemonic approach. Jakes exhibits a concern for women's interests in his recognition that Jesus challenged the misogynistic character of the dominant culture of his time, by sending his disciples away to wait on ―of all things, one woman‖ (2012b). Jakes asserts:

> *Now if you read this text with your American eyes, your European eyes or even your African eyes; if your read this text with your twenty-first century eyes, you won't understand that you never saw men waiting on women. Women waited on men. It was a misogynic* [sic] *society who had no real value for women at all. They were seldom even mentioned in genealogies. Most of the women in the New Testament they didn't give a name. This woman, what is her name?* (2012b)

I consider the televangelist's acknowledgment of some of the oppressive characteristics of misogyny as an attempt to respond to growing societal demands for gender equality and justice. These observations are, as suggested before, still outweighed by how he proceeds to frame and evaluate the woman's conduct from a patriarchal and sexist perspective. In his interpretation Jakes places the ultimate Godly masculinity (Jesus) in tension with a femininity that allows for a woman to challenge a man (―she thinks she's smart‖ (Jakes, 2012b)), have the ―audacity to be argumentative‖ (2012b) about political and cultural matters, have multiple partners and have an unacceptable religious background (Jesus was wrestling with ―this foolish woman‖ (2012b)).

In much of his motivational and affirmative rhetoric Jakes encourages equality of the sexes. This is, however, negated, if not nullified, by, an expansive hegemonic approach that serves hetero-patriarchy. This allows for stereotyping and labelling that reinforce not only a hegemonic masculinity, but a hegemonic femininity. Walton points out that in *The Lady, Her Lover, and Her Lord* (Jakes, 1998) Jakes

even questions the aims of the women's liberation movement. According to him, women's liberation should not be a movement but a mentality that frees women from social oppression and fear of being unequivocally feminine. For Bishop Jakes believes a woman's strength lies, not in her ability to be hard like men, but in her femininity, which is like 'strength in silk wrappings'. (Walton, 2009b: 121)

Walton cites Jakes as contending that

women, for the large part, enjoy being women. They surround themselves with beautiful things – flowers and lacy, delicate things that help to frame and enhance the beauty of their femininity. (Jakes, 1998: 58)

The rhetorical discourses of both Jakes and Bynum exhibit manifestations of hegemonic femininity. In this sense, their biblical interpretations and normative directives defend and sanctify imbalanced gender power relations. The content that they give to the concept of femininity is directly linked to male superiority (the male is the originator, leader, provider and protector). Walton argues that Jakes encourages a ―parasitic female dependence on a loving God at best and on an earthly male figure at worst" (2009b: 195). He asserts that

a gendered zero-sum game dictates that black women must be more docile, dependent, and demure so that black men can publicly perform their role of being in charge, independent, and inseminatory. (Walton, 2009b: 217-218)

Walton points out that in his discourses Jakes encourages the conviction that ―Eve was derived from Adam to be a help-meet, a source of assistance and strength for Adam" (Jakes, 1993: 98). He argues that

Jakes ...delineate female uniqueness by saying ‗Women were made like receptacles. They were made to be receivers'. Men, on the other hand, are givers, ‗physically, sexually and emotionally'. (Walton, 2009b: 120)

The gender oppressive metaphorical directive in this explanation finds an echo in similar rhetoric of Bynum's. In ―No More Sheets" she offers a prophetic account of maleness, femaleness and sexual intercourse. These interpretations confirm myths about male sexual dominance. The female sex is presented as the passive sex:

> *Understand somethin" my brothers and my sisters. Men are...projectors and women are receptive. Men release and woman they get impartation...According to the Old Testament men after they...project themselves and they get release...what they lost is strength. So every time they sleep with a woman and that woman is not their...wife, they're losing strength. But see, every time a man sleeps with us, we're getting a deposit.* (Bynum, DVD3)

Jakes' strategic stereotyping and labelling entrench a very specific hyper-feminine hegemony; one that does not only depend on a symbiotic relationship with masculinity (Walton, 2009b: 194), but sets harmful ―femininity" benchmarks. This proposition is strengthened by Walton's reflections on ―the bishop's fetishization of the hyperfeminine female body and acceptance of the benchmarks of hegemonic femininity" (2009b: 194). Walton explains the historic relationship between Jakes and Bynum. The latter ―was known for her fiery and physical oratory, short kinky hair, and disinclination to wear makeup" (2009b: 194). After a public fall-out, Jakes replaced Bynum, at his mass events and in his television broadcasts, with the televangelist Paula White. Walton observes that

> in choosing Paula White to appear with him, Bishop Jakes probably realized her marketability, but one can also surmise that her prominent blonde hair, blue eyes, and breast lift were more consistent with his idealization of the ‗soft' and ‗dainty' virtuous woman...(2009b: 194)

White lacks Bynum's ―oratorical gifts and singing ability", but she is ―seemingly valued for her thin frame, golden hair, and stylish manner of dress" (Walton, 2009b: 194). Walton argues that Jakes reinforces ―white supremacist and narrow notions of femininity by presenting Paula White as the archetype of a ―godly" woman" (2009b: 194-195).

Jakes' teachings reflect stereotypical views on the roles that women are expected to play, how (he perceives) women should dress and how women should behave. In ―Conquering the Conflict" he remarks that ―it's great that the women's [unclear] baked cookies" (2010) and in ―The Pecking Order" tells women ―okay, I forgot I got a room full of women, and I've gotta get you down off them heels in just a minute...I'm praying for corns, calluses, bunions" (2012a).

In ―The Pecking Order" Jakes re-aligns (a very ―macho" version) God's instructions to Joshua to illustrate to women that faith, rather than emotional outbursts, will deliver change and empowerment in their lives:

> *He* [Joshua] *drew his sword out when the Lord showed up, and he got ready to fight, and the Lord had to speak to him and said: ,I am the captain of the hosts." In other words, if you think you bad, you just met super-bad...Put your sword away, you will not win this battle with swords, you will win it with strategy...You will not win this battle pooing your neck, fighting, cussing, yelling, screaming, telling people off.* (2012a)

Bynum relies heavily on hetero-patriarchal stereotypes and labels in her rhetorical discourses. Like Jakes, she encourages the myth that women need men as saviours and protectors. In ―No More Sheets" she offers an anecdote about a female eagle that tests a male eagle's strength by dropping a branch – that has her body weight – in mid-flight in order to see if he could catch that in good time. She uses this to illustrate the importance of husbands' spiritual leadership and ―protection" and states:

> *I don't want nobody that can't catch me in the spirit. I don't want nobody, that can't catch me in prayer. That can't catch me in my spirit. That can't sense when something is wrong. I need an eagle-like spirit that's got the power to intercede for me. To concentrate for me. To fast for me. To minister to me.* (Bynum, DVD3)

Bynum also aligns God in a harmful stereotypical fashion with a patriarchal (sexist) man. She gives an account of a conversation between her and God and asserts that God said: ―I want you to treat me like you would your man" (DVD3). Bynum explains that

> *the third morning He* [God] *said: „Tomorrow when you get up, get up and get dressed. Comb your hair. Put your clothes on. Put your make-up on. Don't come in my presence like that. Treat me like you treat your man. I want you to attention."* (DVD3)

As pointed out previously, Bynum places the responsibilities of respect, support and service exclusively on women, thus confirming harmful myths regarding femininity. In the same presentation, she reprimands women for not showing discernment when choosing husbands; for not taking the fact that a man is not church-going and the possibility that he might be lying about his economic status, into account. She aligns her own desire for freedom with finding a very specific man, stating:

> *I wanna be free! I don't wanna be disillusioned! I want a man of God! I want a praying man! I want a fasting man. I want a man that loves his Mama! That respect* [sic] *his sisters! That can submit to his pastor!* (Bynum, DVD3)

Bynum, like Jakes, applies an expansive hegemonic approach in her assertion that a man should ―respect his Mama...his sisters". Her apparent defence of women's interests serves,

however, patriarchal (sexist and heterosexist) aims. Later in the presentation the televangelist mimes a single woman that desires to get married and states in a sarcastic fashion:

„I wanna get married. I wanna get married," and you can't even cook! „I wanna get married", and your nails's [sic] *too long to make a biscuit! „I wanna get married", and you can't even wash clothes!* (Bynum, DVD3)

This remark clearly demonstrates how Bynum romanticises patriarchy by reinforcing the myth that a ―godly", ―pure", ―sanctified" woman willingly performs specific domestic responsibilities/roles. In her rhetoric the televangelist also encourages the notion that God rewards women that submit to and serve their husbands with happy marriages.

In the six teachings that I examined it is evident that both Jakes' and Bynum's understanding of femininity involves definite and very strict parameters for women's sexual behaviour. This is in contrast with their lack of engagement and normative directives regarding the responsibilities of and the role and implications of men's sexual activities and conduct. Both televangelists apply double standards in this regard. In so doing, they reinforce gender-oppressive myths about the right to and morality related to sexual relations. Through remarks that Bynum makes in ―No More Sheets", she encourages dangerous and tenacious myths that often underpin sexual harassment and GBV such as rape. She states that

when you get a no good demon still [unclear]*: „How you doing Baby? I sure would like to get with you", there is still something about the way you dress. There's still something about the way you look, that's still attracting those kinda men...* (Bynum, DVD3)

Bynum's application of this rape myth as replacement strategy is particularly ironic. I suggest that it is understood against the backdrop of the way in which she takes responsibility for the

GBV that her former spouse, Pastor Thomas Weeks III, inflicted on her and her claim that she had had sexual relations with women. In the previously cited radio interview she remarks;

> [t]hat abuse that I suffered was because I attracted after my own kind. That abuse was always sitting in me...I had already abused myself mentally and emotionally for years trying to fill a void that only the power of purpose can fill...The void that you're trying to fill is a void that's been put there by the Creator...Until you accept that, you're going to walk around with the living dead. (Shropshire, 2012)[5]

In their reinforcement of stereotypical hegemonic masculinity and femininity both Jakes and Bynum encourage harmful myths and prejudice and thus expectations and values ("acceptable", "good", "godly") that are particularly detrimental to people (women) with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities[6].

I previously cited rhetoric in which Jakes casts a negative light on women that go to "bars and strip clubs" and those who have casual sexual relationships with men and "lesbian lover[s]". In both "Conquering the Conflict" and "The Waiting Jesus" the televangelist reinforces harmful perceptions about HIV/AIDS by framing this health risk within the context of human weaknesses and sins and asserting that divine intervention was the sole reason why men and women did not "die from AIDS".

In "No More Sheets" Bynum's normative directives focus in a particular fashion on negative stereotyping and labeling of women, including herself, that have had/have multiple sexual partners. Bynum's normative directives label non-conforming sexual activities such as masturbation, multiple sexual relationships and intercourse outside of marriage, as "sinful". She also – in a very graphic and animated fashion – demonises women that express their

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[5] See http://rollingout.com/culture/juanita-bynum-admits-gay-affairs/. [Accessed 12 September 2013]
[6] In this regard I apply Judge's argument that such identities include transgender people, HIV positive people that are sexually active; women that claim their right to or refuse to have sex with their husbands, women with multiple partners, sex workers and others whose behaviours and identities disrupt gender norms (2009: 12).

wishes to their husbands regarding acts that stimulate them sexually. In that presentation she states: ―So you know you got your people that's...not really saved and consecrated and then they start telling you...you can masturbate, you can do it yourself" (Bynum, DVD3).

The televangelist thus privileges marriage as a precondition for ―godly", "sanctified" sexual relations and acts; to be married to ―a man of God" is a ―godly" woman's ultimate priority. Bynum explains her own failure to secure and maintain a lasting marriage as follows

> *I said to the Lord, I said: „But why am I not married?" And He said to me: „You've been married too many times." He said: „Every time you slept with somebody, you married them and that person became your husband." He said: „But what's your problem is you got married to all these but you never divorced any of them...You're not married because you're not single."(DVD3)*

In her interpretation of the reasons for marital tensions, Bynum does not attribute problems to the conduct of both husbands and wives, but blames the dissatisfaction of married women (who have had previous sexual relationships) on the notion that their ―spirits have not been delivered" (DVD3) from the men that they have been with before. She relays a message from ―God": the spirits of previous sexual partners are ―in competition" with the present husband's spirit (DVD3).

The negative stereotyping and labelling that are recognisable in the rhetorical discourses of both Jakes and Bynum stigmatise women who – by choice or due to circumstances beyond their control (e.g. sex workers) – have multiple sexual partners. An example of how Jakes frames such non-conforming lifestyles negatively can be found in ―The Waiting Jesus". He interprets Jesus' question to the Samaritan woman about her ―husband" as a form of discipline, judgement and condemnation. Jakes asserts that

Jesus knows exactly what to say to get to the heart of an issue. Like He asked the woman at the well: „Where is your husband?" You know, He just cut [sic] *through all of her stuff. Said: „Woman! Where is your husband?"* [Jakes imitates the woman by stuttering] *„Well, it...it's not like he's my husband. But we... we...we're kinda like, uh, friends and, uh." So Jesus got tired of the confusion and the foolishness...* (2010)

Both Jakes and Bynum prioritise heterosexuality as the ―natural", ―good", and ―godly" sexual system. Their normative directives thus stigmatise and marginalise (demonise) the LGBQTIA+ community. Walton discusses homophobia as a consequence of The Myth of the ―Strong Black Man" (2009b: 220), arguing that ―a benchmark of hegemonic masculinity is not being gay or bisexual. According to the rules of being ―a real man," homosexuality is the negation of masculinity" (2009b: 220). Walton asserts that ―to be perceived as effeminate, soft, a sissy, queen, or faggot...further emasculates black males who already feel their masculinity under attack" (2009b: 220).

Of note is Walton's assertion that it is not only men who embrace hegemonic masculinity as prime value. Whilst non-heterosexual gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations, such as lesbianism, ―is rarely, if ever, brought up or challenged by African American religious broadcasting" (Walton, 2009b: 259), both men and women support this value (2009b: 223). Walton explains many African American Christian women's homophobic sentiments. This includes a perspective on a ―down low" (DL) sub-culture – the participation of African American men (including male clergy and believers) in high-risk same sex in order to preserve a hypermasculine image. This, proposes Walton, plays some role in women's attitudes and beliefs (2009b: 220-223).

Both Jakes and Bynum use pastoralisation – their authority as religious leaders – and root their normative directives on hetero-patriarchy in biblical interpretations. Both televangelists' claim the Bible as ultimate source that sanctifies homophobia. Jakes' application of biblical inerrancy as replacement strategy directs, I propose, attention away from his personal

heterosexist convictions. In an interview with Oprah Winfrey on *Oprah's Next Chapter* he argues that

> the perception in our society today is that if you don't say you're for same-sex marriage or if you say homosexuality is a sin that you're homophobic and you're against gay people. And that's not true...I think that sex between two people of the same sex is condemned in the Scriptures, and as long as it is condemned in the Scriptures, I don't get to say what I think. I get to say what the Bible says. (Menzies, 2012)[7]

Patricia Hill Collins' argues that in certain paradigms ―all ‗real men' are judged as the opposite of feminine: ―hard, strong, and forceful'" (Walton, 2009b: 191). In other words,

> having control over the women in one's life (girlfriend, wife, daughter), not being like a boy (boys are quasi-women in that they are less muscular than grown men and have not yet matured into responsibility), and being heterosexual (―real" men are not sissies, faggots, or queens). (Walton, 2009b: 191)

In an African American context harmful standards of hegemonic femininity suggests

> [m]aintaining the appropriate bodily and behavioural demeanour (soft, deferential, and demure, being domesticated (married and managing a family), not being taken for a man (accentuation of bodily parts, straight or long hair, soft and/or light skin) and being heterosexual and sexually pure (a woman's body is meant to be given to one man). (Walton, 2009b: 191)[8]

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[7]See http://www.christianpost.com/news/td-jakes-scripture-condemns-homosexuality-not-my-job-to-give-opinions-73330/. [Accessed 2 March 2013].
[8]My earlier reflections on Jakes' replacement of Bynum with Paula White should be considered in this context.

In both the ―Jezebel" teachings Bynum labels homosexuality as one of the sinful perversions facing the global church today[9]. In ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" she interprets a relationship between Baal and Ashtaroth in a way that stigmatises and demonises lesbians that choose to become parents. She describes an Ashtaroth's spirit as androgynous;

> *It just switches to male, female, female, male. Now why did this make God mad? Because they began to produce – without a father. You don't hear me, you don't hear me, you don't hear me. They started erecting creativity without using the structure of the family.* (Bynum, DVD2)

Jakes' and Bynum's oratory skills are evident in the seamless and effective way that they use aspects of speech, such as language, imagery and metaphors. These communication skills further strengthen the hegemonic biases that are embedded in the myths, stereotypes and labels that they use.

2.4 Language, imagery and metaphors

The URCSA and ERKG task team (Boesak et al., 2010) posit that ―our traditional theological language has used male language and symbols for God that have affirmed domination" (2010: 65).[10] As is the case with the other communication methodologies that are evident, Jakes' and Bynum's rhetorical discourses are vehicles for language, imagery and metaphors that maintain gender power imbalances. Their use of figurative speech serves as a biasing device that further amplifies the neoliberal capitalist and hetero-patriarchal content of their

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[9] Previously I gave information about the role that New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism plays in anti-homosexual campaigns in Africa. FWI president Sharon Slater has praised Nigeria as a ―role model". In terms of the criminalisation of same-sex relationships. Slater encourages African law-makers to resist calls by the United Nations to decriminalise homosexuality, warning them that their religious and parental rights would be in jeopardy if they supported ―fictitious sexual rights" (such as the right to consensual same-sex sexual relationships) (Baptiste and Foreign Policy in Focus, 2014). See http://www.thenation.com/blog/179191/its-not-just-uganda-behind-christian-rights-onslaught-africa/. [Accessed 8 April 2014].
Such propositions are often linked to assertions that particularly male sexual acts that are not heterosexual are the root cause of HIV/AIDS and a vehicle for paedophilia.
[10] For valuable insight about the gendered use of biblical language, see Dube, 2012.

teachings. Both televangelists use these communication ―tools‖ to tap into the fears, expectations and other emotions of audiences. This reinforces harmful stereotypes and encourages oppressive myths.

In all of the six teachings that I examined, metaphorical discourse is an important homiletic cornerstone.

The way in which Jakes' metaphorical skills strengthen his hyper-spiritualised stance and the ideological content of his teachings, is particularly evident in ―The Pecking Order‖. He interprets an Old Testament story about the Israeli occupation of the Canaanite city of Jericho. The relevant piece of scripture relates to the strategy that the Israeli military force, under the leadership of Joshua, applied to seize and take ownership of the city. Jakes prioritises two elements in his interpretation: the divine instruction that Joshua received to bring the walls of the city down – not by the sword (force) but by faith (marching around it seven times) – and the way in which a woman called Rahab secured her own and her extended family's escape from the Israeli take-over and slaughter. Rahab was a ―harlot‖ who negotiated a deal with the invading force by sheltering Israeli spies in her home in the wall of Jericho in exchange for the future survival of her and her kin under Israeli control.[11]

2.4.1 Liberation and empowerment

In order to serve the central message of his teaching – ―the strongest hen rules the roost‖ – Jakes aligns the above-mentioned departure points to reflect on women's liberation and empowerment.

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[11]For a postcolonial feminist interpretation of the same biblical story, see Darden, Lynn. 2012. ―Hanging Out With Rahab: An Examination of Musa Dube's Hermeneutical Approach with a Postcolonial Touch,‖ in Dube, 2012.

He commences his teaching by conveying a fundamental conviction: there are two elements of faith without which ―liberation" and ―empowerment" are impossible. These are faith in God and faith in oneself. To shed light on how such faith should be manifested in one's life, Jakes then reflects on the strategy that Joshua applied and the characteristics that Rahab exhibited in her service to the Israeli military force (God). Through his interpretation and application of the biblical story, he identifies four steps to or requirements for ―liberation" and ―empowerment": positioning, exposure, courage and knowledge. He asserts that 1) Rahab's circumstances had resulted in her being perfectly positioned in the wall of the city, 2) Joshua sent the spies into Canaan so that they could gain the exposure they needed to share his vision for Israel's future, 3) despite being a ―harlot", Rahab had the courage to risk her life, take a stand for what she believed in and help the Israeli invasion succeed and 4) despite being a ―hooker", ―a madam" and a ―mistress", Rahab had knowledge about realities beyond her own situation or context, namely Israeli ―international affairs"[12].

Jakes' alignment of Joshua having to step into the Jordan before it parts is an example of metaphorical discourse that encourages women to view the challenges that hamper their ―liberation" and ―empowerment" from a spiritual rather than critical political, economic and social perspective. Constructive change is rooted in personal faith. Jakes states:

> *Some things don't part for you, until you step into it. You been* [sic] *standing on the banks, waiting for God to make a way. God says: „I'm not making a way. I did that for Moses, I'm not doing that for you. You gonna have to step into something that ain't working, and as you step out into the chilly Jordan, and I'm gonna roll it away as you walk into it...When I see you getting your feet wet, I'm gonna move what you can't move out of your way...* (2012b)

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[12]This interpretation contradicts, I would argue, Jakes' negative framing of the Samaritan woman's ―knowledge of international affairs". I would argue further this inconsistency relates to the fact that whilst Rahab was in service of and hence supportive of a masculine show of physical power and imperialist conquering, the Samaritan woman challenged a man about political, cultural and religious double standards.

In reinterpreting a metaphor, that is within liberation theological circles closely associated with the dismantlement of political, economic and social inequalities and justices (such as slavery), Jakes subtly challenges the authority of those that despiritualises the concept of *liberation* and links human empowerment to shifts in societal power relations. I propose that the ―lightness" with which he announces that oppressive challenges are overcome by personal faith in God's intervention and power, borders on irresponsibility. The televangelist realigns Rahab's escape from Jericho and her and her family's eventual prosperous life to give particular meaning to the concepts of liberation and empowerment. He explains that

> *there is a debate in the Bible about how Rahab got out. James says that she walked her way out. But the writer Hebrews says: "By faith." Rahab the harlot, escaped the death around her for faith without works is dead... Your faith is your beak...You're gonna take your positioning and your exposure and your courage and your knowledge. Wait a minute...P.E.C.K Peck! Touch your sister and say: „Give me some room. It's too tight in here....If you peck then you'll get out! ... The shell cracked, and the chick escaped, and the walls came down...The message is: the pecking order!* (Jakes, 2012a)

Jakes' figurative speech in the teaching ―The Waiting Jesus" constitutes harmful stereotypes about certain realities that obstruct women's voice and agency. His interpretation of the Samaritan woman's encounter with Jesus stigmatises all women that are caught in ―empty cycles". In his interpretations he ignores the possibility that the ―empty cycle" of chores that the Samaritan woman finds herself in, and the fact that she has multiple partners, might be directly related to the gender power imbalances that are entrenched in a misogynistic society. It might, on the other hand, be related to her own choices.

Through his figurative speech Jakes advocates the notion that all women have control over the obstructive political, economic and social circumstances. On the other hand, it stigmatises women's agency to make personal choices. Hence, being caught in ―empty cycles" indicates a lack of strength in faith. His use of metaphorical discourse further strengthens the myth that

―anything is possible for the one that believes". As pointed out previously, such a notion serves as a replacement strategy that directs attention away from the fact that many women do *not* have control over obstructive circumstances that they find themselves in. It minimilises the systematic and structural political, economic and social imbalances that cause ―emptiness" and ―cycles". In metaphorical discourses such as those in ―The Waiting Jesus", Jakes direct attention away from the fact many women do not have the luxury of choices and that many women do claim their voice and agency within a misogynistic context.

The following piece of business-orientated (neoliberal capitalist) metaphorical rhetoric in ―The Waiting Jesus" substantiates my argument that Jakes's hyper-spiritualised figurative speech stigmatises and further marginalises many women by encouraging feelings of inadequacy.

> *The only difference between the janitor and the CEO is what's going on in their head. The only difference between the victim and the victor is what's going on in their head. Somebody else could play your hand and win with it. Somebody else could step into your body, drive your car to your house and build an empire from it. What do they know that you don't? ... It's not on the outside that's messing you up, it's what's on the inside.* (Jakes, 2012b)

Bynum applies figurative speech to hyper-spiritualise women's ―liberation" and ―empowerment". As is the case with Jakes, the imagery and metaphors that she uses directs attention away from political, economic and social societal inequities. She too views women's liberation and empowerment strictly through a spiritual lens. In ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" Bynum interprets the threshing floor – the process in which the chaff is separated from the wheat – as God's way of using people's suffering (and the challenges that churches face) to ―purify" the faithful. She asserts that:

> *it's not Satan, it is the spirit of the Lord that is beginning to trample out the stuff that is not needed in where God is trying to take you. A lot of your warfare...is not of the devil, it's because the Lord is purifying the body. It's because the Lord is purifying your ministry. It's because the Lord is purifying your church. And everything that can be shaken...will be shaken until purification.* (Bynum, DVD1)

Bynum uses the threshing floor as a metaphor for a spiritual process of purification (in the spiritual ―realm‖) in which the chaff (―sin‖ and ―impurities‖) is separated from the wheat (spiritual strength and faith)[13]. Without such a process of humility and repentance, the ―death‖ of ―sin‖ and a renewed relationship with God (and thus God's blessings) is not possible. Hence the threshing floor symbolises a site for the spiritual warfare that the individual believer and the church must, inevitably, wage. There is, suggests Bynum, already a ―harvest‖ (spiritual victory) for the one that is face down on the threshing floor. Because of ―sin‖ and ―impurities‖ (the chaff), the ―harvest‖ is not immediately visible, but God has already overcome evil (―Babylon has fallen‖). The ―sin‖ and ―impurities‖ must merely be removed; the individual believer's and church's spiritual life and faith must be purified. When the believer and the church ―surrenders‖ to God on the threshing floor, the battle with ―evil‖ becomes God's battle.

