



**THE ROLE OF CHRISTIAN MUSIC USE IN IDENTITY
CONSTRUCTION AMONG BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS AND
DIASPORIC NIGERIANS AND CONGOLESE IN DURBAN,
SOUTH AFRICA**

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PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I, **Rhoda Titilopemi Inioluwa ABIOLU (214580202)**, declare that:

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Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the One and Almighty God, the Alpha and Omega, my Saviour and Lord.
You have chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and You has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty (1 Corinthians 1:27).

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ABSTRACT

The sole aim of this study is to scrutinise the role of religious content in the formation and sustenance of cultural, religious and diasporic identities among home-based and diasporic peoples, and how such content can be used to foster a sense of ‘self’, an appreciation of ‘otherness’ with minimal differentiation, interpersonal relationships, and intercultural competence. Other prevailing factors are mediated influences and the role of the media in educating people about their ever-changing roles as ‘self’ and the ‘other’, and in the maintenance of their own identities and links to ‘home’. Christian music is identified as the phenomenon which was studied among South Africans, and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese who reside in Durban, South Africa, as the target population. This determined how Christian music serves as a unifying factor [particularly in terms of shared religious orientation], and laid emphasis on the ubiquitous and pervasive nature of music. Accordingly, the need for the study is premised on the concern to have a deeper knowledge of how social constructs such as culture, religion and the media interact to define and influence human lives; the results being those of identity formation and [re]construction. This is tied to the use, representation and consumption of Christian music among the previously identified diverse and unique groups of home-based and diasporic peoples, who have different cultural identities, yet still share the same religious affiliation. It is therefore a study that seeks to provide a connection to similarities and uniqueness in identity formation in both cultural and religious contexts. The purpose of this is to link such salient factors that stimulate sociocultural and religious interactions and show how these are visible within the South African context.

The major considerations are due to the concept of identity and cultural erosion, in the face of globalisation and human movement, and the consequences of co-presences, which have led to xenophobic attacks and reprisals between South Africans and foreigners. The bottom-line highlights how religion, culture and the media are agents of identity maintenance and cordial interactions among these people. The guiding theories are Paul du Gay, *et al.*'s (1997, 2013) ‘circuit of culture’, complemented by Stuart Hall's discourses ([1973] 1980; 1990, 1993) on identity and the encoding and decoding model. The methodology is premised on qualitative phenomenological and ethnographic designs.

At the end of this study, it was concluded that religious encounters and musical content, especially Christian music, became avenues for the maintenance of their various identities [religious, cultural and diasporic]. These avenues were also facilitators of cordial interactivity between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’. They were entrenched as social and educative, as well as cultural and religious tools. Language use [as verbal, visual and objectified] was a determining factor in the areas of identity maintenance, i.e., conserving self-essence, and adaptation, i.e., accommodation of other identities. Media portrayals and the role of socio-religious organisations like the Church, in the preservation of people's identities and fostering cordiality among different people, are not relegated.

Summarily, the research projects a diverse perspective to media, cultural and religious studies in terms of musical cultures among home-based and diasporic groups. This is because a triangular connection to media, religious and cultural studies is further entrenched. This project also

highlights a more interdisciplinary approach to these areas of focus. It showcases how the phenomenon of religious musical content, can be a facilitator and means of engagement, to preserve identities that cut across different areas of people's lives. It equally showcases how it can be used to initiate and sustain viable communication, and to forestall clashes between different groups and communities of people.

Keywords: Culture, Religion, Media, Christian music, Identity construction.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

African Indigenous Churches [AIC]
African Traditional Religion [ATR]
Bergen Summer Research School [BSRS]
British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC]
Cable News Network [CNN]
Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]
Compact discs [CDs]
Compact Discs Read Only Memory [CD-ROMs]
Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU]
Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC]
Digital versatile discs [DVDs]
Digital satellite television [DStv]
eThekwini Community Church [ECC]
GB [gigabytes]
Glenwood Presbyterian [Congolese] Church [GPC]
In real life [IRL]
Information communication technologies [ICTs]
Intercultural competency [ICC]
Managing Director [MD]
MP3 [M-peg layers]
MTV [Music television]
P01 [Nig] [Participant One Nigeria]
P02 [SA] [Participant Two South Africa]
P03 [Cong] [Participant Three Congolese]

Personal computers [PCs]

South African Council of Churches [SACC]

Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs]

Television [TV]

United Cities and Local Governments [UCLG]

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UN DESA]

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]

United Nations' [UN]

Winners' Chapel International, Durban [WCID]

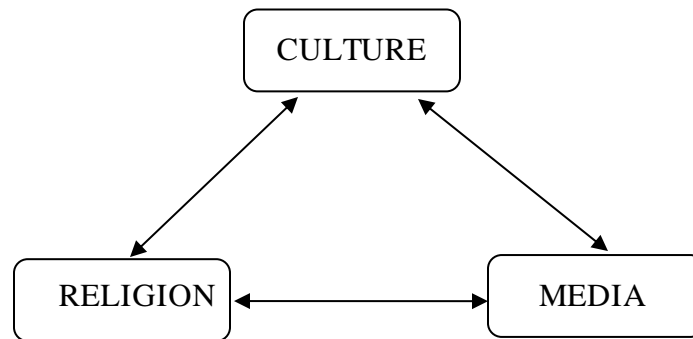
CHAPTER ONE

THE STUDY'S BACKGROUND

Introduction

This study projects a diverse perspective in media, cultural and religious studies. It triangulates the interrelatedness of issues around the media [production and consumption], religion [religious encounters and contents] and culture [identities] (Hoover and Lundby, 1997: 3). This study endeavours to represent this submission below.

Figure 1.1: Interrelationship between culture, religion and media



Source: Outlined by the author

This study focuses on music, specifically Christian music, and Christianity which is the religious inclination of this study. The other focus areas are the cultural perspectives of home-based South Africans and diasporic peoples of Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC] [living in Durban] who are the target population of the study. Their perspective is needed to provide further insight into Christian music use, representation and consumption, and how these translate to identity formation. Diasporic peoples are those who Arjun Appadurai (1996) referred to as the 'shifting world' or 'the diaspora'. 'The diaspora' represents those who have moved from their place or country of origin to live in a different country (Collins dictionary, 2017).

The incorporation of these three unique aspects of human life will create a broader spectrum for the appreciation of the relationship between the media, culture and religion. It is the aim of this study to further investigate the link between this trio and emphasise their relevance in the everyday

lives of peoples who live within their cultural background [South Africans] and those who live without – ‘the diaspora’ [Nigerians and Congolese].

This study’s background is grounded on Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Andres Madsen, Hugh Mackay and Keith Negus’ (1997, 2013) ‘circuit of culture’, complemented by Stuart Hall’s ([1973] 1980; 1990, 1993) identity theory and encoding and decoding model respectively which are discussed in more detail later. The methodology is qualitative since the data was analysed in a narrative and interpretative manner.

In this chapter, the study is contextualised, and the objectives and the research questions are identified along with possible research gaps. A synopsis of the theories that are the pillars of the study, a succinct discussion of the methodological framework, and the structure of the thesis, are also provided.

Objectives of the Study

The main motivations of this research are to examine how home-based South Africans, and diasporic Congolese and Nigerians use Christian music to maintain or adapt their cultural and religious identities within sociocultural contexts, and how these influence the dynamics between ‘self’ and the ‘other’. Hence, this study has the following objectives. To:

1. explore the use and preferences of Christian music subgenres among South Africans and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban. The essence of this is to investigate what their preferences are. It explores the ways they use and identify with these musical preferences in sociocultural and religious relations, and the resultant interactions between themselves [‘self’] and others [the ‘other’].¹
2. examine how cultural, religious and diasporic identities within each group express themselves and interact with ‘otherness’ through their representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres within the South African cultural landscape.
3. investigate the dominant media of consumption through which each group interacts with various Christian music subgenres, and is exposed to ‘otherness’. The purpose of this is to

¹ ‘Otherness’ as discussed by Hall [1990] is expounded in Chapter Three, the theoretical framework.

highlight the importance of the media in the sustenance or adaptation of their identities in the face of 'self' and 'otherness' irrespective of distance, locations or cultural settings.

Research Questions

This study will attempt to provide answers for the following research questions:

1. What are the Christian music subgenres and mediated use and preferences of South Africans and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban?
 - What are the preferred Christian music subgenres within each group?
 - What purpose do these subgenres serve?
 - What are those factors that influence their subgenre and mediated preferences?
 - How do members of each group use and understand Christian music subgenres in relation to those who share different cultural but same religious identities to them within the cultural landscape they are located?
2. How do cultural, diasporic and religious identities within each group express themselves and interact with 'otherness' [in terms of identity reinforcement and identity adaptation] through their representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres within the South African cultural landscape?
 - In what ways do South African indigenes, and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban maintain/reinforce or redefine their 'South Africanness', 'Nigerianness' and 'Congolesehood' and their religious identities based on the representation and consumption of their preferred Christian music subgenres [on individual and group basis]?
 - Do the representation and consumption of these Christian music subgenres intensify the cultural, diasporic and religious identities of these groups? How?
 - What are the commonalities and unique aspects among these groups based on their representation of Christian music and the construction of their identities?
 - How does their use of Christian music influence the way they interact with other people different to themselves?
3. How do the dominant media of consumption of Christian music influence each group and their exposure to 'otherness' in terms of identity reinforcement and identity adaptation?

- Through which channels of communication do these groups access and consume subgenres of Christian music?
- What are the commonalities and unique aspects among these groups based on their consumption of Christian music and the construction of their identities?
- How has the exposure of the different identities within these groups to the consumption of Christian music within the South African cultural landscape affected the perception of ‘themselves’ and the ‘others’?

The Need for the Study

In my position as a Christian and a diasporic Nigerian in South Africa, I study in an environment quite different from where I come from in terms of culture, traditions, music, food and clothing. However, I still share a similar identity with Christian South Africans here, and other diasporic Christians, which is that of religion. Accordingly, the need for the study is premised on the desire to have a deeper knowledge of how social constructs such as culture, religion and the media interact to define and influence human lives that result in identity formation and [re]construction. My concern is tied to the use, representation and consumption of Christian music among diverse and unique groups of home-based and diasporic peoples, who though they have different cultural identities, still share the same religious affiliation. The fact that these people have different identities is enough to indicate that there would be differences in how they see and relate with other people. However, the fact that they share the same religious orientation may exemplify similarities in their religious identities to create a new perception of ‘the others’ when compared with differences in their cultural or diasporic identities. It is therefore a study that seeks to provide a connection to similarities and unique aspects in identity formation in both cultural and religious contexts. The purpose of this is to link salient factors that stimulate sociocultural and religious interactions and show how these are visible within the South African context.

The media, with their ubiquitous and pervasive nature, informs the need for this study in the sense that the media can modify the way we see other people and ourselves. This is possible through media representations, and media as channels of reception by which we view ‘the others’ since we can evaluate the way people are portrayed. Our modes of interacting with such portrayals can further influence such preconceptions. For instance, the representation of a certain culture through its mode of dressing, the broadcast of this as fashion content, and the consumption of this content

via the media in a place different from its originating cultural content may influence the way the culture is perceived by different people who have access to that content. This will not only leave an impression on those people but may lead to instances of identity reinforcement or in other cases identity adaptation. Identity reinforcement is the individual's resolve to maintain his or her identity in the same or a different cultural context while identity adaptation is the individual's resolve to align within a different culture leading to a form of diversity (Kirchner, 2013: 43; Weiss, 2001: 393). The reinforcement or adaptation of my identity may be highlighted in my choice and consumption of Christian music to reiterate my identities as a Christian, a Nigerian or a diasporic Nigerian. Identity reinforcement or adaptation can be observed among black South African indigenes and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in their use, preference, consumption and media of consumption of Christian music subgenres.

The mode of mediation of Christian music among these groups also proves imperative to study. Media of consumption such as traditional and new media [including social media, in real life performances [IRL]/live worship experiences or transmission], and the mediated experiences of these groups of people are factors considered and studied. In terms of mediation and identity, this study identifies how the media of Christian music consumption also influence identity through the portrayal or representation in Christian music subgenres and their modes of reception. The preferences of these groups based on their use and consumption of Christian music subgenres are bound to be influenced by certain factors and preferred channels of reception thus necessitating this study. Various forms of media representation and consumption through which cultural, religious and diasporic identities find expression, and the maintenance of these identities make the aspect of mediation essential. These are the motivations for this study.

Location and Cultural Landscapes Prominent to this Study

This section includes discussions around the South African, Nigerian and Congolese cultural landscapes. It will thus contextualise the areas that have converged within this study. Though these groups are not culturally proximal, I decided to use South African indigenes, Nigerians and Congolese, because the study and the migrants are within the South African cultural landscape, to compare the responses of diasporic peoples to those who are primarily indigenes or home-based and highlight their uniqueness and commonalities. I also decided to use Nigerians and Congolese

as samples of diasporic peoples because the churches² where the interviews and observations were conducted had different church services for diasporic people. This assumes that South Africans may have inclinations to more cultural artefacts since they are at ‘home’, but it can also mean the diasporic peoples may share some similarities with South Africans based on artefacts that reinforce or adapt their cultural and religious identities. Similarities and differences may also abound among diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in the reinforcement or adaptation of their diasporic identities.

Figure 1.2: The African continent



Source: The Rising Continent (2011)

Figure 1.2 above is the African continent and the cultural contexts [South Africa, and the Nigerian/Congolese diaspora] of this study.

The South African cultural landscape is a versatile and rich context of cultural and religious diversities unique on the African continent. It is because of this that the country is regarded as ‘the rainbow nation’, especially because of the diverse cultures and groups within the country (South African History Online, 2011a; Statistics South Africa, 2017). This indicates that the religious diversity of this country is embedded within its cultural landscape. South Africa is a country with

² When I refer to the Church, I am not pointing to the structure, but the congregation of people who identify with the same faith or belief system.

diverse religious inclinations, from the African Traditional Religion [ATR], to Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Judaism, all which are the most practised religions within the country's cultural landscape (Erasmus, 2012; Schoeman, 2017; South African History Online, 2011b). As recorded by Worldatlas (2016) and the General Household Survey released by Statistics South Africa (2015a: 30), Christianity is the most practised religion in South Africa – 86% of the South African population describe their religious affiliation as Christianity. The estimated percentage of those with religious affiliation to Christianity within the Kwa-Zulu Natal province was recorded as 78.5% (Statistics South Africa, 2015a: 31). In Durban, from the last census in 2011, the highest racial population representations were the black South Africans, which stood at 51.1% (Statistics South Africa, 2011). With this and the backdrop of a high percentage of those with religious affiliation with Christianity, the focus of this study is on black South African Christians in Durban. Though the exact number of diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban is not available, from experiential evidence, they are substantial. It is consequently significant to point out that the total number of immigrants who make up 'the diaspora' as recorded in Statistics South Africa (2015b: 14) is 234,570 within the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal. This is a considerable number of 'the diaspora' which makes it significant to study.

The Nigerian cultural landscape is also one enriched with diversity. With over 527 indigenous languages (Amfani, 2012), and over 370 ethnic groups (Sowunmi, 2017), Nigeria is also a unique cultural landscape. The most practised religion is Christianity, which accounts for 46.3%, Islam accounts for 46%, African Traditional Religion accounts for 7.4% and others account for 0.3% (Aid to the Church in Need, 2017). The official languages in Nigeria are English, Yorùbá, Hausa and Igbo (Owolabi and Dada, 2012). English as a universal language is a lingua franca Nigeria has in common with South Africa, a country with eleven official languages which are *English*,³ Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Northern Sotho, Venda, Tsonga, Swati and Ndebele (Rosmarin and Rissik, 2004). Nigerian emigrants are of significant number; the record of those in South Africa being 24,516 as at 30 November 2017 (Consulate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the Republic of South Africa, 2017).

³ Words in *italics* are my emphasis.

Similarly, the cultural landscape of the Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC] is as diverse as the South African and Nigerian cultural landscapes. There are over 200 African ethnic groups in the DRC; a country whose people are collectively called Congolese or the Congo (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2017). The major religions are comparable with those in Nigeria namely Christianity and Islam; but Christianity is the most practised religion at 80%, with Islam at 10% (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], 2017; CIA, 2017). Though the official language in the DRC is French (CIA, 2017), French is not a recognised official language within the South African landscape which implies that DRC migrants might need to learn a more universal language to aid communication, a void that the English language fills. Despite the abundance of natural resources in the DRC, these have been poorly managed which has led to political instability within the country and consequently, an exodus of Congolese into different countries around the world with a record of 540,000 migrants at the end of 2015 (CIA, 2017). The estimated number of Congolese immigrants is significant; the record of those in South Africa is 70,077 as of 2015 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UN DESA], 2015).

Particularly among diasporic Congolese, an overwhelming 96% of them are Christians since religion plays an extremely vital part in their lives; they consider religion as a refuge and a place of peace and great comfort that proffers solutions to their personal problems, especially those encountered because of being away from ‘home’⁴ (Cultural Orientation Resource Center, 2014: 5). These cultural landscapes indicate a higher representation of Christians, a factor taken into consideration in this study based on Christian music use and consumption.

It is assumed that since the most practised religion in these countries is Christianity, these groups of people would be exposed to one or more subgenres of Christian music through church services, mass media, social media or other means as Christians [both indigenes and diasporic] within the South African cultural landscape. This study will thus be based on the use, preference, representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres and how these have translated to identity building among these groups [how they view themselves in comparison with other people of different cultures, but same religious orientation, and how they maintain or adapt their cultural

⁴ The concept of ‘home’ is delineated in Chapter Three, when the theoretical framework is discussed.

identities]. For these reasons, this comparative study was done among South African indigenes and diasporic Nigerian and Congolese Christians who live in Durban.

The problem statement of this research relating it to discourses around music as a phenomenon, Christian music and identity formation, music in the African context, consumption, and media of consumption of music will now be elucidated.

Problem Statement

Host cultures, and the diaspora are within spaces of negotiation and exchange. From these spaces, conflicting claims of belonging emanate, as well as that of a common framework of identity (Bohlman, 2011; Fazal and Tsagarousianou, 2002; Hall, 1992). And for the diaspora, the gradual settling into a new culture and environment raises the concern of a “gradual replacement of their ethnic culture by that of the culture of the host nation” while the media in their capacity accentuates religio-ethnic differences [or vice versa] among the diaspora and the host culture (Thompson, 2002: 409). An attempt to forestall cultural dominance, erosion or assimilation and cultural homogenisation among home-based and the diaspora is what propelled the concept of ‘boundary-maintenance’ (Brubaker, 2005: 6), relayed as identity reinforcement (Kirchner, 2013; Schwartz, Montgomery and Briones, 2006; Weiss, 2001) within the context of this study. Other outcomes are those of cultural or identity accommodation and adaptation, that may result in cultural heterogenisation, in recognition of ‘self’ and ‘otherness’. These outcomes of identity and cultural interactions between the ‘self’ [individually], and ‘self and the other’ [collectively] form the crux of the study, and the major gap which I scrutinise throughout this study. It is with this background that the study intends to identify ways in which both home-based and diasporic communities maintain or adapt their identities as they interact with ‘self’ and the ‘other’.

Discourses Surrounding Music, Mediation and Consumption

The phenomenon of music is one that is not new within society. It has been in existence since time immemorial. The history of music has been regarded as a ‘supreme mystery’ (Levi-Strauss quoted by Morley, 2013: 1). Even in the Christian religion, reference to music was made in the first book of the Bible to Jubal who was described as the inventor of the musical instruments – the harp and flute (Gen. 4: 21; The Living Bible translation). From melodies made by men to melodies made

by nature that all come together to make beautiful harmonies, the relevance and significance of music is one that cannot be downplayed. Music, an ephemeral concept, is the art of sound that expresses ideas and emotions in diverse forms through melodies, rhythms, and harmonies (Samama, 2016: 27). Music is both an emotive and communicative medium that cannot only be used as a channel to express complex social messages, social norms and elicit responses from people but can also communicate aspects and sustenance of cultures (Belcher, 2010). A vital aspect of music is that it is ubiquitous, in other words, it is present in all human cultures, and not only does it evoke powerful emotional reactions in people, it also shows personal traits, intelligence, and the consolidation of people's sense of identity key to the transmission of beliefs, traditions, cultures and histories (Chamorro-Premuzic and Furnham, 2007: 175-176; George, 2008: 12-13). These are indications of how music is essential to the wellbeing of humans psychologically, socially, culturally and in all facets.

Music in Africa

African musical cultures are mostly characterised with their own unique rhythms and harmony. But without a doubt, music is part of an African man's life (Munyaradzi and Zimidzi, 2012: 195). Cultures and tribes on the African continent showcase a range of music for events of the everyday lives of the people. Within typical African traditions, the African culture is inherently musical and rhythmic; all aspects of our lives involve musical celebrations (Hester, 2010). It is "learned as part of [our] cultural and practical education, the birth-right of all African children, which provides not only musical education, but also a comprehensive preparation for all life" (Hester, 2010: 36). African music intersects with other aspects of life, such as dance and folktales that express life through sound as a medium for connecting different fabrics of a community and its people in a variety of ways that strengthen the commitment of the people within the community (Mbaegbu, 2015; Stone, 2010).

Music is often associated with religious worship and ceremonies that foster a tightly knit society which makes it a vital and expressive aspect of the life of an African (Hester, 2010). The identity of an African is reinforced in features of their music through the inculcation of cultural artefacts and instruments that do not only add variety to the music but also serve as a means of communication, information and education (Abiolu and Teer-Tomaselli, 2019). The use of a

variety of instruments like chordophones [strings], idiophones [self-sounding], aerophones [winds], membranophones [drums] and even handclapping make music that the African mind can resonate with (Munyaradzi and Zimidzi, 2012: 195). A major defining characteristic is therefore the composition, in terms of sound, rhythm and beats that are typically African. Givewell Munyaradzi and Webster Zimidzi's (2012) comparative study of western and African music revealed that the way Africans treat the rhythm of African music was quite different from their western peers. They also noted the dearth of African studies on music in Africa, and that generally the representation of music within the African context was still tainted with Eurocentric views. They suggested that as research progresses, more will be known about the African music and its various cultural contexts. This propelled the need for this study in an African cultural context with a diverse population like the South African cultural landscape.

African Music

Music being a constitutive proponent of culture and a cogent ingredient of identity formation is a social practice that binds members of a group together to create an atmosphere of understanding and belonging (Lidskog, 2017: 3). The functionality of music to humanity is one entrenched deeply in all forms of interaction; individually, socially, culturally or religiously. We create and maintain these interactions through bonds strengthened by music. The indispensable role of music to Africans is manifested in their work, socioeconomic interactions, religious worship and moral lives. Despite the crises and challenges faced as Africans, evident in corrupt political vices, war, diseases, poverty, illiteracy and an economic terrain that is not as buoyant compared with the global North, Africans find solace in belief systems, cultures and traditions with the expectation of things improving in the future.

Africans thrive on the uniqueness of their cultural experience which, though it seems to emerge from an isolated or difficult environment, produces "a unified African world distinct from and comparable with Western and Asian worlds" (Mbaegbu, 2015: 176). It is a powerful medium that affects modes of celebration, worship, communication and interaction as Africans (Albright, 2015). Within this context, people can express themselves as well as socialise with others who have shared experiences and consciousness of being Africans as they bask in their rich cultures and traditions that set them apart. Such distinctiveness is embedded within the African philosophy

which sets it apart from other western philosophies (Mbaegbu, 2015: 176). Features that create this distinction are inclusive of African art and literature, African poetry, *African music*, African belief systems, African attire, African food among many others. These markers point to the uniqueness of the African context, though laden with prevailing challenges. With a focus on the African music [and situating the Christian music subgenre within this spectrum as unique to us as Africans], this study elaborates on the discourses around the Christian music genre, especially those that emanate from the African context within the African music category.

Christian Music Use (in brief)

The Christian music genre is the form of music associated with the Christian religion (Adedeji, 2007: 88). It encompasses praises, proclamation, celebration and adoration to God expressed musically (Westermeyer, 2013: 570). Christian music is a form of identification to the Lordship and Sovereignty of Jesus Christ expressed in various musical cultures across time and space, beyond boundaries and national borders, from majestic hymns to rhythmic Christian songs enveloped in different contexts of worship [both public and private] (Faith Alive Christian Resources, 2013: vii). Christian music to a Christian “speaks of commitment to God and others, of love, of faith, and many other Christian virtues” (Preus, 1987: 1). It not only enables human rituals and social connections, but also creates access to God (Nekola, 2016: 2) and this is the common factor in the population of this study.

According to Peter Rentfrow, Lewis Goldberg and Daniel Levitin (2011), there has been little or no consensus about studying specific music genres. As a result, these have generated inconsistent findings that make it difficult for results to be compared across studies on music genres (Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011). This accentuates the importance and congruent relevance of this study that gives focus to a single genre of music [the Christian music genre] rather than an amalgamation of different genres of music. Under the Christian music genre, there are many subgenres. This study investigates the genre and subgenre preferences of home-based and diasporic Christians within South Africa. For the purpose of this study, these subgenres are classified as traditional,

contemporary or hybrids of both⁵ because many subgenres [and the Christian music genre itself] are often labelled as ‘gospel’, whereas the ways they are represented are unique and different.

The gospel genre is a subgenre of Christian music. It is a blend of sacred and secular elements by African Americans who often sang it as slave songs, spirituals and hymns on Southern plantations and later at churches and meetings (Gale, 2006; Johnson, 2008: 23). Other subgenres of Christian music include praise and worship, country, rap, hip-pop, pop, modern rock, blues, and metal, among many others (Hill, 2012; Johnson, 2008). It is also important to add that indigenous or traditional Christian music is a subgenre because some Christian songs are often rendered in the indigenous languages and traditions of their different contexts. This study will thus determine, through the responses of the participants, their preferences of the various Christian music subgenres [traditional, contemporary or a blend of both], and the media through which they consume these subgenres to pinpoint identity reinforcement or adaptive strategies.

With the South African cultural and religious landscapes dominated by Christians, and Durban as home to a variety of the diverse demographic population [including ‘the diaspora’], it becomes expedient to explore what the preferences, use, representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres are among the indigenes and diasporic peoples. It is also expedient to set out how music use and preferences may result in identity reinforcement, or adaptation, as a result of these sociocultural and religious encounters. Within adaptive instances, it has been established that immigrants or the diaspora seek to locate themselves within receiving cultures [identity redefinition] and maintain their identities and their heritage culture in terms of self-consistency [identity reinforcement] while in the process of considering new possibilities with their new cultures (Schwartz, *et al.*, 2006: 6). They try to preserve their intangible heritages and culture and respond to the receiving culture (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder, 2001: 494).

However, although these scholars established this need of the diaspora, it has not been established how religious music helps to fill this void. For instance, if the medium of music can be used to express one’s self, then this will reflect in the way the individuals view themselves and other people, especially those with different cultural backgrounds. It may also be an indication of how they blend into host cultures and maintain self-consistency. In certain cases, there have been

⁵ The details of these classifications are discussed in the literature review in Chapter two.

encounters between ‘self’ and the ‘other’ that result in taking up dominant identity positions, to become defensive of terrains due to the presence of ‘otherness’ (Hall, 1992; Zlata, 2003). These confrontations are the consequence of claims and responses to the ‘threat’ that ‘the other’ may be to the socioeconomic and political stability of these contexts (Bohlman, 2011).

Proactive measures have been introduced such as the intercultural competence, and celebration of cultural diversity and multiculturalism (Bohlman, 2011; Dong, Day and Collaco, 2008; Zikargae, 2013) to ensure people celebrate what they have in common and explore their diversities. The different approach of this study is from the perspective of a unified religious identity and its music feature, irrespective of cultural or diasporic status, while situating religion as a dominant aspect of culture and a cultural practice that transcends linguistic, cultural and societal boundaries.

Music Preference

A study of how people develop music preferences lays the foundation for an easier comprehension of the universal appeal of music (Corrigall and Schellenberg, 2015). Studies on music preference are often associated with emotions, exposure, social and experimental listening contexts, cultures, personal experiences, and personality types (Corrigall and Schellenberg, 2015; Dunn, Ruyter and Bouwhuis, 2011; Szpunar, Schellenberg and Pliner, 2004).

Music used for diversion, as in the case where it is played in the background where other activities are taking place concurrently, such as driving, shopping, doing house chores, cooking, etc., may gradually develop familiarity with the music and possibly a likeness or preference for such. This was the outcome of Kathleen Corrigall and Glenn Schellenberg’s (2015) study, where the participants were studied within an experimental setting. In view of this, it can be argued that repeated exposure can influence familiarity with such music, fostering favourable dispositions towards subgenres, especially in relaxed environments. Familiarity with a musical genre can influence preference for it, but when it becomes too familiar, such dispositions can change over time (Szpunar, *et al.*, 2004). Conversely, factors that influence how quickly a listener may change their disposition to a song may be difficult to examine within a confined setting such as a laboratory. Therefore, the critique has been put forward that research on music should explore people’s music experiences in real-world settings rather than experimental environments (Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald, 2002). As a result, the effect of exposure in any form is

dependent on factors including initial liking, the listening context and the personalities of the listeners (Corrigall and Schellenberg, 2015; Dunn, *et al.*, 2011).

Categorically, most of the factors that determine music preference in these studies are connected to emotions. They also focused on exposure and personality types. However, there was no connection between music within the religious sphere and how familiarity with this can be a source of information and education in relation to human interaction within heterogeneous cultural, but homogeneous religious contexts. This study emphasises the importance of how music preference can be a means for individuals to know more about people even before any form of association has been ascertained and how these preferences can establish identities in different cultural contexts.

Further emphasis is placed on variables within the 'home' cultures, diasporic cultures and religious cultures that may influence music [principally Christian music] preference and identities as opposed to previous foci on social, 'conditioned' or experimental listening contexts shown to influence music preference. What this study is interested in ascertaining is how these contexts comparatively influence music preference, how the use of music meets certain cultural/religious needs, and the effect of these on the identities of people. This is because how music conveys information about people's identity and the enhancement of their social bonding is key to preferences of musical styles and genres (Schafer and Sedlmeier, 2010: 220), which is quite compelling within the context of this study.

Music Use and Identity

Music not only provides the means for people to share emotions, intentions or meanings, it is also a means for individuals to express and formulate identities (Hargreaves, *et al.*, 2002: 1). People attach meanings to and derive meanings from their consumption of musical content, which in turn translates to identity construction. For instance, Simon Frith (2004: 38), in his discussion on the social functions of music ['pop' music in particular], opined that 'pop' music creates an avenue for identity and self-definition within the society because people who like that particular genre of music can identify with it, the performers of the music, and other people who like that genre as well.

Frith (2004: 38) added that people's choices or preferences are one of the most striking aspects of their musical tastes because not only do people know what they like, they are equally very clear on what they do not like. Their likeness could be due to lyrical content, melody, harmony, identifying with stars [performers/popular musicians] or based on individually motivated reasons. However, based on a unifying factor of religion i.e., Christianity, this study endeavours to highlight such preferences as these apply to a religious practice [Christian music]. Christian music can unify various communities of faith across different cultural and geographical boundaries and impact identities (Ingalls, Landau and Wagner, 2016: 1). In other words, though people's consumption of Christian music subgenres may be different, this may not necessarily influence their religious identity. Nevertheless, it proves noteworthy to examine if their choices or preferences influence their cultural/diasporic identities. Another germane note of interest is how identities are influenced by cultural and religious artefacts. It is due to the assumption that things taken for granted in their natural settings [at 'home'] will be cherished away from such settings, which is the value of cultural artefacts to those away from 'home'.

Although there have been studies with an interest in music and musical identity (for instance, Fritz, Schmude, Jentschke, Friederici and Koelsch, 2013; Hoene, 2015; Johnson, Rudd, Neuendorf and Jian, 2010; Mavra and McNeil, 2007; Poder and Kiilu, 2015), there has been little focus on the aspect of religious music consumption and the influence of this on the identities of people [culturally, religiously or as the diaspora] which this study attempts to rectify.

Miroslav Mavra and Lori McNeil (2007), in their study on music use and identity formation using the *Croatian Experience* as a case study, sought to examine how music was used to reinforce both individual and national identities of Croatians based on historical analysis and identity formation during a period of historical transitioning for the country's separation from the Yugoslav federation. As noted in the study, the struggle for a more united national identity led to the revolution; an instance of 'us' versus 'them' that created "a strong sense of national, religious and ethnic identity and affiliation [...] among the people" (Mavra and McNeil, 2007: 6). They noted that elements like *music*, poetry, literature and dance along with other cultural elements like language, *religion* and national self-awareness played significant roles in the lives of the people and their perceptions of their personal as well as ethnic [or cultural] identities and the preservation of their culture. Within the African context, this point proves vital in order to ascertain the role of

the Christian music genre in the reinforcement of cultural and religious identities among the home-based and diasporic population and the preservation of such cultures due to the fact that music plays a significant role in “people’s sense of identity. [E]very individual can audibly recognize and identify with his or her notion of self by simply dancing to, performing, listening to, and thinking about music” (Mavra and McNeil, 2007: 7).

Christin Hoene (2015: 2) in her study on the representation of music and identity construction in post-colonial British South Asian literature affirmed that music can be regarded as a concept that informs peoples’ identification with their cultural heritage and surroundings, and as a means by which people have the ability to cross borders between nations, cultures and varied languages [which in the context of this study may refer to the diasporic identity]. She also pointed out that music can acquire new meanings within different contexts. This allows for the creation and expression of new identities which are examined within the framework of this study. So also, Thomas Hans Fritz, Paul Schmude, Sebastian Jentschke, Angela Friederici and Stefan Koelsch (2013) in their study on how music was appropriated and understood cross-culturally [between Cameroonians and Germans] also showed that iconic meanings of music transcended cultural boundaries mainly due to individual and cultural experiences even though none of the participants had prior exposure or knowledge about musical content from the other’s culture. These groups could relate to content due to cultural associations that symbols represented in their different cultural backgrounds. The study was mainly based on the understanding of music through the representation of signs and symbols in comparison to the cultural identities of these groups, but the study neglected the influences of these contents on cultural identities i.e., how they see ‘themselves’ in comparison to the ‘others’ in the representation of these musical contents cross-culturally.

In Kadri Poder and Kristi Kiilu’s (2015) study of *the formation of musical identity*, their aim was to provide answers to the influence of the environment on the musical identity formation. The role of music in the life of an individual is not limited to only entertainment or as an emotive medium, but it helps to “develop and organize the relations between each other, and [...] musical preferences [... that define] belonging to a specific sociocultural environment” (Poder and Kiilu, 2015: 1706). They suggested that a favourable environment is important in the formation of musical identity which will influence the individual’s choice and consumption of music because sociocultural

contexts, like homes, may influence the individual's motivations and identity. With this as their focus, there is no reference to those who are away from home – 'place of origin'. This is a vital aspect of this study to ascertain if environmental factors influence people's choice and use of different Christian music subgenres, predominantly for those who are diasporic.

Furthermore, research on music use and preference focused more on issues pertaining to music structure and external correlates, with few studies examining the contexts in which people listen to music and the particular genres of music to which they listen (Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011). This makes it imperative for music to be situated within contexts to ascertain contextual factors that influence music preference because one's preference may be different within another context due to contextual factors (Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011). The aim of situating Christian music subgenres in contexts illustrates the use and importance of these preferences in the lives of people.

Similarly, there have been prevailing studies on the use of media through music and religious content, and the influences these have on individuals (for instance, Abelman, 1987; Belcher, 2010; Chamorro-Premuzic and Furnham, 2007; Juslin, 2013a, 2013b). Not much has been done on identity construction through religious music, especially comparatively among diverse groups such as the home-based and diasporic populations. What most of these studies have in common is that they were all premised on the behaviouristic and functionalistic approach to media studies which ignored an important component of the human nature which is identity [of themselves and other people]. This study intends to bridge this gap through the adoption of a culturalist approach by situating this study within the frameworks of identity and audience reception.

For instance, Robert Abelman (1987) in his study of the use and effect of religious television [TV] content on the audience observed that the members of the audience were active – a notion previously established by Stuart Hall's ([1973] 1980, 1993) encoding and decoding model, – and they therefore interpreted and interacted with religious content based on their motives. These motives ranged from watching to learn and be informed, to dissatisfaction with commercial television content, to the need for spiritual guidance, entertainment purposes, to feeling close to God, to the need for moral support, to behavioural guidance and social interaction among others. Though Abelman's (1987) study was individualistic, it failed to show how religious contents can affect cultural identities. However, it is equally important to note that although these groups [i.e.,

home-based and diasporic Christians] have different cultural backgrounds and experiences, they still share a common group that is religion. Hence, another prevalent factor to take into consideration is how religion through the consumption of Christian music has shaped their identities and those of others.

In Tomas Chamorro-Premuzic and Adrian Furnham's (2007) study of how personality traits can be used to explain people's use of music, they concluded that undeniably, people's different identities manifested through cognitive abilities and experiences, but they failed to address how music can be used to communicate certain attitudes or aspects of their personalities regarding physical, artistic and cultural activities. James Belcher (2010) studied individual differences, music-listening motives and music selection, and concluded that people listened to music to pass time, change their mood, be entertained, and to be informed rather than to learn about themselves or the environment. He noted that the need to know about musical content was a shift from his assumption that people learn about themselves and others through music. Belcher (2010) added that unconscious connections could be made to understand different human experiences through music content, which is supported by Kira Leck (2006 in Belcher, 2010), who inferred that the study's result showed that participants did not consider music as a viable source of information. This is another gap filled by this study, as it aims to indicate the stance of these groups [i.e., home-based and diasporic Christians] on whether Christian music subgenres have been sources of information about 'themselves' and 'others'.

Music has been described as one of the languages of emotions (Cooke, 1959). This indicates that music is a means for emotional outlet. Patrik Juslin (2013a), in his study towards a unified theory of musical emotions, focused on music as a medium for emotional expression which he asserted to be an important criterion for music's aesthetic values. Juslin (2013b) averred that listeners often perceived 'emotional meaning' in music which implied that the medium of music is a reminder of ways human beings can express their state of mind. This makes it important to know the kinds of meanings attached to and derived from musical content because listeners can give varied interpretations of what they listen to.⁶ This is possible because the meanings derived from musical content are filtered from all that the listeners have been exposed to through their preferences,

⁶ This was what Hall (1993) referred to as different kinds of *readings* which is delineated in Chapter Three, when the theoretical framework is discussed.

experiences and listening histories (MacDonald, Kreutz and Mitchell, 2012: 6). Therefore, this study, through the adoption of Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Andres Madsen, Hugh Mackay and Keith Negus' (1997, 2013) 'circuit of culture', Stuart Hall's (1990, 1993) identity theory and encoding and decoding model respectively, will establish the meanings these groups [i.e., home-based and diasporic Christians] attach to, and derive from Christian music subgenres within the cultural landscape they are located.

Music Mediation and Consumption

The media and contents produced are all integral parts of culture that can be used to integrate people into 'new' communities through the provision of common values, ideas and information to help form identities [through media content and cultural artefacts] (McQuail, 2010). It is key to identify those factors that influence our relationships and interactions with, and within the society and how these reflect in cultural dimensions that pertain to our identities. The media, [and certainly media contents], can serve as the "main source of awareness of a shared past time [history] and of a present location. They are also a store of memories and a map of where we are and who we are [identity] and may also provide the materials for orientation to the future" (McQuail, 2010: 82-83). This simply means the representation of the media and media contents serve as links between the past [who we were] – histories, traditions, what we were told, and experiences; the present [who we are] – our daily interactions, relationships, experiences; and the future [who we think we will be] – those events that will shape our lives, all of which influence perceptions of ourselves. Consequently, sociocultural factors within the society like exposure to media and media contents in a way influence the knowledge of ourselves and those around us. Technological media advances enable diasporic [and home-based] individuals to maintain meaningful relationships with their home countries (Garrett, 2011: 6). This assumption is researched in order to understand the media these groups of people use to access and consume Christian music subgenres.

Before the advent of communication technology, people's cultural experiences and religious ceremonies were mediated through personal contact, and public performances. However, because of the advancement in technology, mediated cultural experiences have become more accessible in a variety of forms (McQuail, 2010). The term mediation in media and cultural studies refers to the role of the media as 'purveyors' of cultural products within the purview of an 'objective reality'

to bridge the gap for audiences' experiences of the world and the larger society within which the audiences are (Ross, 2005: 18). The process goes beyond the 'liveness' of media through television studies and newsworthy occurrences to the 'liveness' of the forms of media broadcasts [of social interactions] and events [mediated programmes] (Kember and Zylinska, 2012). It represents the use of the media to broadcast content to audiences facilitated by technology. This shows how the media serves as intermediary between producers and the final consumers.

People's use of media is shaped by circumstances related to time, place [context] and the people's social and cultural habits (McQuail, 2010: 435). For instance, Frith (2004: 38-39) concurred that the pleasure derived from 'pop' music is one experienced directly through active audience participation, a process that involves the musicians, the amplification system and the audience. Because of this, "new technologies offer different sets of possibilities for how we worship – how we hear, how we sing, how we feel and how we connect" (Nekola, 2016: 1). In this context, the mediation of Christian music subgenres is studied through the preferred media of the participants in terms of virtual i.e., television or radio [traditional]; Internet [new media technologies and social media: mobile phones, tablets, computers, laptops; Godtube.com, YouTube channels, Facebook]; or live performances or worship experiences in real life [IRL]. Mass mediated events may supplement or complement and, at the same time, displace real and personal contacts and interactions with other people (McQuail, 2010: 436). As a result, it is essential to find out the prominent media of consumption among these groups be they mediated virtually or IRL. The relevance of this is to observe how consumers of musical content seek experiences that involve access to music and how their music consumption needs are satisfied (Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015: 33). The dearth of knowledge about the consumption of different mediated forms of music needs to be focused on and attended to (Schramm, 2006: 21) which is why this study is relevant.

Outline of the Theoretical Framework

The theoretical background of this study is premised on the 'circuit of culture' as propounded by scholars like Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Andres Madsen, Hugh Mackay and Keith Negus (1997, 2013).

The 'Circuit of Culture', Identity and the Encoding and Decoding Model

The 'circuit of culture' has been identified as the guiding principle for this study, which is supplemented with other literature about media and cultural studies. Though the circuit is the starting point of my theoretical background, the study will not be confined to the circuit only.

The 'circuit of culture' is a model of cultural analysis that Richard Johnson proposed in 1986 as an embryonic model and which was later became expounded on by du Gay, *et al.* in 1997 (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997, 2013; Leve, 2012: 1-2). The model consists of five concepts otherwise known as 'moments' – representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation – that provide answers to:

- how meanings are produced [production],
- which meanings are shared within society and by which groups [representation/consumption]
- what other counter-meanings are circulated [representation/consumption]
- those with contested meanings [identity] and
- how meanings are reflections of power and power resistance in the society [regulation] (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997: 3, 12).

The initial aim of this model was to study the Sony Walkman as a cultural phenomenon, its representation, the social identities that were associated with it, how it was produced and consumed, and the mechanisms in place to regulate its use and distribution (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997, 2013: xxx). Since that time, it has been used successfully in several other applications. The application of this model for this study exemplifies Christian music as a phenomenon, how it is represented and consumed within the South African cultural landscape and how South African and diasporic Nigerian and Congolese identities are represented and reflected in these religious music contents. Therefore, this study accounts for the interrelatedness of four moments [identity, representation, production and consumption], but will not include regulation. The moment of regulation encompasses those policies in place to guide the production, distribution and consumption processes of Christian music which is not the aim of this study.

The ‘circuit of culture’ model proffers an appropriate understanding of factors that influence culture and meanings derived from sociocultural backgrounds. These meanings ensure that the concepts of identity [‘belonging’ and ‘unbelonging’], and consumption/appropriation of the patterns provide values that form the basis for easier comprehension of embedded cultural meanings (Leve, 2012: 2). This statement indicates an interrelationship between the moments of identity and consumption as proffered by the ‘circuit of culture’. There is equally an implicit attention to the moments of representation and production through the reference made to the ‘appropriation of values’, in other words, how these values are produced and structured or represented in cultural messages. These representations are often done in cognisance of cultural considerations or otherwise, all dependent on the disposition of the encoder of the message and the target in mind [the decoder].

The ‘circuit of culture’ is supported by the identity and audience reception approaches [in the encoding and decoding model] of Stuart Hall (1990, 1993; [1973] 1980). The adoption of a reception theoretical framework for this study alongside issues surrounding identity borders on the need to investigate the theoretical and empirical processes of interpretation otherwise known as sense-making (Pitout, 2001a: 244). Efforts of reception scholars have provided the field of media and cultural studies with a newer, broader and unique perspective on the power of the audience to shape and influence texts⁷ within different cultural landscapes (Ott and Mack, 2014). The relevance of this audience reception approach is to analyse and interpret the meanings the audience attach to and derive from their use and consumption of Christian music subgenres in this study.

Research Methodology

The methodological approach is discussed in detail in Chapter Four. Nonetheless, a concise introduction to how the data was gathered and analysed for this study is provided.

The research approach adopted for this study is qualitative, to have in-depth knowledge of identity construction among home-based and diasporic peoples through their use and consumption of Christian music subgenres. Qualitative research focuses on the manner people give meanings to their experiences within the context they live in (Holloway and Wheeler, 2010). Personal

⁷ Texts within the context of media studies also refer to media contents.

experiences of the study groups were brought to the fore to meet the set objectives of this study and answer the research questions. The importance and relevance of a qualitative research approach to this study lies in it providing an easier comprehension of: i) why people behave in the manner they do, ii) the formation of people's opinions and attitudes, iii) how cultures have developed and why they have developed in such ways, iv) and to give explanations about social phenomena (Hancock, 1998).

For this proposed study, the description of human experiences was based on the results of the consumption of Christian music as a phenomenon and how this relates to identity formation through reinforcement or adaptation among the South African indigenes and diasporic peoples of Nigeria and the DRC who live in Durban. The experiences of participants were studied on how they relate with other people who have the same [South African indigenes] or different cultural and diasporic identities [Nigerians and Congolese] but all share the same religious identities. Such elucidated personal experiences require the description and interpretation of meanings from the consumption of Christian music as a phenomenon experienced by the participants of the study (Padilla-Diaz, 2015: 103).

Phenomenology was the first research design while the research instrument was semi-structured interviews because interviews are especially useful to explore a problem in-depth and to provide adequate information about a phenomenon (Muijs, 2004: 9). The samples in this study were black South African Christians in Durban alongside diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban. The samples interviewed were 10 in each group to make a total of 30 participants. Each group of interviewees consisted of South Africans who attended the eThekweni Community Church [ECC] in Durban, Congolese who attended the Glenwood Presbyterian [Congolese] Church [GPC] in Durban, and Nigerians who attended the Winners' Chapel International, Durban [WCID]. Informed consent forms were administered to participants, and the interviews were conducted at the convenience of each participant. But before the interviews, I had four Sunday services with each group, to observe their modes of worship. The sample size of 10 people per group, and four weeks of fellowship with each church were corroborated by the principle of data saturation. Data saturation is premised on the notion that data gathered may become repetitive over a period of time among a group of people (Glasser and Strauss, 1967; Marshall, Cardon, Poddar and Fontenot, 2013).

The second research design is ethnography through participant observation and audition.⁸ Ethnography is a study that involves social interactions, perceptions and behaviours observed in groups, organisations, communities and teams (Reeves, Kuper and Hodges, 2008: 512). I took notes, studied their choices of music during worship services, and observed the cultural artefacts within the churches used to accompany church music that reinforce or adapt their cultural, diasporic and religious identities. Through my immersion and experience among these groups of people over a period of four fellowships with each group, I gained new knowledge of their consumption of Christian music on adaptive and reinforced strategies utilised within their unique cultural settings, and religious orientations/modes of worship. Three churches were selected: the eThekwini Community Church, Durban [ECC], the Glenwood Presbyterian Church [GPC], and the Winners' Chapel International, Durban [WCID]. The Presbyterian Church has denominations around the world, as does the WCID; a Nigerian-affiliated church with denominations around the world, whereas, the ECC is a South African church. The GPC and the WCID hold services for diasporic communities of Congolese and Nigerians respectively.

In order to discuss the findings, hermeneutics [the theory of interpretation (Kinsella, 2006)] as a narrative and interpretative strategy was adopted. The representation of Christian music subgenres particularly through language-use and musical instruments along with accompanying rhythms, beats and harmonies, was an indicator of identity reinforcement or adaptation because these are factors that influence music representation (Boulton, 1957: 4). This was ascertained within the context of this study particularly among South Africans and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese. The languages used in the representation of selected songs and accompanying musical instruments during church service served as indicators of reinforcement or adaptation of identities. These are enumerated in the three ethnographic accounts in the Fifth Chapter of this study, the data analysis chapter.

Structure of the Thesis

This study is divided into six chapters:

⁸ Participant audition is an accompanying method to the participant observation, in that it incorporates audio-recordings of text during observations before these texts are analysed (Meyer and Schareika, 2009). In the context of this study, these texts are Christian music choices and accompanying instruments observed at the three churches.

Chapter one: The first chapter is the introductory chapter to the study. It includes the background to the study. It summarises the main research constructs such as the interrelatedness of media, culture and religion, and the cultural and religious landscapes of South Africa, Nigeria and the DRC. In addition, it comprises of the problem statement, the objectives of the study, the research questions, a brief description of the theoretical framework adopted in the study, the research methodology, and the structure of the study.

Chapter two: The second chapter is the review of relevant literature. The chapter discusses views and opinions in three sections, namely *music in Africa* [Christian music within the African context], *music and identity* [music use and preference], and *music mediation and consumption*. These are some of the major themes from the research topic, questions and objectives. The other themes of *identity adaptation* and *reinforcement* are unpacked in the theoretical framework chapter along with views on *identity*. Likewise, studies on music within the African context are adequately discussed to contextualise the study within the African framework.

Chapter three: The third chapter is the theoretical framework in which the guiding theories of this study, namely the ‘circuit of culture’, the encoding and decoding model and ‘identity’ are discussed. Issues surrounding the moments of production, representation, consumption, identity, culture, and identity hybridity are unpacked.

Chapter four: The fourth chapter discusses the methods adopted for data collection in the study. Research approaches, sampling techniques, research methods and designs, the qualitative research paradigm, sampling technique, study location, ethical considerations and the limitations of the study are also addressed.

Chapter five: The fifth chapter presents findings and discussions from the gathered data of the research. This includes data from interviews and participant observations from the ethnography. The interpretation of data is linked to the literature review and theoretical framework chapters in order to pinpoint the areas of new knowledge, as well as confluence and disparity with previous studies.

Chapter six: The sixth chapter summarises and concludes the research endeavour alongside recommendations from the study and new areas that may need further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW PART A

Introduction: The Notion of Christian music

The traditional role of religion in most societies has been to develop cultural values that promote people-to-people interactions (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, [UNESCO], 2010). In Mohammed Abu-Nimer's (2001: 687) definition of culture, he described culture as a social and cognitive process of individuals within professional, occupational, regional and *religious* settings. Indeed, religion can be situated within the culture and traditions of a group of people. The relevance of media within these cultural and religious viewpoints is that it serves as an analysis of *what* and *how* meanings are created, especially in the context of Christian music consumption and mediation which stresses the relevance of a culturalist perspective as a catalyst to examine the relationship among this trio (Ihejirika, 2009: 3). The purpose of this study is to explore the use and reception of Christian music subgenres among South African indigenes and the diasporic populace characterised by the peoples of Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo [DRC] who live in Durban, South Africa.

The reception of these Christian music subgenres is linked to the construction of identity among these groups and how their exposure and understanding of these media contents have influenced the way they see themselves and the way they see other people through their choices of Christian music subgenres, the representation of these subgenres, and their consumption and media of reception/consumption. For these reasons, bearing in mind the two major variables of the research topic namely *Christian music* and *identity construction*, this chapter is divided into three parts or sections along the main themes of the research objectives and key questions which are *music* [music in Africa, and Christian music within the African context], *music and identity* [music use and preference], and *music mediation and consumption*. Although some of the themes from the research objectives and research questions are those on identity reinforcement and adaptation, these are reviewed in chapter three, the theoretical framework, as they are related with discourses that enfold identity construction culturally, religiously and within the diaspora.

Positioning Christian Music within African Music

Music is pervasive in nature because of its reach and presence within society. From its production, distribution, consumption and performances, to other traditional channels of dissemination, music is one of the most widespread cultural products (Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015). It serves as an expressional medium of communication that fulfils different functions of entertainment, education, relaxation and information among many others. More importantly, music within the African culture is deeply rooted and permeates all aspects of our lives. African music is a distinct and defining characteristic of Africans as unique cultural beings because “it binds Africans together and gives [us] common characteristics” (Mbaegbu, 2015: 117). Every occasion and activity an African is involved with is often intermingled with musical culture.

As Africans, we use African music as the most demonstrative and expressive tool for the preservation of our heritage, traditions and ambitions, and in the maintenance of the unity of the African community as a social group along with those within the community (Agordoh, 2005; Boulton, 1957: 3). African music is a cultural characteristic that makes us different cultural beings and creates a link that binds us to other Africans thus establishing this as a common feature among Africans (Mbaegbu, 2015: 177). The African music is thus a ‘reinforcer’ of the African identity. A study such as this that pays close attention to the traditions of African music on issues such as sound, technology, *religion*, the migrations of the African people *within* the continent, and the manner through which these processes affect our musical expressions enables us gain newer insights on how music is entrenched within African culture and beneficial to many societies (Shelemay, 2000).

The spontaneity and remarkable nature of African music is one that features diverse musical traditions which are mostly the commonalities shared by the different cultures in Africa. The musical style of rendition within Africa does not only dwell in isolation of just singing but is accompanied by other features that are denotative of the larger African identity. Musical instruments, dance, colourful attire and uninhibited body language are but a few of African music accompaniments (Hester, 2010). Undoubtedly, the African music in different situations and cultural backgrounds depends on interactions between musicians and the audience, their hands and voices, voices and instruments, and the relationship that may exist with the incorporation of dance

to musical renditions (Agordoh, 2005: 12). These complementary circumstances are what set apart the African musical identity from the western or other musical identities. Thus, African music is intertwined in what Ruth Stone (2010: 7) regarded as a ‘constellation of performing arts’. Noteworthy are the rhythmic claps that complement music renditions. Collective participation is fostered for a vibrant and melodious musical atmosphere. Everybody has a part to play. In some cases, claps can substitute for other forms of musical instruments, especially drums in cases where drums are absent. As the song is rendered, people clap and dance rhythmically and simultaneously, and the African tradition within and through African music is upheld and reinforced. Owing to this, African music and accompanied collective participatory methods function as both an educative and sociocultural means to preserve the African art and heritage and at the same time, boost the self-esteem and identity of the African (Hester, 2010: 16). Varying artistic characteristics are compressed into this unique form of African music-making which complement one another and lift our spirits as Africans. Therefore, African performances such as singing, dancing, clapping and playing instruments fixated into African music becomes inseparable from the music and one another; a conceptual package that many Africans may view as all-encompassing because “[African] music tightly interweaves with dance, words, drama and visual art to create a complex event” (Stone, 2010: 7, 13).

In all these, there is a misconception that taints the usage of the term ‘African music’. African music is misconstrued to signify a clearly identifiable phenomenon or a single genre of music that emanates from the African continent, but that is not the case (Agordoh, 2005: 1). When we take into consideration the diverse cultures, languages, and the sheer size of the continent being the second largest in the world, it becomes increasingly difficult to generally isolate distinct African features that are common to the whole of the continent (Agordoh, 2005: 1). Hence, African music speaks of a broader variety of musical attributes that stem from the diversity and uniqueness on the continent. African music consists of more than one variety of music and musical types (Aning, 1973: 16). So also, it can become hybridised, but the important point that remains is that it does not lose its features and characteristics that endear the African mind to it even if it takes on different forms evident in music genres and subgenres. It was with this backdrop that Ben Aning (1973: 16) grouped African music into two: *traditional African music* [the music heritage of Africa] and *contemporary or modern African music*. In a similar grouping, Olof Axelsson (1974: 90)

categorised African music into three groups, namely folk-music [these are those subgenres that are indigenous to different cultures within the African perspective and least influenced by western characteristics], urban and popular music [genres and subgenres that are embodiments of both the heritage of African music and western features and its circular traditions], and fine-art music [a genre often characterised by its embrasive tendencies from 'receiving' society. It includes hybridised genres]. The similarities of these groupings are palpable. As a result, the traditional forms of music can also be categorised as folk-music, while the urban and popular music/fine-arts music can likewise be categorised as contemporary or modern African music.

