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Title: Critiquing White Ecclesial Leadership in Multiracial South African Neo-Pentecostalism

Name: Cameron Shabangu

Student Number: 3984195

Supervised by Dr Johnathan Jodamus

1. Abstract

After twenty seven years of democracy in South Africa, many strides have been made in addressing equity, diversity and racial unity within the landscape of religious institutions. However, a prevailing question that remains is, how inclusive is the ecclesial leadership within this equitable and diverse setting of multi-racial churches in South Africa? Even though there is a huge body of knowledge on unity and race relations amongst churches in South Africa, much of the literature has focused on the so-called 'mainline churches', or better still, churches of Protestant and Roman Catholic heritage. Little, however, has been written from the Pentecostal perspective, especially with regards to ecclesial leadership. The purpose of this thesis is to understand and theorize the persistence of White ecclesial leadership in multi-racial neo-Pentecostal churches. Furthermore, I seek to shift this debate beyond the argument for spiritual inclusivity, to investigating the inclusion of Black people in positions of religious authority and to argue for structural changes that dismantle the power imbalances embedded in old racial categories within these religious institutions. Through a systematic literature review and drawing on critical race theory and critical discourse analysis that is grounded within an African decolonial theoretical framework, I examine the persistence of White ecclesial leadership in multi-racial neo- Pentecostal churches.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

1.1 Background and Rationale

It is commonly acknowledged that the beginnings of Pentecostalism in South Africa lies in a multiracial milieu comparable to that in which early Pentecostalism arose in North America. Both Anderson (2004) and (Kalu, 2008) contend that John Graham Lakes' early impact and establishment is the most significant aspect of the history of Pentecostalism in South Africa. This is what Kalu (2008) says about Lake. "He is imaged as the father of the movement, having spent the years1908–1913 in South Africa; the man who linked Africa with the classical roots of the movement in the careers of Charles Parham, John Alexander Dowie(1847–1907), and William Seymour (1870–1922)." Other academics, such Patric Mellet (2022), disagree with this viewpoint and states, "The AOG developed out of the African American working class. It's roots were in the pan-African movement that had emerged from Africans studying abroad, and the African diaspora who'd formed the Pan African Association in London in 1897" (Mellet, 2022:63). 1994 marked the beginning of the new democratic, unified South Africa. Only then were local churches legally permitted to conduct worship in multiracial settings. Previously, a number of Apartheid laws such as the population registration Act had prohibited such interactions. Anderson (2018:41) explains, "[a]fter centuries of colonization and oppression of the majority of its people, it [South Africa] emerged from its first democratic elections in April 1994 as a beacon of hope."

Colonialism and apartheid, however, continue to influence ecclesiastical leadership within the setting of Pentecostalism. Scholars argue that years of marginalisation of indigenous cultures and belief systems by Western colonial powers have had a lasting effect on indigenous people Anderson (2004), Kalu (2008) and Kaunda (2015). While colonial control in Africa no longer directly affects the continents population, the quality of life for the vast majority of Africans has not improved. Theuns (2017:1–2) states that "South Africa is suffering from many ailments and some of the most difficult of these to address are racism, xenophobia, sexism and economic inequality." This has implications, such as the fact that the effects of colonialism and white supremacy are still felt today, not just in society, but also in the church. In response to this, decoloniality has assumed a prominent role in both the private and public sectors of society. This may be seen and felt in many social, economic, political, and religious

contexts. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:11) asserts that educational institutions and churches are sites for the reproduction of colonialism and, as such, cannot be omitted from discussions of decoloniality. Within the ecclesiastical leadership of many churches and denominations, notably within Pentecostal churches, this problem is viewed as particularly significant (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:11).

A prominent question to be posed at this stage of the thesis is whether or not sufficient racial integration is occurring in a church that seems to be post-colonial, especially with regards to leadership positions in Neo-Pentecostal churches. My survey of the literature has indicated that there is limited South African research and data available on the dynamics of ecclesial leadership in South African churches. The primary sources and literature consist of research conducted by American scholars, who have produced case studies and research on multiracial congregations. Emerson and Smith (2006) conducted a four-year study of multiracial churches and the ways in which they are structured, concluding that "there is definitely one dominant racial group in terms of leadership or congregational culture." (Emerson and Smith, 2006:164). According to them, the dominant racial group in these churches is white leadership, which they claim has a powerful hold on the congregation. Edwards (2008:117) makes a similar assertion: "[m]ost interracial churches are led by whites, and proficiency in and support of white religious culture is vital."

In recent years, there has been a growing body of study in this area of multiracial churches, and scholars have identified some characteristics that are typical of them. Most current research is based on survey data or individual case studies of multiracial churches, both in the United States and in South Africa. Because there is very little literature on multiracial churches in South Africa, the characteristics that have been described are largely those of multicultural churches in the North American context. These characteristics include both external features, such as the congregation's location, and internal aspects, such as demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, and the congregation's theological views. Most of the literature on multiracial churches can be grouped in these two categories, namely external and internal features. The shortage of data on congregations in South Africa and the diversity among congregations make the task of describing them more difficult. One

study (Venter, 2002:172) on multicultural churches, for example, pointed to multiracial congregations' limited ability to integrate their language usage.

1.2. Race dynamics in leadership

In most cases, racial diversity in local congregations may be ascribed to factors external to the church, such as altering demography; however, South African churches are still mostly split along racial lines (Venter, 2002:169). Inside influences, including explicit efforts to embrace people of different races, were either unimportant or unidentified (Venter, 2002:167-168). According to Emerson and Smith (2006), leadership in multiracial congregations is less likely to include black leaders than leadership in single race congregations; this is consistent with earlier studies of Becker (1998, 1999) and Ammerman (1997).

Emerson and Kim (2003) found that the establishment of multiracial congregations may be linked to two key elements, according to the results of this study. The most significant factors are, on one hand, the significance and necessity of mission, resource calculation and allocation, or external authority structure modification, and, on the other hand, the source of diversity, which includes proximity, culture, and purpose, or a pre-existing organisational package (Emerson and Kim, 2003:221-223). Three groupings of multiracial congregations exemplifying the ideal pattern emerged. First, there are assimilated multiracial congregations reflecting the culture of the dominant race, which in most cases is white, and headed by white ecclesial leaders (Chaves, 1998). The second group consists of pluralist multiracial congregations, with separate and unique characteristics of all ethnic cultures but limited interaction between their members (Emerson and Smith, 2000:ch.7). Third, there are integrated multiracial congregations that keep the features of individual cultures and establish a new culture via extensive contact across races (DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Chai Kim, 2003; Emerson and Kim, 2003). However, as stated before, almost all interactions between persons of various races are relatively social (DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Chai Kim, 2003; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). The category with which a congregation most closely identifies influences the extent to which interracial interaction within it is positive.

Four percent of multiracial congregations are headed by black individuals, and twenty percent of racially homogeneous congregations are led by a person of mixed racial heritage. Twelve percent of multiracial churches were represented, although only one percent of congregations were made up solely of members of a single ethnic group (Emerson and Woo, 2006:180). Chaves' National Congregations Study indicates that 68 percent of pastors in charge of multicultural congregations in the United States are white (Edwards, 2008:56). Most researchers agree that more than two-thirds of multicultural congregations have white leaders.

According to the results of the studies referred to above, the predominant organisational culture inside these churches is a key element in the racial dynamics that occur within them. Those members of the church who do not belong to the racially dominant group simply adapt to the mainstream culture within the community (Emerson, 2006:164). Marti (2008) comes to similar findings, stating that, in some congregations, a particular ethnic identity is emphasised and fostered.

1.3 Organisational identity

Some scholars investigate the issue of ecclesiastical leadership in multiracial churches through the lens of organisational identity. In the framework of organisational identity for multiracial churches, it has been claimed that a multiracial congregational identity must be intentional, use experiential worship, and put a major focus on connections among members (Dougherty and Huyser, 2008).

Arguably, the work by Edwards (2008) is recognised by a number of scholars as the most complete research conducted to date on the different factors that impact the formation of ecclesiastical leadership in multiracial congregations. In his research, which included a survey of the literature on multiracial churches, he concluded that the predominant organisational culture in these churches is based on the preservation of Whiteness. Jennings (2020:8-9) defines Whiteness as follows: “[w]hiteness does not refer to people of European descent but to a way of being in the world and seeing the world that forms cognitive and affective structures able to seduce people into its habitation and its meaning-making.”

Ganiel (2006), a South African researcher, integrates the study of organisational identity and culture with data analysis. Her research on the role of organization environment on identities inside a Neo-Pentecostal church led her to the conclusion that the institutional culture of a group influences the formation and evolution of identities (2006:555). Czeglédy (2008) observed in his ethnographic study that a multicultural congregation in Johannesburg, in post-apartheid South Africa, was beneficial in stimulating socioeconomic growth. This seems to reflect Gellner's (1997:77) claim that conservative and tradition faiths share an 'affinity' with nationalism. Gellner (1997) describes a developing social dynamic in which some religious groups have come to mirror the achievements of the nation state.

Anderson (2005) focuses his research on mega churches in South Africa on the lack of interpersonal integration in Pentecostal and charismatic congregations and the abuse of authority by church leaders (Balcomb, 2004).Frahm-study Arp's (2021) focuses on the role and impact Pentecostal leaders in society play through the secular media. She also references Pentecostal-Charismatic Evangelical Christianity and its influence in the early 1990s, as well as the influence and function of the ecclesiastical leadership in their preaching. “The leaders of these churches regard themselves as pastors and not miracle-prophets, and their primary role is to teach people how to live according to the word of God.” (Frahm-Arp, 2021:4). In the post-apartheid period, however, many churches that played an active role in the battle against apartheid, transformational and diverse organizations have continued. Frahm-Arp (2019) examines a variety of PCE leaders and gives reasons why there was such a disparity in PCE leaders' attitudes toward politics and political activism in particular. It is vital to highlight, given the background that South Africa was in a state of crisis after apartheid. Balcomb (2004:18) examines diversity from the perspective of organisational identity and theory. The racial integration of Rhema Ministries, a multiracial Neo-Pentecostal church in Johannesburg with a largely black congregation and white leadership headed by Ray McCauley, was the subject of his intensive investigation. He contends that despite Rhema's claim that the congregation is "truly multiracial," most of the black people attending Rhema church services are bused in from black neighbourhoods (Balcomb, 2004:18). While the church may seem integrated on the surface, he contends that many black members of the congregation do not necessarily “feel at home” at Rhema, and the degree to which the church's

black and white communities are blended is limited (Balcomb, 2004:18). He argues that a church's multiracial composition and membership do not necessarily indicate that it is racially integrated. Christerson, Emerson and Edwards (2005:105) reach a similar conclusion "Multiracial churches preserve white features regardless of their makeup and composition, even when whites are outnumbered by other racial groupings."

Drawing on research by Emerson and Smith (2006), Ganiel (2008:266) argues that merely belonging to or residing in a multicultural congregation or community will not result in full integration. The way in which racial integration occurs has a direct impact on the degree to which identities are transformed (Ganiel 2008:266). In their study, Emerson and Smith (2006) identified three main factors that influence the relationship between race and leadership: organisational culture, the race of the leaders, and the degree of social contact between individuals of various races. Ganiel (2008:266) argues further that it is crucial to examine organisational culture when analysing race relations in religious organisations. The number of racially integrated churches is related to the prevalence of a dominant culture in the congregation. In this regard, the ethnic diversity of the leadership is vital. Yancey (2003:86) seems to support this argument: "[h]aving a leadership that is multicultural is the most important factor in racial integration within in a church" (Yancey, 2003:86-86).

Ganiel (2008) conducted a case study of Jubilee Community Church, a multicultural church in Cape Town, as part of her research. She found that, while the church seems to be racially integrated on the surface, this impression is questioned by some of the participants in the study:

> I spoke to four people who had left, including black, coloured and white South Africans. They contended that there was little meaningful social interaction across different races, and that the preponderance of white leadership limited 'real' integration. (Ganiel, 2008:272).

She also finds it remarkable that four of the five elders are white males, and one is a black Zambian man. She points out that this did not cause anxiety or concern among the religious leadership or call for expanded eldership participation. Even when the

congregation attempted to voice their concern to those in authority, their situation did not improve much (Ganiel, 2008:272).

This church's leadership structure and prevailing culture are shaped by the majority. However, Emerson and Smith (2006:166) point out that, in such cases, the minority carries a disproportionate share of the burden of integration. Ganiel (2008:270) asserts on the basis of her evidence that whites in leadership hold disproportionately more powerful social and economic positions in South Africa than members of other races do, and that this enables them to exert power and influence within a church, even if the church in question is predominantly black. Emerson and Woo (2006:58) point out that members of multiracial congregations undergo significant changes to their identities, ultimately becoming what they call "Sixth Americans." They assert that six out of ten Americans belong simultaneously to several melting pots and inhabit a world with racially diverse primary relationships and connections (Emerson and Woo, 2006). Even though they are a minority among Americans, they are not alone. Sixth-generation Americans live in a culture where they meet individuals of other races on a regular basis, which has a direct impact on their life (Emerson and Woo, 2006:9). Participation in a multiracial congregation or living in a multiracial setting, however, does not automatically qualify an individual as a member of the Sixth American nation. Emerson and Woo (2006) found that the way in which racial integration occurs influences the degree to which identities are modified.

These studies suggest a pattern that emerges from the study of the internal factors of multicultural churches, using the lens of organisational culture and theory. Multicultural congregations have, however, received little scholarly study, and it is unclear what percentage of South African churches are multiracial.

1.4 Contact Hypothesis

Contact hypothesis has been adopted by a few scholars in their studies on multicultural churches. Allport (1958) developed the contact hypothesis, which states that intergroup interaction is one of the most successful ways of reducing prejudice between white and black individuals. According to Allport (1958), the four optimal conditions for prejudice-reducing interactions are for members of the group to be of equal status, to have similar goals, to be involved in activities requiring intergroup

cooperation, and to be supported by authorities, laws, or conventions. This contact hypothesis was conceived at a time when it was believed that racism arose from unreasonably held ideas and individual attitudes; the notion was that bringing individuals together would show them that their views were unreasonable and lead to a change in their attitudes. In other words, the contact hypothesis was formulated when it was believed that racism was the result of irrational ideas and individual attitudes (Emerson, Kimbro, and Yancey, 2002).

The contact hypothesis as a tool for studying diversity is not frequently recognised. Some individuals feel that the contact hypothesis is defective because it does not account for social norms and other elements that mediate the effects of intergroup interaction (Ata, Bastian, and Lusher, 2009). Recent research (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), however, supports the claims of the contact hypothesis and demonstrates that any type of contact, including intergroup contact, reduces prejudice. Optimal conditions only serve to increase the likelihood of positive contact outcomes and are not necessary for prejudice reduction to occur (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). Other scholars, such as Heuser (2016), on the other hand, disagree with the contact theory, claiming that there is a connection between religion and economic advancement and suggesting that membership of a Neo-Pentecostal congregation is associated with social prestige. Heuser (2016:5) argues that there is a connection between economic advancement and religion, referring to it as the "proverbial ladder of religion," with Neo-Pentecostalism on the top rung. He asserts that this is seen not only in church members but also in church leaders: "[a]spiring Pentecostal pastors embrace apprenticeship and dependence in order to climb the religious and social status ladder" (Heuser 2016:5). The economic and social liberation of formerly disadvantaged South Africans, therefore, needs to be accompanied by religious emancipation, and an upgrade from a rural or township church to a suburban church led by whites. Large churches teach the most severe form of the prosperity gospel, reducing prosperity theology to a limited range of spiritual abilities from which a person may choose.

Despite objections such as these, however, a significant number of scholars maintain that the contact hypothesis is the best lens through which to see and grasp the interactions between black and white people. One study found that just seeing intergroup interaction was sufficient to minimise prejudice (Turner and Crisp, 2010).

Because the contact hypothesis has been so effective, many scholars now argue for external interventions to force integration, for example government-implemented integration-focused programmes.

Even where multicultural relationships exist, however, whites continue to resist these external efforts to promote racial equality; in other words, multiracial relationships do not alter the opinions of white individuals toward black individuals (Jackman and Crane, 1986). Data from the 1990 General Social Survey conducted in the USA, after adjusting for demographic characteristics, indicated that "white respondents who attend integrated churches engage in less stereotyping and have lower degrees of social distancing" (Yancey, 1999:298). Whites who visit churches frequented by people of colour are also more likely than other whites to have progressive racial views, according to past research (Christerson, Emerson, and Edwards, 2005). People who attend integrated churches are far less likely to believe that whites in their town should have the right to prevent blacks from joining, and would also be more likely to vote for an African American presidential candidate (Yancey, 1999). Even while this research could not totally rule out the possibility of a selection effect, it did demonstrate the advantages of multiracial congregations interacting with one another within the framework of the congregation (Yancey, 1999). This adds to the legitimacy of the research that has been conducted in South Africa. This research does not address the contact hypothesis but, rather, examines the characteristics of multiracial congregations.

1.5 Exploring Multiracial Congregations and Mediation)

There is a growing body of research on multiracial houses of worship in the United States. To build on Emerson's original investigation, a study of multiracial congregations was undertaken and the results published in four substantial volumes (Christerson, Emerson and Edwards. (2005), DeYoung et al. (2003), Emerson & Woo (2006), Yancey (2003), and DeYoung et al), together with the results of research undertaken with Smith (2000). These researchers have investigated multiracial populations using a concept that originated in intercultural studies and has been expanded to encompass the issue of how churches should treat individuals of various races (Garces-Foley, 2007). They argue that multicultural meetings have the potential

to be a technique for minimising the inequities in treatment identified by Emerson and Smith (2000), using case studies of white churches with a strong emphasis on biblical education and a range of worship styles. Emerson and Smith (2000) contend that the costs of generating meaning, belonging, and security are higher in diverse congregations owing to the complexity of needs, desires, and histories, as well as the additional effort required to construct social solidarity in heterogeneous groups.

The focus on the transmission of Pentecostalism, according to several experts is a crucial component in the creation of ecclesiastical leadership. A crucial feature of Pentecostalism and the birth of Neo-Pentecostalism is the role played by media and mediation. The rapid rise of Pentecostalism, particularly in South Africa, may be correlated with the church's urban presence. Numerous churches have concentrated their efforts on acquiring new members via the use of media, resulting in the rapid spread of the religion and even its economic influence in certain areas of the world. It is, therefore, difficult to distinguish between Pentecostalism and the media. Barber (2014:2) argues that religion is so powerfully associated with media – at least when the latter is seen in terms of mediation – that they should never be entirely separated from one another in the first place (Barber, 2014:2).

Interaction between media and religion is a significant aspect of Pentecostalism. Hirschkind (2011:91) believes that "religion becomes first and foremost a practise of mediation, beholden to and inseparable from technological artifice" owing to the emergence of media. Mediation is not an extension of the media, as it predates the media; rather, the media is a subset of mediation. There are two separate concepts of mediation: religious and social, and technique plays a crucial role in both. Many academics call this the public sphere, where public opinion is generated and expressed to the state or governing elite. Media played an important role in the emergence of Neo-Pentecostal congregations, which were heavily inspired by the Church of America and the Hillsong Church in Australia. Numerous Neo-Pentecostal churches in South Africa modelled themselves after media-dominant congregations, and this extended to the structure of the leadership. Hirschkind (2011:19) contends that Neo-Pentecostalism as we know it would not exist without the media.

1.6 New African Pentecostalism

Some of the available literature such as Anderson (2018), Kaunda (2015) and Balcomb (2004) investigates the nature, social fabric, and makeup of Pentecostalism within its ecclesiology in post-apartheid South Africa. In the context of this study, a socially cohesive society is one that is socially healed and reconciled, fair and equitable, inclusive, and participatory, and in which restitution and land redistribution have occurred (Kaunda 2015:115). The question of whether Pentecostalism's current social makeup and interaction have been resolved, considering its historically fractured past, continues to plague Pentecostalism. Does the community demonstrate the inclusive nature of its identity in the churches, public realm, and social places it occupies, and does this quality contribute to the democratisation and social cohesiveness of the community? The social consequences of this question for current Pentecostal churches can only be explained in terms of the sociohistorical context in which it developed. This question has led to a new cultural engagement in the ecclesiology of Pentecostalism in post-apartheid South Africa.

The New African Pentecostal movement has its roots in the persecution of black people and their struggles after being denied their civil rights and losing their identity and dignity. People of African heritage who attended white Pentecostal churches were similarly denied their rights. As a result, black South African Pentecostals continue to act differently than they did before while they were attending white Pentecostal churches. Some researchers believe that charismatic and Pentecostal churches are responsible for the emergence of unique social, economic, and moral systems, as well as the transformation of adherents' subjectivities and lifestyles (Freeman, 2012:15). Because they are focused on the public sphere, they fail to confront the historical consequences of the injustice that has led to racial divisions within the congregation.