In order to continue the theme of repentance and prostration, and to establish her authority as prophetess, Bynum paraphrases Ezekiel Chapters One, Two and Three. She aligns her own calling as prophet (―battles‖) with that of the prophet Ezekiel, declaring that she has gone through spiritual warfare in order to proclaim God's truth to a church that is in need of a vision that will result in ―dry bones coming alive‖.

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[13]Both televangelists – and particularly Bynum – use the metaphor of war (e.g. application of terms such as ―enemy‖, ―warfare‖, ―warrior‖ and ―victory‖) in their figurative speech. They do so to illustrate a battle between ―god‖ and ―evil‖/God and Satan.

2.4.2 Masculinity, femininity and the male as rescuer/saviour/leader

Jakes' figurative speech contributes significantly to and reinforces the myths and stereotypes that he applies to link hegemonic femininity inextricably to and dependent on hegemonic masculinity. In ―The Pecking Order‖ Jakes interprets the red cord that Rahab threw from her window as symbol of the red spot of blood in an egg. This indicates that the egg has been fertilized by a rooster. God – a virile, heterosexual male deity – has the blood to ―give life to every vision, every dream, every goal‖ of every woman. Jakes tells women to understand that the content of the WTAL conference (his teachings) would make the difference between them being just ordinary ―eggs‖ and being ―fertilised eggs‖. As he speaks, everything that has been holding them back is already beginning to fall away.

In ―Conquering the Conflict‖ Jakes also uses metaphorical rhetoric to affirm virile masculinity. In this case he uses a biological process that is associated with male sexuality (ejaculation) as metaphor to capture the attention of and make a point to an all-male audience.

> *The man who was complaining...the man who was conflicted...He cried out...The word ‚cried out‖...meant ‚to spew‖...The dictionary I had used the word "ejaculate". To spew out of him...It exploded out of him: ‚Lord, I believe!‖...The truth spewed out of his inner most being...out of his most masculine soul.* (Jakes, 2010)

Jakes' use of figurative speech (including his use of language) plays a determining role to amplify the myth of female dependency on male leadership, intervention and protection. This myth falls short of many women's lived realities. Apart from comparing God to a man that can ―fertilise‖ women's expectations and visions, Jakes uses this communication method to align and thus entrench hyper-masculinity (male as saviour/rescuer) as characteristic of God/Jesus. He depicts the life of the Samaritan woman as a meaningless cycle and her daily routine of fetching water at the well as ―a cycle in a cycle‖. Both the woman herself (the

femininity that she embodies) and her routine (her daily role and tasks) needed to be broken ―by a man" (Jesus – the Well of Living Water). To illustrate Jesus (virile, hyper-masculine male) as rescuer, he applies the biological female process (menstrual cycle, pregnancy and after birth) to symbolise what he perceives to be the ―empty" ―cycles" that women are caught in. (Jakes uses the lived realities of the Samaritan woman as a symbols of the challenges that women in his North American audience face.) Jesus (and his own WTAL teachings) breaks such cycles (liberated/empower women):

> *The woman is a cycle. And her life is a cycle. Every month she goes through the same thing. It seems like every day she goes through the same thing. Same path. Same feelings. Same emotions. Same moves. Same attitudes. Same insecurities. Same jealousies. Same fear. Same hostility. Same disappointments. The cycle is having a cycle...Until she encounters a man who breaks the cycle. That's what pregnancy does. It breaks the cycle...I hope and pray that before you leave Woman Thou Art Loose at least one of these sperm cells hits your womb and breaks the cycle.* (Jakes, 2012b)[14]

Through his use of imagery Jakes frames the Samaritan woman and her lived experiences (her multiple partners and a daily routine of fetching water) in a negative fashion. He states that ―when Jesus sees the woman, she is carrying an empty water pot...The pot is empty and the woman is empty" (Jakes, 2012b) Through such metaphorical discourse he not only stereotypes the woman as being inadequate and useless, but frames Jesus as an insensitive and blatant patriarch and sexist. He puts his own interpretation, so to speak, in Jesus' mouth. Jakes asserts: ―He [Jesus] says: ‗You're just as empty as that pot' (2012b).

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[14]Presuming that all women would/could identify comfortably with such a metaphor and thus reinforcing a stereotypical view of womanhood, Jakes uses the metaphor of pregnancy also in ―The Pecking Order" to encourage those that listen to him to expand their knowledge and grow in insight.

I would argue that the televangelist's figurative speech captures the imagination of and shapes the consciousness of his audiences by evoking, among other things, feelings of inadequacies, failure, shame, guilt, and dependency[15].

By framing the Samaritan woman's life and her critical engagement of Jesus negatively, Jakes stereotypes her gender role. In doing so, he directs attention away from women that claim their intellectual voice and agency despite the obstructing circumstances that they are faced with. He frames women that use their intellectual capacity for critical thinking, despite the oppressive context in which they find themselves, in a highly negative fashion. Jakes therefore encourages a hegemonic femininity paradigm that discourages women to have independent beliefs and opinions. These threaten hetero-patriarchal male dominance. He states that "this woman's life is built on falsehoods...Everything she holds to be self-evident is ignorant and she had never challenged her own belief system. Her core values are killing her. As [*unclear*] are killing you" (Jakes, 2012b).

Bynum, like Jakes, uses figurative speech to strengthen her hetero-patriarchal analytical framing. She too applies imagery and metaphors to underpin her sanctification of hyper-masculinity and femininity and to reinforce the prejudices (e.g. sexism and homophobia) that the other communication processes and methods in her rhetoric already reinforce.

In both of her "Jezebel" teachings Bynum relies heavily on metaphorical discourse when she interprets the biblical character Queen Jezebel (the Phoenician wife of King Ahab.) Like Jakes, her use of this strategic communication method plays a significant role reinforce her hegemonic masculinity and femininity.

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[15]Walton argues that Jakes needs to be criticised for upholding "patriarchal systems of dominance" through designations that exhibit "the infantilization and hyperfeminization of black women" (2009b: 235) and refers in this regard to "appellations commonly employed" by the televangelist, namely "G-d's leading lady," "anointed woman of God," and "Daddy's little girl" (2009b: 235).

As suggested, Bynum interprets the Jezebel character as an ultimate metaphor for particular "weaknesses", "sins" and "perversions" – of both women and men – that are "tearing families, communities and nations apart" (Bynum, DVD2). According to her interpretations of the concept of feminine, this biblical character embodies all of humankind's "sins" and "tribulations".

In "Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" Bynum roots her critique and normative directives of "a Jezebel spirit" in interpretations of this character's lineage, cultural background, belief system, traditions, behavioural patterns and demeanour. She does so without anchoring her interpretations in substantial scriptural readings or significant text exegesis. She interprets this biblical character through a personal anecdote: God took her (Bynum) on a "Jezebel journey" while she was on the "threshing floor" (Bynum, DVD2).

As pointed out, Bynum focuses on the book of Ezekiel and roots her normative teachings in her interpretations of this section of the Bible. She situates a "Jezebel spirit" in her interpretation of the biblical prophecy (vision) of Ezekiel ("I have seen Babylon fall"). Babylon represents "evil"; the worship of the gods Baal and Ashtaroth. Using her own religious authority as prophetess, Bynum gives individual believers – and the global church – normative directives on how to "expose" a "Jezebel spirit". "True" Christians will obey God and recognise and resist sex/sexual identities and orientations that are "other" than the one that befits hetero-sexual binaries. They will also challenge "weak" hetero-sexual male leadership and feminism as manifestations of such a spirit. Bynum then prostrates before "God", takes the inequities of those who are "victims" of these "sins" upon herself, and pleads with "God" to remove the "spirit of Jezebel" from all Christians.

Jezebel's violent death, at the hands of the eunuchs in her own court, is interpreted as the eunuchs having overcome the "Jezebel spirit" that was in them. They obeyed God by following the instructions of the prophet Jehu. Bynum concludes the teaching by mobilising audiences to become "warriors" that break the "spirit of Jezebel". She, yet again, establishes her authority as prophetess, by chastising "the church" for its failures and interceding on

behalf of individual believers, the church, the nation and the world. This is done in a highly dramatic and emotional fashion.

In ―Breaking the Spirit of Jezebel" Bynum cites one of her own publications to describe Jezebel.

> *Jezebel is a liar, backstabber and a usurper. She answers with evasion, deftly switching the truth and the facts...She hates civility, repentance and true holiness. She calls the pastor* [unclear] *and unyielding. She is not accountable to others. Jezebel can work through men who are flirtatious with women and vice versa. She also gives prophetic words, dreams and visions. She talks about them constantly and doesn't measure them against the sure word of prophecy.* (DVD1)

A woman that is possessed by a ―Jezebel spirit" ―can stand toe to toe with a man and ain't scared. That's why she can dominate" (Bynum, DVD1). The televangelist asserts that

> *the Bible says that when you got women who* [sic] *unruly and will not submit and trying to usurp the authority in the church, the Bible says to mark him* [sic]*, and have nothing to do with him* [sic]*. The Amplified Bible says don't even speak to him* [sic]*"...The Bible says that the man of God ought to stand you up, and mark you, and dismiss you from the fellowship. The Bible said: "Put them out!"* (DVD2)

The way in which Bynum's interpretation of Jezebel demonises women's voice, agency, authority and leadership are clearly in tension with the norms of gender equality and justice.

The possibility that women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations in her audiences respond positively to the figurative speech, is significantly increased by the way in which Bynum conveys a central departure point: God privileges the individual believer's personal salvation, empowerment and interests.

2.5 Personalisation and individualism

Michael Leslie (2003) identifies individual sin and individual salvation versus collective responsibility and collective salvation as a major theme in the content of Pat Robertson's ―The 700 Club" (2003: 10-12). Lee and Sinitiere (2009) suggest that Joel Osteen ―offers a critical tool with which parishioners may construct religious identity: the concept of individual value" (2009: 43). They argue that Osteen's success hinges on his ability to ―craft generative stories that provide a desire for meaning, a quest to belong, and a search for significance" (2009: 51).

These propositions can be related to Walton's contention that African American televangelism is ―a ritual of self-affirmation" in which ―participants can become actors on the stages of ritual drama" (2009b: 171). Walton argues that

> televangelists authenticate and make authoritative already held assumptions and
> spiritual longings of their adherents that allow and encourage them to
> experience and envision themselves being created a new according to their
> personal aspirations. (2009b: 171)

The self-affirming rhetorical discourses that are embedded in the Jakes and Bynum teachings confirm this. The accent that they place on personal affirmation is, I would argue, an important psychological tool that they use to establish their credibility and authority with audiences. Both televangelists use personal narratives as strategic communication devices. This allows for audiences to identify with them. In ―The Pecking Order" Jakes uses a

personal narrative as a vehicle for hyper-spiritualisation that is specifically aimed at economically vulnerable persons:

> *I don't know who I'm talking to tonight, but somebody. My parents couldn't afford much, but they exposed us to stuff. They drove us through neighbourhoods that we couldn't live in. We went on Sunday drives and imagined ourselves living in palatial environments like other people lived...,Cause if you see it, you can be it. There's a reason God is exposing you. He let you see too much for you to go back to being who you were. The fact that He has exposed you to it, is a sign that it's yours.* (2012a)

In "No More Sheets" Bynum makes herself vulnerable and thus allows for audience members to identify with her humanity.

> *Every day of my life I am struggling to kill the flesh... You're in the mall, you see a fine man. You're in a Laundromat, you see a fine man. And you keep wondering to yourself: „When is it going to be my turn? What am I doing wrong....I wish I [unclear]...give him my phone number and sneak away and call him. And give him my pager number... „I can give him my pager ain't nobody goin"...know it...I can give him the phone number to the office. [Speaking in tongues] Ain't nobody goin" know it"... You getting dressed up everyday and you're saying: „For what? There's got to be more to this than just travelling across the country and preaching and preaching and everybody jumping and shouting and then I get to go back home sitting in my breakfast nook area across the table with my God sisters who I get sick at looking at everyday...And you're tired of sitting up talking about...what you wanna do and where you wanna go. And I said: „Lord,...what is wrong?...I know that you got somebody for me, but why am I not married?"*(DVD3)

Both televangelists use anecdotes of their own experiences to motivate people (women) to rise above challenging circumstances. Such rhetoric suggests that they consider themselves as role models that had and have the strength and ability of unconditional faith in the power of God (Jesus and the Holy Spirit); the main passage that leads to liberation and empowerment. Their personal narrative discourses place an accent on the liberation of the individual rather than on collective empowerment. These narratives ‖invite" their audiences to join an exclusive ‖club of the Christian faithful".

2.6 Polarisation and exclusivism

The priority that Jakes and Bynum place on faith in a Christian God (their interpretations of such a God), has the potential to polarise women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. It casts doubt and suspicion on those women that are not religious, those from other faith traditions, those whose chronic circumstances have resulted in spiritual disillusionment and fragility, and those who insist on political, economic and social change rather or parallel to a belief in God's power. An example of the stigmatisation of women with faith traditions other than Christianity is when Jakes applies the metaphor of an empty water jug to the Samaritan woman. This suggests that given her cultural background and faith tradition, she was not a ‖true worshipper". He asserts that

> *what makes her empty is that she is filled with lies. And lies are just statements*
> *that are empty of truth. That's why Jesus end* [sic] *the text talking about "true"*
> *worshippers. If there are true worshippers then we must understand there are...*
> [Jakes laughs]. (Jakes, 2012b)

Another example of divisive discourse can be found in ‖The Pecking Order" when Jakes states that

[t]he book of Joshua is for strong people. The strong hens rule the roost. It's not for the weak hens. If you're a weak hen, find an exit and go. The book of Joshua is not for people who are still wandering or wondering. They're for people who are through wandering and are about to step into their destiny and purpose. (2012a)

Later in the presentation he asserts that

[i]f you just want to wander around, this is not the place for you to be, this is not the conference for you to go to. Stop the screaming, cut off the computer, turn on HBO, Cinemax, CNN, Fox or anything else. This is for people who are sick and tired of being sick and tired, and you're ready to possess the promises of God. (2012a)

In ―Conquering the Conflict‖ the televangelist contends that no excuses are valid or should stand in the way of unconditional faith.

You are getting exactly a reflection of what you are believing, sir. If you believe better...you will get better. Wait a minute! Jesus didn't say: „You could get it if the preachers were better, if the church was better, if they treated you with some respect, if your marriage was better, if your woman was better." No! He said: „If you believe! [Speaking in tongues]...I will do it...for you!" (Jakes, 2010)

In Chapter Five, I cited remarks that indicate that Bynum stigmatises and demonises people from the Catholic faith. Her negative framing of Baal and Ashtaroth worship does the same in terms of the absence of or alternative spiritual expressions (e.g. paganism).

The strategic and consistent application of communication methodologies such as repetition, the use of slogans and guided collective response, play a determining role as a final consolidating strategy that reinforce the ideological content of Jakes' and Bynum's theoretical discourses. My research has shown how both televangelists use these methodologies extensively to support the amplification, omissions, myths, stereotypes and prejudices that characterise their normative directives. These methodologies play an underlining role to shape the consciousness of and mobilise audiences towards consensus on certain beliefs, values, norms and practices.

2.7 Repetition, sloganism and guided collective response

―Headlining" catchy phrases and slogans in conference themes and sermon titles is a central characteristic of the strategic mass media communication methods that North American televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum apply successfully[16]. It is an effective strategy to mainstream selective analytical frameworks and conceptual interpretations globally through multi-dimensional repetitive marketing. Their use of strategic ―headlining" is one of many indicators that both Jakes and Bynum are skilled communicators.

In my CCRDA I found that both televangelists are orators who apply slogans, repetition and guided collective response continuously as communication methods. These strategies serve as ―bridges" for their trains of thought and amplify their interpretations and meaning making. They use these ―tools" to capture and retain the attention of their audiences. They also establish the televangelists' authority and confirm their leadership. Through, especially, guided collective response (call and response) audiences are encouraged to respond to their messaging and to participate in communal discourse.

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[16]The six teachings that I engaged in my rhetorical discourse analysis offer the following examples, ―Woman Thou Art Loose: You Have It in You", ―ManPower: *Men*ded", ―Exposing/Breaking the Spirit of Jezebel" and ―No More Sheets".

The use of guided collective response (call and response) is intrinsic to an African American preaching style. I would argue that the application of such a methodology is thus in itself not necessarily harmful. It often plays an important liberational, affirmative and motivational role. However, through the use of slogans, repetitions and guided collective response both Jakes and Bynum take their audience in the opposite direction: they mobilise the faithful that listen to them around common conservative, gender-oppressive values, beliefs, norms and practices. Hence dissenting views and opinions (―voices") – including those that do not participate actively and audibly – are in the process marginalised and ―out-sounded". These methodologies are central to the televangelists' strategic communication processes of psychologisation and pastoralisation and strengthen the power that they have over audiences.

Jakes and Bynum often use the same expressions and phrases, some of which are framed negatively as reprimands that challenge the audience to be attentive and participatory. Repetitive prompting includes the following slogans:

Oh, ya'll don't hear what I'm saying;

Oh, y'all ain't gonna say nothing to me;

I don't think y'all heard what I said;

Oh y'all not gonna talk to me today;

I wish I had a witness somewhere.

Another example of this communication methodology is to be found in ―Conquering the Conflict" when Jakes asserts:

> *They don't know what I mean by witness...I got the wrong brothers in here tonight....Anybody healed in here? Anybody saved in here? Anybody blessed in here? Anybody been through a storm in here? Anybody God made a way for him in here? Then why ain't you praisin?* [Audience: *cheering*]. (2010)

In ―Breaking the Spirit of Jezebel" Bynum applies a similar repetitive negative framing strategy in remarks that constitute pastoralised rhetoric:

> *Ok, I'm not hearing nobody, it's time for me to go home. It's time for me to go home now. It's time for me to go home because y'all looking at me. You all looking at me, ain't nobody else saying "Amen". So it's time for me to go home and shut my Bible. I'm gonna say it one more time. I'm gonna say it one more time. Because God is warning somebody.* (DVD1)

This remark is one of many in which Bynum uses prophetic discourse – specifically to the church – to further strengthen her authority. Various other examples of negative repetitive prompting are recognisable in that presentation.

> *Y'all ain't listening. Y'all ain't listening. Y'all ain't listening. You don't, you don't, you don't. You don't hear what I'm...Are you hearing what I'm saying?* (DVD1)

> *I'm not hearing nobody talk to me. I'm not hearing ya'll talk. Cause I'm helping somebody right now. I'm helping some ministries right now.* (DVD1)

Versions of these phrases and expressions can also be found in ‒Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel". In all of Bynum's teachings she uses variations of the phrase ‒watch this"[17] to encourage audiences to follow her argumentation. Examples include:

Am I helping anybody? Oh, I'm just preaching hard. Now, which is it? Am I helping anybody or am I just preaching hard? Lord have mercy. Watch this, watch this, watch this. (DVD1)

Watch this, watch this. I want you to see this; I want you to see... (DVD1)

I propose that the enthusiastic responses of audience members to slogans and mantras such as ‒Somebody holler: ‚That's me!'" [Audience: ‒That's me!"]" (Jakes, 2012a), ‒I need a woman to holler: ‚I'm coming!' [Audience: ‒I'm coming"!]" (Jakes, 2012b) and ‒Somebody holler: ‚Help!' [Audience: ‒Yeah! Preach it"]" (Jakes, 2010) indicate that Jakes applies the strategic communication method of collective guided response with great success. Many of the televangelist's rhetorical slogans and mantras are of an affirmative or motivational nature. Jakes regularly prompts audience members touch and encourage each other and to participate in the communal discourse. In many instances this strategic communication method results in highly emotional reactions. Examples of this methodology are also evident in the following rhetoric in ‒The Pecking Order".

Touch your sister beside you and say: „You can do it." (2012a)

If you have it in you, if you have it in you, the faith in you – in yourself and in your God – declare to your sister: „Girl, this is my season." (2012a)

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[17]Jakes also applies this expression in his teachings that I examined. Note the use of this phrase in the title of Walton's 2009 publication *Watch This!: The Ethics and Aesthetics of Black Televangelism*.

Touch seven women and say: „I'm a chick that wants out. I'm too old to stay where I been. I'm too big, I'm too strong. I see too much. I feel too much. I got too much. I gotta get out of here. It used to be a blessing, but it's too tight, it's too small. I want out." Somebody holler: „I gotta get out!" (2012a)

Jakes applies repetition highly effectively to dramatise his presentation and to shape a collective consciousness in the process. The following examples of dramatic but also rhythmic rhetoric that evokes emotions and participations can be found in ―Conquering the Conflict":

I go to church and you teach me what I believe. I drive out the parking lot, I go home to what I see. How do I bridge the gap between what's between what's happening up here and the hell I'm going through down...here? Two or three people say: „Somethings gotta change. Somethings gotta change. Somethings gotta change...I can't just keep coming to church to get high! Something has got to change! Something has got to change! Something has got ... to change!" (2010)

Various examples of the mesmerising, dramatised repetitive sloganism that are embedded in Jakes' rhetoric can be found in the teachings that I engaged. These include the following comment in ―The Pecking Order":

Touch three women and say: „I've got to have it [the Holy Spirits working through Jakes' teaching]*; I got to have it. I've got to have it; I got to have it. If the grass don't grow, if I don't get a glass of milk, I've got to have it! I've got to have it! I got to have it! For where I am in my life right now, I've got to have it! I got to have it! If I have to sit in overflow, I've got to have it! If I got to stream over the internet, I've got to have it! I got to have it! For what I'm fighting, for what I'm dealing with, for what I'm up against, for where I'm going, for what*

God is saying, for what God is about to do! It's awesome! It's just awesome! It's just awesome! It's just awesome! It's just awesome!" (2012a)

Although Bynum applies slogans that reprimand far more than motivational mantras, she also encourages audiences to follow her by using certain encouraging phrases and expressions repetitively. In ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" and ―No More Sheets" she says:

Now, ya'll stay with me, stay with me now, stay with me. We going somewhere for real. For real, for real, for real, for real. (DVD2)

Say it! (DVD3)

Now y'all I'm real sorry about this and I'm about to really, really mess myself up here but...you know what, you know what? God is calling us to be honest and, come on here, that's right, that's right. (DVD3)

Like Jakes, Bynum applies the strategic communication methodology of dramatised repetitive sloganism to amplify her messaging, manufacture consent and shape a collective consciousness. In ―Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" Bynum says:

Tonight your anointing went to another level. Tonight, you just became a warrior. Tonight, you became the person that God is gonna send out of here and charge the gates of hell and bring down the spirit of Jezebel. Tonight, you are the person God has called to shut down Ashtaroth. Tonight you are the person that God has called to restore order and purpose back to the church. Tonight, you get a new assignment... (DVD2)

249

I am about to make intercession for every ministry that is in this house. [Speaking in tongues] In the next thirty seconds, I'm getting ready to lay down prostrate. [Speaking in tongues] And I'm laying down for your church. I'm laying down for the city. I'm laying down for the nation. I'm laying down for the world. I'm laying down...for every person that would ever see this tape. [Speaking in tongues] (DVD2)

2.7.1 Liberation and empowerment

I have argued that both Jakes and Bynum apply various communication processes and methods that amplify the hyper-spiritualisation that they use as lens through which they view women's liberation and empowerment. I propose that their use of repetition, slogans and collective guided response serve in a similar fashion as replacement strategy. In ―The Pecking Order" Jakes' application of these methods strengthens superficial rhetoric about complex political, social and economic challenges:

> *We are going to turn Dallas inside out. Yokes are going to be broken. Strongholds are going to be broken. Bondages are going to be broken. We're going to empty out the shelters, the abused women, the women who have been thrown away, the women who have been raising their children in the streets. We are going to lay hands on them. We are going to command them to rise up and walk. There are going to be breakthroughs and healings...* (2012a)

In ―The Pecking Order" when Jakes tells the audience that ―He [God] gave you everything you need to accomplish what He put you in the earth to do" (2012a). He then proceeds to convey a message from God.

> *The Bible said: „After you suffered a while I'll [God] establish you and make you perfect. I'm gonna weed out all of those weak hens who don't have the faith level*

to endure days of nothingness, days of effort and energy and no results. I'm gonna weed out all of those who can't follow instructions. Who will not take orders. Who will not submit. Who will not obey. Who will not comply, I'm gonna weed out all of those players, all of those haters, all of those imitators, all of those spectators." God said: „I'm gonna weed them all out, until I don't have anybody left except those people who will do what I say do, when I say do it, the way I say do it. And I'm gonna reward you for your obedience." (Jakes, 2012a)

The repetition of terms and phrases ("weak hens", "follow instructions", "take orders", "submit", "comply", "obedience") in these remarks roots women's "liberation" and "empowerment" firmly in hierarchical social positioning.

In her hyper-spiritualised discourses Bynum also applies repetition and sloganism highly effectively to reinforce her notion that "liberation" and "empowerment" are mainly determined by miraculous divine intervention and the power of personal faith. In "Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" she asserts that:

I keep hearing the Lord say: „Charge them." [Speaking in tongues] ...You don't have time for a fast, you ain't got time for a consecration. Because in this night I'm gonna change. I'm gonna revive. I'm gonna restore. I'm gonna resurrect in one night." (Bynum, DVD2)

Jakes' and Bynum's skilful use of the various communication processes contribute significantly to the over-all dramatic nature and thus the potential impact of their rhetorical discourses. Whilst such dramatisation captures and retains attention, it also holds entertainment value.