Aning (1973) termed traditional African music as music associated with traditional African institutions that existed during the pre-colonial era. These forms of music were those that withstood western influences and acculturation which made them quite distinct in idioms, orientation and representation in comparison to the contemporary or modern popular music. Acculturation is the process of modification or adjustment of cultural features of a culture within a dominant cultural environment (Padilla and Perez, 2003: 37). Those features that separate this category of traditional African music include rhythm [in cradle songs, lullabies, folk stories, children's play songs, and drum language], melodies [different music scales and patterns], organisation of choral forms [solo and chorus ensemble], and the use of inimitable musical instruments. Originally, traditional religious music were those forms of pure religious worship within traditional societies by members of those societies in the worship of their gods, for ritual purposes, and as a reminder of the interpersonal relationships that existed among them which further strengthened their bonds. So initially, traditional religious African music was indigenous before the arrival of missionaries and the Christian faith. However, some of these features have been imbibed into the modern-day Christian music genre within the context of contemporary or modern African music. Suffice it to say, the contemporary or modern African music forms are those with adaptive or accommodative instances and as a result can be grouped under contemporary or modern/fine-art African music.

Contemporary African music comprises of popular and art music types. Popular contemporary African music is a modern style of music which pays close attention to the youth and is characterised by a heavy amount of western musical mannerisms with African rhythmic 'touch', especially in language-use. Contemporary art music is more formal and 'artistic' in nature. This is inclusive of church music [written in local languages with four different harmonies], vocal music

[written by music composers with western music training], and instrument music [often for solo instruments or a combination of instruments] (Aning, 1973). Contemporary African musical forms are composed by Africans with the infusion of both African and non-African features but mainly with the African populace in mind. This makes it a “result of the influence of western culture and commerce” and is neither pure African or pure western music but is more ‘African’ because it has rhythms and melodic patterns that are ‘very African’ (Aning, 1973: 21-22). The state of being ‘very African’ is as a result of the inculcation of previously discussed features of rhythm, melodies, choral form organisation, and musical instruments.

To get an all-encompassing categorisation of African music may be a difficult task, but for this study, such classifications as *religious* [Christian], war, praise [eulogy], highlife, Afrobeat and folk music are but a few of the abundant genres of African music (Mbaegbu, 2015). With these discussions in mind, further discourses around the Christian music genre should be understood in cognisance of its background in African music and within the African context.

Introduction of Christianity and Christian Music to Africa

The genre of Christian music is one characteristic of the Christian faith and an inseparable part of church worship (Mbaegbu, 2015: 17). It is therefore necessary to situate the journey of Christianity that ushered in the Christian music genre and its subgenres. The relevance of these histories is that our contextualisation of the past and its occurrences enables us to weigh our current situations to pave the way for a better future because when we remember our histories, we are spurred on to have a better ‘history’ for those in the future who would read about our present occurrences as past events. It is by knowing where we are that we can know where we have been.⁹ This is to say that our identities are based, formed and altered by our histories, therefore with no sense of history, our identities can be misrepresented.

There is no doubt that Christianity has grown to be a locally and widely accepted religion in Africa (Wild-Wood, 2008: 2). Nevertheless, we need to trace its introduction to the African context. Christianity was brought into the African continent by missionaries who wanted Christianity to be done in their own way through the “transplant [of] Europe’s concept of Christianity to the African

⁹This is a paraphrase of Maui’s conversation with Moana who are both major characters in the Disney movie *Moana* (2016).

environment, as well as imposing its own denominational divisions” on the African people to the neglect of their local cultures (Axelsson, 1974: 91). With the arrival of missionaries and their peculiar way of life which included musical styles, food and clothing, the genre of Christian music became entrenched in the religion of Christianity, especially as a way of worship and fellowship. This led to the organisation of Christian worship in line with domination and denominational divisions from the viewpoint of the missionaries to align with what they were already familiar with versus what they encountered within the African context. The approach with which these missionaries conducted religious services, though later translated into African languages, still bore a resemblance to the background of their home churches that were thoroughly satiated with hymns and liturgies (Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007: 257). These missionaries were mainly Protestants who maintained loyalty to their heritages with the vision to propagate Protestantism to create African churches to instil a deeper sense of universality between these new churches and their western counterparts (Axelsson, 1974: 91). The transference of the cultural values of the missionaries was characterised by their intention to transform African societies with little doubt about how they made their cultures superior to those of the African (Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007: 257).

Due to their inability to relate with and propagate Christianity in the ‘African way’, they resorted to certain restrictions of, and bans on the traditional life of the African in Christian worship due to its ‘heathen’ nature which meant the African needed to discard his familiar traditions for foreign ones due to the understanding of the Christian faith by the nineteenth century Europeans who lived in an era of western civilisation and colonisation (Axelsson, 1974: 91). Africa was influenced by forces of change signalled by the four C’s of commerce, civilisation, colonisation, and Christianity (Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007: 252). This implies that the period, which was the background that ushered in colonisation, would have been heavily influenced by such histories and traditions which is a totally different scenario in this modern era where we hold a different understanding of what their approach ought to have been. It is thus difficult to assess and have a true representation of the lived experiences of the people during that period in comparison to what we know now.

The indigenisation and ordination of a ‘local’ priesthood bestowed on Africans control over churches, modes of worship, and Christian music use and was more evident in places like Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Nigeria before these developments were seen in other places (Denis, 2012). When the struggle for independence began to erupt across the African continent, it

became apparent that the control of missionaries over local African churches needed to lessen to foster transference of such control to the locals. In the wake of the reality of independence, missionary personnel changed in their nature and functions as they slowly began to stop sending missionaries to Africa, especially among Protestant churches (Denis, 2012: 7).

As a result of the different transformative occurrences, people began to criticise the former approach of Christianity and approach to Christian worship. For instance, H.A Junod [a Switzerland missionary in South Africa] ascribed the basis of the former approach to the sciences of mankind such as sorcery and the idea of evolution which could have instigated an outright disregard for all aspects of the African tradition, to the detriment of values that could have been inculcated earlier, along with values that were not oppositional to the Christian faith. In his words, the missionaries thought “science [showed] that primitive and semi-primitive peoples [Africans, were still] passing through a phase of development through which our fathers [Europeans] also passed” which meant that they thought the growth and transformation of Africans was still delayed but would surely manifest (Axelsson, 1974: 92). Thus, the missionaries could not see beyond the values and traditions that made the African unique and different from the western man. All the same, as more African states began to enjoy sovereignty, and the leadership of African churches became dominated by Africans, a period of change swept into the modes of worship through the inculcation of more traditional values that the people could relate to. What the missionaries failed to realise was how religious the terrain they arrived on already was. Indigenous religious beliefs had already laid a good foundation for belief in a high, distant and supreme Being (King, 2008: 10). This would have just led to an integration of their previous framework of knowledge to what was already on the ground in Africa, which would probably have been more assimilated by the African people due to what they were initially exposed to in their varying religious cultural backgrounds.

Further on, the Christian music genre and its subgenres within the African context became a result of music hybrids due to the interactions between African and New World cultures [of western Christianity] as observed in the discussions on *African music*. This process had to be adopted because at the early stage when Christianity was introduced to the African context, western songs were emphasised as those more acceptable to the detriment of the indigenous African music (Axelsson, 1974: 89). Western music was favoured by the missionaries who introduced the

Christian faith to the African continent. It became an instance of ‘their’ music and ‘our’ music. ‘Theirs’ as the preferred means of worship over ‘ours’ [as the receiving cultures on the African continent] could have prompted outright rejection of such a stance of favouritism, hence, adaptive and hybridised instances through the fusion of both western and African musical features needed to be adopted. Only when the missionaries recognised the uniqueness of music to the African, could European music stop serving as a substitute for African music and the African needed to learn to express himself in his own way. The pressure on the adoption of a Eurocentric approach to worship and music was lessened. This made room for several musical adaptations and hybrids. For instance, the African religious hymn [a subgenre of Christian music] is a hybrid of a western hymnal [a compilation or collation of hymns] and African musical tendencies. This subgenre is an expression of reparation, thanksgiving and petition, and the inculcation of good morals with emphasis on good deeds and a turning away from evil acts (Mbaegbu, 2015: 180).

Hence, African music characteristics were combined with western music characteristics to create new and unique musical compositions. This adaptive process led to heterogeneous instances of music produced in Africa. Cultural adaptation or accommodation was apparent in the acceptance of western Christian music idioms and characteristics that went through the process of change or adaptation to the African context (Axelsson, 1974: 89). In this way, the African Christian music produced a variety of music while at the same time did not lose its ‘Africanness’. ‘Africanness’ was adequately maintained in other ways through the promotion of those genres that opted to remain more indigenous like traditional/folk as compared to those with heterogeneous tendencies in the case of those categorised as contemporary/urban/popular African music forms (Aning, 1973; Axelsson, 1974). The results of these instances were musical considerations that catered to music and preferences of the various African audiences. The missionaries did not understand the musical differences that existed between what they termed ‘religious’ music [which was European in nature] and ‘non-religious’ music [which was the African traditional/indigenous music] and thus neglected the social and entertaining characteristics embedded in each musical component (Axelsson, 1974: 93).

Language is one of the critical factors considered in the songs and music of Africa (King, 2008: 8). The missionaries neglected the local language and deemed ‘theirs’ as the preferred means which was not well accepted by Africans. To be acceptable within Africa, the missionaries had to

adapt themselves to the Africans, to strip themselves [...] of the cultural elements peculiar to them [..., and] to overcome language difficulties by devoting their spare time to the study of local African languages [...] since through language, it is possible to know and appreciate cultural context and experience the relevant culture (Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007: 254).

For instance, the adaptation of the ‘Missa Luba’, attempted by the Roman Catholic Church in the Congo in the 1950’s, was an adaptation achieved through the close cooperation of African and European artistes who created the blend of western influence saturated with features of African traditional/indigenous music (Aning, 1974: 22). The adaptation embraced traditional Congolese folk-music and European music which was used in mass worship. As a result, missionaries had to acclimatise in order to be acceptable among Africans. This similarly was transferred into modes of worship and use of Christian music in different African contexts as reviewed within the South African, Nigerian and Congolese perspectives subsequently.

The South African Context

Christianity in South Africa can be dated back to the period white settlers arrived in South Africa (1652) and founded the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk [the Dutch Reformed Church, part of the Protestant Reformation movement] that was in the Dutch East India company’s station at the Cape of Good Hope in the Cape Peninsula (Gerstner, 1997: 16; Haecker, 2012; Malembe, 2005: 20). As was the case in the African context, colonialism altered the African music terrain in South Africa with the arrival of the Dutch settlers and their liturgical modes of services accompanied by hymns as Christian music – their main mode of worship (Haecker, 2012: 10-11). As a result of the fact that the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa was parallel in similitude with its parent church in the Netherlands, it might have been perceived as an extension of colonialism which South Africans viewed as a threat to their cultural and socio-political identities because the colonial government had a more visible, as well as direct influence on the church (Gerstner, 1997: 20).

As noted earlier, the aim of the missionaries was to continue the establishment of the same mode of worship and Christian music use as to what was available in their home countries (Axelsson, 1974: 91; Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007: 257). In addition to the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk [the Dutch Reformed Church], there were other churches such as the Salvation Army, Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist, and Ethiopian Episcopal Churches within South Africa, among

many others with international affiliations, who had comparable patterns of worship. Though these churches sought to become 'Africanised', they still bore a resemblance to their parent churches in styles of conducting service and music modes. All these churches belong to the South African Council of Churches, an organisation founded in 1968 for the unity of the Church and the People [South Africans], and to stand against the injustices of the apartheid regime (South African Council of Churches, 2015). Because the Council was made up of more black leaders and black dominated churches, it was tagged a 'Black' and oppositional organisation, but these inclusions were significant because they came when missionaries and expatriates were handing over church ownership to indigenous leaders (South African Council of Churches, 2015).

The interpretation of some South Africans on the use of 'foreign' music, coupled with the white presence in the country was perceived as an attempt to further change their beliefs and behaviour which witnessed an increased appreciation for African music and the musical traditions of their indigenous African culture (Haecker, 2012: 9). Through the incorporation of 'South Africanness' into Christianity, their traditional as well as Christian music ought to have been used to define this cultural group (King, 2008). But this was conspicuously absent. The challenge faced by Africans and South Africans was how they could accept the Christian faith and still maintain their cultural identities, but this was not the situation as some had to lead lives of double standards based on the assumption that the Christian faith had to completely change their cultures (Mugambi, 2005: 521). What people failed to realise was that to become a Christian had nothing to do with the adoption of western or 'the other' culture because "conversion is not acculturation [but] should help the convert to launch a critical examination of one's own cultural background [...] towards a future guided by Jesus Christ" (Mugambi, 2005: 521).

Since racial segregation was prominent in South Africa, it further underpinned the earlier approach of total disregard of the traditions of South Africans in their mode of Christian worship which sparked independent church movements and music with little or no European influence (Axelsson, 1974: 91). Siphon Malembe (2005: 22-23) provided contributions of early South African Christian music artistes which is reviewed subsequently. Many of the early artistes or groups who contributed to the establishment of Christian music had a church base; for instance, Amadodana aseWesile [Wesleyan Methodist Church], Moruti Ndlovu [a church pastor] and Dube family [of the Assemblies of God Movement]. He further highlighted the work of the Amadodana aseWesile

group which began in the mid 1970's and were mostly known by their works which were mainly hymnals [subgenres of Christian music] and the translation of well-known missionary hymns into local indigenous languages which altered their rhythms to more African-oriented hymns that became danceable. Using the “*tshiiif* called *isifutho* and *isqamelo*, a small hand-held pillow-like instrument”, the group was able to infuse certain beats that were unique to their subgenres and to emphasise and strengthen the rhythm of the music (Malembe, 2005: 22).

In another instance, Benjamin Dube, a member of the Dube family, ventured into his solo career in 1979. His music has been characterised using guitars, drums, keyboards and vocals, though with some contemporary feel have all provided an African rhythm. All these features earned him the title of the ‘father’ of contemporary gospel music in South Africa; a subgenre of Christian music that has grown and become popularised by other contemporary artistes like Mthunzi Namba, and Joyous Celebration, among many others (Bainbridge, Carillet, Corne, Murphy, Phillips and Richmond, 2015; Malembe, 2005). The African music within the South African context accompanied with traditional African singing, dancing and drumming, which are inseparable parts of the South African who lived during the pre-colonial, were embraced as a ‘reinforcer’ of the African identity and a symbol against the oppression of the apartheid period (Haecker, 2012: 9-10). But in all these, some missionaries were still critical of the social effect their arrival had on the locals and clamoured for respect for, and recognition of the human dignity of South Africans (Ward, 1999: 210).

The most influential factors on Christian music artistes and Christian music in South Africa came from the United States of America. With the popularity of recording companies like Hosanna! Music and their recording artistes like Ron Kenoly, an African American gospel artiste with his well-known track *Lift Him Up*, Christian music, particularly the subgenre of ‘pentecospel’ [a hybrid of charismatic Pentecostal and gospel contemporary music], became widely diffused within the country (Thompson, 2015: 2). South Africans became introduced to contemporary African American gospel music which had rhythmic hip-pop and pop subgenres from artistes like Marvin Sapp, Kirk Franklin and Fred Hammond, with American and Australian Pentecostal rock Christian subgenres and popular rock groups like Casting Crowns, Planet Shakers and Hillsong (Thompson, 2015: 5). All these have exposed South Africans to new subgenres of Christian music which have further grounded the peculiarity as well as popularity of Christian music. Not much attention has

been paid to such peculiarities and dynamics of the Christian music genre and its various subgenres nor has there been a connection created between these and identity construction. As this study progresses, attempts are made to create these links.

In continuation, the introduction of Christianity and Christian music are contextualised within the Nigerian background.

The Nigerian Context

African music reflects both passion and the fire of spirituality inherent in the African character because it is representational of people's culture and philosophy (Akpanika, 2012). Within the Nigerian context or any other context in Africa for that matter, music and religion are inseparable (Udok and Odunuga, 2016: 54). In the same way, in the introduction of Christianity and Christian music to the African and South African terrain, Christianity and Christian music during the early years of missionary work in Nigeria ushered in liturgical services with "features of hymn singing, chant and anthem with no application of indigenous musical accompaniment" (Udok and Odunuga, 2016: 54). This process of acculturation affected modes of Christian worship, Christian music and Christian music performances (Osigwe, 2016: 68). In this way, the traditional use of open spaces for music performance which created an environment for a more participatory culture among the people became neglected for concert halls which were deemed as 'more appropriate settings' for performances (Vidal, 2012 in Osigwe, 2016: 68). It must be noted that the participatory culture is a type of communal sharing with greater relevance in African music than most western music (Hester, 2010: 36).

The influence of the missionaries on the growth and development of the early churches led to the adoption of European music styles and modes of worship with no regard for indigenous musical methods, practices and instruments (Osigwe, 2016: 68; Udok and Odunuga, 2016: 55). For instance, Scottish missionaries who established the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria neglected the African culture and introduced a foreign way of worship [through hymns and liturgy] which made it difficult for the indigenous people to express themselves or worship in the 'African ways' they were already familiar with (Akpanika, 2012). The massive incursions on the religious activity of the Nigerian people had its impact on the people's traditional musical heritage (Osigwe, 2016: 68). And unlike the situation in South Africa where there were artistes like the Amodadana aseWesile

group who could so to say ‘glocalise’¹⁰ [global localisation] i.e., blend these foreign musical features into local South African terms (Malembe, 2005), this was not as prominent in Nigeria. This foreign style of music was rather difficult for the indigenous people who were not educated enough to read and write.

With the desire to break away from the European cultural influence of modes of worship and use of Christian music, churches like The Native Baptist Church, The United Native African Church, The African Church, The Christ Army Church, and The United African Methodist Church emerged (Ayegboyin and Ishola, 1997). However, although these churches advocated self-reliance, self-respect and other native efforts, their doctrines and services were still closely related to their respective parent mission churches. These churches could not achieve greater feats in terms of complete or total indigenisation or independence than the initial movement for African Indigenous Churches [AIC] which was still in a way a remarkable accomplishment (Ayegboyin and Ishola, 1997).

In the 1980’s, the course of Christian music in Nigeria took a new turn when Nigerian Christian youth raved for modern Christian music while local hymns became side-lined because such were regarded as old, too slow and lacked the characteristics of the vibrant contemporary Christian artistes (Akpanika, 2012). Christian music became more revolutionised particularly with the introduction of ‘Pentecostalism’, “an offshoot of Christianity in search of revival and personal relationship with Christ [which] heralded and witnessed the adaptation of new [Christian] musical genre of emotional expression by lifting up of hands” and other gestures like dancing, prostrating, and jumping that could not accompany liturgical services and music (Udok and Odunuga, 2016: 55). This birthed a hybrid of Christian music which was absent in the past. The younger generation began to combine both western and indigenous music which has given rise to a blend of both traditional and contemporary music in this age coexisting with unique indigenous Christian music artistes. Solomon Lange, Nathaniel Basse, Tope Alabi, Sola Allyson, Bola Are and Frank Edwards are among many others who have transformed the Christian music scene in Nigeria; some

¹⁰ A global localisation of practices is applicable on the global frontier when a practice is localised within receiving local cultures so as not to impede or erode these people of their cultural values in order to accommodate co-presence (Robertson, 1995, 2012).

of whom are known for their pure indigeneity and others for their infusion of contemporary features.

What is both common to the South African and Nigerian Christian music scene is the emotional outburst coupled with music renditions. The atmospheres of these scenes are often characterised by people who cry, fall or display extraordinary feelings mostly because of musical renditions (Akpanika, 2012: 408; Malembe, 2012; Udok and Odunuga, 2016). These modes of worship have thus become rather participatory, enthusiastic and spontaneous. Likewise, the Nigerian context, like that of South Africa, had the input of composers and music arrangers who rather composed hymns in indigenous languages than translate western hymns, some of whom include Canon J.J Ransome-Kuti [father of the renowned Fuji artiste Fela Kuti] with his work *Orin Mímọ ní Èdè áti Ohùn Ilẹ̀wa*, and Sam Ojukwu who was known as the ‘Nigerian G.F Handel’ with numerous Igbo sacred anthems for Anglican and Catholic churches (Osigwe, 2016: 69). The promotion of indigenous Christian music in Nigeria as opposed to what was obtainable in the past “[had] brought a significant change in the church’s liturgical life. The acceptance of native choruses in local languages [had] shown the creativity and relevance of the indigenous songs [to] the people of Africa” (Akpanika, 2012: 407). These songs were rendered in languages the indigenous people were familiar with, which made it easier for them to relate with these songs, the lyrics and the embedded meanings within the lyrics or contents. They were able to express themselves musically and artistically through dances in ways that were absent when they rendered hymns or other western liturgical modes of fellowship in the past.

The next subsection will draw attention to the introduction of Christianity and Christian music to the Congolese context.

The Congolese Context

The religious terrain of the Democratic Republic of the Congo [DRC] is one distinguished by the dominant presence of Christianity, especially Catholicism and Protestantism (Rigobert, 2009: 146; Mangu, 2008: 4). The implication of this is also a liturgical mode of worship which characterises the Catholic and Protestant Churches (Hitchcock, 2012). From this, it can be assumed that the dominant Christian music subgenre would be hymns and structured songs of worship because of the higher representations of Catholicism and Protestantism.

Not surprisingly, the region was equally affected by colonisation. “The Belgians acquired the territory of the Democratic Republic of Congo” and without a doubt transferred their cultural traditions and religious practices (Loba-Mkole, 2011: 2). These colonisers established Roman Catholic missions that facilitated the development of the country and a cordial relationship between the Church and the State (Findlay, 2017). Catholicism [within the DRC as a similar establishment with parent mission churches] was firmly grounded on Christian hymnology and the incorporation of Psalms (Hitchcock, 2012). These liturgies of Psalms and composed hymns as mode of worship were regarded as sacred music (Hitchcock, 2012: 69). Naturally, this mode of worship was not one inclusive of any ‘different’ traditions because it was already structured and could not accommodate other external factors. Even after the arrival of missionaries and Christianity, many of the Congolese Christians retained some features of their traditional African religious systems, music styles and beliefs (Findlay, 2017). This is a clear indication of accommodative instances that occurred, and a form of identity adaptation that took place where the old was entrenched into the new to form something heterogeneous and unique.

Protestant churches were also held in high esteem as image bearers of true integrity of the church in a conflict driven country such as the DRC (Findlay, 2017; Mangu, 2008). However, with the diversification that began to occur, some people could not abide by the structured mode of worship and use of Christian music. This led to the emergence of different churches among which was the prominent Pentecostal movement said to have been instigated by the Pentecostal movement that began in Nigeria, so much so that until now, evangelisation of Nigerian pastors and Nigerian videos are very influential in the religious landscape of the DRC (Rigobert, 2009: 149; Mangu, 2008: 6). Pentecostalism provided some sort of freedom of worship practices which meant churches could incorporate foreign music styles into those that were indigenous rather than the structured mode of worship that was witnessed during the earlier periods of Christianity in the DRC (Rigobert, 2009: 149).

There have been “considerable influences from Christian religious music and European military and ceremonial music” on the general music culture of the DRC through the widespread use of European wind instruments, trombones and clam bells, that became common instruments the locals had adopted (Kubik, 2008: 80). However, a larger part of the Congolese music and Christian music genre have been influenced primarily by Afro-Cuban music through the incorporation of

drums and guitars in instances of the popular Congolese Rumba music genre; a merger of Central African music and music from the Caribbean and Latin America (Kubik, 2008: 81). Other very popular music of the Congolese including urban traditional music and contemporary Christian music have basically “evolved under the weight of Congolese Rumba and because of this, they often bear many of the same musical and structural characteristics” (White, 2002: 666). This Congolese Rumba is different from the Cuban music also known as Rumba because the Congolese Rumba is a variant of different Congolese and African tribes [the diaspora in the DRC and Cubans of African descent] and “is also used as a generic term to refer to Congolese popular dance music in general [la Rumba Congolaise]” (White, 2002: 665). Consequently, it has become indigenised by the Congolese [who have made it their own] and distinguished it from the Cuban Rumba. It is thus the most influential form of music within the region and among the Congolese. Newer forms of adaptive Congolese Christian music are those of Christian hymnody with harmonic constructions of triads because of colonial influence (Impey, 2008: 87).

In all this, the Congolese were better heritage keepers. They retained their ‘Africanness’ as their music was not as heavily influenced by their European contact because the people were not as embrative of all western traditions that had changed their religion, social values and lives; though they managed to develop a cordial relationship among themselves (Muyingi, 2014: 539).

Having contextualised Christianity and Christian music within the South African, Nigerian and Congolese histories and landscapes, in the following subsection, Christian music subgenres are grouped into two [traditional and contemporary] which will serve as the guiding lens for the study.

Categorisation of Christian Music Subgenres within these Contexts

Within the South African, Nigerian and Congolese religious landscapes, there are no specific names for the genre of Christian music because it is mostly referred to as ‘gospel’ or Christian music (Adedeji, 2007; Bainbridge, *et al.*, 2015; Peek and Yankah, 2004; Taylor, 2015; White, 2002). However, Christian music subgenres can be categorised as traditional, contemporary or hybrids of both traditional and contemporary because there are varieties of Christian music subgenres (Agordoh, 2005; George, Stickle, Rachid and Wopnford, 2007; Lidskog, 2017; Okigbo, 2016; Romer, 2017; White, 2002: 666). Traditional Christian music subgenres include *indigenous music*; the native music of a unique group of people often infused with traditional instruments that

reinforce their cultural identity (Berita, 2009: 84). In Aning's (1973) and Axelsson's (1974) previous classifications of African music, traditional subgenres are those with the least influenced western features of music while contemporary subgenres are those with more modern approaches to music.

Though traditional subgenres are expected to maintain some forms of 'pureness' and 'indigeneity', these are being eroded by trends in the global context; a major influence of modernity (Omolo-Ongati, 2006: 142). The clamour for more contemporary Christian music subgenres is due to the greater influence that contemporary secular music genres and subgenres have on people than traditional Christian music and unless "churches embrace a broader worldview of their changing culture, the world will continue to mislead young people with things that are attractive and relevant to their context" (Berita, 2009: 84). The major consideration is the style of the 'gospel' [Christian] music genre which changes over time in accordance with the changes in the tastes and desires of the audience (Ndomondo, 2012: 150). The need for this pointer is to bear in mind the fluid nature of modernity and how this can be identified in trace features of various Christian music subgenres, especially those that are supposed to be exclusively 'African' i.e., traditional (Aning, 1973).

The justification for this broad categorisation of Christian music into traditional or contemporary subgenres is due to the immense range of subgenres within this single genre of Christian music or 'gospel'. For instance, Nigerian gospel music can be classified into categories of indigenous [traditional] and foreign/popular music [contemporary], with indigenous subgenres such as *native*, *classical* and *spiritual* styles, while more contemporary styles are *a cappella*, *instrumental*, *gospel-pop*, *pop*, *rock* and others with traditional and foreign features [hybridised] like *gospel-highlife*, *gospel-fuji*, *gospel-reggae* and *gospel-juju* (Adedeji, 2004). These latter instances are examples of traditional genres infused with contemporary features though 'pure' forms of *highlife*, *fuji* and *reggae* are all traditional subgenres in their own rights. Consequently, "the global spread of musical genres provides opportunities for musical hybridity, which [will also influence] identity formation" (Lidskog, 2017: 3) and can be said to be subgenres in their own rights. Other Nigerian Christian subgenres include *afro-jazz*, *afro-beat*, *afro-pop* and *praise and worship*, among others (Adedeji, 2004).

Within South Africa lies a range of traditional Christian music subgenres including *isicathamiya* [a traditional Zulu style of *acappella* choral singing where the vocals are not supported by instrumentation but mostly a ‘call’ and ‘response’], *African hymns*, *gospel chorus* also known as *amakhorasi* [consisting of songs with one or two verses and a refrain often led by a soloist], *kwaito* or *house music*, *township soul* [peculiar to townships and localities], and contemporary subgenres such as *Christafarism* [‘Gospel’ Reggae], *‘pentecospel’* [Pentecostal and Gospel contemporary music], *South African gospel*, *South African pop*, *gospel ballad*, and *a cappella* among a stream of other subgenres (Bainbridge, *et al.*, 2015; Gorlinski, 2017; Mojapelo, 2008; Ndomondo, 2012; Okigbo, 2016; Romer, 2017; Thompson, 2015).

In the DRC, as noted earlier, the *Congolese Rumba* and its derivatives like *soukous*, *rock-Rumba* and *Congolese jazz* are popular traditional subgenres that have greatly influenced the Christian music landscape of the DRC shaped by both African and international cultural trends (Cullen, 2016: 223; White, 2002: 666). *La Musique Religieuse* [i.e., religious music] is another popular subgenre of Christian music known for its spiritual and inspirational value and is much appreciated for its inexpensive nature because it is easy to acquire and reproduce (White, 2008: 35). Being a country dominated by Catholics and Protestants (Rigobert, 2009; Mangu, 2008), it is safe to assume that *African Hymns* will remain popular among Congolese. Other subgenres include more contemporary subgenres like *gospel*, *pop* and *ballads*.

These examples and discussions are but a few of the many subgenres of Christian music within these three contexts that have converged into one within this study as a result of the migration of the ‘shifting world’ or ‘the diaspora’ into South Africa (Appadurai, 1996). This makes it valid and of the utmost importance to categorise these subgenres as ‘traditional’, ‘contemporary’ or ‘hybrids’ of both, because traditional and contemporary categories may have features of one in the other and vice versa in certain instances of hybridisation and crossovers (Hall, 1997a).

In summary, in this first section of the literature review chapter, an attempt has been made to contextualise the concept of *Music*, principally *Christian Music in African music*, and the different backgrounds that inform this study which are those of the South African, Nigerian and Congolese historical, cultural and religious landscapes. This was in order to provide a framework of knowledge as a foundation for other aspects that are as vital to this study such as those of *Music*

and Identity, and *Music Mediation and Consumption*. These discussions are outlined in the next sections which are the second and third aspects of the literature review chapter respectively.

LITERATURE REVIEW PART B

Introduction: Music and Identity

Music as a reflection of an individual or people's identity connotes the conveyance of information non-verbally to those around them. Music preference and identification with genres [or music subgenres] reinforces and reflects aspects of individual identities and personalities (Rentfrow and Gosling, 2007: 307). Music is thus a means by which people express their identities to make sense of the world (Frith, 2004: 114; Hoene, 2015: 1-2). Celestine Mbaegbu (2015: 177) further affirmed that "music is not [...] extraneous to the Africans but part of [our] *culture*" and is an essential aspect of our social lives, politics, morals, *religion*, and the integral development of our *identity*. Music not only reflects the people's identity in terms of choices and preferences, but it adequately presents, highlights and constructs their cultural and musical experiences in cultural backgrounds (Frith, 2004: 109). People's cultural backgrounds and identities are made up of their patterns of life, thoughts and all forms of human activities i.e., their shared attributes in terms of values, customs, practices, and *religion* (McQuail, 2010). In this regard, the medium of music can be used to consolidate people's sense of identity by establishing in-group preference and exclusivity (Chamorro-Premuzic and Furnham, 2007). In other words, an individual's preference may be an indication of group membership (Rentfrow and Gosling, 2007: 308).

Already, the Christian music genre is an indication of the fact that the major listeners of this genre [who are the target audience] belong to the circle of Christianity based on their religious affiliation. This is not to say that only Christians are consumers of the Christian music genre but that the main listeners that the producers [or encoders] of this genre have in mind are mostly Christians. However, preference and use of Christian music subgenres can furthermore delineate people's identities, but more on a cultural level rather than on a religious level. Such stereotypes are mainly the effects of music on identity (Rentfrow and Gosling, 2007). For instance, an individual's preference for Christian 'pop' music may or may not be a portrayal of a more social characteristic as compared to someone else's preference for worship [which is a more solemn/reflective Christian music subgenre] and may not necessarily be an indication of a more introverted nature (Rentfrow and Gosling, 2007). All these are grounded on preference. People belong to, and 'blend' into

groups through their musical preference which in the same way may be akin to the choices of others within the group with which they wish to associate (Poder and Kiilu, 2015: 1705).

With all these in mind, in ensuing subsections, the debates underlining an African stance on Christianity and identity, music and identity, and music use and preference, are elaborated.

An African Perspective on Identity in Christianity and Christian music

Music is mostly regarded as the medium for the expression of cultural identities (Tekman, Boer and Fischer, 2012: 374). In as much as it can be a medium of identity formation and expression, it can be inferred to be a medium of religious identity expression without limiting it to its social functions only. The Christian religion, especially within the African context, is one viewed as a way of life (Kakoma, 2005: 10). Through musical expressions, the identity of a Christian is reaffirmed in his ultimate relationship with God and man. The gathering of Christians for worship expressed in fellowship and Christian music further reiterates religious identity and belief in the Triune God and the need for a cordial relationship with other people (Kakoma, 2005: 7).

Music is apparent in all areas of life of the African Christian who conveys this identity in sociocultural, ecological, professional and contemporary [or otherwise] environments that maintain instances of dual or hybridised identities that may be inseparable in certain situations both in 'home' or diasporic contexts. For instance, in a sociocultural context like the Yorùbá setting where a child is christened after eight days, a Yorùbá man [as home-based or diasporic] who is a Christian may prefer the ceremony to be anchored on Christian principles and doctrines to signify his devotion to God. Within the Yorùbá Christian culture, "events such as naming, weddings and funerals [...] cannot be successfully organised without [Christian] music" (Adedeji, 2006: 13). This shows the interplay and the inseparable nature of both his cultural, diasporic and religious identities. His cultural identity is obvious in the naming of the child eight days after the birth while his religious identity is in the spiritual connotation of the event. The use of Christian music in such an event not only serves an entertaining function but reiterates religious identities. Issues on cultural, religious and diasporic identities are unpacked more in the theoretical framework chapter.

Music use and consumption for the diaspora reveals the strong link in the conveyance and expression of cultural messages with the significant roles these play in the lives of these immigrant

communities (Boura, 2006). Diaspora denotes a form of human movement from ‘home’ to a different ‘home’ and the accompanying experiences of being a diasporic person mainly embodied by conditions of life and other historical concerns (Stratton, 2016). For the diaspora, consumption of diasporic music [i.e., ‘their’ music either Christian or secular] constitutes a basic component of their intangible cultural heritage, representation [as a way of reinforcing their cultural identities], and a link that shows how the diaspora can reconstitute themselves between their mother country and the host-land (Boura, 2006). A focus on music among the diaspora “emphasizes the affective ties and modes of practice that allow people to feel connected across time and space [...and] the cultivation of particular forms of diasporic consciousness” (Brennan, 2012: 5). In so doing, the cultivation of forms of diasporic consciousness exemplifies a shared experience of the diaspora. We can hitherto assume that diasporic Christian Nigerians and Congolese will have this similar consciousness of Christian musical practices that connects them to their homes of origin.

The religious and cultural identities of Christians are more noticeable in modes of worship, traditional attires, sermons prepared, patterns of service, and choice of music during worship. To the African, “[Christian music] is linked to religious experience and expression [because] it plays an important part in worship” (Lebaka, 2015: 1). Worship to Christians is likened to heart and pulse; “without worship, the life of the church ceases to exist, with worship, in worship and while worshipping, the life of the church is sustained [...] ‘life’ is dependent on its heart and pulse – worship in community” expressed in bodily and tangible features of culture (Kakoma, 2005: 11). These tangible forms of culture are those features that set apart a community from the other, mainly because of the uniqueness of cultural characteristics of these communities. For instance, ‘gangan’ [the talking drum] is a musical instrument unique to the Yorùbá culture and it is one often used during Christian worship; so also is the ‘şèkèrè’ [beaded dry gourd], which is used in indigenous Yorùbá musical contexts and church services.

Figure 2.1: The Şèkèrè [beaded dry gourd] and Gangan [the talking drum]



Source: mymusic.com.ng (2015)

The inclusion of local and indigenous instruments may additionally influence choices and preferences of Christian music which will reinforce both religious and cultural identities (Lebaka, 2015). On a national basis, these indigenous musical instruments can be incorporated to complement contemporary drums and musical instruments. This underscores the fluid nature of the religious identity as one not limited to a specific location [though this may highlight the distinct nature of their originating contexts which is their cultural identity] but one that can be adopted on any basis if they are based on Christian tenets.

For the people of the DRC, unique musical instruments such as the Kuba and Lele drums which are indigenous drums (Vansina, 2013: 47), can be integrated into religious worship to reinforce their identities. These instruments are represented in figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2: The Lele and Kuba drums



Sources: Grinnell College Musical Instrument Collection (n.d), and Hamill (n.d).

Christian music provides an impetus for life which enables the African to participate in prayer and worship emotionally, physically and psychologically and is consequently a central theme of the Christian religion and worship. In the same vein, it was established that the inclusion of traditional African religious [Christian] music into modes of worship can trigger an increase in church attendance. This was the outcome of Morakeng Lebaka's (2015) study of one of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches in the province of Limpopo, South Africa. The integration of an African style of worship due to musical instruments like drums, rattles, horns, whistles and synchronised clapping of hands [usually to maintain a steady tempo of music] all added to an increased number of attendance and church participation. Within this lies a sense of collective participation (Hester, 2010: 16). With the introduction of instruments like the 'meropa' [drums], 'dithlwathlwadi' [leg rattles], and 'dinaka' [whistles] accompanied by 'mekgolokwane' [ululation], the African could express himself better within the religious context and relate with these instruments which were reminders of his cultural heritage (Lebaka, 2015: 5).

For the Zulus, who are my target participants in Durban as representatives of black South Africans, the traditional Zulu hide drum is also a prominent musical instrument that is a vivid portrayal of indigeneity. It is carved out of wood and designed in traditional African Zulu patterns (Nwauche, 2017: 36).

Figure 2.3: The Zulu hide



Sources: Bischoff (n.d).

Much emphasis has been placed on drums [gangan, Lele, Kuba, and Zulu hide] because they are important forms in Africa both as musical instruments because of their social and communicative functions, and as works of sculpture (Hamill Gallery of Tribal Art, n.d).

Other emotional freedoms like “hand clapping, [...] vocal prompting [like the ululations of South Africans], and foot tapping [...] are not considered offensive” but as signs of approval, characteristic of the African, and as an attraction to various listeners around the world (Hester, 2010: 36). This intensifies the relationship among the trio of the medium of music, religion and culture. The influences of culture and environment are thus crucial. Music “has a status and function in each culture, [the] way people use it, practice it, consume it and think about it” is unique to each culture (Garfias, 2004: 7). As a result, music adds to the culture of a people and is an avenue for both personal and group expressions and a reflection of their identities. The organisation of music in varying contexts necessitates the consideration of the requirements and exclusivity of these cultural backgrounds (Boer, Fischer, Strack, Bond, Lo and Lam, 2011; Dunn, Dunn, *et al.*, 2011; Fritz, *et al.*, 2013; McQuail, 2010). Music is unique to each cultural background from which people create their music mainly from what they know and have been exposed to; this was what Hall (1993) considered as their framework of knowledge.

The important elements and rules within such cultural backgrounds must be observed in order to be acceptable and relatable. For instance, Christian music that wants to imbibe African languages must be aware of the tonal nature of such languages to be included to achieve musically good and culturally relevant Christian music (Adedeji, 2007: 95). This is because “most West African

languages are ‘tonal’ languages [with] definite tones or registers conveying definite meanings” (Boulton, 1957: 10). For example, within the Yorùbá language, where a word spelt in a similar pattern, it can have different meanings as a result of the tone, and music composers are expected to be clear in pronunciation and wording. For instance:

Yorùbá: “Ní ìgbà dé ìgbà, Olúwaádára sí mi.”

English: “From time to time, God is good to me.”

Due to tonal inflections, ‘ìgbà’ means time, ‘igba’ means two hundred, ‘ìgbá’ means garden egg, and ‘ìgbà’ means calabash [dried gourd]. The onus rests on the producers [encoders] to take these issues of language-use and general cultural traditions into consideration as they prove important and relevant to music composition, music sensibility and effective communication.

The obligation is on the artistes [as encoders and producers] of the various Christian music subgenres to make their music socially and culturally acceptable while at the same time not contravening Biblical principles (Adedeji, 2007: 86). This often proves problematic as artistes are in a fix of how to remain godly and appeal to their audience. Hence, attempts are made by the artistes to combine different genres of Christian music within the contexts where their target audiences are. For instance, a Nigerian Christian music artiste who has the South African context in mind may attempt to make his music acceptable through collaboration with a South African Christian music artiste who would introduce ‘South Africanness’ along with some ‘Nigerianness’ from the Nigerian artiste to reach the populace. The outcome of this collaboration is an accommodative example. For instance, Joe Praize, a Nigerian Gospel artiste and the Soweto Gospel Choir, a South African Gospel music act collaborated on the song *Mighty God* which had close to 32 million views on YouTube (YouTube, 2019). Such a collaborative act may influence the production, representation and reception of that song both within Nigeria and South Africa because both contexts have reference points inserted within the music. This may even endear other continental fans to such a collaboration which may be considerations put in place in the production process. These bring about changes that enhance contact between groups and lead to outcomes in which cultures evolve, adapt or accommodate other cultural tendencies (Garfias, 2004). Adaptive and accommodative instances such as these indicate how Christianity can be culturally relevant

within the African context and not to be viewed only as a Eurocentric religion accompanied by Eurocentric musical instruments and modes of worship.

Music Use

Music as an expressive means of communication furthers world understanding. Its importance is evinced in history, social psychology, music structure, culture, music function, aesthetics, and music's symbolic attributes among many others (Merriam, 1964: 31). To be added is also the religious function of music which can be situated within cultural attributes since religion is an integral part of culture. The function or use of music is a parameter to know how music can serve us (Schafer and Sedlmeier, 2010: 223). The cognitive function of music refers to its instrumental use for certain purposes in relation to our identities, needs, beliefs and problems; its emotional functions enable us to express ourselves, induce strength, change or mitigate the way we feel, while the cultural and social functions of music lie in the expression of identities, personalities and cultural values (Schafer and Sedlmeier, 2010: 224).

Mostly, music use is associated with its emotive functions (Cooke, 1959; Corrigan and Schellenberg, 2015; Dunn, *et al.*, 2011; Hunter, Schellenberg and Schimmack, 2000; Juslin, 2013a, 2013b; Schafer and Sedlmeier, 2010; Szpunar, *et al.*, 2004). For instance, Patrick Hunter, Glenn Schellenberg and Ulrich Schimmack (2010) set out to study how listeners relate their emotions expressed based on their perceptions of musical genres. The aim was to determine how listeners' emotional responses to music, expressed in happiness or those of sadness, were expressed in selected musical genres. The results of the study showed that listeners' perceptions of music were influenced by how they felt about such music. For instance, fast-paced music was associated with feelings of happiness while slow-paced music was associated with sad feelings. But this may not always be the case, especially in Christian music subgenres. For instance, the subgenre of praise and worship can be both fast-paced and slow-paced, but this does not mean high praise songs will make people happy while slow worship songs which are at much slower paces will make people sad, though it may relate to that of a reflective mood (Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011). Another motive for the use of music, and quite compelling within the context of this study, is that of *identity formation* (Hesmondhalgh, 2008; Schramm, 2006; Wanyama, 2006: 24). It is through music that identities are established and strengthened in different environments (George, 2008). From most of these

discussions, the use of music is shown more in its emotive functions. For that reason, there is the need to situate this study within a different context particularly that of culture and religion to diversify existing views on music use and functions.

Christian Music Use

The African music serves various functions within the society; for entertainment, relaxation, information, identification, education, social cohesion, spiritual purposes and to teach good morals which make the African music rich in cultural value and heritage (Mbaegbu, 2015). It is an intrinsic part of us as Africans interwoven with our work, play, social, and *religious* activities which makes it difficult to isolate music from our lives. We have songs for work, war, love, historical reminiscences, and fervent religious chants intertwined with frenzied dance tunes which are emotion laden (Boulton, 1957: 3). The role of such a religious music genre is in its inspiration of Christian worshippers' expression of loyalty to God. These features make it easier for Africans to relate to and identify with other Africans (Mbaegbu, 2015). Music thus 'grows out' of culture as an adopted and modified commodity based on cultural traditions and contexts (Garfias, 2004: 7). Such modifications are observable in Christian music. For instance, scriptural passages were initially inserted in musical lyrics that served as expressions of supplication and thanksgiving and inspired the congregation toward a deeper religious atmosphere where they felt uplifted (Garfias, 2004: 8). But gradually, the cultural context of religious Christian music became modified from those of traditional modes of worship to more contemporary versions with upbeats and danceable rhythms but still maintained the initial reasons for congregational worship which were for expression of loyalty to God, supplication, thanksgiving and spiritual upliftment. Such modes of worship enhanced by music have transformed the religious experience of people and their consumption of Christian music. Within these modifications rests the uses of Christian music.

The Christian music genre is multifocal and multifunctional in nature (Adedeji, 2007: 86-87). The multifocality and multifunctionality of the genre encompasses its different attributes and purposes, which are directed towards service to God, to others and to one's self. Christian music can be a way to commune and fellowship with God in singing His praise or petitioning/making requests known with music, and for edification, admonishment, entertainment, education, solace, 'escape'/for solitude, and diversion of attention (Mbaegbu, 2015). Since music as a phenomenon

has been identified as one that can influence identity (Hesmondhalgh, 2008; Schramm, 2006; Wanyama, 2006), it can then be assumed that Christian music can be a means of identity formation as well. In reinforcing identity, a Christian may wish to express himself through his identification with, and the consumption of Christian music. What is mainly important in the reinforcement of identity to this study is to identify if Christian music is a cultural and religious artefact that can be used to create a connection to 'home' [in the cases of the diaspora], and a maintenance of the link to 'home' [in the cases of South Africans]. If for instance, an individual's use, preference and consumption of Christian music are associated with an indigenous genre of Christian music, it can be argued that the individual's preference may be in cognisance to his identity both as a Christian and an African bearing in mind the relevance of the African music to us as Africans (Agordoh, 2005; Boulton, 1957; Mbaegbu, 2015; Shelemay 2000). If the individual is diasporic, it shows that he has not lost his connection with his home country which is still sustained in his new abode; whereas, if he is home-based, his identity is equally sustained in his home country.

Religion has a strong influence on one's music, especially in terms of its soothing and comforting melodies, which make the *religious* [Christian] genre of music easy to listen to and endearing to those who consume it for other purposes apart from its religious use (Xu, 2015). Religious values and norms are also essential aspects of people's cultural identity (Abu-Nimer, 2001: 86). Values are social beliefs that are results of an individual's motivation within a social context acquired through processes of socialisation (Boer, *et al.*, 2011: 1168). These values and norms are all influential on the perception of people [themselves and others] which form the basis or background of identity construction among them. Religious values are motivators and 'instructional guides' in decision making i.e., the choices made by individuals. Religion thus "influences the cultural behaviours and perceptions of an individual or group [...]. When religious values [...] are an integral part of [people's] interactions [...] then religion helps to construct both the individual's and group's value system and worldview thereby motivating their actions" (Abu-Nimer, 2001: 687).

Religious identity, the representation of 'self' through Christian music and expressive thinking, is a way that the Christian music genre has been functional in post-1994 democratic South Africa (Thompson, 2015: 9). This places emphasis on the revolutionary role of music which African music is known for within conflict-torn societies in the past and now. Within the South African cultural landscape for instance, African music is one that transcends emotive or entertainment

functions and incorporates features of protests and reconciliatory music, in situations where South African musicians integrate indigenous African music features that highlight issues of racial relations and oppression within South Africa (Haecker, 2012:1).

Among past revolutionists in South Africa are Vuyisile Mini who was known for his political activism as a singer, actor and dancer, and Miriam Makeba, another South African singer and human rights activists (South African History Online, 2011c, 2011d). Among others was Gibson Kente, a prominent playwright and music composer who was known for his dominance in township genre, an indigenous musical and dramatic genre in South Africa (Mda, 1995). Other revolutionists were also identified in the Nigerian context among who was the late Sonny Okoson [a renowned former controversial turned Nigerian Gospel artiste] (Adedeji, 2004: 232; Mbaegbu, 2015) with his songs *Which Way Nigeria*; a song about the socioeconomic state of Nigeria and the cry for unity to tackle corruption, and *Fire in Soweto*; a song about the different issues and challenges faced on the African continent. These examples further reiterate how the use of African music and artistes [Christians or non- Christians] can serve as forces that ignite identification and unity among Africans. African music thus “re-echoes the state of injustice done to [oppressed groups] of Africans” (Mbaegbu, 2015: 181). This agrees with Christine White’s (2001: 15) opinion that music can be a medium for marginalised individuals to form both formal and informal organisations to express themselves and emphasise their identities. These instances reiterate the social cohesion expressed on the African continent through music, further re-emphasising our strengths and uniqueness, and blurring the line of differences among us.

The role of *religious* [Christian] music thus inspires loyalty to God through reparation i.e., to try to make amends for past wrongs or ask for forgiveness, thanksgiving i.e., to show gratitude for benefits and blessings that have been provided, and petition i.e., to ask for certain things which are in the form of the needs of people (Mbaegbu, 2015). It also highlights our relationships with others, our identities, and social functions. These are but a few functions and uses of *religious* [Christian] music.

Music Preference

Different types of music appeal to different people. If people had monotonous musical preferences and tastes, the phenomenon of music and its genres would not be as important to study because

the same result that applies to one would apply to all. Studies on music preferences are of utmost importance because music preferences are essential features of an individual's identity which may communicate important aspects of that person's personality, values and lifestyle (Corrigall and Schellenberg, 2015: 265).

Music is recognised as a social phenomenon that shapes people's identities and values culturally and cross-culturally (Tekman, *et al.*, 2012: 372). Its recognition as a cultural and cross-cultural phenomenon is applicable to this study. It is in situating Christian music within cultures like home, and cross-cultures mainly pertaining to the diaspora, to strengthen the functionality and the preferences of Christian music among these groups, that we can understand the distinctive purpose music serves. This is because music can serve different purposes within a culture and even cross-culturally. This is one of the issues this study explores.

On a cross-cultural basis, it can be argued that consumers of Christian music may appreciate music differently, attributable to representations, and cultural factors such as language-use. People may show a preference for music that they can easily relate to, which reinforces their national and cultural identities. This was the outcome of Diana Boer, Ronald Fischer, Ma Luisa González Atilano, Jimena de Garay Hernández, Luz Irene Moreno García, Socorro Mendoza, Valdiney Gouveia, Jason Lam and Eva Lo's (2013) study. Their study participants displayed a high level of musical ethnocentrism because of language-use and musical patterns of representation. According to Boer, *et al.* (2013: 2362), musical ethnocentrism "captures the extent to which national music ... express[es] and communicate[s] the feelings and evaluative concepts associated with a nation to its listeners ... [It is the] tendency to like music that has its roots in one's nation ... Musical ethnocentrism mediates between liking specific music of one's nation ... and national identity." The conclusion drawn from their study was that the participants maintained their national identities and cultural roots through a preference for music from their own countries.

A cross-cultural comparative study of music use, preference and consumption [such as this], may indicate differences in people's responses as a result of different nationalities. Alan Merriam (1964: 112) confirmed this stance that "people of different cultures respond physiologically in different ways to the same music or sound, depending upon its cultural significance." Jin Lee and

Xiano Hu (2014: 259) added that previous cross-cultural studies indicated that listeners in different levels of cultural backgrounds showed different appreciation for music.

However, taking into consideration the similarities shared by these three groups identified on the grounds of religion [Christianity], co-existence within the same cultural landscape [Durban, South Africa], and different cultural orientations [as South Africans, Nigerians and Congolese], knowledge may be added to the fact that indeed, people appreciate music differently. Further knowledge may also be added in that though they appreciate music on different levels, they still share similar preferences owing to religion and context. This knowledge is established in this study.

Music can evoke different reactions from different people, especially as a result of meanings that may be attached to the music's content and representation. What can be deduced from this is that representations of music can assume different meanings in different contexts. This may be the result of cultural meanings ascribed to representations which may influence the interpretation and reception of such music. Though musical contents may be represented in a certain manner, they can be interpreted in other ways which will influence listeners' perception of the music. Stuart Hall's (1993) encoding and decoding model sheds more light on varying meanings that may be attached to communicative contexts as interpreted by readers [i.e., the Christian music consumers/listeners]. This forms an important aspect of this study as is discussed in the theoretical framework chapter, on people's interpretations, use of, and preferences for representations of music [with a focus on Christian music].

In another instance, it was suggested that individual preference may be an indication of 'why' and 'how' such people use music in relation to their personality and identity construction (Chamorro-Premuzic and Furnham, 2007). For example, in Terri Johnson, Jill Rudd, Kimberly Neuendorf and Guowei Jian's study (2010), they examined worship/music style preferences, identity and how these influenced the social and organisational identities of members of the Lutheran Church in Missouri. The study was based solely on the use of social identity theory to predict worship and music style preferences and organisational identity of participants towards the worship mode of the Lutheran church. This was to ascertain those who preferred traditional or formal worship songs like hymns to those who preferred worship songs accompanied with a modern approach of drums

and guitars. Their results showed that a higher percentage of their participants preferred contemporary styles of worship. However, those who preferred traditional or formal worship styles had a stronger identification to the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod. Creeds, liturgical and responsive readings, organs and hymns informed their choices for a more traditional approach to worship. Whereas, those who preferred the contemporary could have been influenced by modern instruments, songs projected on screens and a more 'unpredictable' atmosphere of worship.

The results showed that the traditional mode of worship was one characterised by a permanent, constant and resistant service order linked to the organisational identity of the [Protestant] Lutheran service while the contemporary was ever changing. They suggested that to examine the social identity of Christians and the role of music among them, this should be done in comparison with the role of music on the social identity of other Christians to identify their differences in identity construction, a suggestion that is quite relevant to this study. This is premised on the assumption that an individual's preference for traditional or contemporary Christian music is part of his or her social identity and this will influence the individual's manner of communication signified by their choice of music. Consequently, through the adoption of an identity theoretical background, one may gain knowledge of individual music preferences and why such preferences exist.

Factors that Influence Music Preference

Music is a social phenomenon that is present at the centre of many social activities and is an essential component of gatherings like parties, weddings or church services. The influence of music in the social and physical environments of people is visible in the reinforcement or alterations of people's dispositions and self-views or identities (Pieters, 2011; Schramm, 2006; White, 2001: 15). For instance, an adventurous individual keen on making new experiences may prefer music styles that reinforce his identity of being sophisticated or artistic. In another instance, an individual may desire a style of music for the regulation of his emotional state which may be evident in the choice of a depressed individual in music that sustains that melancholic mood. It is critical to explore other determinants of people's musical preferences. Musical preferences are characterised by the individual's favourable disposition for core music attributes present or associated with music genres (Corrigall and Schellenberg, 2015: 267). Along with these are factors

that amplify music preferences. Few of these factors are underscored in reference to previous studies on music preference. Providing answers to the question ‘why do people listen to music?’ may be a complex endeavour, but attempts can be made to explore people’s music preferences. This was the aim of several studies (like Garfias, 2004; George, Stickle, Rachid and Wopnford, 2007; Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015; Rentfrow and Gosling, 2003; Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011) which are expounded on in this section.

Peter Rentfrow and Samuel Gosling’s (2003) study sought to understand when, where, why and how people listen to music. The consensus from the study not only accentuated the importance of music, but also provided information about who those people were i.e., their identities and personalities. Furthermore, four factors were outlined as a form of structural analysis to classify participants’ music preferences. The first factor was ‘reflective and complex’ and genres that fell within this category were blues, jazz, classical and folk music. These genres were perceived to be facilitators of a form of introspection or evaluation of one’s self and were thus preferred over other genres. The second factor was ‘intense and rebellious’ and genres under this factor were rock, alternative and heavy metal music because they were genres perceived as ‘full of energy’ with emphasis on themes of rebellion, hence their preference for such.

