The production of gospel music: An ethnographic study of studio-recorded music in Bellville, Cape Town

A mini thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology

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<u>Abstract</u>

This thesis explores the production of music with musicians, singers and music producers who adhere to and promote Pentecostalist Christianity. The music they produce is a recently emerged genre, which I call 'Pentecospel'. I have coined this term to refer to a contemporary form of religiously inspired popular music, which is performed by young musicians belonging to various Pentecostal churches in Cape Town. I argue that 'Pentecospel' music is an emergent social form of self-representation, which is framed around Pentecostalism and the sound of Cape Town, as identified by Martin (2013). Young musicians and singers in Cape Town are absorbing and appropriating global styles of music, concepts and beliefs and music making techniques within their own musical compositions and transform their music performances in a way that enhances their local popularity. Thus, I elaborate on the processes of production through technical and social interpretations. This thesis will explore how performance, engaging audiences, the social interaction between people and technology, and the creation of their own unique sound on their musical instruments are linked to visual approaches located in the anthropology.

This thesis is based on ethnographic fieldwork which took place mostly between December 2014 and February 2015. During this period, I worked with music producers and young people who have recorded at the 'Sounds of the Nations Africa: Cape Town' recording studio in Bellville, Cape Town, sharing their experiences of everyday life in and outside the studio. My three month long fieldwork included in-depth interviews, conversations and discussions, photographic and video material, and activity field notes. I made use of these methods in order to record my observations in the recording studio, during rehearsals and in public performances focusing on the social and musical interaction with the performing artists I got to know, through participant observation. I include my own participation as a musician and audience member with the use of these methods, in recording music in the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio for their upcoming album "Sound of Africa" and in public performances.

<u>Declaration</u>

I declare that "The production of gospel music: An ethnographic study of studio-recorded music in Bellville, Cape Town" is my own work and that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used, or quoted, have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Robin Thompson   November 2015

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Acknowledgements

CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

It was a warm spring day in late November. Tim, a music producer and director of the organization *Sounds of the Nations Africa: Cape Town*, and myself, an anthropologist-musician were in the studio situated in a middle income area in Cape Town known as Bellville. As the portable air-conditioning system cooled the small room, Tim was busy mastering a gospel soundtrack of a female singer from Sweden, who recorded at the studio that very month. As the soundtrack appeared on the music creator software called *Logic Pro* on the studio's desktop computer, a combination of lines and colour coded bars line up in synchronized fashion. Each colour coded bar represented an instrument and digital sound that was used in the production of the song. I observed that one of the colour coded bars represented the sound of the synth pads coupled with a piano playing a melody. By listening, the recognizable sound of the melody in E minor became louder over the stereo sound speakers, as the bass drum beat pulsated on the timing of quarter notes. After hearing the song for the first time, it sounded as if it was a song that was meant for a dance club or the market sector, rather than for a religious setting or anything related to gospel music. I started to wonder what gospel music sounded like nowadays, and how relatable it was to people in Cape Town.

This vignette is a glimpse of what I encountered in a music recording studio using my senses as a musician and anthropologist to identify sounds and music styles through which those sounds transpired. Looking at music in South Africa today, I am astonished at the wide variety of styles that are cross-mixed and produced by local musicians and singers. I play the bass guitar and perform primarily at the 'His People' church in Kuilsriver, Cape Town and occasionally on the UWC/His People campus ministry (campus church). In the 21st century, Cape Town's public sphere has become strongly influenced by the production of gospel music rooted within Pentecostalism. Over the past decade, I have come to appreciate how young people are incorporating different kinds of styles, sounds, music genres, and techniques in Pentecostal music performances. As a bass guitarist and anthropologist, the gigs that I have performed across Cape Town, such as church events, weddings, birthdays, and CD

launches, among others, seemed to all have a set song-list of well-known local and global Christian-based/charismatic Pentecostal music or gospel music.

I have noticed that gospel music recording studios in Cape Town have emerged as aspiring music producers and gospel artists aim to produce local gospel music in the challenging South African music industry. As an anthropologist-musician researcher, I argue that the connection between global music genres, locally produced gospel music and peoples' socio-religious backgrounds through lyrical narratives has served as a type of mediation that exposes a diversity of sounds within Capetonian Pentecostalism. Furthermore, these narratives demonstrate the socio-religious struggles that gospel musicians and singers are faced with. Thus, music recording studios are becoming more and more lucrative to Pentecostalism in the public sphere.

The central argument of my thesis is that there is a rise in contemporary gospel music within the sphere of Pentecostalism amongst the people in Cape Town, who are using audio and visual forms of music production as an aspect of meaning making and transformation. I claim that music producers, gospel musicians and singers in Cape Town are increasingly engaging in every day practices of music production. I have noticed ever more so over the past few years, that there were more young people entering the gospel music sector, striving to produce music that was unheard of, and that was aimed at covering a diverse spectrum of global and local sounds.

A local music recording studio which offers musicians and singers recording sessions at affordable rates, became a space and venture through which I got to understand, not just how the gospel music industry in Cape Town functioned, but also the sensorial experience of recording music. For that reason I became increasingly interested in how gospel music is produced in a studio based on the views of Pentecostalism as interpreted by singers, musicians and music producers. Therefore this thesis pays particular attention to an anthropological inquiry into the notions of identity, mediation, music performance and production through Pentecostalism, and African and global sounds in the public sphere. I put forward the notion of "Pentecospel" music in my study of gospel music and texts which are familiar and unfamiliar to Christian and non-Christian people in Cape Town, as an adaptation of Meyer's (2004) anthropological approach to defining Pentecostalism; as attempt to elaborate the social development on the notion of 'self-representation'.

The aim of the thesis is to show this side of the production of 'Pentecospel' music in Cape Town, and to enhance the exploration of 'Pentecospel' music recordings, this would mean creating a new, yet familiar kind of sound that young artists could present to the public sphere. I assert that the social dynamics and negotiations between the senses, technological influences and lyrical content as components of the development of 'self-representation', should be understood as practices of 'Pentecospel' music production.

What this understanding aims to show is, how practices of 'Pentecospel' music production elaborate on meaning-making process of gospel artists and their contributions to expanding the narrow local gospel music scene in the midst of the dominating global Pentecostal broadcasts; which begun to override and diminish notions of being 'locally produced' gospel music among broader audiences of South Africa. In addition, the meaning-making process lies in understanding the audiences' interpretations of 'Pentecospel' performances, making the audiences just as important as the performances. I claim that public performances of 'Pentecospel' music show an even greater promise in understanding the interactions between performances and the audience, broadening the sensorial dimensions of the audience's interpretation. As mentioned these sub-claims are connections of a further focus that I will address in this thesis, to broaden the understanding of the music production culture in Cape Town by gospel musicians, singers and their audiences, promoting the idea of producing 'Pentecospel' music. I use Abu-Lughod's (1991) argument that culture is the essential tool for making other, in reference to the music production culture, in which anthropology helps to construct, produce and maintain it.

This thesis explores the production of 'Pentecospel' music in a music recording studio and performances of 'Pentecospel' music in public spaces over the period of three months, which will be further explained in Chapter 3. I will show in this thesis how a new South African music culture is emerging, especially in suburbs where more local gospel music is played in households and community churches, as well as in public places near Cape Town's famous landmarks, such as the V&A Waterfront, where this new music culture has also become significant with public performances.

Founded by Dan McCollam, 'Sounds of the Nations' is situated in Vacaville, California in the USA. According to their website, 'Sounds of the Nations' is a mission organization training thousands of people around the world to write and record praise and worship songs in their own culture, language, and ethnic sound. They are active in other parts of the world

such as Europe, Asia, Australia and Africa. (http://soundsofthenations.com/dan regina mccollam). In South Africa, the 'Sounds of the Nations' (SOTN) studio is situated in Bellville, Cape Town. It was established at the end of August 2013 at the home of the musician, music producer and director, Timothy Feder.

The aim of the 'Sounds of the Nations Africa: Cape Town' music recording studio is to be a stepping-stone, by helping local artists from lower-middle class communities in Cape Town produce and promote their own music and themselves as up and coming performing gospel artists. Unlike other Christian performing arts departments and infrastructures in South African churches, which are highly dependent on their mother bodies to provide some kind of capital for their maintenance, 'Sounds of the Nations Cape Town' (SOTN) is an independent corporation, which received a small business grant from the Department of Small Business Development (DSBD) of South Africa through the Democratic Alliance (DA)[1], by registering as a private company instead of an non-profit organization (NGO). With this grant, SOTN were able to purchase new sound engineering equipment for the studio. From here, Tim and his associate music producer and friend Jason Skippers, were able to take on recording and producing projects from local and overseas artists, which in turn, resulted as a source of income for them and the studio and expanded their brand as an organization.

1.1 The prevalence of Pentecostalism and music in Christian households, churches and media in Cape Town

When I was searching through a pile of gospel music CDs and cassettes from the years 1992-2014 at home, I realised that the start of the innovative gospel music movement in Cape Town has seen many genres, styles, bands debuts, and production studios that emerged from these periods. It seems that the most influential artists of gospel music in South Africa came from the United States of America, especially in terms of its production and distribution. With the production and distribution of gospel music in South Africa, came a movement of gospel sounds throughout working class and middle class households in Cape Town during the 1990s and the early 2000s. In the 1990s, one of the most well-known Pentecostal music publishing companies in the USA, at the time, which has made this "movement" prominent in South African households, was 'Hosanna! Music'. A gospel music album published in 1992, "Lift Him Up" by Ron Kenoly, an African-American gospel artist, was one of the most

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[1] a South African political party

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popular albums and widespread Pentecostal material that was distributed in South Africa, selling audio and video cassettes and a book titled 'Lifting Him Up' by Ron Kenoly and Dick Bernal, published in 1995. What made this particular album popular amongst local churches in Cape Town was the integrate sounds and dynamics which was performed by a world-class band.

In the late 1990s, 'Praise Africa' which was a group of South African Pentecostal singers and musicians from Johannesburg, whose music not only consisted of various African sounds in the Pentecostal music scene, but also sounds of the USA, around South African churches and Christian households. One of its most acclaimed gospel albums was "Strong and Mighty". This kind of music did not go unnoticed, especially amongst music critics in the market sector. Paul A Harris from the Cross Rhythms Magazine, for instance, wrote in December 2000:

"This third CD from the Praise Africa series was recorded live at the Rhema Bible Church, Johannesburg, South Africa, by Rhema Publishing in November 1999. It features a collection of songs from various musical styles, sounding more like a Ron Kenoly set than something specifically 'African'. The fast paced songs were lively and that the religious sincerity/devotion within the lyrics was more than apparent. There's plenty of brass, a touch of 'Graceland' harmonies, and only a bit of African percussion/drumming in featured track "Strong and Mighty". The CD sleeve photos kind of sum it up with a mix of elephant shots superimposed on multiple views of the grandiose production worship stage I'm afraid the mixture didn't work for me and my djembe!." (http://www.crossrhythms.co.uk/ products/Praise_Africa/Strong__Mighty/1613/).

At the same time, South African Pentecostal audiences were introduced to more contemporary African-American "Black" gospel music which incorporated a rather rhythmic hip-hop and pop genre from artists such as Kirk Franklin, Marvin Sapp and Fred Hammond. Furthermore, American and Australian "White" Pentecostal rock music from the Pentecostal rock groups 'Planet Shakers', 'Casting Crowns' and the Hillsong Church in Australia. Today, the gospel music production scene in Cape Town offer services to artists who want to record music. However, finances are a huge issue for young men and women from the working and lower-middle classes, in which recording studios charge artists beyond their means, for example over R10 000 for recording/editing and mixing and more than R20 000 for the

mastering process. Therefore this is discouraging for them to record their own music in established studios.

Everyday observations on the rapid growth of Pentecostalism are found predominantly in Pentecostal churches across Cape Town; churches such as the Hillsong[2] church, for example. In mid-year 2008, a popular space became the third major Hillsong Church in Cape Town, South Africa. The 'Hillsong' Cape Town church was established in a former nightclub known as 'Dockside', which was popular in Cape Town in the late 1990s, near the city's mega mall, Canal Walk. From a nightclub to a newly formed mega-church, the Rock n Roll sound of 'Hillsong' is now being performed by the young congregants of Hillsong Church in Century City, as well as in Mitchells Plain and Somerset West in Cape Town. Through my own visitations and observations at the church in October 2013, I found that the attraction of Hillsong church for young people in Cape Town was brought about through various components. These included the packed hall of the former nightclub and lighting aesthetics which gave atmospheric hype to a contemporary Pentecostalist church service, the buses which transported undergraduate and postgraduate students from various Cape Town campuses and the Hillsong music which became most popular amongst the younger generation in Cape Town for its use of guitar shredding sounds and vibrancy, especially with Hillsong's youth album 'United'.

Between 2012 and 2013, the 'Sounds of the Nations Africa: Cape Town' has produced Christian-based music by incorporating music from Capetonian peoples' various social and ethnic backgrounds and fusing them with market and gospel sounds of Cape Town in their material, while promoting upcoming low and middle class gospel artists at reasonable rates. They produced and distributed music from various artists in Christian music stores in South Africa and at His People churches across Cape Town, and performed at the 'All Star Theatre' in the lower-middle class region of Kraaifontein. They have made their music available to the public through visual-audio media across the Western Cape such as Radio-Tygerberg and Cape Community FM (CCFM), online music sites such as SoundCloud, ReverbNation, and the Sounds of the Nations South African website, and global and local African Pentecostal televised broadcasting such as the television programme "Watchmen on the Wall" on the

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[2] A Pentecostal megachurch affiliated with Australian Christian Churches and located in Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), which changed to the "Faith Network" in 2015 on DStv (MultiChoice's digital satellite TV service).

Bearing in mind the presence of local Christian radio and television stations, print media and the flow of Pentecostal immigrants into South Africa, my thesis will show how people from in and outside South Africa are increasingly engaging in every day practices of music production in Cape Town. These practices will elaborate on the contributions to expanding the narrow local gospel music scene in the midst of the dominating global Pentecostal broadcasts. This has begun to override and diminish notions of being 'locally produced' gospel music among broader audiences of South Africa. I have noticed over the past few years, that there are more young people in Cape Town entering the gospel music sector, striving to produce music that is unheard of, and that is aimed at covering a diverse spectrum of global and local sounds.

A cursory glance at the social science literature concerned with various musical genres popular in Cape Town such as Hip-Hop, Jazz and Township music, reveals that not much attention has been paid to the interlinked concepts of Pentecostalism and gospel music as a singular theoretical framework by anthropology scholars. Among the notable scholars who have analytically and critically written about politics, race, inequality within various music in and outside Cape Town, South Africa such as Coplan (1985), Meintjes (2003), Haupt (2012), White (2012) and Martin (2013), none have dealt directly with Pentecostal and gospel music as a cross-cultural music style. These are studies on social implications of constructed identities, cultural and self-representation, marginalization and socio-political stigmas follow people's performance, production and distribution that has and still are impacting South Africans and the global market. Recent studies on music and social cultural and political interpretation at the University of the Western Cape conducted by scholars from the Anthropology Department, Linguistics Department and the History Department, have motivated me to delve deeper into the anthropology of music, following my Honours research titled the 'production of musicianhood'.

Before reaching the performing stage, audio-media and households, the social negotiations of sound are dealt with as musicians, singers, music producers, engineers, and the anthropologist get together in the studio, as stated by Meintjes (2003) who conducted her research on traditional Zulu music in a state-of-the-art music recording studio. Within the studio's fragmenting and lengthy practice, as stated by Meinjtes (2003) lies openings for poetic

innovation, for social and professional repositioning, and for empowering moves. Her observations can be drawn upon to understand the increasing prominence of media run by various Christian and Pentecostalist denominations and prominence of socio-technological and religious negotiation within music studios in post-apartheid South Africa.

Based on his field work in traditional and commercial music recordings in South African studios, Veit Erlmann (1994) argued that the growing articulation of South African music with the modern world-system, the intertwining of transnational culture and local practice, is both effected by and reflected in the dialectical relationship between notions of locality, identity and authenticity and images of inter-cultural exchange, global ecumene and humanity. (Erlmann, 1994: 166). However, his work does not address what becomes of the musical identities produced within the confines of a spiritual faith. It is unclear how music is produced on the basis of the 'gospel' genre especially in Cape Town, yet alone South Africa. Furthermore, there have been few studies of the production and distribution of religious music across Cape Town from an anthropological perspective.

1.2 Rethinking the idea of genre through 'Pentecospel' music

From an historical perspective, social anthropologist David Coplan (1985) states that music was among the most highly valued trades practiced by slave artisans in early Cape Town. He elaborates on the history and the performance culture that developed amongst the Coloured slaves and freemen and that they who have not had any formal training in instrumental musical performances played entirely by ear. Thus, this has led to coloured musicians taking the lead in creating a popular Western Cape performance culture, which also comprised of the appropriation the Western music culture. However, Mason (2007) states that the iconic South African jazz musician Abdullah Ibrahim, accused South African musicians of being too interested in merely imitating Americans and Europeans and that they should explore their own musical roots, the "sacred" and "beautiful" music that grew in the African soil. (Mason, 2007: 31).

Denis-Constant Martin (2013) defines Contemporary gospel music as the illustration of a process of appropriation, which involves the interest in borrowed material of local elements that contribute to change its sound and make it resonant with the local musical culture. (Martin, 2013: 304-305). I agree with this definition of contemporary gospel; however I argue that this view of gospel music should not be placed in a "boxed in" perspective of

genre or as if "genre" is category related to a specific audience and directed at a particular medium. I argue that "genre" within music classifies the social interests and of people, which sequentially carries its own socio-cultural inequities. This creates the differentiation of 'our music' and "their music", which separates tastes in authentic sounds, for instance like sugar and salt. Therefore, I put forward Stokes (2004) view of authentic music in a different variety of music, in which he states that if anything is authentic now, it is hybrid genres, organically connected to the social life and cultural aspirations of particular localities. (Stokes, 2004: 60). According to a local tourist website, SouthAfrica.info (2015), about the history of South African music in Cape Town, the story of South African music over the years has consisted of a dialogue with integrated forms, and varying degrees of hybridisation. Pieterse (2006) citing Rowe and Schelling (1991) defines hybridisation as the ways in which cultural forms become separated from existing cultural practices and recombine with new forms in new practices. (Pieterse, 2006: 662).

While conducting my research, I got to experience the hybridisation of music culture as a musician-anthropologist first hand through my participation in the recording sessions of gospel music in the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio. On the one hand, I have come across the negotiations of conversations by and the human-technological connexion that takes place through live tracking, mixing, editing and mastering processes. On the other, I have found that there is no clear theoretical indication of how contemporary gospel music is produced in independent music recording studios, for the purpose of influencing local and international appeal to spark a trend of newly produced South African gospel music.

In post-1994 democratic South Africa, music has been a way of renegotiating religious identity and the freedom of expressive thinking within Christianity amongst musicians and performing artists. With its rich diversity, developing perspectives toward globalization, modernization and practices of religious performances, Capetonian gospel singers and musicians are engaging in representations of 'self' through gospel music. Reflecting on the issues of music, identity and politics in Cape Town, Martin (2013) states that music from Cape Town played a decisive role in shaping popular music that spread throughout the whole country in the 20th century (Martin, 2013: viii).

It is often difficult to unravel what sound is specifically of Cape Town and what sounds are more generally South African and African. For instance, local gospel artists and groups from Cape Town that I have come to recognise, such as musicians Jonathan Butler and Jonathan

Rubain, The 'Christian Explainers' vocal group, the 'Kunjalo' band, gospel hip-hop artist 'Recruit' and singers Byron Levi, Grace Constable and Neville D, have played around with various genres and styles of local and international music, that redefined contemporary gospel music in Cape Town from its traditional hymn counterparts. For that reason, I argue that music in Cape Town has gone through transitional phases of sound over the past few decades. The transitional phases were part and parcel of the influences that challenged oppressive political standings during the Apartheid era, in which people have fought against through their music and cultural styles of performance. Moreover, these phases have provided recording opportunities for lower to middle class young men and women in Cape Town to record gospel music that speak to social experiences of everyday life and Pentecostal devotion.

Martin (2013) refers to Stuart Hall's (1994) use of the concept of hybridity to characterise an individual's "diaspora experience", an "experience which is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference." (Martin, 2013: 58). White (2012) states that by taking the stagnant concept of "genre" out of its context, it would be worth unravelling this concept through the notion of 'hybrid genre'. In relation to this concept, I will show how hybrid genres, such as 'Pentecospel' music which are produced in Cape Town offers a new way of showing how people from various cultural backgrounds perform new threads of Pentecostalist music as a religious-cum-entertainment phenomenon. I will explore the concept of 'Pentecospel' to elaborate on the prevalence of Pentecostalism as a form of a socio-religious movement through diverse sounds, unifying gospel artists and their music in the public sphere. The above discussion highlights how this phenomenon will be achieved in my thesis, by exploring musicians, singers and music producer's music in relationship to Pentecostalism and the understanding of their socio-cultural and socio-religious backgrounds which are fused within cross-cultural sounds in a music recording studio.

1.3 Going forth

I aim to explore my central argument and aims by showing how newly produced 'Pentecospel' music is performed as a lucrative source of entertainment for the broader audience in the public sphere, as Martin (2013) states that entertainment appears to be part

and parcel of the social power of music (Martin, 2013: 343). This will be done by spending much time in the music recording studio with Tim and Jason, who are the main interlocutors of my study. By spending my time with them, I was introduced to more people from various spaces in and beyond the studio walls, who also became interlocutors in my research. It was through and with them that I would achieve my aims and elaborate on my main argument for this thesis. I would do so by attending rehearsals, meetings and being a part of 'Pentecospel' music and music video recordings and being a member of the audience in public performances. In these events I would also captured my experiences through the visual and audio materials gathered in my fieldwork.

I would use the audio of both my fieldwork and studio recordings and the images captured during the public performances of 'Pentecospel' music to help uncover the blurred boundaries of religion and entertainment, as stated by Meyer and Moors (2006), and show the prevalence of Pentecostalism in different spaces in Cape Town. Moreover it will help with the enquiry of how young people in Cape Town make meaning of their own performances of 'Pentecospel' music in urban spaces, as popular music in the public sphere. For that reason I think it is significant to look at how recording gospel music help shape the idea of 'Pentecospel' as a way uniting sounds that come from the people of Cape Town. As a result, I hope to show how artists and their audience are more open in celebrating and acknowledging different types of gospel music that are familiar and unfamiliar to them. Furthermore, this study is significant in showing how the Christian music industry is broadening its possibilities to encourage local musicians and singers in Cape Town through the production of 'Pentecospel' music.

1.4 Chapter Outline

Following this introduction of my thesis, Chapter 2 will discuss how the rapid growth and movement of Pentecostalism and how it has changed over the years through its popularity. This chapter will draw on a body of literature that, taken together, deals with the concepts of authenticity, ethnicity, home and belonging and identity and how they are reimagined through gospel music and how this plays a role in the appropriation of Pentecostalism in the public sphere. I will bring these themes together by discussing the Capetonianization of gospel music, by looking at the conceptual links in aesthetics, music production, technology and human interaction.

Chapter 3 will discuss the fieldwork, on which this thesis is based. I will introduce the main interlocutors of my study, with their perspectives, arguments and discussions on recording music in the studio and music in Cape Town. I will begin my ethnographic venture in and outside the music studio which took place over a period of three months (December 2014 to February 2015). This chapter will deal with the challenges of doing fieldwork in a space that is at once a private family home and a workplace. I will be discussing how I found myself to be the researcher and a session musician, as I include my own participant observation and the methods I used to obtain my data. This chapter will include discussions on global connections of music and material cultures of music technology that appeared in the spaces I found myself.

Chapter 4 will give a detailed look into the production of 'Pentecospel' music by young musicians and singers that I have met in and outside the recording studio. This chapter will give a "behind-the-scenes" look at their experiences and narratives that they attached to their music, lyrics and themselves as gospel artists. I will discuss how my interlocutors performed and produced 'Pentecospel' music in the studio, with regards to the manipulation and altering of sounds using their social backgrounds in music, and personal experiences fused with musical and their knowledge of technological techniques. Lastly, this chapter will include close ethnographic fieldwork that puts me in the position of a session musician, as well as my experiences of being a musician-anthropologist in recording 'Pentecospel' music and engaging with my interlocutors musically.

Chapter 5 will link the ideas of religious entertainment and consumption by analysing of the effectiveness of 'Pentecospel' music among performing artists, which will in turn be presented to audiences. Furthermore, this chapter looks at how this connection covers receptiveness between well-known and upcoming performing artists and the audiences during live religious-cum-entertainment performances. Lastly, this chapter will draw its focus on the audience who participates in the audio and visual recording process during live recorded performances in Cape Town.