2.8 Melodrama and religiotainment

I argued before that in an era of globalisation a culture of *infotainment* is matched by an equally prevalent *religiotainment* ethos. Echchaibi concurs with scholars such as Hoover, Brouwer et al. and Lee and Sinitiere in his assertion that ―religious celebrities‖ tap into the secular culture that they often challenge and apply secular entertainment and marketing remarkably effectively (Echchaibi, 2012: par. 4). Lee and Sinitiere (2009) contend that North American televangelists such as Osteen, Jakes, White and Warren borrow from ―the contiguous cultural formations of our postindustrial sight-and-sound generation‖ (2009: 7). Walton observes of African American televangelists such as Jakes that

> worship services combine drama, amusement, and suspense, all carefully
> orchestrated and premeditated in such a way that persons actually witness their
> own lives being acted out in the pulpit. (2009b: 7)[18]

My CCRDA of the Jakes teachings confirms this. Jakes is a prime religio-entertainer. Through a synergetic, seamless mass communication strategy, his profile and influence are mainstreamed and popularised in various ways.[19]. Many of his ―mega‖ events are supported and promoted by eminent North American sport stars, secular artists and media icons such as Oprah Winfrey. It usually includes the WTAL, MP, ―Mega-Youth‖, ―MegaKidz‖ and ―International Pastors and Leadership‖ conferences[20]. Apart from managing and maintaining the ―The Potter‗s Touch‖ audio-visual sermons and teachings, Jakes maintains his ―media‖ as an actor and film producer. He contributes movies to a blooming globalised conservative Christian film industry[21].

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[18]Jakes often uses trained actors to act out the roles of biblical characters or sermon illustrations when he speaks/preaches. Walton proposes that by also using ―other physical props for visual effect‖ Jakes ―helps viewers identify with the drama of the human condition on stage‖ (2009b: 7).

[19]See http://www.christiannewswire.com/news/997598221.html. [Accessed 14 April 2014]. In 2008 this event was hosted in South Africa and provided a platform for high profile local gospel artists. As pointed out in Chapter Two, the SABC marketed Jakes‗ visit and carried it even as a news item.

[20]See https://www.facebook.com/tdjmegafest. [Accessed 14 April 2014].

[21]See Walton‗s discussion of ―The Potter‗s House‖ under the heading ―The Church as a Cultural Industry‖ (2009b: 110-114).

Most high profile North American televangelists approach televised appearances as major productions. Walton argues that The Potter's House church (eight thousand seat amphitheatre) "is first and foremost a television studio" (2009b: 111). He states that

> [t]he television production cameras and soundboard are placed squarely in the middle of the congregation. The two large screens hang down on each side of the pulpit, displaying the service like a jumbotron in a sport arena... People with cameras roam around the sanctuary to display crowd response on the large screen. (Jakes, 2009b: 111)

I showed before that Juanita Bynum's teachings are distributed to and in South Africa through CDs and DVDs and explained that she also utilises the entertainment "gateway" successfully. Her presentation are often preceded by or combined with her performances as gospel music artist; local gospel artists often share the stage with her.

The melodramatic and often emotional nature of their homiletic styles indicates that both Jakes and Bynum are skilled "actors". They harness the potential power of the audio-visual medium to its maximum. In the six teachings that I examined, both televangelists use physical movements and actions to amplify the content of their messages. In "Exposing the Spirit of Jezebel" Bynum prostrates herself before "God" and in "No More Sheets" she applies physical symbolism to illustrate the multi-layered process of consecration that believers must undergo to purge themselves of their pasts before "God" can bless them with lasting marriages. Bynum wraps three sheets around her body and tells the audience:

> *This is you...All tied up. Layers and layers of junk; of wrong ideas. That's why we need a cheer leader to get you to pray* [unclear] *because she* [sic] *got so much baggage...When a man look* [sic] *at you he see* [sic] *a major responsibility.* (DVD3)

She then proceeds to explain her personal struggles to overcome feelings related to previous sexual encounters. During this account she removes each sheet to demonstrate the time, costs and miraculous intervention that are involved when ‒God" purges one of one's sexual past. She starts the illustration by stating:

> *And I said: „God do it." I went on the altar. I fasted. I prayed. I say* [sic]*: „God take it out. Everythin" that's in me that's not like you. My mind and my spirit. God make me one with you, Lord. God I don't want..." And all of a sudden I saw him* [old sexual partner] *and he said: „Hey!" I said: „God bless you!"* [Bynum unties the first sheet and rips it off in one motion] *It came off. I said: „Oooooooh. Oh my God!"* [Bynum walks away leaving sheet on the floor] *I walked away from it, look [sic] back and there it was.* [Bynum points at sheet on the ground – a symbol of her feelings for the former sexual partner] (Bynum, DVD3)

Apart from their creative and spontaneous use of the spoken word – including the Pentecostal tradition of ‒speaking in tongues" – both Jakes and Bynum are eloquent body language communicators. They use their physical presence and posture on the stage and facial expressions very successfully to convey attitudes and emotions that amplify the verbal content of their rhetoric. Various examples can be found in the teachings I examined.

In ‒The Waiting Jesus" (2012b), Jakes applies this strategic communication methodology in one instance immediately after using repetition and collective guided response to evoke an enthusiastic reaction from the audience. While audience members are still actively expressing their feelings and emotions, the televangelist ‒accelerates" their enthusiasm by applying silence for an extended period of time – not saying anything – and merely walking to and standing and the middle of the stage with a reflective facial expression and clasped hands. This results in a noticeable increase in the volume of the women's response. Jakes' use of silence and body communication contributes significantly to enhance expectations about the message that he is about to deliver. Later in the teaching he re-enacts Jesus as He sits down at the well and waits for the Samaritan woman. The televangelist's demeanor and facial

expression reflect frustration and impatience to illustrate the sacrifice that a very busy Jesus makes to wait ‖a long time" for a woman. Jakes continues to combine verbal and body communication throughout the remainder of the teaching. This includes shaking his body rhythmically whilst speaking in tongues and claiming that the Holy Spirit is present and at work (Jakes, 2012b).

In all of the three Jakes sermons that I examined, the attention and emotional and physical participation of audience members are also captured and stimulated by the strategic and dramatic application of music. Ten minutes before the conclusion of ‖The Waiting Jesus" Jakes exclaims: ‖Let's go higher!" (2012b) and utilises the remainder of the presentation to work towards a melodramatic climax. What follows is a carefully produced combination of dramatic organ music, Jakes applying repetitions and collective guided response and, finally – in an act of physical symbolism – the televangelist shattering a glass vase after counting to three. This is supposedly to indicate the exact moment that God shatters the oppressive ‖cycles" that women find themselves in.

My CCRDA of the three audio-visual teachings each of T.D. Jakes and Juanita Bynum show that the way in which these televangelists use specific strategic communication methodologies and processes to construct gender and gender power relations:

1.   Is similar to the methodologies and process that are recognisable in globalised ‖news" media.

2.   Reinforces harmful interpretations on concepts *masculinity*, *femininity*, *family* and *marriage*.

3.   Upholds inequalities and injustices related to race, class, gender, sex/sexuality, culture and spirituality.

The overarching aim of my CCRDA was to investigate the extent to which the beliefs, values, norms and attitudes that shape the content of the globalised dominant North American televangelism that has a profile in South Africa, are in tension with the constitutional norms of equality and justice. My ultimate goal was to interpret such tension as resistance against gender justice.

This necessitates a discussion of the Apartheid worldview that the 1996 Constitution and its embedded Bill of Rights aim to dismantle. Such a reflection is important. I propose that the ideological beliefs, values, norms and attitudes that constituted the building blocks of an Apartheid worldview did not instantly vanish when the Constitution was adopted in 1996.

3. North American Televangelism in a South African Context

3.1 "The Great Myth" of Apartheid and gender power relations

I concur with Robert Bellah's (1992) theory in which he equates dominant societal "truths" (beliefs and hegemonies) with "myths", and his proposition that "myths seek...to transfigure reality so that it provides moral and spiritual meaning to individuals and societies"(1992: 3). Building on this view, in 2008 I referred to "the truth" that was embedded in an Apartheid worldview, as "The Great Myth". I reflected on the belief system and ideological hegemonies therein.

> A distorted fabrication concocted from an ideology of social nationalism and a pseudo theology of racist justification...[They employed] a naive narrative of spiritual rhetoric [praising] the victory of God-fearing Civilization over and redemption of Heathen Barbarism: the _Other' of colour, religion, history, tradition, experience and perspective...Perhaps creatures of God – but created decidedly less human, less civilised, less gifted, less intelligent, less moral, less trustworthy, less worthy, and therefore less deserving. (Boesak, E., 2008)

I posited then, that over more than three centuries ―The Great Myth" had provided justification for societal orders in which generations of South Africans were denied their rights to dignified, safe, secure and a quality existence; their natural human right, thus, to equality and justice. It was my argument that this had resulted in generational political, economic and social inequalities.

During colonialism, slavery and Apartheid, systemic and structural discrimination, stigmatisation, exclusion and marginalisation had control as aim and exploitation as objective. Generations of ―superiors" enhanced the good in their lives at the cost of wronging generations of fellow South Africans. Harmful religious beliefs, values, norms, attitudes and practices justified, maintained and encouraged ideological hegemonies that resulted in power imbalance. This made a small minority of the population powerful political, social and economic ―insiders", made the majority of South Africans the disempowered ―others" or ―outsiders". It entrenched and maintained multi-layered inequality and injustice.

It is my view that any reflection on the progress that has been made, since the democratic transition in the early nineties, with the dismantlement of an unjust South African society and the delivery of equality and justice for all marginalised citizens, should be propelled by the identification and deconstruction of the belief system that justified, maintained and encouraged the ideological hegemonies that gave structure to ―The Great Myth". An important question needs to be posed and answered in any reflection on the delivery of justice in a post-Apartheid South Africa: justice for whom?

My first proposition is that colonialism, slavery and Apartheid were sanctified by a particular *Christian* belief system. Jonathan Gerstner (1997) discusses the Reformed theologies that were embedded in the religiosity that permeated the first European colony in South Africa under Dutch rule; it was also the foundation of the administration of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie –Dutch East India Company (VOC). Gerstner argues that ―the Reformed Tradition maintains and is often associated with the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, or predestination" (1997: 17). This doctrine ―accompanied the Dutch colonists to South

Africa and imparted a strong confidence" (1997: 17). Gerstner states that a ―covenant theology" was also a core element of the Reformed tradition (1997: 18). In a letter written to the incoming Dutch governor and his son, Willem Adriaan, Governor Simon van der Stel ―invoked God's grace" (1997: 20)

> for the directing of Church and politics to the benefit of the Company's profit
> and interest here which shall extend to the glorifying of the all holy name of
> God. (Van der Stel in Botha, 1924: 24)

Wallace Mills (1997) argues that British imperialists such as Cecil John Rhodes attempted to secure partners (including African leaders and the Afrikaner) in ―the expansion of the empire" (1997: 344). John de Gruchy and Steve de Gruchy (2005) propose that there was an ―inseparable relationship that existed between God and the [British] empire" (2005: 34). This was evident in a civil religion that pervaded South Africa at the turn of the century, e.g. British military flags and memorials in Anglican cathedrals (2005: 34). British imperialist dreams of ―political and economic power" in Africa claimed religious sanction ―no less than Afrikaner nationalism" did (2005: 33). Allan Boesak comments on the overarching role that the Christian church played in maintaining a particular Christian worldview that justified colonialism and slavery:

> As the church of the colonists, it was the spiritual home of those who brought
> light to this dark continent, and the conquest of the land and its people was as
> much a Christian endeavour as the conquest of the African soul[22]. In fact, the
> colonial victories were God's victories, and the land, and the wealth within it,
> were just as easily seen as a right, a gift, a reward: God's recompense for a
> pioneering people who had brought with them the Gospel of salvation for the

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[22]Note the similarity that this analysis shows with the sentiments that are expressed in the ―mandate" of the African Christian Broadcasting Network (ACBN):

> The Face of Africa is covered with thick darkness, gather her servants together for the
> Restoration of Africa through Television Broadcasting in the name of the Father, the Son and
> the Holy Spirit.

savages of a dark continent, and who were, in fact, God's own people. (Boesak,
A., 2005: 134)

Dunbar Moodie (1975) cites a 1944 observation in the South African newspaper *Die
Volksblad* that confirms this notion of an ―inseparable relationship‖ between God and the
Afrikaner:

The Afrikaner People was planted in our land by the hand of God, and is
destined to continue to exist as a People with its own character and particular
calling. (Moodie, 1975: 107)

On grounds of the arguments of Moodie (1975), Sampie Terreblanche (2007) and Allan
Boesak (1975), I propose that the following ideological hegemonies were embedded in the
Christian worldview that propelled colonialism, slavery and Apartheid, racism, capitalism,
classism, hetero-patriarchy (sexism and homophobia) and the justification of the use of
violence. This proposition requires further substantiation.

Gerstner posits that the Reformed Christian tradition of the European colonialists held
significant implications for the slaves (who were of colour). These women, men and children
were used as the labour force that built and worked in the white settlements. They were
viewed as possessions of and ―part of the household of the slave holder, following the
practice of Abraham‖ (Gerstner, 1997: 18). Dominant religious beliefs and values
(theologies) also held implications for the first nations of Africa. Gerstner The scholar points
out that

Christians viewed as unredeemed all indigenous people who had not heard of
or who did not put their faith in Christ. Those who believed in the ‗internal
holiness' of the children of believers counted the whole European community
as having been redeemed, including the children, but regarded all the
indigenous inhabitants – except for converts – as unredeemed...The

identification of Christian and settler on the South African frontier, an identification with immense significance for the establishment of white supremacy in South Africa, clearly flows out of the internal-holiness version of covenant theology. (1997: 19-20)

Imperialist Cecil John Rhodes declared that ―only one race approaches God's ideal type, his own Anglo-Saxon race; God's purpose then was to make the Anglo-Saxon race predominant" (Bosch, 1977: 3). The racism that was embedded in Dutch and British colonialism and slavery came to full fruition in an era of Apartheid. Reflecting on the theories of Apartheid theologian P.J. Meyer (1940), Moodie (1975) states that an Apartheid worldview called for subordination to God but it also sanctioned ―wardship over South African natives" (1975: 164). The concept of *calling* thus involved service to God and ―implicitly spelled election and superiority over other men" (1975: 164). Moodie argues that

[f]rom the beginning of the eighteenth century, antedating the development of the civil religion by a hundred and fifty years, white racism has been a constant factor in Afrikaner history... This racism has been expressed in terms of an ideal of segregation and a reality of white domination and black labor. The dichotomy between ideal and reality was mirrored in the very Biblical imagery used by the frontier farmers. On the one hand, the black South African was a Canaanite and thus subject to the ban; on the other hand, he was a son of Ham and so destined to be a hewer of wood and drawer of water for his white compatriot. (1975: 245)

Helmut Gollwitzer (1974) argues that the historic doctrinal and political struggles between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, or among Protestants themselves, had ―no bearing whatsoever" on the people of the Global South as they faced colonialism and slavery. Gollwitzer asserts:

Nothing of all this would stop the capitalistic revolution as the revolution of the white, Christian, Protestant people's that would spread all over the world to

open the era of slavery which even today (albeit not in the same form), is not yet ended. (Gollwitzer, 1974: 45)

From the outset the Afrikaner's destructive quest for self preservation – political, social and economic empowerment at the costs of and through the exploitation of ‒the other"‒ was propelled by an ideology of Christian social nationalism. Initially this ideology only served the interests of Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans. The scenario changed when this minority took control of South Africa. The Afrikaner then joined English-speaking white South Africans in a complete embrace of the British empirical hegemony of capitalism.

Christi van der Westhuizen (2007) provides a perspective on the ‒Elite Pact" between the Afrikaner and the English in 1910, when the Union of South Africa was established (2007: 240-246). From this point on, white South Africans used all their political, economic and social power and structures to systematically enrich themselves undeservedly and to impoverish South Africans of colour undeservedly (Terreblanche, 2007: 5). Reflecting on Terreblanche's views Boesak states that

> [f]rom the start we are disabused of the myths of domination, of romantic notions about ‒poverty" as if it was the natural, God-given state of black people; as if wealth was a blessing from God especially to whites or the just reward for their industry. It is about *processes* of *impoverishment* and *wealth creation* and the fact that both these conditions were ‒undeserved". (Boesak, A., 2011: 7)

In colonialism, slavery and Apartheid, racial and class inequalities and injustices intersected with power imbalances related to gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. In 2000, DAW (UN Division for the Advancement of Women), the OHCHR and UNIFEM stated that the

discrimination emanating from categorical distinctions on the basis of sex and race have historically intersected in multiple and diverse ways, and have taken specific forms during particular historical conjunctures, such as the contexts of slavery and colonialism. (DAW et al., 2000: 6)

The director of the South African Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Fanie du Toit, (2011) offers the following ―formula‖ to explain how content was given to the concepts of masculinity and femininity and how gender power relations were constructed in an Apartheid era:

Male = strong + provider + soldier + leader

Female = weak + nurturer + supporter + servant + follower (Du Toit, 2011: 16)

This confirms Moodie‗s views that ―most important for the Afrikaner life-order was the patriarchal family‖ (1975: 164). I would argue that it was not only the patriarchal family, but patriarchal society. Patriarchy and its related prejudices – sexism, heterosexism and homophobia – were deeply rooted in the political, social and economic values, practices and laws of Dutch, French and British colonial rule in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century. Hetero-patriarchal gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations, statuses and roles were divinely-sanctioned as ―real‖ or ―godly‖ and hierarchical power relations were regulated according to Victorian ideals.

At the heart of a Victorian worldview is the conviction that women are in all respects inferior to men and that femininity is inextricably linked to a woman‗s role and responsibilities in the domestic (private) sphere; as wife, mother, nurturer, caregiver and home keeper. A woman‗s role is ―emphatically not in the world of affairs‖ (Altick, 1993: 54)[23]. In these eras, a dominant hetero-patriarchal hegemony required expressions of hyper-femininity (expected

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[23]For a perspective on how the Victorian press responded to feminist thoughts and actions, see ―The Dangerous New Woman in the Victorian Press: blind alike to maiden modesty and maternal dignity‖ (Nielsen, 2014). See http://www.oscholars.com/Latchkey/Latchkey4/essay/Nielsen.htm/. [Accessed 10 June 2014].

‒feminine" behavioural patterns). This was directly linked to other gender-oppressive ideologies such as classism. A woman's

> [i]nnocence was what he [a man] demanded from the girls of his class, and they must not only be innocent but also give the outward impression of being innocent...The stamp of masculine approval was placed upon ignorance of the world, meekness, lack of opinions, general helplessness and weakness; in short, recognition of female inferiority to the male. (Petrie, 2000: 184)

John Tosh (1999) discusses the nuances that were manifested in a hetero-patriarchal Victorian worldview. A particular manifestation of masculinity was privileged. The brought specific expectations: the man, as the head of the household, was required to avoid responsibilities in the domestic sphere and was to establish his authority and success through material gain.

According to the overarching racist hegemony that was embedded in ‒The Great Myth", Apartheid, heterosexual white women – though considered less worthy than white males because of their perceived limited physical, intellectual and moral capacities and capabilities – were ranked, ‒naturally" (and divinely) much higher than women of colour and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. Lesbian women of colour, for example, found themselves ‒at the bottom of the well"[24]. White women were considered far more superior. They enjoyed social and economic privileges at the cost of ‒the other", including women of colour.

Amanda Gouws (Boesak, E., 2005) points out that GBV – including the rape of slave women and girls and femicide of female slaves – were pandemic realities in the South African slave society. This era lasted three times as long as Apartheid. Patrick Tariq Mellet (Boesak, E., 2005) provides insight into the brutal oppression, suffering, violence and inhumane

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[24]I borrow this expression from the title of and the proposition that propels the theories of Derrick Bell in *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (1992).

executions under Dutch and British imperial rule of people with gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations other than heterosexual ones.

Heterosexism, heteronormativity and homophobia were firmly entrenched in the colonialist Christian political and social order. Critiquing the argument of New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists that homosexuality is ―un-African‖, Kevin Childs (2013) argues that developments such as the introduction of anti-homosexuality legislation in Uganda should not be viewed as ―an African response to supposed creeping Western sexual libertarianism‖ (2013)[25]. Homophobia was introduced and consensual homosexual acts were criminalised in that country and Nigeria during colonialism and were thus part of ―a legacy of British colonial administration‖ (2013)[26]. In South Africa both the Dutch and English empires criminalised relationships and consensual sexual activities between people of the same sex. Such legal discrimination and oppression continued in Apartheid.

DAW, OHCHR and UNIFEM (2006) point out that during slavery and colonialism ―the dominant structures of power often relied on violence to sustain their patriarchal and racial boundaries‖ (DAW et al., 2000: 6). Allan Boesak also argues that brutal and violent measures, such as systematic genocide, were used to establish white dominance in South Africa during colonialism and slavery (2011: 7). The excessive use of violence (including GBV) by British Empire soldiers during the South African War is well documented. So is the militarism and violence that were used to maintain Apartheid and suppress the political and social resistance against white supremacy; e.g. in the multi-volumed report of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

In conclusion to my deconstruction of ―The Great Myth‖: racism, capitalism, classism, hetero-patriarchy and the use of violence were justified and maintained by and firmly entrenched in the Christian belief and value system (worldview) that shaped ―God-

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[25]See http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kevin-childs/into-the-heart-of-darknes_b_4479343.html/. [Accessed 10 January 2014].
[26]See http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kevin-childs/into-the-heart-of-darknes_b_4479343.html/. [Accessed 10 January 2014].

proclaimed" political, social and economic power relations for over more than three centuries in a pre-1996 South Africa.

It was against this backdrop that I examined globalisation, globalised mainstream news ―media, dominant New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and North American televangelism for shared biases.

3.2 Political compromise and hegemonic protection in post-Apartheid South Africa

My understanding of the concept of *gender justice* is underpinned by a fundamental question that relates to the delivery of political, social and economic justice in a still developing South African constitutional democracy: justice for whom? I propose that it is justice for all those South Africans whose voices and agencies continue to be obstructed by the generational consequences of and contemporary implications of harmful hegemonies. Particularly those ideological biases that gave structure to ―The Great Myth". Women (most women of colour) and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations remain to be the largest percentage of these citizens.

This argument raises another fundamental question: to what extent do the grand narratives that are embedded in rhetorical discourses of globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum resist or uphold the hegemonies that shaped the Christian Fundamentalist worldview that sanctioned inequalities and injustices that resulted, over more than three centuries, in gross human rights violations in South Africa? My research showed that the discourses in the televangelism of Bishop T.D. Jakes and Prophetess Juanita Bynum serve as echo chambers for rhetoric that combat human rights and defend and sanctify gender-oppressive hegemonies that are similar to those that propelled colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. In other words: the same ideologies that had caused the political, economic and social oppression, disempowerment, marginalisation and

suffering of generations of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations during these eras, are recognisable in their normative directives.

The role that African American televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum – people of colour – play to reinforce harmful hegemonies via the scared sphere of South Africa, is in itself a manifestation of expansive hegemony and one that goes largely unchallenged. There is in my view a reason for this reality. A new ―Elite Pact‖ was forged during the political negotiations that preceded South Africa's democratic transition. When deals were brokered between the Apartheid regime and representatives of the ANC (white males and males of colour respectively), blatant racism was set aside. Common ground was established in terms of determining compromises: in the new South African society neoliberal capitalism and thus elite classism will be protected and maintained and so will the dominance of hetero-sexual masculinity. This ―negotiated settlement‖ was endorsed by dominant Global North power elites.

The constitutional rights of freedom of religion and speech were embraced as guarantees that especially hetero-patriarchy would continue to be protected and maintained via the sacred sphere in post-Apartheid South Africa. I would argue that the dramatic growth in and vibrancy of conservative New Christian Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and the emergence of movements such as the MMC and WWC substantiate this argument.

I would argue further that globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism constitutes a powerful combination and a continuation of the detrimental role that expressions of Christianity and ―the media‖ played to justify, maintain and encourage gender inequality and injustice during Apartheid.

This argument prompts a question that I address in the next chapter: what then are the gender justice implications of such televangelism in a South African constitutional democracy where a Bill of Rights aims to address the inequalities and injustices that harmful hegemonies, such as those that were entrenched in colonialism, slavery and Apartheid cause?

CHAPTER SEVEN: NORTH AMERICAN TELEVANGELISM, GENDER AND RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

How do I interpret the concept of *gender justice*? In this chapter I do so by discussing the ―justice as rights‖ departure that I apply in this study. I introduce and build on theories of Nic Wolterstorff (2008) to introduce the causal link that I make between equality, justice and empowerment. I discuss how Jakes' and Bynum's mediation of gender and gender power relations reflect ideological hegemonies that are similar to those that underpinned gender inequality and injustice during colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. This illustrates tensions that exist between the beliefs and values in their normative directives and the norms of equality and justice that are embedded in the South African Bill of Rights. I interpret these tensions with the gender-oppressive hegemonies in past unjust South African societies, and the challenges, that many South African women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities an orientations still face, in mind.