The third factor was ‘upbeat and conventional’ with genres such as country, soundtrack, *religious* [Christian] and pop music. These genres generally emphasised positive emotions and were preferred to other genres. The analysis suggests these individuals were cheerful/socially outgoing and conventional people who were reliable and enjoyed helping other people. Their identities were thus tied to their choice of cheerful and traditional music. This shows that their preferences translated to the construction of their identities and how they behaved with other people. The fourth and last factor was ‘energetic and rhythmic’ categorised by genres such as rap, hip-pop, soul, funk, electronic and dance music. These genres were naturally preferred due to their lively characteristic with an emphasis on rhythm. The preferences of these individuals were largely characterised by what each genre represented or meant to them; an indication of factors that may affect a preference for certain genres [and subgenres]. Hence people’s perceived attributes of Christian music subgenres may determine their choices and preferences of such subgenres.

On the one hand, the analyses of this study indicate that personality and identity have roles to play in people's formation and maintenance of their music preferences. On the other hand, albeit people may not share basic personality traits, values expressed through music may likely lead to social bonding because "music helps people to relate to each other and learn more about each other's motivations and outlooks in life" (Boer, *et al.*, 2011: 1168). Music is thus used to reinforce the way people view themselves and other people. In other words, an individual's preference for a particular type of music may be an integral part of the person's self-concept or identity (Pieters, 2011: 16). For that reason, the construction of an individual's identity through the consumption of music does not only take place within the heart or head but in public presentations and communication with other people (Schramm, 2006: 8).

In a similar pattern, Darren George, Kelly Stickle, Faith Rachid and Alayne Wopnford's (2007) categorisation of music preference was delineated into eight categories namely

- *rebellious*: heavy metal, punk, alternative, classic rock;
- *classical*: classical piano/organ, choral, classical instrumental, opera/ballet, Disney/Broadway;
- *rhythmic and intense*: hip-pop/rap, pop, rhythm and blues (R&B), reggae;
- *easy listening*: 20th century popular music, country, soft rock, disco, folk/ethnic, swing;
- *fringe*: electronic, ambient, techno, new age;
- *contemporary Christian*: soft contemporary Christian, hard contemporary Christian;
- *jazz and blues*: blues, jazz;
- *traditional Christian*: hymns and southern gospel.

This study is particularly interesting because it provides a comparison of preferences between traditional and contemporary Christian music subgenres while they note the controversy that has trailed the use of traditional and contemporary Christian music in this age. Therefore, my study focuses on contemporary and traditional Christian music groupings rather than the other seven. As stated earlier, within the African music framework, traditional music is distinguished as the

musical genre devoid of external influence while contemporary African music is the genre infused with western features (Aning, 1973; Axelsson, 1974).

Preference for contemporary Christian music was linked with younger people but those who preferred traditional Christian music were noted to be higher in 'spirituality' because of the consumption of hymns and other traditional Christian music subgenres. As a result, music produced by the organ, which mostly accompanies hymn renditions, may be perceived as solemn or spiritual simply because it is associated with mainstream church services (Juslin, 2003b). Nevertheless, both categories of Christian music listeners were shown to be more inclined to songs accompanied by instruments [played by singers or the listeners themselves] than those in the other seven categories. The importance and relevance of this 'constellation of performing arts' of singing, clapping, accompanied with instruments are thus fundamental to the Christian faith especially, within the African context (Agordoh, 2005; Boulton, 1957; Stone, 2010).

In Peter Rentfrow, *et al.*'s (2011) study, music preference was attributed to characteristics or factors ascribed to selected genres of participants. Factors which shaped music preferences include the psychological disposition of the listener, social interactions and exposure to popular media and cultural trends. These led to the conclusion that musical preferences are often based on social connotations and features attached to genres, personality traits [psychological disposition], social class, country of residence, ethnicity and culture-specific associations with different styles of music (Meyer, 2012; Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011: 19). Some of these factors which include social connotations [regarding interpretations of music in social contexts], country of residence, and culture-specific associations are thus considered in relation to Christian music subgenres and how these have influenced such preferences within the South African cultural landscape because they are most relevant to the study.

Holger Schramm (2006) affirmed that the society where people live can shape the structure of music and its consumption because different cultures use tone-scales, rhythms and beats that are quite dissimilar. The rhythm of African music is one that has the most potential to contribute and influence music through its melodies and exotic tonal combinations (Boulton, 1957: 4). This is ascertained within the context of this study. The beats and rhythms of South Africans, Nigerians and Congolese can be quite different or similar to each another; hence, these factors can shape the

consumption and interpretation of Christian music subgenres. This is an indication of the relevance of social contexts as contributory to factors that are influential to music preference (Dunn, *et al.*, 2011). For instance, a sociocultural environment where people are larger consumers of a favoured genre over other genres may affect an individual's preference within that framework. In a situation where indigenous music is more prominent within a community, it may likely affect music coverage given to other genres of music and consumption of those in that environment as a result of community influence (Oppong, 2013: 15).

Similarly, culture as a factor can be associated with social contexts that influence music use and preference (Clarke, DeNora and Vuoskoski, 2015; Dunn, *et al.*, 2011). This is because the dominant cultural value and characteristic of a group of people can dictate the musical tastes and preferences of those people as a result of the acceptance of, and favourable disposition to a genre within a culture over other genres. Social contexts and cultures are relevant to this study because of the religious, contextual and sociocultural approach which was adopted rather than a behaviouristic approach which would have considered emotions and personality traits. Societal preferences are those that include social traditions, norms and standards, social views and stereotypes, and other social factors within the society that can influence individual choices. The society is seen as one of the strongest factors that shape musical preferences because whichever type of music is deemed 'popular and acceptable' by the society may determine what will be available through the mainstream media [radio, television] and social media (Meyer, 2012: 33), hence the prestige given to certain genres of music over others. This is an indication that what is predominant in the society will be promoted as more preferred over others which may also be applicable in a globalised context due to the convergence of media technologies.

In the world of music today, through the potency of media and communication as driving factors, there is what seems to be a gradual shift towards the globalisation of musical tastes (Garfias, 2004: 2). These are tied to "the tendency of human beings [...] to imitate the behaviour of others, the propensity to consume what is perceived to be the consumption of 'the majority', starting with the family, the closest social interaction group and [...] what is established as mainstream by mass means of communication" (Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015: 32). In other words, music preferences may be determinants of the social groups an individual belongs to (Pieters, 2011). The importance of these factors in the form of social groups like family, social gatherings, religious organisations

or the entirety of what makes up the cultural system of a society are considered as determinants of musical tastes within the different sociocultural environments mapped out in this study. The underlying forces of these social groups become apparent in music consumption habits where the audience consumes what is broadcast via the mainstream media supported by contacts with word-of-mouth recommendations by their peers and other members of their social groups (Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015). The implication is that the combination of the potency of these forces of what is most consumed and recommended will translate to availability and popularity of such music via the traditional and new media of broadcast and consumption.

When we listen to any kind of music, it is often with the intention to hear something we are familiar with or something new embedded in such contents (Jackendoff, 2009). For instance, if we listen to a style of music we are not familiar with, we make efforts to make sense of such contents within our previous frameworks of knowledge of music (Jackendoff, 2009: 196; Pereira, Teixeira, Figueiredo, Xavier, Castro and Brattico, 2011). If this is not effective, we are left with the decision to continue or discontinue listening to such contents. If we decide to continue, we then try to understand our preferences or choices in their own terms [of rhythm, harmony, lyrics, language etc.] until we can situate the musical contents as identifiable and meaningful segments. Consequently, we can find these links because of our cultural experiences and exposures to previous and new knowledge while at the same time we become more informed as our repertoires are refreshed with newness of ideas. These cultural experiences are as a result of cultural elements like language. For this reason, language-use influences music consumption and plays a major role in music preference (Price III, 2009; Xu, 2015).

The pervasive nature of music has seen it transcend global barriers such as those of linguistic limitations, in instances where though people are not conversant with the languages in which songs are sung, they still enjoy the rhythm, harmony or flow of such musical contents (Hormigos, 2010: 94; Vuoskoski, Clarke and DeNora, 2017). It is then a consequence that music is a means of expression that affects our lives and those of many others beyond ways we can comprehend. This makes it important to exemplify the role of music beyond our own cultural contexts in order to have a trans-cultural view of how music is understood in different [church] contexts (Garfias, 2004: 2). The use of language is an important factor that is considered in this study because although the English language may be a common feature among the groups that were selected for

this study, other languages like Zulu [among South Africans] and French [among the Congolese] cannot be marginalised.

In the furtherance of discussions for the study, the next section which is the last of the literature review, provides insights into music consumption and mediation, especially the transformation that has taken place over the years that has changed consumption and mediation patterns, and some media of [Christian] music consumption.

LITERATURE REVIEW PART C

Introduction: Music Consumption and Mediation

The consumption of music has transformed from a small scale to large scale due to the advent of technological devices and other forms of media. Though we listen to music in varying quantities and qualities, the overwhelming mode of broadcast is through the media (Schramm, 2006: 3). These are the various means by which the audience accesses and consumes music. They are inclusive of physical products like vinyl records [which is one of the earliest forms of music distribution and consumption], compact discs [CDs], digital downloading [direct music downloads from the Internet] and streaming [listening to music online through personal computers [PCs], mobile phones and tablets] (Dobie, 2001; Molteni and Ordanini, 2002: 2; Shapero, 2015). Social media ushered in an era of new possibilities for interactions between music producers [encoders], music content [message] and music consumers [decoders], all of which motivate the need for this study with a reception approach¹¹ (Shapero, 2015: 23). We also consume music through live performances or worship experiences which enable people to experience music more intensely and which leave a lasting impression on the audience because the audience experience these performances in real life [IRL] or first-hand (Schramm, 2006: 3). Other forms of consumption include the traditional media of television and radio broadcasts. For that reason, the experience people make of, or get from music consumption, particularly Christian music subgenres with the prominent media that facilitate these interactions are examined within the confines of this study.

A Brief History of Music Consumption

The discourse below is a summary of Dann Albright's (2015) outlook on the history of music consumption and supported by other authors.

Since prehistoric times, music has been a cogent part of the human culture. The advent of the phonograph completely changed music consumption. This was the first machine that recorded music and played it back. After the era of the phonograph cylinders came the flat discs which transitioned to the vinyl records, a smaller version of the flat discs. The transition to vinyl records

¹¹ This approach was enhanced by Hall's (1993) encoding and decoding model which is explored in Chapter three, where the theoretical framework is discussed.

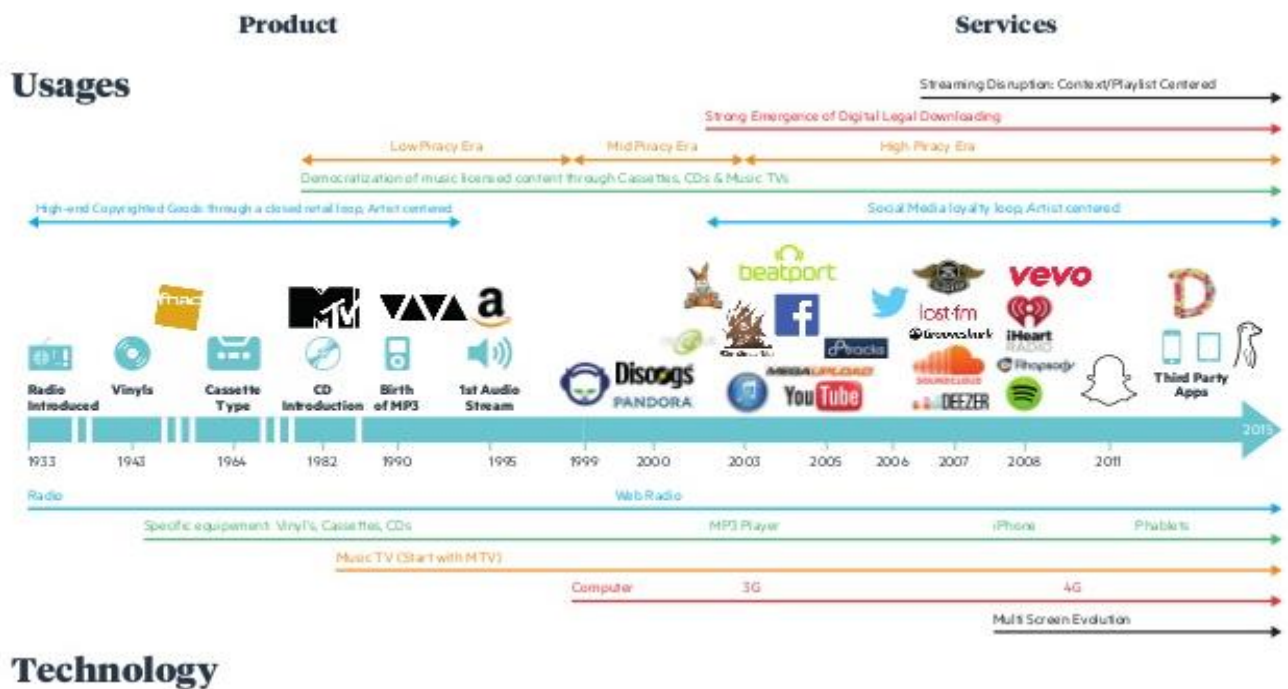
as a form of music consumption led to the medium of radio for music reception and consumption. Though the medium of radio had started transmission in the early 20th century, it was much later that music hit the airwaves. The medium of radio for music distribution met with resistance before it started to receive recognition and acceptance among listeners. The invention of the transistor was succeeded by the compact cassette. This tape of high-quality audio could be fed into track players, tape decks and portable stereos. Though these were portable, consumers had a finite choice of music due to the limited capacities and formats of these devices (Bull, 2005: 343-344). Important to note was the introduction of 'the Walkman' by Sony [a media conglomerate] which was released in 1979. The phenomenon of the Walkman was that of a portable stereo tape player with headsets that gave the music listening public access to music that could be heard on a more personal level [because of the privacy the headsets provided], and further lent credibility to tapes and cassettes as viable, personal, as well as a home medium of music consumption (O'Hara and Brown, 2006: 4). This phenomenon transformed music consumption because music reception and consumption no longer were tied to home record players or large tape decks and stereos.

After the advent of the Walkman came the compact disc [CD] in the early 1980s. Though CDs had a similar format as earlier creations, the CD became standardised in 1980. With its low cost and astonishing popularity, many artists converted their back catalogues to this new digital format of music storage, distribution and consumption. CDs could be accessed via portable disc players and computers with Compact Discs Read Only Memory [CD-ROMs]. Further adjustments were made which strengthened CD accessibility via disc players and computers. Shortly after the invention of the CD, the MP3 [M-peg layers] was introduced in 1982 as part of Karlheinz Brandenburg's PhD thesis after he was tasked to find a way to transmit music over digital phone lines.

The MP3 was advantageous in many areas. With its introduction, the MP3 technology gave its users "unparalleled access to their music collection whilst on the move" (Bull, 2005: 343). It was not only portable, but also had more capacity to store more musical contents for consumers. Any form of music that was compressed into the MP3 format "eliminate[d] from the file the range of sounds which the human ear [could not] detect so that the file [became] much faster to download, [convert] and play: one minute of standard quality sound from a CD occupies about 10mb [megabytes] of space on a [disc] whereas the same minute compressed in the MP3 file occupies about $\frac{1}{12}$ of the space on the hard [disc]" (Molteni and Ordanini, 2002: 2). It thus permitted the

transference of music from larger sizes to lesser sizes which made music more accessible and open to fraudulent activities of peer-to-peer music companies that enhanced illegal file sharing. Further on, the advent of the Apple iPod in 2001 inadvertently shook the music market and like the Walkman phenomenon, consumers were able to personalise music-listening through headsets (Bull, 2005: 343). It was the first song player that contained a 5 GB [gigabytes] hard drive that could accommodate close to a thousand songs, and with its more portable size, it was catapulted to the forefront of music consumption. Shortly after the iPod, iTunes [its jukebox software] was introduced which opened the world of music store. The era we are in is that of downloads and streaming services like Spotify, Rhapsody, iTunes Radio, iHeart Radio and Google Play All Access [including its social media YouTube] among many others which have transformed the history of music. These transitions have thus influenced the patterns of consumption from the past until now.

Figure 2.4: Music evolution



Source: Van Dyke (2016)

Figure 2.4 is a depiction of the music evolution and technical shifts which have been briefly explained. This offers background knowledge as to how the music landscape has transformed over the years. This summary was provided so that the pattern and media of music consumption, which

is observable now, from a small scale to a large scale, can be further contextualised within the framework of this study.

Present Day Situation of Music Consumption

The structure of the music industry of late has been altered by technology; a noticeable shift from vinyl records to music streaming that has changed the way society consumes music (Albright, 2015; *Music Consumer Insight Report*, 2016; Shapero, 2015). Media and communication technology saturate the world with cultural information, so much so that people become aware of events, norms and traditions that take place in distant places. Music consumption revolutionised through technology makes accessibility to musical contents easier and faster. From physical products to digital downloads and online streaming, the trend of music consumption over the years has adopted different forms. Each form through which musical contents are presented and distributed all had significant influence on listeners and the music industry. For instance, consumers of music via vinyl records showed their commitment through collections of tracks and records of their favourite artistes which became instrumental in the construction of values that shaped the culture of the consumers (Shapero, 2015). This meant that listeners had fixated listening experiences that led to an attachment to the purchased products; a relationship that can be said to influence music consumption and the identity of consumers at the same time due to such levels of attachment and devotion.

Nonetheless, the present music industry has had to adapt from physical to digital, and from downloads to streaming modes (Moore, 2017). In this era of downloading and streaming, people spend more time listening to music due to the relative ease of access and portability of media consumption as compared to the era of vinyl records, cassettes and CDs. The gradual fading of physical formats like the tapes and cassettes triggered a radical mutation in music reception and consumption (Hormigos, 2010: 96). For instance, Dean Shapero (2015) set out to study the most popular forms of music consumption among a selected group of students. The outcome of the study indicated that streaming services were the most popular forms of music consumption among the participants which led to the conclusion that the era of music consumption of physical products like vinyl records, CDs and cassettes was at the barest minimum. The new era of downloading and streaming enabled listeners to access music 'on the go' and consumers were able to spend more

time-consuming music accessible through mobile applications without time or space constraints. However, this revolution is not without its own pitfalls particularly in areas of illegal digital downloads and piracy which are common factors that affect sales and the distribution of music (*Global Music Report*, 2017: 32; Nguyen, Dejean and Moreau, 2013: 5; Shapero, 2015: 21). People would rather download for free than pay for music. So also, downloading and streaming enables consumers to ‘pick and choose’ by enhancing ease to formulate personal music catalogues which creates a sense of attachment to the selected tracks (*Music Consumer Insight Report*, 2016).

It is worth noting that music consumption is simply not about listening as an isolated process, “but involves the ways it becomes integrated into our personal and social lives [...] determined by the technologies through which we experience it; how music is distributed, rendered, purchased, organised, shared, chosen, listened to, integrated with and repurchased” (O’Hara and Brown, 2006: 3). Mass availability of music within the virtual world has tremendously contributed to the production, distribution and consumption of music (Hormigos, 2010: 96). Technological shifts over the years through the Internet and social media technologies disrupted existing musical practices by providing peer-to-peer applications and other advances that have modified listening behaviour and practices (O’Hara and Brown, 2006: 4). It is consequently appropriate to draw the conclusion that “never before in the history of music has it been possible to access so much music so quickly from all over the world” (Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015: 33).

Jose Monzoncillo and Juan Calvi (2015) added that consumption of music now takes place within the framework of cultural globalisation that has been highlighted by new digital social networks as enablers of the convergence of multiple cultural expressions and means of communication all around the world. In their study, they observed an overlap between digital networks and traditional mass media of music consumption. The results from music and consumption patterns of their participants indicated that the same products consumed on digital networks were those also promoted by the traditional media. Physically purchased or downloaded songs, streamed songs and those broadcast on the radio were divided into three categories of physical/download, streaming and radio. Twenty-seven of all the songs were recurrent in the three categories which further reiterated the symbiotic relationship between the digital/new and mass media of music consumption. It was emphasised in the study that the new media arenas simply amplify what already exists and serve as a reflection of what already occurs in the social world. Within this

viewpoint lies the influence of the globalisation of the digital/new media and vice versa. It goes to show how these social factors impact the distribution and consumption of music societally and globally [not limited by time or boundary] (Thomson, Purcell and Rainie, 2013: 23). The impact of this endless cycle of broadcast and consumption on the identities of people is yet to be ascertained. As suggested, if the same cultural product of music is circulated on both traditional and new media, it means people will listen to more homogenous products, especially with globalisation. This stance is further examined among the selected groups of people in this study with different cultural but a similar religious orientation.

The societal background as instrumental to the influence on music consumption is therefore determined by traditional mass media which consists of the press, radio and television because of the effectivity of traditional media marketing tools (Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015: 27). The wide reach of the media enables them to permeate and diffuse ideas within the society; a factor that aids the influential function of mass media. Through technological changes, socialisation of cultural goods like music have greatly increased music distribution globally, subject to an evolutionary process that influences music consumption and an ultimate construction of multiple identities due to musical interactivity (Hormigos, 2010: 96). But with the advancement of the digital age, this does not completely truncate the availability of physical products as physical sales remain significant in some territories (Moore, 2017: 7).

Away from the global scene, the continent of Africa is thriving within the music industry. For instance, “in South Africa, although the physical market remains important, there are already over 250,000 paying subscribers on streaming services and we expect the market to grow strongly”; within a landscape where its streaming revenue has grown by 334.3% in 2017 (Sipho Dlamini, Managing Director [MD] of Universal Music South Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa in *Global Music Report*, 2017: 33). Tracy Fraser, MD of Warner Music South Africa added that though physical sales had dominated the South African music landscape for many years, this is declining rapidly giving rise to the growth of digital media; “streaming is becoming very big for us [and through service providers as] Apple Music with Google play and Deezer [...], digital growth is helping [...] us expand [in ways that] reflect the diversity of the music scene in South Africa today” (*Global Music Report*, 2017: 33).

It is the intention of this study to pinpoint this diversity of the music scene particularly in the media of Christian music consumption within South Africa among the study's participants on the religious and cultural frontier.

Consumption and Mediation of Christian Music

Our media of consumption and reception of music has evolved with time. So also has interrelationship between music consumption and identity grown with utmost importance (Hesmondhalgh, 2008: 329). Since these media originate and reproduce sounds/images, they become mediating channels for the circulation of meanings within different cultures (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997: 23). What is therefore pertinent to this study is how the study's participants receive and consume Christian music, how they view 'themselves' and 'others' and how the media used either reinforces or adapts/redefines their identities.

As pinpointed earlier and further discussed in the theoretical framework chapter, identity reinforcement is to maintain the connection to one's origin through cultural artefacts while redefinition or adaptation is an instance that involves accommodating different cultural artefacts that are quite different from the individual's culture (Kirchner, 2013: 43; Weiss, 2001: 393). The main aim of this is to identify how the media has enhanced these identities. For instance, for a diasporic individual who wishes to maintain ties with his origin, his choice for online streaming as a medium of Christian music consumption may be due to inaccessibility to his 'home' Christian music within the new environment where he now resides, while for an individual who is home-based, there are an array of options open for the consumption of Christian music as this will be quite accessible to him through various media of consumption. In essence, "musical reception is preceded by a strategy that plays with the listener's expectations" and musical knowledge or experiences (Hormigos, 2010: 94). For this reason, the discussions within this section deal with the major traditional and new media of consumption – television, radio, Internet and live performances.

Christian Music Mediation (Radio)

Music downloading, music-video streaming, music streaming and *radio* are some of the media of music consumption [especially Christian music] (Aguilar and Martens, 2013: 8). The medium of radio is, as a result, a potent force in the consumption of music generally and Christian music predominantly. Since inception, the interrelationship between radio and music has seen music as “the main stay of radio programming, where a central focus falls not only on music itself but on reports about music and musical events [which] is one reason why more people obtain the bulk of music consumption from radio” (Scherer and Schneider, 2011: 219).

Radio is by far the most popular format in South Africa with a higher penetration than television, Internet or newspapers, and the placement of contemporary, traditional gospel and classical are its most popular genres in South Africa reaching over 88 million people in South Africa and present in 10 million households (PwC, 2012: 111, 113). It thus remains a dominant medium with wider geographical and audience reach in comparison to television, information communication technologies [ICTs] and newspapers in South Africa (Myers, 2008: 5). The medium of radio presents itself as one of the top priorities of music promoters within South Africa due to the influence it has on listeners and its capacity to reach a large group of listeners (Malembe, 2005: 48). With its accessibility and ubiquitous nature, the medium of radio enables its listeners to enjoy musical broadcasts with little [subscription services of online streamed radio] or no [commercial, public and private broadcasts] payments attached. All that may be required is a device [a radio itself or a phone/car with a radio] that can receive radio signals.

With the advent of the new media came challenges for the traditional medium of radio (Scherer and Schneider, 2011: 234). However, the usage of the physical forms of the radio remains high despite the fierce competition faced from both digital music and Internet radio (PwC, 2012: 111). Catering to the physical medium of radio has led to radio listening via the Internet [web radio] which can also be ascribed to the results of new media technologies; a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly widespread and popular (Scherer and Schneider, 2011). Some radio stations, in order to diversify and adjust to the change in the broadcast terrain, have established online simulcast and streaming services for their consumers; for instance, Ukhozi FM [a Zulu-oriented semi-national music and information radio station], Metro FM [an English-oriented

national and urban commercial South African radio station], and Jacaranda FM, Kool FM and East Coast Radio among many others (Radiosa.org, 2017).

Musical broadcasts are often talk-oriented or heavily music-oriented (Scherer and Schneider, 2011: 226). In the case of talk-oriented broadcasts, these programmes are accompanied or interjected with musical excerpts while those that are heavily music-oriented are those assigned mainly to the broadcast of music throughout the specified time slot of the programme. For instance, within South Africa, Radio North West is a station that predominantly broadcasts gospel music which stands at 80% while 20% is mainly for talk shows and educational programmes (Sangonet, 2011). It can be inferred that its music broadcasts may be heavily music-oriented.

Malembe's (2005) survey on some South African radio stations further corroborated this conclusion. For Ukhozi FM, the survey indicated that there were specific music programmes that broadcast local Christian music on specific days of the week and local Christian music that averaged seven to eleven were played daily on different music playlists and varied radio programmes. Conversely, the broadcast slot for religious or Christian-oriented programmes has shifted mainly to Sundays with shows such as *Ezamabandla*, "a religious programme with local and international religious news [...], a recorded sermon [... and] a children's programme on religion as per the Bible" (Ukhozi FM, 2017a), *Indumiso*, "a praise and worship show" for church audiences with a focus on music [hence, a music-oriented show] (Ukhozi FM, 2017b), and *Ezenkolo*, "an interfaith programme" that gives its listeners the opportunity to discuss issues surrounding religion (Ukhozi FM, 2017c). It can then be assumed that this line-up of religious programmes provides platforms for the broadcast of different Christian music subgenres.

Malembe's (2005) survey further revealed that Metro FM broadcasts local Christian music at an average ratio of five to one though there were no programmes that were solely dedicated to local Christian music broadcast. Accurately, the weekday line up of Metro FM does not include gospel or religious programmes. However, there has been the introduction of *The Sacred Space*, a programme that is geared towards religious or churchgoing audience and serves as a platform for the exclusive broadcast of Christian music (Metro FM, 2017). In circumstances like this, the medium of radio has retained its relevance mainly because of its participatory and horizontal type of communication (Myers, 2008: 5).

Christian Music Mediation (Television)

Music consumption on the television is one described as pleasurable and enjoyable (Nguyen, *et al.*, 2013). Consumers of music via the television have somewhat restricted access to music listening (Schramm, 2006: 9), portability being a major contributing factor in comparison to the digital space. As a result, Helmut Scherer and Beate Schneider (2011: 219-220) affirmed that ‘music is far less important on the television’ save in functions as background accompaniment to signature tunes. However, Héctor Fouce (2010) contested that the traditional medium of television has continued to be a prominent medium of music broadcast and consumption though it is situated within a paradigmatic landscape that favours the digital environment. This symbiotic relationship between the mainstream and digital media is what Romana Ando (2014) regarded as the experience of hybridisation.

Differences in the impact of traditional and new media on music consumption abound but few songs that may be singled out for television broadcast enjoy tremendous exposure (Dewan and Ramaprasad, 2014: 105). This view is supported by the earlier reference to Monzoncillo and Calvi’s (2015) study on the framework of cultural globalisation and how musical contents on the television are the dominant contents on the Internet. The television is a medium known to promote music along with the transformation in the digital environment characterised by streaming and downloads (Nguyen, *et al.*, 2013). This is an indication of the relationship between the digital and mass media of music consumption.

In reference to the discussion on the medium of radio, some programmes on the television may be talk-oriented programmes, while others may be exclusively music-oriented channels. A heavily music-oriented channel like MTV [Music television], though not a Christian music channel, is a vivid example of a television channel that is exclusively dedicated to music broadcast (Schramm, 2006). In the case of talk-oriented programmes, these are shows aired on channels often complemented by music, such as the ONE Gospel Christian channel on DStv¹² [digital satellite television]. ONE Gospel is described as “*Africa*’s¹³ only 24/7 satellite television channel

¹² A pay-television station owned by MultiChoice (*MultiChoice Integrated Annual Report*, 2013: 8).

¹³ I emphasise *Africa* because though the station’s programme line-up is pan-African, it is located in South Africa and is thus mainly South Africa-oriented.

showcasing gospel music videos from all over the African continent and the world, including studio-generated and live performances from both famous and up-and-coming artistes” (ONE Gospel, 2013). It showcases South African, African as well as international gospel songs generally with certain programmes dedicated to these. For instance, in the case of an African focus, *One*, [“showcasing a variety of gospel music genres and artistes from the African continent” (DStv Channel 331 programme information guide)] is a variety programme hosted by Pabi Moloji which highlights songs from different parts of the continent where songs from the category ‘West Africa’ and particularly Nigeria, like *Someone’s Knocking at the Door* by Nathaniel Bassey and *Bianule* by Samsong, were featured as examples of Nigerian gospel music. This was aired between 9 am and 10 am on Monday (28/08/2017). The Dumisa TV, another Christian channel on DStv is exclusively for the representation of African traditional and indigenous church cultures within South Africa with an array of programmes like gospel shows, gospel music broadcasts and church services (Beck, 2016; Urban Brew Studios, 2016). Examples such as these indicate how exposure to Christian music via the medium of television can be a way we understand the culture we live in by revealing the heart and soul of who we are, how we can learn about other people and ultimately reinforce our cultural and religious identities (Matlock, 2008: 41). These are indications of the importance of the medium of television.

Christian Music Mediation (Internet)

In the introductory aspect of this subsection, the transition that occurred within the music industry relating to the mediation and consumption of music in which the era of streaming and downloading aided by the Internet became noticeable, was mapped out. Luis Aguiar and Bertin Martens (2013: 8) as noted earlier, affirmed the role of the Internet through music downloading, music-video streaming, and music audio streaming as but a few of the revolutionary outlooks that have ushered in the era we are currently in within the music industry. Services provided by Rhapsody, Spotify, iHeart Radio, iTunes Radio, Deezer and Google Play All Access [YouTube] are fragments of the unlimited nature of the virtual space of the Internet for music streaming and downloads; though these have been shown to threaten the existence of traditional/physical track sales in the long run (Aguiar and Waldfogel, 2015; Albright, 2015; Giletti, 2012; Kreitz and Niemela, 2010; Rutter, 2016). The popularity of these service providers and the growth of Internet-related activities including those with religious interests, remains prominent, especially among young people

(Lovheim, 2008). Religious music [and indeed all other forms of music] are among the most searched, downloaded and streamed contents on the Internet (*Global Music Report*, 2017; Larsen, 2001; Livingstone, 2011; Lovheim, 2008). Internet access proves significant in the enhancement of people's religious experiences with the inclusion of religious music which is one of the defining features of Christianity (Lovheim, 2008). Popular religious music cultures and the role the Internet plays in the popularity of these create diverse forms of religious expressions and Christian identity for the fans of these cultures on a much larger spectrum available on the Internet (Moberg, 2008: 81).

In comparison to other musical forms, the proliferation of online music content and access to these are a great substitute for physical album sales (Koh, Murthi and Raghunathan, 2010). Within the context of this study, such substitutions become increasingly favourable, especially to the diasporic peoples who may not have access to physical forms of Christian music but have reduced access via the traditional media because of it being a different cultural context. The opportunities may thus be taken advantage of via streaming services and online downloads where Christian music from their 'homes' can be accessed. So also, the Internet provides access to digital radio [even those transmitting from their places of origin] through which listeners can stream Christian music online and in real time (Scherer and Schneider, 2011). Radio online streaming services of Jango and Pandora are a few popular examples. Many popular South African radio stations have adopted the provision of Internet radio services online by streaming simulcasts of their programmes which enable listenership within South Africa and indeed beyond (PwC, 2012: 116). The main advantage is its "potential to improve the effectiveness of radio by increasing the number of stations that can be broadcast with the same amount of spectrum" (PwC, 2012: 116). This increases the reach of radio broadcasts while acclimatising to the unlimited virtual space provided by the Internet, an advantage for both the radio and the Internet.

Rapid information-flow, as a result of new trends dispersed around the world, corroborates the view that new and different sounds will continue to emanate simultaneously in different places with unique appropriation, interpretation, reinterpretation, definition and redefinition of these in dissimilar cultural backgrounds (Moberg, 2008: 82). In other words, the Internet creates a musical scene where there is unhindered access to Christian music that may have various interpretations in various communities of the world. What this brings to the fore is that people's appreciation of

different Christian music after encounters online is bound to take on a unique meaning due to prevailing cultural frameworks of knowledge. Relating this to this study, it remains a shadow to dispel if the representations of Christian music subgenres within different cultural but similar religious contexts are ascribed different meanings among participants due to their preferences.

The Internet remains an indispensable part of Christian encounters, particularly those related to its musical terrain (Moberg, 2008: 92). The conclusion can then be drawn that “the Internet has become the great ally of the musical message [due] to new recording and distribution technologies supported in new formats, thus broadening the catalogue of messages that the individual can receive through the mass of available music” (Hormigos, 2010: 95). Nonetheless, the major issue crippling this aspect of Christian music mediation and consumption is piracy as indicated earlier. People often forget that musical contents are other people’s original works and assume that these can be copied freely, used, or even performed without proper permission from the owner[s] (Church Copyright Fact File, 2018). In recent times, downloading of music has led to legal actions for copyright infringement (Livingstone, 2011). The term copyright is the legal protection of music owners and producers to control the distribution and consumption of their contents (Dobie, 2001: 17). Whether musical contents are live or recorded, most of their features are covered by copyright which requires that we must use the Internet space carefully though we have access to varieties of music (Church Copyright Fact File, 2018).

Christian Music Mediation (Live Performances or Worship Experiences)

Though live performances are often avenues for artistes to perform songs largely before an audience (Blier-Carruthers, 2013), for the purpose of this study, the use of the term live performances will be redefined. The redirection of this study is to position live worship experiences in churches as tantamount to live performances, in situations where the audience is led by the lead singer [or singers] with backup from other members of choir or guest performers in cases where such are invited to perform in church programmes. The use of music creates an identification with, and relationship between the audience as consumers, the music of choice, the performers of that music, and other people who enjoy the same type of music (White, 2001: 1). Thus, what is required is a performer-audience relationship because peoples’ experience of live

performances or worship experiences leaves a long-lasting impression on them (Okafor, 2000: 49; Schramm, 2006: 3).

Live performances of Christian music are improvisatory and dependent on the flow of performances (Malembe, 2005). This means that though the performances may be rehearsed, there is room for improvising on stage, specifically in cases where performances take a new turn through the addition or subtraction of some activities that were or were not scripted like interludes, audience-breaks, or insertions. Often, the important role of performers in live performances or worship experiences may be exemplified by being on the centre stage, in front of the microphone, but there is more to music performances (Blier-Carruthers, 2013: 3). Live performances are mostly characterised by the relationship between the performer and the audience, and other dynamics that the performers adopt to foster participation (Frederickson, 1989; Schloss, 2002: 1). In this study, the role of the performer is that of the lead singer who has the task to lead worship sessions and render songs that are spiritually lifting [ushering the whole congregation into the presence of God], and emotionally connecting in a way that the audience are part of the musical atmosphere. The relationship between the performer and the audience is one based on understanding and trust, because the performer is seen as the initiator and conveyor of the active role 'on stage'; a role the collective audience may not be able to play by themselves (Schloss, 2002: 1; White, 2001). The choices of the singer are crucial because the audience rely on him or her to lead them and for songs that can be an expression of how they feel deep within.

Live performances can be on a big [or small; like that of karaoke] stage where artistes or performers play for an active audience who often sing along or remain mute depending on producer preferences (Blier-Carruthers, 2013; Kruger and Saayman, 2012, 2014; Manners, Saayman and Kruger, 2015; Schloss, 2002; Schramm, 2006). It could be a live concert performance in an opera house or performing theatre where the members of the audience who enter may be required to maintain some decorum for a period of time, in order not to obstruct renditions; entrances to which often require tickets and gate passes (Auslander, 2004; Frith, 2007; Manners, *et al.*, 2015: 2; Mortimer, Nosko and Sorensen, 2010). The common features of all these forms of performances are the 'liveness' of the performances, and the performer-audience relationship. Firstly, 'liveness' in this sense refers to performances as they occur on the spur of the moment and secondly, what is

of importance is that musical renditions, be they in concert or music halls, open air, or in churches, involve a designated performer [or performers] and a receiving audience.

Among other forms of music mediation and consumption¹⁴ [like records, tapes, CDs and downloads etc.], there are concerns that the live music sector is one purported to lose out in competition for audience attention in the face of an “ever increasing variety of mediated musical goods and experiences” (Frith, 2007: 7). But this stance was opposed with the submission that mediated forms of music cannot displace live performances but can only be adapted to economic and social circumstances to adjust to the trends of changing times (Thomson, *et al.*, 2013: 51). This adjustment helps the audience relate to musical content much better which is often the case in church settings. Most songs during praise sessions led by the singer or performer are those the audience are more likely to know so they can sing along. It is more of a ‘call and response’ scenario where the song is heralded by the lead singer and continued by the audience. In other cases, such as special renditions, these may be projected on screens so the audience can be carried along. Suffice to say, “Today, in the midst of the emergence of the digital world, the live music experience seems to be resurging with increased strength” (Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015: 43). Within the church context, this is an integral part of Christian worship incorporated into service structures. Whether the lead singer sings praise songs, hymns or special choir renditions, the concern of the audience and the performer altogether is to express themselves in musical terms to God (Preus, 1987). For this study, the interest lies in how church services have been representational of identity reinforcing or redefining songs, and if this medium of live performances or worship experiences is preferred for the consumption of Christian music.

Conclusion of Literature Review (from Parts A, B and C)

In summary, discussions in the first aspect of this literature review chapter emphasised the importance of African music [and Christian music in particular] to us as Africans and the emergence of Christian music from the different cultural contexts of South Africa, Nigeria and the DRC after the introduction of Christianity to the people in these countries. An attempt was made to justify the categorisation of Christian music into traditional, contemporary or hybridised subgenres among the vast number of Christian music subgenres from the three contexts of South

¹⁴ The mediator being the performer, and the consumer as the audience

Africa, Nigeria and the DRC as these have converged within South Africa. Discussions around music and identity centred on identity within Christianity and the implication of these on Christian music use, its functions among people who consume Christian music, their preferences, and the factors that aid these preferences. Discussions on music mediation and consumption traced the history of the music industry, highlighted a few of the transformative practices that have taken place over the years, and the present state of the industry. It then dovetailed into the mediation and media of consumption of Christian music where the focus was narrowed to the traditional media of television and radio, the new media of Internet mediation, and the mediated process of live performances or worship experiences.

Overall, these three parts of the literature review chapter have been an amalgamation of the interrelationship between music, chiefly in the African religious and cultural context, music and identity, and music mediation and consumption. These are the three major constructs of this study. The other major constructs of identity adaptation and redefinition form part of the next chapter which is that of the theoretical framework where issues on cultural, diasporic and religious identities including ‘otherness’, ‘the self’, and ‘the collective self [group]’ are discussed. These are supported by discussions on music production [encoding], representation [construction of message] and consumption [decoding] as components of du Gay, *et al.*’s (1997, 2013) ‘circuit of culture’ along with Hall’s identity discourse, and the encoding and decoding model (1990, 1993).

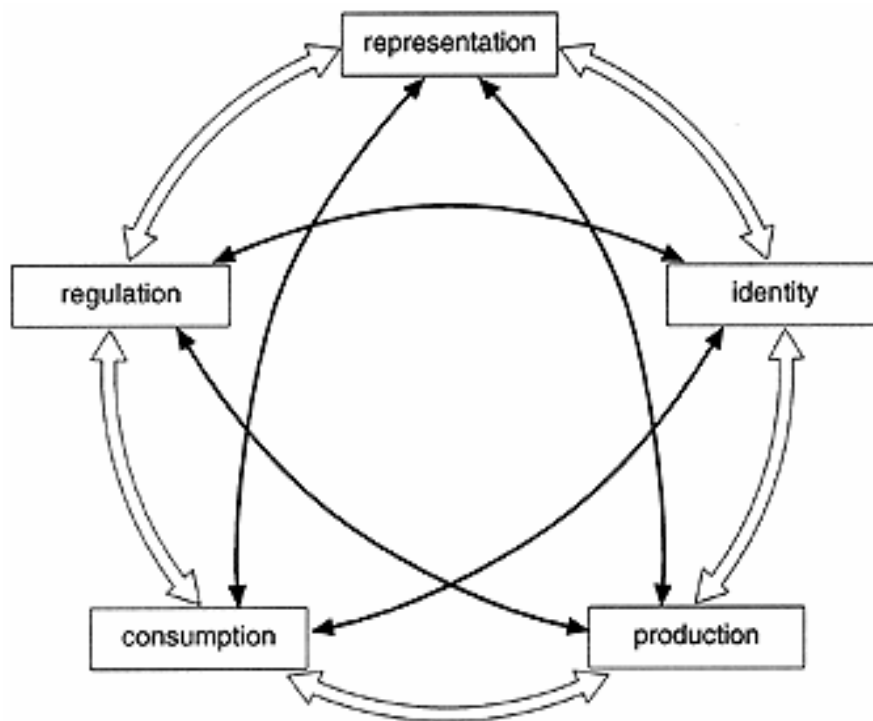
CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

As indicated in the introductory chapter, the theoretical lens of this study is on Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Andres Madsen, Hugh Mackay and Keith Negus' (1997, 2013) 'circuit of culture' upon which other theoretical constructs such as Stuart Hall's (1990, 1993) *identity* and encoding and decoding model are situated. The circuit can be usefully adapted and employed for a more in-depth study of culture (Leve, 2012: 4). It is constituted by what du Gay, *et al.* (1997, 2013) referred to as 'moments' which are those of representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation depicted in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: The circuit of culture



Source: du Gay, *et al.* (1997: 3)

The ‘moments’ on the circuit are points of notation or emphasis within particular cultural processes in the construction of meaning (Leve, 2012: 5). In this section, an attempt is made to explain these moments of production [encoding], representation [message embedded in Christian music contents] and consumption [decoding] in the context of this study. Discussions on production will not explain those of the political economy of production, as this is not the main aim or focus of the study. The major highlights in the moment of production are those of contextual factors that may influence Christian music preference. On representation, language [both verbal – language-use, and visual – music instruments] that is unique to the three cultural landscapes and have converged with South Africa are considered. For consumption, as has been deliberated on in Chapter Two, part C, discussions in ensuing subsections elucidate issues around individual and group consumption and decoding and meaning-making of Christian music.

These three moments speak to the deliberations on identity, including the influences these have on the moment of identity, where there is greater emphasis on the comparison to other moments. This is because the concept of identity speaks to, and ties together with all other moments on the circuit. Other themes on identity such as those of hybridity of identities – cultural, religious and diasporic, identity adaptation and reinforcement, and media and identity are conjoined. The regulatory moment of the circuit deals with its impact on the media, downloads and copyright restrictions, and other music policies that may adversely or otherwise influence Christian music production, representation or consumption, which is not what this study intends to examine. Hence, this study will not delve into the regulatory aspects of Christian music.

Production, Representation and Consumption

The moments of production, representation and consumption have been situated alongside Stuart Hall’s (1993) encoding and decoding model in order to have a wider knowledge of these moments within the context of media and cultural studies and within this research. This is because the interest of reception theorists lies in the manner in which the audience interpret or make sense of media contents; a process Magriet Pitout (2001b: 265) regarded as the negotiation between the text and the audience who are within a sociocultural context. On the part of the researcher, what is required in order to apply an interpretative position is to adopt a complex conception (Livingstone, 2007). The implication of this is that as the researcher, I must adequately understand the multi-

layered dimensions of meanings that may be attached to both text [Christian music] and the audience [South Africans, Congolese and Nigerians], and the manner the audience interpret these multi-layered dimensions of Christian music representation and consumption.

The Moment of Production

The moment of production includes all the core details considered in the encoding of media texts and the varying forces of production that may impact the outcome of contents (Devereux, 2013). These forces are involved within the political economy of production, power acquisition and control and their effects on meaning-making and meaning-circulation (Louw, 2001: 4). However, this study does not aim to explore the depths of the political economy of the production of preferred Christian music subgenres. The approach this study adopts lies within the contexts where preferred Christian music subgenres originate, especially in cases of Afrocentrism and the influence of this on Christian music. This is because the process of production is not limited to the technological aspects alone but also to how meaning is produced culturally and how such are encoded with meaningful messages (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997: 4).

The production process involved in any cultural practice can also be referred to as the encoding of messages and meanings in ways that the audience can necessarily interpret (Bodker, 2016: 417; Kropp, 2015: 13; Manning, 2001: 219). The process of production poses as one of the prime determinants in the manner cultural phenomena may be ‘encoded’ with their meanings and uses (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: xiii). In other words, production of media and cultural products adopts encoding strategies by paying closer attention to how meaning is made (Carah and Louw, 2015: 1). Encoding is the creation of meaningful messages while decoding is the use of codes to decipher the encoded message and thereby formulate meaning from such encounters (Ott and Mack, 2014). It becomes enveloped within cultural practices laced with cultural meanings, so much so that these become understood in relation to issues of representation, identity and consumption at the same time (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, “the production of social meanings is [...] a necessary precondition for the functioning of all social practices and an account of the cultural conditions of social practices must form part of the sociological explanation of how they work” (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: xxix).

As discussed earlier in Chapter Two, part B, regarding factors that influence preferences for certain genres of music, certain contextual and societal elements influence encoding and decoding of messages (Clarke, DeNora and Vuoskoski, 2015; Dunn, *et al.*, 2011; Oppong, 2013; Schramm, 2006). Such societal considerations are those of culture in situations where a group of people, due to shared social traditions, norms or standards may only understand the uniqueness of encoded message. This is the first major reason for limiting the discussions on the production or encoding of message to that of the contextual framework of messages. The second limitation is media influence that can also be traced back to the same aspect of the literature review chapter. Media exposure given to media contents and cultural practices encourage the circulation of Christian music on both mainstream and social media. These contents may be viewed as popular as well as acceptable because of superior media preference accorded to them (Garfais, 2004; Meyer, 2012; Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015).

The Contextual Factor

By studying the production of Christian music contents, we can make inferences about factors that are part of this process (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996: 24) and the places where such contents originate from including the influences of these on media contents. Entrenched within the moment of production are those distinctive characteristics of the process with regards to cultural perceptions from production contexts in terms of how ‘African’, ‘South African’, ‘Nigerian’ or ‘Congolese’ Christian music may be attributed (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997: 44; 2013). Not limiting the production process to musical compilation and arrangement in a broader sense, the contexts where such production processes of music take place can be entwined within du Gay, *et al.*’s (1997, 2013) remarks. According to John Corner (1999), the contexts of production and production practices considered in ‘language’ construction (audio-visual or linguistic)¹⁵ are but a few of the distinct inflections that impact the production process. ‘Language’ cannot be restricted to written or oral codes only but is a system of representation that exists in different modes (Zou, 2012: 465). As such, the production of a message through a system of language representation and the operation of codes are all-important aspects of such discourses (Hall, 1973: 1-2).

¹⁵ There are more elaborations on this in the discussions on *representation* [See page 88].

The pertinent emerging contexts for this study are those within the African sphere [South Africans, Nigerians and Congolese in South Africa]. Appropriating contextual factors into the study may be obvious in their choices or preferences for certain Christian music subgenres, in cognisance of their contexts of production [encoding], the representation of the contents [message] and their media of consumption [decoding]. If for instance, the preference of a participant tilts towards musical acquisitions emergent in a different environment to his, then the contextual production and representation processes of that musical composition may, in a way, influence the choice and preference of that genre based on endearing unique cultural practices different from what he is familiar with. In another case, if the preference is for a musical genre from his context, then components of representation along with contextual production processes he is more familiar with may be determinants of his preference.

The Media Factor

The production process, over a period of time, has been the central focus of media and communication studies, but certain departures took place as a result of overreliance on the process to the detriment of other vital aspects of meaning-making, such as those of representation and consumption (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013; Louw, 2001). This paradigmatic shift welcomes more views on decoding dimensions and the concept of the active audience (Louw, 2001: vii). Audience reception studies recognise the role of the audience as an active one that engages in a continuous interaction within the communicative encounter (Hartley, 2011: 19). The proliferation of the active audience is quite noticeable due to the influence of the social media and Internet-related technologies (Bodker, 2016: 415; Hartley, 2011: 19). Chris Paterson, David Lee, Anamik Saha and Anna Zoellner (2016: 7) suggested a further concentration of the production process on participatory and collaborative production and the influence of social media on the production process among other contingencies that have evolved in the past aside from the basic issues of power, control and size that influence production. It can be inferred from this that the production process is often dependent on audience interaction, involvement and feedback (Carah and Louw, 2015: 4).

Accordingly, participatory and collaborative aspects of production in this study may be evinced, mainly in contextual and media processes that affect production i.e., where preferred musical

genres may emerge from and attempt to cater to a target audience. These may include collaborations between Christian musical acts to reach a wider range of audience as I mentioned in the literature review chapter part B on Joe Praize and the Soweto Gospel Choir [see page 52]. But it is worth mentioning that the proliferation of the social media is an important factor that aids the reception and consumption of these collaborative and participatory acts as these provide access to people beyond the borders and boundaries where production and encoding might have taken place. From the earlier example of Joe Praize and the Soweto Gospel Choir, YouTube has enhanced access through live streaming for consumers all over the world. As a result, these technological advancements of social media make transnational media production, distribution and consumption important aspects for consideration by media producers (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013; Kindem and Musburger, 2005; Paterson, *et al.*, 2016: 7).

Audience participatory strategies such as audience sing- or dance-along and coordinated applause are trends that enhance a two-way relationship and interaction (Agordoh, 2005; Boulton, 1957; Hester, 2010; Munyaradzi and Zimidzi, 2012; Stone, 2010). Other collaborative acts can be traced back to Stone's (2010: 7) 'constellation of performing arts' used for the categorisation of accompaniments for live performances and music renditions.¹⁶ The responses of the audience to what is produced is measured by their reception and disposition, and may prompt further production of such a change in production strategy, or a complete neglect due to the unfavourable responses of the audience. This points out why the producers endeavour to cater to niche lifestyle groups, and the development of interactive media systems that manage multiple identities (Carah and Louw, 2015: 5). In other words, the production of messages within meaningful cultural practices is deeply rooted in cultural considerations [like contexts and the media] aside from production technicalities, and the implications these may have on consumption and identity (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: xxii).

In all these instances of cultural accommodation, Hall (1973: 3; [1973]1980: 2-3) reiterated the fact that what the production process is mainly about is meanings and ideas. He suggested that for the success of such communicative encounters, an encoded message must be framed within a meaningful discourse constituted within the rules of language. It is thus important that for effective

¹⁶ See page 28 for initial discussions on *Positioning Christian Music within African Music*.

communication, the encoded message should be ‘packaged’ in the manner that will evoke the appropriate feelings within the society as envisaged by the producers (Moalosi, 2007: 57). It must be done to achieve symbolic significance as intended during the production and representation processes. We redirect our attentions to the representation process i.e., the portrayal of the communicative encounter or event entailing a shared meaning or level of understanding. The idea of a message laden with a ‘message’ implies that the representation of such media or cultural practices is with a target audience in mind during the production of encoded messages.

The major aspects of representation to which this study pays attention, are participants’ modes of worship, language-use and music instrument use. The use of language linguistically stands in the literal sense of the meaning attached to it. This is the ability of people to communicate with the use of codes that aid fluent and nuanced grammatical utterances as a reflection of their impressions of life, experiences, and the environment they find themselves, wherein they interact with other people (McWhorter, 2004: 3). These are traditional conventions that represent who people are in terms of their cultural identities and the way they do things in relation to time and place (Leppert, 1988: 4). The idea of time and place deals with the emerging contexts where such representations are dominant and the use of these objects within these contexts [e.g. as described in the original use of the talking drum which is now being used in formal worship and singing praises to God].

In the following discussions on representation, the considerations that are focused on include constituents of language and how these may be construed with consumers of Christian music in mind regarding language use [verbal] and musical instrument representation [visual].

The Moment of Representation

We conceive the meanings of things based solely on how we represent them or how they are represented (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: 7; Hall, 1997b: 4; Leve, 2012: 6). The meaning of representation has been deemed ambiguous and polysemic; even the most ‘single and basic meanings’ may have different applications all dependent on what is represented and within which context (Pitkin, 1967: 10). Representation is necessarily always selective, further adding to its ambiguous nature in terms of a general characterisation and definition (Leppert, 1988: 3).

There is more focus on the discourse of representation on both the encoding and decoding of texts and audiences (Kellner and Durham, 2006: xxxiii). For encoded messages to be meaningful, it

means they must be associated with certain social and cultural practices, dominant or passive, that aid meaning and sense making, which du Gay, *et al.* (2013: 11, 34) regarded as signifying practices. Such practices and associations make representation of cultural phenomenon significant and relevant. Making sense of a cultural practice and how meaning is produced is embedded within the representational system of language (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997: 14, 16; Zou, 2012: 466). Representation in culture is *language* – “the use of a set of signs or a signifying system to represent things and exchange meaning about them” (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: 7). We gain knowledge of the world and the people in it because of social interactions through the signifying system of representation. In other words, to decode these cultural practices, we must locate such objects or actions within an interpretative framework which both the encoder and decoder share (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: 12). The essence of this is because people can relate with those with whom they have a level of shared understanding, i.e., whatever is contained in media texts or contents, people desire to see those who are like them in those representations (Shaw, 2010). This accentuates the need for a linguistic consideration of language-use in representation, which is quite distinct because without knowledge of a language, one cannot know what such represent. However, in certain situations, one may not understand what is said in songs but may sway to the rhythm due to what this may represent in the individual’s framework of knowledge (Hormigos, 2010; Vuoskoski, Clarke and DeNora, 2017).

However, Hall (1997b: 4-11, 19-20) had a slightly divergent opinion of what language is. He adjudged that though people may need to have shared or had similar cultural codes for meaningful exchange to take place, language representations may not be limited to literal language communication and use [written or spoken], but it is a dialogue that may be partially or fully understood as contained in sounds, and recognised as music, and visual languages of images and objects (supported by du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: 7). Essentially,

spoken language uses sounds, written language uses words, musical language uses notes on a scale, the ‘language of the body’ uses physical gesture [...] to ‘say something’ [...] they construct meaning and transmit it. They signify. They don’t have any clear meaning in *themselves*. Rather, they are the vehicles or media which *carry* meaning because they operate as *symbols*, which stand for or represent (i.e., symbolize) the meanings we wish to communicate (Hall, 1997b: 4-5).

These two approaches of verbal and visual representations are quite relevant to this study in order to understand what *language* is. These standpoints are adopted in the analysis of what represents both cultural [including diasporic] and religious identities among study participants and in the observations. When we consider the literal meaning of language, South Africans, Nigerians and Congolese all hail from different linguistic backgrounds, this underscores the importance of studying representation in language as a linguistic practice. In other words, this importance is buttressed by the prominence of the Zulu and English languages among South Africans, the English language among Nigerians and the French language among Congolese.

