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MASTER'S THESIS IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

PENTECOSTAL MUSIC IN KAMPALA, UGANDA:

**Exploring the Reciprocal Relationship between Sacred and Secular
Popular Music**

DAVID BASOGA

(188546)

DEDICATION

To my dear wife Justine Basoga

Abstract

In this study, I explore particular aspects in which the relationship between Pentecostal music and secular music has become prominent in Kampala, Uganda. Particularly, I examine how Pentecostal music artists have drawn inspirations from secular popular music scene particularly in the style of singing, dance movement, recording, marketing and the general performance context. The study examines the nature of Pentecostal music introduced by the European missionaries, the process of making Pentecostal music, and tries to establish the factors responsible for the similarities between Pentecostal music and secular popular music. The study seeks to find out the meaning and significance of the changing Pentecostal music to a popular style. It also traces the origin and growth of Pentecostalism and its sacred music, focusing on how this sacred music has changed over time specifically in Uganda.

This ethnographic study has been developed using research findings, literature related to Pentecostal movements in Uganda and Pentecostalism in general, Pentecostal music and the secularization and sacralization processes. The study identifies the actors of Pentecostal music and examines the artistic role each plays. In this study, I also outline a number of factors responsible for this emerging genre among them prayer, evangelization, income earning, entertainment, music awards together with the health and economic problems experienced by ordinary Ugandans as some of the issues addressed by Pentecostal music lyrics. In the conclusion, the diversity of Pentecostal churches in Kampala, in relation to acculturation and commercialization are identified as key factors in the shaping of the secularization and sacralization processes. Similarly, the study shows that sacralization and secularization are complementary processes.

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List of Abbreviations

PAM (awards)	Pearl of Africa Music awards
VIGA	Victoria Gospel Music Awards
UNAGA	Uganda National Association for Gospel Artists
KPC	Kampala Pentecostal Church
PAG	Pentecostal Assemblies of God
KWC	Kampala Watoto Church
WBS	Wavamuno Broadcasting Services
NBS	Nabeta Broadcasting Services
UBC	Uganda broadcasting Corporation
UAFCR	Universal Apostles Fellowship Church Of Righteousness

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The interplay between Pentecostal music and secular popular music has become highly significant in Kampala, Uganda and in this city it is often difficult to differentiate between sacred¹ and secular popular music.² Pentecostal music, a sacred symbol of the Pentecostal church, has changed from the Western choral style introduced by White missionaries during the colonial period to secular popular style. Aspects like dance movement, recording, dissemination, marketing and performance contexts characterizing secular popular music have also been embraced by Pentecostals. Generally, it has become popular Christian music. This mixing of Christian lyrics with secular musical elements contrasts with the enforced Pentecostal tradition of “rejecting any assimilation between the church and the world and between Christianity and the African custom” (Gifford 1999:97). This study seeks to establish the significance of popularizing Pentecostal music.

According to Mark Evans, transforming Christian music into a popular style shows that sacred music is being secularized.³ He quotes the Bible (Matthew 5:13), stating that Christians are “the salt of the earth”; thus, they are “in the world” but should not be “of the world” (2006:69). However, Russell W. Belk *et al.* observe that singing Christian lyrics in a secular style and performing Christian music outside the church sacralize⁴ those secular music styles and places with sacred sounds (1989:8). These secularization and sacralization processes form an interesting topic of research and thus, I examine the relationship between Pentecostal music and secular popular music. I also establish whether popularizing

¹ Music set a part for Pentecostal religious use.

² Type of music artistically created for entertainment in recreational places.

³ Using Christian lyrics in music styles associated with entertainment, and performing sacred music in places like nightclubs, disco halls and open places like stadiums and beaches.

⁴ Adopting styles from the local communities, using them in church and playing Christian music in places commonly used for recreational activities.

Figure 1 A Map of Uganda Showing the Location of Kampala City



Pentecostal music means secularization of sacred music or sacralization of secular music styles and places. My study focuses on the key words of Pentecostalism, Pentecostal music, secular popular music and secularization versus sacralization. Since Pentecostalism spread to Uganda as a foreign religious culture, I will define it and also give a brief historical background, including how sacred and secular music boundaries were constructed.

Defining Pentecostalism⁵ as a unified religious culture is problematic because of its diverse manifestations and characteristics (Anderson 2004, Booker 1988, Coleman 2000, Wolffe 2002). To avoid going into definitional debates, I will use Allan Anderson's working definition. He describes Pentecostalism as a transnational religious culture embracing all forms of Pentecostal churches and charismatic Christianity, including or excluding those characterized by speaking in tongues, healing, prophesy and exorcism (2004:171). Pentecostalism originated in the United States of America in 1906 (Booker 1988, Anderson 2005, Jackson 1995 and Campbell 1995) and spread to Uganda in 1935 (Rheneen 1976 and Gifford 1999). The Canadian Assemblies of God missionaries started the first Pentecostal church, followed by the Tukutendereza Yesu⁶ ("We Praise You, Jesus"), a revival movement of the saved or born-again Christians that emerged within the mainstream Anglican Church in 1936. The Western choral music style (the four-part harmony including soprano, alto, tenor and bass voices) introduced by white missionaries was strongly established as a music culture amongst the Pentecostals. These Pentecostals considered Christian music performed in choral form as sacred and referred to any music in African traditional style or music for entertainment as secular or worldly (Maxwell 1998 and Gifford 1999).

Contrary to the culture of not allowing the mixing of sacred and secular practices as introduced above, Pentecostals have embraced the contemporary secular popular music styles and practices. In Kampala, secular popular music is characterized by different music material from foreign and local cultures. This music unfolds in a hybridized form, including music material of the *Baganda* in central Uganda and specific music genres like *Sokous*,⁷ Reggae,⁸

⁵ Categorized into 1) Classical Pentecostalism, established by white missionaries, 2) Neo Pentecostalism or Charismatic Christianity and 3) Pentecostal-like or African Initiated Churches (AICs) (Anderson 2005:13).

⁶ The revival movement was named Tukutendereza because of the Tukutendereza song which the revivalists used as their musical identity during their evangelization mission.

⁷ Music from the Democratic Republic of Congo characterized by exerting guitar rhythms and vigorous dance movements.

⁸ A Cuban type of music that originated from Jamaica (Nayiga 2006)

Rhythm and Blues ⁹ and Afro-beat.¹⁰ The rhythm of the music is mainly in *Ekidigida* form emanating from the traditional worship music of the *Baganda* called *Ebiggu* (Ssempijja 2006:82). The fusion of the music material named above has also become common among Pentecostal music.

Pentecostals, who were influenced by the American Pentecostal culture including singing in English, have also, changed to *Luganda*, a language which secular popular music artists have used to attract market for their music. Like secular popular music artists, Pentecostals have also started recording music on CDs, DVDs and MP3s and marketing it as a popular music product. These artists also stage live music shows in places designated for entertainment, a culture that colonial missionaries would have referred to as worldly and associated with secular music artists. Besides, Pentecostal music has become part of the popular music hits in Kampala, played across sacred and secular communities. Generally, Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals have become actors in the creation and commercialization of Pentecostal music.

With regard to the lyrics of Pentecostal music, artists have combined theological themes, especially those reflecting on the Prosperity Gospel,¹¹ with a popular music style. For instance prayer, a core practice of the Pentecostals, and evangelization, their main tool for expanding their churches, have been combined with a popular style with Christian lyrics, popular rhythms and rich instrumentation. Themes characterizing secular music such as love, sickness, poverty and suffering have also become common in the lyrical texts of Pentecostal music.¹² Creative dance movement,¹³ which colonial missionaries would associate with evil

⁹ Type of music encompassing a variety of musical elements associated with rap, rock and roll and soul music among others. It originated in the United States of America.

¹⁰ A type of music that originated in Nigeria but reshaped by mixing it with American Jazz (Nayiga 2006.)

¹¹ Also known as “health and wealth gospel”, mainly associated with American Pentecostalism. It emphasizes that salvation is a transformative process, delivering believers from problems associated with evil spirits to good health (spiritual and physical) and acquisition of material wealth (Kalu 2008 and Asamoah-Gyadu 2005).

¹² Pentecostals have diversified their lyrical content and music styles to expand their musical performances to the mainstream audiences.

¹³ Colonial missionaries associate any form of dancing with world pleasures (Garlock *et al.* 1998:91).

and secular entertainment, has become an integral part of Pentecostal music performances. Pentecostals also participate in music competitions such as the Pearl of Africa Music (PAM) Awards, an annual event organized on the basis of making business and dominated by secular popular music artists.¹⁴

In the issues presented thus far, I closely examine the extent to which Pentecostal music has become similar to secular popular music. I also seek to understand how this convergence has enhanced creativity in Pentecostal gospel music and how this music has changed from the traditional Christian music introduced by the colonial Pentecostal missionaries. I am also interested in examining how the issues introduced above connect with the secularization and sacralization processes.

1.2 Problem Statement

Franck Garlock *et al.* state that if Christian music is found in “nightclubs, ballrooms, lounges, and other areas where the world congregates to feed the flesh, then the judgment can be only one – it is worldly music” (1998:90). Garlock *et al.*’s observation serves as an example of the contexts in which to define Christian music as becoming secularized. However, Rick Warren¹⁴ emphasizes that “There is no such thing as Christian music, there are only Christian lyrics.” He also encourages pastors to perform church music in styles that appeal to their church congregants (1999:282). Warren’s comments suggest that all music is secular and only becomes Christian by adding Christian lyrics. In brief he suggests a process of sacralizing inherently secular music styles. Such complexities involving the interpretation of sacred and secular music, secularization and sacralization processes, in relation to the

¹⁴ Pastor George Okudi set the precedent for Pentecostal music artists to participate in non-Pentecostal musical activities, which was in opposition to the tradition of the revival movement of the born-again Christians during the colonial period (Gifford 1999).

¹⁴ By 1999 when this book was written, Rich Warren was a senior pastor of Saddleback Valley Community Church in Orange Country in California.

growing trend of popularizing Pentecostal music in Kampala are addressed in the problem statement for this study. Thus, I address the most central question: what is the meaning and significance of the interplay between Pentecostal music and secular popular music? In addition, I address the following questions:

1. Who are the actors in this process of popularizing Pentecostal music?
2. How have the Pentecostal and secular popular music artists negotiated the current fluid boundaries between Pentecostal gospel music and secular popular music?
3. How have the similarities between Pentecostal music and secular popular music problematized the boundaries between the “sacred” and the “secular”?
4. What implications does this phenomenon have for the Pentecostal Church, Pentecostal music artists and secular popular music artists?
5. Does this mean secularizing Pentecostal music or sacralizing secular popular music styles and places?

My primary objectives are thus:

1. To establish the nature of the music that the Pentecostal missionaries introduced,
2. To examine the process of making Pentecostal music, and
3. To determine the factors responsible for the similarities between Pentecostal music and secular popular music.

I hypothesize that evangelization, entertainment and the commercialization of Pentecostal music have resulted in the similarities we see between Pentecostal music and secular popular music in Kampala.