1. A Perspective on Gender Justice in a South African Constitutional Democracy

This study was conducted at a time that the cultivation of individual and collective respect and support for the South African Constitution and the practical implementation of the ten year old Bill of Rights remain as challenges. In my view, these challenges relate to the fact that these are legal interventions that aim to address the political, social and economic inequities that were woven into the fabric of an unjust South African society over an extended period of time. Since the democratic transition, the delivery of justice to all of the country's citizens has, in large measure, depended on the eradication of stigmatisation, discrimination, exclusion, marginalisation and exploitation. The Constitution enables those citizens (the ―others‖) whose voice and agency was unjustly obstructed in the past, to claim

their human rights. This proposition requires substantiation, especially in terms of my understanding of the concept of *gender justice*.

I accept Nicholas Wolterstorff's (2008) theory in which he links the concept of *justice* to the concept of *rights*:

> I think of justice as constituted of rights: a society is just insofar as its members enjoy goods to which they have a right. And I think of rights ultimately grounded in what respect for the worth of persons and human beings requires...I am never to enhance the good in someone's life, my own or another's, or many others, at the costs of wronging someone or other, depriving her of that to which she has a right. I am never to pursue life-goods at the cost of demeaning someone. (2008: xii)

It is through this ethico-political prism that I viewed the televangelism of North American New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists. I situate my investigation of the beliefs, values and norms that shape the normative directives of T.D. Jakes and Juanita Bynum in a discourse on ‖justice as constituted of rights". My interpretation of the ideological character of their televangelism is propelled by the following question about the delivery of justice in a post-Apartheid South Africa: what justice? Wolterstorff (2008) reflects on the difference between, on the one hand, *distributive* and *communicative* (primary) justice and, on the other hand, *rectifying*, or *corrective justice*. He argues that

> rectifying justice consists of justice that becomes relevant when there have been breakdowns in distributive and communicative justice...primary justice. No doubt the ideal account of justice would treat both kinds at once, both primary justice and rectifying justice. Only such a unified account can assure us that what is said about primary justice does not require revision in the light of what is needed for an adequate account of rectifying justice, and vice versa. (2008: ix-x)

There is thus an interrelated trio of prerequisites or requirements without which full human freedom is not achievable: *equality*, *justice* and *empowerment*. My examination of the beliefs, values, norms and practises that are embedded in the rhetorical discourses of the dominant North American televangelism is thus linked to an investigation of the extent to which such religious messaging serves justice. In other words: are humanist (human rights) interpretations of gender equality and empowerment recognised and embraced or ‒combated" in these manifestations of mediated religion? During colonialism, slavery and Apartheid most women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations were denied justice because they were denied the empowerment that results from equality. They were denied ‒the goods to which they had rights" because their lives were valued and respected less and ‒superiors" and ‒insiders" benefitted from them being wronged. It is therefore my view that in a post- (politically) liberated South Africa both *primary* and *rectifying* justice are at play.

Wolterstorff reflects on his personal encounters with black South Africans in 1976 – the year the Apartheid regime used brutal violence to suppress the protests of black students in Soweto – and in 1978 with Palestinians who had lost their home in the 1948 war and suffered daily indignities. He states that

> it was *injustice* that impelled me to think about justice, not the imperatives of some theoretical scheme or duties of some academic position. Injustice in the form of the wronged, which is the form injustice always takes. The victims confronted me; I was not looking for them...The wronged are all about us. (2008: vii)

I propose that when political power changed hands in South Africa in the early nineties ‒the wronged were all about us". The establishment of a just society depended, as suggested above, on the restoration of disenfranchised South Africans' natural rights ‒to goods". It depended thus on whether the vulnerable and marginalised were given the same political, social and economic power as the ‒the insiders" that had become ‒superiors" as beneficiaries of the hegemonies that gave structure to colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. The

empowerment of all of South Africa's "others" was, I would argue, inextricably linked to the dismantlement of the ideologies of racism, neoliberal capitalism and class materialism and hetero-patriarchy (sexism, heterosexism and homophobia).

When the new Constitution came into effect in 1996 women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations represented – as is the case today – the largest segment of the country's population. Women of colour constituted the majority of South African women. Poor women made up the majority of women of colour[1]. Women with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations were present in all racial, ethnic, faith and other cultural groups of the country. Most South African citizens, whose voice and agency were severely obstructed by realities that are related to the hegemonies that shaped an unjust society, welcomed the Constitution and its Bill of Rights as the vehicles that were to deliver justice to them. These political/legal interventions were seen as landmark indicators of deep-rooted and sustained societal change and as instruments that would dismantle the obstructive inequality that caused them disempowerment, marginalisation, vulnerability and suffering. Such an expectation was, I would argue, understandable. The South African Department of Justice states that the Bill of Rights

> is a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all
> people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity,
> equality and freedom. (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development.
> a)

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[1]Previously I introduced statistics that substantiate my argument that women constitute the majority of South African citizens. In 2013, Statistics South Africa found that white citizens made up 2 239 500 (8.7 per cent) of a 52.28 million strong South African population. Women of colour constituted the larger percentage of the balance of the citizenry. See "Key findings: Report-03-10-07 – South Africa's young children: their parents and home environment, 2012" (Statistics South Africa, 2013). See http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/statskeyfindings.asp?PPN=Report-03-10-07&SCH=5689/. [Accessed 28 February 2014]. I also offered statistics on the racial profile of the divide between economically empowered citizens (mostly white) and those that remain economically vulnerable in a post-Apartheid South Africa (predominantly of colour).

The South African Constitution is a political instrument that has as objectives to:

1.   Eradicate the racist, classist, hetero-patriarchal (sexist and heterosexist) hegemonies that were entrenched in the worldviews that propelled colonialism, slavery and Apartheid.

2.   Question the exploitative and inadequately regulated nature of neoliberal capitalism.

3.   Eradicate an entrenched culture of violence by guaranteeing all South Africans (including women and girls) safety and security. I propose that such safety and security include freedom from the intimidation, coercion, subordination and violence that are entrenched in racism, neoliberal capitalism, classism and hetero-patriarchy.

The political empowerment that came with the right to participate in democratic elections and other political processes and the theoretical empowerment that was guaranteed in the Constitution, delivered *de jure* (―on paper") primary and rectifying justice to South African women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. Their Constitutional rights and freedoms were cemented in legislation, laws and structures that were to address all of the injustices that resulted from the power imbalances that characterised more than three hundred years of colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. These included, amongst others, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Discrimination Act, Choice of Termination of Pregnancy Act, Maintenance Act, the Sexual Offenses Act, Domestic Violence Act, the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act, Employment Equity Act, Civil Union Act (which guarantees same sex couples the same rights and status as heterosexual married couples) and the establishment of Chapter 9 ―Gender Machinery" such as the Commission for Gender Equality and the National Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities.

However, despite the political justice that the democratic transition delivered to them, most South African women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations remain caught in economic and social power imbalances that leave them

disempowered and marginalised and thus hampers their voice and agency. This argument is substantiated by the earlier cited 2014 findings of AFM and the HSRC, and by Shireen Hassim's (2004) assertion that after 1994

> the underlying structural forces which produced unequal relations of gender persisted, and were in fact exacerbated by the lack of a systematic approach to the issue of gender equality. (2004: 7)

I suggested earlier that in the negotiations between the Apartheid regime and the ANC the demands of primary and rectifying justice were viewed through neo-liberal capitalist and hetero-patriarchal lenses and not necessarily from the vantage point of South Africa's economically and socially disempowered women. The former ANC Women's League member, Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge (2009) confirms women's long-standing battle to establish their authority and prioritise women's interest in the ANC. My proposition is further substantiated by a view that Boesak offers in his engagement of the philosophy of Black Consciousness that emerged in the early seventies in South Africa. He argues that the black theology that propelled participation in the liberation struggle against Apartheid failed to identify gender equality and justice for women as a particular priority. Boesak states that

> the sexist language of the liberation movement, as in its philosophy, politics and theology even this late reflected the gaps in our own understanding of total liberation and proves how right women were, and are, in their insistence that without the liberation of women the liberation of the nation remains incomplete. (2005: 8)

Hassim also confirms the fact that gender justice was pushed to the margins of South Africa's liberation struggle. She proposes that

> nationalist activists – women and men – placed issues of sexuality, gender-based violence and reproductive rights in the category of ‗western feminism',

and saw women's organisations' attempts to deal with these as distracting from the key struggle against apartheid. Some have argued that, even within the progressive civil society organisations, there was a deep-seated homophobia that prevailed despite rhetorical commitments to freedom of sexuality. (Hassim, 2004: 7)

Drawing on the critical theories of Nancy Fraser (1989) Hassim, like many other scholars, identifies the lack of economic justice for women as one of the most significant indicators of imbalanced gender power relations in a post-Apartheid South Africa. She asserts that the South African constitutional democracy is characterised by the identity politics of recognition and not the class politics of redistribution and that

> while women have been recognised as a group that has suffered particular forms of oppression, there has been little redistribution of resources and power in ways that change the structural forces on which that oppression rests. (Hassim, 2004: 18)

This proposition can be related to the earlier cited arguments of Terreblanche and to Gouws' assertion that in post-Apartheid South Africa the ―social and socio-economic problems‖ that continue to face South African women are ―at their core....political problems‖ (2014: 2). Gouws locates women's disempowerment in a global context and argues that the realities that South African women face today demand ―structural transformation of society‖ (2014: 2). She proposes that

> democracies are always embedded in economic systems and since South Africa is a part of the global economy it could not escape neo-liberal capitalism with its deleterious effect on the gap between the rich and poor. Outsourcing and privatization has increased unemployment drastically and has contributed to the feminization of poverty, increasing women's exclusion from the formal economy. (Gouws, 2014: 5)

The document ―Artscape Plus-Minus-Equal (PME) Women & Justice 2011 Report‖ (Boesak, E., 2011) offers an overview of the progress that has been made with gender equality and the empowerment of women in South Africa since the implementation of the 1996 Constitution. In the document subject matter experts[2] – including scholars – list and reflect on what they consider the most important stumbling blocks that remain in the way of political, economic and social justice for women (Boesak, E., 2011: 13-23, 45-76). The content of this document substantiates the previously cited arguments of African feminist scholars such as Nadar, Potgieter, Hassim and Gouws and the observations regarding gender inequality and injustice in contemporary South Africa in the previously cited AFM and HSRC source.

A reconciliation of the observations and arguments that are offered in the PME document confirm that the ―wronged‖ (marginalised and vulnerable women) are still – twenty years after the implementation of the new Constitution – ―all about us‖ in South Africa. This is despite the implementation of the Bill of Rights and legal normative progress such as the laws, processes and ―gender machinery‖ that I referred to previously[3].

In the past two decades especially South African feminist scholars – including those that I drew from in this study – have examined the political, economic and social challenges that continue to hamper the voice and agency of many women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations today. The real life realities that the majority of women face today jeopardise most of these rights and freedoms.

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[2]Cheryl Potgieter (Dean of Research/Professor of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal), Moses Masitha (Youth leader and researcher, Institute: Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice, University of the Free State), Amanda Gouws (Professor in Political Science, University of Stellenbosch), Vainola Makan (Gender Activist/Manager: New Women's Movement), Noncedo Nkqintamo (Director: Noncedo Adult Care Centre), Fanie du Toit (Director:, *Institute for Justice and Reconciliation*), Zou Kota-Fredericks (Deputy-Minister for Human Settlement), Nabeweya Malick (Spokesperson/Public Relations: Muslim Judicial Council), Pearlie Joubert (journalist/producer), Cornelia September (Member of national parliament), Marlene Wasserman (Clinical sexologist), Mfanozelwe Shozi (Acting Chairperson: Commission for Gender Equality), Ibrahim Saleh (Convenor of Political Communication: University of Cape Town), Shanie Boshoff (Director: Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging) and Sarojini Nadar (Associate Professor and Director: Gender and Religion Programme, School for Theology and Religion, University of KwaZulu Natal).
[3]For insight into the constitutional rights that women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities can claim, see Department of Justice and Constitutional Development a.

The PME overview found that gender equality and the empowerment of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations are severely hampered by chronic poverty and a lack of basic needs such as safe and secure housing, safe electricity and water sources and safe and secure sanitation. This is particularly the case in communities that remain economically marginalised due to colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. It was furthermore found that there is still the denial, limitation and obstruction of women's decision-making power and self-determination regarding their gender and sex/sexual identity, sexual and health rights (including reproductive health rights).

Many (if not most) women continue to be responsible for labour intensive roles, tasks and responsibilities (private and public sphere) without remuneration or fair labour practices. Harmful beliefs, values, social norms, attitudes, practices and stereotypes continue to restrict or prioritise (through coercion, intimidation and fear) women's activities and responsibilities to and in the domestic sphere. Motherhood and labour related to home keeping and child care, continue to be prioritised and single parenthood prevents women from pursuing careers and income-generating employment outside of the domestic sphere. A lack of affordable/free child care facilities prevents many women from generating income outside of the domestic sphere.

In the PME document, scholars, community leaders and representatives of civil society organisations also confirm that the contemporary South African society is characterised by high levels of GBV. Such violence – that is evident in both the private and public sphere – is of a physical, psychological and economic nature and includes domestic violence, the rape and murder of girls, women, and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations, emotional bullying and economic disempowerment.

The findings, views and arguments that I cited previously in this dissertation substantiate my proposition that today, post-racialism and the neoliberal capitalism, hetero-patriarchy and justification of abuse and violence that characterised a pre-democratic South Africa, continue to jeopardise constitutional rights of women and persons with non-conforming gender and

sex/sexual identities and orientations. In Chapter Four I showed how these hegemonies are also recognisable in globalisation, globalised mainstream news ―media" and dominant New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism. Similarly, my examination in the previous chapter showed that the rhetorical discourses in the televangelism of North American New Evangelicals/Fundamentalist such as Jakes and Bynum, serve as global vehicles for the same hegemonies. Hence it is my argument that there is an overarching global hegemonic struggle – that has the potential to hamper the delivery of gender justice through the South African Bill of Rights – unfolding in an era of globalisation.

2. North American Televangelism – Channelling Justice to the "Most Wronged"?

The globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism that has a profile in a South African constitutional democracy – such as the content of Robertson's ―The 700 Club" and the Jakes' and Bynum's teachings that I examined – serves neither primary nor rectifying gender justice. Religious communication such as this combats secular norms of equality and, in doing so, obstructs the establishment of just South African society. This is particularly evident in the fact that the rhetorical discourses that are embedded in such religious broadcasting further stigmatises and marginalises some of the most vulnerable women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations in South Africa. I would argue that the ―justness" (strength) of any democracy is reflected in the extent to which the protection and the empowerment of those whose voice and agency are severely hampered (the most vulnerable of its citizens) are prioritised. These interests are protected through the country's Constitution, Bill of Rights and various normative legislative interventions.

In effect, the ideological biases that are embedded in the rhetorical discourses of televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum challenge most of the constitutional rights that women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities are guaranteed in

South Africa today. They resist the legitimacy and power of the country's Constitution. In so doing, the normative directives in the televangelists' teachings impact negatively on some of the country's most vulnerable citizens.

There are three recognisable groups of South Africans whose voice and agency remain severely hampered in a post-Apartheid South Africa: women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations that are caught in generational poverty (mostly citizens of colour), women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations that suffer injustices related to GBV and members of the LGBTQIA+ community. This proposition requires further reflection.

2.1 Persons caught in generational poverty

In Chapter One I referred to Gouw's (2014) argument that the delivery of social justice in South Africa – specifically as this related to many citizen's basis needs – is directly linked to the redistribution of resources and land (Gouws, 2014: 5).

Apart from increased unemployment, one of the many harmful consequences of neoliberal capitalism is a growing class materialism that places pressure on, stigmatises and further marginalises the poor. As scholars have shown, an important vehicle through which a neoliberal capitalist ethos and its related practices have been mainstreamed in Africa in the last twenty years is the ―faith gospel‖ that is embedded in New Evangelical/Fundamentalist revivalism. As is the case in many other world regions that are in transition (and at a time of increased global poverty), ―prosperity theologies‖ have been sweeping over the continent.

Thomas and Lee (2012b) argue that contemporary globalised televangelism from various faith traditions ―facilitate the communication of an accessible god, and offer a palatable, satisfying, religious experience‖ (2012b: 5). They propose that certain ―brands‖ tap into the needs of the middle class, in particular, and in messages and products

the complexities of religion are reduced to a few principles of self help...Televised religion offers new ways to explore ‚salvation' in this world through highlighting pathways to prosperity, success and health. (Thomas and Lee, 2012b: 5)

The observations of Brouwer et al. (1996) about Francisco Cartaxo Rolim's (1992) research into Brazilian Pentecostalism should be considered in a contemporary South African context. Eighty per cent of the faithful in the greater Rio area was, at the time of Rolim's research, members of ―the lower levels of the petite bourgeoisie" (Brouwer et al., 1996: 235). The scholars point out that

> many [believers] are [were] street vendors and owners of tiny, marginal shops; they are [were] a ‚dependent' class outside of ‚direct production', neither working-class nor real owners of production; they are [were] generally thwarted, rather than rewarded, in their attempts to move upward. Rolim's pessimistic appraisal of upward mobility is consistent with evidence from elsewhere in the world: the new fundamentalist Protestantism does not necessarily correlate positively with improved economic performance. (Brouwer et al., 1996: 235-236)

In Chapter Five I proposed that in many expressions of globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism prosperity through faith is preached, but poverty through inequality and injustice is minimilised or ignored. In this regard Parenti's views on North American mainstream news ―media" can be applied to dominant globalised North American televangelism. He states that

> the *class* dimensions of the women's struggle and the Black struggle, indeed, the systematic class dimensions of poverty itself are judged to be simply not a fit subject for the mainstream news media. Equality is seen as a matter of individual achievement that has not collective material base. Class, as an exploitative relationship between owners and employees, and as a determinant

of wealth and power, is a subject the news media dare not touch. However, class as a designation of occupation, income and life style wins occasional recognition with such references as ―middle class‖, ―low income‖, ―upper middle‖, ―professional class‖, ―white collar‖ and ―blue collar‖. (Parenti, 1986: 11)

The unconditional encouragement (the idealisation) of a neoliberal capitalist society (as per, especially, the teachings of Jakes) and the disengagement of the need for the redistribution of wealth (as per the teachings of both Jakes and Bynum) do not serve the interest of poor women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations (mostly of colour) in South Africa. I would argue that a theology that advocates that (only) an unwavering faith in Jesus conquers ―sin, sickness and poverty‖ (Walton, 2009b: 171) is irresponsible and unethical. Walton (2009b) argues that the prominent theme that is embedded in Jakes‗ rhetoric – that ―a believer has a right to health and wealth – in fact, a believer should be distinguished for his or her health or wealth‖ (2009b: 171) – serves as a mask for the myth that neoliberal capitalism is just. Of relevance is his earlier cited assertion that

the dominant themes of personal and economic empowerment that are pervasive in the social orientations of leading televangelists presuppose that the larger society is conductive to social mobility on a large scale…Bishop Jakes‗ rhetoric of self-choice, controlling one‗s own destiny, and moving beyond self-hatred in the service of promoting entrepreneurship and economic empowerment works with the assumption…anyone with a frontier spirit can claim possession of the golden apples of prosperity. (Walton, 2009b: 182-183)

Walton asserts furthermore that it is the visual manifestations of their affluence that play a significant role to strengthen many African American televangelists‗ authenticity. It sets, in his view, an example as being a living embodiment of faith in action. Hence these ―dynamic personalities are able to authenticate the worldview that they promote‖ (Walton, 2009b: 200). I propose that the explicitly affluent lifestyles of many high profile televangelists constitute a

manifestation of subtle yet strategic communication that encourages many believers – that can barely afford basic needs costs – to spend resources on ―lifestyle" requirements. This plunges and/or keeps many economically vulnerable people in cycles of debt and poverty.

Many South Africans would be particularly susceptible to the hyper-spiritualisation of economic empowerment. The following assertion of Walton could be applied to the South African context:

> The emphasis on economic advancement, which pervades the message of African American televangelists, appears to be particularly attractive to post-civil rights generations with middle-and upper-class inspirations. A God-sanctioned message of financial liberation and prosperity resonates with many blacks who have seen their parents and grandparents stay at the bottom of America's capitalist economy because of this country's history of racial apartheid and who themselves desire a larger slice of America's economic pie. (Walton, 2009b: xiii)

Brouwer et al. (1996) argue that the attraction of charismatic and Pentecostal Fundamentalism lies in the promise that

> the Holy Spirit not only grant[s] psychic certainty in a very uncertain time, it also holds out the possibility of miracles that will enable material and physical survival. Although such beliefs have relevance to middle-class existence within a global consumer culture, they also relate to the practical strategies of those who are not now and probably never will be middle class. (1996: 234-235)

Hence North American televangelism such as the teachings of Jakes and Bynum – which advocates neoliberal capitalism unconditionally and does not engage the complex structural roots of generational gendered poverty – does not serve the interests of South Africa's poor, predominantly of colour, female non-population and persons with non-conforming gender

and sex/sexual identities and orientations. As I argued in the previous chapter, although Bynum seemingly critiques prosperity theologies and discourages irresponsible spending patterns and realities such as the ‟sugar daddy" phenomenon, she does not identify, deconstruct or challenge the deep-rooted structural causes of debt and material vulnerability that underpin many women's economic disempowerment. The rhetoric of both Jakes and Bynum serves a prevailing unequal and thus unjust economic world order. Lee and Sinitiere discuss the difference between a contemporary African American church and the traditional black church in the USA that is historically associated with providing sanctuary, comfort, affirmation, inspiration and impetus for justice struggles. They state that

> analogous to how the traditional black church played an important role in helping African Americans make the transition from slave to citizen, a new black church attempts to help contemporary African Americans make a smooth transition into our competitive hypercapitalist society. (Lee and Sinitiere, 2009: 55)

2.2 Women who suffer injustices related to GBV

Hendricks (2015) argues that despite global initiatives (e.g. by the African Union) to mainstream gender in all major public spheres, and

> enormous human and financial resources expended on gender activism (advocacy and protest), capacity building (workshops and training), the adoption of more gender elated UNSC resolutions...and UNSCR National Action Plans.... sexual and gender-based violence, or threats of violence and other manifestations of inequality, still characterise relations between men and women, boys and girls. (Hendricks, 2015: 45)

One of the most destructive realities that obstruct the voice and agency of many women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations in South

Africa today is GBV. The country's Constitutional Court has explicitly acknowledged that sexual violence and the threat of sexual violence infringe women's right to equality in a most fundamental way (Vetten, 2009: 7). Lisa Vetten points out that the court held that

> sexual violence and the threat of sexual violence go to the core of women's subordination in society. It is the single greatest threat to self-determination of South African women. (2009: 7)

I concur with the view that the norms of male superiority and female submission/subordination is at the heart of violence against and abuse of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. In the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, it is stated that ―violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women" that has resulted in ―domination over and discrimination against women by men" and in ―the prevention of the full advancement of women" (United Nations General Assembly, 1993)[4]. This world body considers this global pandemic as ―one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men" (1993)[5].

Hence, GBV intersects with various other injustices that are caused by imbalanced gender power relations. In her response to the finding of a study on the link between patriarchy and GBV (especially in conjugal relationships) in Nigeria, Nkiru Igbelina-Igbokwe argues that

> patriarchy is at the centre of increasing powerlessness of women and girls to rescue themselves from poverty, and protect themselves from violence and HIV/AIDS infections. It is a key factor in the lack of access to and control over resources (material and financial) through cultures of dis-inheritance, systematic discrimination and exclusion from decision-making. (2013)[6]

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[4]See http://www.un.org./documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm/. [Accessed 17 November 2013].
[5]See http://www.un.org./documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm/. [Accessed 17 November 2013].
[6]See http://www.pambazuka.net/en/category.php/features/87597/print/. [Accessed 14 November 2013].

It is important to – as the South African Constitutional court and the United Nations do – consistently flag GBV as a human rights violation and one that is rooted in hegemonic hetero-patriarchy. Igbelina-Igbokwe points out that increased levels of GBV in Nigeria are now not only linked to such a hegemony, but are also seen as consequences of the ―oppressed‖ challenging the ―oppressor‖ (2013)[7]. GBV can thus be linked to women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations claiming their rights and resisting patriarchy, homophobia and related prejudices.

Magana and Chiroro (2013) assert that ―gender roles and expectations can and do play a role in abusive situations‖ and that ―exploring these roles and expectations can be helpful in addressing abusive situations‖ (2013)[8]. Hyper-masculinity and femininity fuel GBV in that it reinforces harmful myths and social norms related to gender and sex/sexual identities, orientations, roles and behavioural patterns. Such norms encourage ―an attitude of sexual entitlement in some men‖ (Vetten, 2009: 9) and vulnerable women and girls [and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations] that are caught in unequal gender power relations are particularly vulnerable to sexualised violence such as rape (2009: 9).

UNIFEM provides evidence that both men and women ―are victims of stereotypes and norms about masculine behaviour which may lead to unsafe sex and/or non-consensual sex‖ (UNIFEM: 2)[9]. The organisation refers specifically to findings in a 2004 South African study that was conducted in over 5 000 classrooms. The organisation points out that

> 60.8 per cent of 10-14 year old and 55.2 per cent [*sic*] of 15-19 year old males believed that sexual violence does not include forcing sex with someone you know. For females 62 per cent of 10-14 year olds and 58.1 per cent of 15-19 year olds held the same belief. (UNIFEM, 2009: 2)

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[7]See http://www.pambazuka.net/en/category.php/features/87597/print/. [Accessed 14 November 2013].
[8]See http://www.pambazuka.net/en/category.php/features/86325/print/. [Accessed 15 November 2013].
[9]See http://www.unfpa.org/hiv/women/docs/women_aids.pdf/. [Accessed 15 November 2013].