Language through the visual representation of musical instruments is in the same way a distinguishing factor, because these groups all have their unique instruments as I explained earlier. Without delving too deep into the semiotic or semantic approach to representation and its practices, the general process of sense-making and meaning-production may thus be beyond the literal meanings of the words used, to those that the words or visual representations [in some cases] may stand for (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: 9). For instance, in du Gay, *et al.*'s (1997, 2013) analysis of the Sony Walkman, the representation of this phenomenon constituted primarily of language, both verbal and visual. Therefore, this study sets out to identify how the moment of representation through language [with the inclusion of symbols, words, signs, images and *music*] plays an important part in gaining meaningful experiences (Champ and Brooks, 2010: 574; Hall, 1997c: 15) and how these have been encoded within Christian music subgenres. The importance of the moment of representation to this study lies in the religious and cultural contents of Christian music subgenres that further reinforce or redefine/adapt the identity formation of the home-based and diasporic populace.

The constituents of a representation rely “on classifying, [and] making certain connections between ideas and things in the world” (Leve, 2012: 6). The use of language as a constituent of representation speaks of how this distinct marker enables those within the communicative encounter to reflect on the constitutive role languages play, to differentiate between different people. Language becomes a privileged medium through which we make sense of things wherein there is the production and exchange of meaning which makes language a central process of message and meaning representation/production (Hall, 1997b: 1). As Hall (1997b: 3) noted, things in themselves do not have one single/fixed meaning, but people are able to ascribe meanings to

these based on their frameworks of interpretation. And often, these interpretations are linked to how what is represented may be used or integrated into everyday practice. The implication of this is that meanings may become cultural and contextual i.e., different meanings may emanate from different societies based on cultural meanings and interpretations (Hall, 1997b; Leve, 2012).

Representations are components of how identities are constructed through identification with a cultural practice, while language presents and constructs identities, not as a passive phenomenon but one that actively shapes the society (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997, 2013: xxx, 34; Zou, 2012: 466). For instance, du Gay, *et al.*'s (1997, 2013) analysis of the representation of the Sony Walkman, of which its purchase and ownership was a form of identification with an emergent identity – the tribe of youth, – meant that people attached identities to such representations that not only showed who they were but who they had become, and how [i.e., through association]. This alludes to the assertion that although identities are encapsulated within cultural representations, the sharing of meaning in its own way also generates and reinforces the idea of cultural difference (Zou, 2012: 466). For instance, someone who is not familiar with the talking drum may not be able to appropriate what it represents and its intended meaning or usage. In addition, any individual who does not have the knowledge of how the drum is beaten or played may also not be able to understand the basics of its use which is quite different from the way most drums are beaten (see Abiolu and Teer-Tomaselli, 2019). Therefore, one who is not exposed to these fundamentals cannot appropriate the representation of this musical instrument as a ‘reinforcer’ of the Yorùbá identity.

Often, the signs or symbols in the place of what is represented denote an aspect of a larger story. For instance, the use of traditional music instruments unique to a group of people within church worship services may speak about the indigeneity of their cultural practices and how these have been transposed into something different from its intended or original use. In the previous discussion on *an African perspective on identity in Christianity and Christian music* [see page 47], the talking drum was referenced as an important musical instrument unique to the Yorùbá culture. Its original and intended use was mainly for communication and praise-singing (Ruskin, 2013; Ushe, 2015). It is unique because of its use which is characteristic in its name ‘talking drum’. It mimics speech and highlights the importance of phrases and songs (Cable News Network [CNN], 2016). The talking drum reproduces the tones and inflections of the Yorùbá language and serves

as an integral aspect of the social, religious and political lives of the Yorùbá people (Abiolu and Teer-Tomaselli, 2019; Jesse, 2013: ii). The talking drums serve as one of the most efficient channels of traditional communication methods among villagers and rural dwellers to enhance grass root mobilisation for societal development (Ushe, 2015: 110). The incorporation of this unique musical instrument into public Christian worship goes beyond traditional communication but into singing the praises of God as accompanied by other musical instruments and vocal backup. This is just one out of the many musical instruments that may be representational within the African context. In the process of observation and audition, attention is paid to such representations within church services among South Africans, and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese which may indicate a more traditional aspect of worship and a form of identity reinforcement of their identities. Contrarily, the use of local South African musical instruments among these diasporic people may indicate identity adaptation or redefinition.

The mode of worship of the Congolese in the Glenwood Presbyterian Church is expected to be characterised by a formal system of worship, which is the mode of worship of Protestant Churches in comparison with the more vibrant approach of Pentecostal churches like the eThekwini Community Church and the Winners' Chapel (Haecker, 2012; Hitchcock, 2012; Johnson, *et al.*, 2010). Therefore, it is assumed that the Protestant practice may not be as permissive of an unstructured mode of worship in comparison with more contemporary modes of worship that are often unpredictable (Johnson, *et al.*, 2010). But, this may not always be the case as was pointed out earlier as the outcome of Lebaka's (2015) study [discussed on page 50]. The study showed that through the use and incorporation of more traditional instruments to the mode of worship of Evangelical Lutheran Protestant Churches in Limpopo, there was an increase in church turnout. So, through the representation of indigenous instruments, one may be able to identify predominant cultural identities of different people. In other words, cultural contexts give meaning to cultural practices rather than for those to have meaning in themselves (Hall, 1997c; Zou, 2012: 466). Emphatically, tied to the concept of representation are meaning creation and how the message is passed across linguistically, visually, musically or in any other representative manner or approach.

Representation further highlights the issue of 'ours' and 'theirs' because we can only appreciate representations based on a shared or somewhat similar framework of understanding (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013; Leppert, 1988: 8; Shaw, 2010). Representation of media contents informs people's

perceptions on various groups and cultures [‘theirs’ and those of ‘others’] which will potentially affect how social relations play out (Long and Wall, 2013: 102). Media representations in what is consumed create a sense of enlightenment about those represented and who we are which is often in comparison with what we have been exposed to and enshrined within our cultural framework of knowledge (Weedon, 2004: 24). With distinctive cultural markers like language, symbols and interpretations given to shared interactions, Sonia Livingstone (2007) suggested that an audience reception approach will aid the relationship between the reader and the text, and the text and the reader. We thus assume and reaffirm our identities because of the media, and the contexts we find ourselves in, be they religious or not.

The Moment of Consumption

The moment of consumption can be equated to the process of decoding as identified by Hall (1993) and it is becoming a personal act of ‘production’ as suggested by du Gay, *et al.* (1997: 21). In Louw’s (2001: 3) words, “certainly all individuals play a role in making, re-making and circulating meaning.” Eric Louw (2001: 3) backed this assertion with remarks that meanings consumed and produced and vice versa are often contextually bound because these are rooted in unique sets of circumstances and relationships.

Habitually, the consumption of media content is with the intention to satisfy a need (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997: 86). This process is usually according to the norms of the audience (Kropp, 2015: 13) premised on their frameworks of knowledge as shown in Hall’s (1993, 2010) encoding and decoding model [see page 98]. Norms [religious or cultural] dictate the required knowledge needed for encoding and decoding messages (Minkler and Cosgel, 2004: 7). These norms represented in both verbal and visual symbols or other culturally specified codes are the vehicles through which communication occurs between the encoder and the decoder at varying moments of the process (Kropp, 2015: 13).

The consumption or decoding process cannot be isolated from the production or encoding process thus highlighting how these two processes are entwined, and the need for the contextualisation of the production/encoding and consumption/decoding of messages. In Elfriede Fursich’s (2010: 115) opinion, what constitute representation, consumption and interpretation of media contents are “embedded in the 24-hour saturated media stream and establish[ed] norms and common sense

about people, groups and institutions in contemporary society [...] constitutive of culture, meaning and knowledge about ourselves and the world around us.” This brings to the fore queries on how media contents are representational of what we know about ourselves and what we are shown about others. In an earlier assertion, Hall (1993) argued that receivers of media texts give meanings and interpretations to texts/media representations based on their ‘framework of knowledge’. As a result, the understanding of these texts will be influenced by the resources of knowledge by both past and present experiences of the members of the audience (Livingstone, 2007).

The need to study the social knowledge of the reader [or audience in the context of this study] arises from the concept of the audience in relation to Christian music subgenres, and Christian music subgenres in relation to the audience (Livingstone, 2007). Their framework of knowledge gained by exposure to other factors [like the media] and sociocultural contexts may all influence the meanings derived from texts. Pitout (2001a: 258) concurred that different sociocultural contexts may influence the process of consumption and interpretation of media content. Individuals who indicate a religious commitment often feel the need to communicate or express these commitments (Minkler and Cosgel, 2004: 5). Similarly, consumption choices help to solve the problem of how to convey and recognise religious as well as cultural identities (Minkler and Cosgel, 2004: 1). Thus, music preference, music interpretation and media of consumption may be linked to the idea that people listen to music that reinforces and reflects their personalities, attitudes and emotions (Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011: 1141). It is the assumption of this study that such reinforcements and reflections can be apparent in the way these groups of people [South Africans and diasporic Nigerians/Congolese] see themselves and other people as a result of cultural, religious and diasporic identities [as the case may be] evident in the South African sociocultural context and in their consumption of Christian music.

For the communicative process to be effective, the discourse must be appropriated as meaningful and meaningfully decoded (Hall, 1993). The interpretation ascribed to these encounters by the consumers of the media content must be in an understandable manner which implies that representations within the media content should fit into the consumers’ framework of knowledge. According to Hall (1993), the decoded meanings can have effects on the consumers of such media, which can be manifested in entertainment, instructions or persuasions with consequences on the perception, emotions, ideology, behaviours or cognition of the audience. This study is situated to

understand such influences and how these are reflected in identity reinforcement of audiences within analogous or different sociocultural contexts.

At this point, debates around individual and group consumption of music are expanded on, bearing in mind the previous discussions on the history of the music industry [in Chapter Two, part C] and how music has become more personalised and equally collective at the same time.

Individual versus Group Consumption of Christian Music

Christian music appreciation and consumption in this study adopts an approach by which consumption is both personal and communal at the same time (Bennet, 2012: 203). Debates on individual and group consumption of [Christian] music are vital to the discussions on identities and “how individuals and groups perform these identities through everyday consumption and production” (Laughey, 2006: 97). Music consumption can occur in two distinct realms which are those of private [individual/self-identity level – what I want to consume or what I do not want to consume] and public [collective/group level – what we want to consume or what we do not want to consume] (Hesmondhalgh, 2008: 329). Virginia Nightingale (2003: 368-369) spoke of these groups as ‘the people assembled’ and ‘the people addressed’. ‘The people addressed’ may take place at a more personalised or individual level while ‘the people assembled’ concentrate on music consumption at the group level. In further discussions, this study adopts her classification of these two types of decoders or audiences.

The articulation of ‘self’ is more prominent as people consume music at the individual level (Laughey, 2006). This is because individual consumption of Christian music takes place on a more personalised/individualistic level in comparison with those on group level such as live performances or worship experiences, and church services. The highlight at the individual level is an expression of the ‘self’. This is the purpose of the semi-structured interviews scheduled with the study participants after the ethnographic account of group consumption of Christian music during church services. Consumption of Christian music by an individual can take place on scales such as bedroom settings, offices or lounges, in the car or through any means the individual can consume the music on a personal basis. As discussed briefly in the history of music, features like headsets are personalised to promote individual consumption of music [or Christian music in this case]. This was the situation after du Gay, *et al.*'s (1997, 2013) study on the Sony Walkman

phenomenon. It was shown to provide its consumers a more personalised mode of music consumption, especially with the introduction of the headsets (Bull, 2005; du Gay, *et al.*, 1997, 2013). Consumption of music affords the ‘self’ a world of imagination or escape, a personalised sound landscape as du Gay, *et al.* (2013: 14) described it, a private pleasure away from the hustle and hassle of the real world. The sound landscape is always accessible, irrespective of individual consumption of music or those consumed in live concerts or public performances (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: 14).

At the individual level, access to, and consumption of Christian music is enhanced by the availability of free downloadable tracks via websites (Dillon, 2006: 292). Others include access to mobile, or online radio, and music via mobile phones that are more portable and accessible to the individual (Dobie, 2001; Molteni and Ordanini, 2002; Scherer and Schneider, 2011). Individual consumption can also be via the television provided this is at the prerogative of the individual – with maximum control on choice and preference. Individual consumption of Christian music can afford such people autonomy devoid of social or contextual factors that can dictate music preference in a way that this music listening practice immerses these individuals in construed social spaces and situations that may alter the way they relate with their surroundings and those within these contexts (O’Hara and Brown, 2006: 9). They have the liberty to make their choices of Christian music not dictated by anybody else apart from themselves, thrust in a personal space of consumption and musical expression. The individual has instant gratification in what he listens to, serving as a unique expression of that person (Brown and Sellen, 2006: 51; Dillon, 2006: 292).

It can be argued that Christian music consumption at the individual level can be those characterised by Nightingale (2003) as ‘the people addressed’. ‘The people addressed’ exhibits features of the target audience that producers have in mind who are consumers that access music contents with a level of autonomy as opposed to the second category of ‘the people assembled’, who are those present at a scene of live music consumption. Literally, ‘the people assembled’ speaks of a gathering of the audience of a media content which within this study is Christian music. This notion of ‘the people assembled’ investigates the manner members of the audience gather to witness a performance, i.e., those who view or listen to encoded messages transmitted live, which in this instance will represent live performances or worship experiences of Christian music in churches. Within the study, this practice of research was carried out through the observation of the different

modes of worship in the three different churches. It was accompanied by subsequent interviews with church members on their understanding and representation of encoded messages in Christian music and the traces such messages left on their cultural, religious and diasporic identities.

Contrary to individual consumption, group consumption showcases common trends or features identified in a larger crowd of Christian music consumers. Group consumption shows a more collective shared experience and a way through which general information sought may be known about these groups (Polzella and Forbis, 2014). At the group or collective level, consumption and meaning-making of [Christian] music is within a public space comprised of ‘the people assembled’ (Nightingale, 2003). ‘The people addressed’ denotes research practices with focus on an imagined or target group of people for whom the encoders have created or initiated the communicative encounter. Nightingale (2003: 369) added that such encoders or “creators of message[s] develop ideas and preconceptions about the people who will eventually engage with their communication, and that these ideas are actively deployed during the writing [production] process.” Reflections of these preconceptions and ideas are often evident in the representation of such messages. This maybe observable during live performances or worship experiences, especially in the different manners the audience engages and interacts with Christian music and Christian artistes during live performances or worship experiences. This is the performer-audience relationship, audience-music relationship, and the spirituality of music consumption (Malembe, 2005; Okafor, 2000).

The performer-audience relationship is one regarded as a “two-way, engaged relationship between audience and the performer” (Malembe, 2005: 62). The audience-music relationship, more like the performer-audience relationship supports audience participation that endears the audience to a long-lasting consumer-loyalty (Brabazon, 2012: 164; Okafor, 2000: 49). For the audience-music relationship, attention is paid to music and the different reactions people have to different songs. This is because people’s reactions to music are unique and distinct due to different likes and dislikes. For instance, if the audience like a particular song, once the song is performed and the audience recognise, or can relate to it, they may respond more positively by singing, miming or dancing along, filling song gaps or adlibbing, than to another song which they do not recognise or cannot be related to. This draws attention to the spirituality of Christian music consumption through performer and audience interactions. The spirituality of Christian music consumption is associated with activities like crying, speaking in different tongues, kneeling, lifting and clapping

hands, and praying, all located within an environment of intensified mood and worship activities during music performances.

Though at the public realm, music provides an avenue for a shared public experience of live performances which reveals a collective or cultural identity (Hesmondhalgh, 2008: 329), and enunciates a general understanding of cultural, religious or diasporic identities, those who belong to that group are bound to give different interpretations to the same live performances or worship experience (Wall, 2013). It is on these grounds that semi-structured interviews present the much-needed considerations for the different interpretations that may be provided at the individual level in comparison with the group level which the ethnography considers.

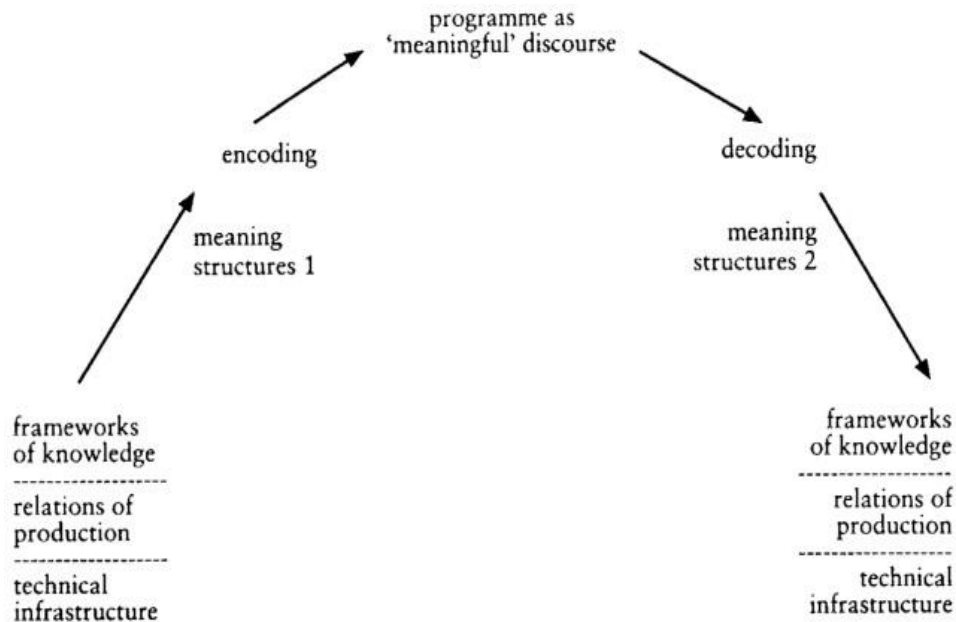
Stuart Hall's Encoding and Decoding Model

Stuart Hall's (1993) encoding and decoding model arose out of the criticisms of previous mass communication models that regarded the communication process as linear; from the sender to the receiver. It is a cyclical and continuous process wherein the producers, message and its consumers interact within their frameworks of knowledge, relations of production and technical infrastructure that must be present both at the encoding and decoding stages with the programmes i.e., messages as a meaningful discourse (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997, 2013; Hall, 1973, 2006: 167). This presented an alternative from the behaviourist model of the positivistic paradigm to a culturalist tradition of the interpretivist paradigm. The paradigm shift was marked by an “emphasis on the role of language and symbols, everyday communication, the interpretation of action, and an emphasis on the process of ‘making sense’ in interaction” (Morley and Brunson, 1999: 126). The encoding and decoding model of audience reception thus initiated the change from the ‘supposedly’ scientific approach to a more culturalist approach because the model challenged “the instrumentalist and functionalist approaches to the study of communication that flourished during the 1950’s” (Nightingale, 2003: 363).

Hall (1993: 509) pointed out that encoded messages must be meaningful i.e., for a message to be acted upon or influence the consumer; it must be a meaningful and understandable discourse. If there is no meaning understood, then there can be no consumption (Hall, 1993: 508). In other words, “we are able to make sense of what the other person is doing by *de-coding* the meaning

behind the action, by locating it within same interpretative framework which we [...] share” (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997: 18). The model is represented in figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Hall’s encoding and decoding model



Source: Hall (2010: 47)

People’s comprehension and consumption i.e., decoding the literal meaning of represented cultural and religious contents [within their preferred Christian music subgenres and media of consumption] convey certain pieces of information about their identities through cultural interpretations of religious symbolism contained within their choices (Al-Azami, 2016: 17). Concretely, the model provides a social context for the continuous remaking of the society’s [cultural] identity about historical [home-based or indigenes] or culturally situated persons [diasporic] who assume roles within the social interactive process in societies and have inherently proved themselves to be successful in the promotion of audience research as a cultural process (Nightingale, 2003: 362-363). Consumption studies emphasise the extent to which audiences may be influenced by media representations and how they identify with these in ways that may be quite different to the intentions of the producers (Rayner, Wall and Kruger, 2004: 96). For these reasons within audience studies, the relationship between the producer [encoder], text [media representation] and audience [decoder] is a major factor (Rayner, *et al.*, 2004: 96).

The moment of decoding is quite related to encoding or production because both processes thrive on feedback from consumers that may impact both the production and consumption moments of encoded messages (Hall, [1973] 1980). This interrelation also comes to the fore in the three aspects of social structures [frameworks of knowledge, relations of production and technical infrastructure] (Nightingale, 2003: 362). These shared social structures create for both the producers [encoders] and audiences [decoders] the need for a continuous remaking of societal ideas both about the society and its people who may be historically and culturally situated persons, and the influences on the continuous creation and recreation of meaning within those environments (Nightingale, 2003: 362). Media or content representations often exude the intention of encoders and their targets specifically in *language* construction in terms of verbal or visual/objectified instances. The producers in their rights actively imagine the ways the audience might respond to the encoded messages and therefore take into consideration features that will be more endearing to their target. With the audience as the key player within the moment of decoding, it brings to the fore the specific target audience that producers/encoders may have in mind i.e., the kind of consumers they wish to interact with through the production of Christian music subgenres which speaks of the identity of envisaged potential consumers of Christian music subgenres (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997: 53; Nightingale, 2003: 367).

In addition, the interpretations South African indigenes and diasporic peoples of Nigeria and the DRC may give to representations and interpretations derived from their use and consumption of Christian music subgenres may be different. This is the polysemic nature of decoding media texts. The polysemic nature of meaning derivation is founded on the existence of different patterns by which more than one meaning can be understood from a singular act of communication [polysemic nature of meaning] (Hall, [1973] 1980). This polysemic nature shows that media contents are open and can have contradictory meanings; an indication that people can interpret them in various ways (Pitout, 2001a: 252). The message embedded within a social communicative context is always complex both in structure and form; a sign that the message will contain more than one potential meaning to different people with different interpretations (Morley and Brunson, 1999: 129).

Furthermore, media production, ownership and ideology are pertinent issues in the encoding/production process all of which can influence the production of cultural practices and the encoded messages in a way that can reflect the dominant ideologies of media owners about

power and control (Louw, 2001: vii). As such, media owners can “maintain their positions of dominance over others” (Louw, 2001: viii). However, at this point, it must be recognised that the audience is within the position to decipher encoded messages as intended by the producers or otherwise give varying interpretations to such messages (Ott and Mack, 2014; Rayner, *et al.*, 2004). This led to Hall’s (1993) position on audience’s interpretation of media texts which were in three categories; the dominant/preferred/hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional interpretations (Howarth, 2004: 2).

Hall (1993) described the dominant/preferred interpretations as those accepted messages from media contents without any query; negotiated interpretations as messages that are not completely accepted nor rejected at the same time, and oppositional interpretations as those messages completely rejected by the readers/audience. For this reason, this study will examine audience positions in terms of dominant/preferred, negotiated and oppositional interpretations/readings; because the purpose of the study is to identify if the participants accept, modify or reject meanings derived from Christian music subgenres based on how well they relate with, and understand such mediated contents. It will help us recognise how their experiences and other sociocultural factors influence their interpretations of the texts, and how these interpretations reflect their perceptions of themselves and other people.

Often, on the part of the producers, a preferred or dominant reading is mostly encapsulated as their notions within media texts (Kropp, 2015). Such meanings become the essence of encoded messages and the latent ideas of the producers who intend for the messages to be decoded or interpreted in a certain way. On the part of the consumer, “a dominant [i.e., preferred] reading would be an unconditional acceptance of the preferred meaning, through which process the [text] is interpreted as the producer intended and the [consumer] accepts the message at face value, with no critical analysis of the media” (Kropp, 2015: 14). Such media representations are perceived as those that support the dominant cultural order or practice and serve particular interests and identities over others (Hall, [1973] 1980; Howarth, 2011). This is the major downside of the dominant or preferred reading as this may be used to propagate media representations that serve the interests embedded in the political economy of ideology, ownership, state, power and control (Hall, [1973] 1980).

However, it can similarly be deduced at this juncture that the dominant or preferred meaning attached to a media text may be as a result of the central belief system already in place among a group of people which may necessitate the proliferation of such ideas to strengthen their moral, and in this context, cultural and religious grounds. For instance, Hall ([1973] 1980) confirmed that understanding preferred meanings of a communicative encounter is often not a one-sided process that governs how all events may be represented. In other words, if the consumer or decoder understands the communicative encounter based on the intention of the producer because of a shared orientation [culturally or religiously], then it cannot be perceived as a process through which the producers of those media representations impose their religious and cultural views over 'undiscerning' consumers. In this case, the rationale for the preferred meaning is due to the cultural and religious ties that may culminate to a preference for certain cultural and religious practices [i.e., Christian music subgenres]. Such preferred meanings are thus popular among a variety of audience who are within sociocultural and religious boundaries.

On the second approach of reading, which is that of negotiated reading, Hall ([1973] 1980) opined that a situation as this may occur when the audience understand the dominant reading but still draws interpretation from both dominant and oppositional readings [oppositional reading is discussed shortly]. He added that a negotiated stance is a mixture of both adaptive and oppositional elements wherein the reader considers the privileged position of the dominant definitions but also reserves the right to provide a similar or different interpretation to the message. Hence it is *negotiated*. The concern of negotiation is facilitated by what is and what one perceives as what ought to be (Gillespie, 1995). Marie Gillespie's (1995) opinion supported Hall's ([1973] 1980) portrayal of a dual position occupied by the negotiated reader where one's understanding of media representations is tainted by other factors that one may consider to be part of such representations. Negotiation emphasises similarities and differences attached to meanings by the audience. In other words, consumers of Christian music who adopt a negotiated approach to gain meaningful insights will accept some aspects of the media representations in cases where the meanings may be endorsed by the audience or dismissed in situations where the meanings may be viewed as exceptions to some rules of Christian music representation (Laughey, 2010).

Within this study, this may be more demonstrated in individual communication where there is greater autonomy as opposed to group communication in the sense that general Christian music

choice and representations at the group level [or during live performances or worship experiences] may be more unanimous. For this reason, on the individual level of Christian music consumption, choice, use and preference of Christian music may be divergent in comparison to collective consumption. This is because individual consumption creates a more personalised forum for preference and the interpretations ascribed to these may or may not correspond with some interpretations at the dominant or preferred level of group consumption (Brown and Sellen, 2006; Dillon, 2006; O'Hara and Brown, 2006). All these are indications of an active audience and active interpretations of meanings attributed to texts (Fourie, 2009: 69).

Hall's ([1973] 1980) last stance on types of readings is that of oppositional. Oppositional reading denotes a resistance or complete rejection of a dominant representation in ways that such dominant and hegemonic views are challenged, rejected or transformed (Howarth, 2011). These are mostly direct oppositions and critiques of mainstream discourses and beliefs of media representations (Howarth, 2011). Here, the consumer decodes the media text as a result of his cultural influences in which case, the dominant reading is understood but is not in conformity with the individual's views (Kropp, 2015: 14). The consumer hence decodes the message in a contrary frame of reference (Hall, [1973] 1980). The reasons behind oppositional reading is culturally grounded [previous knowledge and sociocultural background] (Fourie, 2009: 70). Oppositional reading may be apparent among the study participants, particularly those from a different cultural background but who have been exposed to different representations of Christian music. Their choices and preferences may be influenced by their predispositions as a result of their cultural background. However, because what they all have in common is the religious tenet of Christianity, it would prove significant to identify if they would maintain oppositional readings to religious identity representations or those of culture.

The Moment of Identity

The concept of identity is a term used to broadly characterise who we are; as perceived by ourselves and other people within the society. We all “derive particular identities from [our] roles in society, the groups [we] belong to, and [our] personal characteristics” (Burke and Stets, 2015: iii). These forms of representation are expressed through sets of meanings that define who we are as occupants of unique roles within the society, as members of particular groups, or characteristics

that identify us as unique individuals (Burke and Stets, 2015: 1). Identity is continually within a 'production process' that is never complete but finds new ways of being reproduced within different modes of 'representation' (Hall, 1990: 222). Hall's (1990) opinion draws our attention to the tendencies of the concept of identity capable of constantly being modified by certain factors and in some cases, a total absorption of the 'old' for something 'new'. For instance, certain religious practices of the Yorùbá people are exclusive to the worship of the gods of the land. For a traditionalist turned Christian, his new religious identity takes precedence over the old practice which may be viewed as contradictory to his new belief. In this case, there is a total absorption of traditional worship for Christianity; a process defined as cultural assimilation¹⁷ or cultural disappearance (Hall, 1992: 310).

Sense-making, which is the main idea of identity construction and how these identities are construed, is central to human interaction and the resultant effects of those within the larger framework of the society (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016; Burke and Stets, 2009). It is important to note that there is always a mutual level of influence between the individual and the society (Burke and Stets, 2009). The implication of this is that the identity of the individual cannot be isolated from the context where he is. This means that as much as the individual identity is defined and represented based on individual traits and characteristics, the identity will also be defined and represented based on social characteristics and interactions of the individual within the sociocultural context the identity is formed and represented. These social characteristics may be expressed through traditions, norms, values, music, food, religion, clothing and other means within different backgrounds.

We experience these characteristics as shifts that makeup hybridised and multiple identities in certain cases. Hybridised identities challenge the notion of a fixed or homogenous identity (Anthias, 2002 in Bailey, 2012: 22). For instance, the diasporic individual experiences a shifting construct of various identities including those brought from the place of origin and those renegotiated; made on their arrival and settlement in their new environment, not to side-line those of their religious affiliations (Wild-Wood, 2008: 9) all of which are types of hybridised or multiple identities. Three major identities contained in Emma Wild-Wood's (2008) statement are religious,

¹⁷ The concept of assimilation is delineated in detail in the later aspects of this subsection.

cultural and diasporic which are clarified in the following subsections respectively. We find ourselves constantly negotiating and renegotiating our identities, fluidly navigating from one to the other within different frameworks that may call for one identity or the other. We become someone somewhere, and somebody else somewhere, and in certain cases, the line of distinction among our various identities becomes blurred as a result of similarities or possible conscious efforts of the individual to merge the identities into one indivisible unit wherein there is no identity change or separation e.g. the resolve of a Christian South African to maintain both his religious as well as cultural identity in everyday life. These forms of hybridised examples are considered subsequently.

Hybridity of Religious, Cultural and Diasporic Identities

Hybridity of identities represents a difference within a subject, an integral part within an individual, where the demarcation can be made to distinguish between ‘selfness’ and ‘otherness’ both within an individual (Bhabha, 1994). An instance of hybridity, that of border crossing, is marked by an image of between-ness – here and wanting to be there (Grossberg, 1996: 91-92). Cultural contact, perhaps as a result of migration or the importation of a cultural practice may result in hybridised or multiple identities and cross-over (Pohl, 2009: 87; Wang and Zepetnek, 2010: 2). For instance, according to Hall (1992: 310-314), diasporic identity formation – those who have moved or have dispersed from their homelands – cuts across the national frontiers of people. They are faced with the task of retaining strong links with their traditions and places of origin and adequately coming to terms with the new cultures they inhabit while they do not completely lose their identities or let such become assimilated. These people belong to ‘one’ and ‘several homes’, simultaneously sharing cultures of hybridity. They learn to adopt at least two identities, speak more than one language [in cases where there is no unified language], and learn to translate and negotiate between these languages. The diaspora become embodiments of translated cultural identities. Additionally, Hall (1992: 235, 297) argued that cultural identities cannot only be secured in reference to a sacred homeland and not necessarily homogeneous or pure forms of cultural practices but those defined by heterogeneity, diversity and hybridity because “modern nations are all cultural hybrids.”

Cultural and identity hybrids bring into being multiple and heterogeneous cultural practices and awareness (Agnew, 2005: 14). Vijay Agnew's (2005: 14) affirmation portrays an instance of hybridity i.e., diasporic and cultural or cultural and religious hybridity or even multiple identities of cultural, religious and diasporic due to the double or multiple consciousness embodied by the individual; one that shows a paradoxical nature of 'here' through attachments to representations of ethnicity, and 'there', an emotional investment in one's homeland that comes to the fore in social, cultural, economic and political ties to the new abode of the diaspora. According to Rolf Lidskog (2017: 3), these people experience the tug of physically being somewhere i.e., where they live and work, and mentally being elsewhere i.e., where they think about regularly and where they long to be. He added that these people retain a sense of uniqueness and interest in their homelands but are embodied within a transnational network of constant identity negotiation and renegotiation [of both identity reinforcement and adaptation].

Though scholarly works (e.g. Agnew, 2005; Hall, 1990, 1992; Lidskog, 2017; Pohl, 2009; Wang and Zepetnek, 2010) have designated the term hybridity as a term that is resultant of migration and the diaspora, who are made to take up dual identities to adapt to host cultures; this study proposes that hybridity or multiple identities can be situated beyond the effects of human movement or settlement within another context. This is premised on the notion of religious identities [how these sustain links to 'home' especially as Africans] not solely defined by the attempts of migrants to adjust to the religious landscapes of the new environment (Wild-Wood, 2008). Most religious identities are already defined from previous cultural orientations which may or may not become adjusted or redefined as some wish to maintain their religious ties (see Hester, 2010; Brennan, 2012). More emphasis is placed on multilingual and multicultural contexts that birth plurality of cultures and identities often and create an "in-between neither here nor there instance compelling the negotiation or renegotiation" of cultural positioning (Bhabha, 1994: 19; Karanja, 2010: 1). It is consequently advocated that our religious identities become integral parts of who we are in such a way that the difference it brings to other identities is one that is without "an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (Bhabha, 1994: 5). That is why hybridity of culture and religious identities can be assumed as analogous i.e., one can be cultural as well as religious in outlook. It is on this basis that discussions on the religious identity of Christianity are initiated.

Religious Identity

The association of music to its religious inclinations and its connection to identity construction all became central to the reality of music and its inescapable and all-accessible nature (Early, 2013: 6). Owing to the discussion on the Christian identity in Chapter Two, part B, it is against this backdrop that this complementary subsection on religious identities in connection to cultural identities is discussed.

If there are human beings located within a social domain, these individuals endeavour to fit into such surroundings by re-examining the identities they convey including how they see themselves or how they want others to see them (Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016: 112). ‘Belonging’ is not only measured in terms of being part of a cultural community but also a religious environment provided by the church and regarded as ‘home’ (Wild-Wood, 2008: 7). The religious identity of many around the world is embedded in their cultures, practices and customs as these continue to be sources of value for the nourishment of the ethics of the people and the provision of spiritual heritage for personal and social transformation (Saleem, 2016). One’s religious identity is viewed as a construct of faith-practice and discourse that is observable in social, economic and political situations backed up by “the sense of the Supernatural, the supportive belonging to others, the belief system and rituals which make sense of the world, and the social activities of religious experience[s]” (Wild-Wood, 2008: 8).

The religious identity [on the ground of Christianity] of South Africans, Nigerians and Congolese is the only unifying component among these groups. For us as Africans, our religious identities are part of our cultural identities. These two intersect and interweave to constitute our entire existence. Just as much importance is attached to our names to identify who we are (Ruskin, 2013), our religious and cultural identities “supply the plot for the stories of our lives, singly and collectively [...] bound up with our deepest beliefs about life, the universe and everything” (Joseph, 2004: 172). Our religions and their environments offer solace for us as we can fall back on this identity for support in tough situations. The religious environment provides access to a coherent worldview and a consistent ideological framework for identity formation (King, 2003: 199). Religious identity mainly provides a framework for stability and flexibility in cases of migration because migration may alter the religious identities of migrants (Wild-Wood, 2008: 1-2). Religious

congregations offer opportunities for intercultural fellowship and the creation of onward familial relationships and cross-cultural experiences; a group one can call one's own, a home away from home [especially for the diaspora] with a strong web of support (King, 2003: 199). In the quest for people, both as home-based and diasporic, to locate themselves and affirm their uniqueness, they turn to religion which offers a solid foundation for them, because religion can proffer belief, moral codes and values; a belief system that is often employed to make sense of the world around us (King, 2003: 198). In this way, the movement into a new homeland, away from the already established structures upon which their religious identities were built, may or may not be as supportive as what they were exposed to within their previous backgrounds of knowledge, shedding more light on the relationship between migration and religious identities.

Our religious identities are known to reveal a sense of commitment and purposefulness on our part as Christians in our devotion to God and service to humanity (Oppong, 2003: 10). It speaks of a sense of duty and a form of commonness among different people to a cause upon which strong beliefs are built and held. Religious identities are expressed in the light of several religious markers distinct to each religion (Minkler and Cosgel, 2004). Religious participation through markers such as clapping, dancing and other accompaniments to worship discussed earlier [see page 29] becomes a strong building space for communal and religious association with a great influence on human experiences. The formation of one's religious identity within this sphere is supported by a community of religious peers and constant exposure to religious instructions for a more tolerant co-existence and particularly in duties to God and man (Wang, 2012).

Within this spiritual atmosphere, physical, emotional, psychological and spiritual needs are met which makes it a spiritual haven for diverse people (King, 2003). The manner the 'self' is represented within a religious context that may be inclusive of various other cultural components and is one of the foci of the study (Thompson, 2015: 9). Bearing in mind the different cultural backgrounds of these people which already indicate exclusivity, it is vital to shed more light on their commonalities; the grounds on which they can express these similarities rather than emphasise their differences. These grounds have been limited to their Christian music representation, use, consumption and preferred media of consumption of Christian music subgenres and their resultant effects on identity construction.

Cultural Identity

Even if the grounds for identification are “constructed on the back of [the] recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group” (Hall, 1996: 2), our identities are products of differences and rather exclusion than an identical, naturally constituted unity (Hall, 1996: 4-5; Burgess, 2004). The need to study identities becomes crucial, based on conflicts that may arise due to differences in ethnic, cultural, religious and national orientations (Chiang, 2010: 34). This notion suggests how shared experiences come into play within these various unique lines of identity. Experiences at diverse levels make it important to note how different groups cope and are identified based on different continua. These show instances of individual and cultural identities that form a national culture. It is not surprising that cultural characteristics can be used to represent individual and societal identities. This is possible because culture and identity are markers that identify cultural as well as biological features of specific ethnic and racial groups (Chiang, 2010: 31).

The national cultural identity emerged as a modern continuation of traditional systems of allegiance and identification among tribes, people, religions and larger societies (Hall, 1992). It is the result of bringing the **nation** [traditions, ancient and modern communities] and the **natio** [family, local community] together (Brennan, 1990: 45). Hence, people become members of the community and can identify with the national culture. The aim of a national identity is to provide a unifying cultural identity regardless of race, class, gender or religion. However, the issue this poses is if such a national identity incorporates all forms of cultural differences available. The result of this creates a universal system of knowledge or literacy, a language that becomes dominant, used as a means of communication that facilitates cultural norms and traditions.

The following representational strategies, as identified by Hall (1992), aid people’s views of national and cultural identities: (a) the narrative of the nation established by histories, literature, media, pop culture, images, stories, scenarios, landscapes, national symbols, historical events and rituals; (b) origins, continuity, traditions and timelessness; (c) invention of traditions like practices and rituals repeated over time to imply how things are done in order to create a sense of continuity linked to an historical past; (d) foundational myths that show or narrate the origin of the people, and (e) ‘pure’ or original people or folk. These representations are construed due to exposure to

stories about places and memories that connect past and present occurrences, and the constructed images of the imagined community of people. Hence, these representations, symbols and systems alongside established cultural institutions [those already in place through the traditional system] make up the national culture.

According to Hall (1992: 291-292), our national culture forms one of the basic sources of our cultural identity. An individual's identified nationality is the definition of who they are with regards to a commonplace where they hail from or where their 'roots' are. Our national identities are formed and transformed because of a system of cultural representation associated with our cultural identities. People identify and refer to themselves as who they are, characteristic of their sense of belonging and reiterated by the basis of culture and nationality. It is within these natures that South Africanness, Nigerianness or Congolesehood becomes the act of 'being' these people within their contexts of origin or without these contexts. They become more aware of what these terms are because of their system of cultural representations as a set of meanings by the national culture. This implies that a national culture is represented by a set of meanings associated with the continuous understanding of what we have known, and what we know the culture to be. For instance, a 'Congolese' is embedded within the Congolese culture or what people's interpretation of what the Congolese culture is; hence, they can be associated within the system of representation through cultural markers like mode of dressing, language, music, food and other cultural artefacts unique to that culture. All these make up the national culture and cultural identity of the Congolese. We realise from these instances that there must be a shared cultural orientation to gain knowledge of these representations and so to say 'affix' the identity markers [cultural artefacts] to the identity bearers [humans] to understand their cultural identities.

Hall (1990: 223-225) maintained two stances on what represent cultural identities. The first position is that of a shared culture wherein lies a collective 'one true self/selves' of people who have a shared history and ancestry. Cultural identities are reflected through shared historical experiences and cultural values that add-on to the stability and unchanging references and meanings of people's histories. Our cultural identity is defined in terms of one shared culture that embodies the 'one true self' of people who have a shared history and ancestry. He added that within this reflects our common historical experiences and cultural norms that make us 'one people'. His second position on cultural identity recognised that though there may be many points

of similarity embedded within cultural identities, there are also points of difference that indicate ‘where we were’, ‘where we are’, ‘who we were’ and ‘who we are becoming’. This was what he referred to as the process of ‘becoming’ or ‘being’. This cultural identity is an indication of what was and what is; an identity that transcends a particular place, time, culture or history due to constant transformation. This shows the state of the ‘other’ with binary oppositions as similarities versus differences, continuity versus rupture, and us versus them.

Hall (1990: 230) argued that the effects of these interactions will leave impressions on these identities. This is mainly pertinent to the South African historical and cultural landscapes that have undergone transformative practices and events which have opened these up to diversity and a host of migrants among whom are diasporic Nigerians and Congolese who make up the study sample. This further underscores the production, reproduction, representation and [re]representation of the fluidity of identities and formativeness of these “since identity shifts according to how the subject is addressed and represented” (Hall, 1992: 280). The implication of this is that there would be traces of the ‘self’ left in the ‘other’ and vice versa leading to hybridised or heterogeneous situations [i.e., new conceptions of identity]. This position is the birth of new identities that may be visible, especially in groups like the home-based and diasporic populace of this study.

The relevance of a comparative study on the diasporic populace alongside the home-based is to create a diverse viewpoint on the representation and use of Christian music subgenres among these identified groups and to highlight what their uniqueness and commonalities are on music consumption and identity formation because of the uniqueness of each group. The adoption of a diasporic approach for this study is premised on the affirmation of Elizabeth Mavroudi and Anastasia Christou (2016: 4) that a diasporic approach “resides in the ethnic, national and/or religious ties that those in diaspora share with [‘others’,] one another and with the homeland.” This suggests that there is a continuous social interaction between the diasporic populace and their ‘homes’ i.e., places of origin.

Home and its tie to Cultural Identities

The home is a crucial aspect of human life, and is an environment of primary importance (Hauge, 2007). It is therefore a social background that gives meaning to the identity of an individual and society. The cultural identities of South Africans, Nigerians and Congolese are tied to their

connections to their ‘homes’. To give a precise definition of what ‘home’ means or what it represents may be relative because the word is polysemic in nature. To support this, Myrdene Anderson (2015: 17) emphasised that home is a ubiquitous concept and is an opaque four-letter word in English prone to different meanings in different situations. It shows itself as an abstract notion that has meaning based on definitions given in relation to different characteristics. This is because people have different ideas of what home stands for with the implication that people will reflect on what home means to them personally (Anderson, 2015: 18).

A home is representational of a space of belonging; an environment where identities are formed and transformed (Morley, 2001: 425). A home can also signify a place of origin, a place of abode, or a place of choice. A place of origin is a place of rootedness, that of abode is where the individual lives while that of choice is what Anderson (2015: 17) regarded as based on discovery [or invention i.e., a ‘new’ or different location found by the individual]. To further conceptualise the definition of ‘home’, home for me is my place of origin in Ise-Ekiti, a town in Ekiti State, Nigeria. It is also my place of residence where my family lives in Akure, the capital city of Ondo State, Nigeria; while home by choice may be Durban, South Africa due to it being my current location. This example indicates the fluid nature of what ‘home’ represents. However, the distinct difference in the above definition and example is influenced by sociocultural contexts reflected in place of origin, place of abode, and choice, which is an indication of what Peter Burke and Jan Stets (2005: 1) regarded as the mutual level of influence between the individual and the society as discussed earlier. For the purpose of this study, South African indigenes are examined through the perception of home as a place of origin or rootedness and the relationships diasporic peoples of Nigeria and the DRC maintain with their homes of origin or otherwise homes of residence or choice [in South Africa] through their Christian music preferences.

Diasporic Identity

The concept of ‘diaspora’ was one coined out for the Jewish people who were one of the first dispersed people (Safran, 2004). Though the term ‘diaspora’ was initially developed in order to conceptualise the historical experiences of people who were dispersed from their ‘homes’ and made to live and juggle between two cultures, it is mostly characterised by a triadic relation that exists between a group of people, a host country, and a homeland (Lidskog, 2017: 3). The continent

of Africa possesses a large migrant population both across the continent and beyond, as traders, refugees, migrants, international students, foreign nationals married to indigenes, tourists, labourers, and those who wish to improve their lifestyles (Wild-Wood, 2008: 4). Their cultural identities emerge as those not fixed but in transition between different placements; drawn on different cultural traditions and, as a result, become products of cross-over and cultural mixes [that birth their diasporic identities] (Hall, 1992: 310). Diasporic identities are constantly produced and reproduced through transformation (Hall, 1990: 235). A diasporic identity speaks of ‘doubleness’ of similarities and differences, an awareness or the knowledge of cultural practices that influence and equally distinguish between different cultural identities (Hall, 1990: 227). It is one laden with unique characteristics that may be exhibited by its populace. As a result, the diaspora can “produce multiple consciousness, histories, and identities that generate difference and challenge homogeneity” (Agnew, 2005: 14).

Outcomes of Identity Adaptation and Reinforcement among Home-Based and the Diaspora

Cultural identity raises two issues for home-based or diasporic individuals. The first issue is that of identity reinforcement as a pointer to how far “people wish to maintain their heritage culture and identity”, and identity adaptation as an indication of “the degree to which people seek involvement with the larger society” that produces cultural accommodation (Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder, 2006: 306). In the bid to maintain some sort of self-esteem and ‘homogeneity’ the concept of identity reinforcement is birthed (Groves, Biscomb, Nevill and Matheson, 2007; McFarland and Pals, 2005). This implies that our self-esteem is entrenched so that we do not lose touch of who we are even within an alien context that may necessitate a form of identity change. The second issue is that of identity adaptation; a phenomenon that recognises and reveals the relationship that exists between the individual identity/concept of ‘self’, and the ‘new’ sociocultural contexts they are located in, with an emphasis on the importance of culture and individual choice to either change [adaptation] or to resist change [reinforcement] (Baumeister and Muraven, 1996: 405). In all these, it is important to clarify that identities cannot remain fixed as these are prone to constant changes no matter how minimal (Burgess, 2004; Hall, 1992; Lidskog, 2017: 3). In other words, instances of homogeneity or purity of cultures seem rather unattainable; and for that reason, cultures become products of heterogeneous instances (Bhabha, 1994: 55).

These alterations are solely individual or group choices which bestow on the individual or group the “need to work out how to live together, adopting various strategies that will allow them to achieve a reasonably successful adaption of living interculturally” (Berry, *et al.*, 2006: 305). The adaptive strategies or otherwise of the diasporic peoples of Nigeria and the DRC are ascertained in their representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres. These strategies may be indicated in their choices of Christian music subgenres whether as those emanating from within the South African Christian music terrain or those from their homes of origin, and ways these have been adjusted to suite their cultural orientations [old/new] within South Africa.

Identity Reinforcement

The reinforcement of one’s identity is perceived as a strategy for social coherence for the preservation of one’s cultural identity even with challenges that may be posed by migration, and other contributory factors (Burgess, 2004). Identity reinforcement through Christian music may be apparent among South Africans in their choice of/preference for South African songs, among Nigerians in their choice of/preference for Nigerian songs, and among Congolese in their choice of/preference for Congolese songs. It will prove worthwhile to draw attention to how these groups have maintained their identities within their ‘natural’ church contexts.

The emphasis on ‘natural’ is because these groups were studied within church services mainly targeted at their cultural, religious and diasporic identities. These identities are points of identification and attachment for cultural preservation within a heterogeneous and culturally diversified environment (Hall, 1996: 5). It would be interesting to see how South Africans showcase and promote their songs within church contexts and how Nigerians and Congolese maintain and thus move their cultures into church worship [on a collective basis] and daily living [on an individual basis] mainly in an environment outside Nigeria and the DRC. More so, bearing in mind that the Congolese have a different linguistic orientation to South Africans and Nigerians, with a major francophone background, language-use may be shown to reveal some sort of identity reinforcement within another ‘host’ culture. Therefore, music may be used to either retain a connection to one’s culture, or as a means of cultural adaptation.

Within a multicultural perspective, identity reinforcement can take place on different cultural fronts like the use of language, food, clothing, and *music*, the last of which is pertinent to this study

(Akrofi and Kofie, 2007; Brightwell, 2015; Lidskog, 2017; Mbaegbu, 2015). Music has been a ‘reinforcer’ of identity in functional roles of identity adaptation/[re]definition and reinforcement (Akrofi and Kofie, 2007: 88; Morrison, 2003: 14). Frith (2004: 38-39) opined that, for instance, in London’s Irish pubs, ‘traditional’ Irish folk songs were known to be the most influential way to help the Irish people maintain their ‘Irishness’, i.e., cultural identity and hybridity as those living in a diasporic world. The diasporic individual can thus exhibit dual tendencies based on experiences they have had [from their places of origin], and those they now have [within their diasporic environment]. These dual identities are often maintained by sociocultural characteristics of the home and the diasporic context because “the love for one’s culture, coupled with the malleability and aptitude to acclimatize foreign elements [adaptive tendencies] is a contributing factor for the survival of a people, their identities, nations and day-to-day practices” (Mavra and McNeil, 2007: 6).

In another instance, Maria das Gracas Brightwell (2015) discussed how diasporic connections can be made through foods that provide memories of home. Therefore, attachment to symbolic things that remind people of home can help them maintain ties to their cultural identities and at the same time reinforce their commitments to their diasporic identities. Hence, this will be elucidated, specifically as it is applicable to the diasporic groups of this study in their use and consumption of Christian music subgenres since music provides the resources for the construction and otherwise renegotiation of identities (Lidskog, 2017: 3).

In the context of the study, the overarching aim is to essentially identify those cultural elements that have in a way facilitated identity adaptation and identity reinforcement/cultural maintenance, especially, among those with obvious hybrids of identities or/and the way they have somewhat adapted an identity change in order to conform to the cultures of the host environment. Along this line is also the need to elucidate their perceptions of ‘themselves’ and ‘the others’ as a result of media [music] representations within this cultural landscape of South Africa. The onus is to pinpoint some inclusive [i.e., adaptive/redefining], and exclusive [i.e., reinforcing/maintaining] strategies to accommodate [as South Africans] and adjust [as Nigerians and Congolese] to the cultural diversity in South Africa which may be more identifiable in cultural representations in the case of language-use (Akrofi and Kofie, 2007; Champs and Brooks, 2010; Hall, 1997c).

Identity Adaptation

To have a consistent identity is not only to be recognised outside the constructed framework of that culture but to also maintain a cultural connection that gives us a sense of who we were, where we come from and who we are presently within a different environment. This stands as an outcome of identity reinforcement. The queries faced by members of a group who intend to reinforce or maintain their identities is how they react to changes in environmental and external factors and influences that challenge their identities and how they can cope with these in the face of emerging hybridised identities within such groups (Burlingame, n.d:4). A sense of identity consistency tends to reinforce the internal perceptions of the individual self and their crowd of cultural affiliation (McFarland and Pals, 2005: 301). In the bid to maintain the essentials of their cultural identities, members of these groups strive to adopt cultural changes around and ensure some balance so that those adaptations do not completely absorb or overshadow their background orientations.

The authenticity of music among migrants rests in its ability to represent a sense of originality to capture the sense of their past, maintain the present, as well as attempts to represent the future with the motive to protect their identities (Bohlman, 2011: 151). Situating this within the context of this study is a form of identity reinforcement. The autonomy of music among the diaspora allows them to appropriate music into different moments as they deem fit i.e., the functional aspects of music (Bohlman, 2011). Though accommodation is portrayed to be in synchronisation with autonomy i.e., adjusting music use to moments at hand, this study redefines it as the beginning of the processes of adaptation. But most times, migration is accompanied by the acculturative process (Schwartz, *et al.*, 2006: 2). Adaptive tendencies facilitate interaction with the host culture, its values and its norms to align those identities with external expectations (Kirchner, 2013: 43).

Various forms of human movement i.e., migration, generates what Philip Bohlman (2011: 151) referred to as political and aesthetic responses. Political response to the inward movement of people seeking a greener pasture, on the one hand is that of “xenophobia and the claim that migrants destroy the traditional aesthetics and politics of space [...where] music, filling the space occupied by migrants and immigrants is transformed to noise” (Bohlman, 2011: 151). New identity positions are assumed in strong defensive reactions of members of dominant cultures who may feel threatened due to the presence of ‘other’ cultures within their ‘space’ (Hall, 1992: 308). Home-

based people view this trend of migration as a threat to their ‘selfness’ and traditions which results in their attempts to forestall the emergence of such tides. A consequence of this is ethnocentrism – the belief in the superiority of one’s own culture and the failure to understand those cultures different from one’s own (Neulip, Hintz and McCroskey, 2005; Zikargae, 2013: 130). An easier comprehension and absorption of a different environment calls for alternative perspectives of the ‘self’ within the ‘other’ context perceived as a growth and transformative process for the accommodation of diversity and incorporation of intercultural knowledge often referred to as intercultural competency [ICC] (Zikargae, 2013: 127). Acquisition of intercultural competence is an awareness of the existence of ‘the other’ (Byram, Nichols and Stevens, 2001: 3).

Categorically, the intercultural competency of the diaspora lies within their adaptive inclinations to adjust to the foreign environment in which they are now located. This sort of ‘otherness’ is the recognition of ‘themselves’ as ‘the other’ in a new setting, and the people within the new environment as ‘the other’ in comparison with ‘themselves’. As a result, the importance of an adaptive strategy is highlighted in order to adjust to the ‘otherness’ of the home-based while at the same time not losing touch with their own individual ‘selves’ and attachments to their original contexts. The promotion and appreciation of cultural diversity and intercultural competency will lessen outbreaks of conflicts because people will develop a deeper admiration of ‘otherness’ (Dong, Day and Collaco, 2008). According to Edward Taylor (1994: 154), a major proponent of ICC, ICC was defined as “an adaptive capacity based on an inclusive and integrative worldview which allows participants to effectively accommodate the demands of living in a host culture.” On the other hand, the aesthetic response to migration acknowledges and celebrates diversity in the culture of migrants often in recognition of multiculturalism rendered compatible by common ‘otherness’ through music that accommodates the goals of migration (Bohlman, 2011: 151).

The components of intercultural competency are skills, knowledge of social groups and identities, and the attitudes of the people, to be complemented by the willingness to be a part of the social groups by acknowledging the uniqueness of ‘the other’ culture along with theirs (Byram, *et al.*, 2015). The inevitable result of interactions between these people will be that of cultural diversity (Spitzberg and Changnon, 2009: 4). Diversity has been viewed as a phenomenon within which different social identities cluster ‘others’ as similar or dissimilar (Mazur, 2010: 5-6). Cultural diversity advocates the recognition of ‘otherness’ and plurality of identities as indications of

adaptive processes that will foster expression, creation and innovation (Koichiro Matsuura, former Director-General of UNESCO in UNESCO, 2002: 3). Along this line, defining features of our uniqueness and differences are shown to be those that can be advantageous and disadvantageous at the same time. Characterisation based on discrimination among people portrays how different we are, which if not properly understood and resolved can lead to conflict.

Cultural accommodation demonstrates the willingness of diasporic people to adjust their cultural orientations to those within their new environment. It also demonstrates the willingness of those who are the 'hosts' to adapt to the diversity within their contexts. This leads to adaptation which is the settlement of the diasporic people in a 'new world' (Bohlman, 2011: 157). The process of adaptation produces a hybrid of identities. Within adaptive instances lies the determination to sustain a hybridised identity or a complete replacement of a minority status by a dominant culture known as acculturation or assimilation (Bohlman, 2011: 157; Hall, 1992: 310). Assimilation is the cultural effect experienced by the new/foreign/receiving culture due to a complete disregard of people's cultural positions or identities, while integration adapts to the receiving culture and retains the heritage culture of the individuals (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga and Szapocznik, 2010: 238). Accommodation and adaptation may not only be in the study participants' choice of a different familiar Christian music subgenre, but also accompanied by dance that are distinct to preferred songs, and traditional attires native to the contexts where the song may emanate from (Brennan, 2012; Hester, 2010; Mavra and McNeil, 2007). Accommodative, adaptive, acculturative and assimilative dynamics are visible in the inclusion of value systems that may contribute to how individuals adjust to those they meet (Padilla and Perez, 2003: 37). These dynamics are not only peculiar to the diasporic people but also people who are within the contexts as hosts and may need to adjust to the presence of people of diverse cultures.

