South African popular Gospel Music
In the Post-Apartheid Era:
Genre, Production, Mediation and Consumption.

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At the School of Music at the University of KwaZulu-Natal –
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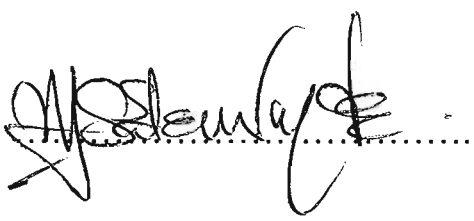
15 December 2005.

Declaration :

I, Sipho S. Malembe, hereby declare that this work has not previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university and that it is my own original work.



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Dedication:

To my parents:

Pastors Simon & Thoko Malembe,

The greatest scholars of all time,

Who did not go to any school of philosophy or divinity,

But who, through life encounters and divine wisdom,

Perceived that *'education is the key to success'*

And strived to give me just that.

With Love

Sipho S. Malembe.

Abstract

This dissertation studies South African popular 'Gospel' music in the context of the new order of the post-apartheid era. The four main focal points of the study are genre, production, mediation and consumption. The end of apartheid was a historic and significant socio-political phenomenon in South Africa. Its implications were not only socio-political; they also affected many other aspects of the country, including arts and culture. Music was not exempt.

The genre of local 'Gospel' is premised on the Christian faith, so that by producing and mediating 'Gospel' music, the music industry is at the same time producing and mediating the 'Gospel', or Christian culture. Consequently, by consuming 'Gospel' music the audience also consumes this 'Gospel' culture. Local 'Gospel' first emerged with foreign influences brought into South Africa by the missionaries, but gradually developed into the broad and complex genre that we know today. This is, in part, a result of 'other' influences, styles and elements having been incorporated into it.

Many production companies are responsible for the production of local 'Gospel' music. These can be broadly categorized into two: major companies, and indies (which are small, private production companies). These two production routes have different implications for the artists and their music. Similarly, there are many different ways in which this music is mediated, or 'channelled', to its audience. These include television, radio, print media (newspapers, magazines, posters, fliers, etc.), internet, and live performances, all of which have their own specificities that determine their effectiveness in mediating local 'Gospel'. As is the case with any music, the audience for local 'Gospel' consumes its music in different ways and for different purposes. Though the artists/musicians assign certain meanings to their musical works, the audience does not always identify precisely with those musical meanings. Different people at different places and times, with different experiences and social conditions, encounter and interpret the music in different ways.

South African popular 'Gospel' music is a broad and complex genre that has developed and grown over the years. The birth of democracy has had an indelible impact on it, and on its processes of production, mediation and consumption.

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Chapter *One* – INTRODUCTION

1.1. South Africa: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of Democracy.

On May 9, 1994, Nelson Mandela addressed the masses gathered in Cape Town on the occasion of his inauguration as the state president of South Africa. This must have been a fulfilling moment for him, looking back over the years and seeing how long and costly the journey to that moment had been. Opening his speech he said:

> Today we are entering a new era for our country and its people. Today we celebrate not the victory of a party, but a victory for all the people of South Africa...[1]

This victory being celebrated was of a long struggle that dated back to 1880, as Mandela put it:

[1] Quoted from: "Nelson Mandela's address to the people of Cape Town, Grand Parade, on the occasion of his inauguration as state president".

> We have fought for a democratic constitution since the 1880's. Ours has been a quest for a constitution freely adopted by the people of South Africa, reflecting their wishes and their aspirations. The struggle for democracy has never been a matter pursued by one race, class, religious community or gender among South Africans.[2]

These words are similar to the words he cited on April 20, 1964 at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia trial at the Pretoria Supreme Court where he said:

> The struggle is a national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.[3]

Mandela is one of the people who were frontline activists in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. He was determined to fight and struggle for a democratic South Africa. This is evident in the closing remarks of his Rivonia trial speech:

> During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I'm prepared to die.[4]

This speech marked the beginning of his 27 years of imprisonment at Robben Island near Cape Town. On April 27, 1994, almost thirty years later, millions of South Africans voted for a democratic government, for the first time in the history of South Africa. This day has since been marked as Freedom Day and a public holiday on South African calendars. This was the ideal that Mandela had hoped to live for and to achieve, and it is what millions of South

---

[2] Quoted from: "Nelson Mandela's address to the people of Cape Town, Grand Parade, on the occasion of his inauguration as state president".

[3] Quoted from: "*I'm prepared to die*, Nelson Mandela's statement from the dock at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia Trial".

[4] Ibid

Africans were celebrating on May 9, 1994, as marked by the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the first democratically elected South African president.

This historic occasion was celebrated as the birth of democracy, but the truth of the matter is that that was but the beginning of the second phase of the struggle. A lot still needed to be done. In reality, for her to be a truly democratic country, South Africa needed complete reconstruction. This is because the marks and the fruits of apartheid and racial domination were still all over the face of South Africa. People were still kept within racial boundaries and even the country was run on the governance of racial and apartheid rulership. The birth of democracy arrived as a long-awaited 'Messiah'.

As a result, South Africa experienced a major transformation. A lot of things changed because of this new order of a democratic South Africa. The first challenge was to draft a new democratic constitution that would do away with apartheid dictatorship and governance. Major changes followed. South Africa was geographically re-mapped into nine provinces. Eleven, instead of two, languages were adopted as national official languages. The national flag, the national coat of arms and the national emblem were redesigned, and the national anthem was rearranged and changed into a multilingual one.

1.2. A Decade of Democracy: *10th Anniversary of Freedom.*

On April 27, 2004, South Africa inaugurated a democratically elected state president for the third time. On the same day, South Africa celebrated the tenth anniversary of a democratic South Africa, as pointed to by President Thabo Mbeki in the opening of his inauguration speech:

> The bright autumn sun smiles down on our people as we mark South Africa's Freedom day, inaugurate the President of the Republic and celebrate our country's First Decade of Democracy.[5]

The transformation and the changes that South Africa had undergone since 1994 are all encapsulated and summarised in Mbeki's speech, when he said:

[5] Quoted from: "The address by the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, on the occasion of his inauguration and the 10th anniversary of freedom".

> Despite the fact that we are a mere ten years removed from the period of racist dictatorship, it is today impossible to imagine a South Africa that is not a democratic South Africa. In reality it is impossible to meet any of the enormous challenges we face, outside the context of respect for the principle and the practice that the people shall govern.
>
> Nobody in our country today views democracy as threat to their interests and their future. This includes our national, racial and political minorities. This is because we have sought to design and implement an inclusive democratic system, rather than one driven by social and political exclusion.[6]

Needless to say, South Africa was at this time a changing, if not a changed country, compared to what it had been, a decade before. The new order that was as a result of the end of apartheid reshaped, redesigned and reconstructed the country. The new constitution's bill of rights assigned equal rights to every citizen of the country regardless of their 'gender', 'race', ethnicity, socio-political and religious background or any other status. Places that were previously demarcated for a specific racial group were made accessible to all. This constitution held and treated every citizen of South Africa equally. It gave all citizens freedom of speech, the right to express themselves, and equal opportunities.

This new order of the democratic South Africa manifested itself in many ways. Not only did the political structure of the country change, but so did other areas as well. Many institutions and organisations that were premised on the basis of apartheid were reconstructed. For example, many institutions of higher learning, businesses, public structures, etc., which were previously segregated on basis of 'race', were re-structured, some merged and some even renamed. Positions that could not be occupied by certain people because of their status could now be occupied by any qualifying incumbent regardless of their status. Sporting codes that were stereotypically labelled as belonging to a certain group were now accessible to all. This new order saw 'black', 'white', 'coloured' and 'Indian' people of South Africa living together and working together. South Africa merited its 'Rainbow Nation' name from this diversity.

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[6] Quoted from: "The address by the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, on the occasion of his inauguration and the 10th anniversary of freedom"

1.3. The Birth of Democracy and South African Popular music

Arts and culture, music in particular, could by no means be an exception to this transformation. The new order of democratic South Africa brought many changes in music as a performing art. Many musical styles and artists sprang up as a result of this new order. South African 'Gospel' music, as will be discussed in this dissertation, was also impacted upon by this new order. The diversity of South Africa as a nation manifested itself in many ways in the genre of local 'Gospel' music.

1.4. South African 'Gospel' music and Popular music studies

South African 'Gospel' music is a broad field of music and so is the study thereof. Because of the magnitude of this dissertation, I have therefore only zoomed in on 'popular' 'Gospel' music, as defined by popular music scholars, as I will indicate hereafter. Some of the influences on the scholarly study of popular music are the writings and theories of Theodor Adorno (1903-1969). Along with other theorists such as Max Horkheimer (1895-1971) and Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979), Adorno criticised capitalist control over social life. Developing from those theories, many writers and scholars of music have debated, argued and raised different views about many different aspects of what then developed and became 'popular music studies'. Various popular music scholars, drawing and developing from Adorno's theories have defined popular music, for example, "in terms of production and circulation (...), analysing the organisation of mass production, (...) mass consumption, (...) [and] commercial popular culture" (Frith, 1998: 13). 'Popular music' has been argued to be the music based on the "culture which is produced to be bought and sold on a market. It possesses exchange value and the companies that produce culture do so to make a profit from it" (Longhurst, 1995: 4).

As a topic of scholarly study, popular music is defined as the music which is produced and circulated for mass consumption, as part of the culture industry. It is produced for commercial gains and has an appeal to the mass audiences. Many subjects (such as text, audiences, gender, politics, youth, discourse, histories, mediations, fans, cultures, consumption, sexuality, genres, local, performances, images, geographies, meaning, and many others) have been discussed and redefined by music scholars in the context of 'popular music studies'. In this dissertation, as my topic suggests, I shall deal with South African popular 'Gospel' music

in the post-apartheid era, being guided by this definition of popular music and other theories that different scholars have discussed, as I will indicate.

1.5. Research Goals and Objectives

In this dissertation, my goal is to analytically study the genre of local 'Gospel' music and its production, mediation and consumption, in the context of the new order of democratic South Africa, and popular music studies. I want to clarify that it is not my goal in this dissertation to compare post-apartheid 'Gospel' music to pre-democracy 'Gospel' music, although I do sometimes refer to and interrelate these two aspects. In fulfilling this goal, I look at what various popular music scholars have argued about certain topics of relevance to my study, and then I bring that into the context of my research findings, with the hope that at the end of the day, when reading this work, one can understand and have a picture of South African popular 'Gospel' music from the popular music scholar's point of view.

1.6. Literature Review

I group the literature used in this dissertation in three categories. The first category (a) explores 'Gospel' music as a genre; the second one (b) seeks to locate local 'Gospel' in the broader context of South African popular music; and the third category (c) looks at local 'Gospel' in the context of popular music studies. There is no academic or scholarly literature specifically on the subject of local 'Gospel'. I have however used the account of 'Gospel' music in the US, as a reference, in addressing local 'Gospel'. Although the two are not necessarily similar, and the dynamism thereof differs, I do however, manage to draw from the account of the 'Gospel' music in the US in exploring local 'Gospel'. In pursuing my goal, I also use other sources that deal with South African and African popular music in general.

Don Cusic's (2002) works in *The Cambridge Companion to Blues and Gospel Music*, and *The Sound of the Light: A History of Gospel and Christian Music,* give a full account and history of 'Gospel' music in the US. It trace its origins back to as early as the 15th century, and its development over time, to the present. Other scholars have written about (South) African 'Christian' (from which comes 'Gospel' music, see my discussion in Chapter 1) music in a different context. I have drawn from their accounts as I deemed relevant to my study. These include works of such scholars as Joyce Scott's (2000) *Tuning into a Different Song: Using a*

Music Bridge to Cross Cultural Differences; J. Nathan Corbitt's (1998) *The Sound of the Harvest: Music's Mission in church and Culture*; Andrew Muwowo's (2004) *Music and Dances in the Liturgy during Worship in Africa*; and Adrian Hasting's (1994) *The Church in Africa: 1450 – 1950. The South African Music Industry Report* (1998) (hereafter referred to as SAMIR), presented to the department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, is a very handy tool in locating and defining 'Gospel' music in the context of South African popular music.

My primary source in contextualising local 'Gospel' in popular music studies is Keith Negus's (1996) *Popular Music in Theory.* I have referred to this Negus' book continuously throughout this dissertation. This, I have done, firstly because in his book Negus addresses all four sub-topics of my dissertation title; and secondly because Negus refers to a wide number of other scholars' theories, not only articulating his own opinions but those of others too. As mentioned above, various scholars have dissected various terms in the context of popular music studies; I have also drawn from a number of their works, in my attempt to achieve my goal. These include Simon Frith's (1998) *Performing Rites: Evaluating Popular Music*; Brian Longhurst's (1995) *Popular Music and Society*; Keith Negus' (1999*) Music genres and Corporate Cultures*; and others. I have referred to many other works, to different extents, depending on the point in discussion. I have also drawn from a number of articles, conference papers and speeches written by various authors.

1.7. Chapters and Theoretical Frameworks

I have organised this dissertation into six chapters, the first and the last ones being the introduction and the conclusion, respectively. I have devoted chapters two through five to each item of my subtitle, namely: genre, production, mediation and consumption. Popular music scholars' theories around these issues are of a continuous debate and discourse. Obviously, as one would expect, there are different views about different issues. As a result, and because of the magnitude of my dissertation, in constructing a theoretical framework that guides my discussion, I favour those theories that I identify with and subscribe to. For the purposes of this work, I avoid discussing in detail the 'other' theories that argue otherwise, as that has a potential to obscure my focus on the goals that I am set to accomplish herein.

In Chapter 2, I trace the history and the origins of 'Gospel' music. I also give an outline of the GENRE of local 'Gospel' music, by looking at its defining characteristics, traits, and features. I then map the genre according to the sub-genres and styles under it. As I will be doing throughout this dissertation, I also look at the impact that the new order of post-apartheid South Africa has had on the genre of local popular 'Gospel' music. The theoretical framework driving my discussion of genre is based on the argument that genre is a way of categorising musical styles, using certain features in the music. In simpler terms, genre is how one defines a musical style.

In Chapter 3, I look at the process of PRODUCTION of South African 'Gospel' music and the role that the music industry plays in the production of music. I also look at how the new order of democratic South Africa has impacted upon the production of local 'Gospel'. My account of the production of local 'Gospel' is based upon the theory that the production of popular music is based on a particular culture and is guided and controlled by certain music industry personnel, who determine what can or must be produced and consequently what is available to the audience for consumption. In Chapter 4, I look at and study the process of MEDIATION, as a bridge between the production and the consumption of music, or the different ways and methods in which local 'Gospel' is taken across to its target audience. In this chapter, I look at how the birth of freedom has impacted upon the way in which local 'Gospel' is mediated or carried across to its audience(s), i.e. the consumers of the music. I base my study of mediation of local 'Gospel' on the theory that the mediation of popular music involves a number of people working in different places and institutions, including record companies' staff, retail staff in record shops, journalists, television and radio presenters, persons working in the print media, etc.

In Chapter 5, I study the CONSUMPTION of local 'Gospel' music, as the process through which the audience(s) or the consumers of the music read, engage with and make meaning of the music. I look at different factors that influence the process of consumption of local 'Gospel'. My account of the consumption of music resides on the theory that the consumers of music engage, interact with and make meaning of music in different ways at different levels, determined by their own personal beliefs and social experiences, their location both in time and space, and others such factors.

1.8. Research Stance

I should at this point mention that I am researching and writing about the topic of South African 'Gospel' music from both an insider's and an outsider's point of view. I am both a performer and a fan of South African 'Gospel' music and as a result have some inside information on the local 'Gospel' genre and its operation. For the purposes of this dissertation my personal opinions and views as a performer of South African 'Gospel' music are clearly marked as such, thus distinctly separating them from my outsider's account of the music. I do, however, relate these two stances, where applicable.

1.9. The relevance of and the reasons for choosing this topic

The question of the relevance of the research study is answered by my reasons of choosing this topic, which are threefold. Firstly, South African popular 'Gospel' music is a big field of music, commercially the biggest in the country but it has not received the scholarly attention it merits. I hope to fill this gap. Secondly, I wish to define and provide an overview of South African popular 'Gospel' music and see how the end of apartheid has impacted upon the production, mediation and consumption of music. Finally, I am interested in 'Gospel' music, as a performer and a fan. I have been involved in 'Gospel' music since the age of eight.