One of the most tenacious and harmful myths that are prevalent in South Africa relates to hyper-masculinity: the notion of male superiority. This notion propels ―many men‗s belief that they enjoy irrecusable claims of access to women‗s and girls‗ bodies" (Vetten, 2009: 9). Vetten (2009) proposes that rape is ―strongly related to the desire to sexually dominate women" and that ―men who demonstrate a proclivity to acquaintance rape have also shown to score highly on scales of measuring hostile sexism" (Vetten, 2009: 15).

A relationship between hetero-patriarchy and an increase in GBV should be viewed in the context of theories on a ―crisis in masculinity." I propose that the dramatic escalation of GBV in South Africa in the past two decades, could be interpreted as one of the results of men‗s perceived loss of power. It is thus a manifestation of the unacceptable ways in which men respond to not only the national priority of gender equality and empowerment of women, but to the slow but recognisable restoration of the voice and agency of women persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. (Of relevance are theories on violence against persons who challenge their oppressors.)

Magana and Chiroro (2013) argue that the ―tens of thousands of rapes" that continue to take place in South Africa underline the importance that GBV ―must be addressed in a much more urgent, holistic, and forceful manner" and that there should be an exploration of the role that factors such as race, class, religion, sexuality and philosophy play (Magana‗ and Chiroro, 2013)[10]. I have argued before that the sacred sphere (religion) has become an important gateway through which hetero-patriarchy is today reinforced and encouraged in South Africa and that globalised dominant North American New Evangelical televangelism plays a significant role in this regard. Hence, the beliefs, values, norms and practices that are entrenched in such religious broadcasting should be kept in mind in discussions on the prevalence of GBV. This proposition requires further reflection.

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[10]See http://www.pambazuka.net/en/category.php/features/86325/print/. [Accessed 15 November 2013].

bell hooks (2004) posits that In North America a lack of access to dominant power could be an explanation for the unacceptable behaviour of some black men (hooks, 2004: 57-58). Walton states that

unfortunately the —saved and sanctified" alternative for black men involves obsessive control over and violence against black women's bodies. The rhetorical tropes of authority, submission, and domination that are staples of African American religious broadcasting lend themselves to and subliminally support...violent behaviour. (Walton, 2009b: 224)

Jakes addresses the challenge of domestic violence in some of his teachings and ministries of The Potter's House. The hetero-patriarchy and hyper-masculinity and femininity that are embedded in his normative directives suggest that the televangelist might be encouraging men to respect and protect their (hyper-feminine) wives. He does, however, not encourage his audiences to respect and protect *all* women, including those who do not fit into his narrow, exclusive understandings of gender and femininity. In his rhetoric Jakes does not identify, deconstruct or challenge the multi-dimensional power imbalances that cause GBV.

Walton (2009b) discusses Jakes' response to the 2007 incident, when Bynum was violently and publicly attacked by her estranged husband, Bishop Thomas Weeks III. I would argue that Jakes used applied hyper-spiritualisation as replacement strategy to shield Weeks from blame and accountability. Walton asserts that the televangelist

withheld public comment. When he did respond, it was with a generic statement...that provided statistics on as well as practical steps employed in the Potter's House to respond to domestic violence cases. Under the heading ‗Domestic Violence is Unholy: Church Must Fight against, Not as Judge but as Protector' he warned that the church should not take a definite stand against abusers and argued that —the church's job is not a judicial one [Jakes, 2007]". (Walton, 2009b: 227)

An increase in recent decades in GBV in African countries such as South Africa and Nigeria should be evaluated in the context of the tension that exists between growing religious fundamentalism and the realisation of women's rights in the continent[11]. Susan Jacoby (2009) argues that

> of course there is a general relationship between patriarchal religion and domestic violence, and the more rigid and traditional the form of patriarchal religion, the stronger the relationship. (2009)[12]

Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite also reflects on the causal link between religion and GBV. She confirms the detrimental impact of the notion of subordination. She argues that

> the primary connection between religion and domestic violence is religiously sanctioned subordination of women. Submission itself is institutionalised violence – a structure of unequal power that puts women in a vulnerable position in the home. The front door of such a ―religious" home becomes a doorway to violence. (Brooks Thistlethwaite, 2009)[13]

The arguments of James and Phyllis Alsdurf (1989) strengthen my argument that a perceived crisis in male superiority (headship, kingship and leadership) is one of the root causes of GBV. They assert that ―conservative Christian women can't even get help because of this religious ideology of submission" (Alsdurf and Alsdurf, 1989: 132). They explain that

> when she [battered wife] musters up the courage to go public with ‗her' problem – very likely her pastor or a church member – what little human dignity she has retained can soon be ‗trampled underfoot' with comments like:

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[11]In 2012, the African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) identified ―religious fundamentalism and cultural inhibitions in some countries/communities" as a fundamental challenge facing gender quality and the empowerment of women in Africa (Van Brabant, 2012: 27).

[12]Seehttp://www.faithstreet.com/onfaith/2009/02/27/beheading/1014/. [Accessed 15 November 2013].

[13]See http://www.faithstreet.com/onfaith/2009/02/27/gods-batterers-when-religion-s/1451/. [Accessed 10 June 2014].

‗What have you done to provoke him?' 'Well, you've got to understand that your husband is under a lot of pressure right now,' or ‗How would Jesus want you to act: just submit and it won't happen again'. (Alsdurf and Alsdurf, 1989: 132)

The argument that men are today ―under pressure" and should therefore be excused for their destructive behaviour strengthens the harmful myth that women themselves are to blame for the abuse and violence that they experience in relationships. Nadar raises an important point in this regard:

The belief that women must be submissive to their husbands begs the question what are the consequences when women don't submit?...There is enough feminist research to show that the apparent lack of submission from women is what leads to violence, but also that the belief that men are the heads of homes, is what causes violence to go unchallenged and women to remain in abusive partnerships. (Nadar, 2009: 24)

Brooks Thistlethwaite's research substantiates Nadar's argument that the Christian fundamentalist directive of female submission ―causes violence to go unchallenged". She refers to the counselling that she had given to young women who had been in date-battering relationships and states

[i]n one case, members of a conservative ―Christian" youth group to which she belonged were encouraging this teenage girl to stay with the battering boyfriend in order to ―convert him to Christ" by her model of ―perfect submission and love". It took a lot of support and a very different religious interpretation to help her make better life choices. (Brooks Thistlewaite, 2009)[14]

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[14]See http://www.faithstreet.com/onfaith/2009/02/27/gods-batterers-when-religion-s/1451/. [Accessed 10 June 2014].

I would argue that the for*men*ist notion of ‖liberation through submission" – as is discussed in and evidenced in Nadar', James and Phyllis Alsdurf' and Brooks Thistlethwaite' findings – is at present a universal phenomenon that characterises New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism. In their interpretation of the advice that Greta Wiid gives women, Potgieter and Nadar assert that

> [i]t is a wife's duty to take on the tasks of making the marriage a good one for ‗her king'...Greta Wiid's advice to women draws on psychological discourse which discourages women to be angry with their husbands, but equally worrying is the fact that it argues for them to not take action, even when there are vicious forms of abuse similar to what she and her husband experienced. Note the tone of complacency which she encourages Anonymous #2 to adopt regarding her husband, by giving a dangerous example of being submissive to ‗your king" even when there is violence in the marriage...(2010: 50)

Some of the hyper-spiritualised motivational directives that Jakes offers women borders on being dangerous for those that find themselves in extreme situations of domestic violence. I would argue that the televangelist does not take the dangers that could be involved in taking unassisted action, into account. In ‖The Pecking Order" he advises women to be courageous enough to step out of ‖boxes" and leave situations and contexts that restrict their freedom and growth. Jakes states:

> *Your worst fears happened, and you survived them. Now you have courage...Because you've seen the storm and you've seen the lightening, and you've see the haters, and you've seen the dark days and you've seen the things you thought would have made you give up on your dream. But there's something inside of you that's stronger than you think it is. You do have the courage.* (2012a)

The normative directives of both televangelists hamper – in various ways - the interests of South African women and persons with non-conforming sex/sexual identities and orientations who suffer injustices related to GBV.

Aimeé Montiel (2014) argues that a

> most important development of feminist theory was to move towards a holistic perspective that unites all forms of violence against women and looks at the specific contexts in which gender-based violence is perpetrated. This advancement is reflected in the definition of both types – physical, sexual, psychological, economic, femicide – institutional, community, work, school – of violence against women and girls. (2014: 16)

Montiel cites studies that foreground causal links between media content and violence against women and girls (2014: 16) and points out that feminist research has shown ―how the Internet and ICTs are now part of gender-based violence environment" (Montiel, 2014: 17).

I submit that the globalised audio-visual messages of both Jakes and Bynum – mainstreamed globally through the applications of various media tools – contribute to a GBV climate and environment and that there are recognisable links between the content of their messaging and manifestations of this social reality.

The following mutually reinforcing harmful norms are, to a lesser or greater degree and directly or indirectly, root causes of GBV: male superiority, men's leadership and headship and female submission. These norms and practices are ―sanctified" in Jakes' and Bynum's rhetorical discourses. In both televangelists' teachings their legitimacy are ―packaged" within the notion of ―masculinity in crisis" and rooted in hegemonic masculinity and femininity paradigms.

I would argue further that the subtext of some of the televangelists' interpretations is that women who do not conform to hegemonic masculinity and femininity should be marginalised and disciplined. Of importance in this regard is Vetten's discussion on rape myths[15]. She points out that

> rape can...function as a sexualised act of humiliation and punishment of women who fail to conform to feminine gender stereotypes (by drinking and going out unaccompanied, or wearing particular types of clothing, for example). (Vetten, 2009: 9)

As I suggested in the previous chapter, Bynum encourages the rape myth that women invite men's bad behaviour by dressing in a particular fashion. I would also argue that Jakes' negative framing of women that ―go to bars and strip clubs" and have ―lesbian lovers" encourages harmful gender stereotypes that could contribute to hostility towards non-conforming women. I wish to argue that both televangelists stigmatise, and in Bynum's case demonise, women with gender and sex/sexual identities that are not hetero-sexual, and encourage emotional, economic and physical violence against such women.

In conclusion: it is my argument that the introduction of a legal (constitutional) human rights approach to equality and justice are directly related to the dramatic increase in GBV in many parts of Africa; e.g. the practical implementation of the South African Bill of Rights. Harmful religious beliefs, values, norms and practices combat such an approach and defend and sanctify resistance (violence) against such a secular approach.

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[15]See the definition that Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) give of rape myths in Longsway and Fitzgerald, 1994. Vetten gives examples of rape myths that are similar to those that Steeves (1997) discusses. Many rape myths pertain to the credibility of women who accuse men of rape. Such myths relate to blame (victims being blamed for provoking rape through their dress), responsibility (men are not responsible for sexual violence, deservingness (women ‗ask for it') and trivialisation (rape is not particularly serious or harmful) (Vetten, 2009: 9-11).

2.3 Members of the LGBTQIA+ community

In 2013, Amnesty International recognised the progress that has been made in a South African constitutional democracy with gender equality in terms of the rights of LGBTQIA+ citizens. The organisation pointed out, however, that between June and November 2012 at least seven people were murdered in South Africa in ―what appears to be targeted violence related to their sexual orientation or gender identity" (Five lesbian women and two non-gender-conforming gay men) (Amnesty International USA 2013a)[16]. The organisation warned that homophobic attacks had reached dangerous levels in sub-Saharan Africa and that lesbians were targeted in a particular fashion for sexual violence (Amnesty International 2013b)[17]. Judge positions the phenomenon of ―corrective rape" of lesbians in the context of prevailing misogynism and prejudices such as homophobia. She states that

> rape and sexual assault are commonplace for sexual ‗minorities‗ in a world where perceived sexual deviance is under attack. The ‗corrective rape‗ of lesbian women are [*sic*] a case in point here. In homophobic discourses the sexual is often invoked. The lesbian woman [*sic*] get punished or insulted because she ‗thinks she is a man‗ or is ‗not man enough‗ to ward off the attacks of ‗real men‗. She is rendered female and feminine through rape and thereby repositioned through violence into her ‗correct‗ gendering. In this way both gender and sex oppression come into play for lesbian women as they are mutually reinforcing systems of power. (Judge, 2009: 14)

Judge argues that within a hetero-patriarchal worldview a lesbian woman is deemed ―other" on two levels: she ―does not inhabit the role of female sexuality, neither does she represent the female gender (which is constructed through relationship with men)" (Judge, 2009: 13). Judge asserts that

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[16]See https://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/making_love_a_crime_-_africa_lgbti_report_emb_6.24.13_0.pdf/. [Accessed 20 November 2013].
[17]See http://www.amnestyusa.org/research/reports/making-love-a-crime-criminalization-of-same-sex-conduct-in-sub-saharan-africa/. [Accessed 7 November 2013]. For a recent perspective on this social reality in South Africa, see UN Women, 2015.

having chosen to not take males as her sexual partner, she defies the heterosexual prescription. She dares to have a sexuality that is potentially autonomous from the male. She must be silenced, invisibilised, insulted, raped or even killed. (2009:13)

The research of Benjamin Roberts and Vasu Reddy (2008) showed that in 2008 between 80 and 85 per cent of South Africans expressed the view that sex between two men or two women is ‒always wrong" (Roberts and Reddy, 2008: 10). These percentages indicate that the heterosexism and heteronormativity that characterised colonialism, slavery and Apartheid, remain firmly entrenched in a contemporary South Africa. It is within this heavily-biased context that sexualities and genders that contradict hetero-patriarchy are ‒silenced, invisibilised, insulted, raped or even killed" (Judge, 2009: 14).[18]. Judge argues that ‒homophobic and misogynist violence simultaneously reinforce gender and sexual norms. Such violence serves as a social control mechanism that disciplines gender non-conformity" (2009: 14).

As pointed out earlier, the claim that same sex relations and sexual acts are ‒un-African" is central to New Evangelical/Fundamentalist campaigns in Africa.[19]. In 2014 the editors of the African publication *Pambazuka News* argued that

throughout Africa, colonial era laws that criminalised ‗unnatural acts' are being reinforced by independent governments, pushed by powerful lobbies, under the pretext that homosexuality is ―unAfrican". This despite the fact that there have always been LGBTI persons in Africa. (Pambazuka News, 2014)

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[18]See the views and findings in ‒Exploring homophobic victimization in Gauteng, South Africa: Issues, Impacts and Responses" (Nel and Judge, 2008).

[19]The scope of this study did not allow for a critical analysis of theories and views that challenges the ‒un-African" assertion. Two sources that offer alternative perspectives are, ‒A Threat to Zulu Patriarchy and the Continuation of Community: Traditional Healing As Sacred Space for female *sangomas* in Same Sex Relationships" (Mkasi, 2012) and the views expressed under the headings ―African Society and Sexuality" and ―African Values" in ―Report on Homosexuality to the General Synod of the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa" (Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA), 2008).

This proposition substantiates views and arguments that I offered before and should, I would argue, be considered alongside African scholar Jesse Mugambi's (1998) critique of a European and North American "media" "invasion of Africa's living rooms and villages" (Mugambi, 1998: 342). Smith (2006c) interprets Mugambi's argument and asserts that "the subtext of Mugambi's comment is that an increasingly unwelcome transmission of political (and cultural) values has accompanied European and American church involvements in Africa" (Smith, 2006c: 228).

These views substantiate my submission that the hard-line surge in heterosexism/homophobia in the African continent in recent decades should be linked to the proliferation and influence of New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media" such as religious broadcasting. Fondation Èmergence provides a range of questions that can be applied to examine the nature and extent to which "the media" upholds heterosexism: Is the language employed homophobic, transphobic or outright hate speech? Is it neutral or progressive? Do voices in the media condone or even call for violence? Are LGBTQIA+ issues sensationalised or pathologised? Are people being "outed"? How fully is the community being represented (e.g. are transgender issues ignored)? Are issues of importance to the LGBTQIA+ women being covered? (Fondation Èmergence, 2013)[20].

In my examination of the Jakes and Bynum teachings I applied all of these questions and came to the conclusion that the televangelists' rhetoric – especially that of Bynum[21] – justifies, maintains and encourages heterosexism and heteronormativity in more than one way. Their teachings do therefore not serve the interests of members of the South African LGBTQIA+ community. The rhetoric in Bynum's "Jezebel" teachings goes, I propose, beyond the stigmatisation and marginalisation of LGBTQIA+ citizens. The televangelist's normative directives demonise women with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities to a point where it encourages violence against and the excommunication of such persons. In

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[20]For findings on the causal link between homophobia and HIV/AIDS and the role that religion and the media play see "Homophobia" (Avert, 2008).

[21]It would argue that Bynum's undiluted hetero-patriarchy should be viewed against the backdrop of her reference – in her "confession of sins" during the earlier cited radio interview – to the fact that she had before lived a non-conforming life style that included engaging in same-sex sexual relationships.

this regard Bynum's framing of the violent death of Jezebel within the hetero-patriarchy refers.

In aligning the act of murder with obedience to God Bynum contributes in a dangerous way to hostility in Africa towards non-conforming women, including LGBTQIA+ individuals. Her interpretations have also, I would argue, the potential to fuel the deeply entrenched culture of violence in South Africa. The question of the member of the NWM that I cited in Chapter One – in which she refers to alleged hetero-patriarchal and militaristic comments on the radio station *Umhlobo Wenene* – and the earlier cited findings of Roberts and Reddy, substantiate my argument that Bynum's biblical interpretations of Jezebel's demise should be viewed with the signs of an unapologetically *violent* hetero-patriarchal pushback in a South African constitutional democracy in mind. Judge (2009) points out that

> patriarchy responds in very particular ways against those ideas and persons who challenge its hegemony. What is the fate of the multiplicity of sexualities and gender identities that don't conform to patriarchal norms? Well, as Jacob Zuma supporters would have it in their public response to a woman who dared challenge his sexual power, simply ‗burn the bitch'. (2009: 13)[22]

The post-racialism that is evident in both televangelists' rhetorical discourses is particularly harmful for lesbian women of colour as it ignores the crucial intersections that exist between race, gender, sexuality and violence. Judge asserts that

> the particular ways in which black women's bodies were represented, objectified and violated under colonialism and apartheid, make the combined effect of racism, misogyny and homophobia different from black lesbians when compared to white lesbians. These intersecting discriminations continue to render black lesbians disproportionate targets for homophobic rapes and other hate crimes. In addition, research findings confirm that higher levels of

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[22]Judge points out that this was a slogan on a poster and one that was chanted by pro-Zuma supporters outside the Johannesburg High Court in the rape trial of the South African president (2009: 13).

_outness' or visibility and the adoption of gender roles associated with the opposite-sex led to increased vulnerability to homophobic discrimination[23]. This means that lesbians who challenge patriarchal gender roles are particularly to risk for attack. (2009: 15)

In conclusion, I propose that strategic mass media communication such as the televangelism of Jakes and Bynum does not encourage the delivery of justice (as rights) to thousands of ―wronged" citizens in South Africa. Such New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media" combat the practical and sustained implementation of the South African Constitution and Bill of Rights; especially at a time that the lines between ―the church" and the state are becoming increasingly blurred. It plays a central role to reinforce (sanctify) a civil religion that is similar to the one that characterised colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. In such a religious climate constitutional rights – and voice and agency – of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities, are obstructed. In this sense, the ―media" of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists play a fundamental role in the recolonisation and neocolonisation of the convictions of African Christians. The Christian sacred sphere of South Africa – that is deeply influenced by a popular North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist religiosity – has become the site for various hegemonic struggles in which gender justice is at stake.

3. North American Televangelism and the Re-emergence of a Civil Religion in a Post-Apartheid South Africa

Drawing on the theories of Bellah (1992), Moodie (1975) discusses the concept of *civil religion* and theorises on how a Christian civil religion played a determining role in Apartheid; ―a perspective, shared by the actors themselves, which provided an ever changing horizon of meaning for their actions" (Moodie, 1975: xiii). In 2008 I suggested that

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[23]Judges relies on the findings of Polders and Wells in ―Overall Research Findings on Levels of Empowerment among LGBT people in Gauteng, South Africa" (Polders and Wells, 2004) and Wells in ―Levels of Empowerment among LGBT people in Kwa-Zulu-Natal, South Africa" (Unpublished report, Pretoria: Out LGBT Well-being).

the myth [The Great Myth] – a concoction of fabrication, fable, narrative, rhetoric and lie –...was the manna with which the settler – legendary land grabber and cultivater – was to feed his conscience and sanctify his goals. [It was] the chalk and board with which the teacher shaped young minds. The myth was the dream that the prophet interpreted and the witness with which the preacher kept fanaticism flaming. The myth was the sum total of the business man's budget, the perspective in the journalist's truth, the tradition in the cultural activists heritage, the focus of the social worker's compassion, the theory in the scholar's wisdom, the bullet in the soldier's barrel and the policy on the lips of the politician. (Boesak, E., 2008)

Parenti (1986) offers a view on the North American context that relates to my above-cited proposition about the role that ideological institutions played to justify, maintain and encourage the mutually reinforcing hegemonies that underpinned colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. Parenti discusses the role and power of expansive hegemonic approaches and states that

a class that relies solely on the state's bayonets to maintain its rule is never secure. So along with suppression, the business class enlisted to its cause such other institutions as the church, the charities, the law, the schools, and the popular press. To secure their hegemony as captains of industry, businessmen, as Stuart Ewen wrote: ‗aspired to become captains of consciousness' (Parenti, 1986: 4).

In this study I argued that fundamentalist Christianity (―the church", theology and a civil religion) was, alongside societal catalysts such as ―media" sources, instrumental in entrenching ―The Great Myth". The hegemonies that were embedded in such religiosity sanctified and maintained hegemonies that shaped the dominant beliefs, values, norms and practices of pre-1996 South Africa. It manufactured individual, but also a collective false consciousness. By the time the new Constitution was implemented the political, social and economic disempowerment and marginalization of thousands of South Africans (―the other") – the manifestations of primary justice denied – had been ingrained in systems and structures,

but also in thinking and doing patterns. Today, a ―new-look‖ fundamentalist Christianity –
that is fueled by a rapidly re-emerging civil religion – wields significant influence in a post-
Apartheid South Africa. Those that concern themselves with the implementations of
individual and collective human rights in South Africa, are faced with a constitutional
conundrum: the very Bill of Rights that is combated (demonised) by religious
fundamentalists, empowers these agents of resistance with freedom of speech, association
and religion.

Of note is Dube‗s (2012) discussion on African spirituality.[24] Potgieter and Nadar (2010) also
assert that spirituality is a recognisable African characteristic[25]. African philosopher John
Mbiti (1969/1990) describes the African continent as ―notoriously religious‖ (Potgieter and
Nadar, 2010: 51). Potgieter and Nadar (2010) propose that religious leaders have significant
power to shape South African citizen‗s cultural values, beliefs, norms and attitudes (2010:
51). Religious figures are – often more than political representatives – considered and valued
as authoritative figures. The celebrity status that a ―media‖ profile brings adds significantly to
such authority. African American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists, such as
Jakes and Bynum, have significant potential to add to the impetus of the growing civil
religion in South Africa. Their religious message could influence (recolonise and
neocolonise) the thinking and doing patterns of Christian believers. There are Christians in all
walks of life: the preacher, teacher, scholar, business person, media worker, doctor, cultural
activist, social worker, soldier, police officer and judge. Should the individual Christian
choose the ―life‖ and express his/her religious convictions beyond the boundaries of private
spaces, this would constitute a significant civil religiosity.

The blatant campaigns to challenge secularisation and encourage a fundamentalist Christian
civil religion in South Africa are central to the ―push back‖ against the Constitution and Bill
of Rights. This means a ―push back‖ against political measures that are aimed at the
dismantlement of ideological hegemonies that propel power inequalities and injustices. The

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[24]For valuable insight into the diversity and contestations in African expressions of spirituality, see Dube et al.,
2012)
[25]I would argue that despite the fact that secularisation is still an often applied hermeneutical departure point in
scholarly work; the same can be said about Northern America.