'Self' and 'the Other' in 'Our' Music and 'Their' Music

Music serves "as a symbolic identifier of a social group, both by the group's members [and] the surroundings [its non-members]" (Lidskog, 2017: 3). Music associated with religious inclinations is also a constituent of identities (Early, 2013: 6). By this, music is recognised as a phenomenon for the propagation of inclusivity [among members of those groups] and exclusivity [among those who do not belong]. Therefore, the use of music for identity construction is a means to identify

those with shared characteristics. The idea of the 'self' is defined not so much as who we are, but more as who we are not; regarded as the process of 'othering' (Burgess, 2004; Hall, 1990; Howarth, 2004: 2; Weedon, 2004: 19). What one's identity represents is in what constitutes the 'self/group' and the 'other/others' (Wild-Wood, 2008: 8). It lies in how we view ourselves as individuals or as a group, how the individuals or group may be viewed by others, and the continuous interplay obvious within these viewpoints. In other words, value orientation within sociocultural backgrounds may be different to value orientation as expressed by the individual's choices, creating an instance of 'self' and 'the other' within social relationships and shared social values that will thus initiate social attraction (Boer, *et al.*, 2011: 1167).

A musical genre distinguishes between people's social interests which bear features of sociocultural inequities with differentiations of 'our music' and 'their music' (Thompson, 2015: 9). 'Our' music and 'their' music depicts the "performance and consumption of culture-specific music [that are] unique expression of national, [religious], and cultural aspirations and ideals" of different people who hold different opinions about their perceptions of musical compositions that originate from their cultural backgrounds in comparison to those without (Boer, *et al.*, 2013: 2360). The distinctive portrayal of 'our' music and 'their' music evokes the idea of a double-faced coin of either an ethnocentric approach or that of a multicultural approach due to their cultural perspectives. People may listen to music in similar ways; however, their interpretations and perceptions of music will be different.

From the perspective of ethnocentrism, one's own culture or music becomes the focal point of everything while the other cultural or musical perspective is scaled or rated in reference to the status bestowed on the culture or music of that group (Sumner, 1906 in Neulip, Hintz and McCroskey, 2005: 42). Whereas, a multicultural perspective views multiple groups and recognises their rich and diverse cultural patterns (Andersen and Taylor, 2008: 68; Zlata, 2003). The approach of multiculturalism is an opposite disposition to ethnocentrism (Andersen and Taylor, 2008: 68). The all-encompassing aspect of multiculturalism may also be apparent among the groups that make up the study participants. In other words, these groups may evaluate the representation of music within their cultural backgrounds and without thereby consolidating the difference between 'us' and 'them', and 'our music' and 'their music' (Andersen and Taylor, 2008:

68; Howarth, 2004: 2). All the same, adaptations and developments of religious music can result in the acceptance of such music outside their immediate subculture (Smalley, 1962: 272).

Essentially, as individuals and groups must constantly respond and “relate to new phenomenon and practices [which makes it] increasingly difficult to speak of distinct and fixed cultures”, so also Christian music representation must be in conformation to cultural adaptability to ensure acceptability among people (Lidskog, 2017: 3). To achieve this, a mutual attraction between individuals should be shared, and mostly attributed to similarities in value (Boer, *et al.*, 2011: 1167). Within the confines of this study, the value-similarity is premised on religious inclinations as Christians irrespective of whether they are ‘home’ [South Africans] or ‘away from home’ [Nigerians and Congolese]. However, in the face of multiculturalism, host-cultures are faced with the task to promote their own cultural values, to insist on their own internal diversity and individuality and preserve their own traditional and national heritage so that their cultures do not lose relevance in the face of other cultural values, traditions and norms (Zlatař, 2003: 5). This is an important point because to promote and facilitate interactions with ‘the others’ within their communities, they do not want to side-line their own values to try to maintain balance and fairness accorded to multiculturalism/cultural diversity and their own cultural identities as well, leading to outcomes as adaptive instances.

Adaptation, [a notion discussed earlier], as a multicultural movement and the promotion of diversity, is not only observable within church services but also the roles of the media as integrating institutions (Berry, 2010: 8). In the previous chapter part C; it was articulated how some programmes have both enhanced identity adaptation and reinforcement, which advocates the role of the media within this process of cultural change. It is within this framework that a debate around media and identity is briefly initiated.

Media and Identity

The media shapes our network links of imagined [co-]presences – awareness of ‘otherness’ and reinforces a sense of belonging as well as perceptions and human values that provide assurance for commonality and community (Georgiou, 2010: 30). Our knowledge of other people is heightened by media exposure which impacts what we know about them, how we view them, and relate with them. Such reinforcements along with a level of commonality can all be influenced by

the media. In other words, cultural and national identities are reinforced by the media (Weedon, 2004: 25).

Our preferred media of consumption are ways we learn to engage with the new ‘other’ (Bailey, Georgiou and Harindranath, 2007: 1). In addition, our social interactions and those within the religious contexts constitute the process through which our minds and hearts are open to engage and exchange with ‘the other’ (Bailey, *et al.*, 2007: 1). For instance, I do not regularly attend a Nigerian church [as a diasporic Nigerian Christian], but when I attend, through choices of songs for worship and praise sessions, I become more aware of ‘myself’ among other Nigerians, as ‘the other’ within South Africa and the presence of other nationalities as represented in song choices. Nigerians are obviously not original speakers of Zulu, so when a song is rendered in Zulu and projected for people to sing along, the presence of Zulu speakers can be more evident in how such songs are delivered by the audience particularly regarding proper pronunciation of Zulu words. This religious environment provides social and religious experiences of consumption via live worship experience. The idea of a multicultural media landscape both for mainstream and new media often challenges the ideologies that support and promote cultural homogeneity and the elevation bestowed on cultures premised on hierarchies in both national and transnational spaces (Bailey, *et al.*, 2007: 2).

The representation of groups via the media [mainstream, online, and mediated performances] is an important aspect of appreciating people’s sense of belonging and their social inclusion as lived and exhibited through practices and experiences (Bailey, 2012: 21). In addition, the Internet and computer-mediated environments make available the limitless possibilities of communicating our identities to those who wish to know (Dunn, 2013: 26). This necessitates why we must take into cognisance media influences within this globalised world. These mediated practices of both home-based peoples and the diaspora become ingrained in their cultural experiences in ways that result in media use for innovative ways to reaffirm their places in their cultural space [as home-based] or negotiate these cultural spaces to foster their transplanted communities as people of the diaspora (Hedge, 2016).

New communication modalities and more interactive platforms challenge and redefine existing norms of connections to the homeland in ways through which spatial and temporal divides no

longer inhibit media consumption and identity formation (Hedge, 2016). At this point, it is worth adding that those who do not need to maintain contacts across national or transnational borders like the home-based can also indulge in new media convergence to access Christian music and also reinforce their cultural identities within their cultural landscapes along with access guaranteed and provided by the mainstream media. In this way, the role of the media is highlighted as cogent to the identities of people, in that it speaks of the media as a cultural practice which assumes an active and social place in the lives of members of those societies (D'Silva, 2000; Zlatar, 2003: 1). Host countries and their media attempt to project a multicultural media landscape with technologies that reinforce and at the same time redefine or adapt identities in order to create a sense of belonging (Georgiou, 2010: 31). Their identification with cultural practices is supported by media and other social practices (Weedon, 2004: 19).

As discussed earlier in the literature review chapter part C, some attempts to portray the multicultural terrain of the South African media landscape were radio and television stations that have carved out spaces for 'the others' as a result of their awareness of the diversity abundant in South Africa. It may not be cumbersome to broadcast Nigerian Christian music due to shared linguistic composition [English language being an official language in both South Africa and Nigeria], the sheer size of Nigeria in terms of population, its diverse versatile music industry and the large number of Nigerian migrants within South Africa. However, the case may not be the same with the other study group of study participants [the Congolese]. Their uniqueness is bound to their 'francophone' background which is not prominent within South Africa. Thus, their preferred media of Christian music consumption [whether on the radio or the television if the awareness of such 'otherness' has been considered, or live-streamed/downloaded due to the globalised nature of the media landscape and convergence of mediated technologies or live performances or worship experiences through church services] can be an indication and reflection of the role of the media in their lives as a diasporic community and the effectiveness of such preferred media on the reinforcement of their identities away from 'home'.

Conclusion

In this section, four aspects of the 'circuit of culture' were enumerated [representation, production, consumption and identity] along with discourses around identity and the encoding and decoding

model. On representation, it was ascertained that language-use can “establish and essentially hold meanings in place by defining how things and concepts are different or similar to other things and concepts” (Champ and Brooks, 2010: 574-575). The languages spoken in South Africa, Nigeria and particularly the DRC are quite different except for the universality of the English language in South Africa and Nigeria. Consequently, language-use and choice would prove useful to examine, if this influenced the representation, choice and reception of Christian music subgenres among these groups. The study’s interest in the visual representation of ‘language’ is specifically to identify if the use of musical instruments can be as informative about a group of people, i.e., those who constitute the audience of such musical exposure, composition and their cultural identities.

Production and consumption were delineated as analogous terms with the encoding and decoding of media content. Though the discussion did not dwell on the political economy of Christian music production/encoding, the discussions were premised mainly on contextual and media factors that may influence Christian music use, representation, preference and consumption among the study sample while the consumption/decoding debates were on individual and group consumption of Christian music, and the different responses that may be generated at these levels. Different interpretations that ‘readers’ i.e., consumers of Christian music may hold were centred on dominant, negotiated and oppositional, in line with the conceptual distinctions made by Stuart Hall ([1973] 1980). These interpretations could be attributed to cultural predispositions that people had which could influence such interpretations.

The last aspect was that of identity where religious, cultural and diasporic identity discourses were situated. How the religious community constituted a safe haven for home-based and mainly diasporic people was also deliberated. It provided a welcoming community because of this shared bond of religion that indicated how people ought to reverence God and show love and service to humanity. Religion was thus viewed as a communal ground for association. Through religious participatory acts like clapping, dancing, musical instrumentation and traditional attire, [as religious markers], identities could be reinforced or even adapted depending on people’s preferences of Christian music. Cultural identities accentuated how cultural markers such as food, music, language, dressing etc. could define a set of people and how experiences [historical, shared and present-day cultural contexts] could define who we were, who we are, and who we wish to be i.e., the act of ‘being’ and ‘becoming’. The emphasis of cultural identity was on how distinct

cultural representations of language [spoken or objectified] could be distinguishing factors of home-based and diasporic Christian music representation, use, preference and consumption. Discourses on diasporic identity deliberated on reinforcement and adapting strategies may be utilised by diasporic people to either maintain their links to the homes of origin or ways they have adjusted to the foreign terrain they find themselves in. Such may be indications of adaptive or accommodative instances.

The following chapter is the methodological framework which outlines how the study's data was gathered and analysed. This chapter will include the research approach, research methods and designs, the sampling techniques adopted, research paradigms, research techniques, study location, and ethical considerations of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The methodological framework of any study is the technique adopted to provide answers to the basis of research or inquiry. It can be classified as the manner a researcher goes about data gathering in accordance with laid down plans that proffer solutions to set aims, objectives and guiding research questions. Dawn Snape and Liz Spencer (2003) stressed the importance and need for the selection of correct methods and tools for research, which should be adaptable to the research process. This implies that it must be flexible and sensitive to the social contexts wherein the research will be undertaken. That is why the success of any research endeavour is dependent on the right and adequate methodological approach. The qualitative research paradigm has been selected for this study as appropriate because this approach is mostly adopted to examine social and cultural experiences of human subjects within a setting as natural for them as possible, not cultured or experimental as in the case of the quantitative research paradigm. This informs ensuing discussions on the qualitative research paradigm and the methodological stance of this study.

Qualitative Research Paradigm

Qualitative research is a framework that is characterised by “the overall research perspective and the importance of the participants’ frames of references; the flexible nature of research design; the volume and richness of qualitative data; the distinctive approaches to analysis and interpretation; and the kind of outputs that derive from qualitative research” (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 3). It is a methodological framework that is mainly humanistic and naturalistic since it deals with human beings as subjects rather than objects of research, through a variety of empirical materials such as personal/human experiences, texts [visual, objects, sounds, writings] observations, human interactions, and historical records, among many others (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

From the perspective of the subjects [i.e., research participants], I identified social issues such as knowledge of ‘otherness’ through consumption of Christian music and fellowshiping together, consideration for ‘self’ and ‘otherness’ when fellowshiping together, Christian music

transcending cultural, national and linguistic borders, influence of language in use, preference, and preservation of the cultural and national identities of both home-based and diasporic peoples, among other issues that emanated. These were accomplished through semi-structured interviews with the study participants, and my personal experience of their modes of worship and choices of Christian music subgenres, supported by visual and objectified texts during my observation and audition. These enabled me to understand the meanings attached to their use and preferences of Christian music subgenres and how the subjects' interpreted and related to/with these social constructs. Details of these are expatiated in the ensuing subsections. Therefore, with research tools such as in-depth interviews, observations, and content analysis, the researcher can generate meaningful ideas from constructs that may be perceived as mundane (Hennink, Hunter and Bailey, 2011; Krauss, 2005: 765). This underscores the importance and relevance of the adoption of the qualitative research paradigm for this study.

A paradigm represents accepted scientific practices that provide models for research (Kuhn, 1970: 10). This research has adopted an interpretivist paradigm which is quite different from the positivistic/scientific paradigm. Interpretivism is premised on the need to categorise humans and their experiences as different from the material world and different from subject matters linked to positivism [used in quantitative research] (Holloway and Wheeler, 2010: 25). For this reason, the qualitative research approach, that provides an enabling environment for researcher-subject-interaction within human natural frameworks, is an offshoot of the interpretivist paradigm. The basis for the selection of an interpretivist paradigm for this research is because it will enable the experiences of the research groups to be constructed and interpreted in their own perspectives and opinions about the world (Thanh and Thanh, 2015).

The interpretivist paradigm provides meanings and people's motives for acting the way they do with regards to their behavioural and sociocultural interactions with others (Whitley, 1984 in Chowdhury, 2014). These interactions were studied in relation to identity adaptation or reinforcement among indigenes and diasporic peoples based on their consumption and interpretation of Christian music subgenres, further discussed in Chapter five, the analytical chapter of this research.

Research Population and Sample Size

The study population of this study, on the one hand, is made up of the entirety of subjects, with identifying characteristics that make them viable as those to be researched. It is from the larger population that samples are chosen (Barreiro and Albandoz, 2001). The general populations for this study are South Africans, Nigerians and Congolese while the specific and identifying characteristics are those with a religious affiliation to Christianity, who must be black South African indigenes, and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban, South Africa. The sample size, on the other hand, is a smaller group out of the general populace who have specific characteristics and are researchable. Once the researcher can obtain an adequate sample size who possess the required characteristics to provide answers to guiding questions, aims and objectives, this lends credibility to the research endeavour (Marshall, *et al.*, 2013: 11).

The sample sizes of this study are those I studied within the larger populace who provided this research with adequate information about the phenomenon of Christian music use, representation and consumption. However, an underlying and crucial factor of this approach in qualitative research is its inability to provide a generalisable report. This is because individual experiences vary based on cultural backgrounds, contextual factors and other channels of globalisation (Dunn, *et al.*, 2011; Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011). Similarly, Hall (1993), from his encoding and decoding model, opined that how people decode messages or texts is a result of their modes of interpretation such as those readers whose interpretations were dominant or oppositional, or those who negotiated between frameworks of interpretation. Hence, people's experiences and opinions of events will be different, and the results will differ when compared with samples and statistical methods used in quantitative research; an approach that can be used for generalisation.

Generalisation within quantitative research is facilitated by the deductive and reductionist approach which aims to be as detached and as objective as possible, whereas, qualitative research is more inductive and holistic, open to flexibility, and seeks to explore complex human issues with the aim of transferability of results, instead of generalisation (Anderson, 2010; Marshall, 1996: 524). In other words, even if the results of a qualitative research study are not generalisable, these inferences can be transferred from one context to the other, to draw similarities and differences

between different samples and results and have a substratum upon which further research can be built. In essence, no knowledge is ever lost in qualitative research.

For this study, 30 people were interviewed in all, 10 from each group, while for the ethnographic study, I fellowshipped with each group on four Sundays in a month, which made a total of 12 services between August and October 2018. The justification of this total selection of participants and Sundays of worship is reliant on the principle of data saturation, as addressed by a several scholars (Glasser and Strauss, 1967; Mandal, 2018; Marshall, *et al.*, 2013). The principle of saturation, though a concept initially developed for the grounded theory approach (Glasser and Strauss, 1967), is now applicable within qualitative research, especially those studies [such as this] that employ interviews as one of the primary sources of data collection (Marshall, *et al.*, 2013: 11). It aims to address “how many groups [a researcher should] choose, and to what degree [s/he should] collect data on a single [or multiple] group[s] (Glasser and Strauss, 1967: 60). If the study projects a variety of perspectives about the phenomenon being studied, this requires more data to increase the richness and scope of the study. I structured the interview questions in a manner wherein multiple participants were asked similar or even the same set of questions, and the responses were similar although the participants were different, which also validates data saturation, and justified the number of participants for this study (Mandal, 2018: 447).

Sampling Technique

The sampling technique is informed by the strategies employed by the researcher to get the sample for the study. The sampling technique of this study is purposive because purposive sampling is used to identify samples with rich information, and have specific characteristics (Struwig and Stead, 2013: 127). A purposive sampling strategy will allow the researcher to pinpoint the right sample for the study and will give the researcher relative ease of access to participants (Marshall, 1996). Martin Marshall (1996: 523) referred to purposive sampling as ‘a judgment sample’ because the researcher actively selects and stratifies the sample according to specific variables such as experiences. Such stratification already provides a form of isolation which makes it easier for the researcher to access and assess the study participants.

In some cases, characteristics such as cultural cluster, age, ethnicity, gender, preferences, values, among other factors are used to purposively select samples for a study (*Adults’ Media Use and*

Attitudes Report, 2016; Boer, *et al.*, 2013; Corrigan and Schellenberg, 2015; Lee and Hu, 2014; Rentfrow and Gosling, 2003, 2007). For instance, Lee and Hu's (2014) contribution to empirical findings on cross-cultural perspectives of music and its ties to mood/emotion digressed from the predominant 'Western versus non-Western' cultural comparison to accommodate other cultural groups. Thus, the specificity of their purposive technique was influenced by the cultures [American, Korean and Chinese] they studied. They not only compared 'Western versus non-Western' [American versus Korean and Chinese] but also two non-Western musical cultures [Korean versus Chinese] due to their own unique cultural distinctions and connections, though they are geographically close to each other.

Contextualising this example to this study, the use of a purposive sampling to compare music preference, use, representation and consumption among three diverse groups of people creates a multicultural view on this topical issue. Not only is this view established on a pan-African basis, it is also established on human movement and migration [as this relates to diasporic Nigerians and Congolese]. Though none of these cultures are similar, their unique cultural distinctions as well as the ultimate 'African' connectedness may likely shine through in their responses on a universal issue such as music.

As mentioned earlier, one of the specific characteristics I was on the lookout for among the sample size was solely identity-based i.e., cultural/national identities as indigenes/home-based/diasporic, and religious identities as Christians. The identities of the samples about culture were linked to their notion of 'home' [as a place of origin, abode or choice], being away from 'home' [diaspora] and as Christians.

Another defining characteristic considered was the age range of the sample. Age is a defining factor in musical preferences (*Adults' Media Use and Attitudes Report*, 2016; Corrigan and Schellenberg, 2015; Rentfrow and Gosling, 2003). I was not interested in other demographics such as gender or occupational status mainly because age has been shown to be a crucial factor in music use and preference "because different genres [and subgenres] are more or less popular with different [age] groups of people" (Corrigan and Schellenberg, 2015: 267). Thus, I focused on participants between the ages of 18 and 35, who are categorised as young adults (Petry, 2002). This age group was chosen because musical tastes of younger adults would differ from those of

older people as suggested by Corrigan and Schellenberg (2015), which would lead to the consumption of different genres and subgenres of music among different age brackets. Age group may indicate similar responses, whereas older groups may indicate differences due to “different historical period[s] with different dominant music styles” (Boer, *et al.*, 2013: 2365). Additionally, comparing preferences among different age groups may prove problematic, especially in cases where the older people are unfamiliar with the preferences of younger people (Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011: 4).

Research Location and Recruitment Strategy

I fellowshiped with the Glenwood Presbyterian Church [GPC], the Winners’ Chapel International, Durban [WCID], and the eThekweni Community Church [ECC], all in Durban, and interviewed some of their members. These churches were the research location of my study. These were selected because of the exclusivity of worship services devoted to both indigenes [ECC] and diasporic peoples [GPC – for Congolese, and WCID – for Nigerians] within these congregations. They also serve as examples of Mainstream Protestant Churches which include denominations like the Lutherans, *Presbyterians*, Anglicans, Methodists and their likes with conventional worship patterns, and Pentecostal Churches like Winners’ Chapel, eThekweni Community Church, the Redeemed Christian Church of God, among others, that are regarded as more contemporary in worship style. The GPC as a Mainstream Protestant Church, and the WCID and ECC as Pentecostal Churches, were opted for to narrow down the coverage of the Christian faith. Their modes of worship are also quite different which proves to be influential for their preference of Christian music subgenres.

The recruitment strategy is the way the needed information was gathered from the samples. It is an indication of how the sample was accessed (Hennink, *et al.*, 2011). The samples of South African indigenes were accessed through the ECC, while the Nigerians and Congolese were accessed through WCID [a Nigerian-affiliated Church] and the GPC, all in Durban respectively. The reason these two churches were chosen is because they both hold different services targeted at different congregations. The WCID holds a Nigerian-oriented service and then a Zulu-oriented service immediately after the Nigerian service; while the GPC holds different services, a community-oriented service, and a Congolese-oriented service at the same time slot. The

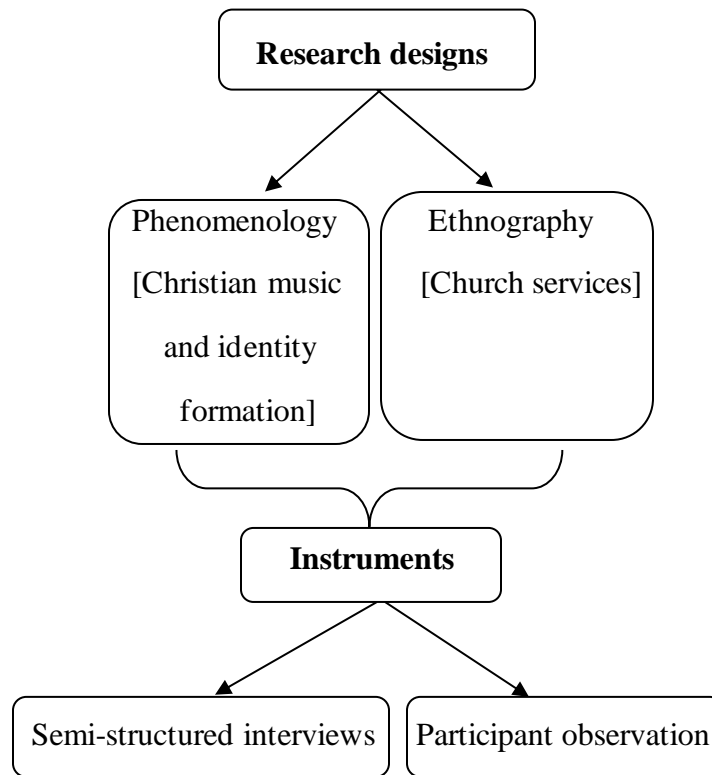
Congolese service was previously held on the church premises after the community service, but now, it is held at a different location. These churches provided gatekeepers' letters which permitted me to carry out my research, and to interview members of their churches. Copies of the gatekeepers' letters are included in the appendices [see appendix 2, 3, 4 on pages 274-276] to this thesis.

Research Designs and Instruments

The research design is a representation of the employed strategies of inquiry for the study (Creswell, 2003: 13), and is consequently vital to the success or failure of the study. The importance of the research design lies in its effectiveness to communicate information about what the key features of the study are, to illustrate the entire research process, and how data was collected (Harwell, 2011: 148). It is on this note that a relevant design must be well suited for the success of a research endeavour. According to John Creswell's (2003, 2014: 12) classification, designs for qualitative research are narratives [biographies], phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case studies.

The most appropriate and relevant designs for this study are phenomenology and ethnography because a phenomenological research design, on the one hand, focuses on the essence of human experiences about a phenomenon as described by the study's participants (Creswell, 2003: 15). It includes the analysis of their perceptions about a situation mainly from their perspective (Lester, 1999). The specific type of phenomenological research design employed in this study is what Mariwilda Padilla-Diaz (2015: 103) classified as a descriptive or hermeneutical phenomenology, which "refers to the study of personal experience and requires a description or interpretation of the meanings of phenomena experienced by participants in an investigation." This definition also goes in tandem with the descriptive/interpretative structure and method of data analysis of this study, premised on the concept of hermeneutics, which is discussed in further detail in the subsequent subsection. The relevant research designs and instruments are displayed in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Research designs and instruments



Source: Outlined by the author

In the context of this study, the phenomenon of Christian music and how it branches into aspects of representation, consumption and identity construction (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997, 2013; Hall, 1990, 1992) underscores the relevance of the phenomenological research design. This is to have an in-depth knowledge of how cultural features are interwoven with religious features and the ultimate result of this union on human perception of themselves within different contexts. A way to achieve this is through a form of self-emersion [ethnography through participant observation and audition] supported by interactions within these different church contexts where such human perceptions are formed.

An ethnographic research design, on the other hand, deals with the lived experiences of people and how this relates with the research narrative (Scott and Marshall, 2009). Ethnography as a methodological framework is employed to study relationships while the ethnographer seeks to find out more about the social group. An ethnographic approach aims to produce authentic and realistic accounts of lived experiences (Denzin, 1997). This process uncovers the meanings and

frameworks within which people construct their realities and how this translates as knowledge into discourses of the ethnographer and his or her society (Scott and Marshall, 2009: 150). It is aided by note taking or personal records, photographs and videos to demonstrate and relive the experience of the ethnographer and his or her engagement in that social network (Angrosino, 2005: 737).

The prominent instruments that support these designs are those of semi-structured interviews and participant observation (Padilla-Diaz, 2015: 104; Reeves, *et al.*, 2008: 514).

Semi-structured interviews: Within a research endeavour, there are various ways and means by which relevant information can be gathered for the study. Among these is the interview. To conduct an interview involves direct personal contact with the study participant[s] who is/are asked to answer questions that relate to the research problem (Bless, Higson-Smith and Sithole, 2013: 193). Interviews are structured, semi-structured or unstructured, depending on the level of control the interviewer wields over the interview process and interviewees [i.e., participants] (Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick, 2008; Harrell and Bradley, 2009). According to Margaret Harrell and Melissa Bradley (2009), the interviewer has minimum control over unstructured interviews and allows the conversation to go in many directions. Whereas, the structured interviews are the most controlled types of interview because the questions are fixed, and the participants are expected to stay within this specific border, while the semi-structured interviews are not as controlled as the structured, neither are they open as the unstructured (Harrell and Bradley, 2009). It is more conversational in style while not derailing from the guiding questions of the interviewer. The semi-structured interview is valued for its accommodation of a range of research goals and objectives that incorporate open-ended questions that are theoretically-driven to elicit the experiences of the participants while not neglecting data guided by existing constructs in that area of study (Galletta, 2013: 45). I adopted the semi-structured interview pattern due to its conversational characteristic and open-endedness.

Interviews can equally be conducted using technological platforms, in cases where proximity challenges, the size of participants, and the need to protect the anonymity of participants may hinder personal and direct contacts. Therefore, computer-mediated data gathering techniques offer such alternatives to the face-to-face interviews (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). But for this study,

face-to-face approach was adopted because it does not involve sensitive inquiries and I was able to access the participants because they all live within Durban.

It is pertinent that the researcher is familiar with the interview schedule [so that the process appears to be a natural conversation, and not a rehearsed one], embodies appropriate emotions and gestures to urge the participants on in the conversation, and that s/he also listens attentively to forestall unnecessary interruptions (Gill, *et al.*, 2008). These proved very important during the conversations [interviews] with the study participants which made each interview unique because they all had perspectives that paved the way for other related questions. The interview guides [see appendix 5 on page 277-280] had open-ended questions which made flexibility possible through the addition of questions that arose during the interview. The questions were asked in cognisance of the familiarity of the participant with the topic under discussion. That is why it is important that the researcher starts out the interview sessions with questions that are 'easier' to answer and relate to, which will in turn provide an enabling context for the participant to answer more critical and difficult questions. For this reason, it is advisable that the questions move from a rather general viewpoint to more specific issues (Gill, *et al.*, 2008). The questions in the interview guides were categorised under the three research questions of this study to align with the study objectives as well.

Table 4.1: Tabular summary of research questions and objectives

Research questions	Study objectives
<p>What are the Christian music subgenres and mediated use and preferences of South Africans and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban?</p>	<p>To explore the use and preferences of Christian music subgenres among South Africans and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban. The essence of this is to investigate what their preferences are. It will also explore the ways they use and identify with these preferences in sociocultural and religious relations and interactions between themselves [‘self’] and others [the ‘other’].</p>
<p>How do cultural, diasporic and religious identities within each group express themselves and interact with ‘otherness’ [in terms of identity reinforcement and identity adaptation] through their representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres within the South African cultural landscape?</p>	<p>To examine how cultural, religious and diasporic identities within each group express themselves and interact with ‘otherness’ through their representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres within the South African cultural landscape.</p>
<p>How do the dominant media of consumption of Christian music influence each group and their exposure to ‘otherness’ in terms of identity reinforcement and identity adaptation?</p>	<p>To investigate the dominant media of consumption through which each group interacts with various Christian music subgenres and are exposed to ‘otherness’. The purpose of this is to highlight the importance of the media in the sustenance or adaptation of their identities in the face of ‘self’ and ‘otherness’ irrespective of distance, locations or cultural settings.</p>

There were three interview guides because additional questions were generated based on each group [South Africans, Nigerians and Congolese], participant's responses, and my observations during church services. This helped to probe further into certain peculiarities in their responses and was thus, unique to each participant as well as church service. Therefore, there was not a strict or uniform guide for each person since it was a conversation. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed after the interviews had been conducted. Interviews were held one-on-one with each participant. Though the interviews were to be held concurrently with the observation, it was not easy interviewing people after church as most people were in a hurry to leave for other places. Consequently, the interviews were scheduled at their convenience because the convenience of the participant is of the utmost importance to guarantee participation and interaction at the location and time suitable for the participants (Gill, *et al.*, 2008). Interviews with the Nigerians and South Africans were facilitated in English, as language was not a barrier in these groups. However, for the Congolese group, those who understood English responded in English, while those who were more comfortable in French responded in French when they were not too sure of the English equivalent of what they wanted to say. These interviews with the Congolese were characterised by code-switching – the “rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event” (Muysken, 2004: 1). I have a basic knowledge of French, but for the purpose of this study, French interpreters were available to help with the interviewing process with the Congolese people.

Participant observation [ethnography]: Ethnography, as discussed earlier, is the study of “a particular culture, and relies either partially or mainly, on participant observation”; an immersion of the researcher into the customs and lives of the people studied, aided by extensive field notes (Crowley-Henry, 2009: 37). The main purpose of an ethnographic approach to any study is to increase our understanding as well as knowledge of cultural diversity that exists in different places or settings (Angrosino, 2005: 737). Participant observation is a characteristic of ethnography that provides the participant observer with opportunities to observe and examine the subjects in their natural environments. Human activities and the physical setting where these human activities take place are examined by the participant observer or ethnographer (Angrosino, 2005: 729). It is vital to build some form of rapport with participants, and indeed the site of observation to become familiar with both environment, and participants – who will be more willing to discuss issues raised because they see the observer/interviewer around and s/he will no longer be considered a

stranger. I found this to be very effective during my observations and interviews. Participant observation was combined with participant audition because I had to record the songs that were sung during church services. In its own uniqueness, participant audition is “an ethnographic way of data collection that consists in the recording of verbal interaction in situations that are not directed by [my role as] the researcher” (Meyer and Schareika, 2009: 1). I had no control over the songs, the performers or the audiences. This made the participant audition vital to this study, thereby reiterating objectivity in the analyses of the songs.

Two approaches or perspectives are vital to the success of the emersion of the researcher; these are *emic* [adopting an internal description of cultural characteristics] and *etic* perspectives [adopting a holistic and external study of cultural characteristics, which is the opposite of the *emic* approach] (Whitehead, 2005: 4). An *emic* perspective may be preferable to the ethnographer to maintain an objective viewpoint and ensure reports generated from the study are expressive of the perceptions of those being observed. However, Tony Whitehead (2005: 7) prescribed a balance in the adoption of these two approaches because it is not enough for the ethnographer to discard previous knowledge paradigms but should be able to appropriate relevant theoretical and methodological knowledge systems as applicable. It is thus imperative that both *emic* and *etic* perspectives are maintained in the study.

In support of the choice of an ethnographic approach to study the consumption of Christian music among the groups of home-based and diasporic peoples, Philip Rayner, Peter Wall and Stephen Kruger (2004: 102) averred that the adoption of this as a methodological tool places emphasis on being able to observe the study group[s] and those conditions under which audiences consume media contents. My concentration on those conditions is situated within production [contexts, media usage], representation [language-use and objectification] and consumption [media: traditional and new, and live worship experiences or performances] as presented on du Gay, *et al.*'s (1997, 2013) ‘circuit of culture’.

During the participant observation at the Winners’ Chapel International, Durban [WCID] for the Nigerian populace, I noticed that there was a pattern of service for each church service. I took cognisance of this during the pilot study¹⁸ and was further corroborated during the ethnographic

¹⁸ This was between April, May and June 2019, for the three churches.

observation. For instance, although each Sunday service and Message [i.e., Sermon] were thematised and unique, there was already a layout for specific Sundays in the month. This meant that the order of that service was unique to that Sunday and the week it fell on and could be applicable for another Sunday during the same week in the next month. For example, the first Sunday (5 August 2018) was to usher people into the new month and to be grateful to God for the past month, the second Sunday of that month (12 August 2018) was communion, the third Sunday (19 August 2018) was an anointing service, while the last Sunday (26 August 2018) was thanksgiving and a celebration of cultural identities wherein worshippers came clad in their traditional attire. These weekly ‘Sunday Order of Service’ would be applicable for the next month which enabled worshippers to become accustomed to what each Sunday service was about so they could prepare accordingly. The implication of this observation for this study is that songs, especially choir renditions, are rendered along the order or theme of service, and data saturation sets in (Glasser and Strauss, 1967; Marshall, *et al.*, 2013).

The eThekweni Community Church [ECC] for the South African populace, and the Glenwood Presbyterian Church [GPC] for the Congolese community were not structured in the same weekly fashion as had been the case with the Winners’ Chapel. For the ECC however, September was ‘Heritage month’ – the month set aside for the recognition and celebration of the South African culture (South African Government official website, 2018). This translated to a more traditional mode of service throughout the month, though this did not categorically affect most song choices, because language representation of some of the Christian music songs that were sung were not very different from those sung during the pilot observation. These three churches had services that were indicative of the dominant and similar patterns of fellowship week in, week out, noted during my pilot survey of the churches. It is upon this inference that I examined each church service per month, between August and October 2018. This is unpacked in the ethnographic report in the subsequent analysis chapter.

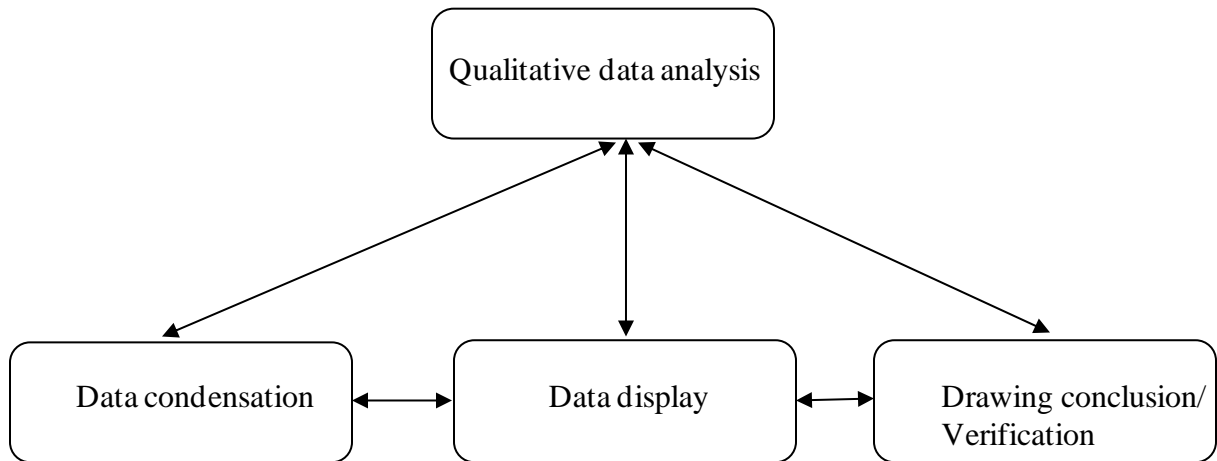
Table 4.2: Service schedule of the churches observed

Ethnography sites [participant observation]	Church service times	Modes of service [language-use]	Months in which services were observed
Winners' Chapel International, Durban	Services held between 8 am and 10:00 am	English-oriented service	August 2018
eThekwini Community Church	Services held between 8 am and 11/11:30 am	IsiZulu-oriented service interpreted in English	September 2018 [Heritage month]
Glenwood Presbyterian [Congolese] Church	Services held between 9:30 am and 12/12:30 pm	Francophone- and Anglophone- oriented, i.e., those who conducted services either spoke French or English, which was duly interpreted by the interpreter in either French or English	October 2018

Data Analysis: Hermeneutics as a Method

Data analysis is a sense-making process usually employed to understand data. The data analysis process enables the researcher to classify and interpret linguistic as well as visual materials to make statements and inferences about abstract or obvious structures of meaning-making in the material gathered, and what these represent (Flick, 2014: 5). According to Matthew Miles, Michael Huberman and Johnny Saldana (2014: 12), qualitative data analysis is a continuous flow of activity, as represented in figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: The qualitative data analysis process



Source: Adapted from Miles, *et al.* (2014: 12)

Miles, *et al.* (2014) expounded the data condensation as the process wherein the researcher selects, focuses, and simplifies ideas from the data contained in field notes written during observations, transcripts of interviews, secondary data sources, Internet sources, documents and other empirical materials. At this point, I drafted and compiled those responses or materials that provided answers to the research questions and were relevant to the objectives of the study. Consequently, it is a reoccurring process till the final report of the study is drafted. Data display is the compilation and organisation of materials gleaned during the condensation process (Miles, *et al.*, 2014). As the researcher, I displayed concurrent responses or data, and sorted those that were different. These were assembled and displayed according to their order of relevance to the study and were characterised by segmenting and reassembling (Boeije, 2008: 75). The last process is to draw conclusions and verify the accuracy of the data, keeping in mind the relevance of these to the study (Miles, *et al.*, 2014). This phase is where, I compiled the write-up and concluded the data analysis. I constantly fell back on the primary data compiled during the process of condensation and display, to ensure correctness and accuracy in what was being reported, and I drew conclusions based on patterns, flows and propositions. Hence, data analysis is a continuous but systematic process until the research compilation is completed (Sullivan, 2012: 66). This is the next phase of the study as the data gathering process is concluded.

A method adopted in this study to facilitate the data analysis process is hermeneutics; the theory of interpretation which was originally used to interpret ancient and biblical texts (Kinsella, 2006). Hermeneutics is a descriptive process which employs an interpretative/narrative strategy used as the basis to organise and explain generated data for a research study (Mitchell and Egudo, 2003: 3; Padilla-Diaz, 2015). It is the basis for data interpretation by the researcher who is expected to interpret these in relation to opinions expressed and responses to research questions and objectives. The narrative inquiry provides a substantial and detailed description of the experiences of participants [both as interviewees and those observed] to explore the meanings these participants derive from their experiences (Wang and Geale, 2015: 195). My role as a narrator enabled me to interpret my observations from the interviews and ethnography through both the interpretative and narrative strategies embedded within hermeneutics. Elizabeth Kinsella (2006) further reiterated that studies that employ hermeneutics have five aims, which are to:

- i. seek an understanding of a phenomenon rather than an explanation or an authoritative stance or analysis.
- ii. situate a location for the interpretation i.e., the where expressed points of view originate from.
- iii. identify the role of language and history and the significance of these in the interpretation of data.
- iv. identify the principle of inquiry as conversation which is shown in the dialogic thought-flow between the researcher and the text [data], and
- v. be comfortable with ambiguity which gives recognition to the complexity of the interpretation of data rather than a single authoritative reading of the data.

It is along these continua that the data of this study were analysed both from the interviews and the ethnographic accounts. It is pertinent for the researcher to set aside all forms of preconceptions, biases or judgments towards the topic being researched to be able to make an objective analysis of the information that participants of the studied phenomenon bring to the investigation (Padilla-Diaz, 2015: 103). Consequently, I am not expected to be biased on the use of my inferences, but to interpret the data as expressed by the participants and as observed during the church services.

Validity and Reliability

The terms validity and reliability have been associated mostly with quantitative research, but in recent times, they have been equally important to qualitative research (Anderson, 2010; Norris, 1997). Validity refers to the genuineness and honesty of the data in presenting an accurate representation of what is being studied, whereas the reliability refers to the stability and capability to reproduce the outcome of the data (Anderson, 2010).

One of the challenges encountered by a qualitative researcher is often on how to prove the rigour, objectivity, validity, credibility and reliable outcome of the research. It is of little wonder that qualitative research has been perceived as being biased because of the reliance on the inductiveness of the researcher in the general data gathering process and particularly in the interpretation of data (Smith and Noble, 2014: 100). But what is of importance to the qualitative researcher is to find a way to establish a basis of truth, to ensure a valid study. The rule they follow is that the reader is given explicit information on the research processes, and a valid outcome that is somewhat representative (Daly and Lumley, 2002: 300; Sangasubana, 2011). Jeanne Daly and Judith Lumley (2002: 299) argued that even if the sample size is only a handful of individuals, their experiences are worth investigating, and cannot be termed as worthless; therefore, “whether the sample is extensive and well-developed, or attenuated by circumstance, we need to persuade the reader that the experience is well understood [by presenting] an explicit argument that the study [... and] data are trustworthy.” In other words, it is the quality of the data that matters, not the quantity (Golafshani, 2003: 601). This is one of the reasons for selecting a round sample size of 30 people, in addition to data saturation which occurred in different participants who had similar responses to the questions, and church services.

Validity and reliability can be achieved in cases where sets of data are verified with other sources and the experiences are consistent over time in different social contexts (Sangasubana, 2011: 571). It is upon this notion that the principle of data saturation is inferred to be a basis for data validity and reliability, in cases where the data generated is within the same thought-flow pattern. Data saturation guarantees content and research validity because it measures “whether the number of interviews [or participant observations] conducted is sufficient” or there is a need for more interviews and observations (Mandal, 2018: 446). For instance, at a certain stage during the

interview process in this study, although each interviewee had a unique viewpoint, their use of Christian music was mostly centred on religious purpose and dictated by the mood they were in, i.e., worship subgenres were for a more solemn purpose, while high praise subgenre was for a more energetic purpose because this subgenre is more fast-paced. However, there were other divergent viewpoints which are discussed in the analysis chapter.

Because qualitative research deals with human experiences or the significance of a phenomenon as observable through data resources, it requires a more interpretivist approach. To a large extent, the conventional constructs of validity are largely inappropriate for inquiries that are more naturalistic rather than experimental, which is to say that there is the challenge of re-appropriation of the concept of validity within the qualitative context (Daly and Lumley, 2002: 299; Norris, 1997). Nahid Golafshani (2003: 597) suggested that “since reliability and validity are rooted in the positivist perspective, then they should be redefined for their use in the naturalistic [interpretivist] approach.” Joanna Smith and Helen Noble (2014: 100) also added that the researcher needs to clearly articulate the rationale for choosing an appropriate design to meet the study aims and objectives to reduce pitfalls that relate to bias. As discussed earlier, the designs for this research endeavour are the phenomenology [human experiences about the phenomenon of Christian music] and ethnography [sociocultural and religious relationships and how these translate into social contexts] points of view (Angrosino, 2005; Creswell, 2003: 15; Crowley-Henry, 2009).

Ethical Considerations

The researcher must abide by safe and ethical practices that ensure they do not violate or abuse the privilege to study other people’s values and belief systems or their life experiences, which makes the protection of human subjects or research participants imperative (Jelsma and Clow, 2005; Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden, 2000: 93). Ethical considerations, when followed to the letter, not only protect the participants but also provide applicable, honest and trustworthy outcomes (Gill, *et al.*, 2008; Sanjari, Bahramnezhad, Fomani, Shoghi and Cheraghi, 2014). This warrants ethical considerations that give express permission, whether verbal or written, to carry out research, such as the ethical clearance received from the University of KwaZulu-Natal to carry out this research [see appendix 1 on page 273], and the gatekeepers’ letters obtained from these churches [see appendix 2, 3, 4 on pages 274-276] before embarking on the research.

Other ethical considerations include the manner I protect the anonymity of my participants, and the data collected from my research endeavour. These were taken into consideration, particularly for those participants who did not wish for their names to be disclosed in the body of the work. They were given pseudonyms instead [for instance, P01, Nig; P02, SA; P03, Cong, represent Nigerian participant one, South African participant two and Congolese participant three respectively] which guaranteed their anonymity. All this was clearly spelt out on the informed consent form that was administered during the interviewing process.

It is crucial to obtain an informed consent form for the enrolment of participants in a research project to guarantee the autonomy and confidentiality of these participants and to familiarise them with the conditions they agreed to (Jelsma and Clow, 2005: 4). The informed consent forms enabled the participants of this study to familiarise themselves with the purpose of the interview, and to also guarantee their anonymity if they so wished. The informed consent form made participation voluntary, as it was clearly stated on the form [see appendix 6 on page 281]. The link for the final submitted thesis is available on the University's repository for those who want to access the thesis.

Study Limitations

The limitations to a study are challenges encountered by the researcher that impeded the study – be this access to data or relevant authorities, cultural background, research design, or methodology, – and the strides taken by the researcher to overcome these limitations to provide a reasonable and rational conclusion for the study. Study limitations must however be related to the research problem under investigation and not irrelevances (Labaree, 2017). This study was initially conceived as a comparative study among home-based and diasporic South Africans and Nigerians living in Lagos and Durban, but the foci needed to be changed due to an inability to access gatekeepers' letters from churches and organisations in Nigeria where diasporic South Africans were identified. This was a major limitation to the study; hence, the need for a redirection to a more feasible approach of study.

Another limitation was in the selection of a church which is majorly Zulu-based and evinces certain characteristics in order to fit into the purposive sampling strategy upon which this study was premised. The first church was the Glenwood Presbyterian Church, but this is not representational

of the Zulu populace. The second choice was the Assemblies of God Church, Umbilo, but during the pilot study and observation of this church, though it is Zulu-oriented, musical instrumentation, and performer-audience relationship were not prominent during the service. There was no choir or choir-leader which would have impeded on the observation of audience participatory strategies and musical instrumentation among South Africans. This eventually led me to the eThekweni Community Church, which had the necessary characteristics, to fit into this study. Another limitation was an inability to interview people after each service as envisaged, as most people were on their way back home or to another scheduled appointment after church, so it was quite difficult to interview most participants. Other arrangements were made with each person I intended to interview, to meet them at their places of choice and convenience. It was during this period I was able to interview the participants of this study.

This study is also limited in scope of generalisation, because the gathered data may not be used to categorically portray the experiences of the whole study population. However, the study is reflective of a niche group of people, the study sample. Hence, the studied phenomena of Christian music and identity formation is relevant and understood within a particular setting and among a particular group for it to be *contextually* relevant.

Conclusion

The methodology informs the quality and believability of the outcome of the study; that is why it is important to ensure the designs and instruments, and indeed the selected methods complement the whole essence of the study.

In conclusion, this methodological chapter expounded on areas such as the qualitative research paradigm and the relevance of this paradigm to this study, in consideration of the humanistic and naturalistic approach situated within this study's framework. Further discussions delved into the research population, namely black South Africans and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese, and sample size being 10 participants from each group, determined by data saturation, which also guaranteed the validity and reliability of this study. A purposive sampling technique was adopted because the participants were characterised by specific features such as being between the ages of 18-35 [youth], their identities as Christians, being black in the case of South Africans, and being diasporic in the case of Nigerians and Congolese, and must reside in Durban, South Africa. The

adopted research designs were phenomenological and ethnographic, while the accompanying instruments were semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

The use of interpretative and narrative methods is situated within the scope of hermeneutics, the selected method of data analysis. Hermeneutics was used to elaborate on and interpret the gathered data from this chapter in the subsequent analysis chapter. Study limitations that were encountered were discussed as well as how these challenges were overcome. The ethical considerations that were in place before starting the interview process or carrying out participant observation were elaborated on. These included collecting gatekeepers' letters from the churches, an ethical clearance certificate from the University of KwaZulu-Natal to carry out the study, and the administration of informed consent forms to participants during the interview process.

Table 4.3 below is a succinct summary of the methodological approach/research process of this study, while the following chapter is where the observations from the churches, and the data from the interviews are analysed, discussed and interpreted in detail.

Table 4.3: Summary of the research process

Research questions	Data source	Data collection method	Data analysis technique	Rationale
1. What are the Christian music subgenres and mediated use and preferences of South Africans and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban?	Black South African indigenes, and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese	Semi-structured interview and participant observation	Interpretative and narrative methods of data analysis [hermeneutics and ethnography]	To identify and understand which Christian music subgenres are used and preferred by the identified groups and the purposes of these preferences in their relations with themselves and other people.
2. How do cultural, diasporic and religious identities within each group express themselves and interact with 'otherness' [in terms of identity reinforcement and identity adaptation] through their representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres within the South African cultural landscape?	Black South African indigenes, and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese	Semi-structured interview and participant observation	Interpretative and narrative methods of data analysis [hermeneutics and ethnography]	To examine how the use and consumption of Christian music influence each group in terms of their identity reinforcement [maintaining one's identity in same or different cultural context], or redefinition [adapting one's identity into a different cultural context], and their perceptions of 'themselves' and the 'others'.
3. How do the dominant media of consumption of Christian music influence each group and their exposure to 'otherness' in terms of identity reinforcement and identity adaptation?	Black South African indigenes, and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese	Semi-structured interview and participant observation	Interpretative and narrative methods of data analysis hermeneutics and ethnography	To investigate how the media contributes to exposure to other people, the maintenance or adaptation of different identities, and the similarities and uniqueness in such expressions.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYTICAL DISCUSSIONS

Introduction

The overarching purpose of this chapter is to discuss answers to the objectives of this study and its guiding research questions. An essential aspect of this study is the extension of new knowledge particularly within the paradigm of this study regarding identity, cultural and religious practices, media roles, and human interactions in society. These analytical discussions are categorised into three main interpretations: outcomes from participant observation reports [Part A], interviews [Part B], and an in-depth discussion of themes from the interviews and observations [Part C]. These discussions are elaborated on using the interpretative and descriptive method of hermeneutics [see previous discussions on page 139].

Observations were done initially, before venturing into interviews with the participants. I had to familiarise myself with the participants, so they could be relaxed and free in our conversations. After I had concluded the observations, I was able to gain clarity on some grey areas during the ethnography. I highlighted certain issues that were usually unnoticed, especially in terms of language choice in songs, and interactions with 'otherness'. Therefore, the observation reports were first provided before the interview analysis was done. After, an in-depth review of the discussed ideas and their inferences within sociocultural and religious milieus was completed, which forms the final aspect of the discussions. These are correlated with previous categories that might have been identified in the literature review, theories and methodology.

PART A

Live Worship Experiences [Participant Observation Reports]

At this juncture, the participant observation report of the three churches – Winners’ Chapel International, Durban [WCID], eThekweni Community Church [ECC], and Glenwood Presbyterian [Congolese] Church [GPC] is provided – and my interactions with members of these churches who are Nigerians [diasporic community], South Africans [home-based], and Congolese [diasporic community] respectively through interviews. I relay this chapter through the interpretative, descriptive and narrative approach of hermeneutics, as discussed in the research methodology chapter [see page 139]. I relay my personalised and understandable narrative of my worship [or ‘lived’] experience with each group.

Winners’ Chapel International, Durban

Here I was, among other Nigerians and people of different nationalities, who had come to fellowship at the Winners’ Chapel International, Durban [WCID]. This church was my first point of call. For me, the Pentecostal system of worship is quite different from what I am familiar with, because I attend a Protestant church both in Nigeria [Anglican], and here in Durban [Presbyterian].

As discussed in the literature review, the Protestant worship is more liturgical, inculcating hymns from hymn books, and collective/individual prayers, both from the book of liturgy, led during the time of intercession (Axelsson, 1974; Haecker, 2012; Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007; Udok and Odunuga, 2016). That is why it is quite different from the Pentecostal worship, which is ‘more modern’, i.e., with a more vibrant approach to worship (Haecker, 2012; Johnson, *et al.*, 2010; Rigobert, 2009; Udok and Odunuga, 2016). Though it was not a mode of service I was conversant with, it still offered a welcoming atmosphere to all, around the auditorium.

The ‘ordered’ nature of each Sunday service was mentioned previously in the methodological framework chapter; so, for instance, the first Sunday was basically to usher worshippers into the new month with thanksgiving to God for safely crossing from one month to the other. This indirectly translated into some song choices. With this as a backdrop, each Sunday was tailored along a specific theme. For example, the first Sunday was themed ‘*New Beginning*’, and being the

first Sunday of the month, songs were more of thanksgiving. Some of the lines of these songs are *We have come to thank you, Jesus thank you, Jehovah thank you....* The second Sunday was a communion service themed ‘*Covenant day of possessing your possession*’, which was in line with the choir’s special rendition [often before the sermon]. Some of the lines of this special rendition are *I will possess my possession; I will take what belongs to me....* The third Sunday was an anointing service themed ‘*Covenant day of noiseless breakthrough*’, therefore, the choir’s special rendition was also in line with this, with *You are God and You are greater than anything, ... You are my breakthrough, ...* being words from their song. The last Sunday of the month was a thanksgiving service themed ‘*Covenant day of open heavens*’ and the choir rendition was again along the line of thanksgiving with words as *Arúgbó ojó, Eṣé o, Ranka dede, Imela...* This is a song that incorporates words from the three official Nigerian languages – Yorùbá, Hausa and Igbo respectively. ‘Arúgbó ojó¹⁹, Eṣé o’²⁰ means ‘Ancient of Days, thank you’. ‘Ranka dede’²¹ means ‘Long live’, and ‘Imela²²’ means ‘thank you’. This song reflects the Nigerian national identity through language representation.

So also, when the altar call was made in each service, and when newcomers were invited to the altar for prayers, each moment was song-specific. That is why such renditions as *...righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, that’s the kingdom of God, don’t you wanna be a part of the kingdom, come on everybody* [second Sunday service]; *there is a sweet anointing in the sanctuary... He is here, ... to break the yoke and lift the heavy burden...* [third Sunday service], and *come and make my heart your home, come and be everything I have and all I know, search me through and through, till my heart becomes a home for you* [fourth Sunday service], were relevant and patterned to the particular period of service – the altar call. It is also noteworthy that these ‘convert songs’ were slower in beat and pace than the praise and worship sessions or the choir renditions, just to signify the need for a solemn, reverent, slower mode of worship for people, to somewhat reflect and make amends for wrong doings. That is why Rentfrow, *et al.* (2011) concluded that the worship subgenre of Christian music relates to that of a reflective mood.

¹⁹ This is a descriptive line often used in song or praise poetry to God.

²⁰ These are Yorùbá words.