Chapter *Two* – GENRE

2.1 Introduction and theoretical framework.

In 1994, Benjamin Dube, one of the prominent recording South African 'Gospel' music artists, recorded a song entitled *Bayangena Bayaphuma*[7], meaning 'they come in and they go out'. The song said: *Bacul'iGospeli, kodwa abaphil'iGospeli,* meaning 'they sing 'Gospel', but they do not live the 'Gospel''. Dube was accused by church folks of tearing down the walls of religion by using a worldly and a heathen 'kwaito' beat, and also accused by other artists and the media of attacking other artists. Commenting on this song, Dube said, "Kwaito was regarded as the music of the heathens, as a result I received calls and comments from pastors and other Christians rebuking me about the song, because of what they called a 'worldly and a heathen beat', that I used in the song. Other musicians and newspapers also pointed at me as attacking them, by saying they sing the 'Gospel', but do not live it"[8]. When thinking about the text of this song, one can gather that the 'Gospel' (referred to) is not just

[7] Track 6 in Benjamin Dube. Soul Brothers Music. 1994.
[8] Author's Interview with Benjamin Dube on September 23, 2003 at Durban.

the music, and thus begin to ask many questions, like 'Isn't 'Gospel' the music?', 'How can one live the 'Gospel'?', and consequently, 'What is the 'Gospel'?'

Simon Frith (1996) and Keith Negus (1999) both interpret the question of genre as one of the very first, if not the very first question you are asked when trying to secure a record deal with a company: "What music is it?" (Frith: 75-6), or "What type of music do you play?" (Negus: 4). David Brackett defines genre as "a way of categorising popular music so as to create a connection between musical styles, producers, musicians and consumers" (2002: 66). This is what would make someone to say: "Oh! You mean Bob Marley, the 'reggae' legend?", or "I went to a 'hip-hop' concert", or "Don't behave like a jazz fan, this is a 'classical music' concert, you don't just shout", and other such statements that box music makers, producers, performers and consumers into categories.

The notion of genre, however, is not only limited to the features in the music. Popular music scholars have elaborated on it and argued that there are some non-musical elements that influence, shape and define genres. Franco Fabbri (1982) looks at genre as "a set of musical events (real or possible) whose course is governed by a definite set of socially accepted rules" (52). He elaborates further by defining these rules, which he groups into five, namely: "formal/technical, semiotic, behavioural, social and ideological, and economical and juridical" (55-9). Keith Negus, talking about the other side of the same coin, defines genre as "the way in which musical categories and systems of classification shape the music that we might play, and listen to, mediating both the experiences of music and its formal organisation by an entertainment business" (1999: 4). In saying this, Negus implies that before the music is recorded and eventually made available to the general public, the record industry consciously considers these categories and classifications and uses them to determine the final product that is mediated to the consumers. Accordingly, this final product is what the musicians eventually get to perform and is what defines, not only their music, but also their audience, performance venues, and even their sound. These, Negus calls "the genre codes" (1999: 5).

Simon Frith puts this in more explicit terms. He says that "genres are not defined by characteristics of musical styles alone, but also by performance rituals, visual appearance, the type of social and ideological connotations associated with them, and their relationship to the material conditions of production" (1996: 76). I want to argue that Frith is in the same boat with Negus, except that he looks at the notion of genre at an inverse angle from Negus'.

Unlike Negus, Frith looks at it as the final product determining the categories and classifications, not the other way around. In either way, these still define genre. Presumably that is why Frith goes on to argue that genre is "a way of defining music in its market, or alternatively, the market in its music" (1996: 76).

2.2. Definition of 'Gospel' and 'Gospel' Music.

The *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* published by The Clarendon Press in 1901 draws the roots of the word 'Gospel' from the old English word *Godspeel*, meaning 'Good News' or 'Glad tidings'. It defines 'Gospel' as "the record of Christ's life and teachings contained in the first four books of the New Testament written by four evangelists. [...] The glad tidings of the Kingdom of God announced to the world by Jesus Christ. Hence the body of religious doctrines taught by Christ and His Apostles; the Christian revelation and religion" (Bradley, 1901: 308). Modern dictionaries also subscribe to Bradley's account of 'Gospel' music. *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1995) and *The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2000) also define 'Gospel' as "One of the four stories of Christ's life and teachings in the Bible" (616 and 556, respectively). Longman further defines 'Gospel' music as "a style of Christian music usually performed by black singers in which religious songs are sung strongly and loudly" (556). Benjamin Dube defines 'Gospel' music as "the message of 'life' in any style, because with Jesus, God was bringing us 'life'"[9]. Definitively, 'Gospel' music is the music whose theme is premised on the account of Christ's life and teachings as in the Bible, and on the doctrines of the Christian religion.

This kind of a definition obviously begs for questions such as: "Is there a difference between Christian and 'Gospel' music? For example, are the Gregorian chant and Handel's Messiah 'Gospel' songs?" Don Cusic (2002(b)), recording the history of 'Gospel' and Christian music argues that there is a difference between the two. He notes that "by the 1900s, there was a new lingo in religious music; 'Gospel' referred to 'black' religious music, while 'Christian' referred to 'white' religious music" (380). I personally subscribe to Cusic's distinction to a certain extent, only as a technical distinction of the two. By this, I mean that this distinction is based on the musical features and some characteristics of the music, that drew a line between what he calls 'Christian' or 'white' religious music and what he calls 'Gospel' or 'black'

[9] Author's Interview with Benjamin Dube on August 17, 2005 at Johannesburg.

religious music. However, based on the given definition of the very word 'Gospel', I want to argue that the main feature that qualifies a musical piece as 'Christian' or 'Gospel' is the text. This text being a common factor in these two, I want to further argue that the two can't be separated. The basis of my argument is that 'Gospel' music is part of Christian music, although the inverse is not necessarily the case. Cusic treats these as two different categories, but I treat Christian Music as an umbrella cover and 'Gospel' music as one of the branches under it. However, I use and agree with Cusic's pointer to 'Gospel' music as the music that got associated with 'blacks'. For the purposes of this dissertation, 'Gospel' music referrers to what Cusic points to as the 'black' religious music, which I treat as a sub-category under Christian music.

2.3. History of 'Gospel' music

The history of 'Gospel' music can be associated with the rise of slavery in America, from around the 17th century. Slavery became part of life and it revolutionised the economy of the country, with most slaves working on their master's cotton fields. Slaves, who afterwards were called African-Americans or simply 'blacks', gave birth to what was initially called 'black Gospel', as I have discussed above, drawing from Cusic's account. This, as Cusic have hinted, developed and later got identified as 'Gospel' music, distinguishing it from 'Christian music', the latter being associated with 'whites'.

The very first era in the development of what later became 'Gospel' music was the era of Psalms and Hymns in the 17th century. These were songs used by whites in their church meetings. These songs were in two forms, "the chorale (associated with the Lutherans and Moravians) and the psalm tunes, which developed amongst Calvinists" (Cusic, 2002(a): 44). The texts of these songs were directly from the Bible; however, the Lutherans used other individually composed texts as well. By the 1800s, many 'whites' were bringing their slaves to church, which they didn't do initially. It was there in churches where 'blacks' heard these songs and tried to sing along and reproduce them. This gave birth to a new era in the history of 'Gospel' music, called the era of Spirituals or Negro Spirituals.

According to Don Cusic, "slaves made a number of conscious attempts to reproduce the songs they heard, but often sung them in a manner affecting rhythms which were different from the original and because of an insufficient vocabulary or inability to recall the words correctly" (2002(b): 93-4). The text of these spirituals was of 'white' origin, but the rhythm was of

'black' origin, which was the beginning of the split between 'black' or 'Gospel' music and 'white' or Christian music.

A new era dawned during 1890s, with the birth of the Holiness church. This era was the era of Holiness songs. According to Don Cusic, "the [black] holiness church featured a great amount of singing and dancing in their services, with half of the service usually comprised of music, [...] foot-stomping and hand-clapping, up-tempo songs, [...] with complex rhythms, shouts and outbursts" (2002(a): 510). This was a complete detour from 'white' church music. At the beginning of the 20th century, 'Gospel' music reached a new turn, when 'blacks' could publish their own music. A new era called 'Early Gospel' emerged at this time. Thomas Dorsey pioneered this era. He became known as the 'Father of 'Gospel' music'. He played a major role in the development of 'Gospel' music and toured America between 1932 and 1944. Dorsey discovered and trained a lot of singers, but his main significance and contribution was in his fighting for "the recognition against ministers and church musicians who were opposed to their using his songs in churches" (Cusic, 2002(a): 52). He formed the Dorsey's 'Gospel' Singers in 1945 and was instrumental in launching the musical career of Mahalia Jackson, who "was clearly 'Gospel' music's greatest superstar of this period" (Cusic, 2002(a): 55).

In the 1970s, James Cleveland took over the 'Gospel' scenes and got famous for working with the choirs. He formed the popular 'Gospel Music Workshop of America (GMWA)', which was the biggest choir of those times. He worked with other artists like Albertina Walker, Dorothy Norwood, Aretha Franklin and others. James Cleveland's influence was evident in the music of many artists who sprang up during early 1980s, such as the Winans, Tramaine Hawkins, the Commodores, the Sound of blackness, and others. Cleveland also passed on the baton to a new generation of 'Gospel' singers, who gave birth to a new era of 'Gospel' music in the 1980s. One prominent 'Gospel' singer of this era was Andrea Crouch, who along with other artists, imported contemporary sounds into 'Gospel' music. These were sounds that were never used in 'Gospel' music before. The early 1990s saw a major transformation of 'Gospel' sounds. Cusic records that "an era ended while another one began during the early 1990s. In February 1991, James Cleveland died; in January 1993 Thomas Dorsey also died. But also in 1993, Kirk Franklin released his debut album" (Cusic, 2000(b): 380). Kirk Franklin amongst other artists, the likes of Bebe & Cece Winans, Tramaine Hawkins and Yolanda Adams, stood out remarkably, bringing into 'Gospel' music 'secular' sounds of rap, hip-hop, rock, reggae, etc. This era, which stretches to the present, has seen the rise of many

'Gospel' artists and the fusion of many different sounds, which characterise the contemporary 'Gospel' music we know today. Although my focus in this dissertation is on South African 'Gospel' music, I regard this brief historical account of 'Gospel' music in the US as an important one, as it informs the history and the development of local 'Gospel', as I will discuss in the next sub-section.

2.4. History of South African 'Gospel' Music

As argued earlier, 'Gospel' music comes directly from Christianity. Christianity in South Africa dates back to the arrival of the 'white' settlers in South Africa in 1652, who founded the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the Dutch Reformed Church in the Dutch East India Company's station established at the Cape of Good Hope. It then grew strong with the arrival of the missionaries, especially at the end of the 18th century, which saw an influx of missionaries in South Africa. Adrian Hasting, recording the history of the church in Africa, states that, "when missionaries spread Christianity in South Africa, it grew in five stages according to its spreading to different races; the Afrikaners, the Cape Folk or Coloured, the Xhosa's, the English, then the Zulu's" (1994: 79). Hasting further states that missionaries imported their styles of music, along with Christianity. Joyce Scott (2000) also points to this and further gives a comprehensive account of the musical difficulties that missionaries faced due to the cultural differences that existed between them and their host groups. Alluding to this, she says that; "going as church planters to a different culture from their own, they (missionaries) are just as likely to take their own musical styles with them" (Scott, 2000: 71). This music of the missionaries was foreign to the local people of Africa, and: "their music styles were different. Very different indeed" (Scott, 2000: 71). Scott describes the music of the missionaries as "hymns" in which people "were expected to stand still when they sang" (71). Andrew Muwowo (2004) developing on Father Corbeil's (1975) account of the Missionaries' and African music draws the differences between the two. Table 2.1. (which I refer to in detail, in sub-section 2.6.2, below) tabulates these differences, as presented by Muwowo. Some Africans could not adapt to this music of the missionaries, as a result "reacted to this foreign-ness by breaking away and forming their own churches, in order to find a place to feel at home" (Scott, 2000: 71).

Missionaries' Music	African Music
Even rhythm: a fixed way of accentuating notes and words.	Uneven rhythm: not regular stressing of notes, 'jumping over the bar' without making syncopes.
In loose time: e.g. the measures may change from ¾ to 4/8 in one and the same piece	In strict time: the fraction is kept same all through one and the same piece.
The melody follows strictly the stress of words or one note to a number of syllables.	The melody is loose, following just tones of the syllables of words or strictly one note to one syllable.
Usually mono-rhythmic.	Always poly-rhythmic and cross-rhythmic.
Single pattern in singing without call and response.	Call response pattern in singing.
No frequency in repetition of the same words/sentences in singing.	Variation with repetition in singing
Western 'tempered' major and minor scales standardised within the Western musical framework.	A variety of scales without standardisation, based on each particular music style.
Vertical Harmony especially 4-part harmony.	Harmony in parallel 3rds, 4ths, 5ths & octaves.
Harmony as a provider of the greatest aesthetic satisfaction to the ear. Hence the importance of piano, organ, keyboard and other related instruments.	Rhythm (comprising a complex of interweaving of contrasting rhythmic pattern) as a provider of the greatest aesthetic satisfaction to the ear. Hence the importance of the African drum, rattles, tapping, hand clapping and other ways of producing rhythm.
Translation of song text/hymns with their tunes from one language to another without disturbing the accentuation of notes and words in rhythm, as well as the strict flowing of the melody in stressing the words.	Translation of song text/hymns with their tunes from one language to another, spoiling the way words are spoken in its original language group because African music is tonal. It depends on the expression of speech or word.

Table 2.1. The differences between Missionaries' (European, Asian and American) music and African music (Muwowo, 2004: 5).

The example of this is given by Adrian Hasting (1994), who accounts that "the Zionists developed an African leadership in 1908 when the Zionist Church founder PL Le Roux was replaced by Daniel Nkonyane as the principal leader of the church. This resulted in a change in music; a more African orientated singing style, the usage of traditional drums, and Zulu songs were incorporated in the worship" (Hasting, 1994: 82). Although Africans did believe in God and did worship him as UMvelinqangi (the One who existed first), way before the 'white' settlement, I however want to trace the birth of South African 'Gospel' music back to the birth of Christianity in South Africa. With the growth of Christianity in different stages, from the arrival of the missionaries, to today's charismatic movement, 'Gospel' music has also grown drastically.

Most of the early artists or groups that pioneered the birth of local 'Gospel' had church bases. These include the likes of Amadodana aseWesile, from the Wesleyan Methodist Church; Moruti Ndlovu, who was a pastor (moruti is a Sotho word meaning pastor); the Dube Family coming from Assemblies of God Movement; and many other examples. Studying and analysing the history of local 'Gospel' from the musical recordings, I draw a parallel between the development of Christianity and local 'Gospel'.

A number of early artists/groups stood out remarkably, in clearly demarcating and defining the genre of local 'Gospel'. Without going into depth with their music, I want to highlight a few such artists/groups. One of the very early 'Gospel' groups is Amodadana aseWesile. This group began in the mid 70's. Their music is hymnal, which is a direct influence of the missionaries' music. Their music is also characterised by translating well-known missionaries' hymns into local indigenous languages, as pointed to by Muwowo, in Table 2.1. As he suggested, this translation alters the rhythm into a more African-oriented one. The music also has a forward-driving, danceable rhythm. The very use of the percussive sounds, like 'tshiiif' called 'isifutho', and 'isqamelo', a small hand-held pillow like instrument; to emphasise certain beats of the bar in a phrase, emphasises and strengthens the rhythm of the music.

One other group that came in the late 70s is Solly Moholo's Zion Christian Church (Z.C.C.) choir. Their music is the music of the Zionist church. They perform in the uniform of the church, with khaki pants and jackets, caps and boots. Their music is characterised by forceful dancing of foot-stomping and jumping, just like the one performed at their church services. In the track of these groups (Amadodana AseWesile and Solly Moholo and Z.C.C.) followed many groups, most of which were church based. The examples of these would include the Nazareth Baptist Church, MaNgconde Singers, IMvuselelo yaseNatali, and many others.