This post-apartheid movement and brand of Christianity has been referred as the "New African Pentecostalism" by a number of researchers such as Kaunda (2015:111) Balcomb (2004), Freeman (2012) and expounded in the work of de Beer (2014). This New African Pentecostalism takes into account the socio-historical struggles of the masses in black communities, the inclusive and reconciliatory nature of these struggles, and the associated cultural engagement. It reveals various levels of interconnectedness and interdependence, the recognition of which does not diminish

the reality of diversity and complexity in any way. It constitutes a society that unifies people despite their differences; that builds on local, community, and regional assets; and that moves toward a shared goal or visions that have been negotiated and created despite the existence of competing viewpoints at the commencement of the process. (de Beer, 2014:2) The movement has a fundamental weakness, however, in that it concentrates on its impact and cultural engagement in the public arena, while ignoring people's political beliefs and views, as well as their private interactions (Kaunda, 2015:123). Even while the expansion of this New African Pentecostalism allows for the cultural engagement of people of different races in the public sphere, there is still insufficient participation in the narratives and private relationships of individuals. In the framework of Pentecostalism, the connection between unity and racial identity is likewise absent. This suggests that although Pentecostalism creates social cohesion among its members, it presents a threat to the national concept of social cohesion since it rejects the political realm and other public arenas (Kaunda, 2015:115). Thus, it is plausible to conclude that the Pentecostal church's race ontology and racial unity are superficial, and that the sociohistorical viewpoint is not fully addressed. This also leads to the fact that there is a majority of white individuals in multiracial Pentecostal churches, which is problematic.

In this regard, some other researchers such as Jenkins (2003) Garces-Foley (2007b) and Marti (2008) contend that the ecclesial model of Neo-Pentecostal churches is to blame for the ongoing dominance of white ecclesiastical leadership. Both Marti (2008) and Jenkins (2003) suggests that this reorients people, mostly black individuals, to agree to the ecclesial model, which in most cases is dominated by white leaders. According to the study by Marti (2010) and also on his earlier work Marti (2008) there are three events that are regarded as the most crucial: when connection with the congregation is established; when identity is reoriented through sermons, music, small groups, courses, seminars, pamphlets, books, and informal contacts; and when racial transcendence happens. In multicultural churches, members of the black congregation have access to an area known as a "Haven" where they may get racial reinforcement. For instance, black people at mostly white churches may listen to gospel music in these "Havens" (Marti, 2010:213). They reinforce minority ethnicity features, attracting new members and aiding in identity reorientation (Jenkins, 2003:299). After identity reorientation occurs, ethnic transcendence occurs (Marti,

2010). Ethnic transcendence is the practice of prioritising religious identification over race or ethnic identity (Read and Eagle, 2011). Marti (2008) and even Kaunda (2014) are quick to clarify that this is not a colourblind idea, as has been alleged. According to Garces-Foley (2007b), racial transcendence is not to be mistaken for a form of "colourblind" approach to diversity that aims to ignore ethnic disparities. The emphasis is not on removing distinctions, but rather on emphasising an alternative identity with roots in the ecclesial community (Marti, 2008:14). There is a distinction to be noted here: Both Marti (2010) and Graces-Foley (2007b) seems to be saying that ethnic transcendence does not actively promote colourblind thinking, but that it may be the effect of such thinking.

People who attend multiracial churches are often different from those who attend racially homogeneous churches. They have often attended racially mixed schools as children, have visited multiracial churches in the past, or merely prefer a multiracial worship experience. Those who visit racially homogeneous churches are more likely to be white, whereas those who frequent multiracial churches are more likely to be members of minority races (Christerson, Emerson, and Edwards, 2005:15-117). According to the findings of one study, They argue that a significant number of black people who attended multiracial churches had more integrated lives with other races as children and were demographically distinct from other black churchgoers. They also had more racially diverse social networks, but they maintained the same attitudes toward race and social issues as black people who did not attend multiracial churches. Other blacks whose lives were more segregated were those who did not attend multiracial churches (Emerson and Yancey, 2008). Those who have previously engaged in multiracial partnerships may be more likely to voluntarily join interracial congregations.

Another element of the ecclesial model in Pentecostalism is that there is just one mediator and leader in the prevalent paradigm, and no hierarchy. Clark (2016:28) captures this theological concept when he compares the Foursquare Gospel, with its emphasis on evangelism, with the more pneuma-centric emphasis of the charismatic movement, with its emphasis on revelation, and the anthropocentric emphasis of the “Man of God” model, which focuses on leadership. In contrast to Clark’s concept of the Foursquare, Kalu (2008) and Anderson (2018) argue that the charismatic

movement, the Foursquare Gospel emphasised revelation. In the theological concept of the "Great man of God," leadership is conferred on a single man who provides spiritual supervision, dictates all affairs, and exercises authority over all subjects pertaining to the church structure, the governing body and all church operations. This is congruent with the theological understanding of leadership found in Neo-Pentecostalism.

Ukah (2007), Mochechane (2016) along with Anderson (2018) argue that the ecclesiastical leadership of Neo-Pentecostalism is centred on single persons in positions of authority. This is usually initiated by people, typically from more mainstream Christian denominations, who believe that conventional, hierarchical systems of church leadership inhibit their spiritual capacities. The notion of "dissent" is deeply embedded in African Pentecostalism, as well as other types of Pentecostalism elsewhere in the world (Mochechane, 2016:6). Kalu (2008:228) and Ukah (2007) conclude that African Pentecostalists often do not consider themselves to be members of a specific religion or subject to any spiritual or physical authority. They see themselves as adversaries of the establishment. One of the most prominent characteristics of these Neo-Pentecostal churches is the building of enormous facilities on their church branches with a range of sophisticated amenities. The objective of these campuses, which often resemble "alternative cities," is to display a Pentecostal leader's strength and authority (Ukah, 2007:17).

1.7: White Hegemony

White hegemony is a type of power structure in which white people dominate society with the approval of other racial groups. These racial groups legitimise and acknowledge the dominant status of Whiteness and affirm it both actively and passively as normative culture and the structures that support it (Edwards, 2008:126). Edwards (2008:126) asserts that "a hegemonic system's effectiveness is bigger than one single person or small group of people. It lies in the pervasiveness of the dominant culture and structure, which makes it very difficult for threats to power to rise up."

A common element in the literature describing multi-racial churches is white male leadership. While these leaders may have good intentions, may be loved by their congregations and may consider themselves to be non-racial and non-prejudicial, it

appears that any questioning of their white dominance in religious authority is received as an insult and evokes various negative emotions. This negative response in turn perpetuates and maintains white institutional racism and dominance over the church and is known as white fragility. DiAngelo (2018:37) describes white fragility as follows:

> "[t]he smallest amount of racial stress is intolerable—the mere suggestion that being white has meaning often triggers a range of defensive responses. These include emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and withdrawal from the stress-inducing situation. These responses work to reinstate white equilibrium as they repel the challenge, return our racial comfort, and maintain our dominance within the racial hierarchy." (DiAngelo, 2018:37).

Edwards (2008:35) makes an important point with regard to whiteness when he says that white fragility is not a projection of weakness or ignorance but, rather, a very powerful way in which white people, in this case, white leadership, maintain dominance and white privilege. According to Edwards (2008:35), the results of the National Congregations Study show that "interracial churches are not immune to white privilege and the normativity of white culture and beliefs" (Edwards, 2008:35).

It clear from the literature that whiteness is an important feature to consider when explaining what is happening with regard to leadership in Neo-Pentecostal churches. Nayak (2007:738) indicates its importance as follows: "[c]ritical accounts of whiteness are recognised to be a vital and necessary corrective to a sociology of race relations that myopically explored colour-based racisms with little attempt to reflect on constructions of whiteness." Furthermore, studying whiteness will investigate the invisible way in which white identity, institution and structures continue to be normative. West and Schmidt (2010:10) suggest that "the focus of whiteness studies on making visible and challenging discursive lacunae renders it particularly useful to the study of literature."

It seems that Neo-Pentecostal church leaders promote the concept of white hegemony. These white leaders portray themselves as progressive and free of racial prejudice, and they allow Black people (according to the Steve Biko (1987) definition

of blackness) to engage in congregational life and leadership. They may even let black people assume significant church positions, but they will not permit them to serve as the point leader or submit to their authority. As a result, they are able to maintain their dominance as white males. Edwards (2008) and Emerson (2008) attribute this persistent white supremacy to these white leaders' opinion that they are the only ones capable of leading a multicultural congregation and that a person of colour is unqualified for this role. I will choose to refer to these white leaders as white progressives. In many cases, these white progressives may be the worst, because they may impede the progress of people of colour striving to establish their position in the world. This is true of the leadership of several Neo-Pentecostal churches.

Because they participate in the normalisation of white culture and behaviour, white culture and white normativity work together to affirm the white racial identity of their respective communities. Given that white people's actions, understandings, and social positioning are regarded as 'normal', it is difficult for white people to comprehend how race affects their lives, and to develop racial awareness. Whiteness is hence a significant, though elusive, feature in the evolution of race and racial hierarchies, notably in the United States and thus affects the organisational structure and interrelationships of any institution, including interracial churches in South Africa.

Impact of Globalization on Pentecostalism

Globalisation has a significant impact on societies all around the globe, including South Africa. This applies to Pentecostalism as well. Since its inception, the Pentecostal movement has spread around the world. Without question, globalisation has had a tremendous influence on how Pentecostal movements are perceived around the world. It is crucial, therefore, to examine the impact of North American Pentecostalism in relation to the South African narrative on this topic. Because various movements influence one another, it is impossible to attribute the origin of Pentecostalism to a specific region or person. When discussing the history of Pentecostalism, we must distinguish between its worldwide aspect and how we see it today, and we should take note of its origins. Kalu (2008:15) and Anderson (2004), therefore, conclude that Pentecostalism is a worldwide movement that has its roots in the histories of different places and does not have a centre. The second difference is that Pentecostal history is different from missionary history. We can't use the spread

of Pentecostalism in different parts of the world as a way to figure out where it came from and what its history is.

To understand the origins of Pentecostalism and its multiracial aspect, particularly as it relates to the North American narrative (which has had an impact on the South African narrative), it is necessary first to understand the mental and material cultures that have been shared as the gospel has spread throughout the world. People become Pentecostals when they adapt the message, as well as new concepts and material cultures, through the lens of their worldviews and civilisations.

Conclusion

According to the review of the relevant literature presented above, a number of researchers have made significant contributions to our understanding of multiracial churches. Despite these significant contributions, there is still a need for additional research on the racial diversity that exists within congregations, particularly in South Africa.

In addition, despite the vast body of knowledge on race relations in the church and the effects of colonialism and apartheid on the church, I've identified three significant gaps in the academic literature. First, a significant portion of the literature has focused on so-called mainline churches or, more precisely, churches with Protestant and Roman Catholic roots. There is little literature from a Pentecostal perspective. Anderson and Pillay have discussed “Little has been written on the history of Black Pentecostals in South Africa, and some histories of white (especially Afrikaner) Pentecostals are written as if they represent the whole of the Pentecostal movement (Anderson and Pillay, 1997:227). Second, the relationship between the ecclesial model of Pentecostalism and the Whiteness of ecclesial leadership within the Pentecostal church has not been intentionally criticized. Thirdly, there is a lack of literature that is contextualised for South African multicultural churches. Most of the surveyed research is informed by and conducted within the United States context. Little research has been conducted that questions the ecclesiastical leadership in multiracial churches. Although scholars who study multiracial congregations make significant contributions to sociology and religion, most of their research and analysis focuses on the micro-

level organisational processes that occur within churches. They focus on racial and religious diversity-related topics as well as the dynamics of racial and religious diversity. There has not been a great deal of research on the macro-level mechanisms that create or eliminate racial inequality in these churches.

To fill this gap in the literature, this research thesis will examine the Whiteness of ecclesiastical discourses on race relations and leadership, as well as the inclusion of Black people in positions of religious authority in Neo-Pentecostal churches, as well as the reasons for the persistence of Whiteness, if any.

Chapter 2: Theory and Methods

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will attempt to describe the method and lens I will employ to analyse the existing research on multiracial Neo-Pentecostal congregations. I will explain why I chose these particular theories to critique the Whiteness and pedagogy of multiracial churches. Furthermore, I will attempt to demonstrate, based on theories, why it is crucial for multiracial churches to expose everyone not only to Eurocentric ideology and perspectives, but also to concerns and perspectives that affect the lives of black people and Africans. This will be accomplished through contrasting and comparing the opinions of white and black individuals.

2.2. Research Question and Purpose Statement

The purpose of my research is to understand the Whiteness of ecclesial leadership in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches.

In order to address this research question, I will attempt to answer the following sub-questions:

- What is Whiteness?
- How does Whiteness manifest in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches?
- Why is there a persistence of White ecclesial leadership in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches?

Research Objectives

- To describe Whiteness in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches.
- To explain how White ecclesial leadership is constituted in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches.
- To theorise the persistence of White ecclesial leadership in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches.

Methodologically, this research is literature based and will entail a systematic critical literature review of primary and secondary sources on Pentecostal discourse on race relations. Drawing on the historical method of research, this research is located within

the field of history of Christianity in South Africa and takes the form of critical discourse analysis of the literature. Due to the fact that the majority of the surveyed research is conducted in a North American setting, I have taken these data and used the approach to assess the literature available in South Africa.

2.3 Decoloniality

For this research on the effects of racial dynamics on the ecclesiastical leadership of Neo-Pentecostal congregations, I have used decoloniality theory. My examination of this phenomenon is based on the general notion of the rejection of modernity, positioned on the side of the persecuted and marginalised "colonial difference," which is at the heart of decoloniality theory. The theory argues for a decolonial liberation struggle outside of Eurocentric modernity (Ramón, 2011:12). Neo-Pentecostalism shows evidence of modernity and reveals how modernity shapes power in relation to identity and the dynamics of race. Practices within the framework of racial dynamics are analysed and questioned. These effects are seen in several postcolonial religious groupings and have an impact on how ecclesial leadership is formulated in neo-multiracial churches (Dube, 2019:3). A decolonial approach includes interrogating the Whiteness of pedagogies and epistemology, and examining how it marginalises, overlooks, and undermines black leadership in multiracial places. The drive for decolonisation in the South African academy has focused mainly on gaining access to postsecondary education and eliminating the structural disparities that obstruct such access. In the field of African religion, however, the cry for decolonisation is not new. Scholars like P'Bitek (2011) and Wiredu (1998) were criticising the categories and terminologies used in the presentation of African religion as early as the 1970s.

Decolonial theory is also used in this study because it questions the presumed universality of Western thought and behaviour and the Western custom of building a cultural hierarchy. This hegemony serves as the cornerstone for Western imperialism according to the decolonial thesis. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) accurately characterised the current world system as racially hierarchical, imperialist, colonialist, Euro-American-centric, Christian-centric, heteronormative, patriarchal, modern, and violent. With the use of this lens, the effect of colonialism on the organisational structure of neo-multiracial churches is simpler to conceive and grasp. As my research is focused on a study of multiracial churches, it is important for me to question and challenge what have been viewed as the dominant ideologies of Eurocentrism in contemporary

institutions, including the leadership of religious bodies. I will, therefore, as Quijano (2007) does in his observations of the effects of colonialism on South American cultures, describe the contradiction between modernity and coloniality. Eurocentrism that exists in multiracial churches is able to act on both an individual and a communal level, creating an unseen colonial hierarchy that serves as the basis for how ecclesial leadership is formulated (Quijano, 2007). In Quijano's (2007) view, European modernity and the European context are responsible for the existence of colonialism; furthermore, European modernity is inextricably intertwined with the structures of European colonial dominance over the rest of the world, making it impossible to separate the two.

Following Lugones (2011) and Quijano (2007), I use decolonial theory to expand the theoretical framework of power and coloniality in Neo-Pentecostal multiracial churches, as modernity/coloniality should be analysed and articulated in the context of race. When communities were colonised, the social structure of those communities was affected and the globe was split into racial groupings (Lugones, 2011). The colonisers transformed the social structures, gender roles, and cosmological beliefs of the societies they colonised. The literature shows clearly that a decolonial framework is a crucial interpretive tool for understanding the social impact of colonisation, not just on the multiracial Pentecostal churches that developed but also on the communities themselves. Decoloniality represent shifts within the wider politics of knowledge production. Furthermore, decoloniality have their origins in political movements that reject the colonial global system established by European empires (Bhamra, 2014:119). Decoloniality is essential for an understanding of the perpetuation of Whiteness, not only in ecclesial leadership, but also in the organisational culture of multiracial Pentecostal churches and in their opposition to various systems of epistemological dominance.

The epistemological decolonisation of knowledge is appropriate in this context of multiracial churches. In theorising the persistence of Whiteness in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches, Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2013) method of "deprovincializing Africa" while concurrently "provincializing Europe" and Chen's (2010:vii) understanding of the impact of Eurocentrism are helpful, as they represent a two-way methodology for understanding the decolonisation of these churches. To understand the formulation

and deprovincialisation of Eurocentrism in multiracial churches, both provincialising and deprovincialising are of equal importance. I examine how Whiteness is applied within the framework of the dominant Eurocentrism in the growth of ecclesiastical authority and in the formulation of ecclesial leadership in Neo-Pentecostal multiracial churches. The coloniality that has developed in European and North American cultures has had a significant effect on Neo-Pentecostalism.

This political and epistemic independence, or what scholars refer to as "political decolonialisation" in the context of Africa, has been characterised as the result of decolonisation and decoloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018:18). Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007) called this kind epistemic independence of thinking “abyssal thinking.” It is essential to understand why, despite so many years of political and social independence in Africa, it has been so difficult to escape the Eurocentric influence that pervades the world, and its associated epistemology. This knowledge is crucial for achieving the objective of building permanent peace and freedom in Africa. According to Hountondji (2002:139), for epistemic freedom to function, Africans must transform their audience and “consider their African public as their primary goal.” Nandy’s (1983) concept of an “intimate opponent” was an attempt to find a solution to this dilemma. He argued that the psychological aspect of colonialism's consequences was in addition to the physical aspect. People who are exposed to close colonial opponents are able to feel the effects of their presence and allow them to permeate their hearts, thoughts, and bodies. Decoloniality requires a conceptual shift as well as changes to the political, economic, and social systems. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) argues, we must be mindful of the fact that the “sequencing” arose from the strategic logic of fighting against colonialism that prioritised the accomplishment of political sovereignty (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018:18). According to Nandy (1983:3), whatever begins in the minds of men must conclude in the minds of men. This is because “colonialism is first and foremost a subject of awareness and must finally be conquered in the minds of humankind” (Nandy, 1983:63). Epistemological decolonisation in Africa is the focus of other scholars, such as Nabudere (2011), who have also contributed to the continuing dialogue on this subject. Nabudere (2011) traced the history of African epistemology all the way back to Africa, which he termed the "Cradle of Humanity." He emphasised that all conceivable sources of information are legitimate, so long as they are comprehended in their particular cultural, social, and historical contexts.

2.4 Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is also employed as an interpretive analytical tool in this study, taking into account the social context of the traditional Pentecostal worldview with regard to race. Critical Race Theory was chosen for its ability to interpret the social impact and cultural setting of white leadership within the Pentecostal church. Critical Race Theory was born out of legal studies and the confluence of historical developments of the time, and the need to respond to those developments.

Critical Race Theory demonstrates that the idea of racism and racial subservience as expressed in conventional legal discourse is neither neutral nor adequate to reverse the impacts of centuries of racial oppression on people of colour. Because the definition of discrimination is so restricted, remedies for it are unable to fully recognise all types of discrimination or reverse its ongoing effects on our society. In the North American context Bell (1992:9) dismissed the aspirations of civil rights groups, the black community, and social justice campaigners in stating that "racism is an integral, permanent, and indestructible component of this society." He goes on to say (Bell 1992):

> Black people will never gain full equality in this country. Even those herculean efforts we hail as successful will produce no more than temporary 'peaks of progress,' short-lived victories that slide into irrelevance as racial patterns adapt in ways that maintain white dominance. This is a hard-to-accept fact that all history verifies.

Critical Race Theory relies on the ideology or framework that racism is normative in society and is therefore difficult to remedy because it is embedded in the framework of everyday society. This leads to racism not being fully addressed. Commenting on this, Delgado and Stefancic (2001) state:

> "[o]rdinariness means that racism is difficult to cure or address. Colour-blind, or formal, conceptions of equality, expressed in rules that insist only on treatment that is the same across the board, can thus remedy only the most blatant forms of discrimination." (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001:30).

Bell (1992) argues that people of colour should fight racial injustice, even if the effort is ultimately hopeless, since the struggle would strengthen and empower other people of colour (Bell 1992:12). Thus, critical race theory tries to highlight the inability of established institutions to fully show the pervasiveness of racism and racial subservience in the daily lives of people of colour.