Chapter 6 will conclude the research, in which it will discuss broadly the findings of the previous chapters (3, 4, and 5). It will summarise the way in which the musicians, producers and audiences understand their performances of 'Pentecospel' music in and outside the studio in Cape Town and what they want to see changing/developing in the broader movement of 'Pentecospel' sounds in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2:

Making sense of 'Pentecospel' in Cape Town: Paradigms of thought

2.1 Introduction

There have been numerous ethnographic studies done on music and the appropriation of various lucrative global and local components by African performing artists. Anthropological fieldwork and ethnographies such as Coplan (2008), Haupt (2012) and Martin (2013) in Southern African anthropology have focused on music in the context of 'race' and sociopolitical factors, which include the marginalization and promotion of social equality/inequality through musical forms. However there are no significant studies done on the socio-cultural relationships represented in music production, which are related to Pentecostalism. Furthermore, there are few ethnographic studies which explore the relationship between people and technology for the purpose of meaning-making in gospel music production in the public sphere and the consumption thereof, especially in music studies in Anthropology.

While in the studio, I have learnt a concept used to capture the stages of a musical recording through various technical and social manipulations for the final mix or product of a song, called "tracking". "Tracking is essentially the process of recording songs. The name comes from the fact that each instrument is recorded individually and given its own "track" in the mix, so that the balance and sound of each can be controlled later." (Shepherd, 2009). For the purposes of this chapter, I will use "tracks" to discuss the theoretical frames presented by various scholars, to make sense of the anthropological views on Pentecostalism and globalisation in Africa and gospel music in Cape Town.

This chapter is structured into three sections which will explore the concept of "Pentecospel" through the social perspectives of Pentecostalism, gospel music and music production. I will do so through the anthropological view of the senses, aesthetics and globalisation. Firstly, this chapter will look into globalisation and the growth and attraction of Pentecostalism in post-apartheid South Africa by discussing various social views and anthropological perspectives

behind the movement. Secondly, I will give a brief history of gospel music in South Africa and prior studies on gospel music production by anthropologists, ethnomusicologists and South African scholars. A particular focus will be placed on the representations of gospel music and how it has changed over the last decade. Lastly, this chapter will present a discussion on the Capetonianization of gospel music and the appropriation of popular culture and popular music in Cape Town from various authors, on which my ethnographic study will draw. I will refer to various issues of social inquiry with regards to the global and local connections for the enhancement of local popularity. This will include a focus on the discussion around the socio-technological relationship between identity, performance, production and appropriation of music and spiritual associates. In connection to these discussions, I will also deal with the significance of technology and media in churches and public spaces in the public sphere for commodity consumption. Lastly, I will provide a brief account of the value of aesthetics and of the sensory collaborations with social backgrounds to emphasise the role of imagery, passion and intimacy in music production, highlighting the significance of my research. These tracks will hang together as a process that aims for a product of 'Pentecospel' meaning-making.

2.2 Track 1- The rapid growth of Pentecostalism in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The variety of Christian denominations in South Africa range from Pentecostal, Old and New Apostolic, Methodist, Lutheran, Seventh day Adventist, Anglican, Baptist and Roman Catholic churches. Music within these Christian denominations share similar musical trends which branch out into the more traditional hymns, choral and psalms. Although Pentecostalism already had a long history in the 1900s, dating back to the launch of the Apostolic Faith Mission in 1908, the discussions of Pentecostalism in Africa today, however is focused on the new wave of Pentecostalism from the 1990s, as discussed by anthropologists of religion such as Meyer (2004), Comaroff (2008), Van Wyk (2011) and Pype (2012). The works of these scholars have elaborated the significance of the Pentecostal movement through various forms of popular cultures in the public sphere. Looking at post-apartheid South Africa, the movement of Pentecostalism has been more vigorous over the past decade in terms of the increased globalization of Christian-media, or in this case music as a form of popular culture.

I use Meyer's (2004) anthropological approach to defining Pentecostalism, as mentioned before, as an attempt to elaborate the social development on the notion of 'self-

representation'. Meyer's study was focussed on popular cinema in Ghana. She proposed to understand the challenges within the encounter of self-representation, by focusing on Pentecostalism as a particular practice of meaning. The emphasis on Pentecostalism as an encounter of self-representation was placed on Ghanaians being 'born-again'. In relation to this, people who have attended and volunteered at Pentecostal churches in post-apartheid South Africa have struggled with the expression of their faith through traditional/ritualistic practices in public places. Part of this struggle was rooted in the shadowing bias of local black congregants becoming like the 'global white church'.

In her study of the exploration of Pentecostal-charismatic churches (PCC) in the Gauteng area between 2000 and 2004, Maria Frahm-Arp (2011) focussed on how Black South Africans are shaping social transformation in churches such as His People Church in Johannesburg and Grace Bible Church in Soweto. She looked at these churches that were creating a form of homogeneous, sanitized African inter-ethnic/linguistic culture that engages with modern technology and neo-liberalism while at the same time drawing on African religious and cultural practices. Based on Fanon's argument about the discourse of the object and the subject in the colonial African setting, Frahm-Arp (2011: 133) argues that she does not think Fanon was suggesting that black people wanted to become white in order to realise their subjective self. Her research demonstrated that in the lived experience of black people that she interviewed in South Africa, definite feelings developed as some black people tried to become white as a way to engage fully with their "subjecthood" or the people they "ought" to be within the church. This social segregation of black people wanting to become white was not long-lived for much longer as the growth of Pentecostalism began to form around the modernization of Pentecostal practices.

A "sanitised" form of African culture remained important, especially for people who spent their days in corporate environments ruled by capitalistic principles of rational bureaucratic order, outside the church building. Therefore Frahm-Arp (2011) found that religion, or in this case Pentecostalism, as a significant social factor helped people to make order and meaning to their lives, but also helped support the meanings of their daily experiences in corporate South Africa. However anthropologist Ruth Marshall (2014), argued that it is very difficult to understand Pentecostalism's effects both locally and globally without thinking about the ways in which it functions as a rigid regime (religious movements pertaining to Pentecostalism) and positions itself with respect to competing regimes (market

corporate/movements pertaining to the increase use of technology for Pentecostal advancement). I argue that this offers thought into how the space of a Pentecostal organization becomes contested by the secular/technological that are operated by people in Africa for the advancement of Pentecostalism's popularity.

I put forward the argument that the monitoring of perceptive growth of the popularity of Pentecostalism in relation to capitalism amongst different individuals would be challenging. Therefore it poses an inquiry into how the social roles within contemporary religious practices (such as music productions in this case) are impacted by socio-cultural differences of commodity consumption. To substantiate this argument, Ilana Van Wyk's (2011) research explores of the lack of humility, Christian fellowship, charitable actions and social relationships shared amongst South African people at a PCC, the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) in Durban, a coastal city in eastern South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal province. She addressed the troubling issue of an agenda by the church which preyed on the financial vulnerability of its congregants by having them perform "actions", which never referred to good deeds, charity, humility or Christian fellowship. Instead, Van Wyk (2011) stated that according the church, the term "actions" referred to an individual's capacity to and willingness to only tithe and sacrifice money in the church. Members of the church were urged to demand their blessings from God after sacrificing, and not to waste time on praising and worshipping (Van Wyk, 2011: 191). In the context of my study, I argue that looking at the ethnographic description of actions, in this regard, diminishes the role of music production among congregants in and outside the church. Hence I assert that it is important to change this perspective of actions from greedy socio-economic acts, to 'actions' that speak of newer forms of cultural-economic practice, such as music production and editing that would contribute to the expansion of Pentecostalism's popularity through music sales.

Frahm-Arp (2011) argues that cultural change is already happening in South Africa, and that modern technology is also part and parcel of the enhancement of cultural change in a post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, the state of the art technology in communication and sound systems are being used in churches such as His People, Hillsong and Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) churches in Cape Town today. Frahm-Arp (2011) argues that this kind of technology is used to communicate in a medium that is coded in society as being a sign of success, prosperity and up-to-date; and therefore relevant. The packaging of the message in modern media renders the message immediately accessible and acceptable to

the contemporary youth (Frahm-Arp, 2011: 132). Pentecostalism as a practice of modernity comes about in spaces, which are shared by white and black Pentecostalist believers who use particular technological forms. This rapid growth and prevalence of Pentecostalism in the church and its vibrant and popular productions of Pentecostalist music in the public sphere confirms the findings by authors such as Meyer (2009) and Meyer and Moors (2006) that negotiation has taken on a special prominence in the sacred practices of new religious movements (Becker 2013: 94).

Martin (2013) argues that the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in South Africa introduced new ways of praising the Lord in music. "The extension of Pentecostalism in South Africa led to a larger diffusion of the most recent musical currents, through religious services and outreach activities." (Martin, 2013: 303). This increase in Pentecostalism, specifically in the form of Pentecostal churches, is the most effective in the production of music and more prominently through Martin's (2013) idea of "new Christian music mixes" or shortly phrased 'contemporary gospel' music. This is to say that gospel music has been one of the strongest contributors to the Pentecostal movement amongst South African people. According to Martin (2013), South African Pentecostalism has increased at the end of the 20th Century, especially among Africans and 'coloured' people in the Western Cape (Martin, 2013: 303).

However, as Pentecostalism increases in the public sphere, I assert that an issue lies in local musicians and singers who have become reluctant by to be identified as gospel artists. This reluctance might pose as a limitation for the growth of Pentecostalism as performing artists' sense of belonging to a religious market or church is contemplated. According to Van Wolputte and Bleckmann (2012), whose study was based on the relationship between music, place and urban locality in Opuwo, Northern Namibia, citizenship in the context of music and place instead highlighted highly localized metaphors of identity and belonging. These particular metaphors were related to places and journeys made by ancestors and kin, as they converge in the city, in particular in places such as pubs and bars (Van Wolputte and Bleckmann, 2012). Furthermore, they elaborated that the music and performances by Opowu's most popular band, Bullet ya Kaoko (Bullet of Kaoko), return to the original meaning of the term 'citizen', as an inhabitant of the city, defined by access and rights to goods and services provided in the city rather than a "rights-bearing citizen of a territorial nation state" (Van Wolputte and Bleckmann, 2012: 413). In the context of my study, this means that citizenship can be seen as 'belonging' not just to a cosmopolitan South Africa, but

to a movement which endorses recorded music in the studio and through social networks, through which social categorisations are sifted. In this way, performing artists could possibly rid themselves of the confusion of belonging to a religious or sacred market when attempting to penetrate that secular market.
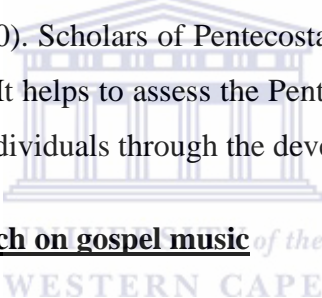
Pentecostalism's popularity, in Meyer's (2004) view stems from the fact that it takes seriously popular views about spirits and thus ties into a popular understanding of modernity as enchanted. (Meyer, 2004: 96). There have been scholars, among them anthropologists, who have written on the global scene, modernity and capitalism within the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in Africa, tying closely to Meyer's views about popular Pentecostalism being the modernity of enchantment. Comaroff and Comaroff (2008) state that Pentecostal seems to be cautious of anything that comes between God and the market. By not compromising the "works of God" through musicians and the market for global capital, it would be possible to assert Stokes' (2004) perception of the 'global'. Stokes (2004) states that the 'global' is perceived as being more about the conforming to capitalist disciplines of labour and commodity exchange, and as being tied to notions of development, civilization, and universality. (Stokes, 2004: 57).

One problem lies in the social impact of an individual's affiliation to Pentecostalism in the secular music industry in Cape Town, which is that it diverts them from expressing everyday experiences and limits them to enact religious/spiritual feelings in public spaces. This is also confirmed by Pype (2012) in her research on Pentecostal Christianity and melodrama in Kinshasa, in the Republic of Congo. According to Pype (2012) musical performers, who were born-again Christians, yearned and sometimes fight to embody these spiritual characteristics because they are aware that the audience rearranges the performed identity to the social and spiritual identity of the performer. This is not to say that one's identity is lost, misplaced or substituted. By not overcoming this limitation, young people in Cape Town struggle to grow or even identify themselves as gospel artists, diminishing not only Pentecostalism's popularity but also the popularity of the Pentecostal movement amongst newer generations of gospel artists and audiences.

Meyer (2003) gives a description about the position of Pentecostalism in the public sphere, and how it is turned into a lucrative resource for popular entertainment. Meyer (2004) asserts that for Ghanaian believers, the focus is on producing meaning by relying on God, as a prominent feature, just as Christian musicians acknowledge their belief and delight

themselves in music performances (Meyer, 2004: 94). However if we were to view the Pentecostal church as a contested space in terms of the focus on producing meaning by relying on God as mentioned by Meyer (2004), it would be crucial to address Geertz's (1993) assertion that all peoples seem to think of their religion as encapsulated in these discrete performances which people [can] exhibit to visitors and to themselves. Where for visitors religious performances can, in the nature of the case, only be presentations of a particular religious perspective, and thus aesthetically appreciated or scientifically dissected, for participants they are in addition enactments, materializations, realizations of it—not only models of what they believe, but also models for the believing of it. (Geertz, 1993: 113-114).

Pentecostalism as a homogenised form of self-expression could also possibly share Meyer's (2003) concern within its popularity amongst its audiences. This is to show that "in the entanglement of religion and entertainment, new horizons of social experience have emerged, thriving on fantasy and vision and popularizing a certain mood orientated toward Pentecostalism." (Meyer, 2003: 20). Scholars of Pentecostalism like Comaroff and Comaroff (2008) agree with this statement. It helps to assess the Pentecostalism's popularity in relation to capitalism amongst different individuals through the development of gospel music.

2.3 Track 2- Overview of research on gospel music

Before discussing gospel music in this section, a question to ask is 'What is the function of music in the context of social science?' According to anthropologist John Blacking (1995), the function of music is to enhance, in some way, the quality of individual experience and human relationships; in which it's structures are reflections of patterns of human relations, and the value of a piece of music as music is inseparable from its value as an expression of human experience. (Blacking, 1995: 31). Until the turn to the 21st century, South African authors and scholars such as Coplan (1987); Haupt (2012) and Martin, (2013), to name a few, have demonstrated their works on the topics and histories of music from jazz, soul music to rap/Hip-Hop in the context of Cape Town, as one of the few 'black musics'. 'Black musics' in their works were constituted by colonialism, slavery, marginalization and racial oppression in the 18th and 19th century. This became a form of popular music in the midst of these socio-political struggles. In the context of considering popular music in South Africa today, Becker (2012) noted that popular music became the first and, until recently, the only popular cultural form that was given some serious consideration in South African anthropological studies (Becker, 2012: 26).

The music industry requires popular music to be popular, not artistically or culturally responsible or even valuable, as mentioned by Coplan (2003). For many years white engineers did not believe that black music warranted use of the latest technology, and they systematically intimidated black producers, but profit margins hovered in the background (Coplan, 2003: 146). In the context of South African music recording studios and their source of income, Meintjes (2003) went further to state that the bulk of the studio's income came from recording 'black music', which was also referred to by white engineers in the music industry as low-budget productions. Malembe (2005: 34) who wrote an MA thesis in Music on Gospel music; states that "…the production of 'Gospel' music; goes beyond just the technical or the craft production of a master in a studio or of the CD in the manufacturing plant, but also involves creativity and efforts of (an) individual(s), who is/are influenced by a certain background, culture and lifestyle." Malembe's (2005) focus on gospel music was elaborated through his argument of genre. "The growth of the genre and the incorporation of other generic codes and stylistic traits into it, transforms the conventional elements of the genre." (Malembe, 2005: 23).   The music recording studio allows musicians, singers and music producers the space to explore their individual self-representation in the context of cultural reproduction. Malembe (2005) elaborated on gospel music in sub-genres that are formed through the genres of 'popular music', such as jazz, rock, R n B and kwaito. His thesis gives an in-depth account for gospel music produced as a form of popular music in the South African market sector by well-known South African gospel artists such as Rebecca Malope, the late Benjamin Dube, Mthunzi Namba, and the multi-cultural and multi-racial gospel band 'Joyous Celebration'. However, the issue that he does not cover is how socio-cultural and socio-political issues that were faced in the production of gospel music by artists who were everyday South African citizens during the Apartheid era were overcome.

Coplan (1979) discussed where African music was to go especially in the music industry during Apartheid and along what lines should it develop now that it had emigrated to the city and come into intense contact with European styles of entertainment as part of the impact of modern industrial life. (Coplan, 1979: 138-139). Coplan (1985) looked into the penetration of Christian missionaries into Africa over the subsequent centuries which had a profound influence on South African music styles. For instance, Coplan's (1985) research on 'black music' and theatre in townships in and around South Africa, addresses the misery of African Christian churches in the 1800s having to reluctantly perform British and American tunes. He presents an account of black South African artists' eventual victory in this struggle.

According to Coplan (1985), most missionaries were culturally unequipped to recognize or appreciate the subtle complexities beneath the apparent simplicities of traditional song. (Coplan, 1985: 28). In addition to this, Coplan (1985) states that other musical and socio-political factors worked towards diminishing the isolation between African converts and the non-Christian community and producing the vibrant new traditions of syncretic choral music in Southern African. (Coplan, 1985: 28). For Coplan (1985), there has always been a process of adaptation and reorganization in South African music [and theatre] that is the result of a need to command the respect of both black and white cultures.

During the height of the final battle with apartheid, musicologist Dale Cockrell (1987) stated that the one place in the world where one would expect the spiritual to thrive would also be in South Africa, where many black people struggle to have their voices heard and their visions recognized. He elaborates that the spiritual which is embedded within the call and response of those voices, draws from a musical structure that allows for freedom of improvisation within a strictly unified form. "The spiritual is about people who express themselves both collectively and as freedom-loving individuals." (Cockrell, 1987: 429). This quotation exemplifies one of the most prominent figures in the 1800s, which was John Knox Bokwe, a musical composer who was educated in Lovedale, Scotland. Bokwe's works contained African and Christian musical features as he combined traditional melodies, proper tune-tone relationships and Xhosa patterns of accentuation with four-part harmony fused with the use of diatonic triads.

Coplan (1985) argued that although Bokwe was not the first Xhosa musician to compose in the service of African Christianity, he gave powerful music support to the cultural nationalism of mission intellectuals. Later, in 1897, Enoch Sontonga, then a teacher, composed the hymn *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (God Bless Africa), which was later adopted by the liberation movement and ultimately became the National Anthem of a democratic South Africa. According to Askew (2002), music and politics were linked to create a potent mix of political action and agents. Coplan (1985) explained that *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* symbolised more than any other piece of expressive culture the struggle for African unity and liberation in South Africa. In relation to this, Cockrell (1987: 418) stated that although gospel hymns were familiar to both blacks and whites in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and continued to be so to millions of South Africans (today), it possibly constituted the single most important body of nineteenth-century American music in daily use in contemporary

South Africa. Korpe and Reitov (2004) offer a critique into the state of censorship that Africa has with their own music. They state that in "the Africa of today", international Christian organizations have a firm grip on many African souls and their attitude towards music. Furthermore, the echoes of American Christian fundamentalism can be observed in many African countries, in which the influence is one of absorbing local cultures into the music traditions of gospel rather than openly attacking contemporary African music. (Korpe and Reitov, 2004: 74).

2.3.1 Lyrical connection

In this section I assert that the lyrical connection in music has always placed emphasis on the social narratives of singers, based on social backgrounds and/or positive and negative social encounters that they have gone through. An example of this is *Qasidah*[3] music, which is basically defined by their lyrics; they may absorb any external influence as long as it does not affect the general mood of tranquillity and spirituality that they are meant to generate. (Martin, 2013: 278). Gospel/Pentecostal music in relation to *Qasidah*s music, is further exemplified through religious 'texts' coupled with social experiences and the fusion of secular music styles. Porcello, et al, (2010) argue that anthropological training has tended to invest little in learning to work with sound recording and editing technologies, in developing techniques of interpretation for acoustic 'texts,' and in refining ethnographic language to articulate the poetics of sonic forms. Spaces such as Pentecostal churches, for example, have absorbed many new styles of secular music, to which they added religious lyrics, and stimulated the creation of new forms of worship music. (Martin, 2013: 303). This becomes a central trait the leads to gospel music being seen as a form of popular culture through performances in Pentecostal churches and public spaces.

For Dolby (2006), popular culture is a site that is an important locus of public debate and of individual and community agency. She mentions that people do not consume popular culture mindlessly and passively. Instead, they use it in their lives in innovative ways much as an artist uses paint or a musician uses notes and chords to create and express identity (Dolby, 2006: 33). Dolby (2006) argues that from this perspective, identity could be seen as a constant process of formation and change that occurs within a global/local matrix, and that is both formed by and expresses structures of power, instead of an immovable and established.

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[3] A popular type of religious music, with a garbled Arabic text, sung by a soloist (or a pair of singers forming a duet) to the accompaniment of instruments such as the mandolin and drum. (Martin, 2013: 118).

With reference to Dolby's argument, the deep level of sanctity of the lyrical content which is negotiated within music as a popular culture in my research, communicates an individual's identity as a Christian performer or worshiper and his/her intimate relationship with God, which is encouraged during the musical performance in a Pentecostal music studio. In other words, this level of intimacy in 'Pentecospel' music, which is shared through the socio-religious lyricism amongst the Christian community in various spaces in Cape Town seeks to challenge the gospel artist's identity (between 'performer' and 'worshiper') during the production process and public performances. I refer to Fels (2000) view of intimacy, in which he states that it could be used to specify the degree to the way in which a person is embodying an object. I put forward that in this view, intimacy becomes a central point in understanding the social and religious narratives that 'Pentecospel' music carry.

In connection to Pype's (2012) statement of the rearrangement of the artists' performed identity to the social and spiritual identity, I argue that for artists who produce gospel music in the studio, socio-spiritual sanctity in relation to the social and spiritual identity becomes a communicative medium for their songs, in which the song and the artists' identity become one. This communicative medium, especially in public music performances is also where boundaries of social prejudices against anything that are considered spiritual are deposed through the lyrical content which presented to its audiences. As listeners from outside the Christian community, there acknowledgements of the performing artists are only limited to listening to their sounds and voices. This leads to a misinterpretation of an artist's identity, especially if the artists perform in the secular music scene. Overcoming this misinterpretation of artist's identity is a rigid dilemma that is a painstaking task especially in the studio. With reference to the impact of lyrical content, Palmberg (2004) states that gospel musicians often base their lyrics on the woes of everyday hardships and suffering. She also argues that gospel lyrics regularly show ways of handling crises, but not escaping from it. I argue that in the context of my research, the lyrical content reveals much about gospel artists, their lyrics in which their social narratives are embedded, and diminishes the misinterpretation of the artist's identity. Therefore it creates a motive to produce music that is considered authentic, with narratives that are relevant to the artist's Pentecostalist appeal to their audiences.

2.3.2 Authentic vs. New sounds

As mentioned above, lyrical content in new gospel music by gospel artists is used as a way of handling social crises. I argue that in relation to sounds that occurs in rhythmic or

rudimentary forms and music styles from various genres, the mood of the lyrics depicted in newer gospel songs represents the choice of sounds artist. Like many secular and religious musicians and music in Cape Town, the choice in sounds or genre reflects the gospel artist's mood, enhancing the lyrical content to sound authentic and new.

With reference to the argument on music 'genre' in chapter 1 and the various denominations within Christianity as mentioned in Track 1 above, 'Christian' music becomes a paroxysm of cultural marginalism and is contextually static. In a more practical view, static is referred to the interference in radio, television or radar signals due to atmospheric electricity, or 'white noise' which is produced over a studio microphone when it is not in use and it can refer to a lack of movement. (Haupt, 2012). However, Haupt's (2012) view of the purpose of "static" which is to "de-noise" the static drowning out the critical voices of those marginalized intellectuals, artists and activists in South Africa, who struggle to make language 'work' for themselves, for their own self-representation." (Haupt, 2012: ix-x). In connection to the 'noise' found in 'Pentecospel' music productions which connects global and local ideals of Pentecostalism and the gospel, Larkin (2008) states that noise is referred to as the interference produced by religious and cultural values and historic relationships in which technologies and cultural forms are made obvious. (Larkin, 2008: 10). The use of noise in this thesis elaborates on the appropriated cultural forms, which will be addressed in Track 3.

In some cases these problems do occur, especially with encounters of studio engineers but only in the areas of authenticity and originality. In the context of Zambians producing their own music as a form of modern African music and considering the term 'authenticity', it is much overstressed especially within anthropological studies. For that reason, Bender (2004) questions why their authenticity was interrogated? And why use it against their music? One of the problems with the notion of authenticity within a world where there are different forms of cultural flows struggling for the production of locality, is that the idea of authenticity becomes imprecise to deal with. In this instance, Lindholm (2002) puts into context the liabilities of authentication with the artworks or artefacts of the sacred within museums, which question claims for authentication so that such artefacts could be commendable of religious fervour. "Like Medieval priests, curators are also concerned to demonstrate that the objects they have accumulated are originals, not forgeries, and therefore truly worthy of devotion." (Lindholm, 2002: 332).