1.3 Theory and Literature

As a point of departure, I relate this mixing of the Pentecostal sacred practices and what colonial missionaries regarded as “worldly” or “secular” (Maxwell 1998) to a complexity of historical and current factors. Starting with the historical context, I trace the roots of the Pentecostal religious culture in Uganda including the revival movement of the *balokole* (meaning “the saved people”) that emerged within the mainstream Anglican Church of Uganda. The historical events involving the Anglican Church missionary work (Christianization), and the Pentecostal charismatization¹⁵ process, form a starting point for establishing the kind of music born-again Christians considered as sacred.

Pentecostalism started after the missionaries of the Anglican Church had introduced the Namirembe Church music festival to foster their Christianization processes in the Anglican Church-founded schools. These missionaries introduced hymns, psalms, chorales, Canticles, European art music and a few African items. This is a clear testimony of how missionaries meshed civilization/modernization with Christianization westernization. Specifically, churches served as local communities where missionaries taught their followers Christian morals and the western culture as opposed to worshipping the African gods. At school, the young Christians were taught to read and write western music and to play western musical instruments. Schools did not only serve the purpose of teaching Ugandans how to read and write but also functioned as avenues for fragmenting the Ugandan cultures and undermining their cultural identities (Clarke 2006:1869). Above all, revivalists like the Tukutendereza Yesu adopted the Western choral style with the four-part harmony for performing Christian (sacred) music, and regarded music in traditional style and that used for entertainment during leisure time as worldly or (secular) music.

¹⁵ Using different spiritual gifts to extend the Pentecostal movement by preaching, witnessing, giving testimonies, and making fellowships among other things (Wolffe 2002:26-30).

Following the background information given above, popularizing Pentecostal music, during this post-colonial period shows how Pentecostals have broken away with the past. Particularly, unlimited cultural interactions and global media technology have enabled Pentecostals to discover weaknesses within the inherited Western music culture and to reconstruct a culturally meaningful form of religion (Clarke 2006:187). It also shows how Pentecostals have used music to contest the theological teachings and practices of the colonial missionaries. Creativity in Pentecostal music could also be explained as a sign of indigenizing Pentecostal music and regaining cultural identity (Kalu 2008:4). Also, marketing Pentecostal music as a popular product and performing it in places designated for recreational activities shows how Pentecostals have redefined the function of their sacred music. Generally it reflects a shift from traditional to contemporary Christianity.

Similarly, the fusion of local musical elements and others like *Sokous*, Reggae, Afro-beat and RnB demonstrate how Pentecostals have made use of technology to create hybridized Christian music. In addition, the Pentecostal artists' collaboration with people in dubbing, disseminating and marketing their music demonstrates how Pentecostals themselves have turned this sacred music into a commercial product. Also, the influence of the consumer culture on Pentecostal music, as is the case in the United States of America (Jackson 1995, Kalu 2008 and Jackson-Brown 1990), has spread to Uganda. Because of technology, Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals form a network of people participating in the creation, production, dissemination and consumption of this sacred product of the Pentecostal church. Also connected with technology is the variety of radio and television stations in Uganda which has opened up the possibility for Pentecostal music to be played across sacred and secular places.

Further, the secularizing of Pentecostal music and the sacralizing of secular music styles and places are a result of cultural liberalism, which is also associated with

Pentecostalism in America (Kalu 2008). Also imported from the USA is the Gospel of Prosperity, the founding theology of many Pentecostal churches in Kampala. Generally, the diversity of Pentecostalism and its fluid cultural boundaries has opened up the possibility for individual cultural manifestations, some of which are articulated through art. Peter Beyer associates this diversity of religious manifestations with the privatization of religion. Among other things, Beyer observes that individual disposition of religion influences consumers to choose religious practices that appeal to their spiritual desires. He also associates privatization of religion with secularization of religious values and practices (2000:72). In response to this religious diversification, Rick Warren urges pastors and evangelists to use music styles that appeal to people in specific societies, pointing out that “If we do not use contemporary music to spread the godly values, Satan will have unchallenged access to an entire generation” (1999:280). In analyzing this, Belk *et al.* contend that secularization and sacralization complement each other in a contemporary society and are shaped by the consumer culture. In addition to the historical and current, theological and theoretical issues introduced above, I have reviewed literature on Pentecostalism, Pentecostal music, the sacred and the secular.

With regard to Pentecostalism itself, a number of scholars have written about the diversity of Pentecostal churches in Kampala and other parts of Uganda. For instance, Paul Gifford has explored the role of African Christianity in Uganda and discussed different perspectives of Pentecostal churches in Kampala (1999). Paddy Musana has examined the impact of Pentecostal movement on the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches in Kampala (1991); Ronald Merit Kabugo has examined the impact of language in worship in Pentecostal Churches in Kampala, also contextualizing music as a language (1999). These scholars have all examined the diversity of Pentecostal churches in Uganda in general and Kampala in particular. Their research findings associate the complexities involving the definitional characteristics of Pentecostalism with the fluid boundaries of its religious practices. These

scholars have also associated the diversity of the Pentecostal religious manifestations with the desire to attract members to these churches. The diversity of Pentecostalism and its fluid boundaries are key issues I have used in this study to explain the growing trend of popularizing Pentecostal music in relation to secularization and sacralization processes.

Betty Nayiga's research on Pentecostal church music in Kampala shows that pastors encourage their church musicians to perform Christian music in any style. She observes that reggae, jazz, Afro-beat, hip-hop, RnB and rock and roll function in Pentecostal church services (2006). Nayiga's research connects well with mine, especially in the aspects of geographical scope, methodology and music genres like reggae, Afro-beat and RnB, which I have included among those influencing secular popular music and Pentecostal music. It also addresses the change in Pentecostal music to popular style and how this music functions across sacred and secular places (Basoga 2006).

Jean Kidula has examined how Gospel music has been developed into Christian popular music in Kenya, focusing on the nature of the lyrical content, recording, dissemination, marketing and performance context (1995, 1998 and 2000). Damaris Seleina Parsitau has also researched on Pentecostal gospel music and its influence on the youth in Kenya (2006). Gregory F. Barz has also discussed meaning in Benga music of western Kenya, using Luo gospel music as a case study (2001). Ezeru Chitando (2002), John Collins (2004) and Mathew Ojo (1998) have specifically written about gospel music in different parts of Africa. These scholars have all examined specific ways contemporary Christianity has influenced changes in Pentecostal music and its performance context in African countries. They have examined the contexts in which secularization, sacralization, Africanization and globalization of Pentecostalism have been negotiated through art. Their approach to research in terms of observation, listening to recorded music and attending live music shows connect with the methodology I adopted for my study and have provided valuable insights into different analytical processes.

David Maxwell (1998), Paul Gifford (1999), Allan Anderson (2004) and David Martin (2002) discuss and analyze the political, social and economic perspectives of Pentecostal church movements in Africa. Their studies show how Pentecostalism as a transnational religious culture has influenced different Pentecostal and charismatic movements in Africa to be characterized by African traditional cultures and western popular culture. J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (2004) Cephas N. Omenyo (2002) and Ogbu Kalu (2008) discuss different ways Pentecostal movements in Africa have manifested the Gospel of Prosperity, extending American Pentecostalism to Africa. They also explore how Pentecostals have constructed African Pentecostalism and how they have contested the colonial missionary power structures, particularly church leadership and segregation practices in the mainstream churches that stem directly from colonial missionization,. These scholars use a number of theoretical perspectives such as post-colonialism, globalization, post modernism, hybridity and acculturation, which I have used to develop my discussions.

Further, I have reviewed literature specific to Pentecostal (gospel) music in other parts of the world as a means of examining developments in this music in a global context. I have taken a special interest in articles written by Irene Joyce Brown (1990), Mellonee Burnim (1980), Queen Booker (1988), Joyce Marie Jackson (1995) and Patricia Sheehan Campbell (1995). This scholarly work provides the historical perspective of the origin and growth of gospel music in the United States of America and how it has crossed over to Africa and Uganda in particular. These scholars have also examined the evolution of gospel music in the USA, associating developments in this music with cultural interactions resulting from the influence of urbanization. Cultural interactions and urbanization discussed by these scholars connect well with the factors influencing transformations in Pentecostal gospel music in Kampala.

Mark Evans also writes about contemporary congregational music in Sydney, Australia, discussing different aspects leading to the rise of Pentecostal church music in that city. Evans' research includes history, technology (especially that associated with mass media and marketing

of Pentecostal music), which are some of the aspects included in my study. He also examines how Christian music has changed into popular music in Sydney, focusing on style, lyrical content, instrumentation and secularization of sacred music. This literature provides valuable information relating to different themes in my study and presents popularizing music as global phenomena. Peter Clarke also explores contemporary religions in a global perspective, reflecting on the Pentecostal religious practices as well as post-colonialism, globalization and other theories relating to cultural interactions and the colonial missionary encounter with new religious movements (2006). Scholars like Steven Brouwer *et al.* (1999), Allan Anderson (2004), Simon Coleman (2000) and John Wolffe (2002) have studied Pentecostalism in a global context, examining the globalizing factors, especially media technology and the Internet, and also contextualizing the convergence of Pentecostal music and secular popular music as a global phenomenon. They also examine how Pentecostal churches have dynamically transformed from traditional to contemporary Christianity, reflecting on acculturation, globalization, post-colonial and postmodern influences. I have used this scholarly work to develop my study discussions relating the popularity of Pentecostal music to specific theoretical dimensions.

With regard to the sacred and the secular, I have used Belk *et al.*'s study of secularization and sacralization as complementary processes to explain various ways the sacred can become secular and how the secular becomes sacred (1987). Matthew T. Evans discusses the characteristics of the sacred and the secular, observing that the religious sacred beliefs, values and practices do not change, while secular performances are characterized by transformations and creativity (2003). This forms a context in which to refer to changing Pentecostal music from the Western choral style to popular style as a way of secularizing this sacred music. Jonathan H. Shannon examines how performers and audiences negotiate the meaning of sacred and secular performances in relation to transnational cultural music concerts. His discussion of Syrian sacred music and explanation on how place and time

determine the stylization of sacred music performances (2003), relate to the different periods and types of Pentecostal music I have discussed in Chapter Two.

Hiromi Lorraine Sakata explores the transformations in Qawwali, a spiritual musical expression of the Sufi poetry in southern Asia, focusing on the lyrics as an important aspect of sacred music (1994). The emphasis Sakata puts on the lyrics forms a context in which to explain why Pentecostal music artists have used Christian lyrics in secular popular music styles. Lois Ibsen alFaruqi has conducted a comparative study of the Gregorian Chant of the Christian tradition and the Qur'anic recital of the Islamic tradition. She has associated changes in Christian religious music with the diversity of Christian denominations (1983:21-31). alFaluqu's study forms interesting insights into the diversity of Pentecostal churches in Kampala and how they have opened up the possibilities for popularizing Pentecostal music. Generally, the different theories, concepts and perspectives included in this section offer a possibility to discuss the similarities between Pentecostal music and secular popular music focusing on both local and global influences.

1.4 Methodology

In this ethnographic research I used a qualitative approach with specific research tools including observation, interviews, video and audio recording, notation of specific songs, photography and data analysis. Before getting into the actual process of data collection, I spent two months identifying and locating the Pentecostal churches and Pentecostal music artists I wanted to include as my informants.