Moruti Ndlovu also became a prominent 'Gospel' singer, performing his tunes using just the keyboard and four backing-vocals. He used the programmed drums of the keyboards, and his style of playing was characterised the usage of triad chords, mainly those of the 1st, 4th and 5th (I, IV and V) degrees of the major scale. Derrick Ndzimande in the early 1980s followed in Moruti's footsteps and popularised this style. Many artists, the likes of Sipho Makhabane, Sipho Skhosana, etc., sprang up in the 1990's simulating Ndzimande. In this lineage, one can trace numerous artists, such as Youth With Mission, Shongwe and Khuphuka, Rebecca Malope, and many others.

Benjamin Dube, as I have hinted earlier, is also one of the very first artists to run under the banner of local 'Gospel'. Having been singing with his family group called 'The Dube family', in the mid 70s, Dube ventured into a solo career in 1979, but could only make his first commercial 'Gospel' recording in 1986, recording the hit 'Holy Spirit'. Developing from the music of the Dube Family, that was characterised by the usage of guitars and had an 'African rhythm', Benjamin's music was characterised by the usage of drums, guitars, keyboards and vocals. His music, although still maintaining an 'African taste', was later influenced by American 'Gospel'. Employing these 'foreign' elements of music into local 'Gospel', Benjamin Dube pioneered a new sub-genre of local 'Gospel' that earned him a reputation as the 'father of contemporary 'Gospel'' in South Africa. Contemporary 'Gospel', as a sub-genre under local 'Gospel', has grown remarkably and has been popularised by such artists as Benjamin Dube, Mthunzi Namba, Joyous Celebration and many others.

2.5. Elements of South African 'Gospel' music

Attending the annual conference of the Musicological Society of Southern Africa in August 2005, and conversing with one of the delegates about my research study, I was asked how I define music as South African 'Gospel'. Having stated the meaning of 'Gospel' music, as given earlier, the next task was to explain how and why I connect that to a geographic location, which is South Africa. Our conversation challenged and broadened my 'assumed' understanding of this genre.

Keith Negus argues that "the boundaries of musical genres and components of styles are often transformed as they intersect with other styles" (1996: 163). He further states in the same passage that these boundaries and components "arise out of and are actively made through dialogic – or perhaps polylogical movements through time but also in space". This is very evident in the local 'Gospel' genre. As I will point to later, various generic elements define different sub-genres of local 'Gospel'. These elements are not easy to outline, because of the complexity of the genre. It is only when one begins to focus on sub-genres that a much clearer definition of the genre can be drawn. The growth of the genre and the incorporation of other generic codes and stylistic traits into it, transforms the conventional elements of the genre. There are, however, a few characteristics that are common in these subgenres that I consider as definitive of local 'Gospel'. The following is my account of such features.

2.5.1. 'Gospel' text

As I have argued earlier, for a musical piece to be called 'Gospel', it must have a 'Gospel' text, as defined in section 2.2, above. In 'Gospel' music, unlike in other genres of popular music, text is the main factor that defines the song as 'Gospel'. Benjamin Dube alluded to this when he said that "'Gospel' music is the message in any style"[10]. By this, Dube meant that what defines the music a 'Gospel' is the text, rather that the sound of the music. This accounts for hybrid-genres, like R'n'B 'Gospel', 'Gospel' Kwaito, 'Gospel' Rock, 'Gospel' Jazz, Christafarism ('Gospel' Reggae), and others of that nature. This is achieved by employing 'Gospel' text in these genres, or vice versa: the result is 'Gospel' music. This dynamism makes 'Gospel' music genre very broad, with many sub-styles, different features and different elements. I want to argue that this is one primary definitive feature of 'Gospel' music.

This of course does beg questions such as: 'Is there instrumental 'Gospel' music?', 'If yes, how do you define it?' The complexity of 'Gospel' music intensifies further when it comes to the notion of 'instrumental 'Gospel''. It is easy to call pre-recorded 'Gospel' songs instrumental 'Gospel'. By this, I am referring to a case where an artist takes a known 'Gospel' song and performs it instrumentally. Someone who knows the original version of that song and its melody can identify with the instrumental version of it and therefore categorise it as 'Gospel' music. It is however not only the music that defines it as 'Gospel', but also the knowledge of the original version of the song, in the sense that someone who does not know the original version wouldn't identify it as such.

I interviewed Xoli Nkosi, a South African jazz/'Gospel' musician, about his debut album 'Sangena'. I asked him if the album was a 'Gospel' album or a jazz one, and he said, "Let me just say: It is a music album"[11]. His justification for his answer was that the album encapsulated many styles of music. "For me", he further stated, "every musical activity that I engage myself in, be it playing in a jazz gig, recording, singing, whatever the activity, is a way of worship and honour to God, therefore I regard it as 'Gospel'". This shows that artists ascribe certain meanings to their songs. This is evident in the titles that they give songs, especially instrumental ones.

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[10] Author's Interview with Benjamin Dube, on August 17, 2005 at Johannesburg.
[11] Author's Interview with Xoli Nkosi on August 17, 2004 at Durban.

This leads to another question: "Can unknown instrumental songs, be categorised as 'Gospel'?" Composers such as Xoli and many others, have recorded instrumental songs and categorised them as 'Gospel' music. These are categorised as such because of their 'Gospel'-oriented titles, for example 'Jesus is love', 'Thy Kingdom come', 'The Lord of my Salvation', etc; or the meaning that the composer assigns to the song. But the question is, if someone was to hear that song on the radio, without knowing its title, would he or she be able to categorise it as 'Gospel'?

Keith Negus argues that, "the activities associated with the consumption of popular music are by no means straightforward. Songs and music accumulate and connect with new meanings and beliefs as they pass through time and travel to different places. [...] The same musical genre or piece of music might, in another time or place, be enjoyed and engaged with in completely different ways" (1996: 195 and 31). Negus' argument here is that there is no one frozen meaning that can be attached to a musical piece. I want to agree and also disagree with Negus' argument. My disagreement is strictly with regard to 'Gospel' songs with text. I want to argue that, although a consumer can decide to attach whichever meaning they wish to, in a song, there is however an obvious and general 'Gospel' meaning that the text suggests. This obviously varies with different songs. In the case of instrumental songs, I identify with Negus, in a sense that once an instrumental musical piece is mediated and becomes available for public consumption, the composer'/artist's 'original' meaning or intentions attached to the song fade away, and at that point, the consumer can interpret the song in any way.

I however do not want to turn a blind eye to the fact that there are musical sounds and chords that are stereotypically and conventionally termed 'Gospel'. For example, the minor II-V-I jazzy chord progression is common and popular within the African-American 'Gospel' music and church circles, and can be easily recognised by someone who is well acquainted with this music and therefore be associated with 'Gospel' music. Some instruments also, such as the organ, are well known to have their common use in church services, and have therefore been stereotypically associated with 'Gospel' music. I however want to argue that songs and musical pieces cannot be identified as 'Gospel' music from their sounds and instruments alone. For example, the minor II-V-I chord progression can be used in any musical piece in any context, within any generic code, and that would not make that particular musical work a 'Gospel' song. In the same way, a musical piece cannot be categorised as 'Gospel' simply because of certain musical instruments (e.g. the organ) used

in it. I am therefore arguing that unknown instrumental songs, in any context, cannot be categorised as 'Gospel' music, just from their sound alone.

2.5.2. South African popular music elements

There are some musical elements that define music as South African. Most of these are encapsulated in Andrew Muwowo's account in Table 2.1. These elements are not necessarily a checklist to define a musical piece as South African, but they help us to easily identify and distinguish South African music from the 'other' musics. A musical piece does not necessarily need to have all these in order to fall into this category, but the overall combination of various elements; and the overall sound of the tune will determine which box it will fall into. These elements include, amongst others: rhythm, musical structure and progression, vocal style and arrangement, instrumentation, and language, and I have summarised them in Table 2.2, below.

2.5.2.1. Rhythm

Popular South African and African music in general, have a strong sense of rhythm, which is emphasised more than words or text; as Muwowo suggests in Table 2.1. above, that "rhythm (in African music) is the provider of aesthetic satisfaction to the ear". The rhythm of South African popular music usually emphasises every beat of the bar. This is rhythmically achieved in many ways. For example, in a multi-African-drums band, a simple 4/4 rhythm can be played in different ways, the bass drum keeping the basic rhythm, while other drums accent and emphasise different beats, thus resulting, as Muwowo suggests, in a more complex "uneven, poly - or cross – rhythm". In a band setting, this could be achieved in a similar way, for example the drummer would use the bass drum, the snare drum or the hi-hats to accent every beat. The other components of the rhythm section, e.g. the percussion instruments, would break down some beats of the bar into different rhythmic phrases, sometimes duplets or triplets, thus making the music syncopated. This is normally in a fast or moderate tempo, thus giving the music a forward-driving, danceable rhythm.

2.5.2.2. The harmony

The second feature of South African popular music is the musical harmony. (South) African popular music does not emphasise every note of the major scale, but "the melody is loose, following just tones of the syllables of words or strictly one note to one syllable" (Muwowo,

2004: 5). This results in a primary usage of chords I, IV and V, while the other chords are normally used as passing harmonies; as Muwowo suggests, the results also include "harmonies in parallel 3rds, 4ths, 5ths & octaves".

2.5.2.3. Musical structure and progression

The structural progression of the song is normally cyclical, taking one or two phrases and repeating them over and over. Although the music emphasises the chorus, i.e. the main theme (A section), which is the one that is repeated over and over, it does sometimes have a verse (B section) and/or even a bridge (C section). However, as I have already stated, the chorus (A section) is normally the main and the prominent section of the song, resulting in "variation with repetition in singing" (Muwowo, 2004: 5).

2.5.2.4. Vocal style and arrangement

Vocal style also characterises South African popular music in a distinct way. Call and response between the lead and the backing singers is one common feature of local popular music. The vocal style is usually just natural, and without dynamics or articulations such as voluntary vibration, crescendos, and others. Some exclamation phrases, like Hheshe!, Baba!, Hhom!, and many others, are also commonly used percussively to put emphasis on the rhythm. The vocal style is improvisatory, meaning the lead singer is not bound to a fixed musical line or phrase, but can be creative and improvisatory in leading the song.

2.5.2.5. Instrumentation

South African styles of popular-music instrumentation can be grouped into various categories. It can be percussive, in the sense of employing percussion instruments only; it can also be programmed, where sampled sounds and computer generated sounds are used; and it can be instrumentally complex, with guitars, keyboards, drums, saxophones and other musical instruments. Different sub-categories of local 'Gospel' music employ different types of musical instrumentation, as I will discuss in the next sub-section.

2.5.2.6. Language

The texts of South African popular music are commonly in South African languages, mostly Nguni languages.

As I have said, these features of music are not a checklist to qualify a song as (South) African, such that if it does not bear one of these it is disqualified. The judgement is based on the overall sound and the usage of these or some of these elements.

Rhythm	Musical Structure and Progression	Vocal arrangement and style	Instrumentation	Language
• Every beat of the bar emphasised • Moderate or up-beat tempi • Forward-driving and danceable	• I-IV-V chords • Cyclical/ Repetitive structure • Chorus dominates	• Dynamics-free • Call and response • Usage of exclamation phrases • Improvisatory	• Percussion • Programmed • Instrumentally complex	• South African languages especially Nguni languages

Table 2.2. The Summary of South African popular music elements

There are innumerable examples that demonstrate these elements in the music. Jabu Hlongwane in his album *Keep me true*[12] demonstrates some of these elements. The title track 'Keep me true' is typical of contemporary African-American songs, in 3-part harmony with crescendos, voluntary vibrations, staccatos and other vocal articulations. In the track 'There is a race', Hlongwane takes the chorus of 'Keep me true', speeds up its tempo from around 65 beats per minute to around 90 beats per minute. He also changes the harmony and rather uses a dynamics-free 4-part vocal harmony. The music also changes from complex chord progression to a simple choice of I-IV-V. Hlongwane is accompanied by a female, singing in an improvisatory vocal style, in parallel 3rds, 4ths, 5ths and octaves to his vocal lines. The computer-programmed rhythm is forward-driving with the bass drum kicking on every beat of the four-beat bar. The musical structure changes from A-B-A-B to a one-theme form, which repeats three sentences throughout a 4-minutes duration of the song.

Amadodana AseWesile's *Mangisondezwe*[13], is another example to demonstrate this. This song is a Zulu-translated version of a well known church hymn *Nearer my God to thee.* This

[12] Jabu Hlongwane. Sony Music Entertainment. 2004.
[13] Amadodana AseWesile. Gallo Records. 1995.

song is sung a cappella. The beat of the song, between 80 and 85 beats per minute, is forward driving. The usage of 'isqamelo' in accenting every beat of the 4/4 bar, puts an emphasis on the rhythm. The percussive usage of 'isifutho', in beats two and four, also enhances the strong sense of rhythm. The leading vocalist, accompanied by another voice in parallel harmonies, is improvisatory and is not based on one particular scale, but employs numerous scales, used interchangeably.

2.6. Sub-genres under South African 'Gospel' music

I finally want to look at the **Sub-genres** under South African 'Gospel' music. As I have hinted, the musical elements that I have just discussed manifest in different ways in different songs. Depending on the prevalence of certain features over the other, a song may fall in one sub-genre or the other. Most of the local 'Gospel' artists constantly cross generic boundaries, in the sense that they mix different generic styles in one album, and even in one song. It is, as a result, improper to categorise artists according to sub-genre, rather one should categorise songs on the basis of the common stylistic traits and generic codes that they share.

Keith Negus gives a clear account of how popular music performers engage with the music in creating, maintaining, and crossing the generic boundaries, and he groups them into three: "the genericists, pastichists and synthesists" (1996: 145-6). According to Negus, 'genericists' are those performers who stick to one particular genre and their musical repertoire abides by certain particular generic codes, rules and conventions. 'Pastichists' in the middle are those artists and performers who follow the musical styles and trends set by other artists. In Negus' terms, pastichists "recognise that a new style has appeared or has become popular and so include this in their set as yet another style to be performed as part of a varied repertoire" (1996: 145). 'Synthesists' on the other hand keep their styles, but also import elements of other sounds, and then create, in Negus' terms, "a new distinct musical identity" (1996: 146). "These are [...] working at the fuzzy boundaries where generic codes and stylistic conventions meet and create new musical patterns" (Negus, 1996: 146). These categories are evident in the genre of local 'Gospel'. Different musicians use different sounds in different ways, to create a very wide range of songs that can be categorised as local 'Gospel'. As I have stated, it is not easy to confine and categorise artists into one sub-genre, because of their continuous crossing of generic boundaries. Hence I want to refer to the local 'Gospel' sub-genres into which songs rather than artists are categorised. I will however highlight artists who predominantly, but maybe not solely, fall into each category. The Recording Industry of

South Africa (RISA), as reflected in the recent MTN South African Music Awards (SAMA), categorises local 'Gospel' into three, namely; Traditional; African or Indigenous and Contemporary 'Gospel'. I find these categories not completely representative of local 'Gospel', and would rather add a fourth category. I prefer to call these categories Sub-genre A, Sub-genre B, Sub-genre C and Sub-genre D. I have summarised these in Table 2.3.

2.6.1. Sub-genre A is characterised by music normally in a moderate or fast tempo and danceable rhythm. Every beat of the bar is emphasised. The music is normally programmed on sampled and computer-generated and/or keyboard sounds. The vocals are arranged in four-part harmony and are in a dynamics-free style. The singers use call and response. The music is cyclical; a short phrase is repeated over and over. Chords I, IV and V are dominantly used. Derrick Ndzimande and later Rebecca Malope are the pioneers of this style. Jabu Hlongwane's *There is a race*, discussed in section 2.6, above, is an example of a musical piece falling into this category. This category would be an equivalent of RISA's Traditional 'Gospel'.