In the context of my research, I argue that the productions of musical items or musical artefacts in the music recording studio are admirable in terms of authenticating sounds and styles of music making through performance and socio-religious negotiation; however the recording industry seen as "guardians of authenticity" is only partly factual as stated by Coplan (2003: 145). This is due to the negotiations between the artist and the music producer, varying across the spectrum of social influences, which are not always reasoned out to satisfaction. These issues are related to musicians and singers' socio-cultural background incorporated through global sounds which induces the longing for home to current trends that are difficult to penetrate in the global and local music markets. Meintjes (2003) states that the nostalgia for sounds, styles and production techniques went along with a particular interpretation of the idea of authenticity, because these nostalgias have not changed. I assert that Cape Town gospel or 'Pentecospel' music is particularly nostalgic, especially for South African Christians who live overseas and listen to authentic 'Pentecospel' music. However, Meintjes (2003) views authenticity as both an illusion of non-mediation which concerns itself sound and an illusion of disengagement from technology on the part of the performing musicians. Thus, the notion of authenticity as understood in contemporary Anthropology and ethnomusicology, is more complex than the way in which it is used in everyday speech, even in the Christian music recording studio.

I argue, in the context of my research, that authenticity in music production is contested between what is deemed authentic or 'new', considering that South African Christians are a part of the phenomenon of duplicating a piece of 'global Christianity' through music production. Meyer (2010: 743), in relation to what she calls global Christianity explains that 'new' refers both to current empirical phenomena or the emergent modes of religiosity that did not exist before and to theoretical innovation, which has repercussions for past and present conceptualizations. Furthermore, the framework of global Christianity, Meyer (2010) argues, allows us not only to grasp actual present-day transformations but also to develop alternative approaches, through which our understandings of Christianity as we know it are altered.

2.4 Track 3- The Capetoniazation of the Gospel: an anthropological perspective on music production

In this section, I will give a brief discussion of the predominance and movement of musicians in Cape Town and the impact that globalisation had on the Capetonianization of gospel

music. Looking at new South African music from of an historical perspective, Martin (2012) states that colonization and slavery gave rise to cultural contracts in a situation of violence and inequality. In recent writings, such as the work done by Martin (2013) in his book *Sounding the Cape*, a brief focus on gospel music in South Africa, a special link is made regarding the sounds produced and mediated amongst the people of Cape Town. The link is mounted between the histories of the creolization in the Cape, the identity politics of 'Coloured' people through the *kaapse klopse* or Cape-minstrels, and the globalization of music styles and the fusion of cultural sounds in local settings. "The creole inventions that appeared in the Cape and the innovations they prompted within the other territories forming the Union of South Africa, were in turn enriched by musical forms from elsewhere." (Martin, 2012: 26). There is a continuity of *kaapse klopse* and gospel music, especially amongst people from lower and middle class communities in Cape Town, which has also been prominent on local radio broadcasters. However, only few gospel artists' music has made overseas status or appearances.

Martin (2012) argues that socio-economic and/or socio-political encounters from both the local and global sphere leads to exchange to which the production of cross-fertilization from which creation emerges. The result of these encounters is that Capetonians' gospel music 'creations' circulates in new encounters and enter into new mixes, leading to other forms of gospel music creations in the Cape. "The Cape affords an insight into how crossbred forms interlock and reproduce themselves." (Martin, 2012: 26). Martin (2013) explains that Cape Town is not only the *Mother City of South Africa*[4], but it is also the cradle of South African music. With the initiation of the mineral revolution, in terms of job opportunities in the diamond mines in Kimberley, South Africa, became a hotbed of multiracial interaction as diggers from many regions, indeed many parts of the world, flocked there in the hope of getting rich instantly. Therefore, creole styles played in Cape Town at the end of the 19th century were rapidly disseminated in the rest of the country.

In the late 19th century, musicians from the Cape joined and offered their performative styles to various crowds who were eager for entertainment. (Martin, 2013). In relation to this statement, Coplan (2008) considers that "…among the varied strains it was the coloureds, arriving from the Cape with traditions of professional musicianship extending back more than

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[4] One of the many nicknames given to the City of Cape Town which is widely known and used among locals and visitors to Cape Town.

two hundred years, who most strongly influenced early African music and dance. In Kimberley, coloured artisans, drivers, and servants played their blends of Khoikhoi, Malay, European, and American popular music on the violin or guitar for anyone disposed to listen and willing to offer a coin" (Coplan 2008: 20). Urban popular music developed in the 20th century from blending that took place in and around the mine compounds, in which Cape Town musicians played a determining role as "cultural brokers" (Coplan 2008: 21). Martin (2013) states that Capetonians discovered African rural music and African Christian hymns. Furthermore, Ssewakiryanga (2004), speaking from the perspective of Western music's influence on young people in Ugandan emphasises that young people as "cultural brokers" negotiate diverse cultural streams as they mix and match ideas from a wide range of images, objects, and practices from Ugandan folklore to global fashions. (Ssewakiryanga, 2004:144). In the same way, young Coloured and African gospel artists in Cape Town both relished in American styles of gospel music performances, appropriating globalised and cultural forms of world music in their own gospel compositions.

At the dawn of the 21st century, there are a number of genres and styles which are performed and listened to in nearly every part of the world but, contrary to predictions announcing the homogenisation of cultures in the era of globalisation, these shared genres and styles get inevitably localised (Martin, 2013: 20). Similarly, Appadurai (1990), states that the globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but globalization consists of a variety of instruments of homogenization, such as language hegemonies and advertising techniques. He further elaborates this by stating that such instruments are absorbed into local political and cultural economies. (Appadurai, 1990: 307). Morley and Robins (1995) state that the new global context is recreating sense of place and community in very positive ways, giving rise to an energetic cosmopolitanism in certain localities. (Morley and Robins, 1995: 118).

Similarly, Salo (2003), who has argued the emergence of a cosmopolitan South African youth culture in the post-apartheid era, shows that cultural flows from the North do not necessarily lead to cultural hegemonization and homogenization in the South, but the meanings that these cultural forms undertake in this non-western context are shaped by specific local histories and cultural practices (Salo, 2003: 345). "The rise of the global is sometimes true, at least and perhaps most noticeably, in the case of music" (Taylor, 2012: 180). With that said, Taylor (2012) argues that fears of the global homogenization of music tend to oversimplify. A music

that sounds as if it has been polluted by Western musical styles can nonetheless occupy the same social space and fulfil the same social function as a more "traditional" music that is being supplanted by newer music. (Taylor, 2012: 181).

In contrast to Taylor's argument, White (2012) states that it is necessary to distinguish between the different musical and cultural components and to understand how they have been adapted to new social and cultural contexts. (White, 2012: 207). This was particularly prominent in Cape Town Jazz and Cape Town Hip-Hop music, which also resonated in contemporary gospel music trends. Martin (2013) emphasises this point by stating that the particular musical relationship established in Cape Town between dominated black people and the United States had a strong symbolical value. (Martin, 2013: 250). In this view, Martin (2013) speaks of the cross-over many musical, religious and 'racial' barriers, which contributed to the creation of new Capetonian, and South African, musical blends, such as contemporary Gospel music in Cape Town.

This is symbolic is a sense and it lies within Chrispo's (2004) argument that today Africans have now come to embrace their own traditions while not overlooking the fact the African music incorporates some of the pre-colonial, colonial and missionary past. In the same way Askew (2002) argues that Africans could appropriate European symbolic and cultural capital through music to voice their political agendas in song. (Askew, 2002: 95). The problem for Mason (2007) was Cape Town music's inability to stay simplistic. In relation to Mason's issues, this lack of simplicity was embedded in the way Capetonian musicians studied the secular music sector as more and more styles and innovative forms of music began to shape the sphere of what is considered now to be gospel music. Mason (2007: 28) argues that the music's complexity drove some musicians and potential fans away, making it "the vehicle for a new form of self-expression" for only "a small handful" of South Africans. Mason's argument fits the struggle that Capetonian gospel artists are faced with daily, even when producing 'Pentecospel' music, especially within my study. As gospel music becomes more appropriated and commercialized with other forms and styles of music from around the world, it becomes a challenge for artists and producers to cater to mass-listeners who have musical tastes of their own. With this said, newer developments in contemporary gospel music in Cape Town have improved the state in which they are produced, while thinking what reminds listeners of their own socio-religious backgrounds in Cape Town.

2.4.1 Appropriation at Home

As newer developments in contemporary gospel music in Cape Town are improving, the use of appropriating popular gospel music becomes more prevalent. According to anthropologist de Menezes Bastos (2012) popular music (from the West), is a musical tradition as old and widespread as Western art music, because phonographic recording is a global process capturing all kinds of music, be they folk, art, popular and even "primitive". Newer productions of gospel music in a Cape Town studio, with the use of Appadurai's (2006) notion of deterritorialization, expresses popular music that is being 'appropriated', rather than 'adopted' by the young musicians in Cape Town who perform it. Martin (2013) argues that deterritorialised music continues to refer to a more or less fantasised place of origin, rendering it alive in sounds and lyrics. So what 'sounds' like coming from the mother country, or continent, becomes inevitably mixed with elements from other musics but does not lose its capacity to identify the origin of the community. This is only as long as some of the components symbolising "origin" are recognised both within and without the community. (Martin, 2013: 27).

In my own observations, young men and women in Cape Town not only appropriate gospel music styles, for instance from the classical hymn *Great is thy faithfulness* to contemporary Pentecostalist music from Hillsong, but they are taking and changing it, based on their local history and local background of musical knowledge of jazz, rock and RnB and playing it in various spaces in Cape Town. Martin (2013) takes on the views of Vincent Kolbe, a librarian, activist and musician, who reflects on a moment in Table Bay Hotel where he played. He met a young man from Kraaifontein, Cape Town and he belonged to a Pentecostal Church. As he invited the young man to play on the piano, Vincent asked him where he learnt how to play. The young man answered "This is gospel, we learn it in our church" (Martin, 2013: 205).

Martin (2013) elaborates that more and more musicians, belonging not only to Pentecostal and Apostolic churches but to many other denominations in Cape Town, are now familiar with the new aesthetics through the combination of American contemporary gospel and Capetonian sounds. "The late Latin *appropriare*, 'to make one's own' (deriving from *proprius* 'one's own') is at the root of subsequent applications of the term and also surfaces in debates on the return of 'cultural property', where the political implications of cultural appropriation, and 'spiritual' property have been discussed at some length." (Schneider, 2003: 217). In relation to Schneider (2003) definition of appropriation, the use of term

'appropriation' in the context of my study lies in the production of Pentecospel music by young people in a recording studio in Cape Town. The appropriation of global sounds in the production of local 'Pentecospel' music offers a new understandings contemporary gospel content in Cape Town.

The fusion of diverse cultures and newer anthropological perspectives around contemporary gospel music and youth culture in South Africa well emphasises Martin's (2013) statement that: "Identification and appropriation are powerful mechanisms of identity construction." (Martin, 2013: 5). This assertion of identification and appropriation is further understood among young people of Cape Town, and the ways in which they identify Cape Town as their "home". Becker and Dastile's (2008), work on hip-hop music in Cape Town among young people in the Philippi Township in Cape Town is one example of many studies on hip-hop music and its relation to youth culture, identity construction and the use of 'space and place'. If we were to look at the ways in which young people in Cape Town appropriate global popular gospel music in their own music and social lives, it would be interesting to note how new movements of gospel music are unveiled and conducted in various spaces and places.

2.4.2 Aesthetics and performance

 "How can the appeal of Pentecostalism's sensational forms, which govern a particular distribution of the sensible, be explored?" This question was posed by Meyer (2010) before she coined the notion of 'aesthetics of persuasion'. She describes this notion by exploring 'aesthetics' as a part of "lived religion" that reflects people's everyday experiences in Ghana and Nigeria. Therefore, aesthetics of persuasion is responsible for the "truth effects" of religion, for instance, by authorizing the body as the harbinger of ultimate truth and authenticity (Meyer, 2010: 756). Becker (2010), citing the work of Meyer (2008), emphasises the significance of sensorial and embodied 'style' and 'aesthetic concentration'. She argues that a focus on the techniques of the body may be promising in the explorations of how South Africans negotiate their sensorial and embodied experience of difference in the contemporary hybridised cultural landscape. (Becker, 2010: 78).

Following Becker's argument, on performance as a cultural practise, the investigation of techniques of the body in a religious context plays an influential role in expressing various cultural meanings and the beliefs and practices that a religious performance ensues. Johannes Fabian (1990) argues that performance is involved in creatively giving expression and

meaning to experience; it is also required in studying such expressions. (Fabian, 1990: xv). Fabian's (1990) idea of performance is one that does not simply enact a preexisting text, but rather it is the text in the moment of its actualization. Fabian's view of performances coupled with the views of Meyer and Becker about sensorial and aesthetic styles encompasses the idea of the Capetonianization of gospel music today. Instead of focusing on the construction of religious music, these views could express the idea that emerging 'Pentecospel' music has the ability to make people see and visualise places and certain spaces, which are triggered from recalling memories of a particular cultural, historical, personal and even spiritual events through performances.

Before gospel music becomes popular amongst a local audience in community churches, homes and before it becomes available in local and international music stores and online music media, both artists and their music undergo a rather rigorous and strenuous mode of production in the music studio. With the use of Mike Featherstone's (1996) analysis of anchored identities, nostalgia and locale in relation to the fluctuation of the global and local music trends; I argue that in the context of my study, the music studio occupied by performing artists and producers could be seen as a physical space which becomes emotionally invested. This is also confirmed by Meintjes (2003), as she states that the studio houses and reproduces sound's physiological, social and sensual dimensions (Meintjes, 2003: 90). Drawing from sounds and thoughts that are accumulated through production, the way in which artists use their senses of seeing, feeling, hearing, and tasting are intrinsic to the social interpretation and representation.

The combinations of these senses are well understood through the notion of aisthesis, in which Verrips (2006) refers to as our total sensorial experience of the world and to our sensitive knowledge of it. Verrips (2006) argues further that knowledge about the aisthesis of, for instance, class, ethnic and religious groups could be very relevant for a better understanding of their relationships, be they friendly, neutral or hostile and bring us closer to an insight in processes of integration and disintegration. (Verrips, 2006: 30). Through the understandings of these relationships, we consider the formations of knowledge lend to the cultural pictorial interpretations that are also imagined out of these groups.

Meyer's (2009) view of aesthetics which is rooted in Verrips' (2006) notion of aisthesis, has put forward the notion of 'aesthetic formations' to elaborate on the embodied understanding of aesthetics. Meyer (2009) elaborates that aesthetic formations captures very well the

formative impact of a shared aesthetic though which subjects are shaped by tuning their senses, inducing experiences, moulding their bodies and making sense, and which materializes in things. (Meyer, 2009: 7). The focus that she places on imagination in the sphere of religion is important to note, as she links aesthetic formations to the materialization of the imagination through social and manufacturing means. Imagination of gospel artists and musicians to like images/pictures and sounds are envisioned and mediated representations of what they want their songs to sound like. Meyer (2011) highlighting the discussion of pictures and imagination within the context of Christianity, argues that the point is that in order to understand the intricacies of contemporary engagements with pictures, it is necessary to depart from their embeddedness in a world of lived experience and the discourses and debates about them. (Meyer, 2011: 1036).

'Pentecospel' music in the same sense encourages the verge of enhancing cultural elements and traditional nuances through sound and visual aesthetics, encompasses the social attributes that carry more than the interpretations of everyday life of people, young and old. In addition, 'Pentecospel' music creates a relatable imagery that adds to the aesthetic embodiment of traditional Cape Town sounds through performance and production. This is also confirmed by Meyer (2011) as she states that religious imagery is flourishing on a global scale in our contemporary world. The aesthetic component of imagery and 'Pentecospel' music production lies in how musicians, producers and sound engineers alike, gaze at sounds to fit blended colours of social and Pentecostal elements through technological apparatuses for the formation of gospel songs. However, when the music recording studio is coupled with a supernatural or a religious association and the socio-technological relationship between artists and producers, especially for a researcher who engages with these practices on a daily basis, for example, it becomes difficult for a researcher to create and maintain a reflexive distance between Pentecostal discourse and anthropological analysis, as confirmed by Meyer (2004).

2.4.3 'Pentecospel music' and socio-technological relationships

Drawing on the works of Larkin (2008), Frahm- Arp (2011), and Marshall (2014) about the uses and prevalence of technology for the advancement of Pentecostalism's popularity, the everyday observations of Pentecostal churches predominant use of media and technology, and the context in which this thesis takes place, I argue that it is important to consider technology as Pentecostalism's modern apparatus. I am aware of Jésus Martín-Barbero's (2006) statement regarding technology and the social realm as he states that technology is the

materialization of the rationality of a culture and of a "global model of organization of power". He elaborates by arguing that the view of technologies from the perspective of cultural differences has nothing to do with a yearning or restlessness in the face of technological complexity or the abstraction of the mass media. (Martín-Barbero, 2006: 654). I assert that, with the vast range of gospel music that is made available to young Capetonians today, one may argue that technology has a way in entertaining the ways in which capitalism and aesthetic quality through technological means has 'blessed' religious music for the public.

Pfaffenberger (1992) argued that technology was more authentic when we used tools, because we could control them, however in contrast it was machines that control us. Technology is not a new phenomenon in promoting religious events and information. It could be added that the technical crafts used within the 'Pentecospel' music production process of this thesis are also crucial in a world where technology and human interaction are interdependent on one another for the purpose of what Meintjes (2003) calls "liveness". Meintjes (2003) argued that unpacking the components of liveness open up a theoretical passage into the complexities of mediation and into the analysis of its forms. Furthermore, it suggests that the associations between discourse and practice, institution and individual, and market, politics and performance are deeply embedded in the creative participation of technological forms. (Meintjes, 2003: 142).

It is of particular interest to note how people relate to technology in a variety of spaces of music production; be they through electronic devices, musical instruments in a music recording studio, during music rehearsals and even distributed music productions over the internet or sold in music shops and churches. Fels (2004) speaking with reference to socio-technological relationships between artists and their instruments, argues that the ultimate goal in the process is for the player to have a high degree of intimacy such that he embodies the instrument. Fels (2004) elaborates that the embodiment of instrument by an individual performs as an extension of that individual so that there is a transparent relationship between control and sound. This allows intent and expression to flow through the individual to the instrument and then to the sound, resulting in the creation of music. (Fels, 2004: 672). Therefore within the context of my study, I use the notion of 'soundscape' coined by

Porcello, et al, (2010), which is an adoption of Appadurai's (2006) notion of "mediascapes[5]" to sum up the emergent relationships of material technologies in religious and social contexts of 'Pentecospel' music production.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the various dynamics in which the concept of 'Pentecospel' could be understood. The tracks of music production in which the literature presents itself, show the dynamic flow of knowledge produced to heighten the understanding of Pentecostalism. I have discussed perceptive growth of the popularity of Pentecostalism and Meyer's (2003) position of Pentecostalism in the public sphere, and how it is turned it into a lucrative resource for entertainment in relation to the works done by Meyer (2004), Comaroff (2008), Van Wyk (2011) and Pype (2012). Following this conceptual discussion, I have connected it with Martin's (2013) argument that the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in South Africa introduced new ways of praising the Lord in music. I have presented the different contexts in which the growth of Pentecostalism presents how the social roles within contemporary religious practices (such as music productions) are impacted by socio-cultural differences of commodity consumption, and the social use of technology and globalisation in terms of the cultural flow of sounds. I have shown that appropriation is a key figure of meaning-making illustrates the continuous growth of globalisation. As a result, this impacts the local sectors of musical production through the incorporation of global gospel music and Pentecostalism in the public sphere and the ever pressing socio-economic and socio-political issues surrounding aesthetics and performance, authenticity, and belonging amongst people in Cape Town.

I argued that the gospel artists' lyrical content which is negotiated within gospel music communicates their intimate transitions and even constructions of their identity which is constantly fluctuating during the musical performance between the spiritual and physical environment. Therefore this is valid in the case of 'Pentecospel' music in my research, but is further exemplified through religious texts coupled with social experiences and the fusion of secular music styles. I argued that Fabian's (1990) view of performances coupled with the views of Meyer (2008) and Becker (2010) about sensorial and aesthetic styles encompasses the idea of the Capetonianization of gospel music today. Hence the focus on the construction

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[5] the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information such as radio, news and media.

of religious music, expresses the idea that emerging 'Pentecospel' music has the ability to make people see and visualise places and certain spaces, which are triggered from recalling memories of a particular cultural, historical, personal and even spiritual events through performances. The following chapter will delve deeper into the social endeavours of 'Pentecospel' music in Cape Town and sounds from South Africa from the perspectives of people in Cape Town.

CHAPTER 3:

Setting the tone: doing research in a studio as a musician-anthropologist

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I demonstrate how I conducted my ethnographic research. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the fieldwork site, the 'Sounds of the Nations Africa: Cape Town' music recording studio, in detail and how they were established in Cape Town and maintained and sustained themselves as an independent organisation. I will introduce the main interlocutors of the research. This chapter will give a reflection of myself as the researcher and the musician in and outside the studio, and address challenges that I have encountered and the ethical considerations that I took into account while conducting the research. I was interested in what Tim and Jason were doing at the Sounds of the Nations music recording studio and how they contributed their time and efforts for young people to have their music out in the public. Tim told me that part of what Sounds of the Nations do is try to help people understand and develop their sound on the basis of audience appeal rather than genre. As musicians and singers within Pentecostalism, Tim and Jason help young people write songs for their audiences first instead of thinking about what the genre of the song will be.

3.2 Entering Bellville

As mentioned, the fieldwork was conducted in Bellville[6], close to Bellville train station, where the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio and the home of Tim is situated. I asked Tim over a phone call whether I could conduct my research at his studio after being a part of the Sounds of the Nations (SOTN) music concert in 2013. He agreed to allow me to conduct my research as I would follow him to various spaces in Cape Town. During the apartheid era, Bellville was a predominantly White Afrikaans suburb. After 1990, more Coloured Afrikaans speakers moved there and also became a major space of transnational migrants, such as

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[6] Bellville is one of the northern suburbs of the city Cape Town in the Western Cape Province.

Zimbabweans and Somalians. In the Central Business District (CBD) of Bellville, local shops owned by Somalians have expanded in what is now known as 'Little Somalia' area. Bellville has also become a suburban area for South African upper-middle class individuals. It has also become an area of transnational music production in the locally based recording studio where I conducted my fieldwork. Bellville was an area that I was familiar with, as the popular local restaurant *Burger Fair* stood out for residents living in Bellville. The reason for this was because this fast-food drive-in was also the music video location for White Afrikaner rapper Jack Parow's hit single "Cooler as Ekke" in 2013, which wrote-off the racial disparity claims made by music critics and therefore encouraged transnational productions of performing arts. Thus, this restaurant had become a symbol of production and promotion of spaces familiar and unfamiliar to the residents of Bellville, just as the music recording studio in my study would also prove.

Figure 1: The location of the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio

As I drove slowly past *Burger Fair* into the quiet neighbourhood on Hall Street, I observed that the area was surrounded by modern styled face brick houses with trees and flower gardens on every front lawn. Upon approaching a white house as shown in Figure 1, I noticed that there was no front door in the wall, but only trees on the front lawn and an electric gate on the left side of the house.

3.3 Being in the field: entering the family home/recording studio

As the electronic gate opened I pulled into the drive way. There were sounds that played through a window, which would stop and played consecutively. Although I had never set foot in a studio before, my initial thoughts of this house were, maybe it would have had the

outside appearance of a house and the interior would look like an office space with receptionist and various departments in a music studio. My perceptions of the studio were far from what I expected, as I walked into a family home, the kitchen was the first thing I noticed. I felt really nervous about how I would treat the space I found myself in, because the studio was also Tim's family home.

Dressed in their play clothes (princess gowns, dresses and make-up), I met Tim's two young daughters, to whom I became 'Uncle Robin' as the months went by. For Tim and his wife, Shavey, who is from Zimbabwe, having their daughters refer to me as 'uncle' was their way of showing me respect as a young man. I could relate to this, as I was brought up in the same manner as a child in a middle-class community in Blackheath, Cape Town. Shavey, who was heavily pregnant was sitting on the couch busy with some arts and crafts activities, namely pieces of art with uncooked macaroni shells and cutting patterns from coloured paper with a stylist pair of scissors, while Tim was busy mixing a track in the studio. As I approached the studio room, I noticed that the room was semi-attached to the living room area of the house, in which two sliding doors separated the two rooms. On the left sliding door there were sticker prints which read: "LIVE, LAUGH, LOVE" and on the right sliding door the sticker prints read: "every moment, every day, beyond words." I had a hunch that beyond these sliding doors would be the studio. From reading these prints on the glass doors, I thought of reading it as an endorsement of the creative feelings that performing artists and producers feel before entering this room.

Beyond these sliding doors was the studio, where I spent most of my time during the course of the fieldwork. The studio was the first space that I encountered and learnt about various technologies that produced sounds as shown in Figure 2. This studio contributed to my enquiry about human-technological interaction to produced cultural and religious sounds. It was based in a small room, and was filled with a comprehensive array of sound and electronic equipment such as a high quality 24 channel electronic sound desk, microphones, an electronic keyboard, an acoustic and electric guitar, an external storage hard-drive connected to a desktop computer, four 10-inch external speakers, and a recording channel. While I looked around the studio, I found items such as the CDs of artists who recorded in the studio and DVDs of the founder of the Sounds of the Nations, Dan McCollam. I read on the DVD's that it was about theological perspectives on music and technicality of sound.