1.4.1 Research Strategy

Since there are many Pentecostal churches in Kampala and its suburbs, I first chose four which were easy to locate: Rubaga Miracle Center, Kampala Pentecostal Church (KPC, also called Watoto Church), Prayer Palace (Kibuye) and Namirembe Christian Fellowship. I attended two Sunday services in Kampala Pentecostal Church, two in Rubaga Miracle Center, two in Prayer Palace and two in Namirembe Christian Center. I attended these services to get the opportunity to observe the type of music performed in these churches and compare it to type which has gained popularity in the city.

These churches use music bands with electric guitars, keyboards and percussions and during services they allow individual choirs to perform. Most importantly, however, all these choirs combine and form a mass choir which leads corporate worship sessions and congregational singing. Their services are lively, because of a variety of music performed, including hymns, choral music, solo singing and group dancing. The music played in KPC and Namirembe Christian Center included both hymns and choral music and contemporary Christian music. This is attributed to the influence of Pastor Gary M. Skinner and his wife Marilyn Skinner, missionaries of the Canadian Assemblies of God who started KPC and are still in full management of its missionary activities. With regard to Namirembe Christian Center, Pastor Kayiwa himself started the Calvary Cross Choir and it has maintained its choral music style (Kizito 2010).

While observing the congregational singing, I noted specific contexts in which music was used. After the services, I interacted with pastors, lay Christians, specific worship team members and gospel music artists. I used this period to ask questions about specific issues relating to my research. It was also a period for making appointments and getting phone contacts. In most cases I introduced myself as a student studying Pentecostal Christian music,

and this attracted the attention of some members, and some of them would ask whether I am saved or not. My answer was positive and that served as an opening for me to get information leading me to knowledgeable informants and how to locate them. Some of the informants, especially the pastors, prayed for me and blessed my research in a way that seemed to be targeting diversion of purpose from data collection to fellowship. However, I tried as much as possible to avoid lengthy conversations relating to religious beliefs.

By affirming to those men of God that I would spare time and go back for such spiritual matters. Some of them were anxious to interact with me, hoping that I would connect them with rich Pentecostals in Norway. It was a rather tricky situation because I wanted to get information from them at the same time I did not want to disappoint them. In all this I maintained what Jeff Todd Titon has described as “the worker’s stance,” also learning from him that sometimes informants carry out research on the researchers themselves (1985). . Most importantly, a number of Pentecostals were cooperative and they divulged the valuable information I wanted from them and also gave me the phone contacts of specific music artists including those in the secular category.

During this period I identified a number of Pentecostal artists whose music I had already accessed on You Tube. For instance, I found Ken Mizik and David Lule, in Rubaga Miracle Center and when I told them that I like their songs “*Ekintambuza empola mulugendo lwange*” (“The Reason Why I Move Slowly”) and “*Bijjakuterera*” (“The Situation Will be Better”), they were happy and eager to listen to me. Actually, they availed some phone contacts for specific Pentecostal music artists including that of Jacky Ssenyonjo and Pastor Wilson Bugembe. They also enlightened me about artists who were planning to launch their new Christian music albums, particularly Jacky Ssenyonjo on 02.08.2009, at Kansanga Miracle Center and Irene Kisakye on 9 August 2009, at Pride Theatre.

At Prayer Palace I found Dinah Kayaga, one of the young gospel music artists from my home town (Jinja). Kayaga operates a cell phone shop in the city center and she had the phone contacts for a number of Pentecostal music artists. Among others, she introduced me to Betty Nakibuka, Betty Namaganda and Lydia Yiga (Pentecostal music artists). She also gave me the phone contacts for Wasswa Kiyingi, Judith Babirye and Grace Morgan among others. Fortunately, every Pentecostal music artist I interacted with linked me with others, making my research process quite smooth.

After acquiring phone contacts for a number of Pentecostal music artists, and information about their locations, my next step was to attend services in specific churches, this time not to observe the nature of music in these churches but to interact with the music artists themselves and to make formal arrangements for the interviews. On Sunday, 2 August 2009, I attended Jacky Ssenyonjo's launch of her new Christian music album in Kansanga Miracle Center. This was the first music concert I attended and it exposed me to a number of Pentecostal music artists, whom I approached individually and made appointments for the interviews. I got an invitation card from Irene Kisakye, who was intending to launch her album on the following Sunday, 9 August 2009. I also met Wasswa Kiyingi, the chairperson for Uganda National Association for Gospel Music Artists (UNAGA). Among other things, I got the schedules for specific artists intending to launch their music albums including that of Pastor Wilson Bugembe, Carol Bu'dhuke, and Kiwana MCAfrica. Indeed, I attended Kisakye's function in Pride Theater followed by Bugembe's one on Friday, 14 August 2009 and the other on Sunday, 16 August 2009 at Hotel Africana and Gaba Beach, respectively. Each of the two Pentecostal music concerts organized by Bugembe attracted a large audience and many Pentecostal music artists participated. I also attended Bu'dhuke's function organized at Victory Church Ndeeba, her home church. I bought a CD and DVD during this

function. At all these activities I observed and recorded information relevant to my research.

1.4.2. General Observation.

Functions organized in public places such theatres, hotels and the beach attracted larger audiences than those in the Pentecostal church premises. My observation is that staging live music shows in public places attracts non-Pentecostals because such places are designed for entertainment. The organizers of such functions also target large audiences and these include both Pentecostals and the non-Pentecostals. On the contrary, events organized in the Pentecostal church premises turn out to be Pentecostal church activities which only attract Pentecostal members. Pentecostal music artists turned up in large numbers and those who also had intentions of launching their albums used this opportunity to announce to the audience where the next concert would be staged. I also observed that concerts organized in hotel premises were actually attended by rich people, as the fee charged was a bit high for low income earners as compared to those organized in open places or other recreational centers. Focusing more on music itself, no choirs performed choral music; the only performers were individual music artists who used this opportunity to sing and market their music CDs and DVDs. In my view, therefore, individual Pentecostal music artists value the live shows which in essence expose them to the public. According to Bu'dhuike these functions expose individual artists to promoters who sport them and take care of the necessary procedures (Interview 2010). I also observed that staging Christian music shows in open places and other non-church venues attract business people to attend and market their products. Actually, smoking and drinking alcohol, which Pentecostals would prefer not to have at the venue where they make their sacred performances, characterized these music concerts.

1.4.3 Interviews

I interacted with more than fifty informants, and interviewed thirty-two. Among these, eight were pastors, six of them also doubling as music artists. Sixteen were full-time Pentecostal music artists, three were secular music artists but also appeared among Christian music artists, two were lecturers from Makerere University, one was a promoter, one a producer of Christian music and one a member of the Church of Uganda. The informant from the Church of Uganda belonged to the God's Messengers, one of the historical choirs in Bugembe Cathedral in the Busoga region. I particularly wanted to interview him for the information about the history of Pentecostal music that he could provide. I conducted formal interviews including structured and non-structured ones, with open-ended and specific questions. I used open-ended questions to allow informants to give a wide range of views, allowing me to collect data relating to the objectives of the study and specific research questions. I also used specific questions in cases that required short answers. I conducted these interviews using personal interactions as well as phone connections, especially during instances where I needed clarification while in Bergen, Norway.

1.4.4 Video and Audio Recording and Photography

I recorded interviews using audio recording as well as writing specific points in my research notebooks. I also used video recording especially during music concerts to enable me to play back and forth during transcription of data. In addition to the recorded events I also bought some Pentecostal Christian music recorded on DVDs and CDs to listen to and view, as a basis for analysis using specific examples. I used the recordings of specific events, music on

DVDs, CDs and MP3 to develop and supplement information in specific sections of this research.

1.4. 5 Mass Media

Since radio, television and the Internet have been important means of disseminating gospel music, I listened to and watched a number of gospel music programs on the radio and on television. I also used You Tube to access gospel music performed by Ugandan Pentecostal gospel music artists, examining how global channels of communication have secularized sacred music.

1.4.6 Data Analysis

With regard to data analysis, I used both in-field and out-of-field analysis, according to observations and the way informants responded to the research questions. I specifically analyzed the style of singing, focusing on the lyrics, instrumentation and gestures, particularly dancing movements. With regard to the music itself, I concentrated more on CDs, DVDs and music on You Tube than on live concerts since they are the representatives of what the artists produce and market to the community. I have included excerpts of specific songs in particular sections where they apply, and I have provided a discography as reference material.

1.4. 7 Limitations

Although I managed to collect the data I wanted for my research, I encountered some challenges which to some extent hindered the progress of this study. First and foremost, identifying knowledgeable Pentecostal gospel music artists about its history was quite

difficult because many of them converted to Pentecostalism in 1990s and 2000s. The categorization of these artists as senior¹⁶ and junior¹⁷ (as described by Kayaga during the familiarization period), also problematized the process of making selections from both categories. I did manage to choose informants from both categories, but seniors were not easy to contact as compared to the juniors. In addition, some of the informants, especially in the junior category, demanded money for transport, compelling me to spend beyond my budget. In some cases I had to use part of my monthly stipend to cater for such circumstances. There were instances when I avoided making appointments with some informants after realizing that they wanted me to pay money before they would cooperate with me and give me the information I wanted for my research.

Events like launching new albums always started late in the evening and would sometimes run up to midnight, which proved to be risky for me because of the long distance I had to travel back home. I attended the concerts staged in hotels and churches to the end, but in those conducted in open places like stadiums and beaches I only participated in limited activities. Similarly, some Pentecostals music artists did not want to show that they earn money on their sacred music. Such artists gave brief answers like, it is God's power at work, God is great, and it is God's grace that our music has become popular among other things. Under such circumstances I had to heap a lot of praises on the artists and appreciation and later on get back to business.

Another problem I encountered was connected with the launching of albums where I was compelled to buy a DVD and CDs, which were sometimes expensive. For instance I bought a DVD at 100,000 Ugandan shillings, because of my appearance and desire to

¹⁶ Senior category consists of Pentecostal music artists who have produced a number of music albums and many of them have produced some of the best gospel hits in Kampala. .

¹⁷ Juniors are mainly the up-and-coming Pentecostal music artists whose music has not been rated among the popular hits.

participate in activities. These are some of the problems I encountered during the process of collecting data and to some extent limited my study in one way or another.

The content introduced in this chapter serves as a point of departure for examining the complex nature of Pentecostalism as a religious culture and Pentecostal music as its sacred symbol. It also shows that making Pentecostal music what it is today has required different stages following developments in technology and the increased opportunities for cultural interactions. In the next chapter, I will trace the history of Pentecostalism and Pentecostal music in relation to increased opportunities for cultural interactions and global technology in general.

CHAPTER TWO

History of Pentecostal Music in Kampala

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will examine the history of Pentecostal music since 1935 when the first Pentecostal church was established in Uganda. I will also include Christian music of the revival movements that emerged within the mainstream (Anglican) Church of Uganda in 1936. Using Christianization, civilization and westernization, I will examine how the Namirembe Church Music Festivals shaped Anglican Christian music before and after independence. Similarly, I will examine how these festivals inspired the revival movements to negotiate their musical identity as well as proclaiming the word of God using art. Further, I will discuss the developments in Pentecostal music in three different periods: before independence (1935-1962) and after independence (1962-1986 and 1986-2010). I will show how the mixing of cultures and the embracement of the global media technology have influenced the convergence of Pentecostal music and secular popular music in Kampala. Since Pentecostal music is a sacred symbol of the Pentecostal religious culture, it is informative to begin with a brief history of the five broad Pentecostal movements in Uganda: 1) Pentecostal Assemblies of God; 2) Elim Church; 3) Full Gospel Church and 4) Prosperity Gospel Church Movement and Charismatic Movement of the *balokole* or “the saved.”