The second element of CRT is what is sometimes termed “interest convergence” Bell (1992), Crenshaw (1991), or material determinism. This is the idea that there is no motivation to eradicate racism because it advances the white elite and their interest. I discuss this in detail in chapter 4 and five, as I believe that this is the prevailing ideology in the construction of the leadership in Neo-Pentecostal churches.

The third feature that undergirds CRT, as discussed by Bell (1992), Delgado and Stefancic (2001) and Crenshaw (1991), is the “social construction” thesis. This states that race and racial consequences are a social construct and have developed from society and the way society interprets race. It focuses on the question of development. Delgado and Stefancic (2001:31) address this as follows:

> …development concerns differential racialization and its many consequences. Critical writers in law, as well as social science, have drawn attention to the ways the dominant society racializes different minority groups at different times, in response to shifting needs such as the labour market.

2.5 Storytelling and Counter-Narrative Strategies

Crenshaw (1991) and Brown and Jackson (2013) in their work on Critical Race Theory, used chronicle, storytelling, and counter-narrative strategies to show the pervasiveness of racism and racial subservience in institutions and everyday society. Storytelling, societal narratives, and personal narratives are critical components of Critical Race Theory and their implementation.

According to Brown and Jackson (2013:18-19) and Crenshaw (1991), many members of the dominant group feel that racial imbalance is the product of minority groups'

cultural issues or the failure to successfully implement existing anti-discrimination laws. By contrast according to Bell (1992), since social and moral realities are the result of social constructs, they are vague and open to interpretation. Using parables, chronicles, or stories to demonstrate how racial and ethnic events are seen differently based on a group's standing in the social hierarchy is an excellent way to demonstrate this. As a result, Critical Race Theory scholars use chronicles, storytelling, and counter-narratives to undermine the claims of racial neutrality made by traditional legal discourse, and to demonstrate that racism and racial discrimination are neither an aberration nor an infrequent occurrence in the lives of people of colour.

Brown and Jackson (2013) point to the personal anecdotes provided by contributors to Critical Race Theory to illustrate the pervasiveness of racism and racial injustice in today's society. They also point out that improving the implementation of current anti-discrimination legislation is not the only answer to the persistence of racial oppression and subordination Harris (1993) Brown and Jackson (2013). Present antidiscrimination legislation is insufficient, because discrimination manifests itself in a variety of ways, including institutional, unconscious, and cultural, which are not addressed by current anti-discrimination legislation (Brown and Jackson, 2013:19).

Crenshaw (2011) and Harris (1993) provide examples of this, drawing on the commonly accepted belief that race and racism are social constructions that reflect an individual's state of mind. Both of them conceptualize Whiteness as an intangible characteristic, showing how the legal system benefitted those with a financial stake in maintaining Whiteness. Harris (1993) tells the story of her light-skinned grandmother, who claimed to be white in the 1930s in order to get employment at an upper middle-class whites-only department store. Harris points out that being white entails gaining access to a number of public and private advantages that enable greater control over the most critical aspects of one's life, as demonstrated by the anecdote Harris (1993). According to Bell (1992) and Delgado and Stefancic (2001), Whiteness is hence inextricably linked to increased economic, political, and social security. Harris argues that American law has traditionally protected established expectations based on white privilege, thus elevating Whiteness to a valuable asset (Harris 1993:1720-17-21).

2.6 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is another concept associated with Critical Race Theory. This concept was first articulated in a 1991 Stanford Law Review essay by Crenshaw, one of the primary founders of Critical Race Theory. According to Crenshaw (1991), identity-based politics has provided many individuals with a sense of strength, camaraderie, and intellectual advancement. One disadvantage of this kind of politics, however, is that it often conflates or ignores intragroup disparities. Crenshaw (1991:1242) explains:

> Feminist efforts to politicize experiences of women and antiracist efforts to politicize experiences of people of colour have frequently proceeded as though the issues and experiences they each detail occur on mutually exclusive terrains. Although racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they seldom do in feminist and antiracist practices. Thus, when the practices expound identity as women or persons of colour as an either/or proposition, they relegate the identity of women of colour to a location that resists telling.

An outworking of intersectionality is the introduction of an illegitimate hierarchy in the relationship between woman and man. In Most Neo Pentecostal churches there seems to be a domination of male dominance is reflected within the church structures of the Pentecostal church. According to Anderson (2005) and Kalu (2008), Leadership is generally only open to males, and women are not allowed to form part of the leadership unless they are associated with or have a close relationship with the white, male pastor, for example, as his spouse. Masondo (2002) found that women are made to feel like second class citizens, as though they are subordinate to men. They cannot exercise their God-given talents and gifts for the upliftment of society, church, and their family. “It is clear that women in these churches are treated as second-class citizens. Numerically, they are the majority, but the decision-making structures are still men dominated. Women are relegated to minor positions or heads of women organizations” (Masondo, 2002:162).

Just as Brown and Jackson (2013:18-19) make the conclusion that the experiences of women of colour are often the result of the convergence of patterns of racism and

sexism. As a result, their speech is sometimes ignored in discussions of issues affecting women and people of colour.

Conclusion

As seen in the history of segregation in both South Africa and the United States, people of colour have been under subjugation throughout history, whether in society, the legal system, educational institutions or even religious institutions which includes Pentecostal churches. If white children attend desegregated schools alongside black students, for example, they may anticipate receiving little, if any, academic benefit from being in a mixed classroom. Nor did it make any sense to include the perspectives and understandings of people of colour in the educational process, as they were the product of the negative consequences of blacks' isolation from whites. These features can also be found in multiracial churches. According to the rationale of critical race theory, which is validated by scholars, Harris (1993), Brown and Jackson (2013) and Delgado and Stefancic (2001), black people from underrepresented groups who have a history of discrimination benefit from having a critical mass of underrepresented minorities in religious organisations.

Aside from government actions like affirmative action, neither society, government institutions, nor religious institutions in South Africa or the United States have been able to fundamentally change the legal definition of racism or race discrimination, which is still limited to actions done with discriminatory intent, or to make it easier for underrepresented minorities to use racial classifications to improve their conditions in other situations. Critical Race Theory as an academic movement, on the other hand, does much better than anyone could have expected when it started. Before we begin to critique the impact of whiteness within Neo Pentecostalism. It is important to define what is and how does it manifest itself within multiracial churches.

Chapter 3: What is Whiteness?

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will make an effort to answer the question "what is whiteness?" by analysing the relevant literature through the lens of multiracial Neo-Pentecostal congregations. I will describe whiteness in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches. When whiteness and the influence it has on multiracial churches are evaluated, the worldwide history of colonialism and imperialism by mostly white people over black people must be taken into account. Discrimination on the basis of skin tone as well as other expressions of prejudice have had a powerful influence on the process of building the globe, and this includes religious institutions. Even though many academics are currently devoting substantial attention to the role that race plays in society, the ways in which white people's racial identities impact their lives continue to be largely neglected and understudied. Willoughby-Herard (2007) emphasises the importance of understanding the meaning of this phenomenon when she says "[w]hiteness has been an important part of the constitution of the social sciences, so if we are concerned with decolonizing knowledge production practices and with decolonizing knowledge, having a proper account of whiteness is imperative" (Willoughby-Herard, 2007:480). People live their lives, go about their jobs, and participate in a variety of activities within the setting of whiteness, which is both a dynamic and a static dominant framework. Whiteness is essential for the survival of global colonialism, which is institutionalised at the junction of racial capitalism and whatever shreds of liberal humanism remain after neoliberalism has obliterated them (Bhattacharyya, 2018: 9). Whiteness is crucial for the continuation of global colonialism. The narrative is bolstered by a certain kind of whiteness. Whiteness may therefore be seen as a way of grasping the modern interlocking global systems of preconisation, marginalisation, exclusion, and abjection. According to Kristof (2014), Whiteness gives an analytical footing on the power structure referred to as the "hydra-headed beast of power," which comprises interrelated power forms that foster reciprocal domination, marginalisation, and oppression ((Hunter, 2015b) (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). These power forms find their way into religious institutions, including multiracial churches where whiteness is presented as the norm and the dominant culture.

3.2. A Brief Review of Scholarship on Whiteness?

Bhattacharyya (2018) and Hunter (2015b) agree that critical analyses of whiteness are an essential and required corrective to a sociology of race relations that was dominant in the past and narrowly studied colour-based racisms without any attempt to focus on whiteness structures. This would seem to be the case in multiracial churches. The study of whiteness calls for an examination of the hidden processes through which white identity, institutions, and structures continue to remain dominant. As a strategy of defeating whiteness and its effects on imperialism, Nandy (1983:3) suggests: "[p]erhaps that which begins in the minds of men must also end in the minds of men." This is because "colonialism is first of all a matter of consciousness and needs to be defeated ultimately in the minds of men" (Nandy, 1983:63). Whiteness is characterised by the hyper-visibility of whites in the media which eventually leads to their removal from view. Kristof (2014) observes that, although white people frequently refer to people of colour in terms of their group individuality, they insist on referring to themselves individually, almost as if to imply that they lacked a racial identity, or if that they possess one, it is irrelevant (Kristof, 2014:20). According to sociologists Nandy (1983) and Baderoon (2014) white people insist that, even though non-white persons are consistently assigned racial identities, it is acceptable for white people to live without reference to their race. To put it another way, being white enables a person to maintain their sense of self, but being of a different race prohibits them from exercising this prerogative.

This over-representation of white individuals in the media, politics, and other spheres normalises them and comes to be equated with a standard condition of humanness. This normalisation causes their race to become invisible. For example, white individuals are characterised by their height or by human features like the colour of their eyes, but persons of colour are referred to by their race, which is based on preconceptions about their physical features. Even though disputes over the "white race" have their roots in colonial history, academics in the developed world paid little attention to whiteness until quite recently. In his examination of the role of whiteness in the history of the United States, Allen (1994:22) asserts that whiteness is not a peripheral but rather a key aspect of American history: "[w]hiteness… is the overriding Jetstream that has governed the flow of American history". Like most social norms, it has served as a category that is taken for granted, something so ubiquitous that it may

be overlooked without being noted. It should thus come as no surprise that, in sharp contrast to members of ethnic minorities, people who are classified as white are more likely to be characterised by variables such as their nation, occupation, age, or gender than by the colour of their skin. This illustrates the hyper-visualising that occurs in society (Willoughby-Herard, 2015). The question still stands: What would happen if we questioned something that is so obviously true? What would happen if, in the late 20th century, whiteness was seen less as a matter of skin colour and more as a way to organise things? Surely being white is not that significant. Recent research done by James (2020:8-9), however, demonstrates that whiteness is the prism through which the bulk of our notions of citizenship and human rights are constructed. Racial identity is a social construction that has been created over time as a means of maintaining social control. Articulating this constructedness of race does not, however, remove the materiality of racism. Current day South Africa still suffers the material effects of racism based on the constructed notion of race and this is pervasive throughout society. The process of creating racialised identities has been taking place over several generations. Research by members of the scientific community has shown that race is not a biological entity but rather a concept based on superficial judgements of value (Painter, 2010:2). The term "white" often refers to a person with a light skin tone and European ancestry, but it may also refer to individuals who have traditionally profited from having light skin, which I will refer to as white privilege.

Sociologists such as Allen (1994:22), Willoughby-Herard (2007:485), Painter (2010) and Hunter (2015) in the field of critical whiteness studies define whiteness as a social identity that has been institutionalised and accorded mobility, institutionalised and privileged access to citizenship, class status, a valued cultural and moral ethos, property and wealth, as well as protected and revered gender and ethnic identities. The alleged invisibility of whiteness, or its capacity to make privileged access seem to be a natural, neutral, universal, and predictable process, is maybe the most important feature that has led to the complexity of whiteness. This works itself out in many different ways within multiracial churches, which is discussed in the next chapter of this thesis, but the most important feature is its role in ecclesial leadership (Yancey, 2003:89-93). One of the central issues, according to scholars who study critical whiteness, is that whiteness, or the racial identity of white individuals, is often invisible even though it confers unfair benefits and power. As Willoughby-Herard (2007:486)

argues, “subjecting whiteness to the same peculiar ocular fascinations that blackness has been subject to demonstrates that white privilege can be framed and interrogated, ultimately revealing white supremacy to be a social problem, a corrosive agent that erodes any number of aspects of justice.”

When I speak of “whiteness,” therefore, I am not referring to a particular group of people, but rather to a system of dominance that has been in South Africa since the country's founding and even earlier. It is a system built on conflict and the stratification of many races, with people of the white race at the very top, people of colour in the centre, and blackness at the very bottom. “White privilege results from a power structure based on whiteness” (Hunter, 2015a:11). It is possible to conclude that whiteness is a product of the modern period and that it has changed across time and geography (Balcomb, 2004:18). For the purposes of this thesis, then, critical whiteness studies is based on the premise that whiteness is a creation of the modern era. Even though whiteness has become a societal norm and is now associated with an array of benefits that are seldom mentioned, the ties that bind whiteness may still be undone or deconstructed for the good of humanity. It is generally understood today that critical accounts of whiteness are an important and necessary corrective to a sociology of race relations that focused in the past mainly on colour-based racisms and made little attempt to reflect on the constructions of whiteness (Bhattacharyya, 2018). This sort of sociology of race relations is known as "colour-based racism sociology" as argued by Ganiel (2006:555).

Hunter (2015:9-12) critiques the practise of individualization and says that, as an empirical process, it increases the geopolitics of whiteness. This process creates types of cultural reproduction that can keep racial conflicts within a limited mix of expressions of race. This is because hyper-capacity individualisation constrains racial conflicts inside a narrow range of racialising articulations. Hunter (2015a:12) concludes:

Neoliberal whiteness becomes bio-political through its micromanagement of information, bodies, and objects in general. It does this by using ever more complicated techniques to make the world of difference known in order to deal with the material, social, and emotional threat it poses to life. It works by carefully managing

and containing differences, bringing them together to make things the same and gaining allies as it does so. So, one important result of being able to define the world is being able to bring difference inside to make people feel welcome. Normative neoliberal whiteness is spread by its silent, kind-hearted reach out, by its ability to reach out and offer inclusion to those it has left out. As this relates to multiracial churches, it is the ability to determine which individuals come within its immediate location and on what grounds, based on the kind of inclusive or exclusive agreements that are agreed upon. Whiteness is raised to the level of a respectable and inviolable standard and becomes the norm.

Whiteness has nothing to do with people who are of European descent. Instead, it is a way of being in the world and seeing the world that creates cognitive and emotional structures that might make people want to live in that world and find meaning in it (Jennings, 2020:8-9). Whiteness is the misconception that what is deemed "white" is better and more important than the ideas, traditions, and people of various racial and ethnic groups. The practice of whiteness may be overt, as in the heinous practise of race-based chattel slavery, or covert, as in the subjugation of any non-white or non-European religious tradition (Willoughby-Herard, 2007:486). In the latter case, a commitment to whiteness reveals itself by seeing a paradigm developed within the area of ecclesial leadership as an imminent threat to the legitimacy of the Christian institution. The following question is, therefore, essential to this research study: How has whiteness come to have an influence on the ecclesiastical leadership within Neo-Pentecostal churches, and what are the many ways in which leadership is constituted.

It would be a grave error to believe that racial patriarchs reside only in institutions dominated by white people and not in bodies that are black or brown, in places and spaces that are referred to as multicultural, indigenous, African, and independent, because these are actually dependent on an institutional practice that conceals institutional incoherence (Jennings 2020:8-9). Because whiteness is a concept, religious institutions not only shape white self-sufficient masculinity among white individuals, but also influence the ongoing dominance of white ecclesiastical leadership within neo-multicultural churches.

Morrison (1992:7) describes the inequality suffered by persons of colour as follows: “[a]mong Europeans and the Europeanized, [the] shared process of exclusion—of assigning designation and value—has led to the popular and academic notion that racism is a ‘natural,’ if irritating, phenomenon.” The concept of ‘colour blindness’ reflects people’s powerful urge to categorise one other. What is more, preserving a race-neutral vocabulary in literary works is a kind of racial discrimination (Morrison, 1992). She claims that no race can be totally neutral, owing to the racist nature of American society and the ensuing marginalisation and exclusion of people of colour. Because race is so pervasive in society, individuals often fail to comprehend how it affects all their relationships. White people use colourblind ideology to promote themselves as impartial authorities and ‘experts’ on the ‘problem.’ They did this to increase their power and influence. Black individuals who disputed this white narrative were demonised and branded anti-white and divisive radicals.

3.3 White Privilege

Every construction of whiteness involves the exercise of privilege. In the United States, for instance, white supremacy has resulted in the development of organisations that prioritise whites' advancement opportunities above those of other groups. Leek (2014: 214) defines the word white privilege “a set of practices that function to protect and maintain privilege, while others define whiteness simply as the experience of privilege.” White privilege is an invisible package of undeserved benefits that white people may rely on daily. McIntosh (1988:223) examines the many ways in which individuals with white privilege use their power. She observes that “whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others.”

Members of other groups grow less secure, more uncomfortable, and more alienated in proportion to the degree that white people are trained to feel confident, comfortable, and oblivious. Edwards (2008) argues that because of their race, white people have been insulated from various forms of hostility, discomfort, and violence, but are now being taught to inflict these same feelings on people of colour.

When we think of privilege, we often envision a favoured position, which may have been acquired or bestowed by birth or luck, such as winning the lotto. However, the

term privilege suggests that it is something that everyone should aim to achieve. Nonetheless, several factors work to give Neo-Pentecostal multiracial churches greater authority than they deserve. “[t]he ontology of whiteness that was created in South Africa requires us to interrogate the process through which white privilege was created” (Willoughby-Herard, 2007:485). McIntosh (1988) suggests that “[w]e need more understanding of the ways in which white "privilege" damages white people, for these are not the same ways in which it damages the victimized.” Because only a limited number of persons have access to this privilege, those who do have an unearned advantage, which permits lighter-skinned individuals to avoid culturally relevant associations with darker-skinned individuals. Taking the seriousness of others may be regarded as being arbitrarily bestowed with authority, which no one should want. It is plausible to assert that similar processes are occurring inside the ecclesiastical structure of multiracial churches. An effect of this portion of the power seen in positions of ecclesiastical leadership in multiracial churches consisted of unearned advantage and dominance and other types of unacceptable special circumstances. It was this realisation that prompted the avenue of investigation for this research study. Because of their white identity, their privileged position, and their class identity and status, white individuals can exercise considerable discretion about bringing up this issue and its attendant challenges, or not. They have the freedom to disappear, to avoid people of colour, and to refuse to listen as ways of escaping the animosity they experience; they can avoid facing consequences and can choose the risks they are ready to take.

According to Dougherty (2003) and Dougherty and Huyser (2008), white people in multiracial churches do not perceive whiteness as a kind of racial identity and hence feel that racism does not affect them, as they are not people of colour. This may possibly be true for the bulk of white congregants in South Africa. A key task, therefore, is to emphasise the impact of privilege systems in multiracial churches, and to be more specific about the specific consequences of certain actions. McIntosh (1988:222-223) makes this observation about the issue in her context:

> A ‘white’ skin in the United States opens many doors for whites whether or not we approve of the way dominance has been conferred on us. Individual acts can palliate, but cannot end, these problems. To redesign social systems, we

> need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are the key political tool here. They keep the thinking about equality or equity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these taboo subjects. Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to me now to be about equal opportunity to try to get into a position of dominance while denying that systems of dominance exist.

The conclusion is that in order to foster the illusion of meritocracy, which is the notion that democratic choice is equally available to everyone, multiracial church institutions maintain a profoundly ingrained ignorance about white privilege. If people are kept in ignorance about the reality that freedom of confident action is only accessible to a select few, power can be kept in the hands of those who currently control the bulk of it. However, even though it may take decades to accomplish systemic change, white employees in multiracial churches should ask themselves crucial questions. What will they do with the knowledge they possess? Hunter (2015b) maintains that it is uncertain whether they will opt to use their undeserved advantage to weaken invisible privilege structures, and whether they will use any of their unearned power to rebuild power systems on a larger scale.

3.4 Theoretical Frameworks of Whiteness

Even though many of the theories described above were intended to address other topics such as gender, the critiques they provide are nonetheless useful for deconstructing whiteness.

Kramarae (1995) illustrates how individuals build racial categories via language, supporting Morrison's claim that individuals cannot enforce racelessness in scholarship. Morrison (1992) argues that it is impossible for any race to be totally neutral due to the racist structure of society and the resulting marginalisation of people of colour. Due to the pervasiveness of race in society, individuals often fail to comprehend how it effects all of their relationships.