In a conversation I had with Tim, I asked him how it was that the studio came to be attached to his family home. Tim explained that before moving to Bellville, the Sounds of the Nations studio was situated at the His People Church in Parow, Cape Town, where he had worked as a music leader for the church for more than 10 years. However, He explained that the studio was not in financial or mutual affiliation with the church, but rather a local business affiliated to the US branch in Vacaville, California. The demanding hours at the church also resulted in him not spending time with his family, particularly with his daughters who were very young and were home schooled at the time when he started working in the studio.

Figure 2: Tim getting ready to edit rough tracks (songs)

After leaving the church as the music leader, Tim and his family moved into Bellville and the studio followed with them so that Tim could balance his work with spending more time with his family. However, the move did not come without its fair share of racist harassment from one of the residents in Bellville. Tim told me that he was approached by one of the neighbours, who was a white man, stating to him in a rather demeaning tone that ''It's because of you people that this place is going down''. Despite this racist exchange, the newly situated 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio has been a space of 'Pentecospel' music production amongst Capetonian and international artists since 2013.

3.4 'Sounds of the Nations' vision and the anthropological concept

During the month of December, weekly heat waves struck the middle class community of Bellville. 'Sounds of the Nations Africa: Cape Town', is one of the many branches of 'Sound of the Nations' organizations situated in around the world. The reason for the organization being established in Cape Town, South Africa was that Tim along with the global family of

Sounds of the Nations in Vacaville, USA had a "vision" and desire, not just to celebrate, but to produce and circulate the sound of Cape Town and the sounds of South Africa. From there they had managed to put together a significant studio in which to work closely with local and upcoming artists from around the lower and middle class sectors of Cape Town, to record and produce their music.

This was articulated by Tim's motto that "We are a family, so we walk with them as well." The idea of a global family of corporations encompasses Morley and Robins (1995) idea of globalisation, involving a corporate presence in a local field, which is not just about putting corporations into countries, but about being a part of that culture as well. For Morley and Robins (1995), "The global-local nexus is about the relation between globalising and particularising dynamics in the strategy of global corporation, and the 'local' should be seen as a fluid and rational space, constituted only in and through its relation to the global." (Morley and Robins, 1995: 117). Through their idea of this global and local connection, I assert that he seemed to be highlighted through the constant communication between both Sounds of the Nations groups in South Africa and the USA, about the progress of production done for each month via emails and occasional visits to the USA and South Africa, constituting social processes through music production and global corporate relationships. What this meant for both organizations was that they gain exposure and public appeal for producing gospel music. The relationship between both international and local branches of 'Sounds of the Nations' is dependent on the productivity of the local branches to produce new 'Pentecospel' music so that the international branch situated in Vacaville, USA may help with the publishing and duplication of the music to compact disks (CDs) in the USA, while Tim manages the publishing and duplication in Cape Town. I observed that Tim's relationship with Dan McCollam was evident through a continuous exchange of emails regarding the songs and the launch of the upcoming "Sound of Africa" CD album.

One of the concepts that became significant in Tim's "refining gospel music writing" in Cape Town and South Africa was his idea of worship. I argue that with reference to Meyer's (2004) view of Pentecostalism, worship speaks of Christians' devotion to God and Jesus Christ within the Christian faith. In the context of 'Pentecospel' music production in Cape Town, 'worship' also highlights the religious performance of song writing and musical performances through, which social interaction between people and the supernatural within a religious context are most prevalent. In an interview which was broadcasted on a Christian

television network, Tim answered a question regarding the vision of Sounds of the Nations through the idea of worship. He stated that:

> Our vision is to see the authentic and original music of this nation, be released not just in South Africa but to the nations of the world. One of the things that we were thinking of when we started was looking at the ways in which churches embrace their authentic worship songs that are written. However over the years we found that there are artists who write songs that go beyond the church walls, to the communities that they feel need to hear their sound.

On the basis of Tim's statement, I assert that this idea of writing music for the audience diminishes the exclusion of groups of people through 'Pentecospel' music and furthermore brings about the celebration of inclusion of other cultures other than our own, while promoting authentic sounds and original music. The link between gospel music, Pentecostalism and people from Cape Town could help answer these questions. For Tim and Jason at the Sounds of the Nations South Africa, they wanted to "expose" the sounds of "a people beyond their people." This was in reference to a "Cape Town sound" which they primarily focused on. In Tim and Jason's view, a "Cape Town sound" has more than one sound, besides that of the Cape Minstrels, in which Tim and Jason advocated that Cape Town gospel music does not need divide people, even though it already does. Tim and Jason's concerns of dividing and uniting people through sounds of Cape Town and Africa resonates with Becker's (2010) urgent questions with regards to how public invocations of cultural heritage, difference, indigeneity and traditionality affect contemporary reconfigurations of what social difference means in South Africa and beyond. (Becker, 2010: 77).

3.5 Ethnography

I conducted my fieldwork over a period of three months at the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio, using Cohen's (1993) view in describing the ethnographic process. Instead of documenting the life of interlocutors through surveys and questionnaires, I have immersed myself in their everyday lives. I did this by participating in their daily practices in the studio and getting to understand how they see their lives through the music they produce by engaging in prolonged face-to-face interaction with them.

During my fieldwork, I had my notebook and pen and my laptop bag to the first appointment that I had in the studio. My smartphone was also helpful in a sense of communication, by which Tim, Jason and myself, started "group chats" on a well-known social media application known as "Whatsapp", so that whenever we had to be at a venue together, that was the medium we would use to communicate information. I kept a fieldwork journal at all times, in which I have written the events within the fieldwork process and some field notes to analyse based on what issue or conversation was raised at particular times of the recording process, meetings and live public performances. The featuring instrument that distinguished my appearance of a research as a musician was my bass guitar, that I have used during the jam sessions, performances at community events, rehearsals, and musical recording stages during my fieldwork.

I did what Geertz (1998) refers to as Deep Hanging Out, by immersing myself among musicians, singers and music producers and directors, and "hang out" in the various spaces and events that they were a part of. Deep hanging out consisted of in-depth and at many times informal conversations about music production, the gospel music scene and personal experiences of being an upcoming gospel artist. It was through this that I got to know my interlocutors on a musical and a social level. In the process, occupying the space with my interlocutors became an endeavour for exploring their shared experiences of how appropriation became a focal point of interest in the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio.

For most of the time, the conversations were held in the studio with my interlocutors who are all musicians, singers and music producers. For instance Tim, Jason and I would speak about the latest gospel trends that were prominent at the time, which were Pentecostal rock music, EDM (Electronic dance music) fused un gospel music and gospel hip-hop music, which to them, was slowly fading in the South African gospel music industry, despite there being a few gospel hip-hop artists. We also discussed what churches are missing in terms of new and local gospel music as opposed to performing cover versions ("copy-cat" style) of global gospel music. From these conversations I got to understand how Tim and Jason views are connected to the Pentecostalist faith that they are devoted to and how they addressed the issues of the South African gospel music industry. In this regard, they always made a reference to local secular artists such who were "trying" to sound "gospel" but had church audience appeal in their music, as an issue of "false" promotion of the gospel. I got to ask

them questions such as: How is a song composed? What does inspire an artist? How do artists write songs? How does the life of a Capetonian musician/composer influence the writing of songs? What is the role of Pentecostalism in the production of gospel music? These questions were also answered through the meetings held with Tim, Jason and Keziah at the start of my fieldwork, as she discussed the direction for her as an artist and her music after returning from a medical predicament with her vocal cords.

After hearing that Jason had a rehearsal with a UK Pentecostal artist, I was keen on joining him. Jason had told me that the rehearsal was in preparation for their studio recording which would take place in Cape Town. While I was at the rehearsal with Jason, Karien and Andrew I got to question whether social relationships between performing artists and music producers changing in the rehearsals and recording process while brainstorming ideas for new songs? It was through this rehearsal that I engaged with Karien and Andrew as they shared their experiences of how they encountered difficulties of funding for contemporary gospel artists and music producers. Karien spoke to me about how there were instances were men who were music producers, musicians and singers would take advantage of her as a white Afrikaner woman, despite the fact that she was a skilled musician and graduate of Berkley College of Music in the USA. Karien emphasized that the gender stereotype included them not giving her the recognition she deserves as a qualified music producer, because they assumed that she "did not know as much" about the music industry or how to produce big musical projects.

I have taken on the challenge to address anthropological training within the realm of sound recording argued by Porcello, et al, (2010), by participating in some of the 'Pentecospel' music recordings myself, for the 'Sound of Africa' CD album produced by Tim and Jason at the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio. By observing Tim and Jason, I had the opportunity to learn various techniques that involves the body and the senses during the recording and editing processes of the 'Pentecospel' tracks. This proved to be indicative in answering a question I had: How are social backgrounds and religion in the lyrical content are enhanced with the audio technologies used during the editing process in the studio?

Throughout the 'Pentecospel' music recordings in the studio, I have explored the lyrical content consisting of some of the social narratives of my interlocutors. Their lyrical content was used to elaborate the expressive forms of performance, particularly in the ways in which Tim and Jason used editing technologies and their knowledge of sound editing for the

production of 'Pentecospel' music. In doing this, I aimed to answer questions about sound, listening, the voice, and the ear in ways that make such reflection in anthropology both possible and possibly productive, as argued by Porcello, et al, (2010). This then probed the inquiry into Clifford's (1986) provoking taunt, echoed by Erlmann (2004) and also re-echoed by Porcello, et al, (2010) "but what of the ethnographic ear?" (Porcello, et al, 2010: 330). Following this, I have decided to frame the 'Pentecospel' recording sessions around the notion of soundscape. According to Porcello, et al, (2010) soundscape opens possibilities for anthropologists to think about the nature of sound and material spaces of performance in terms of the techniques that are available, not just for collecting and thinking about sound but also that are used or constructed for the purpose of propagating sound.

Before starting with the recording session, I engaged with Tim, Jason and Mathew through my participations in jam sessions. Mathew shared with me his experiences of performing in Cape Town as a gospel artist from Congo. We spoke about how people in Cape Town Pentecostal churches and public performances were receptive to his Rumba influenced gospel music after releasing his first album. The jam sessions were used to openly perform samples of 'Pentecospel' music out of spontaneity, as we started to play jazz music and rumba music rhythms. After the jam session, Tim and Jason asked me to participate, as a bass guitarist, in their 'Pentecospel' music and music video recordings: "Everything to Me", after the fieldwork started.

Through my participation I engaged with Tim and Jason as they guided me throughout the recording sessions. From my experience of being a bassist, the role of a bassist consists of playing a rhythmic style with an adequate amount of scale progressions, otherwise known as "grooving". During recording periods of the fieldwork, I had to get used to playing the bass guitar that would suit the style of the music that I was recording and according to the ways in which Tim and Jason wanted the bass lines to "feel", instead of me playing against the musical arrangement of the song and without bias. I will go through this challenge in the following chapter. Lastly I met Byron, who was going to record his raw tracks for his upcoming CD album with the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio. The conversations that I had with Byron were about his music and what he wanted to portray through his message/lyrics. From these discussions above I got to understand the views of producing music, and the negative and positive social circumstances that they went through as gospel artists and music producers. Furthermore, Byron's circumstances contributed to his

lyrical content of his songs, in which I intended to interpret the lyrical content in relation to the way in which his music addressed Pentecostalism in a new social way.

The events outside the studio, which I will present in the following chapters, will depict being 'on the road' with my interlocutors, accompanying them to rehearsals and a formal meeting at the 'Watching on the Wall' (WOW) studio in Cape Town. This meeting was in preparation for the 'Pentecospel' concert at the V&A Waterfront, Cape Town. In attending this meeting I got to sit in on the discussions of how the public performance was going to promote gospel artists and their music. I had listened to conversations between Tim and the staff at the WOW studio in which they discussed the ways in which Pentecostalism has changed and advanced, in the context of Pentecostal churches in Cape Town. For the staff, the advancements included the increase of contemporary music which was performed in churches as opposed to traditional hymns and the motivation of the congregants to go to church due the technological enhancements to church services that make church services entertaining and visually appealing. When the meeting started Tim and the staff at the WOW studio discussed and considered which gospel artists would be involved in the public performance at the V&A Waterfront based on how their lyrics and music would complement the mood of the performance played to live audiences. They also discussed how the audiences V&A Waterfront would respond to locally produced 'Pentecospel' music.

I also attended and participated in a CD launch of two young women, Blanche and Whitney, in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town. In both of these public performances, I got to interact with artists and their audiences to hear their responses to 'Pentecospel' music that they have not heard before. By observing the various performances at the CD launch, I used photographs to capture moments which highlighted the moods projected by each artist in relation to their lyrics and social connection to their audiences. With this in mind, my fieldwork comprised of visual and audio material resulting in photographs and recorded videos and voice recordings being the most helpful methodological tools used to collect the data from my ethnographic fieldwork. I assert the statement with regards to collaborative photography made by Pink (2007) that collaborating with the people I worked with to produce images did not necessarily need me, as the ethnographer, to take the lead as a photographer. (Pink, 2007: 64).

During the 'Pentecospel' public performance at the V&A Waterfront, I sat on the stage facing the audience so that I could observe their reactions to the various artists on stage and how they interacted with their performances. However, my mobility on stage was limited by the

performances being in session. With that in mind, I managed to obtain and incorporate a few images using Pink's (2007) collaborative photography from the live recording for the academic purposes of this chapter with the permission of the WOW media crew. Some of the photographs used in this study were also captured by my interlocutors using their smartphones.

As such, the use of my smartphone has become an intrinsic accessory for communicating to interlocutors in and outside the recording studio, sharing photographs, video recordings and rough mixes of 'Pentecospel' music via social media platforms such as Facebook, Whatsapp, and Instagram. This was done for the purpose of the promotion of interlocutors' 'Pentecospel' music production processes which happened during the fieldwork period. I have also monitored the use of social media by my interlocutors as they posted daily events and happenings in the recording studio. This was a way for me to analyse the responses made by friends and acquaintances on Facebook with regards to the music editing process.

I thought of looking into the music editing process as a way of exploring the mediation/negotiation of sounds, lyrical content and knowledge used to produce new 'Pentecospel' music. One of the influential advantages to the study was familiarising myself with the various music equipment, technology and software in the studio that Tim and Jason had introduced me to. This aided me in linking sound, electronic software and hardware of musical equipment with the methods that Tim and Jason used to create and manipulate authentic sounds. I assert that the use of these technologies will render the musical software and hardware as digital anthropological methods to analyse the trend of innovation in artists' music, as well as the relationship between people and technology for 'Pentecospel' music production. These technologies and software include musical instruments, music and 'state of the art' sound software found in computers and laptops. The rapid growth in Pentecostalism, as I discussed lies in the results of the production and planning of church services, and public performance. What I aimed to show through these technologies in the music recording studio, was another view of the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in the inner workings of the production sector, that I stress should be considered. This is crucial because without these production processes there would not be the music, DVDs and CDs for audiences to engage with beyond the church walls.

There were a few challenges that I encountered. The fieldwork period was unpredictable on certain days when Tim and Jason did not have many artists and musicians coming into the

studio. Reasons for this were that scheduled plans to record with artists would either be postponed or cancelled. Aside from the artists and musicians, the studio was inactive due to Tim's wife who was due to give birth in January. This impacted on my fieldwork as there were no events happening and there were only plans to be active and involved in community work for the months of February and March. One of the other challenges I faced was gaining access to some meetings between producers and other musicians outside the 'Sounds of the Nations' studio, as they were private and confidential and were only meant for the staff of the company. In terms of being in the recording studio, I found it challenging to engage in in-depth conversations during the recording process with other artists. There would be no scope or time to ask questions due to them tracking and recording music. After recording sessions, I would engage in in-depth interviews, but not merely enough for me as a researcher to probe into their thoughts on the questions I had asked them. This was because the studio had a strict schedule of their daily activities that even I had to adhere to.

3.6 An overview of main interlocutors

I aimed to understand the social relationship between Tim and Jason in the business and creative aspects of the production process. In understanding this I wanted to observe how their personalities complimented or complicated issues pertaining to music production and the artists that they encountered in the studio. Throughout my fieldwork I encountered some people who I refer to as 'walk-in-walk-out' interlocutors, who have visited the studio, which I will engage with in the following chapter. I have had the opportunity and time to conduct in-depth interviews with them about their lives as musicians and performing artists, as well as some of the issues they faced as individuals.

Tim is a young man from Bellville, Cape Town, who grew up on the Cape Flats[7]. He studied BCom in Finance at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in Cape Town and was the former music director and leader at the His People Church in Parow, Cape Town. In May 2014, Tim completed a sound mixing course conducted by renowned music produced Jimmy Douglass, at the 'Mix with the Masters Seminar' held at the Studio La Fabrique in Saint-Remy De Provence, France. Aside from being the director and visionary at the SOTN Cape Town studio, he is also a guitarist, pianist, composer and songwriter, public speaker and the former music leader at his previous church before he moved the studio to his home. Tim, grew up

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[7] The Cape Flats are an expansive, low-lying, flat area situated to the southeast of the central business district of Cape Town

living on the Cape Flats and was once offered a recording contract in the USA after his tertiary studies. In an article written by Nurden Cross for the Christian magazine "Joy", Cross (2013:88) wrote: "…he shared how when it came to signing with the American label, he thought back to all the artists and musicians in Cape Town, and he could not sign the deal. He realised that he didn't just want to take care of his own career but that God was calling him to help other artists to bring the unique sound of Cape Town to the ears of the world."

Jason is a young man from Belhar, a middle class area on the Cape flats. He is a drummer featuring a comprehensive list of music bands and performing artists that he has accompanied. He is producer, music creator, composer and songwriter, and is also a friend and business partner with Tim at the 'Sounds of the Nations' Cape Town studio. He started playing music in the church youth worship team, at his local church in 2003. He also joined a local Gospel band in 2004, who served the community of Hermanus. This band consisted of two elements, The Sought the gospel element and Chen, the Neo soul element consisting only of drums bass and keys. This band played original material written by the members. In 2010, he formed part of a band called 'Out Da Ordinary', for which he composed one of the songs sung by the band. In that same year he also started sessioning for the rock band Furniss, who later recorded their EP in Nashville Tennessee USA 2012, who till this day he still performs with. He forms part of Nuelight Productions house band, who played for well-known South African artists such as Judith Sepuma, Louie Britz, Elvis Blue, and with the musical bands Katherine Traut and the Ellipsis. Jason is also a recording artist who has recorded on albums such as the Tim Feder "Complete" album, Francious Louw "Klaar geklaar" album and many more. Jason recorded his first single "Still I Stand". In his view, 'Sounds of the Nations' Cape Town is a company aimed at capturing and releasing the sounds of Cape Town to the world. To date he has co-produced local South African artists like Jenny ah Chong, Recruit, Siphe, the winner of Sing for the King competition, a South African Idols-like television show aired on Cape Town Television (CTV) and many more.

Keziah is a young woman from Kraaifontein, a lower middle class area in Cape Town. She is a singer-songwriter, who has recorded her music at the SOTN studio. In a conversation that I had with her, she stated that music was more than just her passion, it was her life. She was a student at the University of the Western Cape and graduated with her BA degree in psychology in 2015. She is also a single mother, who at the time of my fieldwork was performing music around Cape Town. Her love for music started when she was at children's

church. She was always involved in singing in church and always had the support of her family and friends. Her revelation about life through music started when she lost a close friend during her second year at UWC. She states that her friend's death made her realize that life is just too short to keep your talents hidden away. This is what inspired her to start writing her own music. She says, "The music I write is my form of expression and it's who I am." As an artist she learns from every genre, but her passion lies in the mix of Soul, Jazz and RnB music.

Byron is a young man from Bishop Lavis, a township on the Cape Flats. He is a 2nd year BCom student at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Byron has managed to find a balance between his academic life and his life as an upcoming gospel artist. Son to the founder of the 'Christian Explainers' Wilmot Fredericks, a well-known gospel artist (mentioned in Denis-Constant Martin's book "*Sounding the Cape*" (2013: 304)), Byron has recorded his music at the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio, particularly his single 'Forever And A Day', establishing himself as one of Cape Town's upcoming gospel artist of this decade. Byron is described by Tim, producer and director at the SOTN studio, as "a phenomenal singer/songwriter. His fresh, authentic sound is a true reflection of the young South African songwriters of today." Byron has also released his brand 'Byron Levi' later in 2015 months after recording his music in the SOTN studio.

Karien is a young woman from Durbanville, Cape Town. She is a recording musician and composer who graduated from the Berkley College of Music in the USA. She has scored music for recording sessions as well as for the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra and has participated in a music video with Jason, who works at the 'Sounds of the Nations' studio.

Blanche and Whitney are young women in their early 20s from Lentegeur, one of the sub-sections of Mitchells Plain. They decided to use their own first names to market their brand as a duo act. Having only met them once, they made sure to show-off their "bubbling" personalities and friendly demeanour throughout the time of their CD launch. Blanche worked for the local television show Clash of the Choirs[8] and Whitney was a tourism student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT). Both Blanche and Whitney are also full time singers in their church, Springwood Baptist Church in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town.

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[8] Television show based on gospel choir competitions.

Mathew is a young man from Congo, but now lives in Cape Town. He is an events manager, vocalist and songwriter. He studied events management at Varsity College and he is also a music leader at the Shofar Church[9]. He has released his gospel CD album "Shalom" in 2013. Mathew was the featured artist on the 'Sound of Africa' album released in May 2015 on the song 'We Desire' and the soundtrack and music video 'Everything to Me'. For Mathew, being part of the production of the 'Sound of Africa' album gave him more exposure beyond as the album went online, to promote himself as a gospel artist.

I decided to follow Tim and Jason mainly, to share their experiences and stories during this period because I have established a solid social relationship that allowed me to explore my study in great detail with their assistance. All the people I worked with consider themselves to be 'born-again' Christians who volunteer their musical talents in their respective Pentecostalist churches. This voluntary act has also been a way of presenting their 'Pentecospel' music productions as a connection and commitment to their faith as well as their social morale. For that reason, they choose to see themselves as gospel artists for the church and in their music, but they are also versatile in performing secular music.

3.7 Being in the field as a musician-anthropologist

In order to understand the people with whom I worked, I had to assert myself as a musician-anthropologist, deciphering their conversations in relation to analyzing the anthropological perspectives attached to their views and mine through my own reflexivity. A part of the keen interest in the key interlocutors that will be presented in this thesis was to highlight what it means to be a gospel artist in Cape Town and the reluctances of being identified as one, according how they see it themselves. In this way I could address a need to probe into the musical identities that people, men and women, in Cape Town associate themselves with, especially within the music scene. The significance of this is to understand how their views on being associated with being a gospel artist restricts and/or allows them access into the secular/market industry of music. It will also pay attention to how performing artists and producers represent themselves as people of Cape Town and how they balance their music interests and responsibilities in their everyday lives.

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[9] A multi-generational and multi-cultural church with congregations in South Africa, Namibia, the UK and Malawi.

As a musician-anthropologist, I had tuned my senses with my harmonious surroundings as a researcher in the midst of the recording studio being active for the duration of my fieldwork. Being an 'insider' in the music field and as a member of a Pentecostal church, I had easy access to the information required to some extent, since my interlocutors and myself shared important social attributes regarding views of Christianity and experience in the music field. Although these attributes were familiar to me, I had to be cautious in the way in which I conducted myself and I was aware of that fact that I was doing anthropology at home. For me as a musician-anthropologist, doing anthropology at home, firstly meant that that I conducted fieldwork at Tim's family home. Secondly, I was 'at home' as a musician; this meant that I was familiar with my surroundings inside the music recording studio and outside in different spaces in Cape Town. Lastly, 'doing anthropology at home' was also an opportunity for me to put aside any knowledge that I had about the realm of music prior to my study. In doing so I could attain a new perspective into the views of the production of music and newer understandings of the incorporation of Pentecostalism and gospel in the performing arts.

Being a researcher ensured that in certain contexts, I was no longer an 'insider' to my own environment, especially in the areas of music and religious familiarity, which ensued me of not falling into the predicament of being subjected to different gospel artists identifying me with varieties of stigma. These stigmas in my opinion were those of potential interlocutors not understanding what a researcher does or the lack of knowledge regarding the difference between a journalist and an anthropologist. Therefore, I had conducted in-depth interviews in a setting that was most comfortable for my interlocutors without them feeling pressured to answer and discuss questions and issues regarding music and religious affiliation. I assert my position as a musician-anthropologist by challenging the switch between "active and passive" modes of self. In other words, I was baffled with wondering if I was a passive researcher, observing the production of a music performance, or if I was an active musician, analysing and participating in the recording of the song on my bass guitar. On the other hand, the paradox about this was me, wondering if I was an active anthropologist participating in my own research through performance, or a passive musician who only listens to what should be played in a song before observing the actual recording stage.

I argue that being open-minded to the events that unfold in the field, helps with the balancing of these two identities in the context of performance and music production. In addition, this would allow me to freely engage with my interlocutors in the musical events that would take

place. From there, I will be able to analyse various social interactions between musicians, singers and their audiences as they engage with each other. Time inside the studio also gave me time to reflect about the happenings of the day. Being a musician, and a 'born-again' Christian myself who have a working class background, grew up in a middle class socio-economic area in Cape Town and understood the terminologies spoken in various musical and social spaces made it easier for me to associate my social and musical experiences with those of my fellow interlocutors. In doing so also allowed me to have informal and personal conversations with my interlocutors about the gospel music scene in South Africa, equality and inequality amongst musicians from various racial and ethnic groups, the business and technological aspects of producing music and how all of these issues related to one another.