2.6.2. Sub-genre B. This category, an equivalent of RISA's Indigenous music, emanates directly from African Christian music such as the music of the Zionists, Nazareth Baptist Church (Shembe), and others, with a strong influence of indigenous South African sounds and harmonies. It also has similar vocal style to sub-genre A; it is however mainly characterised by being sung *a cappella* or accompanied by percussion instruments only. The tempi of the songs vary from slow to fast. The rhythm of the song is usually enhanced by using percussive vocal sounds like "Tshif" referred to as 'isifutho' in Zionists' circles. This sound is used in every beat of the four-beat bar, and is normally supplied by a leader of the group, while the backing vocals hum. The voices are in four-part harmony and the dynamics-free vocal style is used as well. Singers use call and response, the lead singer dominates singing a verse to which the chorus of the backing singers responds. The lead singer is usually accompanied by another vocalist, normally a female, especially when the song climaxes. The forerunners of this sub-genre are Amadodana aseWesile and Solly Moholo, inter alia. Amadodana AseWesile's *Mangisondezwe*, also discussed in section 2.6, above is an example of a song that falls into this category.

2.6.3. Sub-genre C is mainly characterised by its use of elements of indigenous musical styles such as isicathamiya, mbaqanga, maskandi, mbube, and others. This differs from sub-genre B, in a sense that accompaniment is used in these songs. This accompaniment

is variable and is complex, with drums, guitars, keyboards, and other instruments. The vocal style also varies according to the indigenous style employed. This is the least common of the four sub-genres. Phelelani Mnomiya is one master musician in this category. His *Um'uNkulunkul' engakithi* [14] encapsulates these features. The song is based on South African mbaqanga music, as reflected in Mnomiya's dynamics-free lead-vocal style, harmonies based on the pentatonic scale and the usage of call-and-response between the lead singer and the choir. Other musical elements such as the usage of percussion bongo drums, other sampled instruments that resemble accordion and guitars, ululation, 'amakhwela' and the shouting of the choir towards the end of the song also highlight the South African mbaqanga influence on the song.

2.6.4. Sub-genre D employs 'foreign' musical elements and fuses them with South African popular music elements. This would be an equivalent of RISA's Contemporary 'Gospel'. It is in a way similar to sub-genre C, besides the fact that it employs 'foreign', other than indigenous styles. As a result, the musical progression, structure, harmonies, instrumentation and vocal arrangement are determined by the musical style employed. It is in this sub-genre that one can locate such hybridised genres as 'Gospel'-Rap, R&B-'Gospel', 'Gospel'-Rock and others. Arguably, every South African 'Gospel' tune that does not fall in any of the above categories, would belong here. Other styles, e.g. 'Gospel'-kwaito, can also be found in this category. These styles have claimed a South African origin, but have foreign influence, e.g. house music, in the case of Kwaito. Benjamin Dube has been very explorative with musical sounds, by employing different styles in his repertoire. In the title track of his recent album 'Oh Bless Our God'[15], he has employed 'foreign' influences, evidently proven by featuring Abba, who gives the song a hip-hop feel. The music is complex, and this song is in an up-tempo beat, with a 40-voice choir and a 10-piece band. The arrangement is primarily based on Contemporary 'American' 'Gospel' sounds. Abba comes in and raps in the song, thus giving it a hip-hop feel. The song ends and then begins afresh in a Jamaican reggae style. This is a very good example of what kind of songs would fall under this category.

2.7. Local 'Gospel' music genre and the end of apartheid

The birth of democracy since 1994 has seen South Africa through many changes and major transformations. 'Gospel' music has grown to claim one of the biggest popular music

[14] Phelelani Mnomiya. S.B.P. Music. 1998.
[15] Benjamin Dube & High Praise Explosion. Sony Music Entertainment. 2004

audiences and continues to be one of the top-selling music genres in the country. Gugu Sibiya, a Sowetan Newspaper writer, attests to this: "Gospel music is the biggest music money-spinner in the country and has shown phenomenal growth during the past several years"[16]. According to Lindelani Mkhize, one of the well-known local 'Gospel' music producers, "South Africa is the only country in the world where Christian music is bigger that secular music"[17]. In 1995, local 'Gospel' music had only one category in the SAMA ceremony, but today, as reflected in the recent MTN SAMA 11, held earlier this year, it has three categories[18].

Local 'Gospel' artists and have also grown musically and in numbers. Joyous Celebration, for instance, one of the biggest and a multi-award winning local 'Gospel' group, had only one show in 1996 for the recording of their second album. But today, when recording their albums, they use some of the biggest auditoriums, e.g. the Playhouse Drama Theatre in Durban, the Market Theatre in Johannesburg, the State Theatre in Pretoria; and they tour nation-wide. In Durban alone, they have seven shows, most of which are fully booked. This shows that both the audience and the performers of local 'Gospel' have grown. The birth of democracy also saw the introduction of new sounds to local 'Gospel'. Some of these sounds, such as 'kwaito', are a direct product of democracy.

2.8. Conclusion

As I have shown throughout this chapter, South African 'Gospel' music genre owes its existence and sustainability to certain stylistic traits and other generic codes that define it as a genre. I have outlined the features and elements that define South African popular music. Secondly it owes it to other stylistic attributes, such as the text and/or the 'Gospel' theme. These, in Negus' model, would define the genre of local 'Gospel' music. South African 'Gospel' music is one of the biggest genres of local music, claiming one of the biggest audiences of popular music in the country. It is a complex genre and its association with religion makes it more complex and effects both on its performers and its consumers. The birth of democracy in South Africa has had an indelible impact on local 'Gospel' genre, as discussed in this chapter. The incorporation of new styles of music, such as 'kwaito', into

[16] Quoted from Sowetan Newspaper edition of Friday, June 17 2005, pg.6.
[17] Quoted from the Talk Show hosted by Nqubeko Mbatha at Durban City Hall on September 09, 2005.
[18] Source: Recording Industry of South Africa website- www.risa.co.za

'Gospel' music has also broadened the genre, connecting it to new sounds and other music genres.

Sub-Genre	Elements	Examples of Artists
A	• Moderate and/or fast tempi • Danceable rhythm, every beat emphasised • Dynamics-free vocal style with call & response • Sampled sounds and programmed music • Cyclical structure • Chords I, IV &V dominantly used	• Derrick Ndzimande • Rebecca Malope • Vuyo Mokoena • Sipho Makhabane • Avante • Lundi Tyamara • Deborah Fraser • Youth with Mission • Lord Comforters
B	• African 'traditional' music influence • Varied tempi • 4-part, Dynamics-free vocal style with call & response (the leader dominates the song) • A cappella or percussion accompanied • Vocal percussive sounds and humming	• Amadodana aseWesile • Solly Moholo • IPCC • Izikhova ezimnqindi • Nazareth Baptist Church • Intethelelo yabazalwane • Imvuselelo yaseNatali
C	• Indigenous musical styles • Instrumentation variable • Vocal style variable	• Fakaza • Vuka Afrika • African G.I. Harmonies • Phelelani Mnomiya • Neyi Zimu
D	• 'Foreign' + 'local' musical elements • Hybridised genres • Varied instrumentation • Varied musical structures & harmonies	• Joyous Celebration • Benjamin Dube • Jay Hlungwani • Mthunzi Namba

Table 2.3. Local 'Gospel' Sub-genres, their defining elements and examples of artists.

Chapter *Three* – PRODUCTION

3.1. Introduction

The production of popular music involves a series of activities. In general terms, "production refers to the process whereby a product or service is produced. Accordingly it would refer to both the creation of a master in a recording studio and the mass production of cassettes in a manufacturing plant" (SAMIR, 1998: 13). Keith Negus makes an important argument, which I consider as the bottom-line of popular music production. "The industry," he says, "needs to be understood as both a commercial business driven by the pursuits of profit and a site of creative human activity from which some very great popular music has come and continues to emerge" (1996: 36). Popular music production, I want to agree, is premised on these two sites, (a) the business and (b) the creative human activity. The same principle applies to the production of 'Gospel' music; it goes beyond just the technical or the craft production of a master in a studio or of the CD in the manufacturing plant, but also involves creativity and efforts of (an) individual(s), who is/are influenced by a certain background, culture and lifestyle. I will therefore deal with the production of 'Gospel' in two phases: the cultural ('Gospel' culture) and the industrial (music industry).

3.2. 'Gospel' music production and the 'Gospel' culture

Raymond Williams explains culture as "a particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behavior" (1965: 56). Joli Jensen expands on this, by arguing that "culture should be seen much more broadly as the means through which people create meaningful worlds in which to live" (1984: 110). Keith Negus also subscribes to this, by quoting Dick Hebdige's account of culture and explains it as "a broad range of social activities, meanings, values, beliefs, institutions and commodities" (1996: 15).

'Gospel' music, like any other popular music, is produced within a particular culture. Brian Longhurst makes a similar argument. "All popular music", he says, "is produced within a social context" (1995: 29). 'Gospel' music, as was explained in Chapter 2, is based on Christian religion, the Christian culture or the 'Gospel' culture. Its production involves a broad range of social activities, meanings, beliefs, values, institutions and commodities. Don Cusic notes similar views about the Christian culture. He says that, "the Christian culture is a network of like-minded people, connected to each other by the church" (2002(b): 358). My argument here is that when producing 'Gospel' music, musicians are actually producing a certain culture, informed and influenced by both Christianity and certain experiences that they have encountered. Most of these artists are either practising Christians, have a Christian background or have the origins of their musical careers in church, as I have hinted earlier.

Jabu Nkabinde, a well-known producer/musician says, "My father was a pastor [...] I come from a church background. Don't get me wrong – I like dance and in fact any kind of music that makes your body move. But my roots are in 'Gospel' and I'm a strong believer in God and I'll never stop loving what I do"[19]. Other artists, the likes of Benjamin Dube, Mthunzi Namba, Lusanda, Deborah Fraser, Jabu Hlongwane, Neyi Zimu, Ntokozo Mbambo, and many others, are examples of such artists. 'Gospel' groups like Amadodana aseWesile, International Pentecostal Church Choir, Youth with Mission, MaNgconde, AmaNazaretha Baptist Church, Praise Africa, African G.I Harmonies, Phelelani Mnomiya and Umlazi Oasis Fellowship Choir and others, are church-based recording 'Gospel' artists. I am, however, by no means insinuating that all 'Gospel' artists have a church background or are Christians for that matter;

[19] Author's Interview with Jabu Nkabinde on September 27, 2004 at Johannesburg.

some are in the field for the sole purpose of business and profit making. But my intention here is to point to a Christian culture, upon which the production of 'Gospel' music is premised.

Some artists, as suggested in the previous chapter by Benjamin Dube's song, sing 'Gospel' music, but do not live up to the demands and expectations of 'Gospel culture'. Christianity is a complex religion. As a Christian myself, I know the complexity thereof. The whole phenomenon of being 'born-again', 'Spirit-filled' and others is a huge mystery to many. For the purposes of this work, I will not go any deeper than that into the Christian religion. The point I'm trying to drive home is that there is a 'Gospel' culture upon which 'Gospel' music is produced. This culture is based and premised on the 'Gospel', as defined and discussed in Chapter 2. As argued, 'Gospel' music is dominantly text music, meaning that it is primarily defined by its text. This 'Gospel' culture or the set of beliefs, values, meanings, etc., is primarily portrayed and maintained in different ways in the texts of songs. Writing about the growth of 'Gospel' music, Don Cusic points to this, when saying that "songs exposed the theology and views of this culture, while singers and musicians openly proclaimed allegiances to these Christian-based cultural and social views" (2002(b): 355).

Rebecca Malope alludes to the same point. Talking about the music and the message in her recent album, which is a collaborative work with the 'Village Pope' Tshepo Tshola, she said, "I especially did not want to shy away from issues like divorce and families breaking up, because I believe that many of the people living in the country are faced with situations like this. They need to be able to hear lyrics that relate to what they are going through whilst at the same time remaining full of Jesus' spirit. There is even a song that talks about marriage with Jesus – it's kind of a love song and it really is what living a Christian life is all about"[20].

Most 'Gospel' songs' texts are direct –and some indirect- phrases and abstracts from the Bible; for example Benjamin Dube's *Our Father*[21], is a direct excerpt of 'The Lord's Prayer' taken from the sixth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, from the ninth through thirteenth verses. Joyous Celebration has another version of the same song[22].

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[20] Author's Interview with Rebecca Malope, on September 28, 2004 in Johannesburg.
[21] Benjamin Dube. Spirit Music. 2002.
[22] Track 10 in Joyous Celebration. Sony Music Entertainment. 2001.

Other songs are an endorsement of Christian principles, for example Vuyo Mokoena's *Ulikholwa*[23]:

Uma umunt'elikholwa ngempela,-[If a man is a true believer]
Im'sebenz' iyabonakala.-[The deeds tell]
Caca Mzalwane phumel'obala.-[Be (a) defined Christian and come out in the open]

This song is based on the Christian teaching that 'Faith without works is as good as dead'. Other songs are a confession of faith; for example, Rebecca Malope's *Ukholo lwam*[24]:

Angeke ngilulahle ukholo lwami, - [I won't give up my faith]
Sengiwa sengivuka nokholo lwami, - [I'll fall and rise up with my faith].

Many other songs have such textual themes from the 'Gospel', which is the main way in which the Christian culture is portrayed in the music. Some of these songs are encouragements, motivations, invitations to the Christian faith, prayers, personal testimonies, etc. It is such texts that show, in many ways, the culture on which 'Gospel' music is premised and produced.

3.3. 'Gospel' music production and the music industry

3.3.1. Major Production Companies

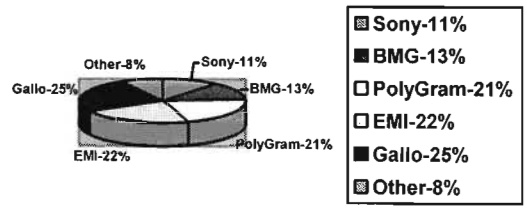
Various scholars of popular music have compared popular music industry to different things. Dave Harker refers to it as a "sausage machine" (1980); John Ryan and Richard Peterson point at it as a "production line" (1982); Paul Hirsch calls it a "systems model" (1972); and Keith Negus drawing on Theodor Adorno's writings refers to the popular music industry as a "corporate machine" (1996: 36). These analogies between the popular music industry and systems and machines simply attempt to present the industry as having processes through which the music passes before it reaches its final state on a CD or a cassette. Keith Negus, drawing on Paul Hirsch's 'systems model' states that, "the process starts with the selection of 'raw materials', which are drawn from the universe of potential recordings. These are then

[23] Track 2 in Vuyo Mokoena. Sony music Entertainment. 2003.
[24] Track 1in Rebecca Malope. CCP/EMI SA. 1999.

admitted to a 'creative subsystem' where they are filtered by producers and record company policy makers to the business sector of the industry and then through regional promoters and the media until finally reaching the public. At each stage record industry gatekeepers are engaged in selecting and rank ordering the products as they pass through the system" (1996: 55).

According to SAMIR five major music recording companies dominate the South African music industry. These companies are Sony, BMG, PolyGram, EMI and Gallo. According to this report, these companies, as shown in figure 3.1, are responsible for 11%, 13%, 21%, 22% and 25% of the music produced in South Africa, respectively. The remaining 8% is the music produced by private and small record companies. This report further states that these 5 major companies controlled 98% of the South African music market in the first half of 1997 (1998: 29). Three of these companies are responsible for most of the 'Gospel' music produced in South Africa. These are Sony, EMI, through CCP, and Gallo Records. BMG and PolyGram specialise in music genres other than 'Gospel' music.

Figure 3.1. South African Popular Music Production Companies as per their percentage production.



Source: South African Music Industry Report- 1998

Music companies are profit-making institutions. The structures, policy makers and committee personnel within the companies work to ensure that the companies attain maximum financial profit out of their products. Geoffrey Hull outlines the intentions of the music production companies in his account of the personnel within the music industry structures. He says that these personnel "seek to own and control all aspects in the production of their products from the raw ingredients to retail consumers ... [and] control the creative inputs from recording artists" (1998: 35).

CCP is a South African subsidiary of EMI and is one music company that has produced many South African 'Gospel' artists. In the indirect words, of CCP's A&R Daniella Dellacqua, CCP enforces the 'gate-keeping' principle. She says that, "through a stringent and market-related A&R philosophy, paying particular attention for the need for artists to be presented as completely as possible, the label plans to assist new talent in developing every aspect of their appeal in order to satisfy the ever increasing critical standards of the music buyer."[25] Music companies have got producers, A&R personnel, artist managers, promoters and other officers, who operate the 'machine', to make sure that the product satisfies the ever increasing critical standards of the music buyer. This of course will therefore ensure that the buyer invests his or her money in the company, by buying the product, and therefore the profit-making business of the company is strengthened and sustained.