Borisoff and Cheseboro (2011:105) examine the use of power in the context of interpersonal relationships and assert that practices such as those described above

“are modes of manipulation that combine the mediation of a science (or pseudo-science) and the practice of exclusion.” Excluding others is rationalised by reference to racist and misleading research that professes to demonstrate the racial superiority of white people. This research is used by white nationalists to justify their distorted conclusions, which argue for white people's power to influence other socioeconomic groups for their own benefit. Borisoff and Chesebro (2011:106) provide potential solutions for preventing manipulation, saying that the tactics that encourage self-creation must be eliminated “by which we all turn people into subjects, and eventually into victims,” by putting society's norms and expectations into question. Jackson (1999:38) and Kramarae (1995) critique the worldview of dividing races to two groups, white people and others. This worldview leads to people to have an ideology that white must be used more often, while other racial terms must be used less frequently, to emphasise the invisibility of whiteness. This is because language is much more often used to show that someone is not white. There may be a relationship between this phenomenon and what McIntosh (1988:225) calls “meritocracy,” which is “the myth that democratic choice is equally available to all. Keeping most people unaware that freedom of confident action is there for just a small number of people props up those in power.” The perpetuation of the idea of meritocracy is one of the ways in which multiracial ecclesiastical organisations are able to maintain such discrepancies without facing insurrection among their members.

Jackson (1999), in a study of white identity, examined “whether [w]hites feel the need to negotiate or behaviourally code switch their identities or if identity negotiation is viewed as only a marginalized group phenomenon” (Jackson 1999:38). Black people often resort to the survival tactic of what Kramarae (1995:29) calls “code flipping,” which entails acting white in the presence of members of the dominant culture and behaving according to their own culture when they are more at ease. This adjustment is vital for success in mostly white institutions like schools and religious institutions. Jackson (1999) was interested in whether or not white students at historically black universities acted similarly to black students and whether whiteness is actually devoid of substance, indicating that whiteness cannot be neutral as is often believed. He interviewed white students at Howard University, asking whether they believed that black students needed to modify their behaviour while dealing with whites. The white students provided conflicting responses to the questions. When students of colour

were asked whether they needed to “code flip,” they replied in the affirmative. White students “implied not only that there were no apparent changes in the way they behaved or communicated, but also were appalled that that would even be an expectation of them” (Jackson, 1999:47). Black people, on the other hand, are always under pressure to live up to such expectations. This reflects the ideology of white privilege described by Leek (2014: 214) and Willoughby-Herard (2007:485).

Privilege is unquestionably at play, and this explains why white children are protected from the truth. Morrison (1992) refers to this phenomenon as a no-questions-asked zone and emphasises that it is irrelevant whether or not white people constitute a numerical minority, as white identity is not questioned. He argues further that whites do not necessary negotiate anything, since their identity is already the norm, even in a setting with a person of a different race. This advantage is present in almost every aspect of a white person's life. Jackson concludes that “[w]hite cultural identity negotiation may ultimately result in the sacrifice of white privilege” (Jackson 1999:51).

In the following chapter of this thesis and based on studies undertaken by Dougherty (2003), Dougherty and Huyser (2008), and Emerson and Woo (2006), I will demonstrate that multiracial churches are ideal examples of white institutional space. I will clarify how organisations, in this instance churches, become normatively white in policy and practice by showing the intersecting processes of structure, culture, ideology, and speech. This goes beyond the scope of mere geographical classification. This strategy is applicable to more than one person or a small group of people. Due to the pervasiveness of the prevalent culture and structure, it is very difficult for possible power system difficulties to materialise.

3.5 Issues with Contemporary Racial Discourse

Since the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement globally and locally, many white people seem to be perplexed as to why racial conflicts remain so widespread in modern society. What may look like modern progressivism, however, on the surface is often just a cover for paternalism and prejudice. Many white people with seemingly good intentions follow what appears to be progressive paradigms that actually hurt people of colour in the end because they lead to whitewashing and silence.

When addressing systemic issues such as colonialism, it is vital to understand the problem's historical origins. Frankenberg's (2001) statements serve as a reminder that whiteness is a privilege and "is positioned asymmetrically in relation to all other racial and cultural terms, again for reasons whose origins are colonial….Whites have mainly named themselves in order to say: 'I am not that Other'" (Frankenberg: 2001:75). Every time a white person talks to a non-white person, there is a power difference. Because being white is the default identity, white people have come up with their own labels to separate themselves from other groups that are seen as less desirable. Several of these academics like Leek (2014), Willoughby-Herard (2007), and Dougherty and Huyser (2008), argue that the academic community has moved away from talking about racial superiority and more toward talking about cultural behaviours that were called national in the past. Movements that wanted to build white collectivist identities often said they were national even though they did not include everyone in society. By calling these movements by their correct names, we are better able to show that white supremacy is wrong and give non-white traditions the same weight as white ones.

According to Painter (2010:133) Neoliberalism was an updated version of imperialism, which was a set of ideas that came from colonialism. The inherent racism of western civilisations has influenced their behaviour towards colonised peoples. Kramarae (1995) further argues that many white people had "colour-blind" ideas that allowed them to ignore racial differences while still giving the impression of working towards equality. The white middle class has made these ideas a part of their culture. White people can easily adopt parts of other cultures without worrying about the consequences. Their cosmopolitan worldview is based on the idea that "we are all humans" and that every culture has something unique and valuable to offer.

Aal (2001:304) observes that many white people believe they are antiracist but that "middle-class norms that preclude them from admitting mistakes or showing ignorance make it nearly impossible for them to address these issues. When antiracism is addressed, conversations become focused on intentions rather than the impact." To have a meaningful debate about race, it is vital to shift the emphasis from the feelings of white people to the ways in which racism affects people of colour. If this does not occur, the debate will be blocked by white people who are proficient at using antiracist

language to make them feel good about themselves without really having to change. White individuals must be reminded that debates about racism are not about them or their experiences. Another description of white intentions and behaviour is provided by Moon (1999)

> … a 'white code' that permits them to talk about race-related matters in ways that 'render the status quo as "natural," remove ourselves from complicity, and secure approval from other whites.' This coded speech, which I call White speak, can be understood as a racialized form of euphemistic language in which what is not said—or the absences in languages…is often far more revealing than what is said (Moon, 1999:188).

The end of colonialism did not eradicate racist attitudes, rather, it pushed racism to evolve into new forms as it was forced to adapt to its new surroundings. Winant (2001) examines decolonisation, which resulted in violent wars but eventually allowed many nations to face their old colonial masters. He refers to "the neo-colonial arrangements put into place by the new worldwide hegemonic power, the United States, which had sought to impose a new [imperial Western] order" (Winant 2001:99).

The turbulent history of race relations in South Africa contradicts the notion that the position of people of colour in the nation has been steadily improving since the arrival of white people, especially after South Africa became a democratic state. The rights attained through various types of political emancipation vary according to the circumstances of particular historical periods. A new white South African identity has emerged as the dominant culture, and it is inextricably intertwined with the colonialism and imperialism of the past. This identity emerged from the complex historical construction of whiteness.

3.6 Whiteness, the Cornerstone of Multiracial Churches

Whiteness has received a great deal of attention in the corpus of research that has been conducted on race and ethnicity. This study places the emphasis on the meaning and function of white racial identity, and its significance in systems where white people hold cultural and structural dominance. The concept of whiteness is a fabrication of society. It is not founded on biological, genetic, or any other so-called 'natural' realities;

rather, it is an identity that contains a set of meanings for the person who owns it. People are considered white if they do not have certain arbitrary physical characteristics that prevent them from claiming a white racial identity. These characteristics include light skin, blue eyes, and dark hair.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that white individuals have a proprietary interest in their position as whites. Whiteness confers privilege. It is something that must be safeguarded, and there is no better way to do so than to establish a clear distinction between those who are entitled to it, owing to their skin colour and other evident characteristics, and those who must be excluded. Leek (2014) Moon (1999) argue that when a person is white, they recognise that they are worthy of the planet's benefits and have earned its kindness. Whiteness is devoted to a system in which the wealth of the world will not be shared with those who are not deserving of it. Whiteness may be seen as both a goal and a place in a social hierarchy, or possibly as a set of positions. In addition, it is a mental disposition. It requires a strong belief in the superiority of white people and the unsuitability of others. It is a troubled condition that is filled with anxiety and has a strong desire to subjugate people.

The struggle between whiteness and the representation of people of colour in ecclesiastical leadership in multiracial institutions can be understood as an epistemic struggle. Once it is understood in this way, the struggle can demonstrate the non-essential nature of whiteness and highlight the potential for its challenge. For the purpose of this thesis, the central issue here is the representation of people of colour in the ecclesiastical leadership of multiracial institutions.

Most of the research that has been conducted on multiracial churches, and the literature that has emerged from it, identifies whiteness is as a significant and fundamental component and characteristic of all multiracial churches. This finding is consistent across a plethora of studies that have been conducted on multiracial churches. Because of this, the concept of race, and more specifically the concept of whiteness, must be positioned at the centre of the explanation in order to comprehend the cultural, structural, and social dynamics of multiracial churches. In this regard, I agree with Edwards (2008) when he states that “[g]iven that whiteness is the

cornerstone of the racial system, it plays a fundamental role in how interracial churches function. Interracial churches will not represent a balance between whites' and racial minorities' organizational influence or religion-cultural preferences" (Edwards, 2008:5). The interrelationships, religious and cultural practices, and organisational structures of multiracial churches will be more representative of the choices and aspirations of white people than of the black people who are members of these organisations.

From the literature reviewed for this thesis it seems that the primary reason why multiracial churches are successful, in the sense that they maintain a racially mixed membership of whites and blacks, is that they are predominantly places where white people feel comfortable going. This is not to imply, nor is it meant to indicate, that the congregational life of multiracial churches simply reflects the interests and preferences of white people. It is necessary for these churches to make an effort to acquire new members who already belong to other ethnic groupings. Nevertheless, whiteness plays a significant part in the construction of multiracial churches. This results in the establishment of churches with vibrant congregational activity, which is more often seen in white churches than in other kinds of churches. In the next chapters of this thesis I will focus on the ways in which whiteness presents itself in churches made up of people of different races. I propose an explanation for how these multiracial religious organisations are able to maintain racially integrated congregations by drawing on personal anecdotes, the experiences of individual congregations, and statistics collected at the national congregational level. The next chapter seeks to explore some of the manifestations of whiteness as seen in some Neo-Pentecostal congregations.

Chapter 4: Manifestations of Whiteness

4.1 Introduction

> The American Church of Christ is Jim Crowed from top to bottom. No other institution in America is built so thoroughly or more absolutely on the colour line. Everybody knows this. (DuBois 1929:169)

This comment by DuBois encapsulates the challenge among multiracial Neo-Pentecostal congregations. This chapter seeks to explore how whiteness manifests itself in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal congregations. The National Congregations Study (Chaves, 2004) conducted in the United States found that in nine out of ten congregations, the dominant race, namely white people, comprised at least 90 percent of the congregation. Many scholars are of the view that DuBois' above-quoted statements on multiracial and interracial relationships still ring true today (Emerson and Kim 2003). Comparable results have been obtained from other nationwide surveys of religious congregations Ammerman (1997), Becker (1998), Emerson & Kim (2003) and Emerson & Woo (2006)

In this chapter, I explain how whiteness manifests itself in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches. The point made above about Christianity in the United States could also be made about South African Christianity in respect of race relations in churches and white people's ambivalent sentiments on the effects of apartheid (Balcomb 2004, Ganiel 2006, Bentley (2014). There was one set of conditions for black people's participation in the battle for equality, and an entirely different set of criteria for the population of white people who already enjoyed voting rights. Referring to the role of Christians and the church in the struggle against apartheid, Balcomb asserts that "[e]nfranchised whites frequently perfected not the arts of resistance but the arts of avoidance, not the 'weapons of the weak' but the defences of the strong" (Balcomb, 2004:6). White people provided justifications for either legitimising the status quo that favoured them, or avoiding, prolonging, and compromising the process of its demolition to the greatest degree possible. As far as white Christianity was concerned, a plethora of theological rationalisations were developed in order to achieve this objective. When doing a study of multiracial churches in South Africa, this reality

cannot be ignored; nor can we ignore the fact that only a minority of whites actively fought against the ravages of colonialism and apartheid.

4.2 Contact Hypothesis

Intergroup interaction between races is one of the most effective ways to reduce bias between members of the dominant group and members of a minority group, according to the "contact hypothesis" which was first developed by Allport (1958). It explains that the most effective method of contact for reducing prejudice is to bring together people of similar social standing, who share a common goal, and who engage in activities that require intergroup cooperation while operating under the protection of established norms, laws, or traditions (Allport, 1958). Applying this concept to the context of religious organisations is not a straightforward matter, however, especially when community acts of service or even simply shared worship experiences are incorporated. Yancey (1999:298) examined the contact hypothesis and found that whites who attended multiracial churches had less social distance from black Christians, and tended to stereotype black people less often, than whites who attended racially homogenous white churches. The provocative conclusion reached by Emerson and Smith (2000) was that white Christians probably do more to perpetuate the racial divide in multiracial churches than to tear it down. This was mainly because white Christians tended to worship in racially segregated congregations and saw racial prejudice as an individual problem, rather than a societal one.

Scholarship in this field has been growing, and researchers have pinpointed a few traits that are typical of multiracial churches. Most of this recent research has been based on surveys or specific case studies of individuals. The conclusions of the studies conducted by Emerson and Smith (2000) and Dougherty and Huyser (2008) form the basis for this chapter and reflect the characteristics of the multiracial church research corpus.

The external characteristics of multiracial churches include location of the church, duration of service, style of worship, and preaching, while the internal variables include social features, personal preferences, and religious convictions. In a theory of organisational identity for multiracial churches, it is suggested that a multiracial

congregation should be purposeful, use experiential worship, and emphasise relational bonds among members (Dougherty and Huyser, 2008).

Research has also been undertaken on the development and classification of multiracial churches. This research categorises multiracial congregations based on the major drive for change, the source of diversity, and the style of congregation, and it identifies distinct categories of multiracial congregations based on various combinations of these (Emerson and Kim, 2003). This research demonstrates that multiracial congregations have the capacity to alleviate the inequalities in white churches identified by Emerson and Smith (2000). These studies conducted by Emerson and Smith (2000), Dougherty and Huyser (2008) and Emerson and Kim (2003) demonstrate that multiracial congregations are sociologically significant in three ways: first, they have been vehicles for the transformation of individual identities; second, their contributions to social reconciliation have the potential to be more potent due to the religious flavour they carry; and third, they have existed for an extremely long time.

Before examining why whiteness persists in multiracial churches and what characterises these churches, it is essential to note that the reshuffling and mixing of races has been nearly exclusively unidirectional. According to Emerson (2008), the growth of multiracial churches has been driven only by the migration of persons of colour into white churches. It hardly ever occurs that white people migrate to black churches in black neighbourhoods to make a historically black church multiracial. There has been no obvious change in the percentage of white persons visiting black churches, let alone joining them. Furthermore, the number of black individuals who attend multiracial churches has declined from 27% in 2012 to 21% in 2019. This shows that black people choose to continue attending multiracial congregation's and may be affected by the political and social context as well as ongoing racial strife that exist within the churches.

One of the features of Critical Race Theory, which was discussed in the second chapter, is storytelling. In the present chapter I draw on narratives about various people's experiences as part of the case studies on multiracial churches. A black pastor who was interviewed in the literature surveyed in this thesis stated that

multiracial congregations provide several challenges. In his experience, if you visit a church in the United States and see both African Americans and Caucasian Americans attending, then the congregation certainly has a Caucasian pastor. White people find it difficult to look at a black pastor and see him as an authority figure. Dougherty and Huyser (2008) claim that this is the reason why African Americans who are willing to worship in a multiracial church are often obliged to accept leadership by white people and their distinctive form of worship. This assertion is also borne out by Emerson (2008:30).

A study by Emerson and Kim (2003), showed that black people who join multiracial churches generally have lived more integrated lives growing up and have a history of being in multiracial environments. Blacks who do not have a history of being in multiracial environments were demographically different from black churchgoers who have more racially diverse social networks, but the latter still maintained similar attitudes about issues of race and social issues to those held by blacks who did not attend multiracial churches (Emerson and Yancey, 2008). This indicates a selection bias, as those with prior multiracial experiences may be more apt to voluntarily join a multiracial congregation.

Questions that are often asked are: What are the factors that contribute to the establishment of multiracial churches? And, how does whiteness present itself within them? These questions are addressed in the sections that follow.

4.3 Location

According to studies undertaken by Hadaway et al. (1984), Dougherty (2003), Dougherty and Huyser (2008), and Emerson and Woo (2006), urban congregations are more likely than suburban or rural congregations to have a diverse membership. Several studies (Ammerman, 1997, Becker, 1998, Emerson and Kim, 2003, Emerson and Woo, 2006, Hadaway et al., 1984, Northwood, 1958, Yancey, 2003, and Wedam, 1999) have shown that congregations situated in racially diverse neighbourhoods are more likely to have a diverse membership than those located in racially homogeneous neighbourhoods.

The location of multiracial churches is one of the most significant aspects of how they are organised and why people attend them (Dougherty and Huyser, 2008). An example would be a congregation's location in the Northeast or on the West coast of the United States rather than in the Midwest or South, and in a densely populated, diverse urban neighbourhood. Research suggests that multiracial churches cannot exist in black areas because white congregants do not visit, much less attend, churches in mostly black neighbourhoods. This renders the operation of multiracial churches difficult. Sociologists propose an explanation for this phenomenon. The essential factors at play here are how people choose to engage with one another, and their propensity to spend time with people like themselves. Because of this, they are drawn to congregations comprised of people with whom they have commonalities. Most white people and black people live, work, and spend their leisure time in entirely separate neighbourhoods. According to studies by Dougherty and Huyser (2008) and Emerson and Woo (2006), it is estimated that, on average, 80% of African Americans would need to migrate in order to attain racial parity in the neighbourhoods of their individual cities in the United States. Whites are more likely than blacks are to have occupations that are secure, of high quality, provide good pay and benefits, and offer opportunities for advancement (Wilkes and Iceland, 2004). The race of individuals also affects the kind of social groupings, fraternities, and religious organisations that they join. Consequently, substantial contacts between blacks and whites are very rare in daily life. Whites and African Americans are unlikely to encounter or even be aware of churches that are not dominated by their own racial group, since individuals often attend churches in their own neighbourhoods or hear about churches via social networks, such as co-workers. Unfortunately, for white people who are involved in multiracial communities or multiracial friendships, these relationships have almost no effect on meaningful movement towards blacks; in spite of having multiracial friendships, whites continue to oppose attempts by the government to promote racial equality (Jackman, Crane 1986).

Emerson and Smith (2000) argue that residential segregation is another important aspect of the race problem, one that makes it difficult for people of different races to attend the same church. The extent of residential segregation means that church congregations often have the same mix of races and cultures as the neighbourhoods around them, because people often attend worship close to home. Residential

segregation between blacks and whites started in South Africa because of colonisation and apartheid. In the US, it started after World War II because whites left the cities and moved to the suburbs. Immigrants who move to the United States may choose to live in ethnic enclaves so that they can keep their culture alive. (Emerson and Smith 2000).

A study conducted by Brown and Adamczyk (2009) in the United States reveals that the organisation of religion is highly segregated along racial lines, and other research demonstrates that racially separated congregations often possess distinguishing characteristics. White churches are less likely than multiracial or black congregations to be located in diverse neighbourhoods. In the United States, however, Asian and Hispanic monoracial congregations are located in more diverse neighbourhoods than multiracial congregations. Location is a contributing reason to this discrepancy (Emerson and Woo 2006). Black churches differ from white churches in that they are more likely to encounter political pressure to address social issues that affect their congregants, the areas in which they are situated, and society as a whole. Frequently, black congregations are situated in areas with greater levels of poverty, political estrangement, and social isolation (Brown 2006:1588). The black church places a significant emphasis on improving people's social standing, and black churches are more likely than Asian, Hispanic, or white congregations to participate in health programmes that are of value to the areas in which they are located (Brown and Adamczyk 2009). It follows that multiracial churches are not situated in such areas because white people are less likely to participate in social justice in their location, which is where white churches are situated.

When white people are looking for a home to buy, it is relatively unlikely that they will buy a home in an area with a black population that is more than just a token percentage. Moreover, the data indicates that many white individuals live in separate neighbourhoods and have unique social networks, which is indicative of a closed society. This may make the development and maintenance of multiracial congregations difficult and is one of the reasons why the bulk of these congregations are still mostly white (Blanchard, 2007:417-419). According to Brown and Adamczyk (2009:108), people with greater socioeconomic status in multiracial churches are more likely to be activists, possibly because they have more possibilities to acquire civic

skills and are more aware of the potential to be activists. People with higher socioeconomic standing are also more likely to vote (Brown and Brown 2003). Prior studies done by Wilson and Janoski (1995) and Brown (2006) demonstrate that white individuals in churches are more inclined to participate in volunteer activities that assist their own white members and communities, with the aim of preserving the white social fabric of the church, than to focus on external endeavours. This is because white individuals have access to various volunteer opportunities in multiracial churches.