2.2.1 Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG)

Pentecostal Assemblies of God was the first Pentecostal Church in Uganda, established in 1935 by the Canadian Assemblies of God, a missionary group from Canada

(Gifford 1999:100 and Rheneen 1976:98). These missionaries came to Uganda via Kenya. They were accompanied by the *Bagisu* converts who had crossed from eastern Uganda to Kenya and some converts from the *Baluyah* tribe, in western Kenya (Rheneen 1976:98). These missionaries established their first Pentecostal church in Mbale, in the *Bugisu* region in the eastern Uganda. Despite starting their missionary work in 1935, the Canadian Assemblies of God missionaries only came to Kampala in 1984. Pastor Gary M. Skinner and his wife Marilyn Skinner started the first Pentecostal Assemblies of God church in Kampala called Kampala Pentecostal Church (KPC) (Gifford 1999), but it was recently changed to Kampala Watoto¹⁸ Church (KWC).

2.2.2 The Revival Movement of the *Balokole* (Saved people)

Balokole is a *Luganda* word meaning “the saved people”. The revival movement of the *Balokole* started in 1931 in Rwanda, spread to western Uganda in 1935 and in 1936 to Central Uganda. This revival movement emerged when Bishop Stuart of the Church of Uganda invited a team of revivalists from western Uganda to come to Mukono Bishop Tucker College for an evangelization mission (Ward 1991). The mission was intended to reawaken the Christians of the Church of Uganda, before the celebrations of the Diamond Jubilee in 1937. Following the invitation, Simeon Nsibambi, Joe Church, Blasio Kigozi and Yosiya Kinula¹⁹ came to Mukono Bishop Tucker College and established the revival movement of the *Tukutendereza Yesu* (“We Praise You, Jesus”). The revivalists described the (Anglican) Church of Uganda as a “sleeping church” because some of its members were involved in

¹⁸ Watoto is a Swahili word meaning children. Pastor Gary M. Skinner and his wife Marilyn Skinner have established a project (orphanage) and have established units also called villages for the orphans including cschools and health centers. These orphans participate in the church activities especially singing, dancing and drama. The church has therefore been named Watoto in recognition of these orphans.

¹⁹ These were the first born-again Christians of the *Tukutendereza Yesu* revival movement

immoral practices but the church leaders had done nothing to stop that kind of sin. Referring to themselves as *abazukufu* meaning “the reawakened,” the revivalists emphasized the need for the entire Anglican Church to wake up from sleep (Ward 1991).

The enthusiastic revivalists also urged the reawakened members to “reject any assimilation between the Church and the world and between Christianity and African custom, which they deemed to be present among the mass of lukewarm Christians” (Gifford 1999:97). From Mukono Bishop Tucker College, the Tukutendereza movement took root in Namirembe Cathedral and also spread to other parts of the country (*Ibid.*).

2.2.3 Full Gospel Church

The Full Gospel Church was started in 1960 by Hugh and Audrey Lazell, the Glad Tidings missionaries who had been sent to Kenya to work under Elim Church because the Elimites lacked manpower (Rheneen 19769 and Kizito 2010). These missionaries came to Uganda in 1960 and were granted legal status to start their gospel mission. They were accompanied by the Kenyan converts who translated their message from English to Swahili, the second national language of Uganda. As a result of the misunderstandings between the two missionary societies the Elim missionary organization Assemblies,²⁰ an offshoot of Lim Lima, New York, sent their own members to start the Elim Church in Uganda. Thus, the Glad Tidings missionaries registered Full Gospel Church as an independent church movement in 1962 and their first church was established at Makerere, Kampala.

²⁰ The Elim missionaries conflicted with the Glad Tidings missionaries who had been sent to start the Elim Church in Uganda (Reneen 1976).

2.2.4 Elim Church

Elim Church was started in 1962 by Arthur Dodzeit, an American missionary sent by the Elim missionary society. He established the first Elim Church at Mengo, which is part of Kampala. Dodzeit left his brother Bud Sickler in Mombasa, Kenya and came to Uganda with some Kenyan converts who occasionally translated his message from English to Swahili (Rheneen 1976).

All these three church movements were founded by white missionaries and are still assisted with overseas funds and personnel (Gifford 1999:101). In the categorization of Pentecostal churches in Africa, the churches established by white missionaries belong to Classical Pentecostal Churches.

2.2.5 Eschatos Bride Ministries

The Eschatos Bride Ministries (Abagole ba Yesu) was formed by Abbey Salongo Kibalama, and Joseph Mulindwa, among others. Kibalama was a member of the *Tukutendereza Yesu* revival movement. He started the Eschatos Bride Ministries in 1963. Kibalama and Mulinde, both tutors in Buloba Teachers' Training College, had a vision of preaching the word of God to students in high schools. Kibalama, who loved music, initiated the Eschatos Bride Choir, following developments initiated by the Namirembe Church Music Festivals. The Eschatos Bride Ministries initiated Bible study fellowships and Scripture union in schools, (Kibalama; Telephone interview on 06.09. 2010). Kizito reports that some of the Scripture Union members became ministers of the word of God. Specifically, in 1967 five members of Nabumali High school Scripture Union started the "young Ambassadors of Christ Fellowship," which became Deliverance Church in 1971 (2010).

2.2.6 Deliverance Church

In 1967, Joe Kayo, a Kenyan evangelist, came to Nabumali High School to share the word of God with members of the Scripture Union. Along with their teacher, Moses Ochwo, five students were converted, left the mainstream Church of Uganda, describing themselves as the Young Ambassadors of Christ. These members formed the Deliverance Church, later became pastors and started branches of their church wherever each of them settled for work or other activities. Pastor Richard Epiu, one of these five, established Jinja Deliverance Church in 1973 (Basoga 2006:50). Another church that started as a result of these circumstances was the Redeemed Church, which started in 1972 in Kibuye, a suburb of Kampala. There are quite a number of churches formed as a result of the enthusiasm and dynamic spirituality exhibited by members of Scripture Union and former youth leaders in the Anglican Church. I have generally described those churches as prosperity churches.

2.2.7 Prosperity Churches

Prosperity Churches are home-grown churches and were introduced by Pentecostals who were formerly members of the classical Pentecostal churches or the mainstream Church of Uganda. Rheneen states that Idi Amin Dada, the former president of Uganda, banned all Pentecostal church activities in 1977 and repatriated foreign missionaries.²¹ Specifically, Amin claimed to have conquered the British Empire and associated ¹⁰Pentecostal white missionary work with the political activities of the British colonialists (1976). Despite the banning of Pentecostal missionary activities, churches' fellowship meetings were conducted in the homes of the church leaders or prominent church members. By 1979 when Amin's

²¹ Amin wanted to turn Uganda into a Muslim country and claimed to have conquered the British Empire. The existence of the foreigners in Uganda especially whites was conceived as a political threat

government was overthrown, Pentecostalism had grown even stronger (Basoga 2006 and Kizito 2010).

Amin wanted Ugandans to be independent politically, economically and religiously. He encouraged Uganda Christians to start their own churches (Rheneen 1976), paving the way for Ugandan Pentecostals to initiate the prosperity churches. However, a number of Pentecostals were skeptical, because Amin's regime was characterized by persecutions. Pastor Simeon Kayiwa started the Namirembe Christian Fellowship in 1977, which came to be established as an independent church only in 1980. The overthrow of Amin's government functioned as a turning point for home fellowships to become full-fledged prosperity churches.

During the early 1980s, the impact of Pentecostalism was not great because of the instability caused by National Resistance Army and other rebel groups. During this time, churches described as *Kanisa eze biwempe* (papyrus churches) were temporarily erected. Most of the more permanently established prosperity churches were started in the late 1980s when peace and order were restored by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni (Gifford 1999:103). In Kampala alone, it is not easy to accurately estimate the number of Pentecostal churches because of their diversity and the nature of their existence. Some of these churches have secured land in Kampala and have constructed permanent structures. Others are mobile because they use school premises or other available places for their fellowships and services. All forms of Pentecostalism and Charismatic/revival movements included in this section have contributed to the development of Pentecostal music in Uganda in specific ways. In the following section, I embark on relaying this influence as I present the history of Pentecostal music in Uganda and Kampala in particular.

2.3 History of Pentecostal Music (1935-1962)

Anita Desire Asaasira associates the history of Pentecostal music with the Namirembe Church Music Festival (Interview 2010). The festival started in 1929 by Reverend G.M Duncan, then Music Director and organist of Namirembe Cathedral. Duncan introduced these festivals to develop a Christian music culture in the Anglican Church-founded schools. There were only three items on the festival syllabus, namely hymns, chorals and anthems (Zipola 2010). Duncan died in 1936 and the festival was suspended. In the same year, the revival movement of the Tukutendereza Yesu (We Praise you Jesus) emerged in the (Anglican) Church of Uganda.

Dr, K Watchsman revived the Namirembe Church Music Festival in 1944, and included psalms, canticles, Negro Spirituals, European folk songs, madrigals, and Ugandan traditional folk songs on the festival syllabus. Basically, the festival was dominated by western music items and the adjudicators used to come from Europe. Psalms and canticles were set to African traditional tunes. Sacred pieces performed during the festivals were also played in Namirembe Cathedral, during a service that marked the end of the festival (*Ibid.*).

Although my main focus is on the history of Pentecostal music, the presence of the Tukutendereza revival movement in the Anglican Church forms an entry point into examining how these festivals shaped the music values of the revivalists. Firstly, the festivals show how the missionaries used music to instill civilization and westernization amongst the Anglican Church members. Students and teachers in the Anglican-founded schools got the opportunity to read and write music in notation form. This is one way Christianization, civilization and westernization transformed the music values of the Ugandans, thereby fragmenting the traditional music cultures. Also, the western music items that dominated the festivals reflect how the missionaries in these festivals would undermine the traditional music identity of the

Ugandans. Further, the festivals served as an avenue for making the sacred and secular distinctions because the items which the missionaries considered as sacred were selected and performed in Namirembe Cathedral. Most importantly, the festivals initiated the Tukutendereza revivalists into performing Christian music in a Western choral style, which was accepted as sacred music, as such, music performed in traditional style was regarded as secular.

According to Ogbu Kalu, the initiators of the *Tukutendereza Yesu* (We Praise You, Jesus) were youths (2008:16) and the movement was named after the *Tukutendereza* song itself (Ward 1991). *Tukutendereza* was used as a “nickname by the detractors of the new movement” (*ibid.*). The revivalists used this song to express the experience of receiving salvation in Jesus Christ. It was sung during fellowships, when giving testimonies and witnessing to members outside their fellowships among others functions (*ibid.*). It is in vernacular (Luganda) and designed in refrain and stanza form. The Eschatos recorded the song in soprano, alto, tenor and bass and by 2010 it was still in its original choral form, a cappella style. According to Kibalama, the first recording of *Tukutendereza* which he made in the late 1960s has remained in use up to today (Telephone interview; 13.10.2010). Below are the complete lyrics of the song.