South African sacred sphere is today a particularly powerful platform from where anti-human rights campaigns are launched. As is the case elsewhere in the world, the use Christian ‒media" is a determining factor in anti-human rights strategies. Echchaibi (2012) proposes that televangelists who are active across the South ‒want to be perceived by their followers as anti-secularism crusaders whose mission is to restore the place of faith in public life" (2012: par.4). Walton draws from various media theorists[26] in his assertion that

> because of television's reality-making capacity, the medium can create the sense that what is seen and heard is an objective reality. When one couples this ‗objective reality' as seen on television with cultural myth systems that have demonstrable resonance among a cross section of the population, it is hard to deny televangelism's ability to codify norms and relationships. ...By giving viewers repeated exposure to particular themes and myths....television contributes to what media theorists refer to as teleconditioning of viewers. (2009b: 200-201)

North American New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists use ‒the media" as a tool for enlistment, but also as an instrument of resistance against a growing awareness of and the practical realisation of the rights of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. Gender equality and empowerment are combated and gender discrimination and marginalisation are defended – ‒divine sanctified". North American Christian stakeholder such as Jakes and Bynum have been capitalising on the psychological (emotional) ‒fall-out" of the power shifts that have and are resulting from constitutional changes in South Africa. In this regard I concur with the assertion of Lee and Sinitiere (2009) that

> Evangelical [*sic*] innovators capitalize on trends and new discoveries brewing
> in society, but appropriations of such innovations serve as tipping points of

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[26]Walton relies on William Fore's theories in *Television and Religion: The Shaping of Faith, Values, and Culture* (1987: 57-61), Conrad Phillip Kottak's views in *Prime-Time Society: An Anthropological Analysis of television and Culture* (1990) and Gregor Goethals observations in *The TV Ritual: Worship at the Video Altar* (1981).

change for which these mavericks often receive credit as architects. Put another way, evangelical innovators make their mark by surfing spiritual waves already in motion before their ascent, but with a scope and reach unimaginable before they captured the imagination of the public…Holy mavericks possess social, cultural, and spiritual dexterity. (2009: 24)

The vigorous marketing in South Africa of the ―media" products of such North American ―evangelical [*sic*] innovators", is enhanced by the significant profile that Christian fundamentalist civil society organizations have built up since the democratic transition. Many of these have a similar presence and influence in other African nations. An example is the Cape Town based Family Policy Institute (FPI), founded by Errol Naidoo and supported by the North American Family Research Council (McEwan, 2014)[27]. McEwan (2014) discusses the harmful activism of such organizations and argues that

> the South African Family Policy Foundation (FPI) was a backer of the recently tabled **White Paper on Families**, which…is indicative of the increasing conservatism in South African public policy…The **White Paper** promotes a heteronormative value system, carrying the possibility that access to state resources (in the form of social grants) could become dependent on whether one's family fits into narrow, heterosexist definitions of ‗family'. (2014)[28]

The Christian African Network (CAN) is also active in South Africa. This organisation is directly linked to the North American International Church Council Project, and a Durban-based branch of the North American organisation Focus on the Family (McEwan, 2014). McEwan asserts that

> another piece of the puzzle that is missing from South African commentary on the anti-gay laws developing elsewhere on the continent is that South Africa is

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[27]See   http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-01-20-the-bigger-picture-understanding-anti-gay-laws-in-africa/#.U02XzDqPJHM/. [Accessed 14 April 2014].
[28]See   http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-01-20-the-bigger-picture-understanding-anti-gay-laws-in-africa/#.U02XzDqPJHM/. [Accessed 14 April 2014].

no exception. Sure, we have a constitution that is recognised as the most progressive in the world when it comes to human rights, but this does not mean that South Africa is immune to the encroachments of the Christian Right. (2014)[29]

I propose that the North American-rooted New Evangelical/Fundamentalist popular culture that prevails in South Africa combats the beliefs, values and equality and justice norms that are embedded decolonial theologies such as liberation, Black and African theologies and pan-African feminist theologies. It thus challenges those theologies that gave and still give impetus to resistance against Western/-ised/ Global North supremacy – empire. Of relevance is the argument of Lee and Thomas (2012) that televised religion has the potential to contest existing religious authority: leaders, doctrines, schools of thought, and sources of religious power (2012: 8). The scholars assert that ―televangelism provides opportunities to ‗disintermediate' religious authority as well as ‗reintermediate' new sources of mediatory power" (2012: 8). This is substantiated by Tamar Gordon's (2005) proposition that religious media narratives influence lives and situations, ―shape and activate realms of social action, confer power upon those in religious authority and empower those who are not" (Gordon, 2005: 309).

The content of globalised New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism ―media" fuel, in a very particular fashion, a global ―war" – in private and public spaces – against the mainstreaming and implementation of the human rights of (justice for) women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. Brouwer et al. (1996) point out that in the early twentieth century the original North American Fundamentalist movement ―explicitly stated that reining in women was essential to maintaining social cohesion" (1996: 219). Martin Riesebrodt (1993) singles out the following remark in the periodical *The King's Business*:

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[29]See http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-01-20-the-bigger-picture-understanding-anti-gay-laws-in-africa/#.U02XzDqPJHM/. [Accessed 23 May 2014].

> There is a full-fledged rebellion under way, not only against the headship of man in government and church, but in the home. (Riesebrodt, 1993: 57)[30]

There is more than one factor that increases the potential influence of the ideological content of New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media" in South Africa. These include the hyper-spiritualisation of economic empowerment (prosperity theologies) in such content, the "notorious spirituality" of South Africans and the fundamental role that Christianity played in colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. It is possible that many male South African Christians would be particularly susceptible to the harmful masculinism that is embedded in the rhetorical discourses of North American televangelists such as Jakes and Bynum. The following argument of Brouwer et al. (1996) can be applied to the South African context:

> Most cultures that are open to evangelization are well along in the transition from traditional cultures of extended family to new formations made up of smaller, husband-headed families who rely primarily on their own efforts for survival. In this environment the pastor and his wife represent the perfect couple who have taken it upon themselves to be the foundation of a new church community. This religious enterprise is not an egalitarian affair, however, for the wife is subservient to the husband. The fundamentalist Christian worldview, which has no need to impose the logistical, bureaucratic framework of a universal church, does choose to maintain psychic and doctrinal order through the re-subordination of women. (1996: 218)

Many of the most destructive legacies of more than three hundred years of white heterosexual male supremacy in South Africa, are related to beliefs, values and norms that uphold hierarchical social positioning; a "downward line of authority" (Brouwer et al., 1996: 219);

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[30]Of note is the assertion of Brouwer et al. (1996) that

> significantly, both Islamic and Christian fundamentalism have reacted to the emerging freedom of women with anti-feminist programs that reinforce their patriarchal roots: they restrict female roles, teach the submission of women to men, glorify motherhood, control sexuality, and re-establish the dominance of males in positions of social authority. (1996: 9)

> God → pastor → husband → wife → children. At least rhetorically, this model
> is particularly well-suited to promoting patriarchal patterns of obedience within
> the nuclear family; it may represent the most clear-cut way of asserting
> dominion when other social constraints over female roles are disintegrating and
> gender roles and relationships are being challenged and transformed by
> economic and cultural changes in the society at large. (Brouwer et al., 1996:
> 219)

In the past men were the main advocates of a hetero-patriarchal societal order. During the past twenty years a ―feminisation‖ of hetero-patriarchal norms has seen the dramatic emergence of female Christian fundamentalists such as Juanita Bynum, Paula White and Joyce Meyer. I view their teachings as manifestations of expansive hegemony. I would argue that, as is the case with the contradictory relationship between New Evangelicals/Fundamentalist of colour and post racialism, these ideologically conservative female televangelists are ―allowed centre stage‖ for a particular reason. This is a successful strategy that responds to and aims to counter (also in the African continent) gender equality and justice action campaigns, conventions, protocols, constitutional changes and legislative measures.

4. For*men*ism, False Consciousness and Expansive Hegemony

It is important to explore the for*men*ism that characterises New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism today and the role of female televangelists in this expansive hegemony strategy.

Patriarchy is a ―fluid‖ and constantly evolving ideological hegemony. When threatened as dominant norm by societal developments, it is adjusted and expanded to accommodate such changes. The for*men*ism that is evident in the convictions of many female New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists is an example of this ―survival mechanism‖. The past twenty years have seen significant progress in the political sphere with the mainstreaming of gender

equality; globally and in South Africa. It is now generally accepted that the practical realisation of political interventions remain hampered. In this regard harmful cultural and religious belief and value systems are obstructive influences. By adopting for*men*ism stances, many women play a key role as agents of expansive hegemony. Judge argues that patriarchy ―reinvents itself over time" and that

> the modernization of patriarchy – through capitalism but also in response to feminism – has meant that women now occupy places in every crevice of the modern patriarchal state. But we must distinguish between *being* in locations of power and *having* power...especially the exercise of a kind of power that challenge patriarchal hierarchies of gender privilege. The imperialist feminist, as Zillah Eisenstein [Eisenstein, 2008] calls her, wields power that serves a capitalist patriarchal hegemony. These women do not transform oppressive power, rather they use it *within* not *against* the patriarchal system. (2009: 15)

It is my view that such for*men*ism (evident in the normative directives of, for example, Wiid and Bynum) should be understood in the context of the Potgieter' and Nadar's (2010) argument that in recent years there has been a shift from sovereign to disciplinary power. They propose that

> [w]ith sovereign power the individual is controlled by the sovereign – essentially by force. However, disciplinary power has the effect of individuals controlling and monitoring themselves and being monitored and controlled by willingly subjecting themselves to the control of scrutiny of experts (for example, religious _experts'...)...Hence even though the patriarchy that underpins the WWC is not state controlled (sovereign and punishment), women are still subject to disciplinary control (institutionalized religion). (Potgieter and Nadar, 2010: 146-147)

As is the case in other public spheres such as ―the media", business sector and academia, women are today, in many instances, in religious environments not controlled and disciplined

by men, but by other women. I propose that there is an overarching global reality recognisable in the role that many women play as agents of obstructive imperialist feminism that obstructs gender equality and justice. In Chapter One I cited the assertion of Hermano and Turley (2001)[31] that

> when we look at news coverage through the prism of gender, what we discover
> ought to startle those who think women's perspectives and issues are being well
> represented. Even though the number of women journalists is increasing, when
> it comes to coverage by news organisations women's visibility is much more
> limited. (2001)[32]

Potgieter and Nadar (2010) pose a key question and offer a relevant answer in terms of a fundamental reason why female religious influences such as Wiid have power over women;

> [i]f women have agency, why are they _buying' into the for*men*ism discourse
> which Wiid promulgates? Our understanding is linked to the psychologisation
> and the internalisation of ideology, especially because the ideology is sacred,
> but also because male dominance is portrayed as benevolent and as rewarding.
> (2010: 51)

I would argue that some women embrace for*men*ism in the interest of their own empowerment and thus for the personal dividend that results from patriarchal bargaining. Such an ideological bias is, however, in many instances rooted in women's false consciousness. Parenti's (1986) theories are relevant in this regard. It is my argument that many women who —buy into" for*men*ism discourses, are —falsely conscious" of their own long term interests and those of generations of women to come. In cases where such for*men*ism includes the embrace of heterosexism, also of the interests of generations of persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. As Parenti points out,

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[31]See http://niemanreports.org/articles/who-makes-the-news/. [Accessed 23 October 2013].
[32]See http://niemanreports.org/articles/who-makes-the-news/. [Accessed 23 October 2013].

to deny the possibility of false consciousness is to assume there has been no indoctrination, no socialization to conservative values, no control of information and commentary, no limitation of the topics to be considered in the national debate, no predetermination of issue agendas, and that a whole array of powers have not helped prestructure how we see and define our own interests and options. (1996: 210)

Cheryl Anderson (2009) draws from the theories of Judith Fetterley (1978) and offers an argument that is similar to Parenti's (1986) proposition and confirms Potgieter' and Nadar's (2010) views on for*men*ism;

[t]he problem...is that female readers of biblical texts learn to identify with male perspectives, through an effect referred to as immasculation, and so read texts in ways that are contrary to their own interests. (Anderson, 2009: 7)

Anderson explains emasculation by reflecting on the resistance that a female African American high school senior showed to her Bible study teachings on the importance of an inclusive interpretation of problematic biblical text that touch on matters such as slavery and GBV (e.g. rape). Anderson argues that she (the student) ―has learned to read the Bible in a way that is counter to her own spiritual, emotional, and physical health and well-being" (Anderson, 2009: 7).

Nadar's and Potgieter's theories on the for*men*ism of Wiid and the ideological biases that are embedded in Bynum's rhetorical discourses show the role that New Evangelical/Fundamentalist women play in the defence and sanctification of hetero-patriarchal dominance. This phenomenon requires continuous, critical engagement. The scope of this study did not allow for an extensive discussion of this phenomenon, but I will offer some thoughts.

Although female Evangelists have been present and influential from early on in the North American Evangelical tradition,[33] the media technological proliferation of the past three decades and globalisation has seen the emergence of a particularly high number of female televangelists. Many have significant globalised ‟media" profiles. They often play central roles in local, national and international New Evangelical/Fundamentalist mission campaigns, revival series and conferences. As is the case with most of their male counterparts, the dominant grand narratives that are embedded in their normative directives encourage cosmetic racial harmony and reinforce a neoliberal capitalist ethos and hetero-patriarchal interests. Walton asserts that like ‟economic enterprise", patriarchy is a ‟viable means of overcoming racial discrimination and gaining full acceptance" (2009b: 171).

A hegemonic approach to femininity is evident in the fact that the spouses (‟First Ladies") of New Evangelical/Fundamentalist male televangelists such as T.D. Jakes are more often than not branded and marketed as the forces behind ministries that are mostly, if not exclusively, relate to ‟women's matters"[34]. Serita Jakes, spouse of T.D. Jakes, is described on the website of The Potter's House as someone who ‟speaks across the country on women's roles in supporting their husbands" and that she is ‟in demand by women's organizations throughout the nation as a celebrated speaker on issues concerning marriage and family" (The Potter's House, 2014a)[35]. Serita Jakes – like Wiid and Bynum – is comfortable with and would encourage women to live ‟through" their husbands; such an approach is a guarantee for a lasting marriage. In an interview with Oprah Winfrey on *Oprah's Next Chapter* Serita Jakes responded as follows to a question on what kept their thirty year long marriage going.

> Lots of communication, lots of talking over the phone when he's travelling. As
> he's evolved, I've had to evolve with him, and so, instead of being left behind,

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[33]For a historical perspective that investigates the role of African American female evangelists, see the chapters entitled ‟Invocation: Time to Tune In – The Phenomenon of African American Religious Broadcasting", ‟We Too Sing America – Racial Invisibility, Respectability", and ‟Roots of Black Religious Broadcasting " in *Watch This! The ethics and aesthetics of Black televangelism* (Walton, 2009b).

[34]Serita Jakes is the executive director of the ‟WoMan to Woman" ministry of T.D. Jakes' Potter's House. She is also the founder of the church's ‟God's Leading Ladies Life Enrichment Program" and ‟Debutante Program" (for teenage girls).

[35]See http://thepottershouse.org/Local/About-Us/First-Lady-Serita-Jakes.aspx/. [Accessed 2 May 2014].

when he goes out into the world, he comes back and he tells me about everything. (Jakes and Jakes, 2012)[36]

In terms of the views of ―First Ladies‖ on gender power relations, the following observations of Taffi Dollar, the spouse of Creflo Dollar, are strikingly similar to those of Wiid, Bynum and Serita Jakes;

> [a]s a woman, you are so valuable to the plan of God that creation couldn‘t continue to exist without you! Through these God-given abilities and the words you and I speak, we have the power to make kings and leaders of men. (Dollar and Dollar, 2002: 50)

Walton (2009b) discusses the four principles that Taffi Dollar proclaims to be imperative for women to understand and embrace in order to ―establish a successful relationship with a man‖ (2009b: 196-197). These principles further confirm the for*men*ism that propels her normative directives. Like Bynum, Dollar asserts that women who are ―fiercely independent and intensely ambitious‖ are possessed by a ―Jezebel spirit‖ (Walton, 2009b: 197-198). She encourages women to ―follow the leader‖ (2009b: 223).

I propose that many South African Christian women might be susceptible to such for*men*ist religious rhetoric. Unfolding societal transformation is resulting in confusion about and tensions related to their gender roles identities and roles. Constitutional changes are challenging deeply-entrenched cultural norms, religious beliefs and customary laws. In Tonya Stanfield conducted research that indicated that university-educated and ―ambitious‖ young women in a religious study group ―had questions about their identity as females when it came to the question of marriage and *lobola*[37]‖ (Stanfield, 2011)[38]. Stanfield states that

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[36]It is my argument that Serita Jakes exhibits the same harmful hyper-spiritualisation that characterises her husband‘s rhetoric. In an interview on ―The 700 Club‖ she suggested that women and children that have suffered abuse (including rape) can find ―healing‖ from post-traumatic stress symptoms through God‘s healing power (2014).
[37]This is the custom in certain South African indigenous cultures according to which a man pays a bride price, e.g. cattle.

one young woman found it offensive; the other found it a harmless custom to be honoured. But they asked the same question: ‗Who am I after I get married? Do my ambitions and dreams dissolve after I am a wife?' Both were taught by culture and religion that God created women primarily to serve their husbands. The empowerment of women is greatly compromised, if not defeated, when their places of worship settle for unchallenged traditional teachings, and do not make an effort to re-explore scriptures in light of cultural changes and modernisation. (2011)[39]

I will now conclude this discussion of the tensions that exist between the ideological beliefs, values and norms in the teachings of T.D. Jakes and Juanita Bynum and the constitutional norms of equality and justice (human rights). Parenti (1986) proposes that ―freedom" is constituted in the power that a person has to control her/his own interests. I would argue that such ―power" is embodied in voice and agency. How should the above-mentioned tension be interpreted in a South African context where the voice and agency and holistic, completed liberation of most women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations remain in jeopardy? In the next, final chapter, I respond to this question. I do so against the backdrop of the notion of ―radical", sustained reconciliation.

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[38]See   http://www.genderlinks.org.za/article/south-africa-empowered-faith-empowered-women-2011-05-04/. [Accessed 21 September 2012].
[39]As I argued in Chapter One and Two, the globalised televangelism of globalised dominant North American Evangelicals/Fundamentalists such as Jakes and Bynum should be recognised as electronic churches/―places of worship".

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

At the outset of this dissertation I identified my research objectives and throughout the study I raised and explored questions to these objectives. A primary aim was to interpret the North American televangelism that has a profile in South Africa in the context of globalisation.

Such contextualisation had an ethico-political intent: to situate such religious ‑media" within a ‑bigger picture" in which North America remains a powerful influence and the source of a value-laden manifestation of globalised Christianity and globalised strategic mass media communication. I therefore described, interpreted and compared the ideological character of globalisation and that of dominant news ‑media" and New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and its related ‑media"

I described this Western/ised Global South expression of Christianity – and thus globalised North American ‑media" – as important vehicles through which harmful religious beliefs, values, norms and practices are distributed across the world; particularly Global South countries that are in transition. This included the South African constitutional democracy.

I showed how the televangelists T.D. Jakes and Juanita Bynum – both with a profile in this country – construct gender and gender power relations in their rhetorical discourse. I also explored how they used specific strategic communication methodologies and process – that are similar to those in news ‑media" – to strengthen the ideological content of the messaging. I then showed the tensions that exist between their construction of gender and gender power relations and the constitutional norms of equality and justice. This illustrated how their communication combats the equality and justice that the Bill of Rights guarantees for women and persons with non-conforming sex/sexual identities and orientations whose voice and agency remain severely obstructed due to the very same ideological hegemonies that underpinned the worldviews that shaped colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. Televangelists such as Pat Robertson, Jakes and various female New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists that

exhibit the expansive hegemony strategy of for*men*ism, defend and sanctify various hegemonies. These include racism and post-racialism, neoliberal capitalism and class materialism, hetero-patriarchy and the justification of disciplinary abuse.

I viewed gender and gender power relations through an intersectional, decolonial pan-African feminist lens and gender justice through the theoretical prism of ―justice as rights". I therefore examined the extent to which the televangelists use their freedom of speech and religious freedom – that are protected by the Bill of Rights – to combat holistic, completed gender justice and further obstruct the voice and agency of some of the most marginalised South African citizens. These include women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientation whose voice and agency are hampered due to generational poverty, those that experience GBV and the LGBTQIA+ community in general. The hegemonies that are evident in the beliefs, values, norms and practices of Jakes and Bynum, are root causes of these realities.

How then should the profile, role and influence of globalised North American New Evangelical televangelism in South Africa be understood? I give my conclusive response to this question with a particular overarching South African challenge in mind.

1. North American Televangelism, Gender Justice and "Radical" Reconciliation in South Africa

In this study I investigated the causal link between ―the media", religion and gender equality and justice by exploring the extent to which the beliefs, values, norms and practices that are embedded in globalised North American televangelism challenge the constitutional norms of equality and justice and contribute to the further obstruction of the voice and agency of most already marginalised citizens.

My examination was conducted at a time that fundamental, deep-rooted societal transformation and sustained ―radical‖ reconciliation remain incomplete and hampered in South Africa. I would argue furthermore, that gender inequalities and injustices are two of the most important root causes of this reality. The content of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media‖ exacerbate these realities and obstruct transformation and sustained, deep-rooted reconciliation in this country.

1.   My first argument is that the gender-hegemonies that are embedded in dominant expressions of this globalised Christian religiosity (and its related religious broadcasting) obstruct the equalising and transformational power of the humanist values of *equality* and *justices* that are entrenched in Bill of Rights.

I submit that sustained reconciliation will only be realised in South Africa once the complexities related to the construct of *gender* have been addressed, harmful interpretations of this construct have been corrected and gender power imbalances have been restored. The lived realities of millions of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations make it clear that more than legal, political justice is needed. Until this happens, fundamental societal transformation will remain incomplete. Gender equality and the empowerment of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations must transcend cosmetic, selective empowerment of individual persons and groups. ―Radical‖ reconciliation will also remain elusive until expansive hegemonic strategies – that position citizens‘ interests within post-racialist, neoliberal capitalist, classist and hetero-patriarchal paradigms – are identified and dismantled.

It is my argument that lasting reconciliation in South Africa requires comprehensive, *holistic* and thus *completed* gender equality that result in comprehensive, *holistic* and thus *completed* political, economic and social empowerment (justice) for all women. Reconciliation will remain in jeopardy until gender justice is delivered to the majority of the population. Gender justice is directly related to the complete restoration of the voice and agency that

marginalised women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations need to claim their human rights.

2.   My second argument is that all manifestations of power imbalances (political, social and economic) constitute a threat to the stability of the South African society and African continent. The delivery of equality and justice through the political intervention of the Bill of Rights is therefore crucial. The obstruction of the communal ethos that is entrenched in the Constitution and the practical implementation of Bill of Rights will thus jeopardise the national priority of social cohesion. Are there tensions between certain rights that do exactly this? Yes. These tensions demand critical engagement.

3.   My research has shown that globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism obstruct holistic, completed gender justice. This, by implication, suggests that the content of such religious ―media‖ jeopardise deep-rooted transformation and ―radical‖ reconciliation. The normative directives of televangelists such as Robertson, Jakes and Bynum hamper the voice and agency of a central segment of the South African population. In their rhetorical discourses they stigmatise persons that are not Christian and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. They furthermore encourage women not only to ―subordinate their interests to those of men‖ (Potgieter and Nadar, 2010: 53), but to post-racialist, neoliberal capitalist and classist agendas. Whilst their teachings might be branded as being ―liberatory‖ in that the content focuses on individual economic empowerment, domestic violence, and dealing with failed relationships and singlehood, it obstructs primary and rectifying justice (constituted as rights). It hampers the voice and agency that most South African still need to control and protect their own interest. Like the South African New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists Buchan and Wiid, these televangelists merely create ―the opportunity for women to have an illusion of control to effect changes in their lives‖ (Potgieter and Nadar, 2010: 51). Hence I propose that such strategic globalised Christian ―media‖ serve neither the holistic, completed gender justice, nor deep-rooted societal transformation and sustained ―radical‖ reconciliation.

4.   My fourth argument is that the rhetorical discourses of Jakes and Bynum constitute social accommodation communication that justifies and maintains harmful gender-oppressive myths. The televangelists do not ‒address the critical questions of justice, equality, and dignity that are so prominent in the biblical understanding of reconciliation" (Boesak and DeYoung, 2012: 1). Their normative directives therefore constitute what Boesak and DeYoung term as *Christian quietism*. New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‒media" as the audio-visual teachings of Jakes and Bynum serve the interests of the powerful and privileged; ‒the powers that govern our world" (2012: 1). At a time that the characteristics of globalisation continue to facilitate the marginalisation, vulnerability and suffering of millions of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities across the world (also in South Africa), the rhetoric of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists ‒seek to accommodate this situation, justify it, refuse the risk of challenge and prophetic truth telling" (2012: 1). Jakes and Bynum are ‒complicit in deceitful reconciliation" (2012: 1). The individualistic and superficial racial and economic reconciliation that Jakes advocates is, in my view, framed from within ‒the womb of privilege" (2012: 153); within the parameters that white owned religious broadcasting networks – such as CBN, TBN and some of those that host him in a contemporary South Africa – set. In both Jakes' and Bynum's rhetorical discourses an emphasis is placed on the personal whilst the systematic nature of marginalisation and vulnerability is ignored. Hence their grand narratives lack ‒radical components" that ‒challenge social systems of injustice and inequality" and ‒confess social sin" (2012: 153). I would argue that their religiosity cannot be aligned to Boesak' and DeYoung's understanding of a reconciliation that is

> radical, costly reconciliation: not papering over the cracks, knowing it is not
> possible but between equals. It calls for systemic justice, a radical reordering of
> power relationships and sustained transformation of society. (2012: 154)

5.   My fifth argument is that the grand narratives that are embedded in the teachings that I examined do not reflect sustained solidarity with stigmatised, stereotyped and marginalised women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. They rather contribute to the obstruction of the voice and agency of such South Africans –

‖the wronged that are all about us". Neither Jakes' nor Bynum's normative directives reflect the theological understanding of ‖radical" reconciliation that DeYoung draws from De Gruchy (De Gruchy, 2002: 51). DeYoung argues that

> reconciliation can be understood as exchanging places with ‖the other",
> overcoming alienation through identification, solidarity, restoring relationships,
> positive change, new frameworks, and a rich togetherness that is both spiritual
> and political. (Boesak and DeYoung, 2012: 12)

6.   My sixth argument is that North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‖media" reflects a popular contemporary ‖prophetic" public theology that shapes political-, economic-, civil society- and public opinion discourses in a South African. In much of their rhetoric televangelists such as Robertson and Bynum denounce gender rights and interpret gender equality and the empowerment of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations as root causes of moral and social problems. This constitutes defensive, combatant sanctification communication. Religious influences such as these mobilise resistance against secularism, human rights and inter-faith respect and cooperation and create ‖hope" in a time of global and local political, economic and social transition by advocating that Christian believers must become ‖warriors" in a spiritual war that is waged to establish a Christian world order (also in South Africa.)