4.4 Congregational and Corporate Worship

Congregational worship includes the activities that take place during the service of congregations. Even while worship services are not the only activities that take place inside churches, they are fundamental in the sense that people announce who they are not just to themselves but to others as well. This occurs on both the internal and exterior levels. By supplying this knowledge, they provide insight into the character of the persons who engage in these rituals and activities. They tell us about the group members and non-members, and they instruct us on what is acceptable, what is praiseworthy, and what is prohibited. For these reasons, in order to understand the nature of a community, it is vital to have knowledge of its worship. As Ammerman (1997:55) points out, ‘‘congregations engage in their most dramatic rituals, their most intentional presentation of their sense of identity.”

However, since the majority of South Africans and Americans are used to a religious tradition that is racially monolithic, it is difficult for multiracial churches to determine which worship rituals and styles are typical and symbolic of their identity. People of various racial groups have formed clear ideas of what constituted normal worship practices throughout the course of human history. When people enter a religious space that is comprised of people of different races, they bring with them these clearly defined understandings about how worship should be conducted. Anecdotes relating such events provide a window into the congregational worship of multiracial churches, exposing the peculiar challenges and tensions that these kinds of churches face as they attempt to forge a multiracial worship experience.

In this regard, multiculturalism involves not only granting equal status to other cultural groups but also analysing the hierarchical ties between such groups. (Stanczak 2006).

Christerson, Emerson and Edwards (2005) address the subject of how churches manage several races, drawing upon expanded multiculturalism Garces-Foley (2007). They believe that multiracial congregations may be a way of eradicating the inequities outlined by Emerson and Smith (2000) via case studies of white congregations that emphasise biblical teaching and are open to adaptable worship practices. Case studies of white churches enabled Emerson and Smith (2000) to identify the inequities mentioned above, and multiracial congregations have the potential to reduce them.

Studies have been grouped according to how multiracial churches run their services. The fact that many multiracial churches have not adopted the worship methods and practices of historically black churches is probably one of the contributing factors that make black/white multiracial churches some of the most challenging to maintain (Edwards, 2008). In fact, other members of multiracial churches tend to regard African Americans in such churches as unique, characterising them as euphoric and inherently musical. It may be assumed that this stereotype would be a cause of irritation to African Americans (Stanczak, 2006:861). (Marti, 2011). As worship performers, black people in multiracial congregations often feel they are expected to be more expressive, while in the pews, they are asked to refrain and suppress themselves a little bit more. This leaves many black people in these congregations with the impression that they are subject to contradictory expectations (Marti, 2011:70). As a result, several multiracial churches are mostly white in the way they organise their congregational worship services. They often make adjustments inside the church for white people, to the exclusion of black people, who are expected merely to accept this treatment. This suggests that congregational worship has the capacity to accept or reject people of diverse cultural groups (Dougherty and Huyser ,2008).

The analysis of a case study of Rhema Church, a large Neo-Pentecostal church in Johannesburg, reveals that while the church may boast of being a fully inclusive multiracial church, it is clear that there is a divide within the church between white and black people, and that whiteness is perpetuated within the church even though the church is majority black. What is more, Balcomb (2004) indicates that the majority of black people attending Rhema meetings are brought in by bus from other black neighbourhoods and “they do not necessarily 'feel at home' in Rhema” (Balcomb, 2004:18). Moreover, the degree of integration between Rhema's black and white

populations is rather limited. There is a separate service for those who speak African languages, and black people are the only people who attend this service, so the divide is not only spiritual but also physical. In terms of the congregational worship and gatherings that take place at Rhema, not only is the congregation itself segregated and not integrated, but they also devote an entire service to making black attendees feel more at ease in their environment (Balcomb, 2004:18). This is a recognition that persons of African descent do not enjoy complete integration within the integrated Rhema service. This further demonstrates that at the heart of this neo-multicultural church is an organisation that aims to make white people feel at ease and provide for their needs, so contributing to the maintenance of whiteness (Ganiel, 2006:555). Rhema has, despite its best efforts, been largely unable to generate the '"bridging' social capital that is essential to bridge the gap that exists between their white and black congregants. Bridging this social capital gap is vital to the operation of religious organisations across the persisting racial divide in South Africa. Rhema's worship service still caters to white people, and it is designed to accommodate their preferences. This circumstance has developed despite all the work that Rhema undertakes for the community and despite its attempts to increase political awareness (Balcomb, 2004:18).

Because the fundamental framework of worship and organisational structure of churches tend to resemble one another regardless of the racial composition of the congregation, I decided to investigate some of the aspects that may distinguish multiracial churches from monocultural churches by looking beyond the manner in which churches conduct their services. In these churches in South Africa and the United States, hymns or gospel songs performed by the congregation and a sermon or homily are the two most important elements of the worship session. I, therefore, chose to concentrate on five specific areas of worship services while evaluating the relevant research and data: spontaneous worship practices such as dancing, leaping, or yelling, the duration of the worship services, worship style, such as a choir or live rock band, verbal affirmations such as “amen;” and hand-raising.

A pattern emerged from the analysis and integration of the data from the research studies conducted by Chaves (2004), Christerson, Emerson and Edwards (2005), Dougherty and Huyser (2008:25) and Edwards (2008:29). First, and most importantly,

all the accessible statistical data on worship services in multiracial churches originates from research undertaken in the United States, while research conducted in South African churches is either extremely limited or non-existent. The lack of information on congregations in South Africa and the diversity among congregations makes the task more difficult. Research by Venter (2002:171-175) on multicultural churches revealed the limits of multiracial congregations capacity to integrate their language usage. Ganiel (2008) focused her study on the ways in which institutional culture impacts an individual's identity within the framework of a multicultural Neo-Pentecostal church and concluded that “the institutional culture of a group affects how identities form and the direction in which they change” (2006:555).

Secondly, I limited the study to these five characteristics because, in my view, they provide the most information on the differences between a multicultural church and a church that expresses only one culture.

	Black church	***White church***	***Multiracial church***
1. Spontaneous worship	61%	4%	32%
2. Duration of worship service	128min	70min	90min
3. Verbal affirmations	93%	48%	63%
4. Hand-raising	90%	31%	51%
5. Worship style of choir	61%	72%	89%

National Congregations Study Variables and Operationalizations (Chaves, 2004) (Christerson, Edwards and Emerson 2005) (Dougherty and Huyser, 2008:25)

The pattern that emerges illustrates what multiracial congregational worship looks like and how the racial mix of worship communities in the United States impacts on worship. Firstly, descriptive comparisons of the worship styles and practices of multiracial churches, white churches, and black churches reveal that 63% of multiracial churches engage in vocal affirmation during worship services, in contrast to 93% of black churches and 48% of white churches. Just over half of the multiracial churches engage in the practice of hand raising, in contrast to roughly ninety percent

of black churches and thirty-four percent of white churches that do so; and 32% of churches that are comprised of members of different races engage in some type of spontaneous worship, such as leaping or dancing. This compares to 61% and 4% of black and white churches, respectively, that participate in spontaneous worship of some kind. In terms of the length of the service, the worship services held in multiracial churches typically last for a total of ninety minutes. This is approximately twenty minutes longer than the typical worship service held in white churches, but almost forty minutes shorter than the typical worship service held in black churches. According to the research done by Dougherty and Huyser (2008:25), the probability that a choir will take part in the worship service at a multiracial church is not significantly different from the probability that one would take part at a white church. Black churches are less likely than multiracial churches to have a time for greeting as part of their worship services, and they are more likely than multiracial churches to have choirs participate in their worship services. However, black churches are more likely than multiracial churches to have choirs participate in their worship services. Participation at multiracial churches in vocal affirmation, hand-raising, and spontaneous worship, and the average length of their worship sessions, seem to fall somewhere between what is seen in white and black churches. However, when other major congregational features are taken into account, such as age composition, religious tradition, and whether or not the church is charismatic, this result is not found.

The findings of this study (Dougherty and Huyser, 2008:25) and of Christerson, Edwards and Emerson (2005:161-162) indicate that the differences in worship style and practice between multiracial churches and white churches are not caused by differences in the racial composition of the congregations, but rather by a preference for practices that are typically associated with white churches. Furthermore, these statistics remain the same even in multiracial churches where white people make up a smaller percentage of the congregation. According to these findings, multiracial churches do not follow the worship styles and practices that are often seen in black churches but, rather, adopt characteristics that are more typical of churches attended by white people.

4.5 Music

Based on the research on music in multiracial churches conducted by Christerson, Edwards and Emerson (2005), Dougherty and Huyser (2008:25), Edwards (2008:29) and Ganiel (2006), it is clear that race is not the only social factor that determines people's choices in respect of their religious and cultural practices, especially with regard to music. This is of vital importance. Nonetheless, when there is a dispute over the worship practices and styles followed in multiracial congregations, these inequalities take on their own importance. They are imbued with the history of the racial injustice, oppression, and segregation that have plagued race relations in both South Africa and the United States. It is not just a question of one church faction's preferences versus those of another. Rather, it is an issue of acceptance, inclusion, and influence over defining who we are and what we do. In multiracial churches, the rise of conflict along racial lines may lead to stereotypical ideas about race, which in turn may affect the interactions and dynamics that establish religious and cultural norms.

The findings of the National Congregations Study (Chaves, 2004) make it abundantly clear that multiracial churches are not immune to white privilege or the normativity of white culture and values. This is further supported by the studies of Dougherty and Huyser (2008). For this part of my analysis. I rely on an empirical case study done by Edwards (2008) at a multiracial church in the United States called Crosstown. Her case study revealed that whites are more used to the worship style in multiracial churches, which may be one factor that contributes to their love of these type of churches. The worship was similar to what some of them had experienced when they were younger in their white churches, but in a more dynamic religious setting. Crosstown gave them the option to continue this worship experience, which was congruent with what they had experienced before. On the other hand, African Americans did not seem to be happy. Roughly a quarter of the black people she spoke with said that they had a positive experience with the style of worship and the music that was performed during the worship events. However, when asked whether there were elements about Crosstown that disappointed them, the most prevalent attribute that was noted was the worship style and music, with around 60% of African Americans expressing discontent with these aspects of the church. In another study (Emerson and Woo, 2006), the most prevalent source of dissatisfaction was the lack

of sufficient enthusiasm during worship. Black congregants saw the singing and music as a kind of entertainment rather than a chance to fully engage. The thoughts of these participants echoed those of other African Americans who participated in the National Churches Study (Chaves, 2004) and were questioned about their experiences attending worship services at multiracial congregations. The fact that black and white participants had distinct cultural norms and expectations of what worship should look like, particularly what constituted lively worship, suggests that the two groups were operating under different assumptions about what worship and music should look like. White people saw the religious service at Crosstown as inspiring, whereas black people had a totally different opinion. Moreover, although most of the white individuals seemed to like the worship, most of the black people did not (Edwards, 2008:29) This provides an example of race being seen as an objective entity rather than a social construct. This has the unintended consequence of obscuring the truth of race and the idea that while these ideas are socially generated, they can also be culturally altered. In this church setting, it is clear that allowing persons of different races requires them to conform into the majority culture, which is white., in the case of Crosstown, was white (This, in turn, reinforces the established norm of all-white zones). In this way, societies of white supremacy and opposition power ideologies continue to flourish inside the church. Van Wyngaard (2014:158) cautions us that the failure to effectively confront racial issues in post-apartheid South Africa is due to the inability of theological discourse on multiculturalism to convince white Christians to reflect on their own supremacy and dominance.

Edward (2008) related the story of a black woman named Lydia who expressed herself in worship and singing by screaming and dancing, just as she had done in her previous black church for her entire life. Lydia's repeated outbursts were a major cause of discord in Crosstown. During the interviews, a number of churchgoers said that Lydia was the subject of rumours and ridicule circulating among the congregation. Dancing, swaying, lifting one's hands high over one's head, and screaming were among the most unusual behaviours seen at Crosstown. Lydia's conduct during the church service made a lot of white attendees uncomfortable, as seen by their responses. However, during interviews and casual conversations, some visitors, particularly African Americans, expressed their support for Lydia's outbursts.

> Many white people felt that whatever is done during the worship service should be done such that it isn't disruptive, only benefiting the individual. Lydia's behavior was inappropriate because it took away from some congregants' worship experience and did not include the whole congregation. On the opposite side were those who felt that the church should provide a space where people can freely worship God (Edwards, 2008:24).

This research study of the interviews conducted by Edwards is remarkable for the inflammatory language used by anxious white interviewees. When describing Lydia's behaviour, they used terms such as 'excessive,' 'out of control,' and 'terrifying,' as well as 'selfish,' 'inconsiderate,' and 'ungodly.' Many black worshippers, on the other hand, had different opinions and began mocking these descriptions when they realised that they were completely untrue. When addressing how they felt about expressive worship, some African Americans used the same terminology to describe 'us' and 'them.' Even though no one specifically brought up the topic of race, these comments made it clear that the lines of division that had emerged during the conversation reflected not only divergent religious opinions, but also shared collective values and perspectives based on similar experiences and comprehensions. Both the tone of the conversation and the racial mix of the proponents and opponents supported the view that the conflicts sprang from racial hatred (Edwards 2008:34). To grasp the character of a multiracial church, which is made up of a complicated collection of beliefs and principles held by its membership, it's necessary to first understand what the group's defining traits are that enable it to be referred to as "us." According to Dougherty and Huyser (2008:25), what binds people together is a socially formed sense of "we," and as "we" become stronger in a society, cultural differences become less relevant. This identity, in its most basic sense, consists of significant principles and values derived from the church's history of connecting with the outer world while maintaining one's own individual personality. (Stark and Finke, 2000).

After reading this account, we may arrive at certain conclusions about multiracial churches. The black and white guests had very different notions of what expressive worship entailed. In the white community, extreme forms of worship included shouting and waving hands during services. Such actions were, to a certain extent, completely unfamiliar to them. This was in part due to white people's poor awareness of what

worship looks like in black churches, as several white participants hinted by using mostly white congregations to exemplify the range of worship styles and practices (Dougherty and Huyser, 2008:28). In other words, this was the product of the ignorance of white people. That is why black people become disillusioned with multiracial churches: it seems that these churches are more concerned with pleasing white congregants and expanding their membership and income than with transformation. Even though entrenched racism in the church is in direct opposition to the core principles of the gospel, this is nevertheless still the case (Chapman and Spong, 2003:278).

In addition to this, white people's conceptions of active worship did not involve yelling. Including modern praise songs in the worship music repertoire and having some attendees applaud and raise their hands were white people's idea of what constitutes normal, vibrant worship. However, it is not unusual for black churches to have loud shouting during worship services; the preacher, musicians, and choir may collaborate to generate an environment conducive to yelling during worship services (Dougherty and Huyser, 2008:40). The implication is that, if black people are to participate in multiracial churches, they have to relinquish their preferred way of expressing themselves during the worship session, otherwise they will make white individuals within the congregation feel uncomfortable. Because of this, the music in multiracial churches tends to sound more like it does in white churches, which is further evidence of the existence and dominance of white privilege in multiracial churches.

4.6 Political Involvement

In both South Africa and the United States of America, much research has been conducted on the extra-religious social and civic involvement of white and black religious organisations. Multiple studies have revealed that black religious organisations are more likely than their white counterparts to participate in political, social and community activities. No studies have compared the amount of extra religious social and civic activity by members of multiracial churches to that of other congregations. Nevertheless, there is a growing conviction among multiracial churches that “the church has the potential to become a countercultural community in which ‘normal’ relations of social and cultural power can be inverted, subverted, and deconstructed through practical and symbolic means” (Howell 2007:305). Although

the study of white churches produced poor results and revealed their propensity for group-based anti-black sentiments, earlier research indicated that a rise in adherence to orthodox Christian doctrines correlates with a reduction in implicit bias. In addition, knowing more about Christian teachings that promote tolerance and acceptance of others, such as loving one's neighbour, help to reduce unconscious bias even more (Tranby and Hartmann, 2008:344-345). In order to comprehend the relevance of political involvement within the setting of South Africa, it is necessary to explore the long-standing racial dynamics of the Pentecostal denomination.

The church history of Pentecostalism, in the context of ecclesiastical leadership, and how it was associated with problems of colonialism and apartheid, are vital for an understanding of the historical influence and for a reshaping of the present situation of Pentecostalism's leadership structures. An understanding of the effects of history is essential for understanding the contemporary leadership structures of Pentecostalism. The authorities vociferously supported apartheid and even employed arguments from religion to further that agenda. A substantial number of white Pentecostal leaders not only supported apartheid but even held positions within the national government (Anderson 2005, 74-76). Most white Pentecostals either supported apartheid or opted to remain politically neutral. The Apostolic Faith Mission, one of the largest Pentecostal organisations in the United States, is governed by an all-white council. Gerrie Wessels, who became a senator for the National Party in 1955 and was vice-president of the Apostolic Faith Mission until 1969, was one of several white religious leaders who supported the apartheid regime. These white Pentecostal churches indicated their support for the apartheid regime by passing resolutions in their councils that seemed to concur with the National Party government's policies. These resolutions include the following examples: "Race relations: the AFM mission stands for segregation. The fact that the Native, Indian, or coloured is saved, does not render him European. Native Education: the mission stands for lower education for black people but is definitely against higher education" (Anderson and Pillay, 1997:238).

4.6.1 Apartheid

During apartheid, many Pentecostal leaders supported the National Party government's apartheid policies, and white missionaries often built ties with them as

well. John Lake, a prominent Pentecostal church leader, was one of those who supported government policies: “J.G. Lake, who is said not to have been a racist, permitted the culture and social convention to separate churches. He also had a friendship with Botha, the president and architect of apartheid system in South Africa, in his role in the fashioning of the Land Act of 1913” (Kalu, 2008:58). Not only did white missionaries form friendships with members of the ruling party; certain leaders within the Pentecostal church also played a major role in the formation and construction of apartheid policy as a result of their close association with the state. They also played a part in the process of writing policy while professing to be in favour of black liberation.

During the anti-apartheid fight, Pentecostal and Charismatic churches were largely passive or neutral, whilst mainline church leaders were at the forefront of mobilising political action (Framh-Arp, 2019:316). Some prominent leaders in the Pentecostal church viewed the state in a neutral or unfavourable light and distanced themselves from the state. However, the fact that they avoided persons like Frank Chikane, who brought political matters into the church, is intriguing (Anderson, 2005:74-76). Many of them had been harmed by the government, but they opted not to engage in politics and shunned those who brought political matters into the church.

Frank Chikane believed that in order to challenge the government, it was necessary to take a bold stance against apartheid. He also believed that they would need to join political parties in order to achieve their goal of obtaining justice. They were effective in achieving this objective by openly identifying themselves with democratic forces dedicated to the overthrow of the dictatorship. They continue to believe that political participation is essential under the new system; however, they believe that it should emanate from the centre of the power structure rather than the political periphery. These individuals, who are often referred to as liberationists, are represented by the Apostolic Faith Mission and Frank Chikane. (Balcomb 2004:9). He believed that the church should get engaged in the political struggle against injustice, as it was not just a social or political matter, but also a religious one with theological consequences. He thought that the church should participate in these conflicts. Because of his views, he encountered hostility from both the church and the state. While he was in the church, he was excluded from all positions of authority. This is not merely a historical occurrence. In her study on the response of Pentecostal leaders to the political

elections in South Africa, Frahm-Arp (2019) uncovered a disparity in responses and attitudes. Frahm-Arp (2019:315) notes that “divergence in attitudes among PCE leaders toward politics and political activism in particular, given that South Africa was in a political and economic crisis.”

In more recent times there are large multiracial churches, like Rhema and St. James church in Kenilworth, that chose to not get involved in political matters because they felt it distracted them from their mission. Frank Retief, who was the founder and leader of St. James, when asked at the truth and reconciliation commission about their political involvement and issues which affected black people, told a panel chaired by TRC head Archbishop Desmond Tutu:

> Like most other whites, our white-led church believed we were in a struggle for western values and freedoms and that the liberation groups were all pawns of the communist regimes. Be that as it may, the fact of the matter is that we allowed ourselves to be misled into accepting a social, economic, and political system that was cruel and oppressive. The church's insistence on remaining a neutral party in the apartheid conflict was, in hindsight, a major error. We declared ourselves to be apolitical and, in this way, failed to adequately understand the suffering of our many black members who were victims of apartheid. Our failure to be involved in the political struggles of our land was a major error in both understanding and judgement. This mistake has caused us a great deal of embarrassment, heartache, and pain.
> Retief, TRC submission [Accessed} 25 June 2022. We were misled, church tells TRC. https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/1997/9711/s971117h.htm

Even though St. James has a long history of being a multiracial church, the leaders of the church made the decision to abstain from involvement in political issues that affected black people because they believed the gospel is apolitical.