3.8 Ethical considerations

As a researcher and musician from Cape Town, working with issues of music production and religious performance, I have negotiated my access to the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio with Tim and Jason. After speaking to them, I acknowledged that any data collected within this study would be used towards the advancement of academic research and the broader understanding of cultural music performances in urban spaces within the field of anthropology. I assured them that when it comes to sensitive religious issues which could jeopardize my progress in data collection process inside and outside the music recording studio that I would not make and/or record any comments or remarks about them. Therefore, I took into consideration that as a musician-anthropologist in the field, people might, for example, assume me to be questioning their beliefs within their faith, with the misleading knowledge and assumptions that they might have about anthropologists. This could lead to my position as a researcher to become deceptive, and isolating them from my study. I reassured all of my interlocutors that my study will not impose preconception of their values and beliefs about Christianity/Pentecostalism in music or their views on the gospel music culture in Cape Town, but will attempt to understand their social and musical lifestyle through their own daily experiences.

3.9 Conclusion

I realised that the window for gospel music to make it into mainstream media or the secular music industry is a rather narrow one. However, this does not mean that the production of gospel music is not still in process. In this chapter I have discussed what I did during my

fieldwork and how I engaged with my interlocutors within the field. I argued that a new South African music production culture is emerging, especially in households and in public spaces. With the thoughts around the ways in which musicians and singers are creating cross-mixed genres of music for the production of new gospel sounds through the various methods that intended to use during the fieldwork process, I was now ready to explore and make meaning of Schneider's (2003) view of appropriation and Stoke's (2004) notion of hybrid genres, through my coinage of 'Pentecospel' music. The following chapter will present my ethnographic encounter of the production of familiar/unfamiliar and 'authentic' sounds and visuals in the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio.

CHAPTER 4:

The production of '*Pentecospel*' music

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will demonstrate the processes of 'Pentecospel' music performance and production in the SOTN studio with young gospel artists and producers. The narratives of the young musicians and singers used in this chapter will communicate their views of identifying themselves (gospel) artists and ordinary people from Cape Town. Sitting in the studio with Tim during the summer mornings of December became the daily routine as he started checking his emails while playing a raw track of 'Pentecospel' music in the background and having the editing software open on his computer. This multi-tasking is reminiscent of the many events that would happen in the studio during my fieldwork. I will present my findings on musicians, singers and producers who have participated in the rehearsals, jam sessions, recording sessions as a form of self-representation of themselves and social experiences through music. I will present how a public performance is planned through a formal meeting at a media company for the enhancement of local talent and 'Pentecospel' music exposure.

The main argument of this chapter is that 'Pentecospel' music production is shaped by the social dynamics and negotiations between the senses, lyrical content and technological influences in the recording studio. To support this argument, I will show how musicians and singer's emotions during rehearsals and the production process contribute and hamper performances of 'Pentecospel' music. The process of global cultural sound production among young men and women in Cape Town is what also contributes to a broader music production culture in the public sphere, promoting the idea of producing 'Pentecospel' music. Therefore, I will discuss how gospel musicians and singers re-orchestrate global and local music and attach their own meanings, feelings and styles known to them into newer forms of 'Pentecospel' music.

This chapter will also explore different ways in which I as an anthropologist-musician attempted to interpret my interlocutors' performance and production, by representing their interpretation of sound, lyrical content and music styles within 'Pentecospel' music.

4.2 Rehearsals and Meetings: The behind-the-scenes look

4.2.1 Social views on the 'divine' and the divide in Pentecostal and gospel music

It was a hot day on the 3rd December 2014, as Tim and Jason sat on the couch in the studio trying to feel the swiveling fan of the air conditioner. Tim had been waiting for the online mastering software to complete a digital mastering process on a gospel track that he was busy with. Our daily conversations usually consisted of 'Pentecostal humour', in which Tim and Jason openly mocked church politics and scenarios in terms of the gospel songs churches (Pastors and music leaders) allow and do not allow their performing arts department to play. For instance these "church politics" were mainly about the opinions that church singers and musicians used to describe what constituted "praise and worship" performances with varying theological ideologies. Conversations grew particularly vague about Pentecostalism and the styles of gospel music in Cape Town because there was always a contestation in views. I posed the question: "What do you consider to be challenging when thinking about gospel music production in Cape Town?" Tim answered by saying:

> Our goal at Sounds of the Nations is to represent the sound of the people beyond the people. We want to represent the sounds of Cape Town, familiar and unfamiliar. What we are pursuing, is to help people understand that gospel music does not have to divide people, and that is the problem and the challenge Pentecostal and gospel music in Cape Town faces. Still, it is evident in our churches.

Tim elaborated that in his experiences of ministering (playing) in a few 'coloured' churches in Delft, the Cape Flats and Grassy Park, '*pinkster*' music is the favourite gospel music style amongst their congregants, both young and old. 'Pinkster' (Afrikaans Pentecostal) music is referred to as a frenetic kind of sound in coloured Pentecostal churches. It's very up tempo, it's a lot of handclapping, and it's a vibrant joyous style, if you look at the Pinkster movement, it is not the same but it's quite similar to 'ghoema', it has that feel. (Martin, 2013: 304). 'Pinkster' was music that they could relate to because of it being sung in Afrikaans. This allowed them to "jabula" (dance). In contrast, the Hillsong church in Century City

consist of people of diverse ethnicity, and their music performances lies within the genre of contemporary rock and indie music. Tim recognized that both genres of music speak to the Pentecostal idea of praising and worshiping God and Jesus; however the style of music and the way in which they are performed is what makes them different. For Tim, the church, Christians and non-Christians alike or as he refers it to "We", are the people who make music divide people. In doing so, "we" put a genre to a within gospel music culture, even though there are certain kinds of music appeal to certain cultures. He held strongly to his statement in a serious tone of voice that "music should not define people by that particular genre, and it should not be a dividing factor either."

Jason adding to Tim's answer stated:

> We can help people understand that there is a genre that appeals to the people in Cape Town that also helps them to develop their sound, and in doing so helping to "celebrate" other cultures sounds rather than a "seclusion" of other sounds.

Jason thus advocated that as music producers they can bring different people to embrace each other, in and/or outside the church context, they can then bring them to a place where embracing each other musically, is natural. In achieving this, Jason believes that Cape Town will have sounds that are "non-cultural biased" and multicultural where it represents all the people in Cape Town, and not necessarily a specific group of people in Cape Town. Tim walked back to the computer when the online mastering process was completed. I followed him to ask what the difference was between a sound and a style in Cape Town music, and whether they could be incorporated into one approach to the idea of "Pentecospel" music. Tim folding his arms thinking about the question, stated:

> In my opinion, speaking from song writing within Pentecostalism, a sound and a style are two different things. A sound carries more than just the music, it carries a message. So if I look at what is the sound of Cape Town, I can get closer to understanding the message and what people are bringing forward as artists in Cape Town.

Tim viewed style as a kind of ideology that has changed over the years, even in the music industry because gospel music styles have become so fused. He elaborated that if he could, he would then fuse different Cape Town styles in gospel music today that appeal to particular ethnicity and generation of people and a sound or Pentecostal message found within the word

of God, he would then be able to find the ultimate thing that unites the people in the city. I would find that the production processes that would take place in the recording studio were guided along these points of view; this regularly happened when young musicians and singers came into the studio for their recording sessions and meetings with Tim and Jason. For young Capetonians and other African citizens, appropriation of global Pentecostal music styles, mixed with their social experiences in their gospel music productions, had set the tone for the idea of 'Pentecospel', as a hybrid genre (see Stokes 2004). Furthermore it enhanced the reality of the global connection Cape Town shares with other parts of the world, in terms of the popular culture and socio-politics that were appropriated through local forms.

After sitting around the kitchen table in Tim's home, Jason and Tim started to plan their monthly schedules and start planning for the concert at the V&A Waterfront[10]. There was a sense of uncertainty from Tim and Jason with regards to whether they would have any clients coming to record before Christmas. "Right, we need to get started with the planning and see how far we come before 'crazy season' starts" said Tim clicking his pen continuously while taking a sip of his coffee. The term "crazy season" was used to describe the festive season in December before Christmas and the New Year. "Crazy season" also meant that Tim had to attend to his family responsibilities for Christmas, while also bearing in mind the possibility of his wife giving birth. So this meant that if there were going to be any recording sessions done then they would have to organize and balance their jobs with their personal lives in one space. Tim moved to the studio room to check his emails on the computer and said: "ok the question now is…we should start next week working on Keziah's production?"

In a world where technology and music coincide with one another, many musicians and singers have become accustomed with the human-technological interaction for the production of 'Pentecospel' music in the public sphere. This interaction happens when gospel musicians and singers make use of technological instruments such as musical instruments and music editing computer software, to create and negotiate faith-based music that, not just express who they are as born-again Christians, but that also shows the level of musical knowledge that goes into a proper mix of a song. The reflections on gospel musicians' knowledge (which include musical experiences and attitudes towards specific styles of music) are portrayed through their expositions of ethnicity within music. This enhances their preferred ethnic sounds which they choose to perform and also enhances their Christianity through ethnic

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[10] A shopping, dining and entertainment area which is adjacent to the Table Bay harbour.

sounds. The problem however is situated between the production-process of the accumulation and the maintenance of capital through the aims of local consumption of the arts and the fears of deterring the vision of what the gospel music was intended for at the beginning of the song-writing period. One of the most noticeable things that happened throughout my fieldwork at the 'Sounds of the Nations' studio was the stories and narratives that were told by Tim and Jason and the artists that came to the studio to record or just have meetings. As they reflected on past events that they experienced, I got to understand their feelings towards the kind of people they would work with, and the challenges they face as Christian producers. The conversations that were shared amongst Tim, Jason and myself in studio continually fell into the lane of practices within Christianity and contemporary Capetonian music that is appealing to secular markets, whenever we spoke of sounds, styles of music.

4.3 Meeting with Keziah: "Who I am"

A few days later, Keziah came into the studio to discuss her recording production for a radio broadcast. It was a cold morning as Keziah dressed in casual attire and a head warmer ('beanie'). With her EP[11] already recorded, the meeting was intended to broaden the scope of finding out "who Keziah is" as an gospel or secular artist in order to understand the feel in her sound. Keziah sat in the "producer's chair" as she explained to Tim what she wanted in her music, almost as if she asserted her stance in defining herself as her own artistic producer. Tim emphasized that for any artist who is new on the music scene, he or she goes on a road of discovery, questioning the kind of artist they want to be, the type of music they want to perform and the image that they want their audience to associate them with. The negotiations of what kind of music Keziah wanted to produce elaborated Allen's (2007) view of social and religious identity that can be differentiated through songs. This was in the case of Tim asking "who Keziah is". Tim noted that "The best thing to do is that we gotta define 'Keziah' the artist, and as much as you like the jazz thing, I think that it must be in your voice and it mustn't be in your production, because it could exclude a lot of people." Keziah agreed but she was adamant that she would not let go of the "soul" that she adds to her music.

The negotiation between artist and producer is for the public image that is 'Keziah' and how she is represented in a way that goes hand-in-hand with her character and audience appeal. Keziah crosses her legs and leans forward answering with a laugh:

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[11] Extended play CD consisting of 3 songs

I just want to be me, man! The thing is I don't want to restrict myself in a way that I want to go into the gospel scene necessarily. I am not Kierra Sheard[12] or Tye Tribett[13]. My sound is very underground-ish and I want it to be colourful and like in your face! I want to start an RnB, Hip-Hop, Jazz thing here, especially here (in Cape Town), because we don't have that soul and we need that, I'm after that. The concept with the worship songs that I've written, and that's beautiful music, I like it, but then I'm like I wouldn't put that with my current material.

Figure 3: "My sound is very underground-ish and I want it to be colourful and like in your face!"

The negotiations of what kind of music Keziah wanted to produce were relayed on the basis of social and religious identity. In this case, the issue in being labeled as a Christian gospel artist or a secular (market) artist seemed to put the meeting on hold as the atmosphere became rigid in the studio. This was because the SOTN studio, only recorded gospel artists and not artists in market sector, as a means of credibility within the gospel music industry and media. For Keziah, this meant that being labeled as a gospel artist with the secular-based music she wanted to record, would limit corporate gigs opportunities and that audiences would question her stance as a 'compromised' gospel artist based on her music.

This was also noticeable in the way in which both Keziah and Tim used their hand gestures to emphasize a point of 'discovery' about what an artist is. These gestures were usually in attempt to get her words out while trying not to contemplate who 'Keziah' is as a young

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[12] African-American female gospel music singer and radio host
[13] African-American gospel music singer, songwriter, music producer and director

woman, let alone as a performing artist. I noticed the confusion on her face whenever the question was posed to her, "but who are you?" For any artist in Cape Town this becomes a riddle to solve as musicians and singers are exposed to a diversity of sounds and the cultural flares that each sound portrays throughout their performing bodies. Salo (2003) addresses this issue in terms of women in Cape Town reconfiguring the local meanings of personhood through its engagement with specific aspects of global youth culture. Image for Keziah became an issue in a sense of her representation of personhood on visual media. After a brief talk about having the correct name of her song registered on SAMRO[14], Keziah said that she was having trouble with the concept of music videos, as described herself as a corny person and that the idea of being in-front of a camera doing a scripted music video makes her uncomfortable. She would soon prove herself wrong in a public performance at the 'Pentecospel' concert where she sang in front of, not just an audience, but a live recorded television broadcast. The meeting concluded with Tim organizing further meetings with Keziah for her upcoming projects.

After Keziah left the studio, Jason checked his schedule and said he would not be available on particular days as he had to rehearse with another artist for his studio recording. He has recorded with Jason a few years ago. Suddenly by throwing his hands downwards with a slight nod of his head, Jason said in one long breathe and with a slight smirk in an almost mocking manner: "Theeeennnnnnnnn I got a message from him saying that he wanted me to mix some tracks for him. He had 'raw tracks'[15] that he was going to have his friends in the UK mix and whatever; in the meantime we did the mix as well." The Sounds of the Nations (SOTN) recording studio gave Andrew all the mixes, taking the necessary steps, taking photos because it was a means by which he was going to supplement his income.

Jason added that Andrew made an income through partnerships (various churches where Andrew volunteered as a musician), by generating more income to help alleviate the stress of partners and in doing so these churches and he would benefit in CD sales financially. However the project has been halted when he took it to the UK and wanted to add some mixes. According to Meintjes (2003) the direct access to technology is determined by the division of labour and the experience within the studio. What the studio in the UK did to the tracks was not what Andrew wanted. Tim added that the response that they got from Andrew

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[14] SAMRO is the most important Southern African organization that controls music performing rights on behalf of composers.

[15] The demo recorded track which is mixed before it undergoes the mastering process.

was that the studio in the UK lacked the vocal mix that the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio had. Jason said that "They couldn't make the vocals sound like the way we mixed it." Tim also stated that: "They wanted me to send them what they call the 'stem' which is also called the plug-ins[16] that are added to the vocal mix, but you only do that when you're working for a label and you're getting payed, because that is my work, adding compression, EQs, and getting the vocals to sound the way it should sound." Andrew's story is a reflection of the way in which artists market themselves as well as gain and maintain social relationships for organizing their means of income through the art of producing music. In addition, I argue that the technology made available to Tim and his way of incorporating his technical knowledge into the social sound mixes, elaborates on the social media/production exchange between South Africa and the United Kingdom. This could be are seen as a cultural exchange through which knowledge is implanted and possibly negotiated. (see Stokes 2004 and Martin 2012).

The knowledge of various techniques used in the process of editing portrays more than just the sound of a track; it represents the producer's ability to hear sounds beyond the imagination of an ordinary listener. In this case, Tim's editing of the raw tracks seemed to have placed emphasis on the vocal component of the songs, because the voice is what carries the message of the song and the feel that is embodied through the style of the song. Tim was recognized for his work in the edited 'Pentecospel' tracks, by using of social media to exchange raw tracks. This exchange allowed Tim to use his own methods of socio-technological techniques in music editing as a way of adding a unique style to global gospel music, promoting himself as a South African music producer to the UK. I claim that the use of social media is used to exchange collaborative methods of socio-technological techniques and shared experiences of music artists and producers. Therefore this intricate process of soundscapes is used for the purpose of music and knowledge production and the promotion of local music producers.

4.4 Following the drummer to the unfamiliar/familiar space (rehearsal)

On a warm summer morning I drove to Pinehurst, an upper middle class area situated in Durbanville, to the north of Bellville. I accompanied Jason to a music rehearsal. I intended to

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[16] Software that are used to add audio effects to a person's voice, or acts as a substitute to a virtual musical instrument

imagine myself as an individual who knows nothing of a music rehearsal, even though the rehearsal space was a space that I knew all too well, as I am found in these spaces everyday. The rehearsal was with a young man who was a songwriter, guitarist and missionary called Andrew, who hailed from London, England and a young Afrikaner woman called Karien from Pinehurst. Karien is a bassist and a Berklee College of Music graduate in Contemporary Writing and Production and Bass Performance. The rehearsal was in preparation for the recording session that they had later that week. Before we got to the front door of Karien's house where the rehearsal was held, Jason warned me that I would have to speak Afrikaans in her house. The reason was unclear why, so I adopted a "go-with-the-flow" type of attitude with the limited amount of Afrikaans phrases that I knew. As we sat at the kitchen table, Jason introduced me to Karien's mother who asked me a few minutes later, "Mr. Anthropology, do you want one or two eggs with your breakfast?" After a filling breakfast of fried eggs and mushrooms and filtered black coffee, Andrew arrived for the rehearsal. The set-up was a simple layout in which Jason, Karien and Andrew faced each other in a triangular formation.

Figure 4: Jason, Karien and Andrew during their rehearsal for their recording session

The pentecostalist gospel songs that they rehearsed were all written by Andrew for his CD that he was planning to record in South Africa for this session. He then handed out pages of his music, with the chords on top of the specific words where those chords would be applied when it was performed. The first song was cross mixes between a mellow and "happy-go-lucky" feels that seemed to portray Andrew's style of music in his compositions. "I love that tone on your guitar" Jason commented as Andrew played a B major to one of his songs. "You might want to tune it first before we start" Karien added. Andrew requested that they should be free to comment on any musical arrangement as he felt that they have more experience and expertise than he has. Karien squinted as she responded to his request that "It's all about that ear" and then took a sip of her coffee. Andrew tried to help Karien and Jason understand what he wanted for his songs, and that he was afraid of having something that sounded familiar or that was already played by other artists. Karien responded to his concern stating that "…it's good copy because if works then you take and make it your own." With the use of the term "appropriation" as highlighted in Chapter 2, Karien eases Andrew's concern for having a sound that is familiar and encourages him to make it "original" through his own interpretation to the song. As they performed, Jason, Andrew and Karien's movements were in-line with the beat that Jason was playing, as they tapped their feet on the cold ceramic tiles.

Come Holy Spirit and fall in this place

Show us your glory, release your grace

Come Holy Spirit and fall in this place

Show us your glory, release your grace

The repetitive pattern in the chorus in terms of phrasing and chord progression was something Andrew played on most. According to Connor (1989) the concept of repetition plays a crucial part in sustaining our sense of the real. This was the chorus of the song "We come close" written by Andrew, which seemed to be most prominent in the performance. Looking at phrases 'Holy Spirit' and 'grace' within the context of music performance, I argue that this is seen as a symbolic representation of religion invoking not just spiritual intervention, but also individual emotions. The words 'Come', 'Show' and 'release' highlights the calling forth of the transcendental abstraction as mentioned by Meyer (2010) to the physical world which is "us" and "in this place". Meyer (2010) argues that the 'Holy

Spirit' amongst her interlocutors who have imagined or experienced it, pervades all human-made boundaries and yet is not an elusive, purely transcendental abstraction because it is held to operate from behind the surface of appearances, from which it affects the course of things in the material world. Furthermore, it is an experiential manifestation that invokes feelings. (Meyer, 2010: 742).

There were moments during the rehearsal, when a young man with lawn-mowing machine outside the room, unintentionally, distracted the performance. This caused Jason to increase his volume by beating louder on his drum kit. While playing the bridge of the song which consisted of a vigorous pulsating arrangement of chords C, D, G5, C5 all in the timing of 4/5 (four over five bars) on her 4 string bass guitar, Karien mentioned that the sound in the bridge would have sounded better if they had an electric guitar distortion on those chords. She elaborated that the distortion element on an electrical guitar sounds fascinating, almost 'grudge-like', which adds a very aggressive tone to a song, almost as if Pentecostal rock music has gone through a secular heavy metal transition. At this point the performance stopped as she starting talking about another musician who was supposed to attend the rehearsal. The musician was Ben with whom she was really upset. Jason slowly nodded his head, looking in my direction, whispered to me they started rehearsing that the she and the other musician were dating at some point in time.

Upset with the idea of Ben not being at the rehearsal, Karien kept a stern face as shown in Figure 4. Her mood of utter frustration was so intense that Jason, Andrew and I could sense it immediately. With great effort, Andrew tried to redirect the attention away from her emotional state back to the rehearsal at hand. I started thinking about how social relationships either obstruct or encourage the process of their music performance. After Karien had released her frustration about the other artist, her performance and attitude was completely different. She lost interest in what she was playing and there was a sudden drop in energy within the song. This negative experience impacted on Karien's role as musician to perform, hindering the progress of the rehearsal. Andrew could pick up the drop in the performance level through her body language, and that was when he stopped the performance, and suggested that "we all should pray before continuing the rehearsal". The prayer helped to calm the unsettling atmosphere slightly and the rehearsal continued to gradually ease out of the awkwardness of what happened, with Karien apologizing each time they stopped performing.

Drawing towards the end of the rehearsal Jason, Karien and Andrew were not just aware of the time they spent rehearsing but also the time it took for them to perform each song. As a musician myself, I assert that time is a critical component to consider when it comes to studio recording and beneficial for the purposes of having music played on radio. For instance, Christian radio broadcasters prefer songs more or less 3 minutes long, which they will play after a 5 minute interview with the artist and then return to the regular daily programme. However radio broadcasters are very selective on the music that artists produce and bring to the radio station, which tends to be bias at times. The bias in terms of radio presenters not broadcasting their music tend to lean towards the styles of gospel music that they think their listeners would/would not be interested in, and the reputation and audience appeal of the gospel artist among Cape Town listeners.

"…and that brings us down to three and a half minutes" Andrew said with a satisfying smile as they ended their performance. Karien and Jason were in agreement with that time as they emphasised that the song would lie longer but then people could always repeat the song when they listen to it on CD. This was to say that Karien and Jason were satisfied with the preparations of the song, even though Andrew was uncertain about how he wanted his own song to sound like. After the rehearsal, Jason, Karien and Andrew were ready for their recording session after figuring out their approaches to performing Andrew's songs. The above encounter of feelings impacting on the rehearsal raises questions such as: whether the song changes in the rehearsal are accepted by the producers in that particular studio and whether feelings of frustration benefit or hamper the performance that could possibly frustrate the producer even more?

To answer these questions I argue that through this rehearsal, Jason, Andrew and Karien's ability to interpret and negotiate what the song should bring, was shown through lyrical content and musical styles, as well as through feelings of musicians to make music enjoyable and entertaining, and at sometimes frustrating. Karien's frustrating outburst proved how emotions of external social issues outside the rehearsal hampered the performance and productivity of 'Pentecospel' music. Yet, she shares her musical contributions with Jason and Andrew by relating musical instruments that would enhance the dynamics of the music. This section highlighted the claim that practices of 'Pentecospel' music production, such as a rehearsal, elaborates on the meaning-making process of gospel artists, such as Andrew, Jason and Karien, and their contributions to expanding the narrow local gospel music scene, but in

the space of a family home as a rehearsal venue. The expansion of the gospel music scene lies in the Jason and Karien's contributions, namely their religious and social attachment to Andrew's music. Their contributions emphasise the unique connection for Karien and Jason to share their thoughts and musical input in the production process of the newly produced 'Pentecospel' music, before it is performed to the public.

4.5 Preparations for the public concert at V&A Waterfront

Drawing closer to the day of the musical showcase at the V&A Waterfront, I accompanied Tim to a brief meeting that was held at the Watchmen on the Wall (WOW) media studio in Cape Town. 'Watchmen on the Wall' (WOW) is a Pentecostalist enterprise, which broadcasts on Faith broadcasting network[17]. It is hosted by the Family Policy Institute's[18] television and media broadcaster and CEO, Errol Naidoo. As we walked into the meeting, there were a group of people who were seated at a table. Errol, and Jonathan Rubain, a well-known local artist and bass guitarist from Hanover Park in Cape Town, were already seated.