Figure 2. Tukutendereza Yesu (Track No 1)

Luganda	English
Ekiddibwamu	Refrain
Tukutendereza Yesu Yesu oli mwana gwendiga, Omusaayi gunazizza, Nkwebaza omulokozi.	We praise you Jesus Jesus the Lamb of God Your blood cleanses me I thank the savior
Ekitundu 1	Stanza 1

<p>Yesu mulokozi wange Leero ndi wuwo wekka Omusaayi gwo gunazizza Yesu omwana gwendiga</p> <p>2 Edda nafuba nga nnyo nze Okufuna emirembe Leero kamalirire nze Okweyambisa Yesu</p> <p>3 Laba bwoliraga abangi Obulokozi bubwo Obutali bwa kitundu Bweyampera obwerere</p> <p>4 Nategezanga bannange Nobuvumu nesitya Yesu yansumulula Mu kkubo ye yamponya</p> <p>5 Nebaza eyanunula nze Eyafa nga wakisa Yesu ankuma ansannyusizza nze Bulijjo yebazibwe</p>	<p>Jesus my Savior Believe in you alone Your blood has cleansed me Jesus the Lamb of God</p> <p>2 In the past I tried hard, To seek freedom Today am determined To accept Jesus as my savior</p> <p>3 See how you've shown Many Your Salvation Not in halves Which I received for free</p> <p>4 I will always tell my friends Boldly, without fear Jesus set me free On the way, he saved me.</p> <p>5 I thank Jesus who redeemed me How merciful is he who died Jesus protects me, he has blessed me He should always be praised</p>
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Besides using the song *Tukutendereza*, the born-again Christians embraced all the liturgical music of the Anglican Church of Uganda (Kibalama: telephone interviews; 13.10.2010). Basically, this period was mainly characterized by music activities initiated by the Anglican Church missionaries and the *Tukutendereza* movement. With regard to the music of the Assemblies of God, Kibalama told me that before Uganda became independent in 1962, Pentecostalism was not popular and was mainly practiced in the eastern part of Uganda. He named the Anglican Church, Roman Catholic Church, Islam and the African traditional religions as the religions known in Uganda in the period before independence. He

generally expressed ignorance about the type of music Pentecostals used during their evangelization mission.

Musulube’s response was not different from that of Kibalama. He specifically noted that he heard from his relatives about the activities of the Pentecostals who were generally described as *Mungu ‘Mwema*,²² a Swahili expression for “God is good” (interview; 05.2.2010). Actually, *Mungu ‘Mwema* was also a common song sung by members of the Scripture Union especially in secondary schools during the 1980s and 1990s. I did not access a recording of this music but I have included an excerpt of one part:

Figure 3 Mungu ‘mwema (God is good)

Swahili	English
Solo: Oh Mungu ‘mwema	Oh God is good,
Chorus: Hallelujah Mungu ‘mwema,	Hallelujah oh God is good,
Mungu ‘mwema,	oh God is good,
Umwema kwaangu.	He’s good to me.

The lyrics of the song are about glorifying the name of God. It is based on the Pentecostals belief that God is good all the time and the soloist uses lyrics like God saves and heals, answers the believers’ prayers and blesses his people among things. Following Gifford’s observation, Kampala Pentecostal Church services (which he himself attended in the 1990s) were characterized by hymns and congregational singing. He also notes that the church is distinguished by its lively worship and specifically mentions the English hymns accompanied by electronic guitars, percussions and electronic key board (*ibid.*). Betty Nayiga

²² Mungu Mwema means “Oh, God is Good”; it was derived from a song which the missionaries sang during their gospel mission. It was translated into Swahili by the Kenyan converts, some of whom accompanied the white missionaries to Uganda.

also observed that hymns and cantatas as some of the music performed during church services (2006:24). I also observed a variety of music, including hymns, performed when I attended services in this church. Since hymns are associated with the Christian music introduced by White missionaries, its presence in Kampala Pentecostal Church connects with the Canadian missionaries still serving in this church. It also creates a relation between the first Pentecostal church in Uganda and the Pentecostal music itself.

2.3 After Independence (1962-1986)

The period between 1962 and 1986 was characterized by political, economic and cultural changes. Firstly, Uganda became independent politically in 1962 and in the same year Full Gospel Church and Elim Church were introduced in the country. These two church movements introduced more theological values of the Pentecostal religion to Ugandans, especially in the context of spirituality, missionization and music (Rheenen 1976). In addition, the Eschatos Bride ministries led by Kibalama started their evangelical mission in 1963. Kibalama, who was a tutor at Buloba Primary Teachers' College, drew inspirations from the Namirembe Church Music Festival and formed an evangelical group called *Abagole ba Yesu* (Eschatos Bride) Ministries. The Eschatos constituted a choir as well as evangelists whose mission was to preach salvation to students in high schools and other institutions of learning. Using Christian music in choral form, the Eschatos Bride Ministries revitalized the Scripture Union in schools, something the mainstream Anglican Churches had not done before. Kibalama used students from high schools to sing hymns, choruses and anthems following the music knowledge he acquired from the Namirembe Church Music festivals. The choir sang in a cappella form using soprano, alto, tenor and bass voices (Kibalama: Telephone interview; 13. 10.2010).

The Eschatos did not introduce a new type of church music. Instead they improved on the quality of singing hymns by following the soprano, alto, tenor and bass voices according to the music notated in the hymn books. Kibalama himself told me that he was the first person to start performing Christian music in schools. Many times the Eschatos Bride Choir performed in the Radio Uganda studios, and their music was recorded and played, making this group popular in Uganda. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the Eschatos Bride Choir performed during weddings and parties, which also functioned as avenues for spreading their gospel as well as making their music popular. The first recording was named “Enjuba ya Yesu” (the Sun of Jesus). The Eschatos Bride Choir also described their music as “gospel music” because they used it for ministering the word of God.

Joshua Mafabi also told me that he converted to the Pentecostal faith (Elim Church) in 1962. During the 1960s and early 1970s before Iddi Amin banned the Pentecostal missionary activities in Uganda, Kenyan converts who accompanied the white missionaries sang in Swahili (interview; 02 03.2010). He mentioned a number of songs but I have included one example in this section. The song is called *Bendesita Niwazi* (The Door is Open). It was used during church services and in open places where the evangelists conducted their gospel crusades. Below is the excerpt of the song.

Figure 4. Bendesta Niwazi (Track No. 2)

Refrain

Bendesta Niwazi	The door is open
Malayika anafika	The Angel is here
Mwokozi anapita saasa	The Savior is calling you
Ingia magini	Get into the stream of water,
Yanabubugika	It is flowing.
Bendesta wa Mungu nihapo	The door is open, God is here.

It is in refrain and stanza form, performed in choral style of soprano, alto, tenor and bass. A recording was made in 2008 (though the voices were not balanced) of the Golden Gate Choir, a Seventh Day Adventist choir also started in the early 1970s, performing this song, drawing inspirations from the Eschatos Bride Choir. The Golden Gate Choir also performed Christian music in choral form, in a cappella style (Kibalama: Telephone interview; 20.08. 2010).

In 1975, Jimmy Katumba, formerly a member of the Eschatos Choir, formed his own gospel music group called the Light Bearers. He carried forward the music style and skill learnt from the Eschatos Bride Choir. Also, the band 'Africa Go Forward', shortened to Afrigo Band, was formed in 1975, a time when Jalu music from Kenya and Congolese music (sokous) were the top styles hits in Kampala and Uganda at large (Bu'dhuike: Interview 2010). Katumba was inspired by the music of the Afrigo Band, compelling him to play both Christian and secular popular music, and to change the name of his band from the Light Bearers to Jimmy Katumba²³ and the Ebonies. Because of the political upheavals during Idi Amin Dada's regime, music associated with the traditional Pentecostals could not be played.

When Amin banned all Pentecostal activities in Uganda in the 1970s and repatriated foreign Pentecostal missionaries (Gifford 1999), Pentecostal church leaders conducted fellowships in homes of prominent church leaders. Actually, some of these fellowships later became Pentecostal churches. Namirembe Christian Fellowship started in 1977 (Gifford 1999:104) and became a full-fledged church in 1980 after the fall of Amin's government in 1979.

In addition to the Eschatos Bride Choir and Golden Gate Choir, Pastor Simeon Kayiwa started the Calvary Cross Choir, on the basis of ministering the word of God through music. Kayiwa was inspired by the choral setting of the Eschatos and Golden Gate Choirs

²³ The Light Bearers was associated with a Christian mission, but the music repertoire of that band was diversified also to include secular music, and thus, there was need to change the name of the band.

(Bu'dhuike: interview; 24.06.2010). It was the first church choir in the Namirembe Christian Fellowship, singing hymns and newly composed church songs in choral form. Other Pentecostal churches established by Ugandans in the 1980s included Rubaga Miracle Center, El Shaddai Ministries, Victory Church, and Prayer Palace (Gifford 1999). These churches were founded following the theology of prosperity, characterizing Pentecostalism in the United States of America (Kalu 2008).

The Eschatos Bride Choir and Golden Gate Choir also inspired Pastor Steven Ogwang of Redeemed Church to start the Living Sound Choir in the 1980s. While Kayiwa's Calvary Cross Choir performed Christian music in choral form, Ogwang diversified the church music using choral, dance and drama (Bu'dhuike: Interview on 24.06.2010). Basically, from 1962 up to 1986 the influence of the Namirembe Church Music Festival on Christian music (choral form) was still visible. Ogwang was the first Pentecostal church leader to incorporate dance and drama into Pentecostal church services. Apart from Ogwang of the Redeemed Church who included dance and drama in the church music performances, sacred music was generally arranged in refrain and stanza order and it was mainly performed during church services and gospel crusades outside church premises. These developments show how pastors and evangelists drew a dividing line between sacred and secular music. Ogwang's diversification of church music performances resonate with Rick Warren's view, emphasizing that pastors need to select church music that appeals to the people they intend to evangelize (1999:284).

Despite the *kadongo-kamu* music,²⁴ Sokous and Jalu²⁵ music that was popular in the 1970s and 1980s, Pentecostal music maintained its choral form and value in terms of form and performance context. The boundaries between sacred and secular were distinct and the sounds and styles of both categories were different. Secular popular music played in

²⁴ Kadongo-kamu music is a Kiganda description for one guitar music, a performance that defines the cultural identity of the Baganda in central Uganda (Nannyonga 2002:136).

²⁵ Jalu is one of the tribes in eastern Kenya. Jalu music was popular in Uganda because of Jalu people who came to Uganda to do business, also because it was sung in Swahili, a language commonly used in Uganda.

recreational places where people converged for entertainment during their leisure time and Pentecostal churches were the main locus of Pentecostal music performances. Following the sacred and secular distinctions drawn by the Christian missionaries, born-again Christians were not allowed to blend sacred and what the missionaries regarded as secular practices (Gifford 1999:97). Actually, music that played in recreational places where people go for entertainment was referred to a worldly music (Maxwell 1998:92).