The most prominent persons who work closely with the artist in the studio production of the music are the A&R and the producer and/or the sound engineer. The A&R department is the main gate into the music industry. Unless they want to produce their record completely independently, a band's first aim is to get a record contract. The first department they come into contact with in the company is the A&R department, which "is in charge of finding and recording artists. It may look for songs for artists who do not write their own. Because the A&R department is in charge of delivery of a complete product, ready to be marketed, it also has to perform administrative duties associated with the finished master" (Hull, 1998: 39). Once the A&R department is certain about a potential 'hit' artist, it approaches the company's management or senior governing body, which has to decide whether or not to sign the artist, and if yes, decides on the record contract.

If the artist is happy, or rather 'okay', with the contract (which s/he mostly does not have much control and powers over), the next duty is to assign that artist to a relevant producer and/or studio sound engineer, who "is in charge of the recording process. They (producers) may find the talent and record it, record it after others have found it, or screen talent being pitched to the label" (Hull, 1998: 40). Longhurst elaborates on this by adding that "the producer's job is to control the overall sound. Some [...] impose their ideas on artists who are there simply to make the basic noise he wants" (1995: 56). Longhurst also points to the studio engineer's work (in case s/he is not the same person as the producer) which is to "make the machinery do what the producer wants, getting the required effect out of the

[25] Author's Interview with Daniela Dellacqua on September 27, 2004 at Johannesburg.

equipment" (Longhurst, 1995: 56). In most cases the producer and the engineer are either one person, or in the cases where they aren't, they work together as a permanent team, moving together from studio to studio to do different sessions. The duties of these personnel are clearly to filter any 'unwanted' material from the artist and get the 'right' sound that will sell and make profit for the company.

3.3.2. Independent/Private labels - 'Indies'

Independent companies, also referred to as 'indies', are small, private music companies. Geoffrey Hull describes them as "those [companies] not owned by one of the major labels or conglomerates, [...], covering everything from a small label in a large city with a couple of artists, [...] to a label with a significant artist roster and national distribution through independent distributors" (1998: 41). These indies, according to SAMIR, were responsible for 8% of the music produced in South Africa in 1997. RISA has about 286 record labels registered as members, in its website[26]. Some of these labels are those responsible for the production of local 'Gospel' music. It is a common trend amongst popular music artists nowadays to go through the indies route when recording an album, rather than through the major companies. Some artists do studio work privately and then approach the companies for duplication and distribution only. In that way, they have control over the content of the album. Some artists do everything, from recording to distribution, independently. Some big artists such as Benjamin Dube and Praise Africa have also taken this route, releasing their albums through Spirit Music and Rhema Ministries Ancillary Services respectively.

3.4. Major Production companies versus Independent/Private companies

As I have already suggested, each of the two routes for producing music has its own advantages and disadvantages (see Table 3.2). Different artists have taken either of the two routes, and have obtained different results. Some have gone through major companies and either succeeded or failed while others took the indies route and also either succeeded or failed. Artists like Benjamin Dube, who have been in the industry for some time, releasing their music through indies, have made it big and have become popular in the industry, in a same way that other big artists such as Rebecca Malope, who have gone through the major companies' route, have.

[26] Source: Recording industry of South Africa's website – www.risa.co.za

I conversed with Phelelani Mnomiya about the advantages and disadvantages of using the indies route. He has, to date, released two albums with Umlazi Oasis Fellowship choir, through a privately-owned label. "It depends on your financial muscle, you know," he said. "With major companies you do not struggle with financial issues for production, promotion and distribution. However, you do not get much of the money you work for, whereas for the indies, every rand you make comes to you. You must, however have good production expertise, or alternatively, find a good producer"[27]. For other artists, the control over the musical content of the production is more crucial than other aspects of production. For Neyi Zimu, who has also released two albums through a private label, this route "gives me control over the authenticity of the material I use and also I do not have someone telling me 'why not cut that out', or 'do that like that' and stuff like that. I'm the boss of my own and I determine the final product"[28].

The major companies route might favour artists who are financially and musically stable, but for upcoming and inexperienced artists who do not have much financial back-up or music expertise, and who lack a network of people in the music industry, this might just be a recipe for failure. In an actual fact, this route accounts for hundreds of 'Gospel' albums that are not popularly recognised. Nevertheless, this route continues to be an easily accessible and thus a normal choice of many artists. By releasing their albums completely independently of the major recording companies, the artists maintain their right over the music and the content of the final product. Moreover, they also have personal access to - and 'transparent' knowledge of - the profit or loss they make out of their products. Table 3.1. shows different local 'Gospel' artists, in different production companies. By using the indies route, artists can bypass the long process of securing a record deal with the major companies, as shown in Figure 3.2. In some instances, the artist produces and even records his/her own album, thus cutting out the middle man in the production of that album. These two routes, as suggested earlier, have different advantages and disadvantages for the artist, as outlined in Table 3.2. These routes of course have different outcomes for different artists and also involve different sorts of contracts and working policies. South African 'Gospel' artists, as shown in Table 3.1, have over the years used different production routes, with different outcomes in terms of the final product, record sales, exposure and fame, and other pros and cons that go with the production of popular music.

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[27] Author's Interview with Phelelani Mnomiya on May 05, 2004, in Durban.
[28] Author's Interview with Neyi Zimu on September 24, 2004 in Johannesburg.

Major Companies	Independent / Private Companies
CCP/EMI: Rebecca Malope, Avante, Amadodana aseWesile, I.P.C.C., Solly Moholo, Lord Comforters, Winnie Mashaba, Sipho Makhabane, Shongwe and Khuphuka, Themba Chauke. ***SONY MUSIC:*** Mthunzi Namba, Joyous Celebration, Family Factory, Sabata Masoka, Jabu Hlongwane, Ntokozo Mbambo, Vicky Vilakazi, Vuyo Mokoena, Margaret Motsage, Benjamin Dube and High Praise Explosion. ***GALLO RECORD COMPANY:*** Joshua Maponga, Witness of God, Abadumisi, Albertina, Alfa Singers, Amadodana aseWesile, AmaNazaretha, Bishop Roxley, Bothlaba Believers in God, Butingville MYG Choir, Family of Christ, Holy Cross Choir, Intethelelo Yabazalwane, Izikhova Ezimnqindi, Izinkanyezi, Jo Smith, Lusanda Spiritual Group, Rev. L.S. Booysen.	Benjamin Dube – *Spirit Music*, Neyi Zimu – *NN Productions*, Fakaza – *Chris Faya Productions*, Lundi Tyamara – *Bula Music*, Praise Africa – *Rhema Ministries*, Andile Majola – *Elinda Productions*, Pongola 'Gospel' Wagon – *PGW Music*, Covenant Fellowship Church – *Hhaya Afrika*, Tehilla Family Worship – *Nala Productions*, Spin tha Flava – *STF Music*, Phelelani Mnomiya & Umlazi Fellowship Choir – *S.B.P. Music*, Thulani Shezi - *Mouse Mix Media*, Andile B – *Bula Music*, Sacred Brothers – *Bula Music*, Tears of Joy – *TOJ Music*, Salvation With Victory Choir – *Soul Music Works* Hlengiwe Mhlaba – *Amanxusa Music Productions*.

TABLE 3.1. Examples of local 'Gospel' music artists in different production companies.

Major Companies		Independent/Private Companies	
Advantages	Disadvantages	Advantages	Disadvantages
• Production expenses taken care of; • Quicker and easier route to industry connections, fame and exposure	• Contract favours the company the most; • No control over the content of the final product; • You get only a small percentage of the gross profit generated	• More control and say over the content of the final product; • Quicker and easier access to all monies generated.	• Must have a strong financial backup; • Must have music production expertise; • Longer and a less easy route to exposure and fame.

TABLE 3.2. Major Production Companies versus Indies: Artist's advantages and disadvantages.

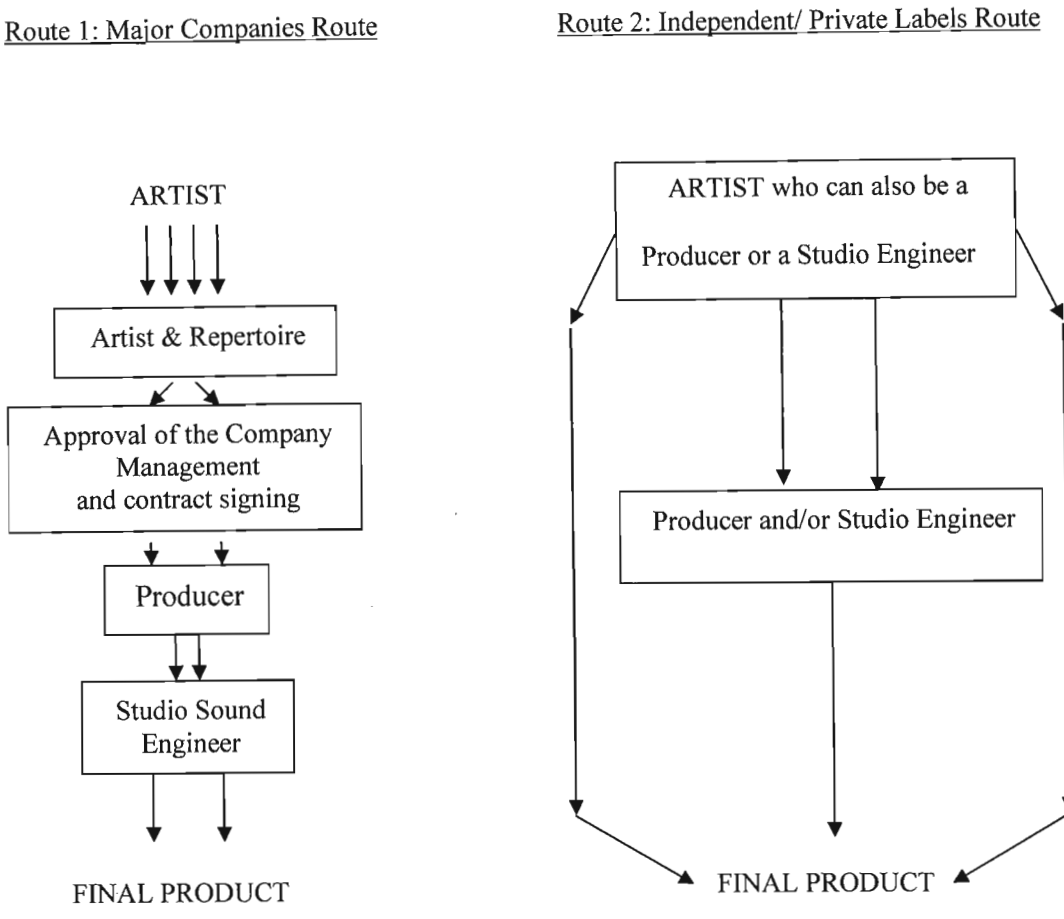


Figure 3.2. Major production companies versus indies: production routes

3.5. South African 'Gospel' music production and the end of apartheid

The end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994, as explained in the introduction, has impacted upon and affected the music industry in many ways. The production of South African 'Gospel' music has also been impacted upon by the birth of democracy. One of the most evident impacts of the end of apartheid, as argued in the previous chapter, has been the rapid growth of private labels and home studios. This has enabled many artists to record their own albums without approaching major companies or to approach them only for duplication and distribution. This is because of the financial resources that the democratic government has made available. The government has also opened many financial doors for the previously disadvantaged citizens, through programmes and institutions such as Umsobomvu Youth Fund, Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), the National Arts Council (NAC) and others.

Sipho Makhabane started a private label Amanxusa in 2000, through the assistance of the NAC. He says that such a thing was not possible during the apartheid era. "A black man could not open a private label; it was like against the law, only 'whites' had the right to own companies"[29]. Benjamin Dube echoed a similar view about this, "During the apartheid era, we had problems finding recording studios, because most of them were owned by 'whites' who didn't think we were human enough to use their facilities"[30]. Sipho Makhabane cited that before he had his company, he had difficulties getting the major companies to sell his music, let alone record it. "I had to sell the music in the taxi and bus ranks, from the boot of my car, because the companies did not think that the music was good enough for business", he said in the interview. He acknowledges that he is now able to sell his music through major companies and even distribute to retail shops, through Amanxusa, his private label.

This private ownership of labels and studios has enabled artists to experiment with their music and record their music freely and without restraint. This has been directly responsible for the rise of different musical styles. The birth of democracy in South Africa has also seen 'blacks' occupying positions that could not, by any chance be occupied by any person other than 'whites' during the apartheid era. A 'black' person could not be a managing director of a major company, like Lindelani Mkhize has been at Sony. This has enabled 'blacks' to be part of the policy making committees, and their experiences and inputs made major companies easily accessible to - and has increased the number of - 'black' groups and artists signed to major companies.

3.6. Summary and Conclusion

In my conclusion, I want to emphasise the point that when producing local 'Gospel', musicians, i.e. composers, artists, producers, etc., are not just producing the music on its own, but also a certain culture, the Christian culture upon which 'Gospel' music is premised. South African 'Gospel' music industry, as I have argued in this chapter, is governed and guided by individuals who select the music and help shape the final sound that is available for public consumption. As also argued, the decision about what to include as the final product and what not to, is primarily guided by the high hopes of the 'gatekeepers' that it will contribute in making the product more appealing and therefore boost the sales. This is

[29] Author's Interview with Sipho Makhabane on May 03, 2004 in Durban.

[30] Author's Interview with Benjamin Dube on August 28, 2004 in Johannesburg.

one of the two viewpoints from which Keith Negus suggests the music industry should be viewed- i.e. as "a commercial business driven by the pursuits of profit" (Negus, 1996: 36).

I would like to argue and conclude that this applies to both major record companies and indies in the same way. Similarly, I am arguing that the 'gate-keeping' theory is valid in the production of South African 'Gospel' music, whether by major companies or by indies. Either an album is released by, say Rebecca Malope, having been recorded and produced by Jabu Nkabinde for CCP Records; or it is released by Neyi Zimu, who records and produces his album in his home studio and releases it on his private label, NN Productions: in either case the 'gate-keeping' principle applies. The mere fact that no 'Gospel' album (or any other album, for that matter) is released after the public has voted on and approved the final content of the product, means that other individual(s) make the decisions, selecting the content from a wide or narrow range of material and determining the final product to be available to the public. Those are 'gate-keeping' roles.

Finally, I want to point to Negus' suggestion that "the work of the people in the industry should not be dismissed as the activities of automated cogs in a machine, cynical bureaucrats or well intentioned but gullible puppets..., [but rather as] a site of creative human activity from which some very great popular music has come and continues to emerge" (1996: 36). Hence, I want to acknowledge the great work of some local 'Gospel' music producers for the good work and indelible inputs they have made and continue to make in the music industry, in terms of discovering, nurturing and producing great talents that South Africa has witnessed. Producers like Sizwe Zakwe, Mthunzi Namba, Lindelani Mkhize, Jabu Nkabinde, Tshepo Nzimande, Sipho Mbhele and others, have over the years unearthed and nurtured great talents such as Rebecca Malope, Ntokozo Mbambo, Lundi Tyamara, Sabata Masoka, Sfiso, Andile Bebula, Margaret, Vuyo Mokoena, and many others.

Chapter *Four* – MEDIATION

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I looked at the production of local 'Gospel' music from its origins to a finished tangible product, in a form of a CD or a cassette. In this chapter, I shall look at mediation, which is the process by which that finished product and its content is moved and transmitted to the target audience or the public, for consumption. In short, as Negus says, mediation is a process that "connects production and consumption" (1996: 66). SAMIR stresses the importance of the role that mediation plays in the music circulation chain. It says that mediation "is critical to the success of the music industry, because it provides the public presence and availability which is necessary to drive consumption" (1998: 64). I want to explore the different means and modes by which South African 'Gospel' music is mediated. Before I look into details of these mediation strategies, I want to refer to the mediation of the 'Gospel' culture that goes hand-in-a-glove with the mediation of 'Gospel' music.