Figure 5: Discussing the upcoming concert at the V&A Waterfront

Surrounding them were staff members who worked at the Watchmen on the Wall (WOW) media studio. From left to right in Figure 5 below, sitting next to Tim was Henry and Mario the cameramen and video editors; Taryn, the secretary, and Dieter, the audio engineer who sat next to Errol. Errol had confirmed that the musicians and singers who would perform had all confirmed that they were available for the concert, and that some of the artists would have CDs and DVDs for sale so that if the audience asked for any merchandise, they would have some on stage. Jonathan stated that his band "The Jonathan Rubain Band" would be the

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[17] Premier Christian television channel
[18] A non-profit research and educational organization

musical accompaniment for some of the solo singers to avoid "stage traffic" or long stage setups between performances.

While Taryn wrote down all the slots in which the performers will enter on stage, Errol addressed Tim and the staff stating:

> The way that we want to run the concert, is to keep it tight and flowing because we don't want to keep people waiting for the next act and I am thinking about the television show and the amount of time that we have. So if the show is a success, we can at least make a DVD of it. So the emcees will do the welcoming and tell the audience what the show is about, and then from there they will hand over to Jonathan for the first performance. Let's keep it flowing "artist-after-artist" with no breaks in-between. We will run the concert in two segments, so that at the end of the first segment, the MCs will announce that there will be CDs and DVDs on sale to the audience. Thereafter we will start with the second segment of the concert.

The meeting framed how 'Pentecospel' music would be showcased in the public sphere by using the 'Watchmen on the Wall' media studio and the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio as a medium for sharing performing artists' experiences, and also to promote Pentecostalism in public spaces. Errol, Tim and Jonathan also discussed the musical flow of the concert in terms of fast and slow paced songs that was going to be performed. The importance of this came from Errol, Tim and Jonathan's experience of knowing their audiences liked and disliked, in terms of what makes them stay for the entire concert and knowing how they feel in certain times of the performances. After the logistics of the sound equipment, lighting, and cameras were discussed, the meeting concluded and they all departed from the venue waiting for the day of the concert. I will present the public performance of this event in the following chapter.

4.6 Human and technological intervention in music production: captured sound and negotiated noise

4.6.1 Back in the studio: "Flawless" performance

I returned to the studio room after hanging out with Tim and Jason and 'spending a day in the shoes of my interlocutors', where I became an apprentice producer myself. Tim stared at the

computer screen and sound desk while mixing a live recorded concert of a local gospel artist which was held in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town. With a facial expression of concentration, Tim had spent nearly 45 minutes editing a track in total silence, as the only body part that he moved was his right hand resting on the computer mouse. I recall being very bored just sitting and observing this process from behind the sound desk. Suddenly Tim stated:

> I had a guy come into the studio to do some job shadowing on what I as a music producer do here. For most of the time he was here I could see that he got bored very quickly while I was editing tracks. I thought to myself that this guy won't make it in this business if he doesn't have patience. I told him that this is what I do day in and day out, when I am not tracking or recording music. Editing is a real chore especially when the track was not recorded properly.

Jason arrived shortly after this conversation while Tim was listening to the recording. "Here it is" Tim exclaimed as he came across a 'blooper' in the recording. A Blooper refers to a moment in a performance that was not planned and should not have happened.

Figure 6: Locating the "blooper" in a single line and fading it out.

As a musician-anthropologist, I understood and critiqued the interpretations and representations of music through sound and the embodiment of sound through performances of people. However I learnt very quickly that locating vocals and music through sound waves on a computer screen as shown in Figure 6 became a task that I soon found was not something one can just identify and fix by just "listening". The above image raises some interesting questions such as: How do we make sense of musical performances when "*Pentecospel*" music, in the form of a squiggly line, is technologically mediated as such?

How do we measure and balance the emotion and feelings embodied by people on a computer screen and through a sound desk? To explore these questions I use Pfaffenberger's (1992) idea of a technological drama. According to Pfaffenberger (1992) a technological drama begins with process of technological regularization, in which a design constituency, or community creates, appropriates or modifies a technological production process or user activity in such a way that some of its technical features embody a political aim. This political aim refers to an intention to alter the allocation of power, prestige, or wealth. (Pfaffenberger, 1992: 505). I argue that the "power, prestige and wealth" in this case, would be the live performance in Figure 6, in which Tim explained the 'wealth' of celebrating the life of a loved one through song. He elaborated that the lyrical content was based on a memoir dedicated to the singer's mother, who had passed on. The song carried emotional feelings of the artist coupled with soft musical instrumentation. However, there was a moment that broke this dynamic. The sound wave approaching the first wall of the grey block, was the end of the first line of the chorus. In this particular image, grey shaded area was what had to be edited out as the singer sang and suddenly reprimanded the band, by faintly saying in afrikaans "speel!" (play!). This reprimand distracted the performance on the recording for about two seconds, which in Tim's view, was not supposed to happen. In a discussion I had with Tim, he elaborated that

> During a live performance this would not have picked up easily by the congregation, but because of the mic that he had, it picked up every backing vocal and instrument, which made it difficult for me to only mix his voice, because of the external noises around his voice. Now we need to take that "speel!" out of the mix, because it is distracting the performance. So I need to make it sound flawless.

It seemed so simple to censor out a two second scolding ("speel!") in a piece of music using technological software, while using the mixing sound desk as a machine for the purpose of making a live music recording seem flawless. However it was this brief moment that the dynamic in this performance was broken because of this error. The ability to see music as a visual aesthetic represented through the editing software highlights the flexibility of the producer to edit sounds while monitoring the audio data within the song to recognise any flaws that disrupt the flow of the performance. I also got to understand this through Fels (2004) explaining how to attain flexibility while editing sounds in produced music. According to Fels (2004), contemporary musical design encounters the gray area of what is

musical and what is not because the computer provides incredible flexibility. The flexibility tempts the designer to provide a simple, easy-to-use interface for novices so that anyone can produce pleasing sounds and music immediately. (Fels, 2004: 673). After Tim had edited the "blooper" out of the song, the song continued: "Loop die kinders in die strate?" (Are the children walking in the streets?), which was the next three sound waves as shown in Figure 6, which began to pick up vigour outside the grey shaded block after this error was corrected, as if the error was never present during the live performance. "You see, now that I took that part out, the song does not sound distracted from the performance anymore." By editing this piece of music from a live concert performance I refer to the claim that the narrative in this song act as images that are confounded within socio-religious context and the brief interference that Tim had to cut out through editing. In working out the flawed sounds portrayed as images, the flow of the song was no longer obstructed by the 2 second interference in the song.

4.6.2 Logging Online within 'meaning-making' individuals of production

Other than the electronic software used for 'Pentecospel' music production in the recording studio, there was another activity that was notable with the use of social media. During intervals of the editing phase of the 'Everything to Me' soundtrack, Tim and Jason used the time to go on social media sites such as Instagram, Facebook and WhatsApp, from their smartphones to communicate with the "outside world" about the events that they took part in. This was their way of documenting their everyday lives and activities, almost like public online journal entries, which also served as a purpose for media spectatorship. Shohat and Stam (1996:156) defines media spectatorship as an amalgamation between texts, readers and communities existing in clear discursive and social relation to one another. The activity of posting seemed to be used as an everyday journal entry, but more for the public eye, allowing readers and followers to spectate and also comment on the day's events. Figure 7 below demonstrates one of the Facebook posts that Tim made during a break from editing drums for a 'Pentecospel' recording. There have been spectators of his on-line social media post. Shohat and Stam (1996) argue that the analysis of spectatorship must explore the gaps and tensions among the different levels, the diverse ways that text, apparatus, history and discourse construct the spectator and the ways that the spectator as interlocutor shapes the encounter.

Figure 7: Posting on-line entry of drum-editing

This post became an open space for Tim to express his views on the labouring side of drum editing that he did not enjoy and in doing so he prompted the question "Am I right?" to get people to comment on the idea of editing. As shown, the responses are quite comprehensive, and they are made by Tim's friends who also have access to Facebook. The dialog between Tim, Ezra, James and Hilton showed a vast account of communicative turn-taking related to the ways in which they view drum editing. What made this crucial to the turn-taking process of communication was the encouragement and evident exchange of technological knowledge and perspectives of editing, especially from James and Ezra. Hilton, on the other hand, had used this space to share his experiences of editing projects, not by addressing Tim in the conversation, but to respond to a comment that James made about "chopping the drum kit" (selecting a certain part of the drum kit through editing). The use of social media in this case, became a window of exchange by which collaborative methods of socio-technological techniques and experiences between music artists and producers were shared.

4.7 'Sound of Africa': The 'jam' sandwich *met alles op* (With everything on)

As I came equipped with my bass guitar, I experienced my first jam session with Tim and Jason in studio after the editing process was complete. This moment was one of the first live recordings of '*Pentecospel*' music in the studio, but it was also the last day that I had spent in the studio, due to the studio closing for the rest of the year, as it was approaching Christmas Day. The jam session consisted of unwritten, unrehearsed, unpublished music that no-one knew. As I plugged the cable into my bass guitar, I sat facing Tim who had his guitar strapped around his shoulders and Jason with a djembe drum between his legs. They decided to record an instrumental of the jam session we had that day. Tim and Jason emphasised that by having random jam sessions amongst themselves in the studio, they are able to form new

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melodies as a reference, so that it can become something that they could write to in future productions.

As we got ready to start the recording, Tim suggested that we add an "African feel" to the music. Although I knew what he was asking for in terms of the style of music he wanted me to play, I asked him: "What do you mean African?" For Tim, making a song sound "African" meant that the sound had to bring some kind of intimate feeling into the song, thus communicating a social and emotional reminiscence of "being at home". He added: "We have people from South Africa, especially in the States (USA) who listen to our music via streaming or online radio. Part of what we try to add to the songs we produce here is to add intimate elements of African sounds that remind people of home." I argue that musicians and singers feature a variety of sounds which are open to musical styles and innovative expression through intimate vocalization and musical instrumentalism. In doing so, a sense of belonging is felt by musicians and singers who apply intimate social and musical traits of home. (see Fels 2004).

In analysing Jason's rhythmic drumming technique, Jason used his interpretation of African drumming by thumping the palm of his hand, giving a deep bass sound and his fingers on the edge of the djembe drum giving a high pitch treble sound in a rhythmic pattern. Without Tim and I playing guitar and bass guitar, I argue that this drumming attaches a meaning or a narrative to the rhythm of the drummer, raising the enquiry of cultural sounds and the social realm, by seeing abstract drumming as an opportunity for listeners from different backgrounds to develop various interpretations of it. This is where the concept of the sandwich comes into play. The concept of the sandwich represented our everyday lunch consisting of loaves of bread with all kinds of fillings, or as we would say in the studio in an Afrikaans phrase *met alles op*. This was just like the various styles that each of us played into the jam session in the studio, in order to produce a *lekker* (delicious) sound, which we could all interpret differently. "One, two, three and…" Tim, Jason and I played a tune with the rhythm and cross mix of African style drumming and Capetonian style acoustic guitar picking in E major. The movement of their bodies during the performance was very limiting in the small studio we occupied. As the rhythm of the song continued, the only movements that we made was swaying of our heads up and down and of our guitar necks to the "Cape African" music style which resembled sounds of introductory overture of the South African national anthem "Nkosi Sikelele". While the performance was in session, Mathew, a young

man from Congo, living in Cape Town, arrived at the studio and sat next to me. The sudden interruption in the performance happened as Tim asked Mathew to sing anything over the microphone while they performed.

Figure 8: Jam session with Tim, Jason and Mathew

I quickly gave my bass to Tim, and he gave his guitar to Mathew, and then Mathew started to play a tune in C major while Jason continued to play on the djembe drum as shown in Figure 8. It sounded as if they had mixed African drumming with what White (2002) refers to as "Congolese guitar music[19]" to the jam session. Mathew added his lyrical improvisation to the jam session, by declaring his love for "*Yahweh[20]*".

Yahweh Yahweh Yahweh Yahweh Yahweh

Yahweh, we call upon your name in this place, Oh God

Yahweh, you can satisfy our soul and set me free

Yahweh we love your presence Yahweh, we love your name

As mentioned before, the repetitive pattern in the used of "Yahweh" in the song highlights Connor's (1989) view of repetitive, of sustaining our sense of the real. I add that repeating "Yahweh" in song followed by adoration texts also adds to Mathew's declaration of his faith. Following "Yahweh" were "*we call upon your name in this place, Oh God, you can satisfy our soul and set me free, we love your presence Yahweh, we love your name*". These were

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[19] Referred to as the complex, multi-layered guitar stylings of contemporary Congolese music, which is a defining feature of the style by many parts of English-speaking Africa Congolese rumba. (White, 2002:665).
[20] A form of the Hebrew name of God used in the Bible.

phrases of repeated declaration that Mathew added, enhanced the spiritual aspect of the lyrics in a more social and intimate way in the studio. I add that the use of repetitive naming of lyrical content carries an authentic meaning of something that is real and true to the artist.

"I like your bass man, you got that rumba feel reminding of home" Mathew exclaimed after the jam session. I argue that the formation of the "hybrid genre" depicted in this moment of 'Pentecospel' music production through a random jam session, highlighted the way in which Tim, Jason, Mathew and myself appropriated various sounds and musical styles on our instruments that were familiar to us within a religious context and unfamiliar to us (in different musical styles) and turned it into something new, and authentic that reminds us of 'home'. (see White 2012 and Appadurai 2006). In the same way Tim and Jason's viewpoint of "Releasing the authentic sounds of Cape Town and South Africa" seemed to have been an advocating movement that they, along with the 'Sounds of the Nations', were most passionate about. This drove them to create their next project, the production of the 'Sounds of the Nations' new album, "Sound of Africa", featuring the track 'Everything to Me'.

4.8 The production of the "Everything to Me" soundtrack

During the second week of the New Year, January 2015 and after the birth of Tim and Shavey's baby boy, I returned to the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio. To enhance the exploration of 'Pentecospel' music recordings, this would mean creating a new, yet familiar kind of sound that young artists could present to the public sphere. While preparing their lunch in the kitchen, Tim and Jason had informed me of their new project, which was to showcase the sound of Africa to a local and broader audience outside Africa; in the form of a CD album. This would be done by various singers and musicians from different parts of Africa would participate in the forthcoming album. The idea of the album was to bring out and showcase the sound of Africa through song using a diverse cast of people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

At the time Tim had already written a song for the album which was tracked instrumentally. He asked me to record the final tracking for the bass guitar on the song "Everything to Me" which featured Mathew on lead vocals. I found it particularly challenging to find a balance between performing the song and analysing the process of recording sounds. Furthermore I had to bear in mind the dynamic feel of the song to sound as if I was playing recognisable African basslines, while catering for a broader audience ear and of course, giving the

producer and sound engineer what they wanted in the song. Jason directed me through the structure of the song by indicating with his hands when to go to the verse, chorus and bridge of the song. He also informed me that the song was slow paced, but the bass in the verse and chorus had to sound lively, slightly percussive and in line with the djembe drum. The track started to play with the guitar strumming and picking a melodic line in B major, and the metronome ticking over the playing of the djembe drum so that I played within the timing of the song. Mathew started to sing the chorus:

Jesus you're everything

My heart will always be singing

Praises and worship to you

Jesus you're everything

This chorus elaborates the strong declaration to Jesus Christ as Tim told me that the song was written during his "quiet time". Quiet time refers to a practice of meditation with oneself and God, gathering inspiration and social/spiritual revelation of sanctity. After the chorus Jason signalled me to start playing. As I performed I thought of the embodiment of African textures within '*Pentecospel*' (Pentecostalism and gospel) music that became more and more alluring as I listened to the recorded track. Beyond my musical ability I was subjected to how the song allowed me to perform rather than me imposing my own way of performing that could have deterred the flow of the previously recorded track. It was alluring that I got to explore African styles that I have not performed before, such as the thumb-muting technique used in Jazz, Reggae and Rumba music. Tim asked me to play this technique describing it as "boomp boomp boomp boomp", to give the song a more African feel.

This meant plucking the strings with the thumb gently, and manoeuvring the volume based on the strength applied to the string. Tim emphasised that "thumb-muting will allow you to feel and direct you in certain segments of the track, and it will give you these various sound dynamics". In my participation, I had mediated both of these senses through the dynamic of touch. I did this by playing skillfully when I had to and increasing my interpretation of "African feels" based on how I understood the sound and the technique on the strings. After negotiating all the feels and sounds of the bass for the recording, Tim said "Ok, we can do

another take because now you're kinda into the song". The studio's aura felt like a space of colouring African rhythms in 'Pentecospel' music through the idea of incorporation and appropriation. This seemed to resonate with the lyrics of the chorus as the tune and Mathew's singing became a visual component on the computer screen as I recorded the in the song; an image which in front of me became more envisioned in my own performing space.

To hear Mathew's vocalisation of the lyrics accompanied by African influences of sound and global influences of musical taste, seemed to bring an endless thought of what this song could become to anyone who hears music from South Africa; audiences from home and beyond. As the week progressed it was time for the mixing process as shown in Figure 9 and Figure 10 below. I argue that the mixing process encompasses the idea of a soundscape. Furthermore, the mixing process becomes a movement of cultural exchange occurring in formal and informal infrastructures of sound, by creating the material channels that allow transnational cultural flows to move. (see Erlmann 1994). In this case, the mixing process of the "Everything to Me" soundtrack was an embodiment of the performance in terms of Tim and Jason's social techniques of applying their understanding of propagating 'Pentecospel' sounds. Looking at the sound desk each sound channel was marked in pen on a strip of masking tape namely "FX Bus; Guitar lick; Bass; African Kit; Organ; Acoustic Guitars; PADS; Strings; Shakers/Tambourines; Backing Vox (Vocals); Mat; Jan; DRUMS. "Within the material body of the studio and of the bodies within it- its technology, its artists and its sound- there is wealth of ever-discoverable pathways." (Meintjes, 2003: 98).

Figure 9: Mixing "Everything to Me" track- Manipulation of sound

The markings in Figure 9 demonstrate a symbolic representation of the social structure of sound or sound art, each with its own volume channel and sound effects controllers. According to Porcello, et al, (2010) sound art is another refraction of relationships between sound, space, technology, expression, and culture that emerged in tandem with the idea of the soundscape. (Porcello, et al, 2010: 334). The manipulations in sound, tone, volume were performed by Jason and Tim on the computer editing software to enhance the social dynamic of the lyrics and vocal nuances.

These manipulations are also symbolic in a sense that it takes an anthropological approach to the senses in terms of how Tim and Jason hear, see and feel sounds. "The symbolic experience of the unity of the senses enables a culture to entertain itself with the idea of the unity of meaning" (Howes, 2006: 162). These bodily signatures in my opinion are being used to create a harmonic flow in the editing process. The harmonic flow was achieved as Tim and Jason stood in position to mix the vocals on the chorus, while bending their backs bent and leaning their heads towards the speakers. My outlook of the entire space of performance of 'Pentecospel' music and the production thereof was greatly heightened, in terms of auditory and visual interpretation and mediation of how the mechanics of sound and the social affiliations which were attached to them. (see Meintjes 2003). Bal (2003) states that because seeing is is an act of interpreting, interpretation can influence ways of seeing and of imagining possibilities of change.

Tim and Jason's ability to see and manipulate sounds on a daily basis, illustrated how they were able to allow me probe into the connection of socio-technological interaction between people's social connections with sound equipment and music software, to enhance user experience as a creative form of sound art. "Sound art is another refraction of relationships between sound, space, technology, expression, and culture that emerged in tandem with the idea of the soundscape." (Porcello, et al. 2010: 334). Tim looked at the screen turning his ear towards the speakers saying "We need to add some kind of a crescendo dynamic in the chorus. So the plan is to enhance the string arrangements and then create the crescendo on "Sing", then drop the volume and then raise the volume again on "-ing" in the second line of the chorus." Tim and Jason did this with their fingers controlling the volume knobs while singing to the track.

Figure 10: Mixing "Everything to Me" track- the manipulation of sound

They created some kind of a crescendo affect that the singers in the track did not perform, by holding their fingers on the volumes, as shown in the left image of Figure 10 and moving them up and down to control the sound while monitoring the song on the screen and singing along to the track. As shown in the right image in Figure 10, the aesthetic component of music production lies in how Tim and Jason gazed at sounds to fit blended colours of social and Pentecostal elements through technological apparatuses, such as the computer screen for the formation of 'Pentecospel' songs. In relation to the social dynamics and negotiations between the senses and technological influences which were used as a way of enhancing the idea of 'Pentecospel' music, the moving of their fingers also negotiated volumes in terms of which component of the song stands out more than the other. What I aimed to show within these sections of 'Pentecospel' music production through these technologies in the music recording studio, was the another view of the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in the inner workings of the production sector, that contributes to the final products of 'Pentecospel' music for the public to hear and engage in. This is crucial because without these production processes there would not be the music, DVDs and CDs for audiences to engage with beyond the Pentecostal church walls.

4.8.1 The production of the "Everything to Me" music video

After the rough mix was completed, Tim thought of promoting the song "Everything to Me" further by creating a music video at his home/the studio, seeing that the song was the featuring song of the 'Sound Of Africa' album. Tim and Jason had compiled a list of people that they wanted in the music video: in one of those people was me. The idea of the video

was to record it in the studio to make the scenery seem like "home", a cosy area that people could feel at ease. Jason mentioned that it will have to be at night because of the glare of the sunrays during the day that would mess up the video footage, especially if there was going to be spot-lights. Tim had asked the Watchmen on the Wall (WOW) media camera crew to "shoot" (capture/record) the video.

Prior to everyone's arrival, Tim had sent out a mass message over a group chat on 'Whatsapp' to the people on the list. He informed them of the time and venue of the music video shoot and the dress code, which was casual wear consisting of bright colour sweaters for the men and blouse for the women so that the spot-light could illuminate the colour of the scene. Tim had also sent the rough mix of "Everything to Me" over the group chat so that all the participants could familiarise themselves with the song's structure. On the afternoon of the video recording, Mario and Henry the cameramen and video editors from the WOW media studio arrived with their camera equipment and lightning gear. A few minutes later, Tim's friends 'Sizwe' a vocalist, 'Thabo' a keyboardist, 'Greg' a violinist, 'Janet' the lead vocal who sings with Mathew in the track, Tim's brother Lawrence and Tim's mother-in-law (who I got to know as Aunty Dagma), who are also singers, had also arrived at the recording studio.

I remained respectable to my interlocutors in the same way that they respect amongst themselves. Tim, Jason, Shavey and I started to set-up the room for the video shoot as shown in Figure 11 below, to pass the time for the sun to set. Tim gathered everyone in the room, reiterating the aim of the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio to "showcase local talent and individual artists", and then he started to pray for the recording process.

Figure 11: The set-up for the musicians and lead singers

In Tim's prayer he acknowledged the individuals who participated in the music video and the WOW media crew for their support:

> We pray that this video minister to people and let this video do everything that you purpose for it to do Lord. I pray for the sound of Cape Town and the sound of Africa to hit the nations Lord, and for people to bring their songs, to release their sounds to the nations. We thank you for your presence and your blessing on us here tonight, in Jesus name, Amen.

The room echoed in the responses of "AMEN" by everyone who was seated during the prayer. Shortly after that, all the musicians and singers had taken their places behind their microphones and instruments. I argue that the purpose of prayer in context of the field was a way in which my interlocutors embraced their faith, by communicating to God to watch over the physical environment of supernatural manifestations through music production. (see Meyer 2004 on producing meaning by relying on God).

The importance of prayer and the acknowledgment of God in 'Pentecospel' music production encompass a deep-rooted theological issue that the Christian people are faced with in the music industry. According to Tim, who spoke to me about the issue faced by Christians who produce music, Lucifer or 'Satan' was the chief musician of the angels in Heaven. After being cast out of Heaven by God, he ruled over every aspect of music on Earth with the purpose of disrupting social order amongst man through music. This belief is a common narrative that I have encountered through my participations in churches and performances with gospel artists who advocate for gospel music to penetrate the secular market. The importance of this belief is what encourages Christian believers to reclaim various music styles within their own music with the acts of prayer. Tim emphasised that the music video would be available to everyone, after the studio puts it on YouTube[21]. After setting up the instruments and video equipment, Tim addressed all the singers and musicians suggesting that the instruments requiring a cable just needed to be plugged in so that it "looks" as if we were going to perform live.

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[21] a video-sharing website

Figure 12: "Pep talk" with the cast for the "Everything to Me" music video

Emphasis was placed on the fact that although we had a live stage set-up with microphones and musical instruments, we still had to pretend to give a live performance, almost as if we were going to lip-sync (mime) the song. Tim gave further instructions to Jason, 'Thabo' and myself telling us that we needed to play their unplugged instruments according to the same rhythm and time of the song. "Musicians, if you miss a queue, beat or a note in the video recording, the people watching this online will be able to pick out that you made a mistake, but we will editing the video footage so that we don't have any visible errors. Everyone, please smile and show that you are enjoying the performance. Sing along to the song as well. Ok let's run through it". I came to realise the musicians had been asked to become "actors" in this space of production, in which they would act out a musical performance that they themselves helped to produce. This kind of mediation between musical identities in front of the camera does not hamper the performance of the song, but adds a visual dynamic in which musicians are now able to enhance the aesthetics of sounds in the soundtrack, which then makes the performance authentic. (see Meintjes 2003).