The content of Pat Robinson's *The 700 Club* and the radio programme *Focus on the Family* (both with a profile in contemporary South Africa) have recognisable embedded conservative ideological beliefs, values and norms that are directly related to political, social and economic realities. Such ‖media" might not ‖change how a voter thinks" but ‖what a voter thinks about" (Wrench, 2016: 176).

It is my argument that globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‖media" products are vital tools that are used to reinforce conservative Christian beliefs, values, norms and practices in African societies today. This is, as I argued before, directly linked to renewed geo-political North American interest and activities in Africa and the North

American ‒Africanisation" of Christianity. The question that I explored in my research was: What is the ‒Christianity" that is being imprinted?[1] Horsfield argues that

> what is challenged in Christianity by new media developments today is not necessarily Christianity itself, but the particular mediation and authorised languages of Christianity that developed on the foundation of the cultures and industries of printing through the modern period and were able to establish themselves through those media processes as unconditioned orthodoxy. (2015b: 34)

In previous periods of imperialistic conquest and expansionism, manifestations of Western fundamentalist Christianity – and thus the mediums that were used for the strategic communication thereof – was a tool for destructive ideological hegemonic control. Harmful ideologies were entrenched in the consciousness of generations of Africans during colonialism, slavery and, in South Africa's case, Apartheid. The application of mediated religion was a key necessity.[2]

It is my view that a unique dynamic – similar to the one that contributed to the ‒heyday" of televangelism during the 1980s in North America – is at present propelling the blooming Christian religious strategic mass media communication culture in South Africa: a ‒confluence of a particular media ecology and a particular socio-political moment" (Ward, 2016c: 195). Ward argues that

> evangelicals of all stripes, reeling from the cultural changes in the 1960s and 1970s, readily accepted a new metanarrative. To oppose a rising tide of secularism, believers needed an ‒ism" of their own, a comprehensive ‒Christian worldview" or biblical worldview". (Ward, 2016c: 195)

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[1] For valuable insight see Meyer, Birgit, 2003. ‒Impossible Representations, Pentecostalism, Vision and Video Technology in Ghana." Working Paper no. 25, Institute für Ethnologie und Afrikastudien, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Furum 6, D-55099 Mainz, Germany.
[2] I offer a more comprehensive argumentation in this regard in Chapter Four.

Thirty years ago North American broadcasters recognised those world regions that are in political, social and economic transition – including the African continent – as new frontiers. Today globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media‖ ―are [still] riding the crest of a wave – both technological and sociopolitical‖ (Ward, 2016c: 199). This time around, also in more ―lucrative‖ off-shore targeted areas. The very same stimuli that propelled the offensive in the 1970s and 1980s in North American – especially when the Religious Rights[3] wielded significant political power – are now the ―oxygen‖ that feeds a conservative Evangelical fervour in South Africa. Ward (2016) states about that period of time in the USA;

> evangelicals [*sic*] had watched in dismay as ―women‘s libbers‖, pushed ―unisex‖ values, ―pro-abortionists‖ attacked the ―sanctity of life‖, the ―gay agenda‖ threatened traditional mores, ―secular humanists‖ kicked God out of the public square, ―evolutionists‖ indoctrinated kids to dismiss the Bible, and ―tax-and-spend liberals‖ made America dependent on government rather than God. To oppose [this]..., as Reagan implied, believers must recast ―God‘s good news‖ as a ―good‖ and ―intelligent‖ approach to ―life‘s deepest truths‖. (2016c: 200)

Popular harmful developments in North America have, in the past three decades, found an echo in popular conservative Christian rhetorical discourses in South Africa. Connable argues that New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media‖ wields significant power. They forge a shared Evangelical identity in a secular societal context where there are alternative and diverse beliefs, values, norms and practices. ―Over time,‖ Connable argues, ―this echo chamber provides evangelicals a sense of normalcy and a strong, stable identity based on shared ideology‖. He concludes that ―space for non-conformity and dialogue becomes all but

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[3]Since the election in November 2016 of the Republican Party‘s Donald Trump as president of the USA, there have been important unfolding discourses about and debates on the role that conservative Christians (e.g. Evangelicals, Born Again Christians and conservative Catholics) had played in his election. In light of recognisable racial dimensions and the role of ―the media‖ in some of the initial official voting patterns surveys, this subject demands ―deep-drilling‖ research. Departure points could investigations into the profile and extent of Trump‘s Christians support base, the potential international ―ripple effect‖ of his election in the most powerful Global North nation, this political development and the global ―bigger picture‖ regarding conservative Christian political networking, and the global rise (yet again) of harmful populist Christian Nationalism. The scope and timing of this study did not allow for such research.

impossible" (Connable, 2016: 197). Hall Jamieson and Capella (2008) argue that "when an audience self-selects its media content to be like-minded, the typical media effects – changing attitudes, opinions, beliefs and behaviors – will not be readily detected" (Hall Jamieson and Capella, 2008: 82). These theories underline the importance of the development of a just "media" ethic.

I would argue that the dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media" that has a profile in South Africa today, challenge all expressions of justice theology. The religious beliefs, values, norms and practices that are embedded in such "media" fall short of the litmus test for contemporary public theology that Koopman (2006) suggests. He asserts that, "the acid test for our social and economic discourses, policies, and priorities is the question on how they impact on the most vulnerable in society" (Koopman, 2006: 214).

Despite the fact that both Jakes and Bynum have a prophetic dimension in their discourses, their normative directives lack a clear understanding and engagement of the complex dynamics that underpin the marginalisation, vulnerability and suffering of millions of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations worldwide. In this regard their use of pastoralisation – claiming the roles of priests and prophets to strengthen their power over those that listen to them – are of concern. West (2002) argues that "the possibility of liberation is found only within the depths of the actuality of oppression. Without an adequate social theory, this possibility is precluded" (West, 1982 rpt. 2002: 111-113).

7.   My seventh argument is that globalised New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media", such as the teachings of Jakes and Bynum, do not move the globalised world in a progressive direction towards holistic, completed gender equality and justice. Those that listen and watch their televangelism will not be encouraged to embrace or work for transformation of harmful gender constructs and power imbalances in the political-, economic-, civil society- and public opinion spheres.

8.   My eighth argument, and one that is related to my previous proposition, is that globalisation facilitates the dramatic expansion of New Christian Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism especially in world regions that are in transition. Such spirituality does not contribute to global reconciled diversity and a relational, compassionate humanity in which hierarchical patterns are dismantled and world citizens are encouraged to view each other – despite differentiating racial, cultural (e.g. ethnic, religious), economic and gender and sexual markers – as ‟respected children of God" (Boesak et al., 2010: 65). Normative directives such as those that are embedded in the teachings that I examined, do not persuade the faithful to embrace the principle of inclusivity. Neither does it cultivate a respect for the equal rights of all human beings. Such religious communication sanctifies inequality and injustice. It holds ethico-political implications at a time that renewed questions are raised about empire, and specifically about North America‛s expansionism in the African continent.

9.   Hence my ninth argument is that the research that I have conducted encourages continued critical examination of the ethico-political consequences of globalised New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‟media" in a South African where dominant political discourses have a spiritual, and dominant spiritual discourses a political sound to it. ‟Media" such as North American televangelism should be critically engaged as manifestations of defensive, combatant sanctification communication with set political agendas. Of relevance is Wuthnow‛s (1990) assertion that ‟religious television" has placed once private matters, such as abortion and homosexuality, on the public and national agenda of North America (1990: 211)[4]. The scholar points out that

> the televangelists have argued that such matters really cannot be left purely to
> individual discretion; instead, morality bears on collective strength of a nation,
> and thus must become an item of political policy and legislation. (Wuthnow,
> 1990: 211)

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[4]For insight into the political implications of the fundamentalist ideologies such as Christian exclusivism (e.g. Islamophobia) and neoliberal capitalism that are embedded in the content of ‟The 700 Club", see ‟International Televangelism/American Ideology: The case of the 700 Club" (Leslie, 2003).

This argument can be applied in a contemporary South African context. Wuthnow proposes that secularists have to ‑confront religion all over again" (1990: 203) as the paradox of televised religion is the fact that ‑at the same time it privatizes, it also makes public"; it is ‑both consumed in private and acted upon in public" (1990: 203). The scholar states that

> certainly the development of televised religion has done more than simply contribute to the privatization of faith. Much of it has also reinforced the role of religion in the public sphere. Some of the programs have generated huge sums of money from which political candidates could be launched. Religious television provides new ways for private citizens…to express their sentiments and see them mobilized along with the sentiments of millions of others. (1990: 202-203)[5]

The potential political influence that a North American televangelist such as Robertson has in South Africa is strengthened by the way in which he, in his ‑The 700 Club" programme, merges ‑current affairs" (‑news") with a fundamentalist brand of Christian spirituality. He addresses what he perceives to be global political, economic and social ills through a fundamentalist Christian framework and advocates for global Christian rule. In doing so the televangelist serves a global Christian Evangelical/Fundamentalist political agenda. My argument that the strategic Christian religious communication of televangelists such as Robertson, Jakes and Bynum should be viewed as political communication is further strengthened by Hadden's (1999) reflection on the potential political influence of the North American Christian Religious Right Movement. His research showed that

> televangelists have represented a key resource in the initiation and promotion of the movement to date…Gallup found almost one out of every three adults (more than seventy million) watch some religious programming during the course of a month. Nielsen's cumulative audience data also reveal similarly high numbers. (Hadden, 1999: 222)

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[5]Wuthnow makes as an example reference to the North American televangelist Jerry Falwell's mobilisation (his acts and rhetoric) of religious television consumers to talk about and participate in petitions related to abortion (1990: 203).

In this dissertation I posited that the line between the state and the church is becoming increasing blurred in South Africa. I have also argued that there is the resurgence of a harmful Christian civil religion that is similar to the one that played a determining role to weave the oppressive hegemonies that propelled colonialism, slavery and Apartheid into the political, economic and social fibre of the country. These arguments underpin my view that the dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media‖ that enjoy such a high profile in a South Africa should be engaged as political communication that could have a profound impact on constitutional change and the national priorities of gender justice, deep-rooted societal change and sustained reconciliation.

These arguments strengthens my theories about the importance of a just ―media‖ ethic further.

10.   My tenth and final argument is that there should be a sense of urgency in the continuous critical engagement of the North American televangelism that has a profile in a South African constitutional democracy. In ―The Revolution May Not Be Televised…But ‗Redemption‘ Just Might‖ Frederick (2010) argues that the televangelism of New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists such as Jakes and Bynum has ―gone global‖ and that whilst it ―brings funds to American coffers...it also bears hope into dark places‖ (2010)[6]. The research indicates that such ―hope‖ is rooted in hyper-spiritualisation and hegemonic subservience and not in a prophetic religious witness that encourages fundamental and sustained shifts in power imbalances. It does not ignite gender equality and justice, but obstructs it. Frederick‘s reference to ―dark places‖ sounds similar to the following ACBN‘s mandate (cited earlier) and the transnational networks vision and objective.

> Our major drive is to take the airwaves for Christ and create Kingdom orientated [programmes] that can change the lives and revive the world, as we are committed to Kingdom projects. Our objective in ACBN is the

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[6]See   http://www.patheos.com/Resources/Additional-Resources/Revolution-May-Not-be-Televised-but-Redemption-Just-Might.html/. [Accessed 20 January 2012].

SALVATION, REDEMPTION and RESTORATION of souls in Africa and the
world at large. (ACBN, 2014)[7]

The mandate, vision and objective of Africa CBN echo the fundamentalist Christian
worldview that propelled the colonisation of Africa, justified slavery and maintained
Apartheid in South Africa. Alison Des Forges (1999) states the following about the role that
―the media‖ played as echo chambers in the 1994 Rwanda tragedy; the year of South Africa‗s
first democratic election and the dawn of media freedom in that country:

> Propagandists echoed and magnified the hatred and suspicion…Under the
> cover of the newly-established freedom of the press, they blared forth messages
> disseminated more discreetly by officials, such as many of the conclusions
> about the ‗enemy‗…Propagandists developed the same themes over and over,
> both before and during the genocide. (Des Forges, 1999: 58)

This observation further substantiates my suggestion that African scholars – and particularly
South African scholars – should urgently and in a sustained fashion engage the content of
globalised Christian ―media‖. I propose that the following fields of interest come into play,
globalisation, media and communication, feminism and gender, religion, political science,
constitutional development, reconciliation, development and peace. Such communication is
an external influence that holds potentially negative implications for political, economic and
social justice, development, democracy and peace in Africa; including South Africa.

I will now reflect on the specific nature of this study‗s contribution.

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[7]See   http://www.patheos.com/Resources/Additional-Resources/Revolution-May-Not-be-Televised-but-
Redemption-Just-Might.html/. [Accessed 20 January 2012].

2. Contributions of this Study

2.1 Contribution to literature

Whilst there are valuable scholarship and research on the phenomena of globalisation, religion – and specifically New Christian Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism – and the causal link between ―the media‖ and gender, little attention is given to the relationship between the content of globalised Christian ―media‖ and the humanist norms of gender equality and justice (human rights) in globalisation. There is a particular lack of scholarly engagement of the consequences of globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism in a South African constitutional democracy. Possible tensions between such religious communication and the Bill of Rights have not been investigated in a comprehensive and critical fashion. With this study I filled this gap. I thus responded to Horsfield's (2015a) argument that

> Christianity is far more than just a repetition or reproduction of the message of
> Jesus. It has been a complex and expanding mediated phenomenon, a constant
> creative reproduction and rhetorical reworking of Jesus to match the conditions
> of an ever-expanding set of constantly changing circumstances. (2015a: 3)

Applying a Global South/South African perspective, I expanded on and contributed to existing bodies of knowledge that investigate the intersection between ―the media‖, religion, culture and gender. I also added to existing work on the nature, characteristics and consequence of globalisation. In this regard I offer insights through a pan-African, intersectional feminist lens.

2.2 Interdisciplinary contribution

I did not view ―the media‖ and religion as separate social ethico-political influences, but rather as one mutually enforcing reality that demands constant critical engagement. This methodological stance demanded an interdisciplinary approach, and one that underpinned my CCRDA. I did not only investigate *what* the New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists T.D. Jakes and Juanita Bynum are saying in the teachings (e.g. themes in their communication content), but also *how* they are saying it (the communication processes, methodologies and methods) and *why* they are communicating through their religious rhetoric (e.g. ideological subtexts). In this respect I brought the disciplines of media and communication, feminism and gender, religion and political science to bear on each other.

Ideological criticism was central to my examination and allowed for interdisciplinary micro- and macro- structural analysis, conceptualisation and theory-building. This resulted in my conclusion that there is today, in an era of globalisation, an overarching global hegemonic reality at play in which ―the media‖ and the sacred sphere are powerful political, economic and social influences.

2.3 Conceptual contribution

In this study I posited various new concepts.

To foreground my ethico-political research priority, I introduced the notion of a *chain of consequences*: causal links between beliefs, values, norms, ideological hegemonies and power. In order to describe the relationship between globalised New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists and their use of a diversity of tools media for strategic communication purposes, I also introduced the concepts of the *omnipresent electronic church* and a *synergetic, seamless mass media communication strategy* in a New Media Era.

2.4 Intersectional theoretical contribution

By viewing the data through a predominantly intersectional, decolonial, pan-African feminist lens, I showed the importance of using the nexus of differentiating markers (e.g. race, class, gender, sex/sexuality, culture, faith) in studies of religious movements. In my focus on gender justice and the application of holistic and completed justice feminist approach, I showed how it is impossible to consider gender without the overarching concerns of, among others things, race, class, gender and sex/sexuality, particularly in a context such as South Africa. As such, I argued that both the televangelists under study encourage what Walton (2009b) describes as a consequence of The Myth of the ―Strong Black Male": the championing of ―a stunted, conservative, one-dimensional, and stridently heterosexual vision of black masculinity" (Walton, 2009b: 192). Both Jakes and Bynum thus view the man as ―the protagonist who [is] able to redeem the black woman, black family, and larger community by virtue of their stronger character and testicular fortitude" (2009b: 192).

Furthermore, I paid particular attention to the way in which the rhetorical discourses of Jakes and Bynum encourage harmful myths that idealise a neoliberal capitalist society as a ―just" one in which every person can become successful and empowered if she/he ―plays by the rules" and assert her/himself. I also engaged their rhetorical discourses to identify heterosexual masculinity and stereotypes that fuel prejudices such as sexism, heterosexism, homophobia and heteronormativity. In response to growing global religious, ethnic and sectarian tension and violence it was also important for me to examine how they frame persons who do not have a Western, Christian identity.

It was my argument that such examinations were important at a time of the recolonisation and neocolonisation of the religious conviction of African Christians – the North American ―Africanisation" of Christianity. It was also important in a South African context where ―The Great Myth" that underpinned colonialism, slavery and Apartheid, justified political, economic and social gender power imbalances over more than three hundred years.

2.5 Practical Contribution for Women

In this study I engaged the data in question from the vantage point of the Bill of Rights that is entrenched in the South African Constitution; the political instrument that gives women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations to claim their voice and agency. Through a ―close reading" of the six sermons that I examined, I identified beliefs, values, norms and practices that obstruct the practical realisation of the constitutional values of equality and justice. I thus identified religious grand narratives that further marginalise and contribute to the suffering of such citizens.

I showed how Christian believers in a contemporary South Africa – especially marginalised women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations – could, for various reasons, be particularly susceptible to the hegemonies that are embedded in globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism. Of importance is the fact that the ideologies that are recognisable in the phenomena that I examined, both reflect and give particular (harmful) meanings to lived realities and contexts and aim to address women's existential anxieties. Potgieter and Nadar (2010) argue ―ideologies offer explanations for the real world in which people live" (2010: 51).

My examination of the televangelism in question was done with this proposition in mind. I therefore interpreted the ideological content of their teachings as root causes of realities that continue to obstruct the voice and agency of thousands of South African women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. These realities confirm that little progress has been made with the dismantlement of the gender-oppressive hegemonies that shaped colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. It also confirms the danger of the recolonisation and neocolonisation of the religious convictions of South African Christians.

I used the Bill of Rights that ―enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom" (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development a) as an analytical tool to calculate the extent to which *de jure*

political justice has resulted in the holistic, completed empowerment of all women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. My decision to use the Bill of Rights as ideological analytical tool was motivated Wolterstorff's (2008) reflection on ―justice as constituted of rights" (2008: xii).

2.6 Ethico-Political Contribution

In contrast to an Apartheid transformative hegemony that relied heavily on legal and blatant political force to maintain an unjust society, religious broadcasters, such as the ones that I reflected on in this dissertation, contribute to the continuation of inequality and injustice in South Africa by using their moral leadership to ―function as agents" that articulate ―interests of subaltern classes within the dominant view" (Steeves, 1997: 6). They might be challenging some aspects of the hegemonies that gave structure to the worldviews that underpinned colonialism, slavery and Apartheid, but these hegemonies are merely ―rearticulated to meet a contradiction" (Mouffe, 1979: 192) that has arisen in South Africa (a Bill of Rights that prioritises racial and gender equality and justice). New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists like Jakes and Bynum are thus supporting a system that can better accommodate the new situation in the country.

In this dissertation I demonstrated the irony that is to be recognised in the fact that although the televangelism of North American New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists such as Robertson, Jakes and Bynum challenge and obstruct constitutional changes in South Africa, their expansive hegemonic influences are protected by the freedom of religion and speech that the Bill of Rights guarantees them. They thus have the legal freedom and right to manufacture consensus on harmful beliefs and norms and mobilise resistance against this very political instrument that they use as shield. I argued that this constitutional dilemma has not developed per chance, but was orchestrated intentionally by those that viewed the negotiated political settlement that marked South Africa's democratic transition through hetero-patriarchal and neoliberal capitalist lenses. Hence I accepted Gouws' (2014) assertion that in post-Apartheid

South Africa the "social and socio-economic problems" that continue to face South African women are "at their core....political problems" (2014: 2).

This study raises questions about the effectiveness of the South African Bill of Rights. It does so by illustrating the tensions that exist between certain rights. It also shows the potential obstructive influence of globalised conservative Christian beliefs, values, norms and practices that combat secularisation and the constitutional norms of equality and justice; particularly as these pertain to women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media" constitute defensive communication that sanctifies gender power imbalances.

I propose that the chain of consequence that I brought to bear on the intersection between "the media", religion and gender made a contribution to scholarship that focuses on phenomena that hold ethico-political consequences. Daniel Stout (2016) sums the present era remarkably well up: "[w]e are drowning in religious information and media options!" At a time of a "shifting web of changing technology" (2016: xii) and religious fever, but also unfolding geo-political shifts, this study made a contribution to rapidly evolving fields of research. I did so by viewing the content of globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media" products through an intersectional, decolonial, pan-African feminist lens. It furthermore advanced a just —"media" ethic.

3. Opportunities for Academic Responses

I would argue that scholars and researchers in the disciplines of media and communication, gender and feminism, religion and political science should avoid the mistake that Walton (2009b) points to:

[m]any professors and scholars seem to think that if they either ignore the phenomenon long enough or denigrate it loudly enough these televised acts of ‗buffoonery and chicanery' will simply disappear. (2009b: xiii)

This study has shown that in an era of globalisation globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelism has not and will not simply disappear. As Steiner (2016) points out, the electronic church is

an institution that, of course, never went away (and in fact, has proliferated via digital technology) even if scholars stopped studying it a generation ago. (2016: 6)

Critical studies on the globalised North American electronic church are not passé; on the contrary. In this study I aimed to do an ethico-political investigation of manifestations of such conservative Global North ―media". Through my macro- and micro structural analysis, conceptualisation and theory-building, I accentuated the need for and offered theories on a just ―media" communication ethic. I would argue that such an ethic can and should be applied to, among others, globalised news and religious ―media". Globalised ―media" industries play a determining role to facilitate a ―total eclipse" of the ―then" (colonialism, slavery and Apartheid) and the ―now" (harmful values, beliefs, norms and practices that justify, maintain and encourage power imbalances). It is thus necessary to develop an interdisciplinary just ―media" ethic that is propelled by ideological criticism. Such an ethic should be considered as an imperative research tool for those who engage ―the media" within the paradigm of empire.

In a time of globalisation, the interface between ―the media", religion, and power relations remains a crucial research field. Steiner (2016) observes that

while the seemingly limitless number of media options may be daunting for analysts, their toolbox now brings to bear the full range of theoretical traditions in communication and media studies – and makes possible a new research

328

agenda that can see the continuities in American evangelical culture that span media forms, explore the dynamic processes by which evangelical audiences shape and are shaped by their media, and denaturalize these processes to open new possibilities for consideration. (2016: 14)

This study ―open[ed] new possibilities for consideration"; especially by prioritising ethical communication concerns.

Factors that obstruct the practical implementation of human rights and the realisation of holistic, completed gender justice, should be included in research on the collaboration and synergy (shared ideological biases) that exist between the globalised dominant New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism that is mainstreamed through ―the media" and indigenous cultural beliefs, values and practices (e.g. harmful customary laws). It is my view that scholars, especially those that work in the fields of media and communication, gender and feminism, culture, religion and politics, should engage the content of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media" products. One of their aims should be to investigate how the content of such communication upholds and reinforces gender-oppressive cultural and traditional beliefs, practices and customs that obstruct the voice and agency of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. This should thus include critical examinations of how a hybrid African spirituality obstructs the constitutional norms of equality and justice.

It is furthermore my recommendation that research is done on the prevalence, content and influence of globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media" in countries that have signed and ratified gender protocols and conventions and have changed their constitutions and produced legislation and policies with the aim to mainstream gender equality and justice. Of particular interest would be countries where the line between ―the church" and the state is blurred and a prevailing civil religion discourages human rights in general and women's rights in particular; for example, countries where religious grand narratives encourage male superiority and female submission. Research objectives could include examinations of the ideological root causes of realities that obstruction voice and

agency of women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations. I would also recommend investigation into causal links between the new North American New/Evangelical/Fundamentalist Christian —crusade" that has been unfolding in Africa and the dramatic ascendance of violent, anti-Christian gender-oppressive organised Islamic fundamentalism in certain areas of that continent.

In this study I have showed that the normative directives that are embedded in the rhetorical discourses of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists such as Robertson, Jakes and Bynum support a harmful and growing civil religion culture that has the potential to shape the consciousness of South African Christian believers. This argument invites further research into the criteria that Christian citizens in this country apply today to assess how —good" or —bad" the post-Apartheid secular governments of the past twenty years have been in comparison to the —Christian" regimes that controlled the country prior to the democratic transition. A research objective could be to examine the prism/s through which eligible Christian voters view the Constitution and Bill of Rights and the potential political implications of their views: party political alliances and voting patterns, a constitutional development agenda, the mainstreaming of women's rights and the practical realisation of holistic, completed gender equality and justice.

Another example of a possible research initiative is an investigation into what influence their faith convictions have – in a unconscious or conscious fashion – on the professional conduct of Christian believers that consume globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist —media" and whose professional services are directly or indirectly related to or have the potential to be directly or indirectly related the symptoms/—fall out" of the violations of the constitutional norms of equality and justice. Case studies of such professionals could include public service providers, policy makers, educators, medical and paramedical practitioners, social workers, police officers, legal professionals and officials in the judicial system, psychologists, trauma and other counsellors, pastors and media workers.