4.2. Mediation of 'Gospel' culture

In Chapter 3, I argued that 'Gospel' music is premised on a culture that I called 'Gospel culture'. I further argued that by producing 'Gospel' music, the producers at the same time (re)produce this culture. In Chapter 2, I traced the history of 'Gospel' music from the African-American Christian churches and argued the basis of 'Gospel' music on the 'Gospel', as defined in that chapter. I further traced local 'Gospel' music from the arrival of the 'white' settlers and missionaries in South Africa. I then concluded that 'Gospel' music cannot be separated from Christianity and 'Gospel' culture. Consequently, I want to argue that, by mediating 'Gospel' music, the artists at the same time mediate the 'Gospel' culture. By taking the music whose theme is based on the 'Gospel' or the Biblical teaching, to the audiences, the artists are at the same time preaching, teaching, prophesying, etc., to the consumer, or more specifically, mediating 'Gospel' culture.

My argument is supported by Negus' claim that mediation "is more frequently understood as referring to how power and influence is exercised through such mediated relationships [...] From this perspective, the resulting works should therefore be judged critically in terms of how they may communicate a range of specific meanings which might ideologically privilege particular interests" (1996: 69). This, in simpler terms means that by performing in a concert, appearing on television, internet, newspaper, or magazine, or being heard on the radio, the artist exerts, to a certain extent, some influence on the audience, which might, in turn ignite a desire in the audience's mind, to be like that particular artist. This is similar to what Nathan Corbitt says, that "in a general sense, our evaluation of music has more to do with the people who make it, perform it, and respond to it and the context in which it is performed than the music itself" (1998: 33).

One of my respondents from the Durban Christian Centre choir alluded to this when he said that he got 'born again' in a 'Gospel' music concert: "The music was so powerful," he said, "it was like I was experiencing something new in my life. I did not know what it was, but I just knew I had to do something about it, and since then, my life has changed"[31]. This proves the point I am making, that the mediation of 'Gospel' music, and any popular music, for that matter, goes beyond just sounds and images, but also entails 'Gospel' culture.

[31] Author's Interview with Jerome Harvey on October 02, 2004, in Durban.

4.3. South African 'Gospel' Music Mediation

Numerous modes of mediation are used in taking popular music to the consumers. In this chapter, I explore a range of modes that are used by local 'Gospel' music artists to mediate their music. I look at the mediation of music through (a) Radio, (b) TV, (c) Retail Shops (d) Print media, (e) Internet, and (f) Live performances.

4.3.1. Radio

South Africa has many radio stations, categorised into three, namely: public, private and community radio stations. SAMIR states that "after the 1994 elections, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) undertook to 'free the airwaves'. This decision has had a significant impact on the music industry as it has resulted in an increased number of stations to deliver music to the market" (1998: 64). Radio airplay is one of the top priorities of most music promoters, because of its influence on listeners and the size of its listenership. Geoffrey Hull accounts for this phenomenon. He states that "44% of the consumers report purchasing their last album because they heard a song on the radio" (1998: 162). Talking about radio airplay, Hull further says that, "airplay has to be built up from stations in smaller markets or from smaller stations in large markets. Once the record proves to be popular enough, larger stations will consider playing it. If enough stations play the record and if that begins to translate into sales, the label will push to maximise the radio exposure in a concentrated effort to produce the highest possible chart position - an effort that the label hopes will maximise sales" (162).

I have made a survey of local 'Gospel' music airplay on South African radio stations. Local radio stations are required by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) to meet a local quota[32] of 25% of the total music they play in their programmes. Statistics show that "by far the greater number of radio listeners preferred to tune into stations which used the vernacular of specific ethnic/language groups (including Afrikaans). The total audience for these stations amounted to some 17, 4 million in September 1993 compared to the 6, 2 million of the English-language (EL) stations. The vernacular stations also tended to play greater percentages of South African music than their EL counterparts" (Baines, 1998: 13).

[32] Source: South African Music Quota Coalition website.

I have surveyed the mediation of local 'Gospel' music on three radio stations which claim the highest listenership in South Africa. These are Ukhozi FM, Metro FM and Umhlobo Wenene, with a listenership of 4, 8 million, 3, 1 million and 3 million respectively[33]. I tuned to each of these stations on seven different days, for three hours each; at different times between 04h30 and 00h00.

4.3.1.1. Ukhozi FM

Ukhozi FM is a semi-national music and information radio station. It broadcasts in isiZulu. It has music programmes that broadcast local 'Gospel' music, such as *Umculo weZiyoni*, aired between 04h30 to 05h00 on Wednesdays and *Masihube*, broadcast from 09h00 to 10h00, on Sundays. My survey showed that in total, Ukhozi FM presenters or deejays play an average of seven to eleven local 'Gospel' songs per day, in their varied music play lists during their varied radio programmes. This excludes those that are played during local 'Gospel' music programmes. Thursdays are regarded as women's church day, and together with Sundays have a higher number of local 'Gospel' songs played on air. Among the local artists that were aired during my research period were: Rebecca Malope & Tshepo Tshola, Joyous Celebration, U-Turn, Fakaza, Lundi, Benjamin Dube, Vuyo Mokoena, Youth with Mission, and Sipho Makhabane.

4.3.1.2. Metro FM

Metro FM is the largest national urban commercial station in South Africa, broadcasting in English. Although primarily a music station, it also serves some of the listeners' information and educational needs with news, weather reports, economic indicators, traffic reports as well as sport updates. My survey shows Metro FM to broadcast more imported than local 'Gospel' music, at an average ratio of 5:1. Local 'Gospel' music is aired randomly in shows, and there are no programmes that are solely dedicated to local 'Gospel' music. Among the artists that were played during my survey are Joyous Celebration, Praise Africa, Mthunzi Namba, Ntokozo Mbambo, Benjamin Dube and High Praise Explosion and Jay Hlungwani.

4.3.1.3. Umhlobo Wenene

Umhlobo Wenene FM is South Africa's second-largest vernacular radio station after Ukhozi. It broadcasts in isiXhosa and offers music, information, talk, drama and sport. According to

[33] Source: South African Broadcasting Corporation website.

my survey, this radio station plays more local 'Gospel' music than the other two. Local 'Gospel' artists are aired frequently during programmes. There are programmes that solely air local 'Gospel' music, such as *Umculo weVangeli* from 21h05 to 22h00 on Sundays, and *Isandulela senkonzo* from 08h05 to 08h30 on Sundays and 05h00 to 05h30 on Thursdays. Umhlobo Wenene airs mostly local Xhosa 'Gospel' artists. Among the artists that were aired during my research are Lundi, Lord Comforters, Lusanda Spiritual Group, Tears of Joy, Deborah Fraser, Avante and Rebecca Malope.

There are other community radio stations that air local 'Gospel' music, some of which are exclusively Christian Radio stations. These include Highway radio, Igagasi Lobunye, Radio Pulpit, Good News Community Radio, Impact Radio, Radio Alpha, Radio Veritas/ Catholic Radio, and others.

4.3.2. Television

Television is one of the most powerful media in South Africa. However, Baines notes that "that all powerful medium, television, does not yet play a major role in the promotion of music sales in this country. Local record companies have invested little time and money in making music videos" (1998: 11). This statement is true of South African 'Gospel' music. My survey of local 'Gospel' music on TV shows that most music videos that are broadcast in South African television programmes are recorded in the studios, with miming singers and musicians, which show very little effort from the companies to make good, quality music videos. However, the influence that the TV appearance of artists has on consumers is indelible. Music videos broaden the consumption scope of the audience, in the sense that consumers do not only hear the artist, but they also see him/her. Negus says that "regardless of whether a music video might start life as an 'advert' for a song, like a music recording it will gradually be understood and be appreciated over time and through repeated viewing and listening. An awareness of this has led video directors to develop an increasingly 'decorative' aesthetic in which meanings can be generated by various combinations and juxtapositions of visuals, lyrics and music" (1996: 93).

South African television does have programmes that are dedicated to local 'Gospel' music. Of four national television channels, two have specifically local 'Gospel' music programmes.

These programmes are *Gospel Gold* and *Sgubhu Samampela* on SABC1 and *Gospel Time* on SABC2.

4.3.2.1. SABC 1

4.3.2.1. (a) Gospel Gold

Gospel Gold is aired between 09h00 and 10h00 on Sundays, and is repeated on Mondays from 10h00 to 11h00. It is hosted by Zanele Mbokazi and Tennyson Legethe and it broadcasts between seven and ten local 'Gospel' music videos per show. During my analysis of this show, the videos that were aired are: Fakaza, Neyi Zimu, International Pentecostal Church Choir, Lusanda Spiritual group, Sfiso, AmaNazaretha and Shongwe and Khuphuka.

4.3.2.1. (b) Sgubhu samampela

Sgubhu Samampela is a late night music programme that is broadcast between around 00h30 and 05h00. This programme does not solely broadcast local 'Gospel' music, but all sorts of musical genres, both local and international. However, each genre has its slot, and so does local 'Gospel'. One thing that I noted, which confirms what Baines said, is that little effort is put into making (some of) these videos. Most artists have one video that is shown over and over. Most of the videos are of poor quality, shot using one video camera and some have visuals that do not connect with the text and the context of the song. Among the videos that were aired during my survey are: Ringo and Avante, U-Turn, Amadodana aseWesile, Youth Ablaze, Neyi Zimu, Thando, Joshua Maponya, Solly Moholo, Intethelelo Yabazalwane, Imvuselelo yaseNatali, MaNgconde Gospel Singers and Andile B.

4.3.2.2. SABC2

4.3.2.2. (a) Gospel Time

Gospel Time is a local 'Gospel' music studio show, hosted by Rebecca Malope. It is aired on Sundays from 20h00 to 20h30. There are normally two local 'Gospel' artists per show. They are firstly interviewed by Rebecca and then the audience gets to ask them questions. Thereafter they perform some of their songs live on the show. During this show, one upcoming and unrecorded local artist or group also performs and the public must vote whether or not that group is mature enough and ready to record an album. If the majority of the public votes in favour of the group, then Rebecca approaches music companies to try and secure a recording deal for that particular group. Amongst the artists featured in this show are: Mighty Gospel Sounds, Gospel Effect, Avante and Deborah Fraser.

4.3.3. Retail Shops

Local 'Gospel' music is well distributed and available in music retail shops. Keith Negus suggests that "retailers have been exerting an influence on consumers by providing very specific purchasing environments by allocating music to different locations within the stores" (1996: 97). My survey showed that the mediation of local 'Gospel' in retail shops is as good as the mediation of other popular music genres. Some music retail shops, such as Jet Music, do not categorise local 'Gospel' music separately from other 'Gospel' music. Musica, on the other hand has separate shelves for local and global 'Gospel' music. This can have an effect on the consumer or the buyer. For instance, the setting at Jet Music gives a potential buyer a broad range from which to choose, whereas the one at Musica channels the potential buyer to a specific category and in that way reduces his/her choice of the range to choose from.

SAMIR states that "music retail takes a number of forms from sales in large specialist stores such as CD Wherehouse to the sales of cassettes by traders in the rural areas of Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal" (1998: 67). Some of the well known music retail shops are: Musica, Jet Music, Destiny, Reliable Music Warehouse, Gospel Direct, CNA, CUM, and others. There are also many small retail shops and a big deal of street vendors; that sell local 'Gospel' music. Some churches like Durban Christian Centre, Rhema Bible Church, Zoe Bible Church, His People Church and many others also have their own music shops that sell local 'Gospel' music. In summary, South African 'Gospel' music is well distributed and available in retail shops.

4.3.4. Print Media

Geoffrey Hull states that, "6.9% of record buyers indicate that they first heard about those records from a review and/or a print media advert" (Hull, 1998: 113). My research showed that local 'Gospel' music is not well advertised in the print media, especially magazines and newspapers. There are 'Gospel' magazines such as *JOY Magazine* and *'Gospel' Sound Magazine*, which cover local 'Gospel' music, though they are not specifically local 'Gospel' music magazines. Other magazines such as *Drum* and *Bona* also do have brief previews of local 'Gospel' music, but to a very minimal extent. Newspapers also cover local 'Gospel' music to a minimal extent. *Sowetan* does publicise Joyous Celebration when this group is touring. *Sowetan* is a sponsor of the group. *Daily Sun* also has a column on music reviews.

Although this column is also not solely for local 'Gospel', it does to a minimal extent cover local 'Gospel'.

Probably the most effective mode of print media used to mediate South African local 'Gospel' music is posters and fliers. Most 'Gospel' artists, when they are going to have shows, publicise them using posters and fliers. Benjamin Dube and Joyous Celebration, for example, put their posters on almost every pillar in the town where their show will be. Banners and fliers are also commonly used in mediating local artists.

4.3.5. Internet

One of the modes of mediation that has least material about local 'Gospel' music is the internet. Some very popular artists such as Mthunzi Namba, Benjamin Dube, Joyous Celebration, and Rebecca Malope do not have websites of their own. Thus the only material of theirs that is available on the net is that put up by on-line music shops such as Amazon, or by the record companies. Some private websites do, however, cover local 'Gospel' artists. Some of these websites are www.samusic.co.za, www.music.co.za, www.tmusician.co.za and music companies' websites such as CCP Records (www.ccprecords.co.za), Gallo Music (www.gallo.co.za), Sony Music (www.sonymusic.co.za), and others.

4.3.6. Live Performances

Live performance is one of the principal modes of mediation of local 'Gospel' music. These range from massive open-air performances in stadiums, to shows in auditoriums, halls and churches. According to SAMIR, "the live music industry is a central component of the music industry. Live music is both a vibrant sector in itself and provides a valuable support to the recording industry. [It also provides] musicians with a continuous income, a way of promoting their music and provides jobs for a whole range of people from sound engineers and security personnel at concerts to bartenders in live music clubs" (1998, 68). More importantly, this document states that "the gradual growth in the sales of South African music has been mirrored by an increase in venues that host music" (69).

Popular local groups, for example Joyous Celebration, have constant annual performances during Easter and the festive season. Other artists perform frequently in many other venues

across the country, mostly in churches. Other young and upcoming artists perform live in open spaces in towns and cities. Andile Bebula, for example, frequently performs at The Workshop Amphitheatre open-air stage in Durban, on Saturdays. Other artists perform at weddings, funerals, public events, etc.

4.4. South African 'Gospel' Mediation and the end of apartheid

One remarkable effect of the end of apartheid in the mediation of local 'Gospel' music is the abolition of the racial barriers that, firstly, made it difficult for artists of different 'races' to perform together, and secondly, denied 'non-white' artists access to certain public venues. Baines reflects on these issues, and says that, "the impediments imposed by the apartheid regime, especially on black artists, included restrictions on movement such as pass laws and curfews, as well as restrictions on where they could perform. Apart from being excluded from certain venues, black and white artists were also forbidden to perform together when laws such as the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was on the statute books" (Baines, 1998: 2). Both these barriers limited the mediation scope of artists. The birth of democracy demolished these impediments and gave artists of different 'races' the freedom to perform with whomever they want to perform with, and wherever they want to perform, regardless of their racial status. Spin tha Flava is a 'Gospel' group from Durban with four members of different 'races'. Praise Africa is a multi-racial recording group from Rhema Bible church based in Johannesburg. Benjamin Dube in his recent album with High Praise Explosion, has featured people of different 'races': 'whites', 'Indians', 'coloureds' and 'blacks'. The racial composition of his band members is a true reflection of a 'rainbow' nation. The pianist, drummer and the bassist are 'Coloured', the two keyboard players and the brass section are 'black', the guitarist is 'white' and the percussionist is 'Indian'. These are a few examples of the kind of groups that the end of apartheid has yielded.

The other remarkable effect of the end of apartheid on the mediation of local 'Gospel' music, as SAMIR points at, is on the radio. This socio-political change resulted in reshuffling within the SABC. On September 28, 1996, "the line-up of the 16 radio stations, complete with new names and new identities, finally broke the mould in which SABC Radio had been cast since its inception in 1936, and completed the visible transformation of the corporation from a state

broadcaster to a public service broadcaster accountable to all the people of South Africa"[34]. This resulted in the scheduling of radio programmes that have increased the broadcasting of local 'Gospel' music on radio.