²¹ This is a Hausa word. It is a salutation among the Hausa people used for the highest praise of royalty like the Emir [the title used for Northern Kings in Nigeria] or someone greater, in this case God.

²² This is an Igbo word.

Consequently, certain aspects of the service were song-specific and did not particularly relate or resonate with any cultural or national identity.

However, I drew a different conclusion for other periods of the services after observing song choices during the ‘praise and worship’, ‘thanksgiving’, ‘pre-sermon worship’ and ‘end of service’ moments. To briefly explain what these moments were, the ‘praise and worship’ sessions held at an earlier stage during the service were to prepare and usher worshippers into God’s presence. It signalled the beginning of the church service. Just as the name implies, the ‘praise and worship’ subgenre of Christian music was the most dominant subgenre during this period of service. This is irrespective of the original subgenres of the songs sung during this period. Thus, whether the songs were reflective worship songs or not, they were transformed into danceable praise songs. Worship songs, songs at a much slower pace in comparison to the much faster paced praise songs, were first sung during the ‘praise and worship’ session as the service progressed.

Furthermore, the ‘thanksgiving’ session was for anyone who wanted to specifically give an offering of appreciation to God, and this could hold on any Sunday. However, the last Sunday was dedicated to this purpose. The ‘pre-sermon’ worship was reflective songs led by the pastor himself, usually before he gave the sermon. This was mainly to pray to, or worship God before the sermon, while the ‘end of service’ songs were done literally at the end of the service, before the start of the Zulu-interpreted service. Songs rendered during this period were mostly fast-paced and danceable songs, more like a short praise session but at the end of the service.

This last Sunday was also dedicated to the celebration of cultural identities present in the church, so, church members were encouraged to come dressed in their native attire as shown below.

Figure 5.1: Dress representations



Source: Pictures by the author

These pictures are representations of various cultures during the ‘thanksgiving Sunday’. The first picture is a dress combination of Zulu beads and skirt, and Yorùbá people’s *gèlè*, the second is a Zulu top and cap, while the third is a men’s inspired Yorùbá *bùbà* and *şoşo*.

On the first Sunday of the month, out of a total of seventeen songs during ‘praise and worship’, ‘thanksgiving’, ‘pre-sermon’ and ‘end of service’ songs, eleven were Nigerian²³ songs mainly recognisable by the infusion of Nigerian languages [Yorùbá, pidgin English and Igbo dialects specifically] in the lyrics. For example, *Alágbádá iná, come and manifest yourself* [‘Alágbádá iná’ is a Yorùbá phrase used to describe God as He who clothes Himself with fire], *wetin I go give to you, my praise...* [‘wetin I go give’ is a pidgin English sentence which means what will I give], and *Ebube Dike Jehovah* [‘Ebube Dike Jehovah’ is an Igbo sentence that means Jehovah, the One who opens doors], among many other Nigerian songs. Five of these seventeen songs were English songs [i.e., foreign songs, either by other African or western artists], and one was South African [in isiZulu]. This was the South African gospel song *Wahamba nathi*, by Solly Mahlangu.

²³ Nigerian songs, in this context, refer to an array of songs in Yorùbá, Igbo, pidgin English and Hausa during the church services.

For the second Sunday, out of a total of eleven songs, inclusive of special renditions and communion songs, nine were Nigerian songs while two were English songs. There was no rendition of any South African song during this service. The Nigerian songs were equally a blend of Yorùbá, Igbo and pidgin English songs, while the English songs were foreign songs.

On the third Sunday, the ‘praise and worship’ session started with Benjamin Dube and Praise Explosion’s *We Lift Him Higher*, which was rendered in English. The second song was *Yes, You are the Lord* by Denzel Prempeh, a Ghanaian artist. In addition, one more South African song, one English song and two Nigerian songs were rendered. Worth mentioning is the song leader’s choice of *Tambira Jehova [come and dance to the Lord]* by Joyous Celebration, a South African gospel choir. These were instances where musical renditions within a context can be adopted within another cultural context, though with different traditions but similar religious identity. This Sunday service had a total of 21 songs, 10 of which were Nigerian, eight songs were in English while three were South African. And for the last Sunday service, out of 20 songs rendered during service, 14 were Nigerian songs, four were English songs while two were South African songs. The predominant pattern during these services was an oscillation from Nigerian to foreign to South African Christian music and vice versa.

The lyrics to most of these songs were projected through flat-screen televisions positioned in strategic places for ‘sing along’, a performer-audience participatory strategy (Schramm, 2006). These projections also made it possible for the congregation to have a clearer picture of what was happening on the podium. This strategy ensured that for the members of the audience who were not conversant with certain lyrical contents that were sung, they could read and sing along as projected. An instance is shown below.

Figure 5.2: Lyrical projections to aid audience participation and involvement.



Source: Picture by the author

This form of audience involvement is one recognised as endearing and inclusive so that people are not left out or left behind in any song rendition.

Conclusively, the observation was that most of the songs during these periods were a blend of Nigerian [Yorùbá, Igbo, pidgin English and Hausa], South African [Zulu] and foreign praise songs, but they were mostly Nigerian songs, while there was evidence of cultural accommodation in song choices, dress representations and audience participatory strategies.

eThekwini Community Church

The second point of observation was the eThekwini Community Church [ECC], Durban. This was a unique experience for me because I anticipated the cultural and music traditions of South Africans and how these have been imbibed into religious contexts, bearing in mind that this was one of the bones of contention when Christianity was introduced to the African continent and South Africa (Akpanika, 2012; King, 2008). A reason for this is that the African tradition is perceived as intrinsically rhythmic and musical (Hester, 2010), and the South African tradition, [with more emphasis on the Zulu culture which was predominant in this church], is perceived as a cohort in which music, singing, dancing and drumming [or making music beats] are practically inseparable (Haecker, 2010: 9-10; Levine, 2005: 41). I was particularly on the lookout for how these are inculcated, or otherwise, in modes of worship, and their considerations for 'otherness'.

Coincidentally, the month this church was observed was Heritage month [September], which added cultural and aesthetic appearances, but not much to song choices.

Figure 5.3: Dress representation of a member of the ECC clad in a Zulu outfit, flanked by the author



Source: Picture by the author

On the first Sunday of observation, a total of 22 songs were rendered during service, out of which 20 were in Zulu and two were in English. Out of the 20 Zulu songs, three in particular, were songs that had the tunes of English hymns. The first was *Ungumhlobo Wamu 'Jesu [You Are My Friend 'Jesus]*, which had the tune of *What a friend we have in Jesus*. It, however, was not a literal translation of the hymn. The second was *Uyaphila Umphefumulo Wami, [It is well with my soul]*, and the third, *Umkhulu Kangakanami, [How great Thou art]*. One can only recall the efforts of Amadodana aseWesile and the Dube family, who played crucial roles in the translation of English-oriented hymns to local South African languages, which facilitated religious and musical acceptance (Malembe, 2005).

One of the Zulu songs at the beginning of the service was *AmaZulu, Athembe Lona, Nathi Sithembe Lona* [the heaven trust this name, we also trust it – the name of Jesus]. For me, this was an intriguing and educative rendition because it referred to the intrinsic meaning of the word Zulu – which means ‘heaven’. This was a direct cultural and religious intersection in song choice. Additionally, of the two English songs, the one before the offering was collected was ‘*God is shifting things for me*’, which in a way, keyed into the offering mode, but this was not constant throughout the observations. Another significant aspect of the service was the moment men and women danced out in teams of men versus women. This moment was confirmed by a South African participant during the interview as the *udodana*.

Figure 5.4: A performance of the Udodana



Source: Picture by the author

The representation and cultural expression of this act was recurrent during the observations.

The third Sunday was no different in music representation. Of the 23 songs rendered during the service, 17 were in Zulu and six were in English. The performer-audience relationship was showcased using the word ‘*woza*’, as a call to action, to mimic whichever performance the lead singer performed or acted out. Other cultural expressions were obvious features in church as well.

During this service, there was a guest ministration by a group, and they performed an a cappella in Zulu. The service ended with the song *Wahamba Nathi, Siyabonga*, [*You have walked with us, we thank you*]. This was symbolic as a way of reinforcing their religious identity, in appreciation for the success of the church service. But a closing song was not a consistent occurrence in all the services.

The last Sunday of the month marked the last Sunday of observation. It was on this Sunday that Heritage month was celebrated. Some of the Zulu and English songs were hymns, the Zulu translations or variants, or the original English versions. *Gelekece, athi Gelekece ezonweni* [*Clean, Completely out of sin*] was the first song rendered on this Sunday. It was fast paced and energetic, which facilitated a participatory culture, especially since it was at the beginning of the praise session during the church service. During this praise session, the performer [lead singer] danced the Zulu dance, while the congregation clapped and ululated. This is represented in figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5: Dance performance of the lead singer



Source: Picture by the author

During the 'praise and worship', there were whistles and cheering noises from the audience. The atmosphere was captivating and participatory. The performance was more elevated on this Sunday, with people who danced to and from the stage of the church, while those who did not go on stage clapped, shouted, whistled, and ululated. Some of these performances are captured in figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Cultural expressions during service



Source: Pictures by the author

As the service went on, there was a guest performance by a song and dance group which was artistic and cultural in outlook. The lady performers were clad in the traditional Zulu attire, Zulu beads and skirt, while the men wore the leopard skin. The group performed in acapella while the congregation clapped and ululated. They also danced the Zulu dance.

Figure 5.7: Guest performance



Source: Picture by the author

Unlike previous services, there was no closing song at the end of this service. Comparably, it was not as easy to connect song choices to any particular period of the service. This was because the

songs were all related to the manifestation of God's presence and anointing, and not much about the different periods that made up church services. This was quite unlike the observations from the Nigerian church, which had themes and song-specific moments during the service. These church service patterns were unique to both churches because the Pentecostal mode of service left room for an unstructured pattern, unlike the Protestant church which has similar structures of service and song renditions (Johnson, *et al.*, 2010; Rigobert, 2009). There were religious liberties expressed in both contexts.

Some of the songs, Zulu and English, hymn like or 'praise and worship', were repeated in most services. Some of the Zulu songs sung in the church were *Ngcwele Ngcwele Somandla Sibaza Wena* [*Holy, Holy, we are in awe of You, we magnify your name*], *Sawubona Jesu, Siyakubingelela, Siyakubingelela Sithi Phakama* [*Hello Jesus, we are greeting You, we lift Your name on high, we bow before You*]. Other songs included *Ngizolibonga elakho igama* [*I thank the name of Jesus, a name above all names*], *Ngegama lakho Jesu, kuguqa phansi konke* [*through Your name, everything bows down, there is no other name that can protect us*] and *Ngihamba no Jesu Uyanginakekela, Ungenzela konk'okhule* [*I walk with Jesus who takes care of me, He keeps on doing great things*].

The participatory culture and approach of this church, song choices, and visual/dress representations upheld the extent to which religious circles afford cultural freedom and expression. From observations, experiential and documented evidence, the South African musical culture is deeply rooted in different areas of their lives. Because of the importance they attach to songs, music becomes an avenue for expression, ranging from songs of everyday use, to religious songs, social songs, or songs for solidarity, support and protest (Muller, 2008). The observations also indicated the highest level of musical ethnocentrism (see Boer, *et al.*, 2013). In a way, this was to enhance their cultural identity, in the form of reinforcing it. But a way the church would have been more inclusive and participatory for the 'other' would have been with lyrical projections which were more conspicuous in the other churches which were observed.

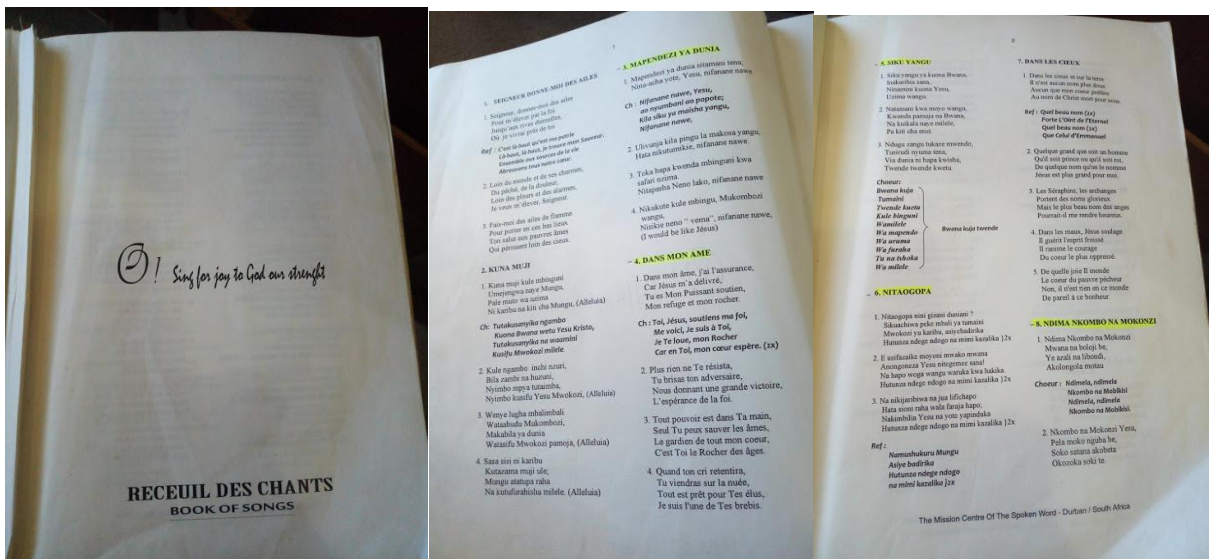
Glenwood Presbyterian [Congolese] Church

The last participant observation was among the Congolese community of the Glenwood Presbyterian Church. I am familiar with the Protestant mode of worship which is mostly

characterised by the liturgical and hymnal order of service (Haecker, 2012; Hitchcock, 2012; Udok and Odunuga, 2016) because I have a Protestant church background [Anglican to be precise]. Nevertheless, fellowshiping with this group of people was not like the ‘typical’ Protestant experience. I found this difference from the Protestant tradition quite unique and interesting because it gave room for a varied church service culture from what is traditionally Protestant.

The only feature that aligned them to the Protestant mode of worship was the ‘song book’, which was a local compilation of songs and hymns that were sung during the service.

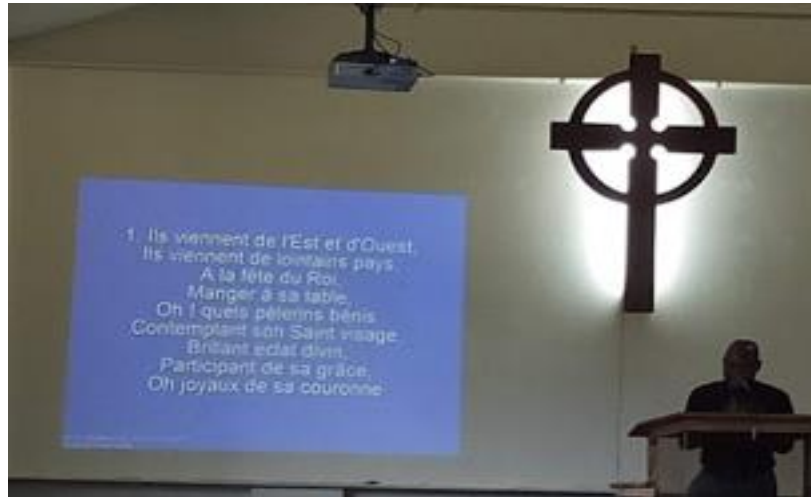
Figure 5.8: The song book/hymnal compilation for the Congolese church



Source: Picture by the author

Here I was within a community of predominantly French speakers, and I could only wonder what provision was made for non-French speakers. This ‘provision’ came in the form of an interpreter who was always at hand to translate whatever was said from French to English and vice versa. Apparently, I was not the only non-French speaking person as I later came to know the congregation had people from South Africa, Zambia and other African countries who were equally not francophone. In short, language was not a barrier during these weeks of observation. The other provision made available was the use of the projector to display songs that were sung during the service.

Figure 5.9: Projected musical lyrics during the service



Source: Picture by the author

In terms of song choice during services, it was more of an alternation among songs in English, French, Swahili and Lingala. It became apparent during the interviews that they also sang some Nigerian songs and songs in Chiluba. All the songs were chosen from the song book and were in a hymn format; with verses and choruses or refrains, but in danceable and rhythmic patterns. These songs were accompanied by synchronised claps, the piano, and the Conga drums beaten along.

During the first Sunday service, out of a total of 10 songs, seven were sung in English, two were sung in French, and one was sung in Bemba. Examples of some of the English songs were *At the Cross*, *Count your blessings name them one by one*, and *Whiter than the snow*. Emphasis was placed on the meanings of the words of these hymns. For instance, *Whiter than the snow* is a song that reminds Christians of how the blood of Jesus cleanses sins and gives a new start and perspective to life. This was emphasised by the priest as the song concluded. Therefore, among these people, the song choices and meanings were more expressions of religious identities than they were of cultural identities.

A Congolese sister also came out for a special song in French which she sang from the song book. After her, another Congolese brother came out to lead the congregation and sang another song in French, which also came from the song book, after which the youth choir also rendered their song from the song book. This was an English song. As the service continued, the English song *My*

desire is to serve the Lord led to prayers about the desire to continue to walk with God. I observed that some of these songs, i.e., their lyrics, were inspirational to the prayers offered through service. The insertion of scriptural passages or thought-provoking sentences in musical lyrics produces an introspective response from the audience (Garfias, 2004: 8). The service ended with an English song *Saviour; He is coming very soon*.

For the second Sunday, out of 10 songs rendered during service [inclusive of special renditions], four were in English, three were in French, and one was in Zulu – *Uyisisekelo se Mpilo yami*, the Zulu translation of the English song *You are the pillar that holds my life* – a special rendition by a Zambian. The last two were in Swahili; one of these being a special rendition and a highlight during the service. The song – *Maisha Mafupi huku dunia [the time of man on earth is short]* – brought a more energetic feel to the church service, and roused participation which included clapping, dancing and ululations.

Another special rendition that was equally participatory was done in French wherein a local Congolese musical instrument, the maraca, was incorporated. The maraca is shown below.

Figure 5.10: Image of the maraca



Source: Picture by the author

For the third Sunday service, out of seven songs sung during the service, five were in English, one was in French and one was in Swahili. As this service concluded, the English song *They come from East and West* ushered everyone out of the church auditorium, one after the other, which was customary for this congregation where people would line up and shake hands as they proceeded out of the church. This song was also used to welcome first time worshippers in service to church,

aligning to the lyrics of the song that all are welcome no matter where they come from; they are all one since they share the same religious identity. For the last Sunday service of the month, out of eight songs sung during service, three were in English, two were in French, two were in Swahili and one was in Lingala.

There was an amalgamation of modern and traditional musical instruments. From Congolese musical instruments like the maraca and Conga drums, to more universal instruments like the tambourine [one of the earliest musical instruments from biblical and mediaeval times] and the piano. All these were an indication of heterogenisation of music culture especially within the religious framework of Christianity. A highlight of heterogeneity and further corroboration of cultural accommodation was the request made by the pastor of the church for me to purchase a *șekèrè* [beaded gourd] for the church because I attended the service with mine. My *șekèrè* is pictured below.

Figure 5.11: My *șekèrè* [beaded gourd]



Source: Picture by the author

Because it had a similar but louder sound and playing pattern to that of the maraca, it attracted attention for which the pastor requested to bring some back from Nigeria when next I travelled there. Also, in terms of dressing, there was not much difference between styles or fabrics, because the two cultural fabrics and styles could have easily been interchanged for one another. This is observable from the figure above, where I am dressed in the Nigerian Ankara, and the lady beside me [who is Congolese] is dressed in the Congolese fabric.

These discussions are indications of Christian music representations among this group of people, and how different linguistic, cultural and national identities are brought to the fore due to the choices of songs during the service. All these allow for the celebration of different cultural identities aside from the dominant national and cultural identity which is ‘Congoleseness’. It is an incorporation of ‘otherness’ by ‘the other’, into a fold that does not recognise cultural differences but instead celebrates similarities.

Concluding Remarks from Observations

Double cultural values, of homogenisation and heterogenisation, are evident from these observations and discussions. The first cultural value is centred around the conclusion that Christianity is an imported cultural format in any African country – and because of its common origin, there are elements that are the same in all countries into which it was introduced, in synchronisation with the Protestant movement. The second cultural value revolves around the cultural assimilation and acculturation of religious practices, such as cultural and religious representations, and Christian music subgenres, which have taken on very specific indigenous forms in different countries. This is most obvious in terms of linguistic representations.

There is no gain saying the fact that the first casualty in the clash between the dominant [Eurocentric] and marginalised [Afrocentric] cultures is the erosion of language. Unarguably, “a notable characteristic of the dominated, the disempowered and dispossessed is voicelessness” (Mda, 2010: 8). Because language is not only a medium of communication but a carrier of history and a medium for transfer of cultural values (Wa Thiong’o, 1992: 13), it becomes besieged. The target of the dominant culture is the seemingly subtle but gradual erosion of the language of the marginalised culture. In other words, the indigenous language results in being subaltern.

The value attached to language by an individual or among a group or society of people is significant in strengthening the bond and essence of who they are, i.e., their identity. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1992: 16) aptly captured this position when he stated that

Language carries culture, and culture carries [...] the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world ... Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific form and character, a specific history, [and] a specific relationship to the world.

For these home-based and diasporic groups within this study, the importance of language in culture is ingrained in the linguistic representations of their modes of worship. For instance, among the Congolese, linguistic representations are captured in French, Chiluba, Lingala, Swahili and English, which exists in the liturgy of worship [see the Congolese song book on page 160]. In other instances, there was the use of Zulu and English in the Pentecostal churches, and songs in other African languages, both for accommodation and reinforcement of identities. In the same vein, their musical representations were heavily ethnocentric, as reflections of the ethnic groups, both dominant and latent, in the churches.

Other predominant examples are visual and objectified representations in musical instrumentation, indigenous fabric designs, and inclusive and participatory cultural practices. This now-acculturated form of Christianity has been transported into a new setting [South Africa], and the process of accommodation, acculturation, sameness and difference begins all over again. These differences, in some ways, reflect the different colonial origins in different countries, as shown in previous deliberations on the introduction of Christianity to the African context.

Summarily, the crucial and notable basis of this section lies in the discussions of homogenisation, acculturation, the hidden colonial past of the Church [particularly Protestantism] and how Pentecostal churches as well as the Protestant churches, have ramified religious practices as distinctly theirs, i.e., localised into contexts.

PART B

Interview Analysis

In this section, the responses from the study participants are provided, highlighting their similar ideas, and their different responses regarding opinions and knowledge of what was asked and discussed. The responses are clustered according to the research questions of the study.

RQ1. What are the Christian music Subgenres and mediated use and preferences of South Africans and Diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban?

South African Participants: use and preferences of Christian music subgenres

For the South African participants, when asked what their preferred subgenres of Christian music were, they gave diverse views. For instance, P01 [SA] preferred the “traditional Christian [music like those of] Deborah [Fraser, a South African Christian music artist], Pure Magic, [and] Jabu Hlongwane” who are South African Christian music artists. Similarly, P03 [SA] preferred the traditional subgenres of South African artists such as Joyous Celebration, Dr Tumi, and Benjamin Dube *because of the way they “market themselves [... and] the message”*²⁴ of their songs. P05 [SA] also preferred traditional subgenres, especially songs that are meaningful and those she understands. In the same vein, P08 [SA] and P10 [SA] preferred traditional subgenres from Joyous Celebration while P10 [SA]’s preference for the Joyous Celebration choral group was because “I like the dance, I like their movement, I like ... the way they dress, [and for the language], I prefer both isiZulu and English...”

Others preferred a blend of traditional and contemporary Christian music such as P04 [SA] and P08 [SA]. P04 [SA] asserted that her “favourite Christian music is more of the American gospel, but if its anything South African, its mostly our praise songs [because of] *how we dance and play drums*”, while for P09 [SA], “the ones that I like are the overseas one, like your Kirk Franklins, Donnie McClurkins ... and there is one that I like here in South Africa, I love his music, *instruments and he’s also young Dr Tumi ... he’s very good. Sometimes there’s music ... old ones*

²⁴ Words or phrases in *italics* are my emphasis.

like those ones which were listened [to] by our mothers, the ones that [are] very slow when it comes to beats, so, I'm still young, so, I would like to have this fast beat.”

P07 [SA] had a more pan-African preference, “I like Benjamin Dube, I like Sinach [a Nigerian Christian music artist], I'm more into African Christian music” while P06 [SA] preferred contemporary subgenres from American Christian music artists like Hillsong and Jesus Culture. Whereas, for P02 [SA], the type of subgenre did not matter, “I don't know the genres, it's just that there are those I prefer, like worship songs ... there are artists I prefer, I wouldn't know the type of gospel they are singing. *A good combination of both lyrics and instrumentation* are what I lookout [for].”

From these responses, emergent ideas that are identified for traditional and contemporary Christian music preference are the ‘youth dynamic’, the content of media texts, contextual/representational factors, and branding of artists that come to play when listening to contemporary music.

But beyond their mediated preferences, I sought to know why they preferred those subgenres and what they used these for. Most people used it because of its *spiritual purpose* as in the case of P01 [SA], “Christian music move[s] something inside of me.” For P07 [SA], “basically for me, when I listen to Christian music, I'm looking for something spiritual ... something that touches my heart, something that actually influences my life.” P09 [SA] opined that he used Christian music subgenres because of “*the messages that they bring*, the beat that they also have ... I like music production ... I'm enjoying, and [at the same time] I'm getting the message, I'm moving [dancing] also. [Worship] revives me” P04 [SA] added that “I believe that music is supposed to uplift your spirit. So, you know, when you get into that dance mood, it really does something, wonders to your spirit.” Whereas, P10 [SA] used it for enjoyment purposes as well.

These responses indicate that mediated use and preferences of Christian music subgenres were based on spiritual and enjoyment purposes which had little to do with traditional or contemporary Christian music categorisation, in the cases of those who preferred youthful and vibrant songs. These responses reinforce the spiritual use of Christian music, and how it can also be inculcated for enjoyment purposes.

In exploring the importance and influence of language representation [spoken] on music preference, most of the participants opined that they were not too particular about language-use. P02 [SA] said “as long as it *has meaningful lyrics*...and it has *a message that touches my heart* ... , it doesn’t matter the language...” On a similar note, P03 [SA] said “[though] I understand most languages ... , to me *music is not about the language*, cos you find [that] you don’t speak a language, but still you understand what they are speaking cos music is something that you can’t describe but [something that] is done to you.” Reaffirming the spiritual function of Christian music, P04 [SA] noted that “Christian music is supposed to move your spirit-man, so, sometimes even if you don’t understand the lyrics, but because you feel that connection, it does something to you ... [so] language-wise, I’m not particular with that.” And for P07 [SA], “Christian music breaks away the barriers of language, so, irrespective of the language, you can still feel the presence of God in those songs.” However, for P05 [SA], the language was influential in her use and preference because “*me understanding it* [matters].”

For others, aside the spiritual meanings that superseded language roles, the language of rhythm was also important. For instance “[language] doesn’t [influence my choice], I listen to every music ... *if the beat goes with the music*, I take it and listen to it” [P09, SA]; “[people] sing in their languages, but as much as you don’t understand what it is, you can still *feel the beat*...” [P08, SA] emphasising the universality of music. Therefore, language roles [linguistic and rhythmic], were factors raised in people’s choices of Christian music.

What the South African participants all had in common was the use of Christian music subgenres for its dominant spiritual role and purpose. Some had a shared panorama of the linguistic representation of their preferences, in that the language was not as important as the message, because, “Christian music breaks away the barriers of language” [P07, SA] and “music is not about the language” [P03, SA]. However, for other participants, the language was important, and for the music to resonate with them, the lyrics had to be meaningful so that Christian music could serve its spiritual purpose.

From the responses of South Africans regarding their preference and use of Christian music subgenres, chiefly at the individual level of consumption also referred to as the people addressed (Nightingale, 2003: 368-369), most of them preferred traditional and local artists, though some of

these artists performed an array of traditional and contemporary Christian music subgenres. Artists like the Joyous Celebration choral group, and Benjamin Dube were recurrent in the choices of these participants. From previous discussions on the introduction of Christian music to the South African context [see page 35], these artists were recognised because their music was African-oriented (Bainbridge, *et al.*, 2015; Malembe, 2005). These artists appealed to South Africans through drumming, dance, dress, language-use [linguistic], and the manner through which such performances were done. That is why such corroborative musical practices are often inseparable (Agordoh, 2005; Hester, 2010; Lebaka, 2015; Munyaradzi and Zimidzi, 2012; Stone, 2010). Dr Tumi was also recurrent in their responses. He was preferred by some participants because he adopts a more youthful approach to his music. The contributions of these South African Christian music artists to the establishment and inculcation of the African musical tradition into Christian music have consequently made them acceptable and relatable within the South African landscape. It is of little wonder that they are [still] at the fore front of the Christian music industry.

These preferences are connected to the African mind and its need for cultural expression through religion. These are in line with previous assertions on how music consumption is closely associated with the manner people understand their identities and those of other people (Corrigall and Schellenberg, 2015; Hesmondhalgh, 2008; Schramm, 2006; Tekman, *et al.*, 2012; Wanyama, 2006).

Media texts should be encoded in a meaningful and interpretative manner, to make it easier for the audience to unpack the encoded message (Bodker, 2016; du Gay, *et al.*, 1997, 2013). If there is a glitch in this communicative encounter, meaning may be lost and the decoding of the message may become difficult (Hall, 1993). Du Gay, *et al.* (1997: 18) posited that a shared interpretative context provides the impetus for meaning-making and interpretation. This is not farfetched from Hall's ([1973] 1980, 2010: 47) insight on the need for the encoder and decoder to be situated within a similar interpretative framework of knowledge that will contribute to successful and meaningful communicative encounters. For these participants, the South African musical space, as well as the religious space became their similar interpretative frameworks. Within these sociocultural and religious spheres, the encoding and decoding of messages was grounded, which made them more relatable, especially with artists that showcased their cultural identities. Through meaningful representations and shared cultural and religious identities within their preferred Christian music

subgenres, the study participants reinforced their identities, and the essence of who they are. When people engage in relatable practices, even if they do not share a similar cultural framework, the discourse or narrative can still be construed within those identifiable and relatable practices for a meaningful experience (Champ and Brooks, 2010; Shaw, 2010).

Other South African participants had a pan-African or more contemporary [foreign] preference of Christian music subgenres. The encoding or production process for these people was not limited to a South African or 'African' Christian music subgenre. These are all in the light of the recognition of an Afrocentric approach to Christian music consumption within the African context, as well as an openness to, recognition of, and awareness of otherness in celebration of cultural diversity (Bailey, *et al.*, 2007; Department of Arts and Culture, South Africa, 2019; Georgiou, 2010; UNESCO, 2017). Such recognitions are not only based on a favourable disposition to musical contents but similarities in religious values (Boer, *et al.*, 2011; Corrigan and Schellenberg, 2015; Lidskog, 2017).

Other major influences were the contents of the songs, and the use of contemporary musical instrumentation. Laurac Boulton (1957) as far back as the 1950's suggested that musical representations in contents and instrumentation could serve as a means through which identities express themselves by maintaining that close sense of 'self', and also learning and opening up to varieties of identities that can constitute 'otherness'. Much later, other researchers lent their voices to the narrative. Such was Karlton Hester (2010), who was of the view that content representation and musical instrumentation played vital parts in the Art of musical performances, while Agordoh (2005) and Stone (2010) substantiated debates on the conglomeration of various artistic practices within performances. This validates the claims that people identify with musical representations that are meaningful, irrespective of social contexts.

Diasporic Congolese Participants: use and preferences of Christian Music subgenres

I wanted to know and understand the mediated Christian music use and preference of diasporic Congolese, seeing that they are away from 'home', as in place of origin (Anderson, 2015). The importance of this was in how they maintained their knowledge of 'self' away from 'home', how they navigated their hybridised identities and the ripple effects of these interactions especially with 'otherness' through Christian music.

Most of their preferences were for contemporary as well as traditional Christian music subgenres from Congolese artists, especially those who combined major Congolese languages like French, Swahili and Lingala. P01 [Cong] was mostly familiar with “Mike Kalambay [who sings] contemporary and traditional sometimes... what made me like his songs is the way he sang [them], if you are going through whatever ..., his song is so helpful, it gives us more faith in God.” P02 [Cong] “[preferred] Mike Kalambay, [because his] song is in Lingala” while P03 [Cong] liked “Alain Moloto, he’s a Congolese, [he sings] in French and Lingala [and my favourite of his songs is] *C'est encore possible?* Everything is possible to someone who trusts in God.” For P04 [Cong], “[my favourites are] Alain Moloto, Mike Kalambay, Athoms, Esther Akawa, [they sing in] Lingala, French, Swahili [and] Chiluba ...” and P06 [Cong], “[I] like the music of brother Lifoko duCiel, he’s from Brazzaville [and] brother Sylvain Akouala [...], they always sing in French and Lingala.” Mike Kalambay was a name that was recurrent among the Congolese participants. Mike is a contemporary Congolese Christian music artist. Another recurrent Christian music artist was Alain Moloto. Though Alain Moloto is dead now, he has left a lasting music legacy that is very popular among these Congolese people.

Some Congolese participants had different opinions. Some preferred foreign artists, while others liked hymns and songs contained in the compiled song book of the church. P05 [Cong] preferred “the olden songs, the ones from 1980’s ... very old songs. The hymns, I also know the ones from latest [contemporary] musicians ... [like] Dwight Hall [an American], he also sings well...most of the songs relate [with] what I go through.” In P08 [Cong]’s words, “I mostly like *Good Good Father* from Chris Tomlin, that’s actually on of my favourite music. I also like music by Travis Greene ... I find them interesting.” Whereas, P09 [Cong] liked “*Wonderful, Excellent Name* ... written in the [song] book.” In the light of their preferences, it leads us to what these songs are used for.

Music is used for different reasons and purposes. Some of them used Christian music for its *spiritual purpose*; “[I listen] to make me closer to God” [P01, Cong]; “*I like to have songs to pray* like Alain Moloto ... I like only the words ... [because they use a] verse in the bible” [P04, Cong]; “[I use songs] just to worship the Lord...” [P07, Cong]. In the cases of P08 [Cong] and P09 [Cong], Christian music is *therapeutic* and *inspirational for good living*; “the thing is when you are

listening to a song, it's giving you something, I don't know how to explain it ... like an inspiration” [P09, Cong]. In P08 [Cong] words,

for me ... its actually good type of music that young people today should be listening to because its giving you advices and knowledge towards life and how to deal with your issues ... Christian music [also] helps me to *relax* especially when I've been having a hard time, may be some issues I'm facing with family and friends ... [it helps me] sit to think about stuff” [P08, Cong].

An influencing factor for some was the spoken language, “[I prefer Mike] cos sometimes he do sing in my mother tongue [Chiluba], also in French, Swahili, sometimes Lingala and English” [P01, Cong]. While for others, the language was not important, it was only the lyrics – “the lyrics is actually talking about life ... how to deal with your problems, actually giving advices [on] how to deal with some of the issues, some of the problems you're facing in your life, like you can really relate with those songs. It kind of helps a lot” [P08, Cong]. P10 [Cong] was particular about the message, and not the language; “it is only because of what [Mike Kalambay] sings.” Whereas, outlook and instrumentation were influential for P06 [Cong] who said he liked Lifoko duCiel and Sylvain Akouala's songs because of “the way they are dressing, they are dressing decently, and even the [modern] instruments that they are using.” From these responses, musical choices were content-based, others language-based, and others therapeutic and inspirational.

Much in the same way that Boer, *et al.* (2013), in their study, observed that their participants indicated a great deal of musical ethnocentrism, so I observed this from the responses of most of the Congolese participants. Their national identities and cultures were preserved in their choices, and especially reinforced in linguistic representations. For these participants, they revealed that linguistic representations were the most influential factors in their preferences for Christian music subgenres. Their home languages were frameworks of knowledge that these people were already conversant with (Jackendoff, 2009; Price III, 2009; Xu, 2015). Language is an important component of African music (King, 2008; Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007). It is for this reason that linguistic representations were more influential than other cultural elements among these diasporic Congolese. Their preferences expressed and communicated the feelings and evaluative concepts [that are] associated with [a country and its inhabitants or citizens] (Boer, *et al.*, 2013: 2362). They

preserved their culture through these song choices, and reinforced their identities, though they were away from home – as place of origin.

In George, *et al.*'s (2007) categorisation of music preference, they separated Christian music into contemporary, and traditional (hymns), quite similar to Aning's (1973) and Axelsson's (1974) categorisation of African music into traditional, contemporary, and a hybrid of both. These categorisations were dominant in the preferences of some of these Congolese participants. For one of the participants, he revealed that he preferred songs from the song book of the church. Neuendorf and Jian's study (2010) established that such preferences are directly or indirectly in consonance with the structured organisational identities of Protestant churches. This preference was shown to be an indication of people's sturdier affiliation with the liturgical and traditional forms of worship.

As some participants preferred Congolese songs, other participants preferred contemporary, pan-African and foreign Christian music subgenres. Comparable to preferences of some South Africans who were open to other subgenres of African and foreign Christian music, the choices of these people revealed hybridity of identities and a level of identity adaptation (Spitzberg and Changnon, 2009). This is because they established a common plain for interaction with 'otherness' through religion and religious content. The inclination to be culturally open or adapt to 'other' musical preferences simplifies previous and rather complex interactions with the 'self' and the 'other' and erases the constraints of cultural differences (Kirchner, 2013).

These preferences were used for specific purposes. Some indicated that they listened to their preferred Christian music subgenres for the spiritual purpose these serve in their lives. It is not surprising that Christian music is associated with its spiritual functions because it is a reminder of the relationship between God, the 'self' and 'other' people (Adedeji, 2007; Garfias, 2004; Preus, 1987). Nevertheless, other participants accentuated other uses of Christian music apart from its spiritual or religious inclination. What is worthy of mention is that the medium of music, in whichever genre it is represented, can function and serve different purposes (Schafer and Sedlmeier, 2010). Some used it as an inspiration for good living with an emphasis on good morals particularly for the younger generation, while others used it for reflective and therapeutic purposes. These align with Rentfrow, *et al.*'s (2011) conclusion on Christian music subgenres like worship

as medium for reflection. Contrarily, Rentfrow and Gosling's (2003) description of musical genres in comparison to usage did not categorise Christian music under 'reflective and complex' for introspective or evaluative purposes only, like other subgenres such as jazz, folk etc. Instead, it was classified as 'upbeat and conventional'. Hence, Christian music can be upbeat, as well as reflective as reflected in the responses of the Congolese participants.

Diasporic Nigerian Participants: use and preferences of Christian Music subgenres

Among diasporic Nigerians, there were divergent views on their mediated use and preference of Christian music subgenres. For P03 [Nig], the context determined his familiarity with, and preference of Christian music subgenres; "[I like] the Nigerian Christian music, then ... western Christian music. And since we are in South Africa ... some South African Christian music." Others preferred contemporary subgenres in the case of P07 [Nig] who noted that "[I prefer] some [songs] from Nigeria, for example Frank Edwards, and some outside Africa [like] Cece Winans; I do not really listen to traditional Christian music, I prefer the contemporary." P09 [Nig] listened to "lots of Nigerian gospel songs like Nathaniel Bassey, Sinach" who are contemporary Nigerian Christian music artists, while P10 [Nig] preferred more traditional Nigerian Christian music artists like Tope Alabi and the AjogbaJesu boys because "*they do a lot of beating* ... I like songs that are like hyper, the beat is high, its running ... that kind of music" indicating that traditional Christian music subgenres also have high beats like their contemporary counterpart.

Whereas, others did not have preferences for any particular Christian music subgenre; "[once] the music is good then I'm fine with it...it doesn't matter if its Zulu, if I know its gospel and its nice, I wouldn't mind" [P01, Nig]; "I am a jack-of-all-trade and master-of-all, but as long as it has *rhythm* and it has a *message*, ... everything goes" [P02, Nig]; "I don't have any special interest in any particular genre of Christian music, as long as it is *Christian and it edifies God*, I sing along" [P05, Nig]; and "I just sing, I don't know the classifications" [P08, Nig]. These responses undergird the universality of religion and music, without regard to linguistic barriers. This leads to why people use Christian music subgenres.

Others used Christian music for its spiritual, inspirational, and encouragement purposes, and mostly because the Christian songs are relatable. P02 [Nig] said

I feel music is a way that leads me into God's presence more or less, like it's a spiritual thing, ... before I pray, I listen to music because from thereon I feel that I'm being led into a place where I can actually table my requests and sometimes you know, if I'm going through something, I select some certain kinds of music just to uplift my spirit, or to encourage me.

P04 [Nig] preferred and used 'praise and worship' "because it makes me a little bit *connected to God* ... the way it is been sang, not really the person in charge of the music, but the way it is being sang ... [like] Don Moen ..., he sings with passion, he makes you feel the impact of what he's saying." So also, "most of these songs are soul-lifting ... [and] they don't just stimulate your spirit, but they are songs you can relate to" [P09, Nig].

The use of Christian music for others was tied to their mood or what they were engaged in at that very moment. For instance, P08 [Nig] opined that "the mood I am determines what I play ... sometimes *I usually get inspired* ... [and] sometimes *the context*, the same song I play today, I may play tomorrow and then I read another meaning to it, *it's based on me*." Similarly, "as long as it has *rhythm* and it has a *message* and depending on my *mood*, you know, I do not think any Christian music is a waste, the *message* is what counts" [P02, Nig]. In similar responses,

I have a playlist, so, *it depends on my mood* ... sometimes I play worship songs, sometimes I play praise ... Some mornings I want to be gingered [hyped], I play praise because it helps me to move my body but sometimes, worship songs, I just want to lie down in my bed and just be listening and meditating on worship songs ... I play Christian music just to get my day started [P03, Nig].

Actually, ... *I listen to edify*, ... my spirit, and to be able *to draw me closer to God* ... in situation if I need mental concentration, that I really do not want to listen to what the song is but I need something like a beat, I listen to some of those music to get me into full attention of what I'm doing, I cut out any other noise around my surrounding [P05, Nig].

Let me say I actually got addicted to listening to them because *they make me more efficient*, the kind of research I do is more of a brain thing, it's a dry lab kind of experiment, so, it *makes the inspiration [work] flow*. I don't know the connection anyways, I don't know if it is spiritual, but I realise that ... I work [better] like that ... The beat ... keeps me active, I listen to it most times when I'm working, it makes things flow, it inspires me ... [P10, Nig].

For some, the language in which the songs are performed is important – “I [like] Tope Alabi [a popular Nigerian Christian music artist] because *she sings in my dialect ... I understand all what she says*” [P06, Nig]; “sometimes when I sing my language song, it’s like I get connected on time” [P08, Nig]; “*language is very important. You know when it comes to Christian music, as a person, I believe when it comes to calling God’s names, my language is able to make me communicate. It goes deeper, English just calls it on the surface*” [P10, Nig]. This last statement speaks on how meanings may be lost in translations.

Some participants were not particular about language-use. Some responded that “I’m sure you’ll be familiar with Joyous Celebration, *even though I don’t understand what they are saying, I dance to it* [their songs]” [P02, Nig]; “... some of the ones here in South Africa, the Zulu songs, *I don’t understand them but I like the rhythm*, so, I go along with it” [P05, Nig]; “I listen to a lot of Zulu gospel songs, so, it’s not really about the language, it’s about what it does in your spirit” [P09, Nig]; “even if it is not translated, it has a very nice melody, I [as a Yorùbá lady] know about one or two [songs] which are sang in Igbo and not translated, but then, its melodious” [P07, Nig].

In the case of two participants, though they were not keen about the language in which the songs were represented, interpretations of the songs mattered – “*as long as I know the meaning of the song*, like this South African song *Wahamba nathi*, I like the song, because you are thanking God, [like saying] *Siyabonga* [We thank You]. So, as long as I know the meaning of the song, I really don’t mind” [P03, Nig]; “the language doesn’t really matter as far as *it is interpreted*” [P04, Nig]. From these responses, emergent ideas are those of linguistic, contextual, and inspirational factors [both spiritual and for working efficiently].

From previous discussions on Christian music subgenre preferences among South African and Congolese participants, Nigerians also had convergent responses indicating preference for Christian music contemporary, or traditional and hybridised subgenres. But for some participants, contextual or linguistic factors largely contributed to their preference of these Christian music subgenres.

Contextual expressions are characteristics of the ‘shifting world’ – the diaspora (Appadurai, 1996) – and indications of how they express their diasporic identities. Some of their choices and

familiarity with Christian music subgenres were due to their movement from one place to the other. In as much as they found themselves in a different environment, they were open to listening to and consuming the media and religious content of their immediate environment. This is a celebration of both diasporic and religious identities in a culturally diverse, but homogenous religious terrain. Denis McQuail (2010) affirmed that people's exposure to and consumption of media content is formed by conditions within social and cultural spaces, and the time and place where they are situated. Experiences of people within these environments are moulded and transformed, offering varied cultural knowledge and experiences in addition to what they had been previously exposed to (Minkler and Cosgel, 2004). They grow a better appreciation for cultures and traditions – 'otherness' – different from their backgrounds (Nightingale, 2003; O'Hara and Brown, 2006).

For others, meaningful or linguistic representations [local languages] were some factors considered in their preferences of Christian music subgenres. For those who were not particular about musical representations in their local languages, they were more fixated on understanding the encoded and produced messages in relation to codes they could interpret (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997; Hall, 1973; Manning, 2001). In a similar conclusion, Jaime Hormigos (2010) and Jonna Vuoskoski, *et al.* (2017) affirmed that the universality of music permeates cultural and linguistic borders to create a global musical identity that is inclusive. An evidence of this global musical identity is in the responses of those who were not keen on local linguistic representations in Christian music subgenres.

Furthermore, it was established from some Nigerian participants as it was from the responses of South African and Congolese participants that language was influential in their choices as a reinforcement of their cultural identities. In such cases, songs in local languages, be these traditional or contemporary, were more endearing and relatable because these songs spoke to the innate beings of these participants, reaffirming their cultural roles and identities (Akrofi and Kofie, 2007; Champs and Brooks, 2010; Hall, 1996).

Some of these preferred Christian music subgenres adopted defined roles and served diverse purposes among this migrant group. As indicated by South African and Congolese participants, some Nigerians consume preferred subgenres due to the spiritual purposes these provided for them. From these spiritual purposes stem inspiration and encouragement for whatever these people

encountered in their daily activities (Garfias, 2004). Another participant used the traditional Christian music subgenre for work and diversion, because his preferred songs under this subgenre had a high tempo that helped him focus on the tasks at hand. Music for diversion is consumed concurrently with other activities taking place, allowing for a relaxed mind while multitasking at the same time, which has also been established by other scholars (Corrigall and Schellenberg, 2015; Mbaegbu, 2015).

Other uses of preferred Christian music subgenres were closely associated with the mood of the participants, how the music made them feel about themselves, and as a means through which they could express themselves emotionally (Juslin, 2013a). These experiences created favourable dispositions towards their preferred Christian music subgenres (Corrigall and Schellenberg, 2015). From these responses, Christian music subgenres were deciphered as emotive contents which was not previously foregrounded by scholars (Corrigall and Schellenberg, 2015; Dunn, *et al.*, 2011; Hunter, *et al.*, 2000; Juslin, 2013a, 2013b; Schafer and Sedlmeier, 2010; Szpunar, *et al.*, 2004) who had conducted extensive research on music as an emotive medium. The weakness of these emotional attachments to preferred subgenres is that these participants may develop an undesirable disposition to these subgenres because they have listened to these songs repeatedly (Szpunar, *et al.*, 2004). Conversely, it can also be argued that after a few moments of not consuming such contents, a revisit may spark new interests and new meanings for the consumer. This is what is regarded as the polysemic nature of meaning, established in Hall's encoding and decoding model, as an indication that messages are exposed to different interpretations and readings from decoders or consumers; a vivid example of an active and participatory audience (Hall, [1973] 1980; Morley and Brunson, 1999; Nightingale, 2003; Pitout, 2001a). Responses from these Nigerian participants accentuate the necessity to represent Christian musical contents as relatable and practicable as possible, so that the varied cultural, spiritual, psychological and emotional needs can be met.

RQ2. How do cultural, diasporic and religious identities within each group express themselves and interact with ‘otherness’ (in terms of identity reinforcement and identity adaptation) through their representation and consumption of Christian Music subgenres within the South African cultural landscape?

South African Participants: expression of diverse aspects of identities (reinforcement/adaptation) through the representation and consumption of Christian Music subgenres

Language – both oral and objectified – is a viable means of representation and expression as suggested by Hall (1993, 1997a, b, c). It is thus one of the factors explored from the responses of the participants. Since South Africans are the home-based populace, the aim of this section is to identify how they relate with ‘otherness’ through Christian music, and other cultural practices they identified.

For those who were familiar with music from other places outside South Africa, most of them [if not all] had a preference for Sinach, a well-known Nigerian Christian music artist. P05 [SA]’s point of connection to Sinach was through her exposure to Sinach’s church activities, “we have her CD as well. We started hearing about Sinach from that church ... Christ Embassy, so, I got interested in her music and started buying her CDs ... we normally see her videos [on] TV, they normally play her video on One Gospel”; but her knowledge of otherness did not come “through her songs. I’ve met a few people who are from Nigeria, but unfortunately, I do not understand their language. But if I could be exposed to it, I would be willing to learn about it.” So also, P06 [SA] said “I find that the meaning of her songs [Sinach’s] are similar to others [I am familiar with], I wouldn’t differentiate them.”

Another participant’s response [P04, SA] was related to media content available and broadcast within the South African Christian media landscape. Her idea was tied to the fact that proximity did not affect media broadcasts, especially for Nigerian songs. She said, “our media mostly play Nigerian music, so, I think those are the ones we are familiar with, you know, like your typical Nigerian worship songs, because that is what is played by our radio stations and TV media.”

In addition, the medium of Christian music was a means to learn about other cultures. According to P07 [SA], “I have [learnt about the Nigerian culture]. I feel they are one of those improving

countries that obviously come from a challenging background, but you can see the people are actually trying to get the best out of the situation, they are actually moving forward with life.” Similarly, P01 [SA] said, “I do listen to them [Christian music from Nigeria], I don’t know their names, but I listen ... like [the Igbo song] *Igwe* ...” In the same media vein, some were exposed to ‘otherness’ through various forms of media contents, not only through Christian music. In the case of P01 [SA], “I do listen to P-Square [a defunct boy pop group] from Nigeria most of the time”, and she learnt about “their [Nigerian] religion, their culture, [the] way they live. They believe more than us.” She came to this conclusion as a result of her exposure to Nigerian media content. P08 [SA]’s exposure to ‘otherness’ was by “maybe ... watching a movie, those Nigerian movies and stuff, I would hear their songs that they sing.”

Other forms of interaction were through cordial relationships with ‘others’, and the environment provided by the church. For instance, “I happen to have a few Nigerian friends, clients, pastors, so, I must say I’ve learnt a lot from them, and I think everybody knows that they are highly spiritual and prayer warriors, so, it’s very interesting to listen to their music” [P04, SA]. In the interactions with different people in church, P02 [SA] said,

we have a lot [of different nationals in our church]. The thing is we have ministries, so you get to know the people in the ministries that you are in, so, I don’t think there’ll be any problem with me getting along with other people from other spaces, but if they are in my space, obviously, I would have a very good relationship with them.

Furthermore, “I’ve got these two guys from work, one is from Zimbabwe, I don’t know where the other one is from but I know they both don’t speak similar languages, so you get to learn a bit about both cultures, and also try to explain to them my culture, so, it’s actually a fun experience” [P07, SA]. P08 [SA] added that “ECC is an international church, as much as I can’t pinpoint that so so so and so come from [some]where, but we do have a lot of people that come from different countries. I mean, we’ve even had a lady who came to work for the church, from Holland, so, we have a lot of people from different places.” These responses stress the importance and need for a welcoming atmosphere within religious circles.

Others were familiar with those who played active roles in church, though they are foreigners. P09 [SA] “[knows] even the drummers, the guys on the keyboard and the drums. The guy on the drums,

I think he's from Nigeria", while P07 [SA] mentioned that "we do get pastors from different areas of the world ... [and] we do get [their] songs that are not ... Zulu songs, but then, you can actually listen to those songs and then you can actually relate to that." Additionally, "there's a guy who plays our piano, I think he's from Nigeria ... he plays one of the instruments in our church..." [P05, SA]. But beyond P05 [SA]'s knowledge of 'otherness' in church, she was able to relate with them through other contexts; "I have so many friends, I'll say I get along with most people, especially when I go to salon, I make friends there..." In these instances, the church among other social contexts, and the media, provided physical and virtual spaces for interaction between 'self' and the 'other'.

Among the South African participants, as previously touched on, their exposure to some of Sinach's songs revealed, to a large extent, of pan-Africanism. The diffusion and permeation of Nigerian content all over the South African media landscape aided the exposure to 'otherness', especially, to Nigerian cultural and religious content. This exposure came through religious and non-religious media content, characteristic of the globalisation of the media industry which has birthed transnational mobility through the media (Bailey, *et al.*, 2007; Dunn, 2013; D'Silva, 2000; Fritz, *et al.*, 2013; Hormigos, 2010; McQuail, 2010; Zlatar, 2003). The role of the media in the proliferation of celebrating multiculturalism and cultural diversity is cogent within these instances and responses.

Other facilitators or initiators of social interactions between the 'self' [South Africans] and 'others' [the diaspora] were religious and social contexts like the church and workplace respectively. Within the church setting, these interactions were spurred by visiting or guest ministering pastors or artists who were from other countries, and foreigners who attended the church. Some of these significant 'others' were known because of the active roles they played in church such as being drummers, instrumentalists, or technicians.

Interactions within the working space proved efficient in facilitating cordial relationships between different people, from the responses of some South African participants. In other words, through these contexts of interactions, they could redefine their identities to accommodate and adapt to 'otherness'. These were pointers to the recognition and celebration of cultural diversity (Baumeister and Muraven, 1996). It is only through such recognition that emphasis can be laid on

the importance of intercultural competency and how this fosters awareness and encounters with the 'other' (Byram, *et al.*, 2001; Dong, *et al.*, 2008; Taylor, 1994).

Diasporic Congolese Participants: expression of diverse aspects of identities (reinforcement/adaptation) through the representation and consumption of Christian Music subgenres

Among some Congolese participants, spoken language was a means by which they expressed and reaffirmed their identities. For P01 [Cong], “[Mike Kalambay] sings in my mother tongue [Chiluba]. Also, in French, Swahili, sometimes Lingala and English. [he sings] more in my mother tongue.” She also mentioned the fact that the songs in church remind her of home, the DRC, though they are written in so many languages; “you know in our song book, we can do one song [which] is in English, my mother tongue [Chiluba], in French and in Lingala.” For P02 [Cong], language was very important to her because she newly arrived in the South African terrain and is just learning to communicate in English. Language was a means of cultural expression for her. Then, she went on to sing a song in Lingala and said, “this song is in the [song] book”, also showing the importance of the song book for the expression of her cultural identity.

For P03 [Cong], he accessed his French and Swahili songs from the song book, while P08 [Cong] conveyed that

[the songs in church] remind me of home because I do miss home a lot. I basically grew up here my whole life, and I've never been home ever since I've been in South Africa, so, I don't know much about home. But our music, the Congolese music, helps me feel like I'm back home with my friends and family... [I participate by] clapping my hands, you know, like others sit and clap hands [and use of] ... the tambourines, I'm familiar with that one.

P09 [Cong] averred that “the language [helps], a song was sang inside [the song book] ... it is Swahili, because where I come from, we speak Swahili and French.” Whereas, for P10 [Cong], because the church service pattern and songs rendered in church were relatable and similar to those he knew from back home in the DRC, the church atmosphere was ‘home’ for him. In his words, “it's the same song [we sing here that we also sing back in the DRC], it's also the same here, so, there is no difference for me, it's the same for me ... home is here in South Africa.”

In other cases, participants had divergent opinions on cultural expressions via songs in church, or the church setting itself. P04 [Cong] asserted that though the songs in church reminded her of home, “I don’t like the songs from the song book, but ... it’s what [we are supposed to do], an obligation. But for me, I like the person to sing, [then] you, you sing”, describing a performer-audience relationship observable in church live performances. P06 [Cong] initially said “no, [the songs] don’t remind me of home ... we are singing about the glory of God.” But he went further to clarify that “about the language, yes, because the songs we are singing, [seeing that] the language is not what we are speaking usually here, but when we are singing, it can [remind] me [of our] language ...”