During this period, Radio Uganda and Uganda Television (both owned by the state), were the only broadcasting stations in the nation (Nannyonga 2002:134). Playing Christian music was quite difficult because of the limited broadcasting channels. Besides, there were no studios in Uganda; instead, music artists had to access such facilities in Nairobi, Kenya. Thus, Pentecostal church choirs only had the opportunity to play music outside their local churches during gospel crusades (Bu'dhuike: Interview on 24.06.2010). However, developments in Pentecostal music became more visible from 1986, when Yoweri Kaguta Museveni became the President of Uganda, bringing political order and liberalizing the economy (Gifford 1999:98).

In the next section, I examine closely how developments have been unfolding since 1986.

2.1.3 1986-2010

Between 1986 and 2010, Uganda has experienced dramatic transformations in the political economic and cultural perspectives. Specifically, the liberalization of the economy and the air waves has encouraged Ugandan Pentecostals to invest in the media sector. The radio and television channels owned by Pentecostal investors have played a significant role in the popularity of Pentecostalism and Pentecostal music. Also, the inclusion of freedom of

worship in the Ugandan constitution paved the way for Ugandan Pentecostals to establish more churches in Kampala and Uganda at large.

In the secular music context, bands like Afrigo, Big Five, KABs and WRENS, among others, became popular in Kampala in the early 1990s. They blended local *Kiganda* music (*Ekidigida*) and music materials from *sokous*, reggae and Afro-beat among other music cultures. Sokous²⁵ and Jalu music started losing popularity because of the lyrics, especially those in *Lingala*, which most Ugandans could not understand. Caroline Nakimera, Joanita Kawalya, Prossy Kankunda and Diplock Ssegawa were among the popular music artists of the 1990s. They played a significant role in the popularizing process of band music (Bu'dhuike: interview; 24.06.2010). The sweeping guitar rhythms of *sokous* music that was played in almost all recreational places inspired pastors of Pentecostal churches to introduce *Lingala* Christian music into their churches for purposes of attracting the youth. Pentecostal church leaders imported CDs and DVDs to enable their church choirs learn and perform *Lingala* music in the churches. Also, Pentecostal church leaders and music artists imported recorded music from the United States of America and Europe. Ugandan Pentecostal evangelists invited Pentecostal music artists from the Democratic Republic of Congo to perform especially during church functions, more so during gospel crusades (Bu'dhuike: interview on 24.06. 2010).

Gradually, Pentecostal church leaders who had maintained choral music as the authentic sacred music also acquired music systems, public address systems and musical instruments from Pentecostal church organizations in USA and Europe with which theirs were affiliated. These pastors introduced band music and dynamically diversified their church music to foster their evangelization missions. At this point, pastors started what Kalu describes as unstoppable change in style of Pentecostal music “because of creativity, rivalry,

²⁵ Apart from the dancing following the instrumental rhythms, most Ugandans did not understand the meaning of the lyrics sung in Sokous music (Bu'dhuike: Interview on 24.06.2010).

the pressure of popular culture and shifts in technology (2008:122). This is resulting from the desire to attract membership.

Among other pastors, Joy Nyabongo, one of the Makerere Redeemed Church leaders, introduced Shaloan Galaxy Band. Pastor Robert Kayanja of Lubaga Miracle Center initiated the New Wave Band, Pastor Joseph Sserwadda of Victory Church introduced Victors Band International, and Nabi Viola of Rock Church introduced Rock Band. Band music attracted many people, especially the youth, to join Pentecostal churches and to participate in the church band music. The introduction of bands also inspired many church musicians to develop their talents, in the aspects of composing songs, singing and playing musical instruments (Bu'dhuike :Interview24.06. 2010).

Ignatius Kezaala, a Pentecostal music artist, pointed out that Sarah Sanyu, a member of the Living Sound Choir of Makerere Redeemed Church, recorded her Pentecostal music as a solo gospel music artist in the early 1990s. Fiona Mukasa,²⁶ a member of New Wave Band (Lubaga Miracle Center) also recorded her music in Nairobi.²⁷ These two music artists introduced the culture of recording and marketing the Pentecostal music in Kampala. Similarly, recording gospel music in Nairobi opened up the possibility for interactions amongst Ugandan and Kenyan Pentecostal music artists, thereby influencing Ugandan artists to sing in Swahili and also to blend their music with Kenyan traditional music rhythms (interview; 25.08.2009).

The participation of pastors in the transformations and diversification of Pentecostal music reflects how secularization of Pentecostal music came into force. It also shows that the desire to evangelize through music has exposed the Pentecostals to mixing in the music styles Christian missionaries did not accept to function in church. Also, it shows how the Pentecostal church and music boundaries started becoming fluid. But this did not occur

²⁶ Fiona Mukasa's father (the late Elly Wamala) was among the popular music artists from 1970s to 1990s (Nannyonga 2002:137).

²⁷ Before music studios were established in Kampala, artists used to access such facilities in Nairobi, Kenya.

without the effect of mass media. By the mid-1990s Pentecostalism had gained popularity in many aspects including establishment of new churches, music studios, radio stations and TV stations, and promoting Pentecostal music. The Ebonies, a drama group started by Jimmy Katumba, established a music studio in Kampala, which attracted Pentecostal music artists to record their music in that studio. A number of pastors started establishing music studios and promoting specific Pentecostal music artists. Pentecostal music artists like Katana and Jessica Katana, Ezekiel Ssebagala, Pastor Robert Ssenyonga, Betty Namaganda, Pastor David Bweyinda and Betty Nakibuuka featured as popular Pentecostal music artists of the 1990s (John Ssenyonjo :Interview; 06.04.2010).

Studios such as the one owned by the Eboniess and Kasajja and Sons became popular, recording *kadongokamu* music and Christian music. Other studios established included Three in One studio at Kabowa (started by Kiiwa Jayson) J.C Records, Hope studio and Dreams studio. The owners of these studios and people who worked as producers were all born-again Christians (Bu'dhuike: interview; 24.06. 2010).

Pentecostal music artists like Isaac Rukibigango, Dennis Ssempebwa, and Paul Mutebi went to the United States of America and formed the renowned singing trio of 'Limit X'. Kenny Sserukenya was also involved in performing gospel music in the US. Kiberu went to the U.K. and Patrick Lubega went to Sweden. These artists recorded Pentecostal music in a hybridized form, blending the western and *Kiganda* musical cultures. These music artists made gospel music fashionable and different from the local type in Uganda. Sserukenya came back to Uganda in 1995 and joined Kampala Pentecostal Church, presently known as *Watoto* Church, changing the style of praising and worshipping from the colonial type to a more entertaining style (Bu'dhike : Interview; 19.08. 2009).

In addition, Impact Radio and Top Radio owned by Pentecostal church members were established. A number of born-again Christians were employed in different radio stations,

introducing specific programs for playing Pentecostal music. *Lingala* gospel music which used to play in Pentecostal churches started losing out, just like it happened to the secular type once popular in nightclubs and disco halls among other places.

Since the year 2000, more studios, radio and TV stations have been established, increasing the number of channels playing Pentecostal music in Uganda in general. Among others, Radio Simba and Akabozi ku bbiri, Super F.M, Kingdom F.M Star FM, Sanyu FM, Radio Maria and Radio Sapientia play Pentecostal music on a daily basis. Television channels including Wavamuno Broadcasting Service (WBS), Bukedde, Record Channel, Top TV, Local TV, Nabeta Broadcasting Service (NBS), Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) and Channel 44 have designed special programs for disseminating Pentecostal music. With regard to recording and dubbing facilities, a number of secular popular music artists have put up their own music studios and some of them have attracted Pentecostal gospel music artists to produce their music in these studios. Among others, popular music artists like Silver Kyagulanyi and Treves Kazibwe (the latter popularly known as Dr. Tee) have attracted a number of Pentecostal and secular popular music artists to record music in their studios (Kyagulanyi: Interview; 28.09.2009).

In another perspective, the Pearl of Africa Music awards, which started in 2003, also introduced another development in Pentecostal music performances. Pastor George Okudi, who won a number of awards because of his Christian music hit *Wipolo bo Lubanga* (in God's house), inspired a number of Pentecostals to participate in music awards. It also influenced the formation of the Victoria Gospel Music Awards (VIGA), which is also an annual event. Although Okudi himself has lost creditability in Pentecostal music circles, some of his products have carried on with the art of dancing as a ministry. For instance Sseku Martine has initiated a group called Kingdom Dancers. All these developments show a long process of Pentecostal music evolution.

From the discussions thus far, the reciprocal relationship between Pentecostal music and secular popular music points to a complex set of historical and contemporary Influences. All the developments in Pentecostal music show how revivalism and evangelization have been pivotal points in this phenomenon. Indeed, the *Namirembe* Church Music Festival formed a founding Christian music culture which the first born-again Christians or Pentecostals cherished as their sacred. The *Tukutendereza* revivalists and the Eschatos Bride Choir serve as examples of the actors of Christian music introduced by the Anglican Church missionaries. In addition, Golden Gate Choir and Calvary Cross Choir which projected choral music in western style, also show the impact of the Namirembe Church Music festival on Christian music in 1980s. This historical aspect shows that the missionaries did not only bring religion, but also music, musical instruments and their culture.

However, the changes in form and style of Pentecostal music from the western choral to popular style, shows how the Pentecostal culture has become dynamic as a result of several encounters with cultures from within Africa and others from the rest of the world. For instance the movement of music cultures from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) particularly Sokous, and Kenya (Swahili language) created an impact on Pentecostal music in Kampala in 1970s and 1980s. Also, the blending of reggae and RnB music material and traditional *Kiganda* music material shows how cultural interactions reshaped Pentecostal music over time.

Similarly, technology used in studios to mix music material from different cultures has become an active process of the convergence of Pentecostal music secular popular music. Also, the circulation of music material recorded on DVDs, CDs, MP3s, Video and Radio Cassette tapes and music accessed on Internet exemplify how forces of globalization have impacted on Pentecostal music in Kampala. Besides, mass media another globalizing factor of Pentecostalism, resulting from liberalization of the airwaves in 1986, has paved the way for

Pentecostal music to play across sacred and secular boundaries. Pastors, Pentecostal music artists, promoters and producers have come out as the key players in this phenomenal trend of popularizing Pentecostal music. In the next Chapter, I closely examine how each of the categories of people mentioned above, participate in the shaping of Pentecostal music in Kampala.

CHAPTER THREE

The Various Actors of Pentecostal Music

3.1 Introduction

Following the historical overview of Pentecostalism and the developments in Pentecostal music during the periods indicated in Chapter Two, I will now examine how different categories of people have participated in the making of Pentecostal music. As a point of departure, I will explain how pastors, musicians, producers, promoters and the audiences – the actors of Pentecostal music – have collectively participated in the creation of Pentecostal music (Becker 1974). Howard Becker. S points out that making art is a process involving the cooperation of a network of people with special talents and abilities and describes such collaborative links as “art worlds.” In a musical context, Becker would observe that initiating the idea of making art, organizing the lyrics into phrases, creating a suitable tune, producing, recording, dubbing, disseminating (promoting), marketing and consumption of art all require talented personalities (2008).