One other point worth mentioning is the increase of radio's local quota from 20% to 25%, in August 2003. This was after a long process of interaction between RISA and the government. In March 2000, the then minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Dr Ben Ngubane, appointed the Music Industry Task Team (MITT), in response to an expression of problems within the music industry by musicians and their representative organisations[35]. In its 20-page report to the minister, the MITT recommended that the local content quota of 20% be raised to at least 50%[36]. However, as stated above, this quota only went up to 25%. It is however a direct effect of democracy that the people in music organisations such as RISA could interact with the government on issues of public interest, resulting in the quota increase. This has therefore directly affected the mediation of local 'Gospel' music on radio.

Television is no exception to this new democratic order. According to the SABC's report, "One of the major achievements of the nineties transformation was planning and creating new television channels to replace those launched under the full banner of the grand apartheid era of 20 years before. The new channels, known as SABC1, SABC2 and SABC3, went on air on 4 February 1996. They were the result of much research on public opinion, and were in line with the SABC's commitment to deliver full-spectrum services to all South Africans. Part of this historic change was the inclusion, for the first time, of all 11 official languages in the TV programme schedules, and the introduction of regional breakaway programmes"[37]. My argument here is similar to the one I have made above about radio, that previously the public as a whole had no say in major national structures like the SABC. However, the birth of democracy gave people a voice, and resulted in the new SABC. The local 'Gospel' music programmes discussed in 4.2.2, above, are in part a consequence of the end of apartheid.

4.5. Conclusion

Mediation is an important piece of the music-circulation-chain. No matter how good the music the producers can produce, unless it is mediated to its target audience, that music is as

[34] South African Broadcasting Corporation's Internet website: www.sabc.co.za
[35] 2000/2001 Annual Report of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science & technology.
[36] Music Industry Task Team Report.
[37] SABC's Ten Years of Broadcasting from SABC's website: www.sabc.co.za

good as non-existent. As I have stated, mediation is a catalyst that speeds up the circulation process, by appetising the consumer's musical 'taste buds'. As I have shown in this chapter, there are various means and modes by which 'Gospel' music is taken to the consumers.

I have presented in this chapter how local 'Gospel' artists and their mediation agencies, use the radio, television, retail shops, print media, the internet and live performances, to take their music to the consumers. These modes involve a series of interactions, as radio DJs, station managers, TV presenters and show hosts, sales persons, journalists and editors, venue operators, etc., play an active part in the mediation of music. I further discussed how 'Gospel' culture is mediated, alongside the music, to the consumers.

Local 'Gospel', through the mediation modes discussed in this chapter, is well available and easily accessible to the public for consumption, which leads me to my last focal point of my dissertation.

Chapter *Five* – CONSUMPTION

5.1. Introduction and the theoretical framework

In the previous chapters, I looked at the genre of local 'Gospel' music, its production, and its mediation to the target audience or the general public. As I end this work, I want to turn now to a different approach and look at South African popular 'Gospel' music from the audience or the consumer's point of view. As I have noted previously, music companies, either major or indies, work to get their music to the audience. It is however an undeniable fact that the consumers of popular music do not always encounter the music in the same way as the producers. As Simon Frith (and other scholars) have argued, "to grasp the meaning of a piece of music is to hear something not simply present to the ear. It is to understand a musical culture, to have 'a scheme of interpretation'" (1996: 249). This theory suggests that there is no one meaning that can be assigned to a song or a musical piece, but that different people in different places, with different backgrounds and socio-political circumstances, engage with and interpret songs in different ways.

Keith Negus draws on other popular music scholars' arguments and discusses this theory in a detailed manner. His (expanded) argument referring to John Lennon's song *Imagine,* is that

"attempting to understand it [the song] in relation to the motives of the composer and original performer or the conditions of its original production will give only a partial version of its meaning" (1996: 193). Negus's argument is based on the manner in which this song has been used in different places, at different times and for different purposes. He also bases his argument on different comments that were made by different popular music scholars from different places, at different times. For example, for John Street, *Imagine* was a "political and a musical success because it avoided the didactism of some of Lennon's other works"; for Robin Denselow, the song was a "vision of peaceful global Communism"; for Jon Wiener it was a "key step towards social transformation" and for Mike Pickering it was "founded upon acts of appreciation and judgement that occur within definite social relations" (Negus, 1996: 193-4).

This example clarifies the point I'm trying to drive home, that, as Negus and other theorists state, "songs and music accumulate and connect with new meanings and beliefs as they pass through time and travel through space" (Negus, 1996: 195). Lucy Green also adds emphatically to this point, noting that "music can never be played or heard outside a situation, and every situation will affect the music's meaning" (1988: 143). All these scholars are pointing in the same direction, to the fact that the consumption of popular music is not just a straight forward activity, but involves a series of activities.

5.2. Local 'Gospel' music consumption and Christianity

'Gospel' music, in general, and as discussed in Chapter 1, is music associated with the Christian religion and spirituality. This phenomenon enables the consumption of 'Gospel' music to reach deeper and beyond just the music and entertainment. J. Nathan Corbitt defines this complexity of 'Gospel' music. He asserts that 'Gospel' music can be used in various ways, as a priest, a prophet, a proclaimer, a healer, a preacher and a teacher (1998). Corbitt's categorising of 'Gospel' music in this manner is informed by the different roles that music plays and the different effects that it yields as it is consumed. I want to echo the point I made on 'Gospel' culture in Chapter 3, that although most of popular South African 'Gospel' artists are associated with, or are followers of Christianity, there is a minority that does not follow Christianity. Consequently, for that minority, the spirituality and the 'religiosity' associated with the music are of minimal significance. I have stated though, drawing from various popular music scholars that the personal persuasion of the artist/producer/writer is of

very little significance when it comes to the consumption of the music. My account of the consumption of local 'Gospel' music is therefore mainly viewed from the consumer's or audience's point of view, independently of the artist/author/writer's point of view.

Negus explores the broadness of popular music audiences. He says "[popular music audiences] can range from the thousands of people who gather in stadiums [...] to those dancing to music at a wedding or a birthday party [to] people engaging in devotional activity [...to] someone listening to a cassette tape on a Walkman while cycling through the countryside" (1996: 7). This range and variety also applies to local 'Gospel' music audiences. In studying 'Gospel' music audiences, I shall deal with the concept of consumption in two contexts: (a) individual consumption, and (b) group consumption.

5.3. Individual consumption of local 'Gospel' music

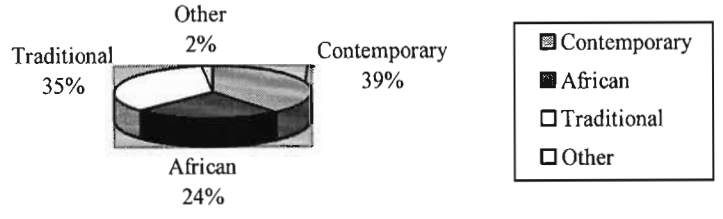
By individual consumption, I refer to occasions when the music is consumed by an individual person as opposed to a group (which I will deal with in the next sub-section). This may be in a car, the bedroom, the office, the lounge, or wherever the person is listening to the music. I conducted a random 'Gospel'-music-consumption questionnaire-survey (see Appendix three), in order to ascertain the consumption of local 'Gospel' on individual basis. I randomly approached 250 members of the general public who informed my survey of local 'Gospel' music consumption. These were approached in Durban; kwaNongoma in Northern KwaZulu-Natal; Eshowe and at Amanzimtoti in the South Coast of Durban. The outcomes that I sought to explore are (a) the range of South African 'Gospel' music fans and followers, (b) different ways in which consumers of South African music consume the music, (c) different purposes and activities associated with the consumption of music, and (d) aspects of consumption on which audiences focus. One hundred and ninety three (77%) of my informants said they were fans, supporters or followers of South African 'Gospel' music; and of these, 141 (73%) claimed to be Christians or followers of Christianity.

5.3.1. Local 'Gospel' music consumption – Who listens to Whom?

My main interest in this consumption aspect was to find out who consumes whose music. I employed RISA's categorisation of local 'Gospel' music, used during the South African Music Awards, plus one category labelled 'other', to explore who (consumers) listens to whom (artists). These categories are (a) Contemporary 'Gospel' music, (b) Traditional

'Gospel' music, (c) African 'Gospel' music and (d) Other, which caters for any category that the informant would feel is not covered by the other three. Seventy five (39%) of the said fans/followers/supporters prefer or favour Contemporary 'Gospel', while sixty eight (35%) favour Traditional 'Gospel', forty six (24%) like African 'Gospel', and four (2%) favour 'other' (undefined) styles of local 'Gospel' music. Figure 5.1 illustrates this percentage consumption by sub-genre.

Figure 5.1. South African Gospel Music percentage consumption, per sub-genre



5.3.2. Local 'Gospel' music consumption – How?

Different individuals consume music in different ways. One hundred and eighty six (96%) of my informants who regarded themselves as South African 'Gospel' music fans have most of their encounters with the music via home audio-visual technologies like radios, hi-fis, televisions, computers, etc. Seven of them (4%) have most of their encounters with local 'Gospel' music from live performances. Two-thirds of this majority listens to the music while engaging in other activities, whereas one-third listens to the music with undivided attention.

This corresponds with David Riesman's (1990) categorisation of popular music consumers into two, the *minority* and the *majority*. According to Riesman, what he calls the *majority* is the "audience for the large radio stations, and well-known 'name' brands, [...] who paid attention to the star singers and who listened to 'the hit parade' [but] were not very concerned about how the music was produced. [On the other hand], the *minority* adopted a more critical and questioning posture [and] involved themselves in detailed technical discussions about the composition and performance of music" (cited in Negus, 1996: 12).

5.3.3. Local 'Gospel' music consumption – Why?

Popular music is consumed for various reasons and/or purposes. These include, as Corbitt (1998) suggests, teaching, healing, prophesying, proclaiming, and other roles that the music plays as it is consumed. In my survey I gave my respondents three options as to why they listen to 'Gospel' music. These were (a) entertainment, (b) religion/spirituality, and (c) other. Nearly one-third (58) of my 'Gospel'-music-fans respondents indicated that they listen to the music mainly for entertainment, while over two-thirds (135) do so mainly for spiritual purposes, like devotion, worship and celebration. A small minority said that they listen to the music for 'other' purposes.

5.3.4. Local 'Gospel' music consumption – What?

The fourth key outcome that my questionnaire/survey sought to explore was the different aspects that consumers of local 'Gospel' music focus on the most, when listening to the music. Various popular music scholars have pointed to different areas of focus in music consumption, including lyrics and context (Longhurst, 1995), voice (Frith, 1996), artist (Negus, 1996), and instruments and music (Corbitt 1998). In my survey, I categorised these aspects into three, (a) the lyrics/text, (b) the artist/musician, and (c) voice and instruments, i.e. the music. My survey revealed that 42% of 'Gospel' music consumers focus mostly on the text and the words, 34% on the artist, and 24% focus on the voice and instruments.

I want to argue that these figures reveal that 'Gospel' music is mainly 'text music'; its lyrics are of primary importance. Similarly, as argued in chapter 4 that the production of 'Gospel' music is directly connected to 'Gospel' culture the consumers expect the artists to subscribe to this culture, and so they focus on the artist as well. Hence the percentage of my respondents that pay attention to the artists.

5.4. Group consumption of local 'Gospel' music

I attended a number of live 'Gospel' music performances to study common trends of audiences in the consumption of the music. Talking about live performance of music, Simon Frith argues that "in listening to popular music we are not just listening to a performance, but, further, that "listening" itself is a performance" (1996: 203). My quest was to find out different manners in which consumers of 'Gospel' music engage and interact with music and musicians during live performances. My analysis of group consumption of local 'Gospel'

music is three-fold: (a) audience-performer relationship, (b) audience-music relationship, and (c) spirituality of the music consumption.

5.4.1. Audience-performer relationship

I have discovered a common trend in the audience-performer relationship during live performances of 'Gospel' music. The performance of 'Gospel' music is a free and an improvisatory one, in the sense that although there is a drafted repertoire, in most cases the structure and the duration of musical pieces is not fixed, but rather depends on the flow of the performance. The audience-performer relationship in these performances is a two-way street. The audience is involved in singing and dancing along. I have also noticed a common trend in which the audience shouts and applauds and asks for another performance, in cases where the previous one had been excellent and enjoyable. During Benjamin Dube's concert in Johannesburg[38], the audience shouted and ululated, demanding him to perform one of his hit songs, *Ezindumisweni.* I also witnessed during Joyous Celebration's Easter concert[39], the audience shouting and demanding the choir to come back to the stage and perform more songs, thus delaying what was supposed to be the end of the show. During these live performances, I also witnessed the audience commenting to the performer. These comments would range from "take your time", to "that's right", "come on now", "sing it", etc. This shows a two-way, engaged relationship between audience and the performer.

5.4.2. Audience-music relationship

Audiences of 'Gospel' music also pay close attention to the music and text in live performances. They react in different ways to different songs. I have, during my data gathering, witnessed audiences going 'crazy', shouting and jumping as early as the introductions of the songs were being played. The audiences recognised these songs (which probably were among their favourites) and then began responding positively to them. There is a common dance called *Isitimela*, where the audience dances in a queue-like manner, one person behind the other, making various choreography gestures.

I have also gathered that different people relate to music in different ways. I closely watched two members of the audience during the Spring 'Gospel' Concert in Durban[40], who were

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[38] Benjamin Dube and High Praise Explosion concert at RP Studios- SABC, Johannesburg on 28/08/04.
[39] Joyous Celebration's Freedom Tour at Playhouse Theatre, Durban on 10/04/04.
[40] 'Gospel' music Spring concert at the Alhambra theatre- Durban, on 11/09/04.

seated in the second front row. These people rarely stood up, danced or even sang along; but their concentration on the music was undivided, their eyes were constantly fixed on the stage, and they nodded their heads in approval of the music. During the interval, I managed to chat with one of them about the way he relates to and enjoys the music. He said that he enjoys the music when he listens to every minute detail of it and watches the performers closely. I also talked to another person, for whom the enjoyment of music is in dancing, singing along and being actively involved in the performance. This also points to the phenomenon that different audiences have different ways of consuming, listening to and engaging with music.

5.4.3. 'Gospel' music consumption: audiences and spirituality

'Gospel' music has been argued in the previous chapters to be religious music and thus connected to spirituality. I have witnessed 'Gospel' music audiences 'going spiritual' during live performances of the music. This spirituality involves activities like crying, speaking in 'strange languages', lifting and clapping hands, kneeling, and others. I attended a 'Gospel' music concert hosted by the Student Christian Organisation (SCO) at the Durban Institute of Technology (DIT)[41]. During Ntokozo Mbambo's performance, the mood intensified in the hall and the audience was involved in a kind of a worship activity, some praying, some crying, and others clapping and lifting their hands. This is common in the performances of Christian 'Gospel' artists.

Neyi Zimu attributed this to the 'spirituality' of 'Gospel' music and its connection with Christianity. He said that "'Gospel' music is Christian music, it is spiritual music. Once the Holy Spirit takes over, you cannot control what you do any more, you cry, you fall, you pray, or do whatever He leads you to do"[42]. It is true that some of these aspects of music consumption are not peculiar to 'Gospel' music only, but they define the way local 'Gospel' audiences consume the music, as opposed to audiences of other genres, where, for instance, they are required to be quiet and still throughout the performance.

[41] SCO 'Gospel' Music Concert at Cane Growers Hall DIT on 21/08/04.
[42] Author's Interview with Neyi Zimu on September 24, 2004 in Johannesburg.

5.5. 'Gospel' music effect on consumers

J. Nathan Corbitt asks a very important question about 'Gospel' music. He asks, "Is there something different, unique, and even holy about the music of people who call themselves Christian? Do Christians have a special song to sing?" (1998: 8). I have tried to gather views of both Christians and non-Christians about this phenomenon. I distributed questionnaires to members of Durban Christian Centre Choir and have also conducted random interviews with members of the general public, who regarded themselves as non-Christians. All my Christian respondents say that 'Gospel' music is different from other music, in the sense that it is 'spirit music', 'touches the heart', and 'has a Godly message', as they put it.