Figure 13: Jason photographing Tim, 'Thabo' and 'Greg' and being photographed by Tim

As the sound track played on a smartphone through external speakers, the musicians started to "play" the soundtracks chords on their instruments giving their representation of the song through their performances by moving their bodies to the songs rhythm. As the recording commenced, Jason started to play on the djembe drum and then change to drums quickly to take the intro drum roll. Within 3 seconds he changed to the drum-kit when the camera shifted towards Mathew. Being a part of the music video filming, I had played the bass notes on the fretboard according to the soundtrack, feeling nervous about not playing the proper groove.

During the performance while the cameras were off, Jason sat back into his chair folding his arms waiting for Mario to indicate to him when the camera would turn to his direction. Suddenly, Jason was leaning over his drum-kit as shown in Figure 13, and used the opportunity to take photographs of Tim, Greg and Thabo while Henry (standing next to Jason) held the spot-light on them (left image). I flung my arm trying to get Jason's attention, and being careful not to make a noise during the live recording as I whispered to him "What are you doing?" With a smirk, he replied "The camera is not recording me now". Surprisingly, Tim had also taken photographs when Jason was in front of the camera, but Tim used his time to post his photograph of Jason being filmed on Facebook and Instagram (right image), promoting the production of the music video to online viewers.

Figure 14: Singers "lip-syncing" to the soundtrack while being filmed

The performances by the singers, Janet, Greg, Thabo, Sizwe, Lawrence and Aunty Dagma illustrated in Figure 14, were also staged as they lip-synced to the song, moving their bodies according to the slow paced music. Without formal training on how to conduct oneself in a music video, the acting aspect of performing in front of a camera was second nature for the singers, as they added their own ways of moving to the music. I recall Tim telling the singers, "singers, you should 'sing' and you need to show signs of breathing to make your performance seem believable". This was evident in their use of hand gestures in the climax segments of the song, the closing of eyes which was used as a symbolic gesture for intimacy and worship and singing into the microphone as if it was switched on. I argue that the confidence of the singers was mediated in how they made their unplugged performances of the song seem believable. The production of the music video was more than adding a visual component of the 'Everything to Me' soundtrack; it was a way for the musicians and singers to portray their interpretations of 'Pentecospel' music performances without feeling anxious of remembering a 'script'. I argue that the chorus directed them in the song also plays a crucial role in the sensorial and embodied 'style' and 'aesthetic concentration' how they performed body movements/language which made the performance aesthetically appealing (see Becker 2010). Each performing artist was free to express their emotions in the song as well as their individuality.
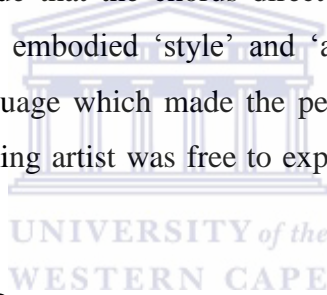
4.9 Recording raw tracks with Byron

After having lunch, Byron arrived at the studio. He was there to talk to Tim about recording more songs for his album after he launched his EP in 2014. Tim advised Byron to keep consistency in his selection of songs for the album. This consistency would then be measured by the musical theme that the album would have. I thought of how Byron articulated his knowledge of music and expression as a music artist, but also how he as a performer would embody the idea 'Pentecospel' music based on his social background and experiences. As Byron tuned his guitar while doing a sound check to the 1977 song, 'The lady wants to know' by Michael Franks[22], Tim set the metronome for Byron to play and record his song, while adding compression to the guitar, which meant reducing the peak levels of the signal of the guitar with the guitar distorting at high volume. Tim also added a reverb effect to create the echoing ambience of Byron's voice for his songs.

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[22] Jazz singer and songwriter from the United States

Figure 15: Byron's "All of me" performance and expression through song

Lord I give you my worship and everything I got

Shout my praises right til, til the mountain top

I'll never stop, I'll never stop

All of me, wants all of you

After the recording session, I had the opportunity to have a discussion with Byron with regards to songwriting and who he is as an individual. I was interested in what constitutes a 'Pentecospel' song during the writing phase and how seeing oneself as an artist, influences that process. Byron explained:

> Most of my songs are birthed out of me and its thing that I write when I sit with my guitar and go to a place far away. Other times its personal experience. At a time I was going through a difficult time in my life and so I wrote happy day, so what I went through didn't make sense to me because I wasn't happy when I wrote the song. The same happened with 'All of me', I had no zeal to continue with pursuing music, so 'All of me, wants all of you' came out. Music within me contradicted situations that I was experiencing; allowing me to express myself through my own sound. My sound is very unique in the sense that I allow myself to be open to different spheres, so its European dance orientated and its gospel, and it appeals to youth. I see myself as a music artist and not just a gospel artist, someone who can get on stage and touch on a variety of feels and energies for allowing music and particularly God to use me.

From what I read in this statement and referring it to how it contributes to the formation of 'Pentecospel', Byron knows the kind of sound that he wants to bring fourth, by incorporating

multiple genres of local and global styles in his music. By acknowledging God, he considers his performance to be a significant part of communicating his narrative through song to his audience. The embodiment of sound was most evident through Byron's facial expressions and body movements as he performed the song 'All of me' illustrated in Figure 15. 'All of me' was an example of Martin's (2013) idea of new aesthetics through the combination of American contemporary gospel, European pop (I add) and Capetonian sounds. It was cross mix of various global and local genres and sound dynamics in tempo, chord progressions, rhythmical strumming on the guitar and musical styles ranging from contemporary RnB, Jazz grooves and contemporary world music. (see Martin 2013). I argue that 'Pentecospel' music such as "All of me" speaks to the idea of belonging to a multifaceted realm of music, which could be performed in different spaces as it caters for listeners beyond just the religious sector. After 4 minutes of bopping our heads, stomping our feet to Byron's guitar playing, harmonising while he sang and tracking the song there was a slight pause as Jason commented that the song was catchy. "I don't see how churches and people at music events wouldn't sing it." In terms of who the song was written for, already Jason has identified where he could hear the song being played in different public spaces. This would also become more evident in the recording of the second song, "Happy Day" illustrated in Figure 16 below.

Figure 16: Byron performing his song "Happy Day" raw track recording

I've been through things in my life

Endured the hurt, the pain and strife

I never thought I'd make it, but Lord

85

Lord your grace and mercy set me free

And now I stand here today, a living testimony

You took the shackles off of my feet

Lord my sorrows have gone away, every day is a happy day with you

This long verse that flows into the chorus is a reflection of what Byron called "his testimony". This was about Byron overcoming difficulties of finding his spiritual and musical identity and life. Tim's reaction after 6 minutes of recording was more enthusiastic, but more critical in terms of getting the song on radio and the various styles used in the song. "There's a lot that you did that you don't need at the end, but I like the crossover that you did because you crossover from the funk vibe into a more indie feel." Jason elaborated that it has to be more neo-soul than funk based on the beat. I added that there were many times that Byron played with his strumming styles that a full band can take advantage of and need to be on par with, to make the live performance of the song sound more dynamic. Tim rounded off the negotiations stating that Byron had to work in breaks to make the song sound "tight" because if he would just sit on a groove, it would to be good enough but it would not to give him what his looking for, based on the aim of the album.

In a discussion I had with Byron he elaborated that:

> The song 'Happy Day' is current in terms of our youth will understanding it. For me, performing *koortjies* (Pinkster/Pentecostal) isn't a problem, I love my traditional music, but you must be smart in your thinking and you must be strategic. If you're only going to advertise a *koortjie* then you'll only get *die pinkster mannetjies* (the Pentecostal men). like from Darling or Atlantis, in white suits and purple ties.

"Die pinkster mannetjies" that Byron refers to are the young and older men dressed in formal suits from the Baptist churches in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, where he is from. They also refer to musicians in Baptist churches who perform 'pinkster' (Pentecostal) music, which is most prominent in those churches. What I got from this was that Byron's view was that he still acknowledges 'pinkster' music from his social background that he grew up with and that is still being performed in his community. However, his ambition with his song 'Happy Day'

is to attract youth from all over Cape Town with a sound that represents popular music genres and styles from all over the world, as well as his own unique way of creating and interpreting those styles into something local and new. The negotiations of what the song would become in terms of performing it live and musical creativity were critical especially when it came to framing the songs potential to appeal to a broader audience.

4.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated the various ways in which 'Pentecospel' music was performed, produced and understood in and outside the music recording studio by musicians and singers in Cape Town. I argued that 'Pentecospel' music productions are shaped by the social dynamics and negotiations between the senses, lyrical content and technological influences in the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio. By analysing the lyrical content of the music mentioned in this chapter I was able to interpret and give the artist's interpretation of their songs as well as their embodied performances of Pentecostalism. This was clear as Tim, Jason, Mathew, Byron and I have contributed to forming 'Pentecospel' music by using senses during our performances, taking into account that what we performed was a representation of how self-conduct amongst individuals within the musical space is embodied.

It was through the events inside and outside the studio and my interaction with people in these spaces, that I got to experience, not just the culture of the music production, but also the ways in which people to contribute to a new social perspective of "gospel" through musical forms and how a new wave of Pentecostalism is on the rise beyond the walls of church building. The significance of the production of 'Pentecospel' music through human-technological interaction, as I have shown, has also broaden the understanding of hybrid genre, and how people are forming new ways of appropriating music using deep-rooted and shared dynamic methods of music production. In the next chapter I will explore this new wave of Pentecostalism beyond the walls of church building, but this time in the two public performances of 'Pentecospel' music in public spaces near Cape Town's famous landmarks, such as the V&A Waterfront.

CHAPTER 5:

'*Pentecospel*' public performances: a critical engagement with artists and audiences

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will now look at two public performances of 'Pentecospel' music. My discussion will pay attention to the performing artists and their engagement with their audiences. I will also look at how audiences interact and respond to their performances. I attended two public performances of musicians and singers attached to the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio; in one of them I was an active musician and in the other an audience member. The spaces in which these performances have taken place were firstly in a religious setting at the Springwood Baptist Church situated in Lentegeur in Mitchells Plain, and secondly in a secular setting at the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town.

Bearing in mind Barber's (1997) important observation that audiences are different due to their social and historical background, I argue for this chapter that the meaning making process lies in understanding the audiences' interpretations of 'Pentecospel' performances, making the audiences just as important as the performances. Barber (1997) argues that the possibility that specific African audiences have as distinctive, conventional modes and styles of making meaning, just as performers and speakers do has not yet been sufficiently explored. (Barber, 1997: 357). In the context of my research, the audiences in this chapter play a significant role in highlighting the effectiveness public performances of 'Pentecospel' music by local musicians and singers. Furthermore, I argue that public performance would elaborate on the Capetonianization of gospel music as Capetonian gospel artists and bands give their renditions of the emerging 'Pentecospel' music trend.

This chapter will also explore the role of 'Pentecospel' music in the public sphere and a contested space such as the church. Through social networking platforms, newer productions of 'Pentecospel' music have become more accessible to the public, by having audiences purchase them online. However, the interactions between the music and the listener are rarely

understood through the earpiece, as it only gives one dimension to the interpretation of what the song carries. Therefore, public performances of 'Pentecospel' music show an even greater promise in understanding the interactions between performances and the audience, broadening the sensorial dimensions of the audience's interpretation. Furthermore it is a way in which musicians, singers and their audiences engage in these performances, providing a platform to think about how these components of performance are linked. Lastly, I will explore the idea of consumption through visual images that project emotions, feelings of the musicians and singers and the audience reception to their performances in the public sphere.

5.2 A brief note on the public sphere and audiences

According to Barber (1997) the audience is seen as the body of people prepared to grant the performer space and time in which to mount such a performance, by means of communicative turn-taking. For Barber (1997), anthropologists who study texts and performances in order better to understand 'what people think' need to look not only at the utterance but also at the interpretation of that utterance (Barber, 1997: 356). Barber (1997) states that while the performers and the audience share the same plane in space, the audience is treated by the performers (and possibly other members of the audience) as internally differentiated with its own emphases or centres of attention, which the performers acknowledge and address.

The acknowledgment of an audience in and beyond the performing space reads deeply into the idea of the characteristics of the "public" as mentioned before by Barber (1997). According to Barber (1997), the conception of the 'public' is understood based on the characteristics of print and the commercialisation of cultural forms. Barber (1997) states that print renders address in principle open-endedly widespread, by which the 'speaker' does not know who, or how many people, will read the text, which can be multiplied indeterminately. Furthermore, when text is intended for a specific type of reader, of a specific class and background, the address is by its very nature generalised and projected to an unseen audience 'out there'. (Barber, 1997: 349). In this instance, I refer 'Print' to mass media as a form of softcopy reproduction and "text" as a musical performance that is read by the audience. Dolby (2006) argues that it is crucial to understand that there is a deep, affective human desire that can be found in multiple spaces, and popular culture, of music in this case, clearly taps into that desire. (Dolby, 2006: 42). With that said, gospel artists and their audiences who

find themselves in public spaces, such as religious or secular, acknowledge one another by acknowledging the performances of 'Pentecospel' music, and what it communicates to them.

5.3 Attending and performing at a CD launch in Lentegeur, Mitchells Plain

On the 13th of February 2015, Tim and Jason worked with the duplication machine which was printing the mastered versions of the newly produced 'Pentecospel' single on 5-7 CDs at a time. The CDs which was produced by the 'Sounds of the Nations' recording studio were of two young women, Blanche and Whitney, two young women singers from Lentegeur, Mitchells Plain, which is one of South Africa's largest townships, located 32km from Cape Town. They were launching their gospel single called 'Turn to Jesus' later that week. Although the production for their CD happened a couple of months before the start of my fieldwork, I was asked by Tim and Jason to be a part of the CD launch by playing bass guitar. This was also after the recording studio finished printing the CD covers, duplicated the final tracks onto the CDs. The 'Turn to Jesus' CDs were going to be sold to the audiences at the launch. The audience becomes a huge factor in helping young and local artists, not just to expand production of their music, but also allow for them the space to communicate and indulge in something that they would deem authentic to them. My argument for CD distribution amongst the audience is based on White's (2012) argument, in which he states that that buying a CD constitutes a gesture of solidarity between the consumer and the artist, who represents (or at least stands for) people struggling for economic and political survival. Similarly Birman (2006) states that buying a CD is advertised as a way of participating in a project's development. Before I met with Blanche and Whitney on the night of their CD launch, I had been in contact with Blanche via 'Whatsapp', a smartphone social networking application, to talk about their relationship with the SOTN studio and to discuss the song selection for their performance. Blanche told me that:

> The reason why we chose to record at the Sounds of the Nations recording studio was because Tim and Jason offered us a good package deal that suited our pockets, plus other recording studios in Cape Town would have charged us more, even for studio time.

Interestingly, the conversation that I had with Blanche does not reveal any religious relation to the recording studio or motivation for the production of their CD, even as a gospel artist. This also became clear as she discussed the song choices for their CD launch, which were

based on Blanche and Whitney's favourite gospel songs that they enjoyed performing the most. One of their favourite songs was an RnB song titled 'He loves Me' by Jill Scott[23], which Blanche and Whitney refer to as their "show-off" song. In a conversation that I had with Blanche, she stated that "the 'show-off' song is the song that gets the crowd going, so there is always that guarantee that they will cheer for us when we get to the high notes of the song". This also hinted that no further religious connection was attached to the gospel song selections as gospel artists.

5.3.1 Setting the scene for launch venue

It was a cold and windy late afternoon when I arrived at the Springwood Baptist Church situated in Lentegeur in Mitchells Plain. The launch programme consisted of a local gospel band of young men called 'Seve and the Musicians', who were friends of Blanche and Whitney, who opened the evening, and an elderly man called Tony Bagley, who was the guitarist on the soundtrack 'Turn to Jesus' and who closed the launch event with an instrumental performance. Tony was the father of Angelo, a young man and keyboardist who played for Blanche and Whitney on the launch. I met with Blanche and Whitney who were preparing the local church hall in a purple colour scheme to match the image of their CD cover.

Figure 17: The completed CD single of Blanche and Whitney

I recalled that Tim and his wife Shavey noticed a misprint back in the recording studio. Due to last minute printing and the rush of the day, there was a noticable error in the printing of the song title. On the left image the song is titled 'I Turned To Jesus' and on the right image

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[23] American singer-songwriter, model and actress

the title is 'Turn to Jesus'. Blanche and Whitney were not fazed by the misprint, as they were just happy that they had CDs to sell at their launch.

While speaking to Whitney about the CD cover, I questioned how the thoughts behind their cover came about and how it represented the 'Blanche and Whitney' brand. Whitney explained: "we wanted to show who we are as classy young women on our CD cover and that we obvisiouly have a huge 'love-affair' with high heel shoes, stylish dresses and the colour purple, which are actually a were a few of our favourite things that we have in common with one another as relatives.". Blanche also mentioned that the background of the beach was only for visual effect as they did not want a dull white background. Figure 17 also represents a strong essence of sensual appeal, as their striking posh yet seductive pose in the contradicts the title on their cover. This potrayal of poshness as illustrated in the CD cover resonated with the way in which the church hall was decorated illustrated in Figure 18 below. I was rather confused with the way in which the church wall was decorated. According to my experience as a musician, CD launches are presented as informal events in which the artist markets his/herself and their audience either bring their own drinks and snacks or buy alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages, depending on the event and venue. This kind of décor in the church hall looked as if there was going to be a wedding ceremony or a formal birthday party as opposed to a CD launch, based on the many functions that I attended myself.

Figure 18: 'Pentecospel' CD launch? A Wedding ceremony? Or a birthday celebration?

Blanche explained that they wanted the venue to look formal so that the people they invited could be more relaxed while the bands performed. To me this was ironic that a formal event, as opposed to an informal one, should make audiences feel relaxed. The bands started to arrive, carrying their musical instruments into the hall, while Blanche, Whitney and a few of

their aunts and nieces continued to decorate the church hall in a rather posh-like style. In an artistic kind of way each round table was dress with black and purple table cloths, three-candle centrepieces, white side plates and wine glasses with serviettes folded in them, and peanuts, raisins, and flavoured potato chips which were placed on open serviettes. The 'poshness' presented in the church hall speaks to a material culture that Blanche and Whitney wanted to portray to their audience, as a representation of who they are. Feeling of anxiousness was also felt by Blanche and Whitney as they feared that the event would be postponed due to the expected *loadshedding*[24] that took place before they started.

While the women continued to decorate the venue, and the sound engineer and the bands prepared the stage as they set-up their instruments, the electricity had shut off. There was a slight panic from Blanche and Whitney as they noticed that their guests had also arrived five minutes after the electricity went off, and they had to start with the program within the next thirty minutes. The idea of posh dress code was very much evident as the audience members arrived in their formal wear, in which the women wore elegant dresses, high heels and their matching handbags and the men wore formal pants, coloured shirts and ties and shiny black shoes, they showed their tickets at the entrance and received a 'mock-tail'. These were non-alcoholic drinks, which were made from Sprite, a sugary softdrink, and concentrated raspberry flavoured juice with white sugar on the brim of the wine glass. Then everyone took their seats. Blanche and Whitney explained that they catered for a total number of 100 people, comprising of only family members and close friends from in and outside church who supported them. This was because of the venue was too small, so they had to keep the headcount to a minimum. There was a reasonable amount of people who attended the event, even though there were a few empty chairs. Suddenly the electricity went on, and to everyone's relief, the programme had finally started.

5.3.2 The CD launch commences

Once the electricity came on, the event commenced. I sat with Angelo at a round table, surrounded with empty serviettes where the peanuts, raisins and the potato chips used to be. I noticed that the audience had eaten them all during the loadshedding, while waiting for the event to begin. The only items left on every table were the vivid red mock-tails. After trying to get over the bitter aftertaste of the overly sweet mock-tail, 'Seve and the Musicians'

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[24] The interruption of an electricity supply to avoid excessive load on the generating plant or commonly known as "Power cuts".

entered on stage. The audience started to applaud them softly as they got ready to perform. The young men wore colour suits and shiny black pointed shoes. The performance started off slowly as the 'Seve and the Musicians' band played the global Pentecostal songs such as 'Love You So Much' and 'Let Your Presence Fall'. These songs are productions of the Pentecostal mega-church Hillsong in Australia, which prompted some audience members to move their chairs out from the tables, facing towards the stage.

Figure 19: Musicians appropriating Hillsongs music and "Capetonian styles" during their performance

As 'Seve and the Musicians' performed, Angelo expressed mixed emotions of disappointment and surprise when he raised his eye brows and tilting his head, when recognised the songs. Angelo, who was sitting next to his girlfriend, suddenly spoke with a smirk on his face during the performance stating

> No man, I was really expecting to listen to original songs from these guys, like maybe a jazzy tune or a funky RnB song. They come across as guys who listen to heavy grooves and key changes.

Seeing that Angelo could also identify Hillsong's music based on the musical chord structures, he expressed his frustration further as he stated that the band played the song note-for-note, copying the music without adding any local sounds to their performances. I argue that Angelo's frustration was not a projection of dislike against Hillsong music, but rather projection of protest as an audience member who was not pleased with the performance. The rest of the older members of audience, however, did not seem to share Angelo's frustration of song choice by the band; instead their heads were bobbing to the rhythm of the band.

Angelo mentioned that the only upside to this was that the band had 'stage presence' that appeal to the audience. Despite his outrage at the band playing covers of the Hillsong music, he added that he could tell that they performed their own rendition of these songs by incorporating a jazz and RnB feel, to elaborate their hip and vibrant music style in their performance. The bands' performances were reminiscent of the fact that they were appropriating popular global music trends that they found relatable to themselves and the audience. In turn they had developed a meaningful interpretation of the songs using their own intuitive music styles.

The atmosphere of the performance resonated with the aftertaste of the mocktails, as the rest of the older audience members started to frown because the drummer was hitting the crash cymbals way too hard. The problem was that the acoustics was not enough to spread sound across of the church hall, making the quality of the music really poor and dampened. Angelo looked at me and his girlfriend in both astonishment and disappointment as he told me about the bands performance, criticising the musicians in the band for "over-playing" in the song and drowning the lead vocalist with their loud and ill-timed rhythms. The band members on stage also threw discouraging looks at the drummer for playing too loud and for playing too many drum styles than the song requires for the performance. It was intriguing to note the similarities that the bands and the mocktails, in terms of something that looks appealing to the eye before consuming it, only for it to leave a bitter taste in my mouth.

After 'Seve and the Musicians' finished their slot, Tony stood next to the stage waiting to set-up his guitar. Angelo observed his father setting up his guitar, signalling the sound engineer to play the backtrack[25] that he brought with him. Tony performed the jazz song 'Lonely" by Ernie Smith, a well-known musician in South Africa. The older women in the audience suddenly erupted in screams, throwing their arms in the air as the introduction of the song played, while some of the other younger members of the audience started to dance in-between the narrow sections of the tables.

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[25] A pre-recorded soundtrack use in live performances without band accompaniment

Figure 20: Tony performing 'Lonely' as he is alone on stage

This peak in audience activity only lasted for about two minutes as the women had calmed down and sat in their seats observing the rest of Tony's performance as shown in Figure 20. Some of the older men had conversations amongst themselves, not paying attention to what was happening on stage. At the end of Tony's performance most of the audience applauded, while some of women gave him a standing ovation and Angelo stood up to give his father a hug.

Blanche and Whitney, who were sitting at the back of the church hall, got ready for their performances, changing from slippers into their high heels. I was reminded of a conversation that I had with Whitney before the CD launch started, when I asked her whether their guests have heard the song before the launch. She explained that Blanche and herself did not want any of her family members' to listen to the song before the launch because they wanted to surprise them with the song. They wanted their families to hear their testimony through their song, in hoping that they would feel proud of what they have achieved in life, despite personal struggles that they have been through. In my personal experiences of attending CD launches, the soundtrack was usually given to the public before it is launched, to make audience aware and familiar with the song to appeal to its popularity before releasing it in public performances. The audience consisted of family members and friends, the song becomes, not just an expression of a religious belief, but also a personified form of relatedness. As Angelo and I started to play, Blanche and Whitney started to sing:

The past is over, the yoke is destroyed

The curse is broken by Jesus Christ our Lord

I'm a new creation, I am Born-again

Now I live in freedom and you can too

All you gotta do is turn to Jesus

Blanche and Whitney's family members, started to stand raising their hands towards them as a sign of gratitude during their performance. As their performance of "Turn to Jesus" was received warmly by the audience consisting of family members and friends, performing on stage with Blanche and Whitney made me think of how they also embodied spiritual intimacy and their personal testimony through their lyrical content, in order to appeal to an audience. This became clear when Blanche and Whitney sang "I'm a new creation, I am Born-again" and "All you gotta do is turn to Jesus". I argue that these phrases spoke of two things regarding the audience and the way in which the performance was projected, based on 'Pentecospel' song and environment of the church wall. Firstly, it spoke to the religious component of becoming a 'new' entity within Pentecostalist faith through the encouragement of a religious instruction to 'turn to Jesus'. This entity would also be an audio recurrence in the sold and distributed CDs amongst the audience. Secondly, it spoke to Blanche and Whitney's self-representation of Pentecostalism through their illustration of posh-ness, in which the setting of the church wall was used to compliment the tone of their 'Pentecospel' performance. This was evident as their song was sung in a slow paced jazz style in the setting where purple décor and candlelight amplified the performance, and possibly even promoting their CD sales.