Following Becker’s concept of art worlds, I will develop my discussions reflecting on the specific ways Pentecostal music artists create the lyrical content of their music and how it is turned into a musical idea. I will also examine how the process of making Pentecostal music involves the network of actors named above. Similarly, I will explain how the Pentecostal music world forms meeting points for the secularization and sacralization processes in society. I will not be able to give a complete description of all the actors within all aspects of the art world in Kampala, but this chapter serves as an introduction to it.

3.2 Pastors' Contribution

In the hierarchy of Pentecostal churches, pastors are the spiritual leaders who provide the social, financial, administrative, guidance and counseling services to their church members. These church leaders conduct Bible studies, organize fellowships and teach their followers how to live a Christian life including aspects of moral conduct (Warrington 2008). Most importantly, pastors teach the word of God to their followers, citing Biblical Scriptures from which some Pentecostal music artists get their lyrical content and create songs.

I made this observation when I interviewed these artists. Some of these artists quoted Biblical scriptures which they included in their music. For instance, Carol Bu'dhuike quoted (Mark 11:24), which states: "Therefore I say to you, whatever things you ask when you pray, believe that you receive them and you will have them." She also quoted Psalms 150:16 to explain why she performed the song "Kowoola Mukama" (Call Upon the Lord) in a style similar to the secular popular music type. Kiwana MCAfrica, another music artist, quoted (Proverbs 10:22), which states: "The blessings of the Lord make one rich, And He adds no sorrow with it." These are some of the examples I have used to explain how pastors have contributed to construction of the lyrical texts of Pentecostal music. To give an idea of how I interpreted it practically, I closely followed how Bugembe, who doubles as a pastor as well as an artist, composed the song "Kani" which was among the popular music hits in Kampala in 2008 and 2009. I start by giving background information on the situation that influenced Bugembe (as a pastor) to compose that song.

The period 2006-2008 was characterized by wrangles and stories about immorality amongst Pentecostal church leaders and some of their church members. In Kampala, some pastors accused fellow Pentecostal church leaders of using witchcraft to perform miracles, others were implicated as gays. Among other issues, the performance of miracles in exchange

for money and moral degeneration among Pentecostal church members became a common story in the newspapers and on airwaves. In the general public, Pentecostalism sounded like a big business, rather than a church that preached salvation and holiness (Daudi Mukisa: Telephone interview; 21.09.2010).

As a pastor, Bugembe read the scriptures, prayed for some time and during one of the Sunday services, he preached about hypocrisy and immorality that had infiltrated into the Pentecostal church community in Kampala. The message was videotaped and Bugembe replayed it quite often. He felt that preaching that message to his flock alone (Light the World Church) would not help to bring sanity back to the entire Pentecostal church. He eventually developed the idea of using art as a tool for spreading the gospel across Pentecostal and other Christian communities. This is how the word *Kani*, which is actually *Kanisa* (Church), became the title of a song that became one of the popular songs in Kampala in 2008 and 2009. Actually, *Kani* also became the title of an album launched on 14 and 16 September 2009 at Hotel Africana and Gaba Beach, respectively (Jean Peace: Telephone Interview; 21. 09. 2010).

Carol Bu'dhuike also told me that she was in a situation (she did not disclose it) that compelled her to "go into deep prayer." She spent some time praying consistently and was inspired by the sermon Pastor Joseph Sserwadda of Victory Church (of which she is a member) gave during one of the Sunday services. The message was about persistence and consistency in connection with prayer. After a few months, her problem was solved, so she developed the idea of putting this message to music as away of encouraging other Christians to have faith in God. Her song is called "Kowoola Mukama waali" (Call Upon the Lord, He is Here). I have used these two examples to show that the sermons pastors deliver during Sunday services or fellowships make them to be the originators of the lyrical content featuring in Pentecostal music. Other examples that I will be discussing in Chapter Four, relating to the

Gospel of Prosperity, also confirm the pastors' involvement in the creation of Pentecostal music. The way pastors relate Biblical texts to life experiences during church services have been used by artists as important themes for constructing lyrical texts for their music. Next, I will examine the processes of composing Pentecostal music, focusing on the role of the artists and their supporting staff.

3.3 Pentecostal Music Artists

According to Becker, an artist possesses special qualities (gifts), that enable him /her to perform a task in away that could not be done by another person who is not gifted in that area (2008:2). In this section I refer to Bugembe and Bu'dhuike as artists and I will explain how they created *Kani* and *Kowoola Mukama*, respectively. According to Jean Peace (a member of Light the World Church band as well as the church secretary), Bugembe withdrew from the public and spent a week in a lonely place (which Peace did not disclose). He spent that week praying to God and fasting, as a way of seeking God's blessings, wisdom and guidance. He also used that time to develop the lyrical patterns and the melody of the song *Kani*. He wrote the message in a book, and made sections according to the way he wished to design his music.

In addition, Peace explained to me that after creating the main tune, "Bugembe called us (members of the band) to sing the chorus lines. Since he is a keyboard player, he started playing the instrument as he sang his parts. We rehearsed the song until we perfected our parts" (Telephone Interview; 21.09.2010). This connects with Becker's observation of how the originators of the musical idea determine the style or form of their art. It also resonates with the view that artists play the core role of turning musical ideas into specific artistic materials that further become artwork (2008).

Bugembe himself told me that he composed the song *Kani* drawing inspirations from the secular popular music artists who he referred to as icons. Aspects that inspired him included the art of creating the story line and how secular popular music artists negotiate the different themes of their music and the rich instrumentation. Basically, he wanted to play music that would function among the Pentecostal local communities as well as in the mainstream audience (Interview; 20.08.2010). I will make a detailed analysis of Bugembe's music in Chapter Four, explaining the contexts in which his music creates entry points into the sacralization and secularization processes. After the initial stages of creating music, Bugembe took his music to the Three in One studio at Kabowa.²⁸

With regard to Bu'dhuike, she also spent some time praying to God for guidance and wisdom as she developed musical ideas on how to arrange the lyrics into logical patterns and worked on the flow among other things.¹⁵ She also listened to and watched a number of Pentecostal and secular popular music videos,²⁹ purposely to get an idea of how to create art that would march with the popular music hits in the city. After writing the melody, she involved a few members of Victory Church Band to participate as backups. She then played the music with the accompaniment of the keyboard. She recorded the music on a CD and kept on editing it, also seeking advice from other Pentecostal music artists. Although the music was ready for recording by early 2006, she took it to the Three in One Studio later in the same year after getting the money for spending on production of the music. Generally, the creativity of Bugembe and Bu'dhuike did not exceed the processes explained above. The examples given here show that artists provide the framework, which specialized persons in studios (producers), reorganize and improvise what according to Becker, "listeners consider

²⁸ Three in One Studio is owned by a born-again Christian

²⁹ Bu'dhuike had composed a number of songs but did not get market for the music as such she composed Kwoola Mukama to attract market for her album.

important” (1974:768). In the next section I examine how producers have participated in the creation of Pentecostal music.

3.4 Producers’ Contribution

As already mentioned above, Bugembe took his music to Three in One Studio in Kabowa, a suburb of Kampala. This studio is owned by Kiiwa Jayson who is actually the producer. According to Peace, a member of Light of the World Church band (Bugembe’s church band), Kiiwa developed the music as instructed by Bugembe. However, the producer gave his technical advice, which the artist followed in good faith, an indication that producers also contribute to the style and form of the song. The recording costs are catered for by promoters, a category I will discuss in the next section.

Bu’dhuike also took her music to the Three in One studio and gave Jayson Kiwa (producer) the mandate to rearrange and modify the tune and form of the music. Kiwa did all the necessary variations and instrumentation and only sent that song back to Bu’dhuike when it was already recorded on a Compact Disc (CD).

However, before discussing this further, I will generally examine how producers turn the music material created by artists into the final art, following the interviews I conducted with Michael Kwiri,³⁰ one of the music producers in Kampala. According to Kwiri, music artists mainly formulate the themes, put lyrics into phrases and tunes, which we (the producers) use as raw material for making the final art.

In addition, he told me that before the recording process starts, artists and producers do what he described as “pre-production,” meaning rehearsals in a control room (designed for that activity). During this time, producers listen to the music, sometimes provide accompaniment

³⁰ Michael Kwiri works with Swangz Avenue Studio located along Kalukande road in Muyenga. Benon Mugambwa is the owner of this Studio.

and make changes in the phrases to achieve smooth flow of the music (if it is necessary). Pre-production gives producers the opportunity to edit the music generally focusing on balance of phrases, different rhythmic structures and articulation of words among other things. Producers also give advice on a number of issues relating to the arrangement of different parts of the song, melody in relation to the lyrical content and suggest changes if necessary.

He named the basic studio equipments required for recording audio music including microphones, sound or pop-filters, computers, pre-amps, equalizers, sound mixers, equalizers, compressors and amplifiers. Producers use the electronic keyboard to play the music, and computers or synthesizer (in modern studios), to record this music, forming a starting point for creating music tracks (instrumental music without lyrics). In addition, producers also use acoustic guitars and drum sets during the making of music tracks. Mixers, compressors, equalizers, and sound cards are essential in the process of balancing and filtering musical sounds.

After producing a music track, producers do the voicing starting with the soloists, followed by the backups. In cases where artists compose fewer lyrics, producers improvise by creating instrumental sections to make the song longer and to make bridging passages between different lyrical parts. Along with the artistic work of mixing sounds of different musical instruments and voices, producers also work towards marketing the music produced in their studios, as well as attracting more customers (artists). Actually Kwiri told me that the presence of many studios in Kampala compels producers to use a lot of skill during the process of producing music because artists look for studios with talented producers. Besides, Kwiri felt that producers do most of the artistic work, expressing that artists only bring raw materials which they (producers) turn into music (Telephone interview: 17.10.2010). The information about the role of artists and producers (as explained by Kwiri) resonates with Becker's view concerning the making art and how it requires specialized categories of

personnel (1974). It also shows how technology has facilitated the mixing of different musical sounds and the production of Pentecostal music, with the help of the producers. The participation of producers (especially the non-Pentecostals) in the making of Pentecostal music partly explains why this music has become similar to secular popular music. Similarly, the process of producing Pentecostal music forms an important point for explaining how this sacred music gets secularized, or how it sacralizes studios with sacred sounds.

3.5 Promoters and Sponsors

After producing and recording the music on CDs or DVDs, Pentecostal music artists proceed to the next step of promoting the music starting with mass media. This category of supporting personnel encompasses financiers who invest in the art with an aim of making profits, friends who offer financial assistance to boost the process of recording, dubbing and taking music to the radio and TV studios, and mass media itself that disseminates the music. Each of these categories contributes towards the shaping of art. As for Bugembe's case, Lusiini Enterprise (buyers of music albums and copyrights from individual artists) bought his music album (*Kani*). Lusiini facilitated all the necessary expenses for audio and video recording of the song "Kani" Actually, Lusiini Enterprise covered all the expenses for promoting the music on radio and TV. Bugembe sold his copyright to Lusiini Enterprise (Peace Telephone interview; |9.10.2010).

Bu'dhuike's story was a bit different. After recording her song *Kowoola Mukama* (Call upon the Lord) her husband provided the money for playing her music on a number of radio stations. During the process of promoting her music, Kasiwukira Enterprise (another enterprise buying music and copy rights from artists), appreciated the artwork and identified

the artist. Thus, Bu'dhuike sold her copyright to Kasiwukira (Telephone interview; 19.09.2010).