The views of P05 [Cong] were because the songs compiled in the song book of the church had ‘original’ languages before they were translated to indigenous languages. He said

most of these songs were first written in English and then it got translated to our language, and then French translated ... cos mostly, the[se] songs that they sing, they are hymns ... written about years ago. The only thing is [that] they bring me closer to God, that’s all I can say. They don’t remind me of home.

The emphasis here is on the originality of translations and more efforts for meanings not to be lost in translations.

In how they related with ‘otherness’, there were different opinions on listening to Christian music subgenres from other countries. Some were exposed to ‘otherness’ through songs, for instance, P06 [Cong] was familiar with Deborah Fraser and “sings in isiZulu and English sometimes.” P07 [Cong] listened to Xhosa and Zulu songs and “even if I don’t understand, I will try to make effort to understand what they are saying.” P01 [Cong] was familiar with “Sfiso [Ncwane], a South African gospel musician, there is ... Joyous Celebration [as well], and in Nigeria, I like [hums the song *Ekwueme*], *You are a living God o* [by Prospa Ochimana].” These choices were quite fascinating because Sfiso sings mostly in Zulu, while *Ekwueme* was sung mostly in Igbo. So, I asked if she understood what they said in the songs and she said “ahn ahn, no”, but because the video of *Ekwueme* was translated, and she said she had seen the video, she was able to understand and relate with the lyrics. However, she has not learnt much about South Africans through the song she was exposed to, but learnt through “friends ... family [too], my little sister[s], they know a

little bit of Zulu, so, when they put a South African song, gospel, in Zulu, they can explain to me, and you know sometimes ... as a Christian, when they do sing, no matter how the language is ... you'll feel it." For P04, she was equally familiar with Nigerian as well as South African songs. She liked South African songs particularly "because the women sing very very [well]. They have nice voice[s] to glorify God ...". However, "sometimes, I don't understand the one talking [the language]" [P01, Cong].

So also, the church environment created an atmosphere to relate with 'otherness'. "[In our church, we have people] from Zambia, Congo, Rwanda, and some Americans at times" [P01, Cong]. For others, though they came across South African music, their circles of influence had majorly been contextual, as in the case of P05 [Cong] who said, "I've been living in South Africa for long, and I have some South African friends ... [who] tell me about South Africa." P10 [Cong] also mentioned the influence of friends on cultural engagement with 'otherness'; "[I talk] to some friends. When I came here, I heard some people talking about their culture, [I asked] them some questions, and they ask[ed] me some questions, [issues about] the DRC and stuff like that." P08 [Cong] was also open to songs from other places apart from the DRC, but the major challenge she faced was that "it is hard to sort of find other music when you enter the net, sometimes, it gives you a problem but I would like to get to know more from Nigerian gospel music ... because I just like the way ... Nigerian people sing, ... you know when someone is singing with passion ... I enjoy that, so I also listen to that.." This addresses the issue of media bombardment. On the contrary, P09 [Cong] was oppositional to listening to South African music because "they sing in their own language and I like to listen to music, when I understand what they are talking about ... then I can listen to that music."

According to Hall (1993, 1997a, b, c), the representation of language in codes and terms that the decoder is familiar with not only aids reception of such media representations, but also the meaning-making process. This implies that there are meaningful associations within sociocultural encounters that are enablers of such practices (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997, 2013). The cultural and religious interpretations ascribed to these meanings are expressions of their identities in culture, religion and as the diaspora (Al-Azami, 2016). These were reiterated in the responses of the Congolese participants in how they use Christian music to reinforce their cultural, religious and diasporic identities. Most of these participants gravitated towards songs from their local and

familiar contexts, an indication of musical ethnocentrism (Boer, *et al.*, 2013), though they were far from home. The major reason for their choices was because the songs were sung in local Congolese languages like Lingala, Chiluba, French and Swahili.

The significance of the song book is not only a symbolic artefact representational of the organisational identity of the Protestant church (Hitchcock, 2012; Johnson, *et al.*, 2010), but also one that reinforces and at the same time adapts their cultural and diasporic identities. Other participants also pointed to the relevance of the song book which catered to the language dynamics of the many Congolese ethnic groups and even other ethnic groups present in the church. The compiled songs in the song book served as reminders and connections to home [as a place of origin (Wild-Wood, 2008)], especially for one of the participants who had not returned to the DRC since arriving to South Africa. This song book, as a religious and cultural pointer, along with other accompanying performing arts within the church atmosphere, reconstructed or transposed as it were, the concept of 'home' into the church confines.

However, others had a redefinition of what home represented to them. Corroborating earlier assertions on the similarities in Protestant modes of worship, instituted by missionaries who came to Africa (Axelsson, 1974; Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007), some Congolese participants considered South Africa as home since the church patterns in the DRC and in South Africa were the same. This further aligns with the definition of 'home' as a word that assumes different meanings within different contexts (Anderson, 2015). In this particular instance, 'home' is recognised as a space where people belong, a space deliberately chosen for one to be associated with (Anderson, 2015: 17; Morley, 2001). The transformational characteristic and fluidity of this concept of 'home' adapts the diasporic identities of these participants.

In other cases, some participants could not find the link between the expression of their religious and diasporic identities through Congolese songs or the song book. One of such responses clamoured for a more inclusive and participatory mode of worship to reiterate a performer-audience relationship. Correspondingly, August Berita (2009) suggested that churches should embrace a changing culture to be attractive to younger people, while not contravening the standard of the Bible. Such earlier considerations birthed hybridised and contemporary Christian music movement and Pentecostal service modes within the Nigerian religious landscape (Akpanika,

2012; Udok and Odunuga, 2016). Another response was in line with the originality of some of these songs that had become indigenised. The participant opined that such translated songs were not originally in their Congolese language, so they did not influence him in his identification to those songs culturally or linguistically. The only basis of identification was religion; an instance where people distinctly separate their hybridised identities to create a higher level of global consciousness (Grossberg, 1996; Hall, 1992; Pohl, 2009; Wild-Wood, 2008).

As previously recognised by Karlton Hester (2010) and Vicki Brennan (2012), the religious identity of an individual is foregrounded from an already instituted cultural positioning that can be either maintained or adapted, depending on the predisposition of the individual. The awareness of their [Congolese] hybridised identities made them more knowledgeable about ‘self’ and ‘others’ in situations where they [the diaspora] were considered as the ‘other’. This knowledge is enhanced by their exposure to ‘other’ Christian music apart from those from the DRC, and their social interactions with other people. The participants listened to songs from South African and Nigerian Christian music artists, and though some of the songs were represented in South African and Nigerian local languages, these Congolese participants were receptive to them. Musical translations of these songs helped to understand their contents.

The Christian music genre celebrates cultural diversities present within the same religious environment with no lingering ties of differentiations (Boer, *et al.*, 2013), contrary to previous assertions that different musical genres elaborate on inequities and musical differentiations of ‘our music’ and ‘their music’ (Thompson, 2015). Through their [Congolese] exposure to South African songs for instance, they had come to appreciate the rich musical culture and tradition of South Africans which is evident in all spheres of their lives [South Africans], and in this case culture and religion.

Some of these responses were indications of how religious identities are ‘cross-/ transcultural’ and ‘trans-verbal’, i.e., beyond cultural and linguistic boundaries, an opportunity that ought to be advantageous in facilitating social interactions among diverse people, as well as balancing and maintaining the identities of these people.

Diasporic Nigerian Participants: expression of diverse aspects of identities (reinforcement/adaptation) through the representation and consumption of Christian Music subgenres

Collectively, Christian music representation and consumption, in terms of language-use in church, and songs sung in the local dialects of Nigerians, were deemed as reminders of home and a means by which their cultural identities were expressed in church. P01 [Nig] admitted that, “[the choir] sing songs from my culture [Yorùbá], my cultural songs, they remind me of home”, and P03 [Nig] commented that “they sing Yorùbá songs, so it reminds me of home, and you know, when they are singing some songs [that] are what you hear back home, the way you react to it is different because it is not what you listen to everyday, so, once in a while, you enjoy it [and] remember where you’re coming from.” P04 [Nig] added, “the praise and worship remind me, because 60-70 percent of the praise and worship is all about home, in the local language...” In P10 [Nig]’s response, “if [the songs do not] remind me of my home culture, I would have stopped going to the church [laughs]. It is actually like a home from home, so, when it comes to that session, it’s like you’re never away from home, except when you attend the second service ... that is Zulu-interpreted.” For this last participant [P10, Nig], singing in his home language was also a motivating factor to attend the service.

Other responses that were indications of contextual influence were from P03 [Nig], who said, “when you go to a church that is kind of Nigerian-oriented, definitely, they are going to sing Nigerian songs and you’re going to feel at home.” P05 [Nig] added, “I attend a church that originated from Nigeria, so, more than 70 percent of the worship [are] Nigerian [songs].” P09 [Nig] also said, “some of the songs during praise and worship are basically Yorùbá songs, Nigerian songs, and on few occasions Zulu songs” while P06 [Nig] substantiated that “...it’s a Nigerian church... because most people who attend the morning service [8 am] are Nigerians ... where I live, the church I go, most of them are Nigerians”, consequently, his circle of influence were people who shared same diasporic identity with himself. P10 [Nig] alluded that “I attended [the Zulu interpreted] second service ... I actually fell in love with Zulu songs, but the language is actually a barrier [because it’s a Zulu-oriented service].”

From some of these participants, a major factor responsible for cultural and religious Christian music representations in different settings is as a result of those who constitute the majority of the ethnic/cultural population. Hence, choices were contextual. These were responses from their collective or group interactions in church as people assembled (Nightingale, 2003).

However, on an individual basis, as people addressed (Nightingale, 2003), the majority of the Nigerian participants indicated that language representation was not a motivating factor in their Christian music choice and use. It can be inferred that spoken language in Christian music representation [at least on an individual basis] was not a means of cultural expression among the majority of these people. But for two Nigerian participants, language-use was important at the individual level. P06 [Nig] noted that “I [prefer] Tope Alabi because she sings in my dialect [and] because I understand all what she says”, and P10 [Nig] added that

language is very important. You know when it comes to Christian music, as a person, I believe when it comes to calling God’s names, my language is able to make me communicate. It goes deeper than English, [English] just calls it on the surface ... [and I like her use of talking drum] there is even a part where they beat the drum, and someone is ... talking along to match what the guy is actually saying with the drum.

For these two, language-use and traditional musical instrumentation were ‘reinforcers’ of their cultural, diasporic and religious identities.

Another response from P08 [Nig] which dealt with language choice and use in ‘praise and worship’ was from a choir member who opined that ‘otherness’ was a major factor choir members considered in song choice, and not necessarily linking ‘Nigerianness’ to the religious environment as explained by other participants. P08 [Nig] said that “many times they tell us, you can’t be singing your language songs, they tell you maybe one or two Yorùbá [songs and a mix of] other languages ... You may understand ... [and] be blessed with the songs, but what about others who don’t understand the language, they get lost.” In this way, it raises the need for cultural balance in order to accommodate other cultures within the same religious context. The purpose of this is to promote religious as well as cultural identities, and cultural expressions as adaptive tendencies in recognition of the existence of ‘otherness’ (Byram, *et al.*, 2001; Taylor, 1994; Zikargae, 2013).

But for those who rather held negotiated readings to language-use, the constellation of performing arts (Stone, 2010), and not the songs alone or spoken language, reminded them of home. By this, objectification and representation were predominant factors, which were influential to individual and collective identities (du Gay, *et al.*, 1997: 14, 2013; Hall, 1993, 1997a, b, c). For instance, quoting P02 [Nig], “[I’m reminded of home through] the dancing, the drums, the singing, the songs, the gesticulations and the dance steps. [These] of course [are] reflective of what is happening back home in Nigeria.”

Though P07 [Nig] enjoyed the cultural mix of songs in church, she did not think the songs in church were representative of any particular culture. She commented that, “I love the ‘praise and worship’. That is what attracted me to Winners’. They sing English, some sing traditional ... the Winners’ here, they sing [in] isiZulu sometimes, but most of them [sing] in English ... 90 percent of the songs ... are English. Maybe once in a while they sing in Yorùbá from my tribe, they sing in Igbo but it’s not too common [...my culture] is not portrayed as such.” The focus is not so much on the representation of a cultural identity, but the recognition of a universal religious identity.

Since the church provided an avenue for cultural and religious expressions, another influencing factor was attire. The dress representation has been foregrounded as a cultural marker (Denbow and Thebe, 2006; Macleod, 2002; Rovine, 2015: 3). For instance, P05 [Nig] said “on rare occasions ... [when] I have a particular function that involves display of culture, I tend to wear my native Nigerian wear ... on Sundays, in my church, ... the last Sunday of the month, we usually have Thanksgiving service. They encourage native attire ...” In P02 [Nig]’s opinion, “sometimes I wear my traditional dresses to church. That’s a way of keeping in touch with home.” P03 [Nig] added that “I always dress like I’m in Nigeria, apart from the weather. So, mostly, I try to dress like a Nigerian” speaking to associated codes of national representation and identity.

Other means by which cultural and diasporic identities found means of expression included food, social media, and spoken language (Brightwell, 2015; Frith, 2004). P01 [Nig] spoke of “listening to news, reading of news, watching of Nigerian videos ... my Yorùbá videos in particular, then the music too, I listen to the music.” For P02 [Nig], “[I keep in touch] through Christian music, I listen to those traditional music, in my own time ... and well, my friends are majorly [Yorùbá] ... you heard us conversing in [the] Yorùbá language ...” P04 [Nig] kept in touch through

the dressing, the language as well, because in some of the occasions, you meet people who are from the Igbo part of Nigeria, so we speak our language, we don't really speak English, we speak the native language, just like when South Africans meet South Africans, they speak Zulu when they are Zulu, so when I see someone from the Igbo aspect, we don't actually speak English, we speak the native language, so that thing alone reminds me of home, that I'm at home, I'm within my own friends or family.

Conversely, two participants had divergent views on what represented or served as a means of expression, especially for their cultural and diasporic identities. One of them, P10 [Nig] was of the opinion that

our culture is within us. I don't know for some Nigerians that try to maybe fake it when they get outside the country. I feel being a Nigerian is within me, I don't do much to keep in touch, when I speak ...it's not cup, it's cep [for those who try to feign the South African accent], I'm like its cup, you can't say it's cep, and they know me that I'll actually insist it's cup [difference in pronunciation/intonation]. So, I think it's a way of saying where I come from, I won't say cep, I will say cup, ... for me, it's just within me, that's how I keep in touch. I feel it's in my veins that I am Nigerian, and I am proud of it.

Similarly, for P08 [Nig]

the culture is in me already ... then when I see a Yorùbá person, we speak [because] I still remember home, you know when you see 'yourselves' interact, you speak your language. But ... if [for instance] I don't play [a] Yorùbá song for one week, so, meaning I'm not in contact with my culture? I won't say through songs ... [it's true that] sometimes when I sing my language song, it's like I get connected on time, but you know when I want to remember home, I want to feel like home, although I am in South Africa, I prepare my food in home-like manner ... you know, our food is quite different ...

These responses are oppositional interpretations that challenge the idea that culture can only be represented as a particular, or familiar construct within predefined schools of thought (Hall, [1973] 1980; Howarth, 2011; Kropp, 2015). It pinpoints the roles of individuals as carriers of culture and traditions, and it addresses the people as intangible cultural heritages or the 'living culture', thus conceptualising the intangibility of culture (*Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, Department of Arts and Culture, South Africa, 2017; UNESCO, 2017).

In the bid to identify ways by which the Nigerian diasporic identities are expressed [if they were open to listening to songs beyond their cultural or linguistic sphere], I probed further into their relationship with ‘otherness’. ‘Others’ were the people who had different cultural and national identities, but shared akin religious identities, represented through Christian music use individually or collectively. Some responses from the Nigerian participants revealed that Christian music became an avenue to learn about other people. For instance, P01 [Nig] said “I think it’s the culture, their [South Africans] dressing sometimes in the music video, I can see the culture ... the way they perform tells the story of their culture.” For P02 [Nig], “South Africans are a cultural people ... so, even when they are worshipping in church, you see them try to do their Zulu dance [stamps feet in demonstration] even in the worship sessions and all.” In the case of P03 [Nig], irrespective of background or language, the religious identity shared, based on a belief in God is a unifying factor among Christians. She said

this *Wahamba nathi* song [by Solly Mablangu, a South African Christian music artist], I heard about it in church, and you could see in church, you see Nigerians, Ghanaians and *everybody are enjoying the song* because what is particular about all these is ... the meaning of the song and that it is praising God, *so the common denominator that we have is God, so when we are worshipping God together, it doesn’t matter where you are from or where you are not from, as long as the words of the song is praising God, we just forget about our background.*

In a similar response, P07 [Nig] noted, “it doesn’t [only] have to be in church. I have watched some Christian videos, music videos in isiZulu, and the way they dance, I know the way they dance ...” Likewise,

for their [South Africans] dance, I don’t know their dance because I think their dance requires more of energy, and it’s different, if you don’t eat well, you can’t dance [laughs]. And of course, the language, I can say yes [to that] because I watch their programmes like songs on One Gospel. I knew then that they were singing Christian songs, but I [didn’t] know the meanings of those songs. You know they are very good at [that], but now that I found myself in the choir, when they send Zulu songs for us to sing, they put the English, so through that I can [know], this is this, this is that... [P08 Nig].

P09 [Nig] also added that “they [South Africans] sing very well ... Without being biased, I would say they sing better than Nigerians ... and their culture is always infused in their music. They are not really about [performing only in] English [but more in their indigenous languages].”

Lastly, P10 [Nig] added to comments on the inherent Zulu musical tradition and how “the culture and the music ... are actually inseparable because they try as much as possible to infuse their [South Africans] culture in their music in anything they do ... even while [they] praise God. So, I think they have been able to successfully do that.” It is clear from these responses that Christian music is a viable means of interaction and education – to learn about other people and cultures.

But in all these, even in the face of some differences from ‘otherness’, they could still see certain similarities which we share as Africans. For instance, P01 [Nig] saw similarities in “performance ... and then the fact that sometimes there is dancing in [South African and Nigerian] videos, so I know at least we all dance.” P06 [Nig] said “the fact that we are Africans, I think there is this brotherly link ... like most of my South African friends, they always try to know more about Nigeria, and I myself, I like to know more about [the] Zulu culture as well, to the extent of learning their language [like the greeting] *Sawubona*.”

In the same vein, P04 [Nig] noted that

When South African songs play, there is this thing about Africa that we have this similar culture, especially in dressing aspect, the attire, we have some things that are similar. So, if the songs are playing, though we have different ways of dancing and performing it, in quote, there is similarity in terms of dressing and in terms of worship, like when [I see] South Africans [and Nigerians] worship[ping], we want to praise God to the utmost level of our voice, singing to God, maybe raising our hands, it’s a general thing, from the part where me I’m coming from, we also do that, when we are singing, when we are worshiping God, we have this way of expressing ourselves, wholeheartedly, so we have that similarity.

P05 [Nig] added that

I know one of the major languages in East Africa is Swahili, then I also noticed that their mode of dressing has similarity with those from West Africa like the fabric they use ... Ghana, Nigeria to be precise, most of the fabrics they use, they call them Ankara materials ... My interaction with the East African people, I noticed that they use such materials too.

As much as the church is a spiritual environment, in the words of P04 [Nig], “[the church environment] is [also] a social gathering.” In the bid to learn, integrate and interact with otherness, some participants noted that the church context provided this avenue for social and cultural integration. P01 [Nig] pointed out that

I got to meet a lot of Nigerians who share the same belief with me and who saw life the same way I did, and it helped me to also get to know South Africans more because I am in the children’s department and there are other teachers who are not Nigerians, so we hold meetings and then through that, I was able to mingle with them and see things from their point of view.

P02 [Nig] observed that “[the church] even helped me mix more with Nigerians here, and also a couple of South African[s].” P03 [Nig] also said “... if not for church, I really don’t have so many interactions with non-Nigerians. In church, you interact with other Nigerians, Ghanaians, Mozambique, people from DRC ... so, church is one of the places that made me interact with other cultures”, a similar view shared by P09 [Nig] and P10 [Nig].

Other participants integrated with ‘otherness’ through various social environments. P06 [Nig] integrated “[t]here on campus”, and for P05 [Nig], his international exposure, and the university environment furnished him with such opportunities to interact with different people. He stated that

by virtue of my travels and my exposure and then also my lab mate, he’s from Kenya He listens to East African songs, Swahili, Lingala from Congo, so by virtue of the fact that if he plays them, I tend to listen to them and I enjoy some of them too ... so without even attending church, I already have integration with someone from Kenya. Then, my circle of friends by virtue of some of the places I’ve attended like conferences or maybe tutoring that I do, I meet people from different backgrounds and different countries.

In the case of two participants, their immediate setting influenced their exposure to ‘other’ music. P10 [Nig] said “I ... knew Nigerian [Christian music] alone before I came to South Africa, and now that I am in South Africa, I am exposed to South African [songs].” Whereas, P06 [Nig] opined that “I haven’t found myself in any environment where I will be exposed to such ... where I live, the church I go, most of them are Nigerians.” P02 [Nig], P04 [Nig], P07 [Nig] and P09 [Nig] also specified that they often surrounded themselves with people who spoke similar languages. These

opinions illustrated how some diasporic people attempted to locate a familiar turf or terrain before integration with ‘otherness’.

Songs represented in the Nigerian local dialects were highly influential in congregating with other Nigerians and different nationals in church. Hence, the songs in church reminded them of home. Some had choice words to represent the importance of songs as a connection to home. Some of these words are “my cultural songs”, “home away from home”, and “feel at home” songs. These diasporic people through their responses stressed the vital position that spoken language occupies in reiterating self-definition and self-essence.

It can be garnered from their responses that the Nigerian affiliation which the church bore was consequential on how the early morning church service was represented which is largely English-oriented. This translated to a higher percent of Nigerian presence and songs, but it did not hamper their exposure and knowledge to, and of ‘otherness’. Some Nigerians who attended the Zulu-oriented service after the English-oriented service testified to how ‘Zuluness’ was accentuated during the late morning service. These inferences were attributed to music of the majority (Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015; Pieters, 2011). These were within music representation in the Nigerian church reported by the Nigerian participants. But for individual consumption, away from their observations at the group level, the language in which the songs were represented was not as influential. What mattered more for most of the Nigerian participants was the expression of their religious identities, irrespective of the language of representation. But in the case of two participants, language representation was influential. The implication of this is in how religion or religious practices unite people, beyond the obvious linguistic or cultural barriers and borders that may abound (Ingalls, *et al.*, 2016).

RQ3. How do the dominant media of consumption of Christian music influence each group and their exposure to ‘otherness’ in terms of identity reinforcement and identity adaptation?

I had initially understudied their [South Africans, Congolese and Nigerians] mode of Christian music consumption through live performances in different churches. Consequently, the other aspects reported here deal with other forms of media consumption and how these supported identity construction among these groups. They all had different media of consuming Christian music.

South African Participants: dominant media of Christian Music consumption and their influence on identity reinforcement/adaptation

Among the home-based, the dominant medium identified was the Internet, i.e., downloads and streaming on YouTube. Other media that came into play were local media broadcasts on the radio and television as indicated by P02 [SA] and P06 [SA], while P08 [SA] in addition to streaming online preferred to buy CDs and digital versatile discs [DVDs]. P03 [SA] consumed Christian music through the purchase of “their CDs, download[ing] them, go[ing] to their concerts [and what] they play on this channel, 331 [on DStv], One Gospel.” For P04 [SA], her preferred media of consumption were her mobile phone, television and radio; “I have a stereo on like 24/7, when I’m at work, when I’m sleeping ... I’ve got my TV, I just put the radio on, otherwise I have it on my mobile, like your typical radio station, mainly Highway radio, Good hope FM ... I start my Sunday morning with Metro FM.” She added that “...our media mostly play Nigerian worship songs because that is what is played by our radio stations and TV media ...”

For P05 [SA] and P07 [SA], their choices of media consumption were based on media proximity and media functions. For P05 [SA], the church and the radio were prominent media of Christian music consumption for her. She said for “the Christian music ... *Jesulidwala*, I just heard it at church [though] I first heard it on radio. [In addition, I] buy CDs. I [also] download some.” When I inquired further about other media of broadcast like the television, she said, “it’s not as if every day they gonna play the kind of music that you like, it depends ... its better [to have it available at my disposal].” This speaks of portability and availability of content when needed. In her consumption of ‘other’ [Nigerian] music, she said “we buy her [Sinach’s] CD as well. We started hearing about Sinach from [her] church ... Christ Embassy, so I got interested ... [and] you know, we normally see her videos [on] TV, cos they normally play her video on One Gospel.” This viewpoint aligned with P04 [SA] who spoke about the availability of Nigerian Christian music within the South African media terrain, and how media texts have become more transnational and cross-cultural.

In the case of P07 [SA], “usually, with the ones that are local, I usually listen to them on YouTube ... and then with the ones who speak a different language, I usually try [or] there is always somebody who’s gonna translate what the song is about. That is how I think listening to music on

YouTube actually helps me to understand.” The availability of visual constructs, lyrical contents, and translation available online made YouTube more appealing to this participant.

The new media technologies and media convergence played a significant role in the responses of South African participants in this study. Most of the media content was accessed through media downloads, and online streaming. These new media technologies are products of the revolutionary outcomes of music evolution (Van Dyke, 2016). The media provided ‘on the go’ mobile and flexible services for these consumers of Christian musical contents (Hormigos, 2010; Koh, *et al.*, 2010). The importance of streaming via YouTube, stated by another participant, is the availability of lyrics and translations of these songs represented in another language different from his own language. YouTube enabled him to understand songs through visual and lyrical constructs.

For those who consumed Christian music via the radio and the television, their choices were largely influenced by media proximity and the content broadcast via the media. For instance, one of the participants was familiar with some of the radio stations that broadcast Christian music and the time of the broadcast. Hence, she tuned to Metro FM on Sunday mornings, to start her day on that note. From the previous discussions on the content line-up of Metro FM [see page 74], with the broadcast of *The Sacred Space* between 6am and 9am (Metro FM, 2017), Christian faithfuls can access religious content within this timeframe. Although it is a talk-oriented broadcast (Scherer and Schneider, 2011), Christian music subgenres accompany the conversations on air.

For television broadcasts, DStv’s One Gospel channel was a major determining factor to exposure to religious media contents. But more importantly, it brought the knowledge of who Sinach is to some of these South African participants. Sinach is a Nigerian Christian music artist and international worship leader at the Christ Embassy church, a Nigerian-based Pentecostal church. She is known for songs that have transcended the Nigerian borders, and concerts held in different parts of the world, including South Africa (Sinach.org, 2019). Added to the fact that they watch her videos on One Gospel, some of these participants also purchase her CDs and download her songs. Because Sinach has enjoyed a high level of exposure via television broadcasts in South Africa, this has led to her increased popularity both on mainstream and new media since mainstream media is an enabler of media presence and popularity on other media platforms (Ando, 2014; Dewan and Ramaprasad, 2014; Monzoncillo and Calvi, 2015).

Another major reason why these people consume contents beyond mainstream media is due to availability, portability and accessibility of content when needed. One of the participants mentioned that the mainstream media like the television and radio do not always broadcast the kind of Christian music she may wish to listen to at the initial moment, so, she would prefer that such religious content is at her own disposal. Then, she could play it whenever she wanted to, symbolic of unlimited access to music listening (Schramm, 2006: 9). It also emphasises the flexibility of intangible media [of Internet technologies] (Hormigos, 2010), and tangible media [of CDs and DVDs] (Albright, 2015; Dobie, 2001; Scherer and Schneider, 2011).

From other responses, their initial contacts with certain Christian music subgenres were due to songs sung in church, products of live performances or worship experiences. These choices were backed up by other media such as purchasing CDs, downloading or streaming. A performer-audience relationship is first established by the music artists with these people-assembled (Nightingale, 2003; Schramm, 2006) which leads to some form of loyalty and a further action to access these songs through other media (Brabazon, 2012; Okafor, 2000).

Because individuals or self-identities are more obvious at the individual level of music consumption (Brown and Sellen, 2006; du Gay, *et al.*, 2013: 14; Laughey, 2006), these people expressed a greater level of openness to ‘otherness’ beyond what was observed during the ethnography, where there was a high level of musical ethnocentrism at the group level.

Diasporic Congolese Participants: dominant media of Christian Music consumption and their influence on identity reinforcement/adaptation

From the perspective of the diasporic people, starting with the Congolese community, they also had different media of consumption and the purposes these served, or should serve for them.

The first participant P01 [Cong], mentioned that she listened via the television, CD, mobile phone, and computer. In her consumption of foreign Christian music [*Ekwueme*, a Nigerian Christian song], her consumption and understanding of the lyrics was facilitated by the music video because it was interpreted. She also mentioned watching some Congolese and ‘other’ Christian music on One Gospel, on DSTv; “always, all the time, if we are home [and] we don’t play our [Congolese] music, then they [One Gospel channel] do play all the songs.” For P02 [Cong], her choices were

through her mobile phone by streaming online and downloads, and via the television at home in the Congolese commune where she resided. P05 [Cong] had been exposed to ‘other’ songs beyond Congolese songs through “One Gospel. They put South African songs as well...they also play Congolese songs ... I [have also] got a tablet at home ... where I download them. Sometimes, I also listen to them online as well.”

P04 [Cong]’s choice of media for the consumption of Christian music was mainly through her phone and those sent by friends. She said, “sometimes, my friend sends it to me, [if] I hear the song on your phone, I’m gonna ask you to send [it to me] ... sometimes, I’m gonna open video [in my phone] and see the songs for Zulu” in cases where she did not understand what was being sung, she needed a lyrical translation. However, in her choice of live performances, she was more open to those that indicated a more performer-audience relationship and approach to singing. She added “I don’t like the songs from the song book ... for me, I like the person to sing, [then] you, you sing [along].”

P06 [Cong] based his choice of media for the consumption of Christian music on media proximity as well as context. Thus, he watched South African Christian music “on the TV, like Dumisa ... they always put gospel songs ... on DSTv”, and for the Congolese music, “I just buy the disc, those discs ... I just go to the cybercafé ... there [are] people who are selling” compiled Congolese songs on discs. For P08 [Cong], her phone was her major medium of Christian music consumption. In her words,

sometimes, I just play it on my phone sitting in the house, you know, with friends. I also try to get my friends familiar with them [Christian music], but you know, some people are not so interested in gospel, they think it’s boring and stuff like that. My nephew and niece also like listening to some of my music like Joe Praize [a Nigerian Christian music artist], they also like it, though they are small. Every time I play the song, you can see they enjoy it as well ... downloaded from my phone.

Lastly, P10 [Cong]’s medium of consumption, apart from his phone was from “the piano. Sometimes, I can even play it because I’ve got a piano of mine. I play sometimes, I [also] sing and listen through my phone.” Musical instruments are thus an identified medium of music consumption.

Among the Congolese community, their preferred media of consumption ranged from mainstream media, to new media and computer mediation. One of the participants mentioned the importance of the One Gospel channel on DStv, especially for her as a French speaking migrant because the station played Congolese and other Christian music subgenres from other countries. One Gospel shows an array of local and foreign music and talk-oriented programmes that makes it endearing to the Christian community (One Gospel, 2013; Scherer and Schneider, 2011). This participant's exposure and consumption of 'other' Christian music subgenres led her to the Nigerian Christian Igbo song *Ekwueme*, and songs from Sfiso Ncwane, a South African Christian music artist, known for his traditional Christian music subgenre. Though she did not understand the lyrical contents of these 'other' songs, she revealed that translations of the songs through their musical videos aided her understanding of their linguistic representations. Another participant corroborated that by watching music videos through her phone, she had a deeper knowledge of 'other' Christian music subgenres. Exposure to these contents via the mainstream and new media encouraged religious expressions (Hormigos, 2010; Larsen, 2001; Lovheim, 2008; Matlock, 2008; Moberg, 2008). Additionally, another participant consumed 'other' Christian music subgenres through her mobile phone, like songs from Joe Praize.

Another television channel that a Congolese participant was familiar with is Dumisa, another gospel channel on DStv, but it broadcasts mainly traditional Christian music subgenres and local church cultures situated within South Africa (Beck, 2016; Urban Brew Studios, 2016). This channel translated into an interactive platform between 'self' and the 'other' because of the exclusivity of the television channel to South African religious content. This was a means by which this particular participant adapted his identity within the South African terrain. But for the reinforcement of his Congolese identity, he consumed Christian content through music compilations on CDs which he accessed at a cybercafé where those CDs were sold. This CD medium details the specificity of music vendors who compile songs that may not be readily available within linguistically different cultural and media settings. Much like how the MP3 provided a music collection for its consumers (Bull, 2005), so has the CD merged into this role, even in the face of modernisation of music consumption. Its accessibility, portability and low cost made the CD a viable medium of consumption for the reinforcement of his cultural and religious identities (Albright, 2015).

A different perspective to music consumption was in the response of another participant who preferred playing Christian music through his personal musical instrument, the piano, in addition to listening through his phone. Though the piano is not an indigenous musical instrument to the Congolese, its use has become widespread and localised into different environments. So, as much as this instrument does not represent Congolesehood, he attributed connections to what it represented by playing out his preferred Christian music subgenres on it. Therefore, making connections between ideas and what they represent to individuals stimulates their understanding and interpretation of such representations (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013; Hall, 1997b; Leve, 2012).

Diasporic Nigerian Participants: dominant media of Christian Music consumption and their influence on identity reinforcement/adaptation

For the Nigerian participants, they also had different media choices for their consumption of Christian music. P01 [Nig] explained that “we listen to it on TV at home. Sometimes, on our laptop ... when we are working with the laptop and a lot of times in the car, there’s always music on in the car ... we just download the albums and listen to them” for music on the go. P02 [Nig]’s choices were “streaming [and] TV performances basically ... live performances are good when there has been a lot of practice and when the song is being handled by professional singers ... Live performances can be terrible, depending on who handles it.” Whereas, for P04 [Nig] “what influences my choice ... is the performance, the way it is being sang, not really the person in charge of the music ...” As in the case of P05 [SA], for P04 [Nig], the church became the medium for Christian music consumption; “[for South African songs], I don’t listen to them on my phone, but I listen to them in church, the few ones that they do sing ... I don’t know the artists, so, it’ll be difficult for me to stream ... may be at least once in a while if they should play it in church.” This was how he became exposed to ‘other’ Christian music.

P03 [Nig] listened, meditated and danced to Christian music by playing these songs at home, on the laptop, and YouTube streaming. P05 [Nig] preferred

the audio ... and the aura that goes with the song. [Furthermore,] in the night, I usually listen to the South African [radios] ... on Sunday mainly ... it’s hard for you to come by South African radio stations playing gospel during the day or during the week, but in Nigeria ... most of

them [their radio stations] play, irrespective of the day, but especially on Sundays.

For P06 [Nig], accessibility was a determining factor for media choice; “I don’t have access to TV right now, [I would rather listen] through earphones and YouTube.”

P07 [Nig] preferred listening to and watching music videos through her phone because “[the video] comes with the meaning of the song, it displays the meaning ... If it is an Igbo music, I don’t understand Igbo, but when I watch the video, I would be able to relate to what the singer was trying to say ... some of them will be translated while listening ...” For P08 [Nig], the Internet proved to be a useful medium of Christian music consumption,

if I like a song, and I don’t know the lyrics, sometimes, I go to the Internet and download the lyrics ... aside from church, I usually download Christian music to my music library ... another thing is that I like the channels where they play Christian songs [though] I don’t have a TV here ... I remember the channel I used to love back then in Nigeria is One Gospel ... a South African channel. I usually like to listen to it, but at a time, it was scrapped.

P09 [Nig] listened via YouTube and sometimes, he “[listened] to the radio here [in South Africa], but most of the songs here are Zulu songs, not the ones we have back home [in Nigeria, due to language barrier] ... I [also] prefer the live performances. That is why I said South African musicians tend to sing very well because most of their songs are live performances ... but Nigerians, just a very few of them do live performances.” P10 [Nig]’s choice of media was linked to working efficiently when he said “I always have my earpiece plugged, so, I stream it from the Internet, YouTube [be this] audio ... [or] video ... [but I prefer listening] because while listening to them, I can’t be watching. So, I have them in my background while I’m working ... it makes me work, it makes me very efficient”

The Nigerian participants similarly revealed diverse modes of media consumption of Christian music subgenres. A participant noted that though she did not have access to a television, she had been aware of the One Gospel channel when she was still in Nigeria before it stopped airing in Nigeria. Other participants attributed their media preferences to more mobile and portable media than the television because they did not have televisions in their homes. That is why they turned to other media like phones, for downloading and streaming, and computers as well. Others listened

through CDs, and memory discs. Some of these people preferred music videos on their phones because of availability of lyrical translations. These responses are likewise in agreement with previous conclusions of the South Africans and the Congolese.

However, the ways in which Nigerians have been exposed to ‘otherness’ have been largely contextual. The peculiarity of this is the linguistic representation of some of these songs which they were not conversant with. Nevertheless, if these songs were performed in church, and the lyrics were projected, it became easier to follow up the songs and access them by downloading or streaming. For instance, if a song was performed in Zulu, the lyrics would be spelt out, and then the individual could know what to search for on the Internet. In this way, language is a distinct cultural marker (Livingstone, 2007), but it was aided and broken down for easier access and understanding through the medium of live performance or worship experience. This enabled a more participatory culture within these settings (Frederickson, 1989; Okafor, 2000; Schloss, 2002; White, 2001).

Some participants were familiar with the mainstream medium of radio. One participant listened to Zulu Christian music and watched South African live performances, but language was a major barrier to comprehending the songs. But this bridge can be filled by other media of consumption that make Christian music subgenres available and at the constant disposal of consumers (*Global Music Report*, 2017; Larsen, 2001; Livingstone, 2011; Lovheim, 2008; Moberg, 2008; PwC, 2012). Another way this divide has been bridged is through lyrical translations available during live performances and on the Internet. My live worship experiences with these people, and their individual responses proved this claim.

In this study, “new technologies [were] utilized to negotiate new, hybrid cultures among diaspora communities” [and host or receiving cultures] (Thompson, 2002: 410). These media enhanced both their cultural as well as diasporic identities, because these Nigerians gained a greater level of awareness of other people and more importantly, these media enabled them to express their religious identities within different cultural environments.

PART C

Findings of the Study

This last section of the analysis chapter is an in-depth review of participants' responses along with observations, and the practicalities of all these. From the responses of the three groups, there were deviations and overlapping commonalities. On the one hand, two crucial divergences were identified among the three groups. The first underlying factor was the linguistic representations of preferred Christian music for those whose use, preferences and consumption were influenced by language, and the second was individual interpretations contrasted with group interpretations of Christian music practices. Language became a medium of inclusion and exclusion, while meanings attached to Christian music use, choices and preferred media of consumption were interpreted individually and collectively among the three groups. On the other hand, some of the commonalities and dominant cultural practices among the three groups were musical ethnocentrism, the church as a sociocultural and religious context to enhance interactions, pan-Africanism, transcultural musical practices/openness to otherness through Christian music and religious interactions, the African identity, media and identity, mediated transnational mobility, 'home away from home', audience involvement and participatory strategies, cultural representations and artefacts, and homogeneous versus heterogeneous cultural and religious outcomes.

It is therefore the sole purpose of this section to discuss these themes, positioning them to identity formation, 'self' and 'othering' in Christian music use, representation and consumption, and how media and religious texts have been a means for interaction and social cohesion, rather than focusing on points of differences or dissimilarities.

Divergences

Language: A Medium of Exclusion and Inclusion

The use of language as a means of representation within a communicative encounter, whether spoken, visual or objectified, is a symbolic and significant process of meaning-making. Language has been proven to be an integral part of the human identity (Akpanika, 2012; Boulton, 1957; Hall, 1973; King, 2008; Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007). As such, it defines and redefines the essence of one's identity [individual] in association with the national/cultural identity [group/collective].

As inclusive as language can be for a community of language speakers, it can also be used as a tool for exclusion. Though cultural and linguistic exclusivity may reveal the notion of preserving, reinforcing or maintaining one's identity, it also denotes the exclusion of those who may not 'belong' to such linguistic groups, especially in a multicultural setting. This feature was demonstrated in trace elements of musical ethnocentrism observed during church services, and in personal choices of Christian music subgenres.

Musical ethnocentrism was evident in the three churches, but more evident in the song choices of the South African community. Musical ethnocentrism is shown in a preference for musical content that originates from one's cultural background. This is in line with the result of Boer, *et al.* (2013), in which they studied motivating factors for musical ethnocentrism and preference for music that have roots to individual's national and cultural backgrounds. Such motivating factors were the style of music, whether traditional, contemporary, or a hybrid, provided these styles had links to their national and cultural roots. The use of native language made it easier to understand what was uttered. These factors, through the interrelatedness of language, culture and tradition, were strong links to the preservation of people's identities irrespective of the social contexts where they were located. Because these mediated preferences were culture-specific, they became unique expressions of their cultural and national aspirations and ideals (Boer, *et al.*, 2013: 2360).

This submission may be largely expected since these cultural groups constituted a larger percentage of the population in their various churches respectively. However, there were instances where there were considerations for the 'others' through the infusion of Christian music subgenres from other ethnic groups present in the churches. Likewise, cultural and linguistic inclusivity was

demonstrated through the availability of a Francophone and Anglophone interpreter in the Congolese church, and a Zulu and English interpreter in the South African church, while the Nigerian church was conducted in English, a more universal language. The use of projectors for songs in the Congolese and Nigerian churches was also an inclusive linguistic strategy. Projecting the lyrics of the ‘other people’s’ songs also aided participatory culture and the performer-audience relationship. These instances were indications of some level of identity adaptation, for the expression of a different cultural identity and celebration of cultural diversity. These observations were at the group level.

At the individual level, some of the participants were more inclined towards songs from their home cultures, while others showed an appreciation for pan-Africanism, and western/foreign Christian music subgenres, irrespective of linguistic representations. Their choices were indications of identity reinforcement, as well as identity adaptation. They could see through their cultural differences in order to establish a common plain for interaction through religion. On the one hand, consumption of local content addressed the issues of developing, supporting and promoting local outputs and contents from local artists. On the other hand, consumption of transnational or global contents indicated an awareness of ‘otherness’, because some of the participants reported that media content such as Christian music were means by which they learnt about other people.

In this research endeavour, it was established that although musical ethnocentrism was a dominant cultural phenomena among these three groups of people, as observable through linguistic and objectified modes of cultural representation, there was the awareness of multiculturalism and diversity. The cultural and religious heritages of both the home-based and the diaspora were obvious in songs that were in their local dialects, use of traditional musical instruments and in their traditional attires. Thus, Christian musical traditions were ways by which these groups, as home-based and diasporic people, maintained their cultural and religious identities. These people were living representatives of their cultures and heritages, at home and away from home.

What ‘I’ like versus what ‘We’ like: Individual and Group Interpretations and Dynamics

There were fine divisions along with convoluted observations on personal and communal consumption and interpretation of Christian music subgenres. These engagements were noticeable from the participant observations in relation to personal interactions with the participants. David

Hesmondhalgh's (2008) classification of private/individual and public/group consumption practices agreed with how individual choices can be distinct from group choices. The ways in which messages may be interpreted, and identities constructed, can be challenged within the 'self' and 'collective' idea. This dynamic was addressed by Hall (1990, 1992) in his discourse on what people understand to be their cultural identities, i.e., their interpretations of individual and cultural/national identities. These views are shaped by the placement of 'self' within a collective whole, historical experiences and the transformative nature of culture – which is no longer viewed as a stagnant phenomenon but as fluid and evolving.

In the same vein, the responses and interpretations of the study participants highlighted this dichotomy. For instance, in the cases of the South African, Congolese and Nigerian churches that gravitated more towards songs from their respective cultures, this was not the case among the South African, Congolese and Nigerian participants. Individuals were still able to make their choices based on independent thought. The use of Christian music subgenres in these churches, combined both cultural and religious functions, while at the individual levels, they used these subgenres for other purposes such as awareness/education, distraction, leisure, etc. For the Nigerians and Congolese, individual/personal preferences were functional as connections to 'home', awareness of their diasporic identities and awareness of other groups of people [a shared experience of the South African participants too]. In some cases, song use/choice and religious affiliations helped the diasporic communities settle into the host community and created a sense of belonging.

From these explanations, the religious practices of a group of people is understood within a dominant and preferred interpretation of what those representations are used for; in this case, spiritual purposes. These dominant interpretations are captured as dominant/hegemonic/preferred readings of Hall's (1993) encoding and decoding model. Deviating from only the spiritual functions of Christian music, to those of cultural values, awareness/educative purposes, work-related, inspiration and motivation, and music for association and identity formation, the individuals assert a rather negotiated reading; i.e., not in opposition to the spiritual purpose of Christian music subgenres, but at the same time gratifying other uses of Christian music (Gillespie, 1995; Hall, [1973] 1980; Laughey, 2010).

The dominant medium of consumption among the three groups was the live performance or worship experience, along with its features; such as audience-performer relationship and its participatory and audience involvement strategies. But at the individual level, responses were divergent, with preference for both mainstream and new media technologies, to complement live performances or worship experiences. The audience move from the role of passivity to that of an active audience, who become the producer and consumer in an all engaging and interactive space, expedited by mainstream and new media (Bodker, 2016; Carah and Louw, 2015; Hartley, 2011). Through a shift in media gaze, an increased awareness of co-presence is enacted in support of previous exposures to live performances or worship experiences.

In the reinforcement and adaptation of their cultural, religious and diasporic identities [for the diaspora], their individual representations and expressions complemented those of the collective. Coincidentally, the month the South African populace was observed was Heritage month [September] and this was hugely represented by the various ethnic groups in the church, as each sought to showcase his or her own culture. However, song choices were not considerably affected because of how Zulu-oriented the church was. Among the Nigerians, their individual representations accompanied the service themes, especially, on the last Sunday for Thanksgiving. Though people wore their traditional clothes on any Sunday, it was more prominent on the Thanksgiving Sunday. And for the Congolese, their individual expressions were also in synchronisation and harmony with the collective expression. The use of indigenous musical instruments, cultural attire, and performative arts [dance, claps, ululations] augmented their reinforcement and adaptive cultural tendencies.

In this way, among the three groups, the individual and collective identities strengthened both the articulation of 'self' and the institution of the groups. The 'people addressed' became the 'people assembled' and vice versa, in a continuous interchange of roles, constituting the active audience (Fourie, 2009; Nightingale, 2003). This is a dominant and hegemonic interpretation of these cultural practices as expressed through language use and representations [linguistic, visual and objectified] (du Gay, *et al.* 1997: 14, 2013; Hall, [1973] 1980, 1997a, b, c).

The meanings and interpretations attached to individual and collective readings and expressions are highly contested. Group interactions become even more contextual, and individual interactions

more personalised and introspective. Therefore, individual and shared experiences are influential in the meanings derived from media content and sociocultural and religious exposures. Not only do these influence meaning, they also shape identities and perceptions.

Overlapping Commonalities

Homogeneous versus Heterogeneous Cultural and Religious Outcomes

The concern of certain scholars (Castells, 2010: 89; Scott, 2013) has been what they regard as the ‘homogenising’ consequence of religion, especially Christianity. It has been perceived as a practice that could be a threat to heterogeneity because of global similarities in faith. This was the same concern that Protestantism encountered when Christianity was brought into the African terrain, in that there were visible sameness in modes of Protestant worship from the western world and in Africa (Axelsson, 1974; Haecker, 2012; Loba-Mkole, 2011; Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007). The results of these were cultural assimilation and some form of resistance to what the people termed as foreign and colonial (Osigwe, 2016; Udok and Odunuga, 2016). Some of these observations were largely credited to the impact of globalisation and the rapid changes experienced in the modern society in human movement and the convergence of media technologies. As advantageous as this might be, the downside is that it projects a state of homogenisation. It encourages a gradual shift or movement “in a similar direction to a modernized ... lifestyle, without the conscious awareness of their [the locals] own distinctive way of living and thinking. People can easily lose their self-recognition and identity regarding their own culture and community” (Reihana in Akuno, Klepacki, Lin, O’Toole, Reihana, Wagner and Restrepo: 2014: 96-97).

Tia Reihana (in Akuno, *et al.*, 2014: 97) proffered a solution to this homogenising effect, where she referred to the concept of glocalisation (Robertson, 1995, 2012), which is still very much applicable now. Jesse Mugambi (2005) also upheld that Christianity should not be viewed as an assimilative practice, but a heterogeneous one, a practice that should be ‘glocalised’, while not deviating from its tenets and firm beliefs. Studies also revealed that when Christianity became positioned within cultural environments, with focus on both global and local principles and features, it became more acceptable (King, 2008; Lebaka, 2015; Malembe, 2005). It was until Christian practices became more culturally proximal and relatable that Christianity became even

more acceptable and familiar. This is in reference to the introduction of Christianity and Christian music to the African continent and the South African, Nigerian and Congolese milieus, especially. For instance, with the infusion of local musical instruments, local pastors, indigenous dances, indigenous dress representations and the translation of western lyrics to local languages and dialects, Christianity flourished more, while cultural practices that were not in conflict with Christian practices were sustained (Adedeji, 2007; Akpanika, 2012; Haecker, 2012; Hester, 2010; Lebaka, 2015; Rigobert, 2009; Kubik, 2008).

From this study, there were heterogeneous outcomes and other instances where such cultural practices were upheld. For instance, in their song choices, the three communities tried to inculcate songs from 'other' groups into church worship. However, at the individual level, there was a cross-cultural and pan-African approach to the songs they were exposed to. Most of the participants knew songs that were not from their cultural or national backgrounds, though their preferences revealed an array of traditional, contemporary and hybridised Christian music subgenres. Their integration of pan-African musical instruments [djembe for the South African church, and *şèkèrè* for the Congolese church] showed an appreciation for the 'African identity'. These were heterogenising effects of Christian music consumption.

For the sustenance of cultural practices, the beaded culture of the Zulu people made their dress representations quite different from those observed in the Congolese and Nigerian communities [who had similar fabric patterns and styles]. And for the Congolese and Nigerian fabrics, though they bore semblance, they were still representational [within the 'usual' church settings] of the cultural backgrounds from which each emanated. Within each church context and even at an individual level, it was also grounded that musical expressions that were unique to each culture were entrenched in their use, preference and consumption of Christian music subgenres.

Because Protestantism had a major influence on the religious landscape of the DRC and the people (Hitchcock, 2012; Rigobert, 2009; Mangu, 2008), it is not surprising that some of these religious practices have been imported into a different cultural context away from 'home' [as a place of origin]. A structure had already been established for the mode of worship in this church, a form of organisational identity (Johnson, *et al.*, 2010), which some of these Congolese related with.

However, they have found ways to preserve their cultural identities through representations of musical instrument like the maraca, through dress, and spoken language.

Audience Involvement Strategies that endorsed a Participatory Culture

Audience engagement in the performance of Christian music at the group level among the churches within this study's framework reiterated the active nature of the audience within communicative encounters. An active audience approach, which Hall ([1973] 1980, 1993) highlighted in his encoding and decoding model, created an aura of cultural as well as religious expressions among these groups. These expressions were unique and dynamic to each group because none had the same manner of expression. For instance, among the South African community, the constant reference to the Zulu word 'woza', literally translated as 'come', during praise and worship, was a call to attention, interaction and self-expression. This is because in most cases when the call was made, the audience mimicked the dance steps or styles of the lead singer or performer.

Positioning the use of the word 'woza' within another artistic discourse, Rita Barnard (1998: 126-127), in reference to the poem *The Tears of a Creator*, which heralded the launch of the Trade Union Movement of the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU], attempted to recreate the emotional reactions of those who were present at the launch through words and imagery as they navigated through an era of oppression to that of freedom. The lines of the poem ended with ...*Woza 'Msebenzi, Woza COSATU, Woza Freedom*, and though the "lines seem[ed] flat as they are reproduced here, we should remember that in [live] performance, the words ... would be interpreted with chanting, ululation, improvisation, and audience responses" (Barnard, 1998: 126-127). These were the responses evoked from the South African congregants during live performances and worship experiences in church.

Perhaps, the more attention-seizing use of the word 'woza' is in the popular satiric South African play *Woza Albert!*. In Percy Mtwa, Mbongeni Ngema and Barney Simon's (2018) discussions around the play, they provided the context of this play as one pivotal in the history of South Africa in which the social, political and cultural identity of South Africans was challenged, shifted, interrogated and reshaped in diverse dimensions. The word 'woza' is a call to action that stimulates or evokes a kind of response and expression in performative arts. Hence, the use of 'woza' is one which has become popular and entrenched in South African performances, and prominent in the

Christian music performances of Solly Mahlangu, Joyous Celebration and many other Christian music artists.

Another audience participatory strategy among South Africans was *Udodana*. The term *Udodana* is a Zulu concept that seeks to explore black male body and identity, its placement in the society [within households, churches and traditional African communities] against many ongoing incidences of silenced brokenness of the black male identity (National Arts Festival, 2018). This participatory strategy was a period of cultural expression and performative arts during the ECC service that induced an atmosphere of excitement and active audience participation.

The major audience involvement and participatory strategy among the three groups is largely classified as ‘constellation of performing arts’, i.e., activities that accompany musical performances like clapping, dancing and ululations (Agordoh, 2005; Boulton, 1957; Stone, 2010). The use of a projector was also a participatory strategy that all three communities had in common. The projector displayed all that happened on stage in the performance and during fellowship. However, lyrical projections were more evident among the diasporic communities than the home-based community. Though this may appear as a means of cultural preservation among the home-based, it raises the issue of cultural hybridity and awareness of cultural differences. Furthermore, in the face of cultural preservation, the diaspora encounters the notion of hybridity, and how to balance the fluidity of identities in recognition of heterogeneity and diversity (Hall, 1990; Brubaker, 2005: 6), a view shared by Shehina Fazal and Roza Tsagarousianou (2002).

Active audience involvement and participation has been recognised to shape mediated interactions between the encoder and the decoder (Abelman, 1987; Fourie, 2009; Frith, 2004; Hall [1973] 1980, 2010; Louw, 2001; Schloss, 2002; White, 2001). From the study, it speaks to a deeper sense of ‘self’ and identity in areas where interactions between culture, religion and media were previously neglected (Al-Azami, 2016; Hoover and Lundby, 1997). Beyond the confines of bodily movement and participation, these audience involvement and participatory strategies filled a deeper need for cultural inclusion, essence, as well as the celebration of cultural diversity in the awareness of ‘otherness’.

Cross-/Transcultural Musical Practices, Cultural Representations and Artefacts

The language of what is represented does not only speak of cultural identities, but symbols of cross-/transculturalism and universality, without regard to ‘othering’. With such symbolism, meaningful experiences are garnered and decoded in connection to the central process of encoding and decoding, and more importantly, representation in, and through language (du Gay, *et al.*, 2013; Hall, 1997b, 2010).

The resurgence of cultural symbols and narratives away from its ‘expected’ context emphasises a national identity (Tashmin, 2016: 13; Thompson, 2002). But in the interactions with the three distinct communities within the study, there were evident musical practices that not only transcended national or cultural borders but were reference points of similarities in religious identity formation. For instance, the use of contemporary musical instruments such as drums [jazz set, Conga and djembe] and especially the piano [which the three groups had in common] were some pointers. In the use of the drums, the South African and Nigerian communities engaged with the jazz set [contemporary], while the Congolese and Nigerian communities had the Conga drums²⁵ in common. The djembe drum was only used by the South African community, and is a drum which is indigenous to Mali, in the western part of Africa (Mattioli, 2008: 15). Another visible cultural adaptive pattern was in the request for the purchase of the Nigerian *șèkèrè* for the Congolese congregation for worship every Sunday, which I did.

These experiences at the group level of Christian music use, representation and consumption reveal a shared religious bond (Hesmondhalgh, 2008; Polzella and Forbis, 2014). These are perceived as cultural adaptive tendencies both from the home-based and diasporic people (Padilla and Perez, 2003; Kirchner, 2013). Emphatically, they are gateways to fostering intercultural competence and the celebration of cultural diversity and multiculturalism (Dong, *et al.*, 2008; Taylor, 1994; UNESCO, 2017).