Rhema, which has a history of being a multicultural church and which remained indifferent to politics despite the injustice meted out to black people (some of whom were members of their congregation and were bused in from townships), remained at the centre of the controversy. The apolitical character of McCauley's interpretation of

the gospel compels him, like Retief, to confess his previous mistakes. He regrets most that he did not include in his ministry a statement that strongly criticised apartheid's horrors. He is certain that his perspective has changed, and he is now trying to tackle issues of political and social inequity. Recent social and political activities by Rhema, whose major objective has been the economic and social advancement of the underprivileged, suggest a true shift in McCauley's perspective and priorities (Balcomb, 2004:19). The fundamental objective of Rhema's recent social and political actions has been the economic and social improvement of the disadvantaged. Churches such as the Hatfield Christian Church in Pretoria and the Durban Christian Centre are both members of the International Fellowship of Christian Churches, an informal alliance of other prominent Neo-Pentecostal churches. Rhema also belongs to this association. A common feature of these churches is that “they are largely white and middle-class in composition and have had little impact on the black community” (Balcomb, 2004:18). It is thus reasonable to draw the conclusion that Rhema and other significant neo-multiracial Pentecostal churches in South Africa are not active in addressing the problems that affect the bulk of the oppressed black people there.

It is however important to note that not all Pentecostal churches were or are involved in politics. As Frahm-Arp (2019:315) assert: “[t]he churches with a prophetic-deliverance narrative played little or no direct attention to politics.” She points to what separates Pentecostal churches from political involvement is whether they preach a version of the gospel known as “prosperity”. Nadar and Jodamus (2019:17) note that within Pentecostalism, there is a struggle between the body and spirit. They assert that “studies on Pentecostalism have foregrounded the conservative nature… focusing on Pentecostalism’s fixation with doctrinal dualisms which enforce a separation of body and spirit. Frahm-Arp (2019:315) argues that these Pentecostal leaders and churches are shaped not by human beings (Body), but by spiritual powers (Spirit) and placed little or no value on political activism, arguing that changes in worldly politics can be brought about through prayer

One of the possible conclusions that we can derive from research on multiracial neo-Pentecostal congregations is that this type of church is mostly a phenomenon of the middle class. This, together with the predominance of whites in the South African

middle class, may explain why very few black people feel a part of churches like Rhema, as they do not speak to political issues affecting black South Africans.

After analysing additional research into the political involvement of multiracial churches, I argue that black religious organisations are more likely than their white counterparts and multiracial churches to take part in political and certain social and community activities. This suggests that multiracial churches engage in politics and political issues involving injustice in the way white churches do. This is further evidence to suggest that multiracial churches have the same view on political participation as white churches. At first glance, it may seem that they are not only spiritually, but also physically joined. However, this impression is not realistic. There are several moderating factors that may be traced back to the time of segregation. The effects of colonialism and apartheid in perpetuating the segregated position of the Pentecostal church continue to be felt today. Research on large Neo-Pentecostal churches in South Africa, such as that undertaken by Anderson (2005), focused on the lack of social and racial integration in Pentecostal and charismatic congregations and the abuse of power by the church leaders. In the post-apartheid period, however, more churches that had an active role in the fight against apartheid have continued transformative and multicultural ministries. The question remains, though: how integrated are they? Anderson argues that they have only transformed in certain aspect but not in ecclesial leadership. Moving away from a monocultural context, which merely reflects societal differences, requires "overcoming established norms of social distance," which is something that must be done intentionally and "requires a revolution in underlying ideas and worldview" (Dougherty & Huyser, 2008:40). Such congregations do not spontaneously arise; rather, they need the cultivation of a shared inclusive identity that transcends the ethnic and cultural identities of the individual members (Garces-Foley, 2007).

Judging from the relevant literature, the absence of racism in the origins of Pentecostalism in South Africa may have just been merely superficial, or it may have occurred on a spiritual level rather than a physical one. During apartheid, the pervasive attitude was one of superiority. When the processes of human ontological relationships begin to take form, these damaging models of oppression begin to emerge.

4.7 Leadership

One of the primary goals of my study is to discuss the elements that make up ecclesiastical leadership in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches. These elements are the foundation for comprehending the racial makeup of those in positions of authority in the organisational frameworks of these churches. I therefore investigate these considerations further.

The main feature of multiracial churches that is critiqued in the research is the model of ecclesial leadership and the way in which it is constituted. The issue of leadership is an important aspect of the growth and success of multiracial churches because If religious groups and churches want more racial diversity, they may need to find new ways to train leaders from cultures other than their own. For example, they may need to look beyond mono-racial denominational seminaries. (Yancey, 2003:89–93). Church leadership's multiracial polity must be taken into consideration since it has a formative influence on what is attainable. Christerson, Edwards and Emerson (2005:62) assert that, When churches are led by pastors from varying ethnicities, it makes a strong statement about how important diversification is to the church community. Bentley (2014:151), further argues that the congregation needs to diversify its clergy in order to make it more reflective of the local environment. To do this, the church needs develop interracial training and equipping of pastors. (Bentley (14:151). The dominance of whiteness in multiracial church leadership is not only an American phenomenon but is also seen here in South Africa. Ganiel (2006), in a case study on Jubilee Church, one of the biggest Neo Pentecostal multiracial churches, makes the following observation:

> Indeed, focusing too much on racial differences is likely to mask another significant factor in how people construct their identities: their level of empowerment within the congregation. For instance, white South Africans and Europeans were the dominant racial group in the “important and adequate” category. They all held positions of leadership, and their narratives were full of action and ownership (Ganiel, 2006:569).

In the interviews for this study, she found that Black people's sentiments of helplessness were centred on areas of their life that they were unable to change, such

as leadership structures and socio-political programmes. Referring to specific incidents, they presented tangible examples of the congregation's unconscious replication of existing power structures (along the old racial lines). For example, Jubilee's strategy of leadership development includes the cultivation of prospective leaders from within the congregation via one-on-one discipleship and participation in formal leadership seminars (Schoeman, 2015:120). According to people who had left the church, many of the leaders, who are mostly white owing to the congregation's history, ‘naturally’ chose individuals from their own ethnic group for discipleship training. They argued that it was difficult for white people to see leadership qualities in people of other races because people of various races had different opinions about which leadership qualities are the most important (Ganiel, 2006:570).

4.7.1 Structural Model

The first element of ecclesiastical leadership is the structure-model combination that serves as the foundation for establishing leadership and organisational structures. In theology, the dominant paradigm is one in which there is only one mediator and leader and no hierarchy. Clark (2016:28) summarises this theological concept when he writes, "A theological and historical overview of Pentecostal outlines and critiques a development in Pentecostalism from the original Christological focus of the Foursquare Gospel, which emphasised evangelism, to the more pneuma-centric focus of the charismatic movement, which emphasised revelation, to the anthropocentric focus of the 'Great Man of God' model, which focuses on leadership." In the theological concept of this "Great man of God," leadership is vested in a single man who has spiritual supervision, dictates all affairs, and exerts authority over all subjects pertaining to church organisation and governance. In addition, this man has ultimate authority over all church operations. This is congruent with the theological understanding of leadership found in Neo-Pentecostalism. Edwards posits with regard to this model that “this kind of leadership structure was a particular disservice to black men because of the dearth of black male socialization outside of the church” (Edwards, 2008:60). She points out that African American males, except for the senior pastor, did not get the level of development or respect that was warranted for them in multiracial churches. According to van der Merwe (2003:269), the racial makeup, differences, and distrust in black leadership that still exist in these churches create a divide between various congregations and branches and therefore perpetuate white

leadership. Van der Merwe argues further (2003:270) that, in order for the church to see itself as an agent of reconciliation, it must first examine how these internal tensions might be resolved. Multiracial congregations could build and foster an inclusive identity, so contributing to the reconciliation process. Such an identity should also prioritise the capacity to deconstruct racially related power structures (Van der Merwe, 2003:270). Identity is the primary cognitive process that individuals employ to categorise themselves and their peers, both individually and collectively; hence, it is very important for black people to keep their sense of self within the framework of a multicultural church (Jenkins, 2014:14). According to Baker (2012:130), "social identity consists of three components: cognitive knowledge of group membership, … the value attributed to group membership, and … attitudes toward insiders and outsiders."

4.7.2 Interpretation of Sacred Text

The second aspect of white ecclesiastical leadership that leads to its continuation in multiracial churches is the congregation's interpretation of the sacred text itself. Clark (2016) argues that this widespread biblical model is a typical critique of Pentecostal leadership, in the sense that Pentecostal leaders are seldom exegetically derived from the text of the Bible, or from the worldview or ethos of the Christian scriptures. He asserts that the political leadership is being neglected, and that male dominance is being imposed via the use of biblical verses emphasising the need for submission and obedience to the leadership (Schoeman, 2015:120). This leadership prefers Old Testament forms of revelation and authority over those found in the New Testament, and they have overlooked the leadership models supplied by Jesus and Paul. Translations that emphasise terms like "rule" and "submit" are preferred over ones that emphasise caring and nurture (Bentley (14:151). Furthermore, Luke's depiction of an egalitarian society of Spirit-filled Christians of all ages, genders, and social classes is disregarded (Clark, 2016:28).

One of the most egregious examples of this is the emergence of an artificial hierarchy in the relationships between men and women. Biblical passages imply that, as a consequence of sin, women would have a position of subservience to men, while men would occupy a position of superiority to women.

This incorrect interpretation and implementation of the biblical text of male dominance may be seen in the institutions of the Pentecostal church, including the multiracial churches. Women are prohibited from joining the organisation's leadership unless they are associated with or have a close relationship with the white male pastor. Only males are eligible for leadership roles inside the organisation (Emerson and Woo, 2006). Women are given the impression that they belong to a lower social class. They are made to feel inferior to men and are treated accordingly. They are unable to employ the skills and talents God has given them for the benefit of society, the church, and their family. The authoritarianism that is prevalent in Christian organisations lends itself to a patriarchal and hierarchical organisational structure. Because of this, it is certain that the male would triumph over the female, white over black, and the church leaders over the congregation (Kee, 2006:86). Therefore, on the basis of this ecclesial model, “women in these churches are treated as second-class citizens. In this perspective, multiculturalism should be about not only to giving other cultural groups equal status, but also to analysing the hierarchical ties between such groups” (Stanczak, 2006). This approach is referred to as "critical multiculturalism." (May and Sleeter, 2010:10). When this is not challenged, most of these congregations revert to their cultural norm. It is also important to note that the term ‘critical multiculturalism’ “has different connotations abroad in that the dominant culture often corresponds to the culture of the majority of citizens, while the marginal cultures, which demand recognition, are often the cultures of minorities” (Lubisi, 2001:2). In South Africa, on the other hand, as Beukman points out, “while certain minority communities have been safeguarded and fostered, the dominant cultures have usually been marginalised” (2000:138). Therefore, the recognition of diversity and multiculturalism must be examined within the context of the nation-building process.

4.7.3 Teaching Style

The third attribute of leadership that leads to the persistence of whiteness in multicultural congregations is teaching style. In a social study (Edwards, 2008) of multiracial congregations in the USA, many white congregants, when interviewed, stated that the teaching in traditional black churches was not God-centred, was full of shouting, screaming, and theatrics, and was similar to the singing and worship in black churches, which made them feel uncomfortable. Most of the respondents said that the teaching was inadequate, and they believed that the black preacher at these churches

lacked the capacity to appropriately interpret biblical texts. They valued intellectual religious engagement over genuine religious experience. Blind faith, or assuming the nature of God without understanding or attempting to be convinced of the theoretical basis of the faith, was an unsatisfying approach to religion, even though they understood the need for religious instruction to have practical implications (Edwards, 2008:61). The elders' response to Lydia's ‘ranting’ reflected their perspective on the matter. They placed a higher value on rituals requiring self-discipline and reflection, such as meditation and prayer, than on 'catching the spirit' or other types of experiential religious engagement. One of the contradictory experiences black people had in multiracial churches had to do with the teaching style. Despite their enthusiasm and respect for the pastor, several African Americans felt ambivalent about him. Although many participants, especially those who were not of African American heritage, loved the pastor's teaching style, it was a barrier for some black people and made other black people feel spiritually alienated from the worship events. Not only were the sermons overly intellectual, they also lacked the emotion and group engagement that are often crucial components of how African American preachers deliver their teachings. One African American woman described the difficulties she had while listening to the pastor's sermons, despite having previously described him as an eloquent speaker. She said:

> The way Pastor delivers his sermon, sometimes it goes over my head, and I have to recap and think, what did he mean by this or what did he say? ... Some Sundays, I do come away from Crosstown and I’m not real sure about what was said sermon-wise, and I think it’s mostly because of the vocabulary, speaking the bigger words. ...A lot of times I don’t know. I need a dictionary or something. But you don’t want to take a dictionary to church, you don’t want to feel like you are in school, or you are in the classroom (Edwards, 2008:62).

This woman's assessment of Crosstown church is characteristic of multiracial congregations and echoes the sentiments of other black individuals about the teaching methods in these churches. Moreover, when the teaching approach is combined with the rather unexpressive worship style during singing, we may conclude that multiracial churches are similar to white churches and thus maintain whiteness inside these churches. The fact that white people view "black teaching style," or the teaching style

prevalent in traditional African American churches, with scorn has led to the alienation of black people from the worship experience provided by multicultural churches.

When we examine multiracial churches, we frequently find that the diversity of those churches is reflected in the mission or vision statement of the church or in the racial composition of the congregation. However, the subject of this critique is the composition of the leadership within those churches. Is it possible for it to reduce the divisions that are brought about by racial and ethnic differences? According to Dougherty and Huyser (2008), the organisational identity of multiracial churches should be characterised by an intention to make sure that all people and races are accommodated. This intentionality should be demonstrated by diverse leadership, experiential worship, an emphasis on relational connections, and an inclusive congregational identity (Dougherty and Huyser, 2008). A deliberate effort is required for multiracial congregations to remain viable over time, and this effort should be reflected in the vision statement of the church (Ammerman 2005). The vision for the church, on the other hand, cannot merely consist in having a diverse congregation as an end goal; rather, having a diverse congregation should be a necessary component of the bigger vision for the congregation to embrace (Emerson and Woo, 2006).

Most of the data points to the conclusion that multiracial churches are less likely to have black leadership than monoracial congregations are. Only four percent of multiracial congregations in United States of America have black leaders, as opposed to twenty percent of racially homogeneous congregations. The leader of a multiracial congregation is more likely to be someone of mixed racial heritage than the leader of a racially homogeneous congregation, which is the case in twelve percent of multiracial congregations but only one percent of racially homogeneous congregations (Emerson and Woo, 2006). According to the findings of the National Congregations Study (Chaves, 2004), 68 percent of head pastors serving multicultural congregations in the United States are white. by contrast, white people occupy most of the leadership positions in multicultural congregations in the United States. The fact that black people make up less than 4% of all members in multiracial churches further proof of the pervasive whiteness that exists throughout multiracial churches.

Conclusion

In racially divided societies like South Africa and the United States of America, the dream of a multicultural church is for the members of the congregations to "recognise, embrace, utilise, and celebrate the racial, cultural, generational, gender, and other diversity represented in the community and the church" (Potgieter 2016:1). However, the truth of the matter is that the landscape of multiracial churches is such that, even while there may be unity and racial harmony inside the churches, this goal seems to be an unattainable one in view of additional research on the topic. A study of multiracial churches may suggest on the surface that they are integrated; yet, on closer inspection, it seems that they are racially segregated in the ways they organise themselves and the ways they practise their religion. This remains true even though they are likely to include members of several races within their congregations. This is a problem on a large scale, as it reduces the likelihood of people of different races interacting with one another. This represents a missed opportunity to scale back the negative effects of racism. In the following chapter I will use the data produced in this research project is to discuss the theorise and praxis the reasons for the persistence of whiteness in multiracial Pentecostal churches.

Chapter 5: Why is there Persistence of White Ecclesial Leadership

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I attempt to provide reasons, based on a systematic literature review and critical discourse analysis, for the persistence of whiteness in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches.

The homophily principle states, in its fundamental form, that people like to socialise with people who are like them. This suggests that individuals who attend multiracial churches do so because identities other than race are more significant to them in terms of how they see themselves, superseding their racial identities and bridging these identities with people from diverse racial groupings. Data also shows that individuals attend multiracial churches because they think religion can unite individuals regardless of their ethnic origins (Christerson and Emerson, 2003). But what role does racial identity play in people's decisions to join churches with members of various races?

5.2 Identity

Identities are meaningful categories that are the result of social creation and are used by people to define themselves (Lubisi, 2001:2). In addition to controlling people's activities, identities give them a sense of who they are and where they stand in relation to others. People have a repertoire of social identities, which are organised hierarchically according to the relative value of each identity. These may be personal or individual identities, role identities, and group or communal identities are represented in these repertoires.

5.2.1 Personal Identity

Personal identity may be acquired from a person's biology or through experiences that are peculiar to them, such as their family history or religious membership. Individuals' self-perceptions of the various roles they perform in society comprise role identities. Mother, boss, and teacher are all examples of role identities (Bentley (14:151). Group or community identity to some extent includes racial identification.

Sunday after Sunday, and during the week's activities, members of a congregation build powerful emotional links with one another via intimate face to face interaction. As a result, congregations have developed into significant areas for socialisation and the acquisition of social identities. This has occurred as a direct result of social,

historical, and political actions that have led to the persistence of such identities. These individual identities are manufactured, not given, and if they are not dismantled and altered, they have the potential to promote greater racialisation. Christerson and Emerson (2003:164) maintain that “without an analysis of the learned behaviour of oppression that perpetuates racism, these behaviours can continually be used by the dominant culture as a justification for racism.” These congregations do not spontaneously arise rather, they need the cultivation of a shared inclusive identity that transcends the ethnic and cultural identities of the individual members (Garces-Foley, 2007).

Congregations are responsible for teaching oneness, establishing activities that foster oneness, and promoting this togetherness via fellowship. As a result, members are required to invest time and energy in one another. An inclusive identity develops to infiltrate the congregation over time through deliberate, participatory, and relational practices. These efforts also demonstrate the church's adaptability to changing conditions (DeYoung et al., 2003).

5.2.2 White Identity

Waters (1990) suggests that the racial origin of white individuals has no impact on their sense of self. He revealed the contradictory nature of white identity and proposed that white people choose from a variety of symbolic ethnic identities, such as Irish or Italian, that provide them with a sense of belonging while enabling them to keep their individuality. In addition, she suggests that these ethnic links are symbolic and not necessarily representational of the true ancestry of white people. White individuals prefer to identify with European ethnic groups because they feel that these groups have the most distinctive cultural traits (Waters, 1990). According to Christerson and Emerson (2003:180) they suggest since these identities are costless, i.e., they have no effect on a person's social or economic standing, white people are free to adopt them without fear of negative consequences. That is the reason Garces-Foley (2007:25) concludes that white individuals, in contrast to members of racial minorities, are free from the restrictions of their racial and ethnic identities. However, Waters goes on to claim that the capacity of white individuals to choose their race encourages racist sentiments and a dominant ideology among white people. Their perceptions of the social circumstances and opportunities experienced by racial minorities are influenced

by their own experiences (Water, 1990). This is a form of white transparency. According to several experts' hypotheses, this is one of the primary factors contributing to the perpetuation of whiteness in multiracial churches. Because of this, white people are either unaware of or unwilling to see the oppressive and restrictive consequences that racial identities have on black people. These findings by Waters are supported by more recent studies on the topic of white identity. White individuals take advantage of their race without being aware that they are doing so. They are unaware of the advantages of their race since they do not consider themselves to be a member of the racial milieu in which they dwell. Therefore, "white identity, as a racial identity, is unacknowledged as real and consequential for whites' lives" (Edwards 2008:84).

This feeling of identity within congregations may be contested, however, owing to the problematic nature of the notion of nation-building. According to Alexander (2003), the phrase "rainbow nation" should no longer be used since South Africa is now afflicted with a variety of socioeconomic pathologies. He asserts:

> There is even more confusion and an identity crisis … by a range of conceptions about national identity and a singular ineptitude of the country's cultural and political leadership to indicate the possible trajectories of national development (Motala & Vally, 2011:1).