At the end of the performance, Blanche and Whitney's relatives seated close to the stage area responded happily by applauding, where I also observed a few young women crying in their seats at the magnitude of the performance. This led to a standing ovation from their families and friends, coupled with cheers and whistles. While Angelo and I continued performing a brief instrumental of the song, Blanche and Whitney exited the stage where long hugs were given to them by their families. At the end of the evening, each audience member received a slice of vanilla cake as they left the church hall, while Blanche and Whitney sold their CDs at a small table at the back of the hall, where their family members and friends flocked to purchase their CDs in support and appreciation of the performance. I received a CD from Blanche and Whitney for free as a token of their appreciation, for me helping them on their CD launch. The performances of the CD launch got me questioning the extent to which

'Pentecospel' music is performed in public spaces that could change, based on the type of performances and audiences that occupy those spaces. I question further whether the performance of 'Pentecospel' music for audience appeal rise or decline based on who the performing artists are, or based on the strength of the performance itself. The following section will show how public performances of 'Pentecospel' and local gospel music are represented to audiences at the V&A Waterfront, and how audiences interpret and engage with the performances.

5.4 'Pentecospel' showcase at the V&A Waterfront

The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd (V&AW) is a shopping and restaurant complex situated at the foot of Table Mountain, nearby to the Cape Town Stadium and in the heart of Table Bay Habour, Cape Town's oldest working harbor. Located at the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town, the Amphitheatre is the heart of the V&A Waterfront entertainment hub, and central to the outdoor food court section. Established in 1988, the Amphitheatre was and still is a good spot for live entertainment from concerts to creative arts performance workshops, surrounding the harbour. It is a space where capacity crowds gather on weekends and holidays to observe and participate in the performances of local artists, singers, performers and entertainers, in which the shows are commonly for free. (http://www.capetown.travel/activities/entry/amphitheatre-va-waterfront).

The 'Watchmen on the Wall' (WOW) Christian television show was the host for the evening. They were also in partnership with the 'Sounds of the Nations' (SOTN) recording studio, to help promote the local upcoming artists who were going to perform their own 'Pentecospel' music that evening. Seeing that this too was a public performance of 'Pentecospel' music, I bear in mind Meyer's (2006) view that with the entanglement of religion and entertainment, new horizons of social experience have emerged, thriving on fantasy and vision and popularizing a certain mood orientated toward Pentecostalism (Meyer, 2006: 308). This also proved to be useful as the Watchmen on the Wall (WOW) had recorded the concert which was to be broadcasted on Faith broadcasting network[26] the following week. For instance, although there was a live recording, the cameras which were shooting from three-four angles from and above the stage only captured the performances of the musicians and singers and in some cases of the audience. These shots provided a platform to illustrate representations of

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[26] premier Christian television channel

the music performance and the impact it had on the audiences surrounding the V&A Waterfront amphitheatre.

5.4.1 Getting to know the audience

It was a warm breezy day on the 27 February 2015 at the V&A Waterfront amphitheatre, as I followed Tim and Jason behind the jumbo screen on stage. They started to set up the sound desk as they were going to record the audio of the entire performance so they could mix a live 'Pentecospel' concert in the studio, while there would also be a live visual recording of the concert. I observed that an ethnically diverse group of people, ("Coloured", "White", and "Black") started to fill the seats in the amphitheatre as shown in Figure 21 below, who were seated amongst each other. Some of the women had come from their shopping, as I saw them carrying shopping bags and fast-food parcels. The younger members of the audience were seated while drinking cooldrinks, and chatting on their smartphones. The elderly members of the audiences were seated wearing hats as the glare of the sunset peered on their sunglasses, while the audience on the balconies overlooking the amphitheatre took the opportunity to take photographs of the view below.

Figure 21: Audience filling up the amphitheatre

Although I did not know most of the audience personally, I could not just assume that all the audience members were Christians because it was a Christian event. At this point, most of the audience members were (by racial demography and based on their clothing, ways of speaking and general habitus) local upper-middle class coloured people. In a public setting such as the V&A Waterfront, the space in the amphitheatre was open to whoever decided to watch the

concert on that evening. A few Muslim women who were wearing hijabs[27] stood in the back rows of the amphitheatre waiting for the concert to begin. The areas furthest away from the stage were easy exit points if people wanted to leave the concert at any given time. I also observed that there were men and women who I recognized, and who also recognized me as I sat on the stage. These men and women were Pentecostal musicians and gospel artists who I have performed with as a musician outside my fieldwork, in Pentecostal churches and community events in Cape Town. Therefore part of my participant observation was to engage in the performances being presented to me as an active audience member, while getting perspectives from the audience themselves about what they see, hear and interpret. Seeing that I was limited by my movement on the stage, I attempted to read the facial expressions and reactions of the audience to the performances that were presented to them.

Although I thought of interacting with audience members during the performances, I found it impossible for me to move to the seats in the amphitheatre as I was helping Tim and Jason with the setting-up of the sound desk backstage. After the set-up was completed and all the artists arrived and did their sound checks, I was sitting next to a young woman in her mid-twenties called Michelle, who is also Jason's girlfriend. She was sitting at a table on the stage, where the 'Sounds of the Nations' CD sales were on display. I got to speak to her throughout the concert and hear her thoughts on each performance and artists that she found entertaining. As time grew closer to the start to the concert the amphitheatre had filled to its fullest capacity, as if the concert was a 'sold-out' show.

5.4.2 The concert begins

I sat on stage facing the audience, as I thought that instead of me being an active participant in the audience, I would be the 'eyes of the musicians and singers' on stage by seeing what they see when they perform. In this way I observed the audiences reactions to various artists and different renditions of 'Pentecospel' music being performed to them. The concert started at 7pm as Errol, the host of the evening greeted, "Good evening everybody, good evening television audience in television land". He then handed the microphone over to the two emcees for the evening.

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[27] referred to as an all-covering dress among Muslim women, covering and not leaving any part of their hair uncovered

Good evening everyone. Welcome to our 2nd annual Watchmen on the Wall concert. You are all in for a treat tonight as there will be a variety of local musicians and singers who have come to showcase their music and their talents. We hope that you will enjoy and celebrate with us this festive season.

After the warm welcome, Capetonian gospel artist and bass guitarist Jonathan Rubain entered the stage to perform one of his own instrumental songs. The audience immediately started to applaud and scream as he came out with his bass guitar, while I heard Jonathan on stage shouting "let's go let's go let's go", indicating that the band had to start playing when the audience's applauses were about to subside. Jonathan swung his hand in circles indicating to the band to repeat the introduction of the song which played three times as he tried to get the audience to participate in clapping to the song.

Figure 22: Jonathan acknowledging the audience during his performance

As Jonathan encouraged the audience to participate in clapping with him. The audience clapped rhythmically to the instrumental sounds of Cape jazz music, while more people started to gather outside the amphitheatre seating area. I observed the result of the atmospheric 'Pentecospel' music performance as more and more people were blocking some of the walkways between the Ferris wheel and the food court entrance trying to watch the concert. For some of the audience, the concert was a 'dinner and a show' composite as they ate their meals while watching and listening to the performance. Towards the end of Jonathan's performance, more people tried walking in between the narrow spaces of the amphitheatre attempting to make space to sit between the audiences. Moving swiftly, Erica, a young woman from George in the Western Cape Province and the winner of a local Cape Town gospel singing competition 'Sing for the King' got ready for her performance of her own song within the mid-tempo style of jazz. I observed how the audience prepared themselves for Erica as stared at her intently as she started to sing. I thought of how

audiences who are not known to the artist, pay close attention to detail of who performs for them and monitor the quality of the performance, unlike audience members who are related to the artist, like in the case of Blanche and Whitney in the previous segment.

Figure 23: Erica's performance and audience reaction through their participation

Without her noticing, the keyboard player started singing with Erica as it came to the more technical parts of the jazzy tune. This kind of musical technicality was illustrated to the audience through her hand gestures and closing of her eyes whenever she added an extra flare to her singing, while at the same time trying to very careful not to strain her voice or sing off key. Like the moment before Erica's performance, the audience had also clapped accordingly to her song. I observed that this kind of audience interaction with her song allowed for Erica to be more mobile and versatile in her performance, as she improvised over some of her words. This was welcomed by the audience as, mainly the front row of the audience were cheering for her. Towards the end of her performance, Erica slowed the pace of her song which prompted the audience to raise their arms and sway from side to side as illustrated in Figure 23, portraying the audience participation in her performance.

As the sun started to set over the V&A Waterfront and the lights of the Ferris wheel went on, a South African pop band called 'GraceTown' entered the stage, consisting of four young men on guitars, bass guitar and drums. With a sudden musical introduction, the audience quickly started clapping to GraceTown's music which pulsated vigorously. This had an immense effect in the audience appeal, in the sense that children and youth started to surround the outside area of the amphitheatre. For some of the audience members that I recognized and knew as musicians, I observed how their facial expressions looked rather off, as the sounds from the stringed instruments were extremely muffled over the main speakers. I

turned to Michelle after observing the young people attempting to flock closer to the stage. She tried speaking to me over the booming noise, stating that "Despite that fact that I cannot hear their music clearly, they are very animated. It's as if they are trying to pull of the 'Jonas Brothers[28]' gimmick, but just a little too hard."

Figure 24: The "animated" 'GraceTown' band

In spite of Michelle's comment, the muffling guitars and out-of-breath harmonisations, the rest of the audience encouraged the young men throughout their performance. I started questioning how the audience would decide on whether their performance was original or not. From what I heard and observed, the irony lies in GraceTown's musical performance, which had a blend of contemporary pop music fused with the African resonance of Paul Simon's *Graceland* performance of 'You can call me Al'. There were a few mistakes within GraceTown's performance when one of the guitarists started improvising in his guitar solo that the audience also picked out as they smiled and looked around, yet they still encouraged them to continue performing.

With a sudden and abrupt ending of their song, the guitarists of GraceTown threw the neck of their guitars upwards, in which the young women in the audience gave them standing ovations for their dynamic performance, while some of the men just applauded them. As they returned backstage I told them that they did well in their performance, and the lead guitarist replied by saying: "I was very nervous, because my guitar didn't sound the way I wanted it to sound, but at least we gave the people a show".

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[28] a former young American pop rock group, who were brought up as Christians by their parents.

Figure 25: Jonathan embodying and sharing the melodic sounds

Jonathan and his band returned to the stage while the audience was still vibrant in their seats, and some even leaving the amphitheatre for newer members of the audience to join. Jonathan performed another instrumental song that had the audience clapping. As Jonathan and his band performed, he shared not just a variety of his feelings and emotions through his performance, but also representations of the 'Pentecospel' style in which are embodied through his bass guitar allowing for the audience and his band mates to feel his musical expression. Michelle pointed out a group of young people in the audience who were moving to Jonathan's movements on stage as they swayed their torsos from side to side. The blur on Jonathan's face or more technically known as a 'motion-blur' was not an error in Figure 15, but rather a portrayal of his vigorous movement during the performance. In a conversation that I had with Jonathan backstage before the concert started, he emphasised that "as a musician, you need to know your audience, and give them what they want." After his instrumental, the audiences' cheers roared throughout the amphitheatre as they chanted:

WE WANT MORE! WE WANT MORE! WE WANT MORE! WE WANT MORE!

The interpretation of the above chant highlights the audience's interaction and longing for another performance from the Jonathan and his band, and also emphasises the significance of the acknowledgment of the performance and performers.

Throughout the chanting the sound engineers and set-up crew prepared the stage for the next artist and I started to quickly move from the front of the stage to the backstage area where the artist entered the stage, to observe the concert at the audiences' level.

Figure 26: Jonathan interacting with the audience by "giving them what they want"

I observed that the people surrounding the seating area stopped and also tried to see what was happening on stage, when Jonathan ran back on stage to performance another song, answering to the audiences' request. Jonathan started to perform a popular church 'pinkster koortjie[29]' (a chorus sung in Kaapse/Cape Afrikaans) *Hallelujah Hosanna*, which had the audience standing on their feet, stomping and clapping even more vibrantly than the rest of the other performances that happened that evening.

Hallelujah (Jonathan)

Hosanna (the audience)

AS DIE HERE JOU ROEP (if the Lord calls you) (Jonathan)

SÊ JA (say yes) (the audience)

The interaction between Jonathan and the audience became infused with chanting and turn taking through a song that the audience was familiar with, in which Jonathan would lead the chorus shouting "AS DIE HERE JOU ROEP (if the Lord calls you)" while the audience responded after him "SÊ JA (say yes)". I sat on stage as an audience member forgetting that the space I was in was a shopping complex occupied by tourists and potential shoppers. This was due to me reminiscing on my past experiences of being at an outdoor service or inside a church venue for a gospel music event. It was as if the concert had turn into a Pentecostal church service for that brief moment. The majority of the audience that I observed were coloured men and women and children, who were singing, *Hallelujah Hosanna*, to each other when suddenly, Jonathan jumped onto the bass-bin speaker on the right side as illustrated in

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[29] Refer to footnote in chapter 4

Figure 26, paused for a second and started clapping vigorously to the drummer's beat. This prompted the audience to clap in unison with him as they shouted and even jumped while clapping, while a few of White English South Africans, who were selling 'JOY!'[30] Magazines from the stage just sat and observed the rest of the audience.

Following the claim of this chapter, I put forward that 'Pentecospel' music in Cape Town has become more than just spirituality invoked through sounds, but a shared social experience that is recognised by a group of people who share the same rationale of Pentecostal/gospel music. This was evident by the responses of the audience as they recognised and sang the song *Hallelujah Hossana*. In this case, the Capetonianization of gospel music represents 'Pentecospel' music being performed and framed within the Capetonian cultural enigma which has become more socialised and fashioned by audiences who actively participate at the sight and earshot of the performance. What also made the stage visually eye-catching was the incorporation of the flashing stage lights that enhanced the visibility of the musicians and singers on stage, creating an ambient boundary between performers and audience members.

The stage lights also played on the ambience and elaborated on the 'aesthetic formations' of the performance in Figure 26. This happened as various social classes, ethnic and religious groups made it noticeable for me understand the relationships between the audience and Jonathan, as a process of integration. (see Verrips 2006 and Meyer 2009). Furthermore, the stage lights intensified the performance of both the musicians and the audience who clapped to the music. The lights however, also made it difficult for me to observe whether there were other members of the audiences who also participated in the 'Pentecospel' music performance other than coloured people, such as Muslims, black people, tourists or people of upper class background. After the song was finished, Jonathan walked off stage while the band kept performing as the atmosphere was still very much vibrant. I argue that the audiences' interpretations of the song *Hallelujah Hosanna*, makes them just as important as the performance itself. I claim that public performances of 'Pentecospel' music show an even greater promise in understanding the interactions between performances and the audience, broadening the sensorial dimensions of the audience's interpretation.

The vibrant atmosphere started to decline when the Keziah entered the stage, to perform a slow tempo song that would calm the audience from the energetic vibes from Jonathan's showcase of a 'Pentecospel' performance. I argue that visual appearance in terms of stage

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[30] A Christian magazine

presence coupled with musical accompaniment gives anticipation for what kind of a performance the audience expects from the performer.

Figure 27: Keziah sensualising passion of tone through her performance

I turned to Michelle once again as she told me "Keziah is looking very relaxed". Thinking back to the conversation Keziah had with Tim in the studio about being uncomfortable in front of the camera, elaborated on Michelle's comment from an audience perspective that Keziah performed beyond her personal fear of being seen as "corny" by her audience. Keziah's performance and the way she conducted herself on stage throughout the slow paced song was sensualised further when she used her hand gestures as a way for her to elaborate her representation of passion through the song. I observed how the audience stared and even made video recordings from their smartphones while she sang, as if they were in a trance due to her vocal tone and the way she caressed the microphone, sensualising her performance even more for audience's appeal, as shown in the Figure 27. Keziah told me after her performance that she enjoyed performing for a mass audience and that was comfortable with the way she performed.

Towards the end of the concert all the performing artists gathered on stage to perform one more gospel song "Here I Am to Worship" by Tim Hughes[31], as a united group. The audience was encouraged to participate in the performance themselves by singing along to the gospel song. It was here that this performnace showed an even greater promise in understanding the interactions between performances and the audience, through the sensorial dimensions of the audience's interpretation.

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[31] a British worship leader and singer-songwriter

Figure 28: Audience reception and participation in Pentecospel music performances

Here the social impact of Pentecostalism on people in Cape Town, does not divert them from expressing everyday experiences and/or limit them to enact religious/spiritual feelings in public spaces. (see Pype 2012). While singing, the audience started to raise their hands without any encouragement to do so, as shown in both images in Figure 28. The raising of hands is an action adopted from Charismatic Pentecostal churches, who encourages this as a form of worship and devotion to God and Jesus Christ.

From my own personal experience and involvement of going to Pentecostal church services and participating in a few of them myself as a musician, this action was most common when performing a song that congregational members of the church would deem as anointment and/or spirit lead. I found it an interesting experience to hear and see familiar 'Pentecospel' music that I was also familiar with in my community of Blackheath, Cape Town and my church, being performed at Cape Town's most famous shopping and entertainment complex Cape Town landmark. (see Meyer and Moors 2006 on prevalence of Pentecostalism in different spaces in Cape Town). Using Hackett's (2006) view of 'sites' as an aspect of transformation, I argue that Figure 28 also portrays the transformation of space as the audience perform the embodiment of a spiritual action of lifting of hands by the as a collective, that portrays a performance of a ritual acted in a church service or as I would put a "sanctified space", which was now illustrated in the public sphere. In this case of the public performances in a public space, I use Becker's (2012) statement that the techniques of the South African audiences' bodies show how they negotiate their sensorial and embodied experience of religious transformation (and unity) in the contemporary hybridised cultural landscape. Through these public performances of 'Pentecospel' music, it becomes clear that

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the rapid growth of Pentecostalism is now being spread through various spaces in Cape Town, especially spaces which are not considered to be religious.

5.5 Conclusion

I put forward that regardless of space and where public performances of Pentecospel' music are held, the audience remains a crucial element in facilitating musical performances and mass media. The consumption of live 'Pentecospel' performances in this chapter encouraged audiences to become active participants rather than passive spectators. With regards to exploring the Capetonianization of gospel music in the public sphere, I have explored contrasting spaces in Cape Town of how musicians and singers' 'Pentecospel' performances are not limited to the setting they find themselves in, but how they use the atmosphere to enhance their performativity to the audiences they seek to address. I have also given visual representations of how performances and artists were read analytically through feelings, emotions and embodiment of social forms for the purposes of religious entertainment that audiences identified with.

Bearing in mind Barber's (1987) statement that the audience is as important as the artist in the process, the public spaces in which the gospel artists and their audience This chapter emphasised how the CD launch at the Springwood Baptist Church and the 'Pentecospel' performance at the V&A Waterfront were driving features of religious-cum-entertainment leading to the Pentecostalization of public spaces. These spaces were heavily influenced by both gospel artists and their audience, through their participation in the performances. By the gospel artists and audiences' acknowledgment to each other, interpretation of aesthetic formations and responses in certain moments of the performances, they have given meaning to each 'Pentecospel' performance. Thus, confirming my claim that public performances of 'Pentecospel' music show an even greater promise in understanding the interactions between performances and the audience, broadening the sensorial dimensions of the audience's interpretation.

CHAPTER 6:

Conclusion

This thesis has looked at the rise in contemporary gospel music within the sphere of Pentecostalism amongst people in a Cape Town music recording studio and in public spaces. In addition, it explored how people (artist and audience alike) went about engaging in every day practices of producing audio and visual representations of gospel music in a music recording studio and in public spaces in post-1994 democratic South Africa, as a way of expanding the gospel music industry. I pursued it through the focus on the notion of 'Pentecospel' music. I, with my interlocutors used audio-visual and lyrical forms of music production as an aspect of meaning making and transformation of musical styles. As a result, I found that young musicians, singers and music producers relay their experiences and messages of social circumstances and devotion to God through the innovative musical styles that they produce as indications of the rapid growth of Pentecostalism.

I have highlighted how young Capetonian singers, musicians and music producers are embodying their social backgrounds, experiences and musical interests in the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio. In doing so this has led to the fusion of Pentecostal and gospel music with the use of technology and music production knowledge. I showed this while bearing in mind cross-cultural music as Stoke's (2004) view of hybrid genres and Meyer's anthropological approach to defining Pentecostalism, as attempt to elaborate the social development on the notion of 'self-representation' amongst performing artists who have contributed to the Capetonianization of gospel music. The result in the production and editing processes as demonstrated in this thesis led to newly produced 'Pentecospel' music being performed as a lucrative source of entertainment for the broader audience in the public spaces of Cape Town. In this thesis explored the mediation between the social and religious territories of music helps us understand the making of blurred boundaries of religion and entertainment, as stated by Meyer and Moors (2006). This was especially evident during the production and performance phases, in which the people of Cape Town embraced the unification of sounds allowing for them to be more open in celebrating and acknowledging God and the different styles of music that make up 'Pentecospel' music.

In chapter 2, I highlighted the various dynamics in which the concept of 'Pentecospel' was theoretically developed. The three tracks in which the literature presented itself, has shown the dynamic flow of knowledge produced to heighten the understanding of Pentecostalism, the social use of technology and globalisation in terms of the cultural flow of sounds. Drawing on Malembe (2005) I followed the changes of conventional elements of genre as a transformative process. Engaging with the works of Martin (2012 and 2013) and Coplan (2008) on the Capetonianization of gospel music, I highlighted how the globalisation and appropriation of music and technology became a central part in distinguishing between productions of authentic and new sounds, based on overcoming social circumstances through lyrical connexions, which represents a sense of home and belonging. This would prove to be one of the key debates surrounding the local sectors of musical production through the incorporation of local and global gospel musical styles and anthropological views on the growth of Pentecostalism in the public sphere. This chapter concluded by emphasising a need for a deeper level of exploration into finding newer perspectives of exploring Pentecostalism and gospel music as a singular notion of 'Pentecospel' music in the context of production.

In Chapter 3, not only did I realise the window for authentic gospel music to make it into mainstream media or the secular music industry was a rather narrow one, but the issues of the division of people in Cape Town was a real concern for music producers at the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio. I looked further into the thoughts around the ways, in which musicians and singers were creating cross-mixes of styles of music as a musician-anthropologist. I further paralleled the idea of writing music which diminishes the exclusion of groups of people between the celebration of inclusion of other cultures other than our own, while promoting authentic sounds and original music.

The ethnographic fieldwork that I present in chapter 4 was driven by the idea of soundscapes by Porcello, et al, (2010). I have presented how preparations, through meetings and rehearsals were done for the production of 'Pentecospel' music in the 'Sounds of the Nations' music recording studio and for public performances thereafter. A key focus of this chapter was placed on analysing the lyrical content of the music mentioned in the chapter, as I was able to interpret and give the artist's interpretation of their songs based on their social backgrounds. One of the main aims of this thesis was to portray the significance of the production of 'Pentecospel' music through the human-technological intervention for the portrayals and enhancement of authenticity as viewed by Meintjes (2003). As a musician-anthropologist, I

found that this relationship has broadened the understanding of, not just hybrid genres, but also of how people in Cape Town are forming new ways of appropriating music using shared, deep-rooted and sensorial dynamic methods of music production. In addition, I have also shown that the online spectator, as the interlocutor, shapes the encounter of music production by them expressing thoughts and views of social media postings and how musicians and singers prepare their performances of Pentecospel music, as well as share their experiences of living, aspirations and performing their own music in Cape Town.

Chapter 5 showed that regardless of space and where public portrayals of cultural reproduction were held, the audience remained a crucial element in facilitating musical performances and mass media. Furthermore, the audiences' engagement of live performances encouraged them to become active participants rather than passive spectators. I have shown the Capetonianization of gospel music through gospel artists' use of their music to create an atmosphere to enhance their performativity to the audiences who participate in their performances. Therefore I have given visual representations of how performances, artists and their audience were read analytically through feelings, emotions and embodiment of social forms for the purposes of religious entertainment that audiences identified with.

Throughout this thesis I have shown that the Pentecostal-based music recording studio and public performances in Cape Town, South Africa, has become a gateway for people, young and old, to express their devotion to God and Jesus Christ through lyrical and musical expression. As a result, this has led to evidence of new waves of Pentecostal growth in different spaces of the public sphere. I argued that 'Pentecospel' music is an emergent social form of self-representation, which is framed around Pentecostalism and the sound of Cape Town, as identified by Martin (2003). 'Pentecospel' music made popular by the young people at the 'Sounds of the Nations recording' music recording studio and the audiences in public spaces, relay its stance to the concerns, joys, pains of socio-historical events of this country. Therefore, this thesis has also broadened the anthropological inquiry into the production of 'Pentecospel' music as a form of popular music. It did so in exploring the weight of the lyrical content, social and technological production procedures, and socio-religious entertainment mediations in each production and performance of 'Pentecospel' music. With that said, I argue that the meaning-making processes of each of these various components of 'Pentecospel' music production, are considered to be key mediators in furthering the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in South Africa.

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