On the other hand, seven out of ten (70%) non-Christian respondents do not find anything different about 'Gospel' music. However, three of these seven do identify with 'a positive message', 'something touching and different', although they could not clearly point to it. One of these non-Christian respondents said, "I remember when I had lost my sister. It was a tough time for me, but when I heard a 'Gospel' song on the radio, I was kind of comforted and strengthened"[43]. Thulani Nkosi, also a non-Christian university student, echoed similar sentiments about 'Gospel' music: "When it is exams time, I borrow 'Gospel' CDs from my [Christian] friend. It works, I just feel free and the studying environment is just conducive, but don't ask me what it is with this music, because I don't know"[44]. For the other seven respondents, "'Gospel' music is just like reggae", "it is just music", and more critically "after all it is still based on the twelve music notes, just like any other music".

This takes me back to Corbitt's question that I asked earlier, whether there is something different, unique, and even 'holy' about 'Gospel' music. My own personal view, from the Christian's point of view is that 'Gospel' music has a spiritual effect on its consumers. It is after all religious music, and religion has a spiritual effect on its follower. However, for someone who is not a Christian it might not have that effect. My survey shows that different consumers of local 'Gospel' music have different experiences of the music, as I have discussed throughout this chapter.

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[43] Author's Interview with Sharon Zwide on August 04, 2004, in Durban.
[44] Author's Interview with Thulani Nkosi on August 04, 2004, in Durban.

5.6. Local 'Gospel' music consumption and the end of apartheid

One of the outcomes of the end of apartheid in South Africa was the drafting of the new constitution that gave equal rights to all citizens of the country. The government of the apartheid regime demarcated certain public areas as belonging only to 'whites'. During the apartheid era, 'blacks' could not mingle with 'whites' in certain public areas. As a result, 'blacks' could not attend performances of 'white' musicians. Benjamin Dube recalls how they were denied access to certain venues, because of their racial status. He said that, "it was kind of humiliating and dehumanising, we so much wanted to watch John Starnes, but the apartheid law prohibited us to enter the premises, let alone the auditorium"[45].

The birth of democracy abolished these racial barriers and allowed every individual the right of access to public areas. In that way, 'whites' can now be in the audience of 'black' performers, and vice versa. Consequently, that has increased the consumption scope of local 'Gospel' music. I witnessed multi-racial audiences at a number of 'Gospel' music live performances I attended. These performances include Spin the Flava's performance at the Jesus Dome[46], Joyous Celebration's and Benjamin Dube's concerts, as referred to, earlier, M.I.C.'s and Michael Smith's performance at ABSA stadium[47], and others.

Similarly, during the apartheid era, as Dube said, 'blacks' would rather not buy 'white' music, and vice versa, because of the racial tensions of the times[48]. However, my survey has shown a cross-racial consumption of local 'Gospel' music, with some of my respondents claiming to be fans and consumers of the music of musicians of a different 'race'. I have quoted Lucy Green and other popular music scholars who have shown that the socio-political status of the consumer's environment and geographic location affects and influences the process and the manner in which s/he engages with, interprets and makes meaning of the music. Green specifically states that "music can never be played or heard outside a situation, and every situation will affect the music's meaning" (1988: 143). This would equivalently suggest that the socio-political change of South Africa, from being an apartheid state to a democratic one, should have had an impact on the way consumers of popular music engage with and make meaning of music. Similarly, as Negus (1996: 193 & 195) has hinted, songs

[45] Author's Interview with Benjamin Dube on August 28, 2004 in Johannesburg.
[46] Spin tha Flava Concert at the Jesus Dome on 23/07/04.
[47] M.I.C. and Michael Smith Concert at ABSA Stadium, Durban on 11/09/04.
[48] Author's Interview with Benjamin Dube on August 28, 2004 in Johannesburg.

make new meaning as they travel through space and time. One may thus expect that a musical piece that had particular meanings during the apartheid era, would have different ones today, because of the journey the song has travelled in time and space and because of the change in the socio-political situation on the country.

One clear example showing the effects of the socio-political change, and the travelling in space and in time of musical works, is *Nkosi sikelela*, the opening section of the South African national anthem. Enoch Mankayi Sontonga wrote the first verse and chorus and also composed the music in 1897. It was first sung in public in 1899 at the ordination of Rev Boweni, a Shangaan Methodist Minister and became popular and was adopted by political parties and sung immediately after the closing prayers[49]. My first personal encounter with the song goes back to my very early years in the church. The full version of this song, with five verses, is recorded in the hymn book *Icilongo levangeli,* which we used in our church. The point I am making here, as stated above, is that the original use of this song was church based, it was used as a prayer to God to bless Africa and liberate her from any kind of oppression. This song is still sung in our church today, but with a different meaning and interpretation. It is now mainly associated with the new order of the country and as a celebration of democracy, freedom and diversity. This is because of the change in the socio-political status of the country.

5.7. Conclusion

Mark Twain once said: "The little child is permitted to label its drawing 'This is a cow – this is a horse' and so on. This protects the child. It saves it from the sorrow and wrong of hearing its cows and horses criticised as kangaroos and work-benches" (1990: 85). People within the popular music industry, whether writers, composers, artists, etc., do entitle and label songs in a similar that Twain's child labels its cow and horse. This is because of various encounters and experiences that they have with that particular musical piece, that leads them to give it a certain title or label. However, as argued in this chapter, the audiences and consumers of popular music do not (always) have similar encounters with the music. They may label or criticise the writer, composer or the artist's 'cows' and 'horses' or these musical works as 'kangaroos'.

[49] 'Enoch Sontonga – Biography' obtained from polity website: www.polity.org.za

Different people, with different socio-political backgrounds, have different ways in which they interpret, engage with and make meaning of musical works, whether they are listening to the music as a group or as individuals. In the case of 'Gospel' music, these diverse consumers pay attention to different aspects of the music, some focusing mostly on the words of the songs, others on the music, the voice and the instruments, and others mainly on the artist. As a religion-linked music, 'Gospel' music has particular effects on consumers. I have highlighted the 'spirituality' of the music and the kind of things that believers do when spiritually overtaken during the consumption of the music.

The end of apartheid has impacted upon and affected the consumption of local music. It has led to a cross-racial consumption of the music, by guaranteeing everyone the right of access to any public venue, where this was previously restricted on racial grounds. The birth of democracy has also challenged and sought to demolish racial stereotypes in the minds of people, thus enabling people of one 'race' to consume the music of another. As I have shown, drawing from my interviewees' account of the apartheid era, and also from my consumption survey, the socio-political change in South Africa from being an apartheid state to a democratic one, has challenged and changed the way consumers interpret, engage with and make meaning of music.

Chapter *Six* – CONCLUSION

6.1. Executive Summary

My goal in this dissertation, as outlined in chapter one, has been to analytically and critically study the genre of South African popular 'Gospel' music, in the context of the new order of democracy. This I have done by measuring the impact of this new socio-political order on the genre of local 'Gospel' and its production, mediation and consumption. By looking at what some theorists and scholars of popular music have said about some of the issues relevant to this topic, I managed to bring a popular music studies scholarly view to the topic. My account of local 'Gospel' music in the post-apartheid era has encompassed and unearthed some interesting, provocative and normally overlooked areas of local 'Gospel' music. I began by giving what was not meant to be a duplication of what many historians have covered, but was rather a foundation for this work. The end of apartheid was not just an overnight occasion, but the result of a long struggle. Today, South Africa is in the early stages of her second decade of freedom. Much has changed, is still changing and arguably

much still needs to be changed. The birth of democracy has revolutionised and still is revolutionising South Africa. The first ten years have been a critical socio-political decade for South Africa, and writing about matters related to it is not an easy task, as there are innumerable aspects and pieces-of-the-puzzle that either contribute to this change, or that are a result thereof.

As I stated in my introduction, not much scholarly work has been written on the subject of local 'Gospel' music. My task therefore has been a groundbreaking one. I defined 'Gospel' music, drawing from its origins in African-American churches and from other definitions that scholars have ascribed to the term. I also drew boundaries around what is called South African 'Gospel' music, by looking at its principal characteristics and elements. It has not been an easy task mapping such a complex and diverse genre, but it has been a worthwhile exercise. Similarly, looking at the impact of the end of apartheid on local 'Gospel' music has been a tricky, but imperative, task.

I then looked at the 'Gospel' culture which informs 'Gospel' music, and upon which its production in general is premised. I explored different aspects of local 'Gospel' production - from the major companies, to the indies, to the personnel within the industry, to the processes involved. I also looked at how the end of apartheid has impacted upon the process of the production of local 'Gospel'. I moved on to look at different modes by which South African 'Gospel' music is mediated to its target audience. I argued that the mediation of 'Gospel' music has implications for mediation of 'Gospel' culture. I then considered the effect that the birth of democracy had on the mediation of local 'Gospel' music. I took a different approach and looked at the music and its effects, from the consumer's point of view. However, I followed the trend I had taken in the previous chapters, by looking at 'Gospel' music consumption in the context of 'Gospel' culture and Christianity, and considering its effect and influence on its consumers. I then explored various aspects of music consumption, including individual consumption and group consumption. My attempt there was to explore the extent of the local 'Gospel' music audience by asking who consumes whose music, how, and why. As I had done throughout the previous chapters, I also looked at how the end of apartheid has affected the way people listen to, engage with, and make meaning of local 'Gospel' music.

6.2. Popular South African 'Gospel' music in the post-apartheid era

Joyce Scott has elaborated on the general saying that 'Music is a universal language'. She said, "This sounds a warm and comforting thing to say. But in fact it is a myth, and almost the exact opposite is true. Certainly music is a universal phenomenon. Human beings in every corner of the world sing, dance and make music with some kind of instruments. But in every language group, within every culture, there is a unique music language, as different from the music of other cultures as their spoken language is different. And within each culture there are many different music styles" (2000: 8).

As Joyce Scott suggests, music has been generally and lightly referred to as a universal language. However, scholars have over the years argued, debated and proved that, although music is a universal phenomenon, it is by no means a universal language. Joyce clarifies this point further, suggesting that every music is lock-and-key specific to the people who make it. Nathan Corbitt concurs. He says that music's "meanings are bound to the people and cultures who make [and consume] it" (1998: 33).

South African 'Gospel' music is the music of South African people and is informed and shaped by their cultures and the circumstances around them. It is true that other audiences outside South Africa can find local 'Gospel' music interesting, as suggested by the fact that local artists such as Rebecca Malope, Benjamin Dube, Joyous Celebration and many others have successfully toured internationally. However, I want to stress once again, that although local 'Gospel' music can have common elements with other music genres from elsewhere, its production, mediation and consumption is shaped and influenced by the specific socio-political circumstances of South Africa. The end of apartheid in 1994 marked the beginning of a new era in South Africa. As argued throughout this dissertation, the new order of democracy has played a crucial role and left indelible marks on the genre of local 'Gospel' music and on its production, mediation and consumption processes. It has also impacted upon other aspects of the music, as I have shown in this dissertation.

6.3. The future of local 'Gospel' music

Local 'Gospel' music is situated in a music industry that is fast growing and that has great potential. SAMIR states that "between 1992 and 1996 the value of the music market expanded by 70.7%, [which is] the 23rd fastest growing market in the world" (1998: 9) This

document further states that during the same period, the number of units sold in the South African market expanded by 60%. There is immense local 'Gospel' talent and many unrecorded 'Gospel' groups in South Africa. With the programmes and institutions that the national government has put in place to conscientise South Africans about their nationality and encourage pride in their diverse cultures and heritages, local 'Gospel' music is bound to grow and develop further. These programmes and institutions, such as Proudly South African, the National Arts Council, Senzenje, and many others, seek to encourage and promote local talent. The growth of private labels, home studios and small production companies will also have an effect on the development of this music. Some local artists have also put effort into searching for and developing, new talents. Artists/groups such as Joyous Celebration, Rebecca Malope (in her 'Gospel' Time TV-show), and others, assure of a bright future for local 'Gospel' music.

APPENDICES

Appendix One – Glossary

1. **Amakhwela** – A whistle-like sound attained by curling the tongue and blowing strongly through the lips.
2. **Is'futho** – Different percussive sounds, (e.g. Tshif, Hhom, etc.) used in Zionists singing.
3. **Is'gubhu** – An African drum, popularly used by Zionist churches.
4. **Is'qamelo** – A pillow-like hand-held percussive instrument used especially by traditional church choirs such as Amadodana AseWesile, to enhance the sense of rhythm in their a cappella singing.
5. **Isitimela** - A train-like dance, where people dance in a queue-like pattern, one behind the other, with specific choreographic moves.
6. **Kwaito** – A dance music strongly associated with township culture in South Africa.

Appendix Two – Acronyms and Abbreviations

1. **A&R** – Artist and Repertoire
2. **BEE** – Black Economic Empowerment
3. **CD** – Compact Disk
4. **IBA** – Independent Broadcasting Authority
5. **MITT** – Music Industry Task Team
6. **NAC** – National Arts Council
7. **RISA** – Recording Industry of South Africa
8. **SABC** – South African Broadcasting Corporation
9. **SAMA** – South African Music Awards
10. **SAMIR** – South African Music Industry Report
11. **SAMQC** – South African Music Quota Coalition

Appendix Three – Questionnaire

Local 'Gospel' Music Consumption

Local 'Gospel' Music Consumption Questionnaire-Survey.

1. Age Group A. 19yrs and less☐ B. 20-30yrs☐ C. 30yrs and above☐
2. Race A. Black☐ B. Indian☐ C. Coloured☐ D. White☐
3. Are you a Christian? Yes☐ | No☐
4. Are you a Fan/Follower/Supporter of 'Gospel' Music? Yes☐ | No☐
5. Who is your favourite local 'Gospel' artist?.....
6. The Recording Industry of South Africa categorises local 'Gospel' music into 3 groups, namely; Traditional, Contemporary and Africa. Do you think these cover all styles of local 'Gospel'? Yes☐ | No☐
7. If No, what other category do you think is not covered? Please cite example(s) of artists/songs.....
   .....
   .....
8. Which style of local 'Gospel' music do you like the most?
   A. Traditional ☐ B. African☐ C. Contemporary☐ D. Other☐
9. Do you think there is anything peculiar and special about 'Gospel' music, that other genres do not have? Yes☐ | No☐
10. If Yes, please elaborate.....
    .....
11. How do you encounter with local 'Gospel' music, the most?
    1. TV☐ 2. Live performances☐ 3. Internet☐
    4. Print Media☐ 5. Radio☐ 6. Other☐, Please specify.....
12. Why do you listen to 'Gospel' music? A. Entertainment☐
    B. Spiritual/Religious purposes C. Other☐ Please specify.....
13. How do you listen to music?
    A. While engaging on other activities☐ B. Separated from other activities☐
14. When listening to 'Gospel' music, which one of the following aspects of music do you pay attention to, the most, and why?
    A. Words/Text☐ B. Artist/Singer☐ C. Instruments/Voice(s) ☐
    .....
    .....
    .....

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3. Interviews

(All these are the author's interviews).

1. Sipho Makhabane, musician and owner of AmaNxusa Record label, on May 03, 2004 in Durban.
2. Phelelani Mnomiya, musician, on May 05, 2004 in Durban.
3. Benjamin Dube, musician, on August 28, 2004 in Johannesburg.
4. Benjamin Dube, musician, on August 17, 2005 in Johannesburg.
5. Jabu Nkabinde, producer/ sound engineer/ musician, on September 27, 2004 in Johannesburg.
6. Rebecca Malope, singer/ TV-show host, on September 28, 2004 in Johannesburg.
7. Daniela Dellacqua, A&R of CCP Records, on September 27, 2004 in Johannesburg.
8. Neyi Zimu, musician/ producer, on September 24, 2004 in Johannesburg.
9. Xoli Nkosi, Jazz pianist/musician/producer, on September 18, 2004 in Durban.
10. Jerome Harvey, member of the public, on April 04, 2004 in Durban.
11. Sharon Zwide, member of the public, on August 04, 2004 in Durban.
12. Thulani Nkosi, member of the public, in August 04, 2004 in Durban.

4. Internet Websites:

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4. Gallo Music: www.gallo.co.za
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8. South African Broadcasting Corporation: www.sabc.co.za
9. South African Government: www.gov.za
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