In terms of identity, it is necessary to distinguish between cultural captivity and nationalism (Storey, 2014:88). Storey (2014:88) asserts that "it comes down to choosing which of our identities is more important". It seems like White Transparency: "the tendency of whites not to think . . . about norms, behaviours, experiences, or perspectives that are white-specific" (Flagg, 1993: 953). White individuals generally lack racial consciousness. The vast majority of white people don't know that they belong to a "race" or that their racial identity has real effects on their lives. They think they deserve everything they have and that most of what they have accomplished is because of their own hard work, skills, and creativity. People who are white often think they don't have any culture and that being white "means nothing" to them. They often think that only other groups have traditions and ways of life that are different from their own. Because of this, it's hard for white people to explain what it means to be white. In fact, many people find it awkward and sometimes even offensive to be asked about

it (DeYoung et al., 2003:48-50). A person of white race is often seen as nothing more than a South African or American, or as someone of a certain ethnicity who celebrates certain holidays with specific foods. Due to the elusive nature of white privilege, white transparency is one of the most effective weapons for maintaining privilege. (Emerson and Yancey, 2008:13). When it comes to congregations that include people of different races, this is undeniably the situation. They have a sense of entitlement and are oblivious to the ignorance that exists when it comes to issues of race. White transparency is also one of the reasons white people may believe they are being targeted for no obvious reason and that society is rigged against them. They feel the need to protect their privilege. Being white implies, in part, that one is oblivious to the advantages of being white; hence, any challenge to accepted ways of life is unsettling and looks unreasonable. The result is that "whites often chose to be separate from persons of colour because of perceived differences rooted in a sense of superiority in whiteness" (Christerson, Emerson, 2003 and Edwards, 2008; DeYoung et al., 2005:123). When people of colour are included in anything, it was almost always in a subordinate capacity. This provides a reason for the perpetuation of white ecclesial leadership within multiracial churches. Because the organisational structures of multiracial churches are white, whiteness persists.

The history of apartheid has been widely documented (Anderson, 2005). After winning the 1948 election, the National Party institutionalised the existing racial discrimination that dated back decades, if not centuries. As part of the National Party's initiative, people were categorised into four separate racial categories: white, coloured, Indian, and African. Whites were granted favoured legal, social, political, and economic positions at the expense of persons of other races. Africans were subject to stricter restrictions than their coloured and Indian counterparts. The rules imposed racial segregation in daily encounters (known as "petty apartheid") as well as geographically (known as "grand apartheid," which occurred when Africans were relocated to "homelands"). The attitude of the state's security forces in enforcing these laws was harsh.

The ideology of apartheid was accompanied by rhetoric proclaiming the "superiority" of the white race Guelke (2004) and Thompson (2000). Historically, the notion of race

was seen as immutable. During the apartheid era in South Africa, a person's racial identification determined not just where they could go, but also their political influence, economic prospects, and other facets of their lives. There was a clear relationship between a person's racial identity and their degree of authority; whilst whites held power, other groups did not. Within the framework of the racial hierarchy, white people held the position of pre-eminence, both politically and economically, as well as culturally and financially. These long-established racial categories, however, have been questioned since the demise of apartheid, and the biological theories for racial differences have been disproven. Social science has proposed a theory of race that does not see it as permanent or intrinsic, but rather as "socially generated". Consequently, beliefs of race in South Africa have been questioned.

The once-privileged political status of white people has gone, but their privileged social and economic standing remains unaltered. Emerson and Smith (2001) still regard South Africa as a "racialized society," a culture in which variations in life experiences, life chances, and social connections are strongly influenced by race (Emerson and Smith, 2001:28-31). There is still a strong connection between traditional racial identities and political power. Old identity categories are being replaced by new identity categories in post-apartheid South Africa, but this process is impeded by the power dynamics that are still present in the country's racialised organisations.

The survival of whiteness in white-led organisations, such as mixed churches, is a result of the white organisational structures existing in South African society. These institutions aid in the perpetuation of whiteness. White dominance has a considerable effect on the organisational culture of multiracial churches. Previous research (Waters 1990) on congregations has underlined the relevance of what Ammerman (1997) and his colleagues describe as a congregation's 'cultural frame.' This 'cultural frame' provided insight into the ways congregations 'construct' their collective identities. Alexander (2002:81) describes the cultural frame as follows:

> …its rituals, its ways of training newcomers, its work, and its play. It also includes artefacts. Everything from buildings to bulletins, from sacred objects to the most mundane tools, helps identify a particular congregation's habits and

places of being. Finally, culture includes the accounts it gives of itself—its stories and heroes, its symbols and myths, its jargon, and its jokes.

5.2.3 White Normativity

This kind of cultural impact is related to what academics call White Normativity. White normativity is facilitated by structural advantage, and refers to the normalisation of white individuals' cultural practices, ideas, and position in the racial hierarchy. This implies that white people's ways of doing things, their views on life, society, and the world, and their social position of superiority over other racial groups are recognised as the norm (Emerson and Yancey, 2011:25). White people are considered privileged because, unlike non-white people, they are not compelled to offer explanations for their behaviour or condition of being. Instead, the responsibility for change rests completely on the shoulders of people who are seen as deviant. Even though there may be a great degree of variation within white culture, there is still a dominant norm of behaviour. White people continue to retain traditions and beliefs that help them to maintain their position at the top of the racial hierarchy. Consequently, the rituals, beliefs, and ways of thinking of white people are normalised, and their interests are recognised.

Multiracial congregations, as stated in the preceding chapter, participate in a range of activities designed to promote whiteness. These include but are not limited to: diversity at both pastoral and lay leadership levels (Christerson, Emerson, 2003; Edwards 2008; DeYoung et al. 2003; Yancey and Emerson 2003); music styles that are not representative of a variety of racial groupings in the worship service (DeYoung et al., 2003, Ganiel, 2008; Marti, 2012; Yancey, 2003); the establishment of smaller groups inside the church, particularly racially segregated groups (Christerson, Emerson and Edwards, 2005; Marti 2010); lack of attention given to the distinctive experiences shared by members of different racial and ethnic groups (Garces-Foley, 2007; Marti, 2010): failure to promote diversity in a 'conspicuous' way by ensuring diversity in leadership roles, often known as those who are visible 'up front' during worship services (Marti, 2011); and failure develop programmes that expressly address racial or ethnocultural challenges (Dougherty and Huyser, 2008, Ganiel, 2006). Yancey and Emerson (2003) and Christerson, Emerson (2003) and Edwards (2008) find that the lack of a diverse leadership team is the primary reason why multiracial churches

remain white, although all the shortcomings outlined above contribute to the whiteness that already exists in multiracial churches. The authors explain that the leadership should not only represent many ethnic groups but should also be enabled to lead in ways that are loyal to the cultural traditions of the people they represent. Because whites continue to hold positions of authority or influence, multiracial churches often wind up appearing more like white churches than celebrating the racial and cultural diversity that exists within them.

According to Dougherty and Huyser (2008) and Emerson and Woo (2006), multiracial congregations are more likely to be found in churches that practise a charismatic or Pentecostal style of worship, because worship that is more experience-based, using readily available modern music, physical reactions, cheering, leaping, exclaiming "Amen" and giving other vocal responses, produces an environment that is more inclusive and participative for all who attend. However, the great majority of white individuals in these congregations find this annoying, and as a consequence, their viewpoints and levels of comfort are often given priority (Dougherty & Huyser, 2008). Large congregations that were established recently are more likely than older congregations to have a membership that represents a wide range of backgrounds (Dougherty & Huyser, 2008). According to Dougherty and Huyser (2008), churches whose members have high levels of income and education are more likely to have racial diversity than those that do not. These findings indicate that black persons who attend multicultural churches have a very poor sense of racial identity, but a strong affection for their racial group. This contrasts with the racial identification of white individuals who attend mostly white churches. Moreover, if such members have any college education at all, their racial identity may be much less relevant to them. Despite persistent evidence presented by Emerson and Woo (2006)' Ganiel (2006) indicating that white individuals do not put a substantial focus on their racial identities, there is a dearth of research analysing the influence of multiracial encounters on the identities of white people. However, we do know from the research by Christerson, Emerson (2003) and Edwards (2008) that white persons who often interact with black individuals hold racial beliefs that are more sympathetic to the lower socioeconomic circumstances of black individuals. Consequently, it is probable that white individuals who attend multiracial churches are at least more aware of the advantages they have due to their race; however, this group is seriously underrepresented.

5.2.4 Black Identity

Why do black people continue to join multiracial churches if race is such an integral component of their identity, and these churches maintain the cultural practices and structural characteristics that whites value? Perhaps they simply feel most comfortable in multiracial environments. Some research (Christerson, Emerson, 2003) and Marti, 2010) shows that individuals who had regular encounters with people of other races in childhood, particularly at high school, are more likely to create multiracial social networks. People tend to feel most at ease in the kind of social circumstances with which they are already familiar, which motivates them to seek out similar situations in the future (Edwards, 2008:84) Consequently, people who attended multiracial churches had more exposure to people of other races as children, which caused them to prefer being with people of other races as adults.

Edwards (2008) observed a trend in the reasons why black people attend multiracial churches. She investigated the racial composition of their pre-schools, primary schools, and high schools, and the churches they had attended as children. Fewer than a quarter of the black people who were invited to participate in the research had had social lives as children that involved only black people; in other words, most of the people in their towns, schools, and churches were black. Three quarters of black adolescents had experienced regular cross-racial contacts with whites in one social setting or another: schools, neighbourhoods, or other public locations. These respondents had attended either a mostly white high school or a school with pupils of various races. Furthermore, more than half of the black interviewees lived in mostly white or mixed neighbourhoods. Contrary to expectations, exposure to individuals of various races was not limited to the younger generation: people in their twenties, forties, and even sixties recalled interacting often with whites when they were younger. Most black people who attended multicultural churches as children and adolescents were therefore used to mingling with white people.

For most white people, on the other hand, multiracial engagement throughout adolescence was more of an aberration than a frequent occurrence. There was little to no interaction between whites and blacks in white-dominated neighbourhoods, and most people from these areas attended mostly white churches. By contrast with the black interviewees, almost one-fifth of white pupils attended high school with black

students. This does not mean that a substantial number of African Americans attended these schools or represented a substantial proportion of their student populations. In most of the schools in question, roughly one-tenth of the pupils identified as black. Consequently, even these white volunteers had had very little previous exposure to African Americans (Christerson, Emerson and Edwards, 2005; Marti 2010; Edwards, 2008:84).

5.3 Reproducing White Hegemony

Whiteness has an influence on multiracial churches, as shown by the survey results of the National Congregations Study (Chaves, 2004) and the literature study described above (Christerson, Emerso, 2003; Marti 2010; Edwards 2008; Dougherty and Huyser, 2008; Emerson and Woo (2006). The culture and organisational structures of multicultural churches often resemble those of white churches, which are more prevalent. Most multiracial churches are organised to satisfy white congregants' wishes; their religious practices and traditions reflect the preferences of whites, and they are led by whites. In the very rare situation where a person of African origin heads a church, that person must have a good grasp of white Christian culture, and support for it. Multiracial churches are more likely to have dialogues on racial issues, but white individuals may be less inclined to participate. It is also very unlikely that the concerns and interests of black people about the structural system would be represented in these conversations. All of this may occur despite the whites' unwavering support for racially integrated churches and the blacks' agitation for changes that would reflect their preferred religious and cultural practices. Why is this? How is it that churches that want to include members of all races end up surrendering to whiteness and perpetuating white hegemony? How is it that, despite these obstacles, they continue to attract people from diverse backgrounds, and how do they keep them? The answers lie in the, sometimes unwitting, support for whiteness on the part of black people, as well as the embodiment of whiteness brought to the table by white people. Equally important, however, are certain factors not directly linked to these institutions, but which limit the religious involvement opportunities open to ethnic minorities. Together, these factors create an environment that is favourable to the perpetuation of white supremacy. Two of these are homophily and hegemony, which I discuss below.

5.3.1 Homophily

The predominance of whiteness in multicultural congregations is mostly attributable to homophily. According to the homophily principle, people often like to associate with those like themselves. The homogeneity of voluntary groups, such as social clubs, professional organisations, and churches, has often been seen as evidence of this phenomenon (Emerson and Smith, 2000:115). The key point is that individuals are attracted into volunteer organisations via social networks comprised mostly of people like themselves. As a result, religious organisations are often very homogenous. Because social networks are homogenous and individuals learn about voluntary organisations via their networks, these organisations are able to recruit and serve parts of the public with comparable sociodemographic characteristics, such as gender, age, and race. Several other elements facilitate the formation of homogeneous volunteer organisations (Marti, 2010; Edwards, 2008:118). People who are not typical or who are numerically in the minority within a volunteer organisation tend to leave the organisation sooner than typical members. This is probably because they feel less connected to the organisation, have fewer friends in it, or are treated less favourably than others. 'Normal' members, on the other hand, often have many friends and connections in the organisation, which helps to keep them active for longer. In addition, voluntary organisations exist in a market-driven context, meaning that they compete for the time and effort of potential members. Non-profit organisations cannot operate effectively otherwise. Because they have a limited amount of time and energy, they need to be selective about how they spend their resources. Volunteer organisations see in-demand individuals depart the organisation faster than those who are not in demand. When all these characteristics are considered, it is clear that members of the organisation who are most sought-after are most likely to leave the group.

These dynamics are readily apparent in multiracial organisations. Religion is not just optional in South Africa, and the bulk of non-governmental organisations in the nation are voluntary. In certain areas, it seems as though there is a church on every other street corner. To attract new members, religious organisations must be competitive, as the market is already so saturated. As a result, there are currently several kinds of churches that cater to diverse groupings, including denominational, ethnic, and racial populations. Nonetheless, even though boundaries between faiths and, to a lesser extent, ethnic groupings have been less distinct over the last several decades, racial

divisions are still relatively pronounced. Emerson and Smith (2000) refer to the homophily principle to explain the widespread racial differences that are found in multiracial congregations. According to them (Emerson and Smith 2000), the structure of religion, which is characterised as a pluralistic and voluntary institution, is what develops and sustains the sameness among religious groups. Religion has become a matter of personal taste due to the disestablishment of religious authority (Emerson and Smith, 2000:115). In addition, the nature of the market requires religious organisations to become specialists in a certain topic in order to recruit members of a specific demographic. In terms of the homophily principle, members of religious organisations seek to attract others with comparable characteristics. This, along with the relevance of race, eventually leads to the creation of racially homogeneous religious groups (Edwards, 2008:119), reducing the opportunity for intergroup encounters and social relationships among Christians in particular, ultimately resulting in racially split churches.

5.3.2 Membership

It is important to understand how atypical members fare in multicultural congregations, given that people gravitate toward the company of those who are similar to themselves. Using in-depth interviews with respondents from a multiracial congregation, Christerson and Emerson (2003) showed that typical members, or members of the numerically dominant group in the church, are more likely to develop friendships with persons of the same race than atypical members are. Over eighty percent of the congregation's atypical members expressed discontent with their inability to develop meaningful relationships with other churchgoers. In addition, more than eighty percent of atypical church members said that diversity made interrelationships and organisational procedures more difficult, but only a tiny percentage of typical church members agreed (Christerson and Emerson, 2003:164). The findings of this study indicate that individuals who are not central to the church, as shown by the lack of dominance of their racial group, are likely to have a weaker connection to their experiences and a lower level of contentment with those experiences. It is also unlikely that they will remain members of the organisation for as long as core members, particularly if they have alternative opportunities available to them where they may have their requirements fulfilled. My understanding of multiracial churches, as well as that of racially diverse non-profit organisations in

general, may be improved by using the homophily principle. Nevertheless, it is possible that the notion of the 'atypical' member needs adjustment. According to the research on homophily, the factor that determines whether or not a member is unusual is the size of their group in comparison to others (Emerson and Smith, 2000). This is a challenge for religious organisations that serve members of different racial groups.

There are several other contributing factors. In the case study conducted by Edwards (2008) at Crosstown church, white individuals left in significant numbers when more black people started attending, despite the organisation having maintained its whiteness philosophy and structure. Even though white people were now a numerical minority inside the church, they continued to have the cultural and institutional upper hand. The church upheld the cultural and theological preferences of white people. This finding is comparable to what has been seen in other multiracial churches (Emerson and Smith, 2000; Emerson and Woo, 2006; Edwards, 2008). Therefore, the social processes that influence the membership procedures, culture, and structure of racially diverse voluntary organisations are not limited by the relative size of the groups they touch. If, in addition to relative size, we consider atypical members to be social minority members – those who belong to an economically, politically, or culturally subordinate group – then black people in Crosstown would be called atypical members. This seems to be the case, given that black members of Crosstown were unable to create a religious space that permitted shouting or bring race-related topics to the forefront of congregational discourse (Edwards, 2008:120). The inner workings of the church were influenced by social elements unrelated to Crosstown, such as black-white relationships and the meanings of different racial categories.

5.3.3 Racial Structure

Emerson and Woo (2006) and Edwards (2008) are motivated by the belief that the success of multiracial churches in building racially diverse congregations can be attributed to their emphasis on interpersonal experiences as opposed to institutional ones. Similar observations have been noted by other researchers, notably that congregations place a larger emphasis on religious identities than on the meanings and consequences of racial identities. Marti (2008), who conducted an ethnographic study of a Pentecostal congregation in Los Angeles, attributed the success of the church to the fact that the head pastor was so successful at emphasising the

significance of congregants' shared religious identity that racial differences among congregants became irrelevant. Marti (2008:14) later referred to this phenomenon as “ethnic transcendence,” which occurs when “individuals claim a new common identity” based on a localised and distinctive conception of what it means to be religious. Jenkins (2003) and Stanczak (2006) separately performed ethnographic research on racially diverse congregations in Neo-Pentecostal churches affiliated with the International Church of Christ (ICOC). Both authors saw congregations that were proud of their racial diversity, had high expectations that members would actively support this value, and were comparable to congregations in Becker's (1998) and Marti's (2008) research in that structural realities of race were ignored. The authors of both research studies concluded that the multiracial identities of the congregations were more relevant than the racial identities of individual members, but they present vastly different reasons for how these churches achieved this objective. Jenkins (2003), on the other hand, focuses on the congregation's internal structure and believes that the congregation's official and informal restrictions on cross-racial engagement and racial discourse play a crucial role in defining how members interact with one another. It is important to note that members of colour in particular were required to reconstruct their racial identities in order to conform to the ICOC congregations’ image of diversity. White members were substantially less likely to be compelled to undergo this procedure, according to Stanczak (2006). This group of studies suggests that certain congregations may be able to foster and sustain racial diversity because they minimise the relevance of racial identities while highlighting the value of religious or multiracial identities. But this would mean black people or people of colour would need to let go of their racial identity more than white people. Furthermore, larger structures limit the capacity of multiracial religious organisations to function. This path of study does not contradict other lines of inquiry that utilise social identity as a framework for explanation. The great majority of scholars who emphasise the significance of social identification also acknowledge that the promotion of religious identity often comes at the price of racial identity. In this regard researchers have concluded: “Race, as a social structure, is in one way or another implicated in how and why multiracial religious organizations work—manifesting in the leadership structure, conflicts over worship practises and friendship networks, among other areas” (Christerson, Emerson, 2003 and Edwards 2008:220). Multiracial religious organisations cannot therefore be comprehended independently from the

wider racist framework in which they are situated in order to make sense of their existence.

Stanczak (2006) and Edwards (2008) posit that race structures virtually every level of church activity in racially diverse religious groups. Their evidence comes from six case studies. Race affects the worship style and organisation of congregations, as well as the friendship networks, attendance turnover rates, and leadership selection procedures. It even has an effect on disagreements between members of the congregation. Disagreements among churchgoers over the activities of the church tend to be based on racial lines, and churchgoers will use theological arguments to defend the racially oriented stances they take.

I contend that if race is a factor in any of these church activities, then those activities will have an effect on the predominant racial culture. If white culture is the dominant one in multiracial churches, this will not only have an influence on the organisational structures of the church, such as the style of worship or the leadership, but it will also have an effect on how well people of other races are integrated into these churches. This is just another reason why the organisational structures of multicultural churches continue to be dominated by whiteness.

In the previous chapters, I attempted to provide an answer to the question of what constitutes whiteness and how it might be seen in multiracial churches. I now wish to demonstrate how whiteness and white hegemony offer us a reason why they have an influence on multiracial churches, and also to explain why whiteness is maintained in these organisations.

5.4 Religious Ideologies

Hegemony is a kind of governance in which the position of the dominant group is fundamentally dependent on the consent of the subordinate groups. Subordinate groups perceive the beliefs, attitudes, and practices of the dominant group as common sense, and they recognise the validity of the dominant group's authority. Consent may take the form of total approval of the traditions and social position of a dominant group, or it can take the form of a passive, uneasy acceptance of the reality that this is the only viable mode of social organisation. In any event, subordinate groups are

thoroughly embedded in society, and they cannot conceive of a truly viable alternative. Gramsci (1971) is credited with popularising the concept of hegemony in sociology and political philosophy. Gramsci (1971) contends that any hegemonic system consists of a number of interdependent basic components. To achieve power, one must resort to force, which may be exerted by a variety of political agencies, including the police, the military, and the courts. After permission has been obtained, it is also used in times of peril to protect power. Consent is necessary to sustain one's grasp on power over the long term. In order to obtain influence over other countries, for instance, governments may resort to the use of force. After establishing authority, they will continue to deploy force on a regular basis. To construct a lasting new culture, the conquering nation must convince the subjugated people that their way of life is inferior to its own. The generation of consent is the duty of civic entities, including educational institutions, places of worship, and media outlets. They produce what we refer to as 'common sense' and provide the social order with a moral basis.