Cross-/transcultural practices are not without their doubts and critique. In as much as these practices are ways by “which social groups ‘create’ and distribute their meanings ... [it also lays emphasis on] ways in which social groups interact and experience tension [that may lead to]

²⁵ The Conga drums are of Afro-Cuban descent (Eduardo and Kumor, 2001).

language wars ... [that degenerate] to conditions of stability and instability as individuals and groups congregate, communicate, and seek to assert their material and semiotic interests over others (Lewis, 2002: 24). It brings to the fore a power play that can dominate subaltern groups. This critique can be tied to the musical ethnocentrism exhibited by churches in preference for 'their own songs'. But 'otherness' was also catered for through the inclusion of songs from other ethnic groups. The media also countered this powerplay in the global flow of Christian music content from different parts of the world, which various people are exposed to through mainstream and new media technologies. Furthermore, other power dynamics were not fully considered in this study because there was a greater emphasis on studying these identities within their own 'natural' contexts and not in direct relation and interactions with the other groups.

Fritz, *et al.* (2013), Hoene (2015), Lee and Hu (2014) and Tekman, *et al.* (2012) established the cross-/transcultural characteristic of music, and how it acquires new interpretations in different milieus. I further corroborate that not only does music [as an Art] transcend borders, musical representations and practices also transcend cultural boundaries to assume new meanings and positions.

The Meaning of 'Home' to Diasporic Congolese and Nigerians in this study

Because the word 'home' assumes different meanings due to different interpretations, it is regarded as an opaque and polysemic word (Anderson, 2015; Burke and Stets, 2005; Morley, 2001). Since the diaspora embody multiple identities, they encounter continuous transformations and fluidity and can become who they are expected to be if a situation demands so (Agnew, 2005; Hall, 1990, 1992). The constant tug between maintaining who they are and adapting to a new environment seems rather obvious.

From the interviews, while some participants understood 'home' as where they came from, their roots, others saw South Africa as 'home', and others perceived 'home' to be 'in their veins', as an abstract entity that would always be with them no matter where they found themselves. During the participant observation, the Congolese and Nigerian churches' auras felt like a community [for Congolese and Nigerians respectively, and indeed other Christians] within a host community [Durban, South Africa] (Abiolu and Teer-Tomaselli, 2019), a home away from home for these

people (Wild-wood, 2008). The church services provided a link by which they re-constructed 'home' in their host land (Boura, 2006).

As much as they had culturally adapted [in a way] to the South African terrain, they maintained ties to what they defined as 'home' through culture [their understanding of their own identities, dress, food, language], media [live performances or worship experiences, videos, music and other media texts representative of 'home'] and religion – Christianity [Christian fellowship and music]. A continuous interaction among these three concepts reemphasised and in other cases reconstructed 'home' for the diasporic communities. It also reiterated how meanings, in this case, how the meaning of 'home' is highly contested and negotiated (Gillespie, 1995; Hall [1973] 1980; Howarth, 2011). It challenges our thoughts on fixated notions that we previously had on how people interpret concepts and ideas. Summarily, in the words of Myria Georgiou (2010: 23), "Home – both in its real shape as a place [for those who related with 'home' in this confine], as well as in its symbolic imaginary form [for those who personified 'home' wherever they went], – provides the initial and emotional parameters for identity."

The African Identity

Varieties of culture, religion, ethnicity, food, music and other forms of diversity thrive on the African continent, but the fact that we are all bound within a geographic space points to a shared geographic bond. The query this raises is if it makes an African less African because there are no shared dominant values or more African because there are shared dominant values. Some participants had oppositional views as to what constituted their cultural identities. They challenged the notion of physical, outward and linguistic representations of cultural identities as the absolute determinants of who they are. They referred to innate experiences that people find essence in, which influence who they are. These oppositional views, well advanced by Hall ([1973] 1980, 1993, 2010), propose a larger scope of understanding the complexity of the African identity.

Trying to provide a succinct and encapsulating meaning of the African identity may prove problematic because of the polysemic interpretations that are likely to occur due to people's interpretative frameworks of knowledge (Fourie, 2009). As is the case of generalising music that originate from the African continent as 'African music', (Agordoh, 2005; Aning, 1973), similarly, there have been arguments on the classification of the African identity as a collective entity (see

Adibe, 2009; Babajide, 2018; Idang, 2015; Kanu, 2013; Ndubuisi, 2013). A stance is that a collective African identity can come to the forefront in those cases where people identify or relate with one another as a result of both intrinsic and extrinsic shared values (Idang, 2015), relevant to the responses of some study participants. In this study, the home-based and diasporic groups identified and related with one another because of common values shared on the grounds of music, religion and historical pasts. This was the conclusion from their responses.

From *I Am an African*, the profound speech of former President Thabo Mbeki in 1996, the following lines buttress the discourse on the concept of the African identity emergent from the study.

I am an African.

I owe my being to the hills and the valleys ... the rivers, the deserts, the trees, the flowers ... the ever-changing seasons that define the face of our native land ... [Addressing the geographic space]

I owe my being to the Khoi and the San whose desolate souls haunt the great expanses of the beautiful Cape ... who were the first to lose their lives in the struggle to defend our freedom and independence and they who, as a people, perished in the result ... [Addressing a birth heritage]

I am formed of the migrants who left Europe to find a new home on our native land. Whatever their own actions, they remain still part of me. [Addressing identity by migration and cultural accommodation]

In my veins courses the blood of the Malay slaves who came from the East. Their proud dignity informs my bearing, their culture a part of my essence. The stripes they bore on their bodies from the lash of the slave master are a reminder embossed on my consciousness of what should not be done ...

My mind and my knowledge of myself is formed by the victories that are the jewels in our African crown, the victories we earned from Isandhlwana to Khartoum, as Ethiopians and as Ashanti of Ghana, as Berbers of the desert... [Addressing a shared historical past]

[But no matter what our definition of 'Africanness' is, we are] born of the peoples of the continent of Africa ...

Whoever we may be, whatever our immediate interest, however much we carry baggage from our pasts, however much we have been caught

by the fashion of cynicism and loss of faith in the capacity of the people,
... Africa shall be at peace, Africa will prosper (Mbeki, 1996).

In short, from this study, the conclusion can be drawn that the African identity is affirmative and collective for the diverse presence of cultural expressions both within the continent, for those who identify as Africans, and for the African diaspora. Our differences should not divide but unify us. Unity in purpose, heart and the being of the African man in his relations with a fellow African strengthens the African bond and celebrates pan-Africanism – the recognition of the importance of the unity of Africans and proliferation of Africanness where ideologies of oppression, exploitation and racism are opposed (Adi and Sherwood, 2003). The definition and maintenance of the ‘African identity’ is with the intention to position the African with other world changers, while the threat of globalisation in eroding the ‘African identity’ is subverted (Kanu, 2013).

Media, Music and Identity

The impact of the media in informing and engaging with home-based power and the diaspora about themselves through the media of Christian music brought about a greater appreciation of these cultural groups within the mediated spaces. These spaces consisted of interactions via radio, television, Internet and live performances or worship experiences. These spaces evolved to be vital tools of education and propagating the notion that music has no defined borders and is not linguistically bound.

Language representation and use could have hindered the consumption of ‘other’ Christian music [which was the case in some instances reported], but with the involvement of technological advances like lyrical translations on projectors [in church], and music videos [online, downloaded and on the television], such discrepancies were brought to the barest minimum. In other cases where the meanings of lyrics were inaccessible, though it discouraged some, others still enjoyed the rhythm and melody of the songs. The shortfall of media and new media technologies that a participant encountered was media bombardment. Marcus Moberg (2008) referred to the rapid information flow which has been ushered in by media and new media technologies and alter previous limited content availability. Though an earlier consequence of this information flow and convergence was identified as copyright infringement and the homogenising effect on cultures (Church Copyright Fact File, 2018; Livingstone, 2011; Thomson, *et al.*, 2013), another

consequence is media or content bombardment. Media bombardment in terms of advertising, social media and the influx of musical and photographic content poses a threat of content saturation and the inability to access what is important (Faull, 2015; Sambe, 2013; Valkenburg and Piotrowski, 2017). The highlight at this juncture is on regulatory acts and policies that should guide media bombardment and proliferation, though these may seem problematic due to the high and fast data exchanges that occur on a continuous basis. This informs a focus on the regulatory aspect of Christian music, which I did not underscore on the 'circuit of culture'.

For those who enjoyed the songs without knowing what they meant, they could relate due to a shared religious identity, provided they knew the songs were dedicated to worshipping God and uplifting spirits. "While differences and preferences could divide us, shared faith in Jesus Christ the Lord brings us together in mutual trust, encouragement, and praise" (McCasland, 2019: 221). That is why I concur that "religion is generally found to play a central role in ethnic construction in immigrant [and home-based] contexts because it serves as a vehicle for the transmission of culture and also provides the institutional framework for community formation" (Thompson, 2002: 415). Through the media, the religious community is cultivated, and maintained.

Mediated Transnational Mobility

With the globalisation process, media broadcasts of Christian music are not affected by cultural boundaries. Christian music can reach different Christian communities around the world to reinforce their religious identities.

The advantage of mediated transnational mobility rests in its construction and maintenance of a virtual community (Thompson, 2002). It enables "connections within and across space that provide human subjects information and communication for being and becoming" (Georgiou, 2010: 17). In this research, it is foregrounded that mediated transnational mobility facilitates cultural awareness and the exchange or flow of cultural information through the media. For instance, the exposure of the South African populace and the diasporic communities to one another's religious content, attributed to new media technologies, and the South African media landscape that broadcasts songs from different countries of the world, promotes social interactions with 'otherness'. It reiterates the roles of the media as mediators, not only for the circulation of religious

content, but also facilitators of human interactions across sociocultural borders (Carah and Louw, 2015; du Gay, *et al.*, 1997; Hesmondhalgh, 2008).

Though the receiving local media landscapes are not the actual producers of this ‘other’ media content, they are still influential in the encoding and broadcasting of content due to favourable or unfavourable regulatory acts (Hall, 1993; Nightingale, 2003; Rayner, *et al.*, 2004). But then again, there have been attempts by host media landscapes to enhance multicultural media landscapes with technologies and media convergence in order to project and promote the diversity of identities to create a sense of belonging (Georgiou, 2010). Borrowing from Peterson, *et al.*’s (2016) suggestion on a collaborative and participatory effort on the part of the media, and those involved in the production of media content, the fulfilment of this will not be farfetched if local media landscapes are open to foreign or ‘other’ religious content.

From the responses of some participants, their choices of media for the consumption of Christian music served different purposes depending on media mobility and portability. Here, we identify the interconnectedness of various media of consumption due to technological advancements. These days, one can access radio stations through the television as well as mobile phones as indicated in some responses of the study participants. In short, media convergence and new technologies have positively impacted worship experiences (Nekola, 2016). Without a doubt, “advances in technology have provided humans a global communication network able to bridge oceans” (Dunn, 2013: 26).

Belonging, Association and Unity among Group Members

To be classified as a member of a group, one may be expected to share certain characteristics with the members of that group (see Leve, 2012; Morley, 2001; Rentfrow and Gosling, 2003; Rentfrow, *et al.*, 2011; Wild-Wood, 2008). In earlier discussions, various scholars had learnt their voices to this idea of group membership and association (Boer, *et al.*, 2011; Burke and Stets, 2015; George, *et al.*, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2008). It is through this that the criteria of inclusion and exclusion are established and standardised. Rolf Lidskog (2017) affirmed that music fostered social cohesion and understanding among groups who shared similar musical tastes; a view shared by Lennart Pieters (2011) and Kadri Poder and Kristi Kiilu (2015). A shared identity expedites acceptance to a group, and a heightened sense of belonging.

In this study, Christian music cuts across all frontiers to signify a similar musical identity. This may be mostly expected because of the shared religious identity, but it could have also been hampered by cultural differences. Though preferences for Christian music subgenres were varied, most of the participants appreciated musical representations and performances from different media, live performances or worship experiences, television and radio broadcasts, and Internet consumption. Those who identified with contemporary Christian music subgenres and songs that were hybrids of contemporary and traditional but were more fast paced reiterated the importance of ‘youthfulness’ in these song choices. Their definition and understanding of youthfulness surged from the dichotomy between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’, songs regarded as ‘old school’ and those recognised as more modern.

But Boer, *et al.* (2013: 2361) reiterated that “despite the omnipresence of [globalised genres of] music, culture-specific [modern as well as traditional] music styles are highly valued and embraced, and further developed into contemporary hybrid styles.” This conclusion is in congruence with the study as well. In the same vein, for the hybrids, the infusion of both traditional and contemporary musical practices reaffirmed the preferences of some participants and their identification with the subgenres. For others, spiritual, cultural and psychological inspiration drawn from Christian music subgenres not only showed their identifying with the religious content, but other uses that can stem from Christian music, like leisure, educational usage, and music for work efficiency and distraction.

But beyond the religious inclinations and identity, these participants also reiterated the importance of the ‘language of rhythm’ in music, which is a general feature of music representations. More importantly, the ‘language of rhythm’ is a cogent element of the African cultural background, a reinforcer of the ‘African identity’ and a unifier of cultures (Aning, 1973; Boulton, 1957: 3-4; Hester, 2010; Munyaradzi and Zimidzi, 2012). The ‘language of rhythm’ is a driving force behind the universality and ubiquity of music even in societies that are linguistically different from the languages in which such musical contents are represented. Not only does this align with previous discussions (Hormigos, 2010; Vuoskoski, *et al.*, 2017), it substantiates that language is not a barrier in music and religion.

For other participants who took into consideration the linguistic representation of Christian music subgenres, they shared this consideration on a cultural basis because they considered language [linguistic] as a crucial part of who they are. The larger umbrella is that of religion, but invariably, they also showed distinct cultural values that were indications of unity in diversity. And in as much as there were these diversities, each group preserved its cultural attributes, but in recognition of different cultures. Ingrained and hegemonic inclinations to ‘our’ music and ‘their’ music were shattered for a more multicultural approach to musical exposure and the acceptance of sociocultural and religious interactions between ‘self’ and ‘other’, enhanced by Christian music and mediated exposures (Andersen and Taylor, 2008; Bailey, *et al.*, 2007; Georgiou, 2010; Howarth, 2004; Smalley, 1962; Zlatar, 2003). Though these experiences were shared, they were still singularly and uniquely theirs.

The Church in its Role as a Religious and Sociocultural Institution

There were responses from participants in this study that reiterated the importance of the church, not only as a religious context, but as a facilitator of sociocultural encounters and exchanges.

In underscoring the impact of the church prior to the democratic era in South Africa, Leepo Modise (2018) adjudged that the church was used on both sides of a coin. On the one hand, it was hijacked by the political parties during the apartheid era, and on the other hand, it was also used by the South African Council of Churches [SACC] to wage war against oppression and racism (South African Council of Churches, 2015) contextualising the power tussle or power relation of an established institution in the hands of a powerful few.

According to these views, the church can be a tool to advance the selfish course of whoever wields a higher control, but this is not the essence or role of the church in the society in line with the tenets of the Christian faith. The greatest commandment in the Bible is recorded in the gospels of Saints Matthew [chapter 22: 36-40], Mark [chapter 12: 29-31], and Luke [chapter 10: 27] which summarily mean that the different peoples of the world are called to love the Lord God with all their hearts, and love their neighbours as much as they love themselves. This indicates a vertical and horizontal relationship that people ought to abide by.

In the words of Charles Gilkey (1914: 5) as he interpreted the permanent functions of the church in human society,

it is not simply that deeply religious men discover that they are ultimately dependent upon God, and cannot live without Him, it is also, and no less, that we all discover that in our moral as well as in our religious lives we are dependent upon, and cannot live without, each other, [we all depend on these for] social reinforcement.

He added that in view of our social interdependence, the church has a permanent necessity to support the spiritual, social, cultural, economic and political interests of the human society and the world at large.

It was previously established (by Joseph, 2004; King, 2003; Wild-Wood, 2008) that the religious affiliation and environments which people identify with provide adequate support and relationships, i.e., groups for association and belonging. The institution of the church, in this study, illustrated social cohesion and political stability an example also reported by the World Economic Forum (2016). In their Malaria reduction and eradication project in Nigeria, the World Economic Forum (2016) identified faith or belief in a greater Being as grounds on which values are rooted. This led the organisation to engage religious systems in the fight against certain societal plagues. It was reported that

Malaria was reduced in Nigeria once Muslims and Christians agreed to fight the same mosquitos – through the distribution of nets – that were biting the Muslims on Friday and the Christians on Sunday ... With all these influences combined, and despite the challenges of extremism, the faith factor will play a significant role in social cohesion and therefore political stability. And without stability, there is no opportunity to meaningfully address global challenges.

The church fills a large void in the society, among both home-based and diasporic people. And for these groups, they were exposed to ‘otherness’ and interacted with one another through the church.

Conclusions of Analytical Discussions [from Parts A, B and C]

From part A, my participant observation, as I interacted with the different people, I came to the realisation that the church community provided spiritual as well as cultural support and an avenue for cultural expressions for the locals [South Africans] as well as diasporic people. This only goes

to support the notion that religious communities provide avenues for inter- and cross-cultural fellowships and experiences, and a cordial and family-oriented system for those who belong to such groups (King, 2003: 199). For instance, during the observations of the Congolese community, song choices were reflections of different cultural presences. Throughout the Sundays of the month when I fellowshiped with them, there was always room for special songs by members of the congregation who wanted to worship God with any song of their choice. For instance, during the first and second Sunday services, a sister stepped out to sing a song. The language was different, and it was only after I had interacted with her that I got to know that the singer is Zambian, and the song she sang was in Bemba, an indigenous language in Zambia. The following Sunday, which was the second Sunday, she had another special song to sing, and this time, it was in Swahili. This consequently offered her a community among people with whom she shared a similar religious identity, even if they had different cultural or national identities.

The Nigerian and South African churches also provided pillars of support for diasporic and home-based identities, as well as room for interactions with locals and the diaspora respectively. That is why both home-based and diasporic people can have multiple consciousnesses, identities and histories that challenge the notion of homogeneity, and promote heterogeneity and diversity (Agnew, 2005: 14). They portrayed social and cultural awareness of 'otherness' within religious circles and exhibited intercultural competence in interactions. These interactions were cultivated and nurtured within religious environments and practices necessary to cope and adapt to the complexities of this globalised world.

In parts B and C, the interview analysis and findings sections, the foremost themes from this study that aligned with previous conversations in media, cultural and religious studies were deliberated on. The similarities were compared, and the differences observed among the three groups in the study were contrasted. As I triangulated the observations from the churches with the responses of the participants, I substantiated the fact that what is mostly accepted and demonstrated at the group level of Christian music use, representation, and consumption can be, in most cases, substantially different from what individuals indicated as ways of cultural and religious expressions in their interpretation of Christian music for the 'self', and the 'other'.

Ranging from thematic ideas like the role of language representation within a sociocultural setting, perceptions of the individual and the group, to musical practices that synergise with both the preservation/accommodation of cultural identities and the creation of a collective African identity, to the role of spaces, – tangible [churches, ‘home’] and intangible [fluidity of identity, mediated spaces, and imagined ‘home’], and how these influence group identities, and interactions with ‘self’ and the ‘other’, these issues shed more light and understanding on the sole purposes of this study, identity preservation and accommodation.

The research has been able to show that culture, religion, and the media have massive impacts on the way we view ourselves in comparison with other people, which also influences our interactions with one another. Therefore, this study has attempted to create a triangular interactivity among culture, media and religion, and how these interactions and interrelationships promote identity reinforcement/adaptation, and human sanctity, while decreasing the divide between ‘self’ and the ‘other’.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This last chapter is a summary to the entire research process. It addresses the relevance of the study, and other practical approaches to culture, media and religious studies. It reiterates the need to challenge one's self on the notions of imagination [regardless of identity], institution, encounters, belonging, and home-based, diasporic and mediated spaces. Discussions are drawn from the learning curve of this study, and its pragmatisms. To conclude this chapter, recommendations are made, areas that may be investigated further are identified, and an appropriate conclusion of the thesis is drawn in relation to current realities.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter One: Introduction

The first chapter was the introductory chapter. It spelt out the core and purpose of the study. It prepared the minds of the readers for what would be expected throughout the thesis. The background to the study was outlined along the lines of previous discussions that had only considered the duality of culture and the media, the media and religion, religion and culture, and how the triangularity of culture, religion and the media, as concepts, were the highpoints of the study.

The objectives of the study and the research questions were broken down and the need for the study was highlighted, to connect how identity similarities and differences impact the preservation of the knowledge of the 'self' and the 'other', and the outcomes of interactions between 'self' and other people. This need was grounded in the main constructs of the study – Christian music, identity, religion, media, South Africanness, Congoleseanness and Nigerianness. These were located within a particular space and setting, which is the South African cultural landscape, narrowed down to the KwaZulu-Natal province, and Durban city more specifically, because it is home to a diverse population.

The research problem of this study was identified as that of the challenge people face in preserving their cultural identities and accommodating other cultures at the same time. Some of such previous encounters had led to cultural assimilation and erosion, and subsequent clashes between the host culture and the 'other' – the diaspora. I congruently directed the problem statement discourse to other issues as the placement of music within the African setting, and the relevance of music to the African. Introductory topics on Christian music, music use and preference, music and identity, and the role of the media in [Christian] music broadcasts, representation and consumption were also engaged. These issues were succinctly explained and corroborated in-depth in the literature review chapter. The theoretical standpoint of this study was analysed, which was du Gay, *et al.*'s (1997, 2013) 'circuit of culture' [with emphases on representation, identity, consumption, and a little on production], and Hall's (1990, 1993; [1973] 1980, 2010) identity and audience reception theories (encoding and decoding model). After this, the research methodology was introduced as that of a qualitative approach, with a phenomenological and ethnographic design. The sample size and site were provided, after which the structure of the thesis rounded off the chapter.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

The second chapter was the literature review. It was divided into three different sections that covered three different but interrelated notions. The first section dwelt on the notion of music and Christian music and how these were introduced to the African context. The introduction of Christian music to South Africa, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo was further elaborated on.

The general theme that emerged from the introduction of Christian music within these settings was the initial obstacles it encountered. These obstacles were due to the missionary's imposition of a similar pattern of worship unto these people, while their already established cultural systems were side-lined. The missionary's fear was the idea of how 'fetish' they thought these cultural were, while the African man's fear was a gradual eroding of his sense of purpose expressed in his culture. However, the missionary also neglected other cultural aspects such as language use, cultural and artistic expressions, participatory cultural practices and other already foregrounded practices that would have helped in the acceptance of Christianity and the mode of worship.

It was only when the African began to take leadership roles in the church, cultural and artistic expressions, and participatory cultural practices were included [which did not conflict with Christian views], was there a sense of inclusion. These necessitated the translation of lyrical contents to local languages for accessibility. These transformations spurred other modes of worship like Pentecostalism along with previously established Protestantism from which there arose traditional, contemporary and hybridised Christian music subgenres. These subgenres were ways of musical expressions.

From the second part of the literature review, arguments around music and identity were touched on. This was related to how music influences people's views of themselves and those of other people. These musical tendencies were intertwined with cultural and religious identities and how Christian music encouraged both cultural and religious expressions. These were revealed in religious settings where the inculcation of indigenous modes of worship and musical instrumentation led to a significant turnout in church attendance. Emotional freedom and participatory strategies strengthened these identities and people freely navigated between their identities.

From these, the functions of music as previously foregrounded by other scholars were particularised. It was revealed that music use was closely connected to its emotive functions, which spurred the need for this study to situate Christian music beyond emotions, entertainment or spiritual purposes only. Others argued that music was a voice for the marginalised and previously oppressed, an intrinsic value that could not be taken away from them even if their bodies were caged. Music became a tool for their identities to be preserved, and a source of courage.

The discussion proceeded to music preference and factors that influence people's choices of music subgenres. Some of these factors were hugely contextual, spiritual and emotive. The context in which people were and their previous contextual experiences and exposures influenced their gravitating towards certain genres. These contextual factors were inclusive of social networks friends, peers and media presence. The spiritual functions were those that reiterated their relationship between God and man, while the emotional factors dealt with their state of mind and disposition to such musical genres.

The third aspect of the literature review laid emphasis on music consumption and the media. The interest was in how the media influences both religious and cultural practices and how these translated to identity construction. Firstly, the consumption of musical genres from time past to what is obtainable now was traced. These modes of music consumption transitioned from larger music media to more compact and portable technologies, which have made access to music easier and more global. There was greater focus on four media of Christian music broadcast and consumption (radio, television, Internet and live performance or worship experience) which were found to be most relevant to the study.

These media of consumption combined mainstream and new media technologies and had been shown to be the most influential in the consumption of media texts. The radio was still one of the most pervasive and accessible medium of reception grounded by previous literature. It is accessible to a large population. Within this study, it was an interactive medium for both home-based and diasporic people. It also experienced transformation in the sense that radio is even now accessible via mobile technologies and television [particularly cable television]. Televisions were not been left out. With connections to a more global mediascape, media consumption is not limited to local broadcasts only, but has a global focus as well. These exposures breed 'self' and the 'other' interactivity.

Another medium of consumption which was equally pervasive and with a more global outlook is the Internet, along with Internet related technologies. Downloads, streaming and mobile applications provide 'on-the-go' access to music consumers. The Internet enhanced people's religious experiences through access to global religious musical content and modes of presentation such as live performances.

In this study, live performances were equated to live worship experiences due to more similarities shared in the area of a performer-audience relationship. Live performances or worship experiences catered to instant musical needs and expressions of people. It is for this reason that I chose to observe live worship experiences among the three groups in the study to show how they met religious, cultural and diasporic practices.

Therefore, the three parts of the literature review had similar cords that connected each section. These cords were the interrelatedness of music, culture, religion, identity and the media.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Basis

The third chapter was where the theoretical framework of this thesis was explained. The major theories of the study are du Gay, *et al.*'s (1997, 2013) 'circuit of culture' and Hall's (1990, 1993, [1973] 1980) identity and encoding and decoding model. The relevance of Hall's encoding and decoding model to this study is in its accentuation of the communicative encounter as participatory, and the role of the audience as active members. The encoder and decoder, i.e., the producer and consumer have a continuous role interchange, emphasising the active role play of both. For the consumers, they can assume three fundamental positions in meaning-making: dominant or preferred, negotiated and oppositional, depending on how the consumer interprets what was represented based on the position they assume as the reader. This affects the outcome of the encoded message.

The 'circuit of culture' consists of five moments: representation, identity, regulation, consumption and production. The moments of representation, identity, consumption and production were the most relevant to this thesis because I did not delve into full details on the production process, and regulatory aspects of Christian music subgenres. Rather, production was discussed in brief in its relation to context and media broadcasts. It is along these lines that all other areas that relate to the guiding theories were reviewed. The moments of production and consumption were matched with the encoding and decoding process within a communicative encounter. The moment of production provided details into the influence of contextual and media factors on how Christian music subgenres are encoded, by considering the cultural frameworks and perceptions that are dominant from emerging contexts and media broadcast.

Participatory and collaborative production practices in audience reception studies are indications of the relevance of the encoding process to ensure meaning is made. This speaks to the encoded message and how it is represented, i.e., the moment of representation. Representation uses signs, symbols and signifying systems for meaning making. The circuit expounded on how representations are connected to previous exposures and frameworks in order to interpret what is encoded. As such, representations are associated with verbal, audio, visual and objectified systems, which in relation to this study, underpins representations of cultural, diasporic and religious identities in Christian music and related artistic practices.

The moment of consumption is closely equated with the decoding process, i.e., the way and medium employed to comprehend texts that have been produced and represented within a communicative encounter. The effectiveness of the communicative encounter is mostly measured by the receiver understanding the text in a meaningful manner as intended by the encoder. In this, the audience, consumers of Christian music, is perceived to be actively involved in the encoding and decoding process. At the consumption moment, individual and group consumption were compared. And in this study, it was demonstrated that what is obtainable at the group or collective level is not always applicable to individual choices and consumption.

The last moment was that of identity. Who people perceive themselves to be, both within and without, as relating to personal, distinct or even shared values and characteristics, assert the concept of identity. In this category, subthemes like religious, cultural and diasporic identities provided more insight to the discourse around identity, and especially, in multiple consciousness. This mirrors the fluidity of identity determined by certain factors or contexts. Hybridity of identities are indications of heterogeneous interactions due to multi-layered internal and external outcomes of engagement. Issues around identity adaptation or accommodation, and identity reinforcement, 'self' and 'othering' in music consumption, and the role of the media in identity formation, rounded up the moment of identity.

Chapter Four: Methodology

The methodological aspect of this study drew on the paradigmatic focus of the study: the research population and sample size, the sampling technique that was utilised, the location where the research took place and the recruitment strategy that facilitated interaction between myself, as the researcher, and the study participants. The chapter also covered other areas such as the research designs and instruments, the method of data analysis, the validity and reliability of the study, ethical considerations and the limitations to the study. The chapter drew attention to how the research questions were answered and the tools that were employed to present these answers.

The chapter and the entire study were set in the qualitative research paradigm to accentuate and deepen knowledge on human experiences of sociocultural phenomenon like Christian music and identity formation. A qualitative paradigm was adopted because it is the basis for a social science endeavour that incorporates human experiences rather than experiments. The population of the

study was identified as South Africans and diasporic Congolese and Nigerians. The study sample was recognised as Zulu people, and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban. Therefore, the location of the study was in Durban with South African, Congolese and Nigerian churches respectively. This was not to relegate other ethnic representations in these churches to the sidelines. The focus was on the cultural representations of South Africans, Congolese and Nigerians, and their considerations for the other ethnic groups in their churches. Consequently, the churches made it easier to access the study sample.

The sampling technique was purposive because the study sample needed to exhibit certain characteristics like ethnicity, religion, age and identity. The research designs were those of phenomenology [the phenomena of Christian music and identity formation] and ethnography [observation of church services]. For the phenomenological design, semi-structured interviews were the instrument, and participant observation was utilised for ethnography. These designs and instruments were the most appropriate for the purpose of this study.

The method of data analyses was hermeneutics, which was an interpretation and description of apparent and latent emergent opinions and ideas from the data. The study's validity, reliability and credibility were determined by the consistency of participant experiences, and data saturation, both from the responses of the participants and data from the church services.

For the ethical considerations, informed consent forms were made available, gatekeepers' letters were sought, and pseudonyms were given to all the participants. These were the ethical measures taken to guarantee the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants without any form of violation. The chapter was concluded with the study limitations encountered before and during the process of gathering data.

Chapter Five: Findings

The fifth chapter detailed the description, interpretation and analysis of data gathered for the study. It did not only analyse and tally these with previous knowledge, it equally discussed emergent ideas from the responses of the participants and observations of the church services. The chapter was categorised into three sections: the first section [report from the participant observation], the

second section [analysis of the interviews with participants] and the third section [the discussion of data findings].

From the first section, the outcome of my fellowship experience at the South African, Nigerian and Congolese churches was reported on. Within the Nigerian setting, the discussion detailed how language representation [linguistic – with such languages as Hausa, Yorùbá, Igbo, English and Zulu, and visual – dressing] was brought into play to both strengthen their cultural and national identities and at the same time accommodate other ethnicities and nationals in the congregation. The thematised pattern of the church services also spoke to song choices and cultural expressions, especially, the last Sunday in the month which was dedicated to Thanksgiving and local attires and representations. The use of projectors was engaging, participatory and accommodative to all. The South African church expressed a higher level of musical ethnocentrism and cultural representations mainly in dressing, audience mobilisation and participation, linguistic representations and identity issues. The provision made for ‘otherness’ was in the form of the translator. The Congolese church in its linguistic representation oscillated among various Congolese and other languages such as Lingala, Swahili, French, Bemba, Zulu and English. The projector was an inclusive and participatory medium for both the Congolese and other ethnicities in the congregation. Other forms of cultural expressions were in musical instrumentation, dressing and performative arts like ululations, dances and claps.

The interview analysis furnished this essay with divergent views on what people use Christian music for, how identities are impacted within the purview of culture, religion, human movement and the media. It was shown that Christian music became a medium not only for cultural and national identity reinforcement but also intercultural and transnational contact. It was used for spiritual, entertainment, cultural and distractive purposes among the three groups. It was highlighted as a medium to celebrate cultural diversity and incorporate divergent African views in recognition of a collective African identity. In some cases, linguistic barriers were identified as a hindrance to consuming Christian music from other cultural backgrounds. But from most participants, language was not a hindrance to listening to ‘other’ Christian music subgenres.

In some cases, identities were renegotiated and contested, with differing thoughts on what makes people who they are. Some respondents related this to extrinsic values, while some related it to

intrinsic values, further enriching debates on the concept of identity. The media, in their ubiquitous nature, enhanced these roles and the cultural experiences of participants. Mainstream and new media technologies strengthened the reports on Christian music use and identity formation through varied local and international broadcasts that showcase local and international Christian music subgenres.

Summarily, the findings of the study revolved around issues on how language can be a medium for inclusion or exclusion, individual and group dynamics of Christian music consumption and interpretation, and musical and participatory cultural practices that signify an acceptance in contexts that were not where these initially emanated from. Other issues were debates on the collective African identity, the interface among the concepts of the media, music and identity, and how transnational mobility is firmly anchored by the media. Additional findings revealed the role of the church as a religious and sociocultural institution, belonging and associating among groups, debates on homogeneity or heterogeneity, and the diaspora's interpretation of the concept of home. These concluded the analytical discussions of the study.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The sixth chapter concludes the thesis. The chapter provides an apt summary to the research process by engaging other chapters in the study. Through this, a summary of previous chapters aligns previous discussions with the findings and conclusion of the study. These succinct details from each chapter dovetail into what the relevance of this study is. Perhaps, an eyeopener while carrying out this research was the opportunity to present this thesis before delegates of the United Nations. It became firmly rooted that the research process goes beyond the compilation of chapters and data gathering and analysis for the conferment of a degree. It is the ability to impact lives and create awareness on topical issues that are peculiar to living and human experiences and how these will translate to a sustainable future and peaceful interactions. These summarise the relevance and implications of this study.

From the relevance of this study, recommendations were made on how to make the study further impactful and practicable. These recommendations were in line with the need for self-examination, and to have a proper and open mindset about people with similar or different identities. Recommendations were made on the role of the State and policy makers in adjudicating on issues

that breed political responses to the presence of the ‘other’ and enable diasporic policies that protect their lives and livelihood. The role of the Church as an institution has been foregrounded both in this study and in previous studies. This is reiterated to educate members of congregations, and for the Church to rise to its position within the society. A dialogue among churches will go a long way. Similarly, intercultural and musical collaborative practices will be proactive measures, through the support of favourable media policies, in alleviating negative responses and divides between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’. Not only will identities be preserved, cultural accommodation will be at an optimal level. Other areas for further research are identified, and the chapter is concluded.

The Learning Curve: Relevance and Implications of the Study Findings for Culture and Practice

This study afforded me the opportunity to travel far and wide, to present aspects of this thesis and educate people from different parts of the world on issues that may not have been previously given thorough consideration. The report on one of these experiences is my trip to Norway, for the Bergen Summer Research School [BSRS], where I had to connect this research to one of the United Nations’ [UN] Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs], and present this before UN delegates. It became an avenue to make the research as practical and relatable as possible.

Though there was no explicit mention of ‘Culture’ in the UN’s 17 SDGs, there were implicit connections that reiterated the relevance of Culture to the success of these Goals. It should be noted that the most congruent of these Goals to this research is Goal 4 [Target 4.7], which summarily emphasises the role of *education* in the *development of global citizenship*, the *appreciation of cultural diversity* and *the contribution of culture to sustainable development*.

One of the UNs’ 2030 ‘New Agenda’ goals for sustainable development is “to foster inter-cultural understanding, tolerance, mutual respect and an ethic of global citizenship and shared responsibility....[in acknowledgment of] the natural and cultural diversity of the world [and recognising] that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of, sustainable development” (United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goal Knowledge Platform, 2015: unnumbered). The aim of this Agenda is to foster peaceful coexistence among inhabitants

of the world while upholding an innate consciousness of our roots, and the need for intra-, inter-, trans-, and cross-cultural understanding.

The approach of this study, tied with this Agenda, underscores cultural preservation, cultural adaptation, cultural diversity, and some cognisant level of commonalities among South Africans, and diasporic Congolese and Nigerians. The summary and relevance of this study is an *Inclusive Afrocentric Social Developmental Framework* that preserves the knowledge of who people are in the global world, and their relations with people different from them, laying more emphasis on similar points of interest rather than differences. This will be a deliberate effort on the part of the ‘self’ [intrapersonal communication and resolve] and a collaborative effort between stakeholders and policy makers to focus on these areas of interest or commonalities, to make the world we live in more conducive, not only for us, but also for coming generations, while at the same time not forgetting where we come from.

I endorse how I believe that cultural and religious values can promote increased intercultural competence and cultural awareness among different peoples, cultures and identities, through mediated transnational mobility, aided by the globalisation process. These were explicated along some of Goal 4’s Human and Sustainable Development practices listed below.

✓ Through *active participation in cultural life as reflected in religious practices* like the representation, use and consumption of religious content [Christian music], people will be exposed to the ways of life of those who are different from them, towards facilitating knowledge and appreciation of otherness.

✓ By encouraging such exposures and inter/cross-cultural collaborations, especially among important stakeholders including churches and religiously inclined artists, *the development of cultural liberties and the promotion and protection of cultural expressions* within religious contexts will be guaranteed to safeguard the intangible cultural heritages of these people.

Furthermore, I elucidated the intangible aspects of culture and heritage aside from objectified or tangible cultural heritages. Issues that relate to humans as carriers of culture, heritage and traditions were considered. These intangible cultural heritages are referred to as ‘Living Heritage or Living Culture’, “who [engage in] cultural [and musical] traditions, customs, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, social mores, knowledge of nature and diverse natural resources, [religious

practices, social manners, and celebrations]” (*Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, Department of Arts and Culture, South Africa, 2017: 20). Humans, as the Living Culture, or Living Heritage, according to UNESCO (2017) and the Department of Arts and Culture, South Africa (2019), are a crucial factor in the promotion and maintenance of cultural diversity, social cohesion, reconciliation, peace, and economic development within social milieus. That is why so much emphasis is placed on the preservation of intangible cultural heritages. People embody the cultures and traditions that have been inculcated in them from their sociocultural frameworks of knowledge. It speaks to the preservation of legacies and lived expressions received from the past, experienced in the present, and passed on to future generations (UNESCO, 2017). The Living Culture [as home-based South Africans, and diasporic peoples of the DRC and Nigeria], their musical traditions, sociocultural and religious practices, and their roles in the celebration of cultural diversity, adequately captured the dominant themes of the research.

Study Recommendations

Introspection

There is the need for us all, as individuals to work on ourselves, both within and without, on ‘self’ and inter/cross/transcultural appreciation. Of a truth, our societies shape us, but the society is not a separate entity from the individuals within its confines. We are important constituents that make up the society, and as such, our influence is also felt by the society itself. This is a continuous interaction between individuals and the society. That is why it is pertinent to ensure that we appreciate the beauty of cultural inclusiveness and diversity. In the light of this, the words of Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Premier of Northern Nigeria in Nigeria’s First Republic are re-echoed; “let us understand our differences ... By understanding our differences, we can build unity in [diversity].” (Akinade, 2014: 178). Any concerted effort to make the society better should start with individual resolve.

The Need for an Ecumenical Dialogue

To describe and redefine the role of religion in the society, there is the need for openness to global, societal and religious discourses among affected sociocultural and religious groups. Already, the combined efforts of different denominations such as the South African Council of Churches

[SACC], and the Church universal, have been felt within the South African cultural and religious landscapes. Therefore, intrareligious cultural exchange events that promote inclusiveness and showcase intercultural diversity should be facilitated. Churches should be more media-friendly and conscious, projecting more intercultural activities using mediated platforms. Churches should also create language friendly environments, church units and church departments where the language of the ‘other’ can be learnt.

Intercultural and Religious Musical Collaborations to Foster Social Harmony

The study revealed an awareness of local and international Christian music artists by many participants. By cultivating collaborations among different Christian music artists, religious and cultural ties will be strengthened. Concerts and exhibitions projecting or showcasing the richness in culture and diversity and the similarities in, and peculiarities of our cultures should be organised by both churches and policy makers to foster education/awareness and knowledge of the ‘other’. A platform that encourages the fusion of homegrown and international songs, by both local and international Christian music artists, to capture the cultural uniqueness of traditional and exogenous cultures should be created.

The recognition of sameness even in the face of ‘otherness’ revolves around the idea of sociocultural and religious harmony perceived by these people. To maintain such positive views about the ‘self’ and the ‘other’, we all need to see through the lens of interreligious and cultural ties, founded on certain common values in a social and religious identity, irrespective of diverse cultural identities.

The Role of the State and Combined Efforts of Policy Makers

In recognition of the role of the State, and those who make policies, it is recommended that multicultural policies that engage and facilitate teaching and education about culture and religion should be encouraged. The inclusion of these multicultural policies that enhance religious and cultural inclusiveness ought to be advocated, especially, in high schools’ curricula. This would ensure the shaping of the hearts and minds of the future generation. There should be coordination and cooperation among relevant authorities, and the everyday common man.

Areas for Further Research

From the theoretical angle of this study, especially the ‘circuit of culture’, more emphasis was on the moments of representation, consumption and identity. There was a brief explanation on the moment of production, while the regulatory moment was not explained. Issues on production, particularly, the political economy, and mediated power relations of Christian music production can be delved into. The aim may be to concentrate on the impact of the production process on the reception of these media contents both locally and globally. On the regulation of these contents, research can also examine the impacts of these on consumption practices, and the ripple effects on identity formation.

Another area of research may be to involve people from different religious and cultural affiliations on their use of Christian music, and the implication of this on their views of ‘themselves’ and ‘other’ people. The assumption is that Christian music is only consumed by people who identify with Christianity, but that may not always be the case because music use and preference have been shown to be associated with emotional, educational, psychological and social purposes.

Further research can be set beyond the purview of religion and religious practices. In this way, seeing that music is a means for artistic and cultural expression, other cultural practices can be underscored to connect these with identity preservation and accommodation. These may include food practices, sports, oral history, folktales, dance, dress representations, locally made audio and visual productions, among many others. Within these, the contestation of identities can be grounded because of the divergent views that people have on who they are, and their views on other people. This can be associated with the identity discourse, and the types of ‘readings’ or interpretations the audience give a text, shown in the encoding and decoding model.

The accommodative or adaptive flow of the host and diasporic culture and music preference might have been influenced by a physical or mediated contact. The impact of the media in projecting popular and ‘superior’ cultural and musical otherness [mediated transnational broadcasts] outside the physical contact of the host culture with diasporic influxes cannot be overstated. Future research can investigate the role of the media in the reconfiguration of other ‘others’ by ‘the dominant other’ [Nigerian Christian music artists and subgenres, or other mediated contents].

Conclusion

As the study drew to a conclusion [in September 2019], a series of events took place. Firstly, there was the mobilisation of female students all over the country, and specifically, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College campus, on the campaign against gender-based violence, women abuse, and the rape culture, which had resulted in the death of both young and old women in the recent past. Music played a huge role in the mobilisation of these students and the success of this movement, which I witnessed.

Secondly, an upsurge of xenophobic attacks began on foreign nationals, as businesses owned by foreigners were destroyed and their shops looted. This political response to 'othering' had earlier been identified as a threat to the 'self', cultural and national identities, and peaceful coexistence between people of different cultures and groups (Bohlman, 2011: 151; Hall, 1992: 308). As calls and concerns were made from governments and people all around the world to curb this menace, it additionally shed more light on the relevance and importance of this study in mitigating further clashes and a change in the perception to those different from who we are.

Through music, religion, and religious practices like Christian music, not only will a sense and purpose of 'self' be rooted, but an awareness of diversity and the need for intercultural competence will also be instituted and imbibed. Awareness on social matters can be created. Social ills and vices can be curbed through the incorporation of these religious and cultural elements. Willem Schoeman (2017: 1-2), in his analysis on the role of religion within the South African society, pondered on what the position and role of religion is in South Africa, and what the influences of religion may be on the values and attitudes of people within the South African context. Recognising the roles of these institutions and spaces as key resources for cultural interaction and participation is crucial (United Cities and Local Governments [UCLG], 2018: 23). Religious institutions and stakeholders [the government, Christian music artists, preachers, the Christian community as a whole] can be vehicles for cultural education, which has been established in this study. This opportunity should not be relegated upon seeing the extent to which culture, religion, music and identity are important components of the life of an African.

Media portrayals and broadcasts are also advantageous in fostering, educating and promoting cross-cultural interactions and relationships. Media portrayals will strengthen people's cultural identities and the trust and bonds among countries which make it vital to appreciate 'self' and the 'otherness' in others. Based on shared values and an appeal to humanity and pan-Africanism, people's opinions of those who have a different identity will be enlightened. This is the aim of this study, which I believe has been accomplished by the practicality of the use and consumption of Christian music within sociocultural and religious contexts, its mediated use and broadcasts, and the resultant influence of these on identity formation.

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APPENDIX 1

ETHICAL CLEARANCE



05 July 2017

Ms Rhoda Titilopemi Inioluwa Abiolu (214580202)
School of Applied Human Sciences – CCMS
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Abiolu,

Protocol reference number: HSS/0911/017D

Project title: A comparative study of Christian Music use and identity construction among Black South Africans and Diasporic Peoples of Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) within Durban, South Africa

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 28 June 2017, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Professor Ruth Teer-Tomaselli
Cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Jean Steyn
Cc School Administrator: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4657 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 4609 **Email:** ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunn@ukzn.ac.za

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APPENDIX 2
GATE KEEPERS' LETTER GPC

Glenwood
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
A Congregation of the Uniting Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa



13 June 2017

The Centre for Communication, Media and Society
School of Applied Human Sciences,
College of Humanities,
Ground Floor, Room G006a, Memorial Tower Building
Howard College, Mazisi Kunene Avenue
Durban
4041

To whom it may concern,

This letter serves to confirm that as Colleague Minister of Glenwood Presbyterian Church, I grant permission for Rhoda Abiolu, a doctoral student at the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS), University of Kwazulu-Natal, Howard College campus, to approach the members of our congregation in order to gather information for her research project.

This research will take the form of interviews with members of the church and relates to their consumption of Christian music subgenres, how they maintain or adapt their identities through their consumption, and the media through which they consume these.

We wish Rhoda success in her studies on this very relevant and challenging topic.

Yours Sincerely,

Colleague Minister
Glenwood Presbyterian Church

Ministers: Rev. WILLIAM D. POOL B.A. (Hons.) (Rhodes) - Rev. BRETT WILLIAMS BTh (Unisa)
Telephones: Church 031-2053658, 031-2053717; Fax 031-2053937
Address: 339 Esther Roberts Road, Glenwood, Durban 4001
P.O. Box 59115, Umbilo, 4075
Email: office@glenwoodpresby.co.za

APPENDIX 3
GATE KEEPERS' LETTER ECC

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: Ms Rhoda T.I ABIOLU (214580202) PERMISSION LETTER

This letter serves as an approval for Ms Rhoda T.I ABIOLU, with student number 214580202, studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) to carry out her research as she requested. She is to schedule appointments with those she would like to interview at their convenience.

Yours Sincerely,



Bishop V.E DUBE.

ETHEKWINI COMMUNITY CHURCH
Reg No: 2006/0059/08
PO Box 4872, Durban, 4000
Tel: 031 304 3734

APPENDIX 4

GATE KEEPERS' LETTER WCID



WINNERS' CHAPEL INTERNATIONAL

World Mission Agency

139 Berea Road, off Morans Lane

Tel: 0313016266. Cell 074 575 9240

Email: wmadurban@yahoo.com

17/05/2017

Dear Rhoda Abiolu,

This letter is in response to your recent request regarding your research that will require you to interview our church members.

On behalf of the church leadership, I the undersigned, confirm that we have received your email and we are glad to inform you that you are welcome to come and do the interviews. Please kindly inform us in time the dates and time you will be coming.

If you have any question, please don't hesitate to contact the undersigned.

Remain blessed

Pst Muyiwa Kolawole

Resident Pastor,

Winners' Chapel International, Durban

Preaching the Word.....Liberating the World

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW GUIDE [SA]

Please introduce yourself.... Where are you from (country, ethnicity...)

Christian Music Subgenres

RQ1: What are the Christian music subgenres and mediated use and preferences of South Africans and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban?

- You are familiar with Christian music, right?
- So which ones are you familiar with, i.e. what is/are your favourite Christian music? (**Preference**). (traditional, contemporary or hybrid Christian music) (**as their responses may reflect**).
- These Christian music (subgenres) you have mentioned, why do you listen to these, i.e., what purpose does each serve for you?
- In what language is/are these songs performed? (Indigenous or foreign)
- What are those factors that influenced your choice of Christian music in that particular language, was it because of your fondness of the artist, the musical instrumentation, the clothes they wear during performance etc.?
- What are you always on the lookout for in Christian music, dance, performances, lyrics/words, sweet voice, and instruments?
- What is/are your favourite musical instruments? (Preference)
- Do you play any of these musical instruments? If no, which would you have loved to be able to play? If yes, which do you play?

Influence of Christian Music Subgenres on Identity Reinforcement and Identity Redefinition

RQ2: How do the representation and consumption/media of consumption of this music influence each group in terms of identity reinforcement and identity redefinition?

- The praise and worship songs in church, do they remind you of your culture in any way?
- Does the choir sing some of these your favourites in your church?
- You mean to say your culture is (not) portrayed more through songs in church?
- In what ways?
- In what other languages do you sing songs in your church?
- In what other languages or from which other countries do you know or listen to Christian music?
- How (media) do you listen to songs from your own country?
- From the ones you listen to elsewhere apart from church, have you seen cultural representations of your culture or any other culture?
- Do you learn more about your culture or those of others represented though the Christian music, say language use, or dressing, or musical instruments used?

Expression of Cultural Identity through the Media

RQ3: How do identities present within each group find a means of expression through the representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres within the South African cultural landscape?

- There's this time during service that men and women stay on different sides, and then come closer to meet at the middle in front of the altar, what does this mean/imply culturally?
- Do you listen to Christian music say on the TV, radio, online, or experience such performances 'live', and why?
- What other shows or programmes on TV, radio or Internet are you aware of that play Christian music from South Africa, or any other country?
- If yes, can you mention some of these?
- Do you enjoy listening to or watching these shows?
- Are there people from other countries or even different ethnic groups from your country who attend your church?
- Do you learn about different cultures on these shows/live streams/radio esp. language use as well?.
- Are you aware of people from other countries who attend your church?
- How do you relate with these people in your church?
- In what ways do you relate with other nationals who are not members of your church?

[NIG/DRC]

(Diaspora)

Please introduce yourself.... Where are you from (country, ethnicity...)

Christian Music Subgenres

RQ1: What are the Christian music subgenres and mediated use and preferences of South Africans and diasporic Nigerians and Congolese in Durban?

- You are familiar with Christian music right?
- So, do you sing in church or to yourself?
- What is/are your favourite Christian music? (**Preference**). So I take it that you tilt more towards (traditional, contemporary or hybrid Christian music) (**as their responses may reflect**).
- These Christian music (subgenres) you have mentioned, why do you listen to these, i.e., what purpose does each serve for you?
- In what language is/are these songs performed? (Indigenous or foreign)
- What are those factors that influenced your choice of Christian music in that particular language, was it because of your fondness of the artist, the musical instrumentation, the clothes they wear during performance etc.?
- What are you always on the lookout for in Christian music, lyrics/words, sweet voice, and instruments (Nathaniel Bassey's trumpeting etc.?)
- What is/are your favourite musical instruments? (Preference)
- Do you play any of these musical instruments? If no, which would you have loved to be able to play? If yes, which do you play?

Influence of Christian Music Subgenres on Identity Reinforcement and Identity Redefinition

RQ2: How do the representation and consumption/media of consumption of this music influence each group in terms of identity reinforcement and identity redefinition?

- The praise and worship songs in church, do they remind you of home/your culture in any way?
- So you mean to say your culture is (not) portrayed more through songs in church, **how/in** what ways? So what is portrayed in church?
- From the ones you listen to elsewhere apart from church, have you seen cultural representations of your culture or any other culture?
- Do you learn more about your culture or those of others represented though the Christian music, say language use, or dressing, or musical instruments used?
- In Africa now, do you like songs from your own country more than those from other regions?
- How (media) do you listen to songs from your own country?
- Does your choice of Christian music allow you accommodate other Christian music cultures?

- So, how do you then relate with cultures portrayed through these Christian music you listen to or perhaps watch, i.e., in what ways does this influence you as a South African or diasporic Nigerian/Congolese, do you see a uniting factor/identity/similarity from these?

Expression of Cultural Identity through the Media

RQ3: How do identities present within each group find a means of expression through the representation and consumption of Christian music subgenres within the South African cultural landscape?

- So when did you start attending this church, and why? (**Esp. the diaspora**)
- Did your decision to attend this church help you integrate nicely with other people here in Durban... (Within the South African terrain)?
- Okay, now, does the choir sing some of these your favourites in your church?
- In what ways do you get to listen to these your favourites (say on the TV, radio, online, or experience such performances 'live') and why?
- What other shows or programmes on TV, radio or Internet are you aware of that play Christian music from South Africa, or any other country?
- If yes, can you mention some of these?
- Do you enjoy listening to or watching these shows?
- So, from your exposure to Christian music here in South Africa, say based on songs in church or those you listen to on your phone, TV/radio, Internet etc., do you get the slightest hint of any culture being portrayed through these songs?.
- Do you learn about different cultures on these shows/live streams/radio esp. language use?
- In all these our discussions, finally, how do you then keep in touch with your home culture?

APPENDIX 6

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Letter of invitation to participate in the study

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is RHODA T. I. ABIOLU. I am collecting data as part of a research project. The project is conducted under the supervision of PROF RUTH TEER-TOMASELLI in the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS), University of KwaZulu-Natal. The aims of the study are to examine the influence of Christian music use and consumption on identity construction among home-based South Africans and Nigerians, and diasporic South Africans and Nigerians; and to highlight the media through these groups of people receive and consume Christian music.

Participation in this study is voluntary. As a participant, you may withdraw from the research at any time without negative consequences. The interview will not be paid for in money, but a small token gift or appreciation may be given. In general, responses will be treated in a confidential manner. Confidential information will not be used without your permission. If you agree to be interviewed, we will request that you choose a pseudonym for the purposes of this research, so your real identity will not be revealed in the final reports. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity.

We request the use of an audio-recorder in the interview. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by my supervisor PROF RUTH TEER-TOMASELLI at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request, an electronic copy of the final projects will be sent to you on completion.

Your willingness to participate in this study will greatly be appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

Researcher	Rhoda T. I. ABIOLU	+27617718723	abiolurhoda@gmail.com 214580202@stu.ukzn.ac.za
Department	Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-2602505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban, South Africa.	http://www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer- Tomaselli	+27-31-2601813	TEERTOMA@ukzn.ac.za
Chair, UKZN Human Sciences Research Committee	Dr Shenuka Singh	+27-31-2608591	singshen@ukzn.ac.za
Committee Clerk, UKZN Human Sciences Research Committee	Ms P. Ximba	+27-31-2603587	ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

<p><i>Please do not hesitate to contact any of the above persons, should you want further information on this research, or should you want to discuss any aspect of the interview process.</i></p>			
<p>Key informant Interview</p>		<p>X</p>	<p>Focus Group Discussion</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand that the purpose of this interview is for solely academic purpose. The findings will be published as a thesis and may be published in academic journals. 		<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand I may choose to remain anonymous. (Please choose whether or not you would like to remain anonymous.) 		<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand my name will be quoted. (Please choose whether or not you would prefer to have your remarks attributed to yourself in the final research documents.) 		<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand that I will not be paid for participating. 		<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand that I reserve the right to discontinue and withdraw my participation any time. 		<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I consent to be frank to give the information. 		<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand I will not be coerced into commenting on issues against my will, and that I may decline to answer specific questions. 		<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand I reserve the right to schedule the <i>time</i> and <i>location</i> of the interview. 		<p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	

<ul style="list-style-type: none">I consent to the use of any photographs that may be taken of me.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	
* By signing this form, I consent that I have duly read and understood its content.		
_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date
<u>RHODA T.I. ABIOLU</u>	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date

APPENDIX 7

TURN IT IN SIMILARITY INDEX

PhD Turn it in Draft.

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