In this dissertation I demonstrated that there is the probability that the globalised "media" of North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist such as Jakes and Bynum have the potential to influence consciousness of, particularly, South African *women*. This is a segment of the population (and electorate) that has the potential to – if mobilised towards specific beliefs and values – influence the political, economic and social landscape of this country significantly. In terms of the potential medium- to long-term political implications of globalised dominant New Evangelical/Fundamentalist "media", I would suggest that further research be conducted to investigate the extent to which the consciousness of South African Christian women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations are influenced by such communication; particularly regarding the Constitution and Bill of Rights. It could be of value to investigate to what extent citizens, whose voice and agency continue to be hampered today, consume and how they respond to the normative directives of conservative North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist televangelists.

In this study I reflected briefly on the power of false consciousness and introduced Parenti's (1996) assertion that (in Northern America) citizen's awareness of realities and judgement of what benefits them is "subject to social control" and influenced by various factors, "including the impact of social forces greater than themselves" (1996: 209). "The media" play a significant role in this regard, and so does religion. I would argue that my examination of the "feminisation" of New Evangelicalism/Fundamentalism and its "media" opened avenues for continued research by, for example, gender and feminist scholars from various disciplines. African feminist biblical scholars could engage and critique religious "media" discourses that offer "a tactically satisfying rereading of the basic revivalist text" (Ward, 2014: 116).

I would argue furthermore, that there is the potential that some South African women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities would embrace for*men*ism as an only option to claim their voice and agency. There might be some that do this for the sake of personal dividends, in so far as conformity and subjugation advance their political, economic and social empowerment. There is, however, as scholars such as Parenti (1996) and Potgieter and Nadar (2010) propose, also the possibility that many women have internalised harmful ideologies and are "falsely conscious" of the origins, nature and extent of the

obstructive realities that face them. Their real interests are not necessarily the focus of their attention (Parenti, 1996: 209).

These possibilities substantiate my recommendation that critical research into globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‖media‖ is considered as a matter of priority continues. Of particular importance will be investigations into the popularity and influence of female televangelists such as Bynum. Her clear embrace of for*men*ism underlines Fraser's (2013) assertion that ‖today's feminist movement is increasingly confronted with a strange shadowy version of itself, an uncanny double that it can neither simply embrace nor wholly disavow'‖ (Gallagher, 2014: 11).

This study has opened venues for research initiatives in the fields of media and communication, religion and gender and specifically studies that examine the South African audiences of globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalists televangelism. As suggested earlier, investigations of the responses of especially women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and lifestyles to the content of such ‖media‖ products would be valuable.

I have argued that globalised dominant New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‖media‖, such as the North American televangelism that I examined, constitute defensive, combatant sanctification communication. The public theologies that are recognisable in the teachings of Jakes and Bynum have the potential to influence various spheres in the South African constitutional democracy. Such theologies undermine (combat) the *moral* legitimacy and authority of two determining political (legal) interventions that aim to deliver primary and rectifying justice: the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

It is thus my recommendation that the moral and ethical authority of these fundamental political interventions requires continuing, concerted engagement. It is especially critical that philosophers and theologians continue to enter into conversations and deliberations about constitutional development and the value of, but also tensions between different human

rights. I would suggest furthermore that such endeavours not only include reflections on the legal power of these political instruments (justice as *right order*), but also investigate theological interpretations of rights as *moral barometers* for justice. In terms of the latter I recommend an exploration of Nicholas Wolterstorff's (2008) theistic grounding of natural rights. Such explorations could contribute to the further development of a just ‒media" ethic. Wolterstorff's theories are – from both theological and philosophical perspectives – relevant for South African debates on the ethico-political complexities and dilemmas of ‒rights" and ‒justice" paradigms and departure points. In his theories he critiques Western interpretations of the concept of *rights* (Socrates, Plato, Lock and Kant) by engaging the Hebrew Scriptures and New Testament. In doing so, he advances discourses on ‒justice as rights" beyond a Western paradigm.

In this dissertation I accepted Potgieter' and Nadar's (2010) proposition that that ‒the _business' of religion has become a _business' of psychology too" (2010: 48). Hence I recommend that especially African feminist psychologists consider engaging the rhetorical discourses that are embedded in globalised dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ‒media" critically. Research could, for instance, be conducted on the role that the use of personal narratives play in the processes of psychologisation that televangelists such as Jakes, Bynum, Joyce Meyer and others use to – despite cultural differences that exist – win the confidence of the South African faithful (as per the assertions of Frederick regarding Jakes' and Bynum's influence in Jamaica). Hence I suggest that South African scholars conduct investigations into universal existential realities and anxieties that globalised North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist use as ‒pegs" on which they hang their personal narratives (e.g. poverty, GBV, HIV/AIDS). Research should also be done on how the hyper-spiritualisation that televangelists apply, divert the attention of those South African Christian women, that consume their religious products, away from a critical engagement of local and personal structural political, social and economic inequalities and injustices that impact negatively on their lives.

It is my view that a particularly important research priority is investigations into how effectively the gender-oppressive and anti-human rights grand narratives in globalised

dominant North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist popular religiosity are identified, challenged, de-constructed and disrupted. In this regard a research objective could be to examine responses from the secular civil society in general, but also from individual and groups of Christian believers, faith institutions, theologians, religious studies scholars and local and national ecumenical faith organisation.

I would argue that the theories of Hoover and Echchaibi (2012) on the concept of *third space* should also be considered in continued African and South African studies on the interface between ―the media‖ religion and gender. The scholars assert that third spaces of religion exist somewhere ―beyond institution (churches, mosques, denominations, faith groups) as the first space and individual practices as the second group‖ (Hoover and Echchaibi, 2012: 9). Third spaces ―can be spaces of resistance to dominant beliefs and practices. Where religion has been a partner in oppression, their between-ness allows third spaces‖ (Mahan, 2014:62.) In other words, third spaces are ―potentially creative sites of liberative practices ... [where] new ideals, claims, identities, and solidarities can be articulated that resist dominant voices, practices, and beliefs‖ (Mahan, 2014: 62). They can furthermore be places ―of disruption and invention...that...arguably unsettles the singularity of dominant power narratives and opens up avenues of identification and enunciation‖ (Mahan, 2014: 62).

An example of an exploration of the third space concept, is the application of a *practice as research* (PAR) methodological approach in studies that are shaped by a disruption paradigm. In terms of the use of the audio-visual medium (e.g. televangelism), particular attention should be given to the central characteristics of communication. These include, among other things, thorough preparation of relevant content, a balance between visual and oral dynamism and authoritative vocal and body language and the importance of personality and presence.

Finally, it is my recommendation that African theologians – especially those that concern themselves with matters related to justice in general and gender justice in particular – recognise globalised strategic religious mass media communication as a ―new frontier‖ for critical engagement.

4. Conclusion

Does the globalised dominant North American televangelism that I investigated in this dissertation ―channel" justice to/for the millions of marginalised and vulnerable women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations in a South African constitutional democracy? This was the primary research question that propelled my study. This study shows that it does not. Instead, it constitutes defensive, combatant sanctification communication that obstructs the practical realisation of the holistic, completed gender justice that the South African Bill of Rights aims to deliver.

The dominant strategic North American New Evangelical/Fundamentalist ―media" products that I examined serve, I propose, an era of economic and social empire; ―a reality and a spirit of lordless domination, created by humankind" (Boesak et al., 2010: 2). The televangelists in question are powerful global agents for ―the colonization of consciousness, values and notions of human life by the imperial logic; a spirit lacking compassionate justice" (2010: 2).

My CCRDA showed that in a South African constitutional democracy, most of the rights and freedoms that most marginalised citizens are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, are jeopardised by the very same hegemonies that denied women and persons with non-conforming gender and sex/sexual identities and orientations, equality and empowerment (their rights) during colonialism, slavery and Apartheid. In a developing South African constitutional democracy, the ―the wronged are [still] all about us".

Globalised conservative Christian ―media", such as North American televangelism, contributes, in a significant fashion, to justify and protect the *status quo*.

In terms of the ―bigger picture", this study has shown that in a ―New Media Age", North American New Evangelicals/Fundamentalists apply a synergetic, seamless strategic mass media communication strategy to extend the reach and influence of their omnipresent,

electronic church. They use all of the possible media tools in a basket of continuously evolving options to ―export‖ harmful interpretations of Christian beliefs, values, norms and practices across the globe. North American televangelism remains to be a primary and foundational resource for the religious communication that characterises the recolonisation and neocolonisation of African Christian convictions. It is a recognisable manifestation of cultural and religious expansionism at a time that scholars continue to investigate the phenomenon of empire.

I have come a ―full circle‖ in terms of the anecdote that I used at the outset of this study. I then fore grounded an intersection between ―the media‖, religion and inequality and injustice.

I would argue that, in some ways, this study disrupts the closure of the full circle that gender and feminist activists (including scholars) have come since the 1995 adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Action Plan. Yes, much progress has indeed been made in terms of sections J1. And J2: those sections in this historical initiative that prioritise causal links between ―the media‖ and gender inequality and injustice. In this regard, global research initiatives have, however, been mostly focussed on the globalised news ―media‖. Since then the potential harmful impacts of fundamentalist *religious* ―media‖ have remained mostly in the cracks of scholarly feminist and gender agendas and critical engagement. Could it be that this was and is still due to the dominance of a secularisation departure point and paradigm that characterise Western/ised/Global North theorising? Joyce Smith argues that within Canadian journalism, ―religion‖ has in the past decades been treated as a peripheral ―beat‖. Female journalists are, in a similar fashion, ―peripheral‖ news agents that are fit for ―soft‖ beats and unfit for decision-making positions.

Religion has never been and is, most certainly, not a ―soft beat issue‖ today – not in journalistic or scholarly terms. The continuing relationship between religion and inequality and injustice demands critical scholarly (*and* journalistic) engagement. Smith‗s (2013) earlier cited argument that the intersection between women, journalism and religion ―connect and collide‖ (2013: 68) is well-worth keeping in mind. She argues that

[i]nstitutional religion has not been an unalloyed friend to women. It certainly does not recognize female leaders for reporters to quote as experts. With the declining allegiances in Europe and North America to such spirituality, perhaps the waning of religion beats is not a bad thing. (2013: 79)

Religion can indeed no longer be marginalised and isolated as ‒soft" research phenomenon. The mediation of this societal influence – in various ways and for good and bad reasons – is woven into the fabric of globalisation. In this sense, the private has become the public and the ‒scared" the ‒political". And the ‒media"? What have they become in the process? I would argue that the answer to this question is locked up in Apartheid, Rwandan and Ugandan realities. Hopefully, also in this study.

A harmful interplay between ‒the media", religion and injustice is today as real as it was the night in the late 1980s, when I - in resistance to an unjust mass media communication ethos - resigned as radio news executive. This study, conducted thirty years after the confrontation about the importance of ‒media" accountability, underlines the importance of a just ‒media" ethic. As was the case then, the norms of equality and justice are at stake. They surely are in any and all engagements of Christian religious ‒media": the omnipresent, electronic church that has again become the *crusading* Christian church.

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APPENDIX A: TABLES

Table 1 Social Media Use of Non-South African Televangelists

Televangelist	Website	Youtube	Instagram	Facebook	Twitter	Other
T.D Jakes The Potter's House Church (Dallas, Texas, USA)	tdjakes.org	**T.D Jakes**[1] Joined: May 2008 Videos: 1,785 Subscribers: 163,232 Views: 23,916,021	**bishopjakes**[2] Posts: 8,189 Followers: 1.4m Following: 143	**T.D Jakes Ministries**[3] Talking about this: 362,921 Checked in: 52,449 Page likes: 5,688,938	**T.D Jakes**[4] Tweets: 41.5K Following: 204 Followers: 2.3m Likes: 14.2K	Pinterest **T.D Jakes**[5] Boards: 15 Pins: 734 Likes: 0 Followers: 12.3K Following: 0
Juanita Bynum	juanitabynum.com	**Juanita Bynum**[6] Joined: November 2009 Videos: 127 Subscribers: 12,229 Views: 2,034,153	**iamdrjuanitabynum**[7] Posts: 42 Followers: 15.1K Following: 11	**Dr. Juanita Bynum**[8] Talking about this: 43,965 Page likes: 159,944	**iamdrjuanitabynum**[9] Tweets: 34 Following: 2 Followers 609 Likes: 1	
Joel and	joelosteen.com	**Joel**	**joelosteen**[11]	**Joel Osteen**	**Joel Osteen**[13]	

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[1] "The Potter's Tube – Youtube", 2008.

[2] "bishopjakes – Instagram", 2016.

[3] "T.D. Jakes Ministries – Facebook", 2009.

[4] "@BishopJakes – Twitter", 2009.

[5] "T.D. Jakes – Pinterest", 2016.

[6] "Jaunita Bynum II – Youtube", 2009.

[7] "iamdrjuanitabynum – Instagram", 2016.

[8] "Dr. Juanita Bynum – Facebook," 2016.

[9] "@iamjuanotabynum – Twitter", 2015.

Victoria Osteen Lakewood Church (Houston, Texas, USA)		**Osteen**[10] Joined: July 2006 Videos: 139 Subscribers: 138,681 Views: 11,694,859	Posts: 101 Followers: 1m Following: 4	**Ministries**[12] Talking about this: 1,471,697 Page likes: 14,338,893	Tweets: 14.6K Following 169 Followers: 4.73m	
Joyce Meyer Joyce Meyer Ministries (St. Louis, Missouri, USA)	joycemeyer.org	**Joyce Meyer Ministries**[14] Joined: September 2006 Videos: 741 Subscribers: 98,199 Views: 6,983,211	**joycemeyer**[15] Posts: 990 Followers: 632K Following: 19	**Joyce Meyer Ministries**[16] Talking about this: 552,055 Page likes: 11,142,388	**Joyce Meyer**[17] Tweets: 11.3K Following: 78 Followers: 4.07m Likes: 4,805	Periscope: **Joyce Meyer**[18] Hearts: 1,078,474 Followers: 211,416 Following: 17
Paula White New Destiny Christian Center (Apopka,	paulawhite.org	**Paula White Ministries**[19] Joined: April 2011	**paulamichellewhite**[20] Posts: 2,524 Followers: 268K	**Paula White-Cain**[21] Talking about this:	**Paula White-Cain**[22] Tweets: 22.5K Following: 26.5K	

[11] joelosteen – Instagram", 2016.
[13] @JoelOsteen – Twitter", 2009.
[10] Joel Osteen Ministries – Youtube", 2006.
[12] Joel Osteen Ministries – Facebook", 2012.
[14] Joyce Meyer – Youtube", 2006.
[15] joycemeyer – Instagram", 2016.
[16] Joyce Meyer Ministries – Facebook", 2008.
[17] @JoyceMeyer – Twitter", 2008.
[18] @JoyceMeyer – Periscope", 2016.
[19] Paula White TV – Youtube", 2011.
[20] paulamichellewhite – Instagram", 2016.
[21] Paula White-Cain – Facebook", 2009.
[22] @Paula_White – Twitter", 2009.

Florida, USA)		Videos: 440 Subscribers: 54,438 Views: 7,176,502	Following: 351	445,254 Page likes: 3,162,3000	Followers: 488K Likes: 5,856	
Noel Jones City of Refuge Church (Gardena, California, USA)	noeljonesministries.org				**Bishop Noel Jones**[23] Tweets: 1,869 Following: 298 Followers: 191K Like: 19	
Rick Warren Saddleback Church (California, USA)	pastorrick.com	**Saddleback Church**[24] Joined: August 2006 Videos: 418 Subscribers: 44,579 Views: 6,184,717 **Daily Hope with Rick Warren**[25] Joined: March 2014	**pastorrickwarren**[26] Posts: 847 Followers: 383K Following: 275	**Pastor Rick Warren**[27] Talking about this: 176,626 Page likes: 4,587,935	**Rick Warren**[28] Tweets: 3,895 Following: 5,479 Followers: 1.85m Likes: 4,592	LinkedIn: **Rick Warren2**[29] Connections: 500+

[23] "@BishopNoelJones – Twitter", 2009.

[24] "Saddle Back Church – Youtube", 2006.

[25] "Daily Hope Rick Warren – Youtube", 2014.

[26] "pastorrickwarren – Instagram", 2016.

[27] "Pastor Rick Warren – Facebook", 2008.

[28] "@RickWarren – Twitter", 2007.

[29] "Rick Warren2 – Linked in", 2016.

		Videos: 115 Subscribers: 6,549 Views: 604,095				
Louie Giglio Passion City Church (Atlanta Georgia, USA)	louiegiglio.com	**Passion City**[30] Joined: December 2014 Videos: 35 Subscribers: 1,139 Views: 44,827	**louiegiglio**[31] Posts: 1,691 Followers: 161K Following: 192		**Louie Giglio**[32] Tweets: 7,611 Following: 111 Followers: 558K	
Joseph Prince New Creation Church (Singapore)	josephprince.org	**JosephPrinceOnline**[33] Joined: December 2010 Videos: 344 Subscribers: 194,743 Views: 43,690,084	**josephprince**[34] Posts: 345 Followers: 318K Following: 5	**Joseph Prince**[35] Talking about this: 315,490 Page likes: 3,572,942	**Joseph Prince**[36] Tweets: 16.7K Following: 8 Followers: 307K Likes: 313	
Andy Stanley	northpoint.org	**northpointm**	**andy_stanley**[38]	**North Point**	**Andy Stanley**[40]	Podcasts:

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[30] "Passion City – Youtube", 2014.
[31] "louiegiglio – Instagram", 2016.
[32] "@louiegiglio – Twitter", 2008.
[33] "Joseph Prince Online – Youtube", 2010.
[34] "josephprince – Instagram", 2016.
[35] "Joseph Prince – Facebook", 2011.
[36] "@JosephPrince – Twitter", 2009.

North Point Community Church (Atlanta, Georgia (USA)		**inistries**[37] Joined: January 2008 Videos: 890 Subscribers: 35,049 Views: 11,817,891	Posts: 127 Followers: 48K Following: 50	**Community Church** [39] Talking about this: 4,991 Checked in: 71,392 Page likes: 46,882	Tweets: 4,113 Following: 703 Followers: 546K Likes: 6 **North Point**[41] Tweets: 5,053 Following: 17.5K Followers: 34.2K Likes: 4,468	**Your Move With Andy Stanley**[42] Episodes: 180 **Andy Stanley Leadership** [43] Episodes: 44

[38] "andy_stanley – Instagram", 2016.

[40] "@AndyStanley – Twitter", 2009.

[37] "northpointministries – Youtube", 2008.

[39] "North Point Community Church – Facebook", 2012.

[41] https://twitter.com/northpoint

[42] Stanley, 2012.

[43] Stanley, 2013.

Table 2 Televangelist Merchandise Availability: Legal and Illegal

Televangelist	Merchandise sold legally	Merchandise available to download illegally
T.D Jakes The Potter's House Church (Dallas, Texas, USA)	**Books:** 14[1] **CDs:** Collections: 9[2] Single CD messages: 25[3] **DVDs:** Series: 15[4] Single DVD messages: 26[5] **MP3 Audios:** 54[6] **MP4 Videos:** 45[7]	**Pirate Bay**[8] Total: 5 Videos: 0 Audio: 4 Books: 1 Number of downloaders: 65 Number of uploaders: 10 **Kickass Torrent**[9] Total: 22 Number of downloaders: 560 Number of uploaders: 167
Juanita Bynum	**Books:** 4[10] **Audio:** 33[11]	**Pirate Bay**[12] Total: 1 Audio: 1 Number of downloaders: 453 Number of uploaders: 32 **Kickass Torrent**[13] Total: 1 Number of downloaders: 23 Number of uploaders: 1
Joel and Victoria Osteen Lakewood Church (Houston, Texas, USA)	**Books:** 77[14] **Messages (CDs and DVDs):** 63[15]	**Pirate Bay**[16] Total: 56 Video: 48 Audio: 8 Number of downloaders: 298 Number of uploaders: 15 **Kickass Torrent**[17] Total: 23 Number of downloaders: 476 Number of uploaders: 230
Joyce Meyer Joyce Meyer Ministries (St. Louis, Missouri, USA)	**Books:** 89[18] **DVDs:** 26[19] **CDs:** 232[20]	**Pirate Bay**[22] Total: 23 Videos: 3

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[1] The Potter's House, 2016a.
[2] The Potter's House, 2016f.
[3] The Potter's House, 2016g.
[4] The Potter's House, 2016b.
[5] The Potter's House, 2016e.
[6] The Potter's House, 2016c.
[7] The Potter's House, 2016d.
[8] ―Search results: T D Jakes", 2016.
[9] ―T.D Jakes torrents", 2016.
[10] Bynum, J. 2016.
[11] Bynum, J. 2016.
[12] ―Search results: Juanita Bynum", 2016.
[13] ―Juanita Bynum torrents", 2016.
[14] Joel Osteen Ministries, 2016a
[15] Joel Osteen Ministries, 2016b.
[16] ―Search results: Joel Osteen", 2016.
[17] ―Joel Osteen torrents", 2016.
[18] Joyce Meyer Ministries, 2016b.
[19] Joyce Meyer Ministries, 2016d.

	Study Resources: 21[21]	Audio: 17 Books: 3 Number of downloaders: 153 Number of uploaders:27 **Kickass Torrents**[23] Total: 15 Number of downloaders: 298 Number of uploaders: 353
Paula White New Destiny Christian Center (Apopka, Florida, USA)	**Books: 10**[24] **CDs: 31**[25] **DVDs: 19**[26]	**Pirate Bay**[27] Total: 1 Audio: 1 Number of downloaders: 5 Number of uploaders: 2 **Kickass Torrents**[28] Total: 0
Noel Jones City of Refuge Church (Gardena, California, USA)	**DVDs: 2**[29] **CDs: 2**[30]	**Pirate Bay:**[31] Total: 0 **Kickass Torrents**[32] Total: 0
Rick Warren Saddleback Church, California, USA)	**Books: 43**[33] **Broadcast series (DVDs, Audio and CDs): 54**[34]	**Pirate Bay**[35] Total: 7 Video: 4 Audio: 3 Number of downloaders: 16 Number of uploaders: 4 **Kickass Torrent**[36] Total: 3 Number of downloaders: 50 Number of uploaders: 1
LouiGiglio Passion City Church (Atlanta, Georgia, USA)	**Books:17**[37] **Messages (DVDs, Audio and CDs): 50**[38]	**Pirate Bay**[39] Total: 11 Video: 11 Number downloaders: 268 Number of uploaders: 13 **Kickass Torrent**[40]

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[20] Joyce Meyer Ministries, 2016a.

[22] ‒Search results: Joyce Meyer", 2016.

[21] Joyce Meyer Ministries, 2016c.

[23] ‒Joyce Meyer torrents", 2016.

[24] Paula White Ministries, 2016a.

[25] Paula White Ministries, 2016b.

[26] Paula White Ministries, 2016c.

[27] ‒Search results: Paula White", 2016.

[28] ‒Paula White torrents", 2016.

[29] Noel Jones Ministries, 2016a.

[30] Noel Jones Ministries, 2016b.

[31] ‒Search results: Noel Jones", 2016.

[32] ‒Noel Jones torrents", 2016.

[33] Pastor Rick's Daily Hope, 2016a.

[34] Pastor Rick's Daily Hope, 2016b.

[35] ‒Search results: Rick Warren", 2016.

[36] ‒Rick Warren torrents", 2016.

[37] Passion Resources, 2016a.

[38] Passion Resources, 2016b.

[39] ‒Search results: Louie Giglio", 2016.

[40] ‒Louie Giglio torrents", 2016.

		Total: 7
		Number of downloaders: 325
		Number of uploaders: 102
Joseph Prince New Creation Church (Singapore)	**Books:** 50[41] **CDs:** 71[42] **DVDs:** 59[43]	**Pirate Bay**[44] Total: 4 Video: 2 Audio: 2 Number of downloaders: 187 Number of uploaders: 69 **Kickass Torrent**[45] Total: 1 Number of downloaders: 15 Number of uploaders: 3
Andy Stanley North Point Community Church (Atlanta, Georgia, USA)	**Books:** 31[46] **DVDs:** 12[47] **Audio:** 26[48]	**Pirate Bay**[49] Total: 8 Video: 8 Number of downloaders: 49 Number of uploaders: 16 **Kickass Torrent**[50] Total: 1 Number of downloaders: 29 Number of uploaders: 9

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[41] Joseph Prince Ministries, 2016a.

[42] Joseph Prince Ministries, 2016b.

[43] Joseph Prince Ministries, 2016c.

[44] ̶Search results: Joseph Prince", 2016.

[45] ̶Joseph Prince torrents", 2016.

[46] North Point Ministries, 2016a.

[47] North Point Ministries, 2016c.

[48] North Point Ministries, 2016b.

[49] ̶Search Results: Andy Stanley", 2016.

[50] ̶Andy Stanley torrents", 2016.

APPENDIX B: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL ™
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

21 November 2012

Ms Elna Boesak   212504418
School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Ms Boesak

Protocol reference number: HSS/1235/012M
Project title: Channeling Justice? – North American *televangelism* as a site for critical South African theological engagement.   A feminist – critical enquiry into the justice implications of the Christian teachings of Bishop T.D. Jakes and Pastor Joyce Meyer

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)

/pm

cc Supervisor: Professor Sarojini Nadar
cc Academic Leader: Professor P Denis
cc School Admin.: Mrs Catherine Murugan

Professor S Collings (Chair)
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