Religion is one of the most significant civic entities in this process of establishing hegemony. This is demonstrated in South Africa by the apartheid regime, which leveraged the church as a basis for racial segregation and, I would argue, continues to have an impact on society today. We may see the functioning of this hegemonic framework in multiracial churches in South Africa. The example offered by this is Rhema church. Although most of the worshippers are black and people of colour, the white leadership of the church remains in place. This is because they have persuaded the congregation that they are the most qualified candidates for the post, in addition to having obtained their approval. Because these leaders have fabricated 'common sense' to provide a moral justification for why it is to everyone's advantage that they stay, whiteness has been permitted to exist in this Pentecostal church. There we can define white hegemony as a kind of government in which white people control society with the approval of members of other racial groups. This is the case in multiracial churches where black people "acknowledge whites' dominant status as legitimate and affirm, if only passively, the culture and structures that sustain it" (Edwards, 2008:121).

Gramsci (1971) claims that hegemony is organised primarily around a variety of dominant ideologies, with colour blindness as the most prevalent ideology. The most common theory for the status quo is that people are colourblind. Since there are so

few overt racists in contemporary culture, it is assumed that race is of little importance; or it may be because we tend to seek out and associate with those who possess characteristics like ours. According to the ideology of colour-blindness, even acknowledging racial differences is racist, and any inequities that do exist are not the result of racialised systems but rather bad cultural practices, making it harder to remedy racial inequality. This idea makes addressing racial inequality more challenging (Bonilla-Silva and Embrick, 2001: 137-140). Subordinate racial groups establishing counter hegemonic movements with the aim of challenging the meaning of racial categories and improve the position of people of colour. Despite the impact of these movements, however, they have been effectively incorporated into mainstream society, with whites retaining their status as the dominant group. I would suggest that this is the reason why whites continue to predominate in multiracial churches in South Africa, even in the many Neo-Pentecostal congregations where black people constitute the majority.

As pointed out above, ideology of colour-blindness has been reinterpreted to suggest that race is irrelevant. However, even though blatantly racist laws and policies that had been in effect for centuries have been repealed, the racialised structures that these laws and policies created have not been addressed, which has resulted in the preservation of the current racial hierarchy. This process includes several 'racial undertakings (Emerson and Yancey, 2011:25), which may be seen as the 'foundations' of diverse racial hegemonies. There are several perspectives on or explanations of racial relations, and the proper manner in which race should be represented in society are provided. If we look at the literature through the lense of Critical race Theory we can conclude they may be found in court decisions about the role that race should play in policymaking, in everyday experiences such as dinner table conversations about the importance of race in sport, and in other settings (Dougherty & Huyser, 2008). Those racial programmes that strive to perpetuate an established racial order are hegemonic, and those who want to undermine it are described as anti-hegemonic (Omi and Winant 1994: 68). The notion of ‘racial projects’ is a useful one that is applicable in a variety of contexts. Omi and Winant's study (1994) focus entirely on large-scale racial efforts, particularly those that occur inside political institutions. Nevertheless, churches are vital for understanding the mechanism by which white hegemony is perpetuated. Multiracial churches, in particular Neo-

Pentecostal churches, are locations where individuals may deliberately connect across racial boundaries to establish a religious community that worships God and confronts racist hierarchies. This is the kind of interaction that seems on the surface to take place in multiracial churches. Instead, they celebrate the racial variety that exists within their group while still maintaining the status quo of whiteness. Within the context of South Africa's more comprehensive social structure, multiracial churches have emerged as a potent arena for the cultivation of consent. They are enticing, as they do not exclude individuals from participation. As appealing and inclusive as these churches are, their "inclusiveness conceals their tendency to embrace whiteness (Edwards, 2008:126).

5.4.1 Inter-Racial Relationships

Several academics have asserted that the power of white hegemony is most evident when there is conflict and contestation between the races. This exemplifies how black people in multiracial churches work to encourage change and how those in power use hegemonic strategies to organise life for their own benefit. The success of a hegemonic system is not restricted to the power of a single person or a small group of people. Owing to the pervasiveness of the prevalent culture and structure, it is very difficult for conflicts to arise in the system of power. Consequently, even though members of various cultural backgrounds attend services at these churches, it can be said that they "continue to be social spaces in which the White hegemony characteristic of society as a whole is not challenged, but rather reproduced within the congregation" (Cobb, Perry & Dougherty, 2015:178). This hegemonic paradigm is affected by how race and racial categorisation are conceptualised. Harvey (2014) argues that the identities of 'black' and 'white' are neither comparable to one another nor historically symmetrical. "The real problem is what our differences represent, how they came to be historically, and what they mean materially and structurally still" (Harvey, 2014:6). Religion had an influence in justifying oppression, colonialism and apartheid. It is important to keep in mind that "cultural colonisation, which includes colonised minds, is a deeper and longer lasting kind of colonial control that is more subtle and more difficult to detect, oppose, and reform" (Andraos, 2012:10). Camacho (2016) maintains that:

> Whiteness is not simply a problem of one racial group mistreating another one but is about how White identity itself came into existence through constructions of systems which subjugated and categorised black people, indigenous people, and the wider world (Camacho, 2016:1).

I acknowledge the limitations of this study, as my thesis is an analysis of a selection of literature on whiteness in multicultural churches. Firstly, the research that has been done locally on multicultural churches has not sufficiently explored the ways in which congregations shape societal meanings of 'we' and 'us' around racial diversity rather than reflecting social differences. Secondly, the studies have not been able to establish a link between social practices and the formation of identities, nor has it shed light on the transformational process that is taking place on a more local scale inside religious groups. Hegemony is often used in literature to describe how an entire civilisation is governed on a macro-level. However, hegemony may be used at the micro-level, as shown by multiracial churches. These churches may not fully represent how all racial projects are carried out, but they do exhibit white hegemony in action and reveal how distinct groups with differing and even contradictory perspectives, intentions, and behaviours may independently perpetuate white hegemony. To operate effectively, hegemonies need the people they control to think that they have no viable alternatives. Therefore, for white people to maintain their dominance in multiracial churches, there must be the approval of people of colour. Various scholars (Dougherty & Huyser, 2008; Edwards 2008; Emerson & Woo, 2006) have contributed to our understanding of how and why racial inclusion in religious organisations is expanding. Some point to micro-level processes, while others relate their findings to larger-scale structures. Although scholars approach the topic of religious and racial diversity from a variety of perspectives, the field as a whole with a few notable exceptions, does not make an effort to construct new or expand existing social theory or connect to the larger body of empirical social scientific knowledge. Most of the research, whether it is based on social identity or race theories, focuses on what occurs in multiracial religious organisations rather than on the implications these organisations have for other institutions and larger-scale processes.

Who or what comes to mind when we contemplate the variables that lead to white hegemony? This corpus of data makes it clear that both white and black attendance

contribute to the perpetuation of white hegemony in multicultural churches. During times of conflict, the stereotypical groupings of participants emerge as the most apparent.

5.5 Why Does Conflict Reveal White Hegemony?

The people who attend services in multiracial churches may be classified into several rather general and malleable categories. A person who belongs to one group may momentarily take on some of the traits of another category, depending on the individual circumstances. Additionally, individuals may move between categories as time passes. The way in which white attendees react when their whiteness is challenged helps us to determine how integrated neo-Pentecostal multiracial churches are. Although there is a possibility that not all white attendees may feel that their interests are being challenged, the literature surveyed suggests that the vast majority will (Edwards, 2008, Emerson & Woo, 2006). In addition, the attitudes of white people to disagreements may vary based on the significance of the activity in question to the life of the congregation. For instance, white attendees immediately confronted Edwards (2008) threats by expressing their opinions when it came to worship, which is undoubtedly the activity that is most fundamental to congregational life and that aspect of congregational life that best symbolises the identity of a church. White attendees' resistance to less key church activities, such as the seminar on religious racial segregation, did not need such a direct approach since these programmes were less controversial overall. Instead, by not participating in the seminar, white participants were able to maintain the status quo of white supremacy. The significance of the seminar was diminished because of their absence, and notably that of the white leadership, which also reduced the potential influence of the event. When we view the literature through the lens of critical whiteness studies we notice white structural supremacy was challenged (Dougherty & Huyser, 2008; Edwards 2008; Emerson & Woo 2006), white attendees were most likely to completely withdraw from congregational life. I use the word 'tolerants' to characterise this group, which comprises the largest proportion of white churchgoers in multiracial churches. Tolerants feel that attending religious services with members of various racial groups broadens their spiritual perspective and improves their overall religious experience. They have some tolerance, although a limited degree, for the diversity of worship practices and congregational life structures. Nevertheless, their relationship with the

church is the weakest of all their relationships. They want to attend a multiracial church, but it must be organised according to how they feel worship should be conducted. If there is even a distant possibility that their requirements will not be met, the chances of their departure rise. They will not engage in conflict to resolve their problems. Tolerants are often young adults, generally in their early twenties, who have just graduated from college or university. Having been exposed to racial diversity or having attended seminars on racial issues during their time at university, these individuals may be interested in belonging to a diverse worship environment. However, although displaying genuine enthusiasm for diversity, their commitment is fragile, as it is based more on their search for personal fulfilment than on the construction of bridges between individuals of other races. I have seen that they attend church services no more than once every two or three years. I refer to the second group as the Radicals. Radicals are married couples without children or with very young children. When members of this group have children, or when their children reach an age when they may form meaningful connections with their peers, they leave the church. Many parents are hesitant to relinquish their children's white privilege in order for them to engage in multicultural worship. This was highlighted in the Crosstown project case study by Edwards (2008:128-132). Parents of adolescents admitted that one of the main reasons why their families left Crosstown was their children's interactions with black youths in the church. I refer to the last and smallest group of white attendees as Liberators. When it comes to class and race concerns, liberators often have an "aha!" moment in which they see the reality of racial injustice and inequality between blacks and whites. As a direct result, they have a deep dedication to churches that embrace individuals of many races. They push for the adoption of especially black religious and cultural traditions into congregational life despite the risk that their own theological and cultural preferences may not be met. The liberators seek more vibrant worship within the church and support the appointment of black leadership to pastoral posts. Their immediate social circles are usually comprised of individuals from several ethnic and racial groups, and they are frequently unmarried or very young. Some of them are members of households that comprise individuals of several races. This sector of the white population may have the most potential to support the emergence of multiracial churches that are more structurally and culturally tolerant. However, their numbers alone would not be sufficient to support a church that embraces individuals of many different races.

It is crucial to highlight, as I have indicated earlier, that despite the prominence of their racial identity, black attendees were involved in the continuation of whiteness as well. For instance, black members' approval of the white leadership of the Rhema Bible Church was necessary in order for the church to remain stable (Balcomb, 2004). The data confirm that "white and black attendees help to reproduce white hegemony in multiracial churches" (Edwards, 2008:133).

5.5.1 Disputes

When a dispute arises, it is usually black people and "liberators" who confront the theological and cultural practices in multiracial churches that exhibit a preference for white individuals in the church. They do it in a way that is not aggressive, but they are persistent in their adherence to it and stand their ground. When this happens, "tolerant" individuals face a bigger danger, and there is a probability that they will leave the church. The role of more accepting black people becomes critical when "tolerants" begin to feel restless and apprehensive about the possibility of changes occurring in the church. These two groups collaborate with one another to increase the number of people who share the interests and desires of the majority of white people. This may help keep those "tolerants" who are still there and bring others who share their religious and cultural preferences into the church by providing more support for their preferences. They seek to gain support for their cause by threatening possible supporters with white flight. In addition, both "tolerant" and "radical" individuals, as well as black participants who support the favoured practices of whites, lend validity to the notion that the religious and cultural practices favoured by the majority of whites should be the norm. This legitimacy derives from the fact that both parties agree that whites' favoured practices should be the standard. In addition, they may convey the idea that the rituals that are common in black churches are exclusive to black people or that such traditions are unacceptable practice for a church. The way in which these processes manifest themselves during conflict demonstrates that white hegemony may be maintained without the participation of racists. Emerson and Woo's (2006) research and the results of other studies confirm this conclusion (Marti, 2008 Christerson, Edwards and Emerson, 2005). However, the results of this study expand our understanding of this phenomenon by shedding light on the factors that dictate how whiteness may survive in environments that seem racially diverse, inclusive, and equal, such as multiracial churches. Whites and blacks who attend multiracial

churches seem to have good intentions, and I have no evidence to question this. Their objective is to develop a Christian community that courageously and boldly confronts racial diversity as part of their mission, and they endeavour to achieve this objective. Nevertheless, the church's ability to accomplish its mission is usually hampered by persistent and unacknowledged notions and expectations about racial and cultural inequalities. This appears to suggest that racial hierarchies are not based on explicit rules or goals, but rather on the underlying ideas and interests of different groups. Even in situations where policies clearly contradict one another these ideologies and group interests will eventually prevail. This may explain how socially, and politically liberal municipalities, organisations, and society at large may continue to preserve a culture and structure that advantages whites.

Conclusion

In contemporary South African culture, we appreciate the accomplishments of once underprivileged individuals who have risen to high positions through hard effort, and appropriately so. This demonstrates that some progress has been made. However, as we have seen, the presence of people of colour in institutional leadership positions does not automatically rule out the existence of white hegemony. This research demonstrates that whiteness is dominant in multiracial congregations. In a perfect meritocracy, the skills necessary for a given profession would be precisely represented in the qualifications needed for the position. Merit, on the other hand, is a problematic concept. In addition to or even more than the required competencies for a position, the data has shown that the group's interests determine whether qualifications and merit are acceptable and worthy of consideration. This may aid in our understanding of the ubiquitous disparity in employment, such as the situation with white ecclesial leadership in multiracial churches. In a society that seeks to include individuals of all races, white hegemony is not just the result of white people's efforts to preserve their dominant position (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Lewis, 2005). Certain black people have made significant contributions to this process. It is tempting to reduce racial issues to a black against white conflict but doing so overlooks the complexity of human relationships as well as the range of interests, views, and experiences that exist within various racial groups. I do not imply that most white people do not have an interest in sustaining white supremacy, nor do I imply that the majority of black people are content with the status quo. What I am arguing is that white churchgoers

in multiracial congregations will only reinforce a church's culture and structure if their preferences are accommodated and white leaders hold positions of leadership inside the church. While its clear, that majority of black people favoured religious practises and cultural activities that was familiar to them and that they grew up with and was more consistent with their values. But whiteness is maintained and sustained in multiracial churches by black people who see whiteness as superior as we see with case of Rhema Balcomb (2004). It seems plausible from my research that whiteness is dominant in multiracial churches. I will state the conclusion of this research considering its findings.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this thesis I have used a systematic critical literature review of primary and secondary sources on Pentecostal discourse on whiteness race relations in multiracial churches. The research was guided by three research questions: What is whiteness? How does whiteness manifest in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches? Why is there a persistence of white ecclesial leadership in multiracial Neo-Pentecostal churches? In researching the answers to these concerns, I have paid special attention to how whiteness is accepted in multiracial churches and how the problem of whiteness is not just a manifestation of white people, but is also tolerated and in some cases promoted by people of color.

Current scholarship has shifted toward viewing multiracial congregations as a "solution" to the issue of race. This change has resulted from the widespread transmission of the findings of an American study on multiracial congregations.

6.1 Dynamics of Religious Organisations

The research that has been done up to this point has yielded interesting findings about the racial diversity that may be found in religious congregations and the internal dynamics of religious organisations that have diverse membership. We could classify the findings of this research into two distinct groups: the first would be studies that have investigated how religious identities can take precedence over racial identities, thereby making it possible for multiracial churches to exist and continue to thrive. The second would be those that show how the dynamics of a racialised society are replicated within religious congregations, causing tensions and inequalities within the congregation. Although this literature is of significant interest to church leaders, especially those who would want to see more racial integration in the religious congregations they lead, as well as academics in the field of religion, it is less obvious how this literature adds to the field of sociology. In summary, most of the research undertaken to date on multiracial congregations has been conducted in Christian, specifically Pentecostal, congregations, and much of the literature is descriptive, suggestive, or limited to regional theory. Research in this field should go beyond such limited contributions and begin theorising about the possible appearance of multiracial congregations that transcend religious traditions and Christian practices.

In this research I have contended that multiracial churches are successful if they provide a friendly environment for white attendees. This is the foremost and primary necessity for multiracial churches to exist (Edwards, 2008). This is because white people are accustomed to their cultural practises and beliefs being the norm in virtually all social institutions. This suggests that in order for multiracial churches to maintain their diversity, black people must either be willing to compromise their preferences or have assimilated sufficiently into the dominant culture and accepted the privileged status of whites. Attendees of multiracial churches are distinguished from those of racially homogeneous churches in that they often have had more racially diverse life experiences and may seek diversity. (Christerson, Emerson, and Edwards, 2005).

My research indicates that multiracial congregations do not, on average, improve awareness of racism and racial inequality but, rather, contribute to the maintenance and legitimisation of racial inequality as opposed to its removal. In fact, monoracial congregations of colour seem to be more capable of combatting racial inequality, as seen in the well-documented role played by the black church and people like as Desmond Tutu and Frank Chikane in the liberation of South Africa under apartheid. Nonetheless, racial segregation in religious organisations may contribute to white people's sustained supremacy in society (Emerson and Smith, 2000). Exclusively white congregations may and do legitimise and support white supremacy in several ways. There is also some evidence in the literature that diverse congregations, such as the one explored by Edwards (2008), might be settings where increased knowledge and awareness of racism and racial inequity can occur.

6.2 Limitations:

My study was helpful in certain areas, but it also has several limitations that had to be considered. Firstly, the optimistic claims of American researchers that multiracial congregations can provide a solution to the problem of race in South Africa are regarded with scepticism because to the lack of engagement with South African social structures. Nonetheless, the research undertaken by Ganiel (2008) at the Jubilee Community Church in South Africa illustrates how a congregation identifies, labels, and addresses the issue of race at a structural level. The clearest instances of this are the congregations' talks about restitution and the efforts being made to repair

inequities, as they best highlight this concept. Second, it is unclear if studies undertaken in the United States can be generalised to multiracial congregations in South Africa. This is due to the minimal evidence provided by academics on the ground.

In addition, one of my constraints is the scarcity of scholarly research on multicultural Pentecostal congregations, and it is uncertain what proportion of South African churches are comprised of people of different races. As a result, the focus of my research is not how congregations construct societal conceptions of unity in relation to racial diversity but rather how they reflect social differences that exist in Multiracial churches. My research has not been able to establish a link between social activities and identity formation, nor has it given light on the transforming process occurring on a more local level inside religious communities.

6.3 Can We Dream of a Rainbow Nation?

Nelson Mandela envisioned South Africa as a "rainbow nation" that celebrated the country's diversity and uniqueness. A place that honours our African uniqueness as reflected through language, context, and cultural expression, and where our unity is embraced, our diversity is valued, and our cultures are celebrated. A nation in which the great diversity of its people defines its shared identity. This dream inspired a nation suffering from racial separation and injustice to envision a community that was just, free, and made of brothers and sisters who freely accepted each other regardless of their racial differences. Integration of individuals of various races into a single civilization is a necessary but insufficient condition for racial equality in that society. It is not sufficient for churches that desire to be multiracial to merely have members of different racial groups worshipping together; churches must move beyond this simple step. Even congregation members occasionally engaging in fellowship outside of the confines of church activities is insufficient. Churches must first adopt a vision of racial justice and equality before they can begin to realise Nelson Mandela's ideal. Then and only then can they realise Mandela's goal. Multiracial churches must be locations where individuals of all races feel comfortable identifying as their own. My belief is that multiracial churches can show us how to transcend racial stereotypes and the associated power dynamics. This will ensure that everyone has an equal seat and voice at the table without disregarding or diminishing the significance of structural

realities. There is frequently a power dynamic within multiracial churches that leads in unequal treatment of different racial groupings. For reconciliation to be meaningful, the practise of reconciliation must go beyond intercultural interaction.

The multiracial church is the structural change, and it has the capacity to establish race encounters that have the potential to reduce discrimination. Too many congregations express a desire to become multiracial but lack the ability and possibly the willingness to make the required reforms. It is possible that these congregations, which claim to care about diversity yet retain colourblind, abstract views (Bonilla-Silva, 2001) and have no desire to alter, are hopeless. Alternatively, if there are congregations that believe in a religious imperative for diversity in churches but are having difficulty achieving this goal, one possible answer would be for these congregations to reconsider their convictions and even the way they choose to organise themselves.

The importance of multiracial churches is shown when it comes to socioeconomic diversity: multiracial congregations tend to embrace more accepting perspectives than monoracial ones (Yancey & Kim, 2008). Is the dream of having fully inclusive churches, where people of different races and cultures gather and embrace and celebrate our African diversity expressed through language, context, and cultural expression an elusive dream? I certainly hope not.

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