These two examples provide a clue to defining ways Pentecostal music artists sacralize secular popular music styles and how the music itself gets secularized. The process of recording, selling the music and copyright to business enterprises, also rhyme with the view that “Pentecostals music artists are generally people of low income (Lydia Yiga: Interview; 02.07.2009). It also corresponds with the observation that Pentecostals go to urban areas to seek alternative sources of income (Robbins 2004) and financial assistance from companies and specific wealthy members” (Yiga: interview; 02.07.2009).

While giving the explanation why Pentecostal music artists launch their music in recreational places, Yiga noted that promoters are interested in making profits; as such they determine the venues which attract large audiences. She also stated that promoters of Pentecostal music are mainly business organizations which use such functions to market their products (interview; 02.07.2009). I did not interview prominent promoters of Pentecostal music, but I observed how such promoters make money during the event of launching new albums. For instance, Bugembe launched his music album (*Kani*), in two venues, one at Hotel Africana and the other at Ggaba Beach.

At the gardens of Hotel Africana, the attendance was not good because of the entrance fee (20,000 Ugandan shillings),³¹ for ordinary people and (50,000 Ugandan shillings)³¹ for VIPs. This is a lot of money in the Ugandan context. I estimated the attendance to be slightly over one thousand people including VIPs. After every artist had performed including Bugembe himself, Paddy Bitama,³² who coordinated different activities, started selling the album to the audience. A number of VIPs bought the album ranging from 500,000 to

³¹ 20,000 Ugandan Shillings is approximately 57 NOK (keeps on fluctuating).

³¹ 50,000 Ugandan Shillings is approximately 141.6 NOK (Calculated according to Internet currency converter on 19.09.2010)

³² Paddy Bitama is a member of the Amarula family, a popular group of comedians in Kampala.

1,000,000 Ugandan shillings³³ Moreover, at the same venue, a number of people were selling the same album at 20,000 Ugandan shillings.³⁴

The function at Ggaba Beach attracted a large attendance, because of the location of the venue outside the city center, low entrance fee of 5,000 Ugandan shillings (14.7 NOK) and secular popular music artists stage live music shows in this every weekend. The function was also organized by the Amarula family, sponsored by Movit Company (the producers of Movit products) and Wavamuno Broadcasting Services (WBS). The activities were quite varied in terms of entertainment, refreshments and commodities sold during the launching of the music album.

Many Pentecostal music artists participated in this event by performing their music and those who were intending to launch their albums used that opportunity to announce dates and venues for similar functions. While some of the artists performed in karaoke style, Bugembe's music was accompanied by the Guitar Key Band, hired from Kampala by the organizers of the function (the Amarula family). It is one of the popular bands in Kampala and it was hired purposely to accompany Bugembe and his music team, and this made a difference between his music and the music of the others. This particular practice shows how the secularization of sacred music, also complemented by sacralization of secular musical instruments and the beach became effective.

With regard to refreshments, soda, juice, beer and wine among other things were served at the function. Since it was a public place designated for entertainment, sellers of cigarettes also benefited from that function. Other items included music albums, T-shirts bearing the portrait of Bugembe, Movit products including body gel and body cream among other things. Generally, Ggaba beach is a strategic venue for recreational activities in Kampala; indeed the organizers of this function made a good benefit of it. On the one hand,

³³ 500,000 to 1,000,000 Ugandan shillings is equivalent to 1,470.5-2,941.1 NOK.

³⁴ The final amount collected was not announced because of security reasons.

my observation is that the Pentecostal music world has attracted many actors who have not only gained an income, but also influenced the secularization of sacred music. On the other hand, the presence of sacred music in such places sacralized those places. Actually, people who were drinking and some who were smoking responded to the music by dancing and clapping hands, as such getting sacralized by that music as Belk states (1989).

With regard to Bu'dhuike's event, she chose to launch her album in Victory Church (her home church), because she was targeting a church audience. She used part of the money earned from the sale of her copyright to organize that function. She wanted the launching of the album to be a church function because she also got contributions from Moses Bu'dhuike (her husband), relatives and friends who are also churchgoers. The attendance was not as good as the two functions I have described above. This was partly attributed to the venue (the church); it was seen by the general public³⁵ as a church function for the Pentecostals. Despite making it free for the audience, it did not attract a large audience including the non-Pentecostals, apart from the few who were given invitation cards. However, Bu'dhuike told me that she managed to raise 10,000,000 Ugandan shillings (29,411.76 NOK) from the audience that attended her function (telephone interview; 19.09.2010) My observation is that the functions organized in Pentecostal churches attracted a smaller audience than those in recreational places.

The example of Bugembe explains how promoters influence secularization of Pentecostal music. In relation to that context Bu'dhwike noted that promoters determine the venues where they can attract audiences and make a lot of profits. "Promoters give little to the artists yet they collect a lot of money in form of attendance fee and other sources." The prominent business enterprises playing the role of promoting Pentecostal music in Kampala include Hallelujah Studio, X-Zone International M and R Computer Support, the producers of

³⁵ Non- Pentecostals tend to avoid the functions conducted in the Pentecostal churches because pastors occasionally turn such functions into gospel crusades.

Movit Products and Lusiini enterprises. Radio stations owned by born-again Christians are also among the business organizations promoting gospel music in Kampala and Uganda in general (Interview; 24.06.2009). After, recording, dubbing and packaging the music, it is disseminated to different consumption units and I have used the term “audiences” to describe these units. Below, I examine how audiences have influenced creativity in Bugembe and Bu’dhuike’s musics.

3.6 The Audiences

Following Becker’s concept of art worlds, the audience plays a central role in the creation of art work because it responds to that art in form of appreciation or rejection of the final product (2008:4). Jean Kidula also notes that “music does not suddenly burst to the scene;” rather artists, producers and audiences determine the style in which to create it (2000:410). As already mentioned above, I attended functions involving the mainstream audience and others which purely constituted a Pentecostal audience. These are therefore the audiences to which I refer. As a point of departure, I will start by analyzing Bugembe’s description of secular popular music artists (icons) in relation to the style in which he wrote the song *Kani*. I will make a detailed analysis of the whole song in Chapter Four, but in this section I am focusing on how that song attracted a large audience. Most importantly, Bugembe used the concept of “love” (earthly marriage relationship), which secular popular music artists use to attract market for their music. While composing this song Bugembe had an idea about the kind of audience he was targeting. According to the message, the music was for the Pentecostal audience, especially the youth, but the style suited the mainstream audience. In this case, therefore, both audiences influenced the creation of the song *Kani*.

Similarly, the buyers of art (Pentecostal music) identify specific qualities that market their products, depending on the audience.

With regard to Bu'dhuike's song "Kowoola Mukama," (Call Upon Jesus Christ), she told me that she composed it considering the quality and style of the popular music hits in Kampala. In other words, forces of demand (audience) influenced her to negotiate the market for her music by fulfilling the musical interests of the buyers. She emphasized that selling music (copyright) depends on the quality of the music, in terms of a style that appeals to the audience that consumes the music (Telephone interview; 19.09.2010). This reflects how the audience has influenced the Pentecostal music artists to draw inspirations from secular popular music artists whose music is dominating the Kampala market. In my own observation, the language (*Luganda*), used by both artists also defines how the audience determines the kind of music artists have to produce. Kidula has also observed language as an important factor in the popularizing process of Christian music in Kenya. Referring to Munishi's artistic work, she observes that the lyrical content of Munishi's music (sung in Swahili) "is a leading factor in the popularity of his lyrics beyond Christian audiences (2000:147). Generally, the two examples of art and artists I have used above create a number of meeting points for the sacralization and secularization processes. Following the concept of art worlds, these examples demonstrate how Pentecostal music artists and the audiences become the main actors in the sacralization and secularization processes. Below I examine how these processes complement each other

3.6.1 Sacralization and Secularization as Complementary Processes

In section 3.3 I explained how Pentecostal music artists turn the sacred message derived from the sermons into musical ideas. The process of determining the melody, form

and design of the song is actually the starting point for the sacralization and secularization processes. According to Becker, artists produce art for specific audiences and not for others (2008:2). Bugembe described secular popular music artists as “icons” in the context of creativity and used the love (earthly marriage) theme, which most of the secular popular music artists in Kampala have used in their music as a catchy theme to the audience. Such a practice of getting themes and styles from the secular music world exemplifies on the one hand a process of sacralizing secular music styles. Mark Evans explains that sacralization is one way of addressing the spiritual desires and experiences of believers, but also warns that it demonstrates fluidity of the boundaries of religious practices (2006:69). On the other hand, this process can be contextualized as secularizing sacred music because of the Christian lyrics unfolding in a secular style. This resonates with Q. Faulkner’s observation, noting that contemporary Christian music sets no trend but only follows trends established by the surrounding cultures (1996:192).

In addition, the desire to market Pentecostal music beyond the Pentecostal audience has influenced both Bugembe and Bu’dhuike to include creative dance movement as part of their Christian music. This is another point where sacralization of secular music styles or secularization of sacred music occurs. Also the desire to create artistic work that competes with secular popular music for the Kampala market has compelled producers to make improvisations which Evans terms as “ingredients of surprise” (2006:68). Other aspects include promoting Pentecostal music using mass media, selling it in exchange for money and performing it in places designated for recreational activities especially during the event of launching new albums. Generally, the different categories of people included in this chapter show that popularizing Pentecostal music has not been the work of the Pentecostal music artists alone, rather it has involved a network of specialized personnel. In the next Chapter I examine the factors contributing to creativity in Pentecostal music

CHAPTER FOUR

Factors Influencing Creativity in Pentecostal Music

4.1 Introduction

The factors contributing to the interplay between Pentecostal music and secular popular music in Kampala are quite diverse and complex. In this chapter I will examine how Pentecostal music artists have used art to articulate Christian practices like prayer and evangelization, many times with a message in line with a “Prosperity Gospel” theology. I will also examine how Pentecostal music artists have popularized their Christian music in response to the desire to earn an income, combine Christian music and entertainment, participate in music awards and articulate some issues connected with Uganda as a nation. I will use specific examples from the recordings, information from informants, my own observations and references from scholarly literature to explain how Pentecostal music artists have articulated cultural transformation through music. Similarly, I will use such examples to show how cultural interaction, technology and mass media, among other things, have influenced creativity in Pentecostal music and its performance context.

4.2 Music and Prayer

Prayer is one of the most common religious practices of the Pentecostals. Through prayer, individual Christians develop a “warm and intense” relationship with God (Warrington 2008:214). Sylver Kyagulanyi emphasizes that the born-again Christians consider music as the best way to form an intimacy with God, because “he who sings, prays twice,” (interview 28.09.2009). Eddy Kayima also believes that the demand for using music during prayer has inspired many Pentecostals to compose songs laden with scriptural themes

(interview 25.08.2009). Similarly, David Fellingham encourages Christians to seek God through music because it is a pleasant form that brings freshness and vitality to church life (1987). Following these responses and scholarly views, I have included Judith Babiryé's song *Nzijjukira Mukama* ("Remember Me, O God"). It is about life experiences Babiryé has used to create grounds for calling on God to intervene and save her from embarrassments and humiliations.

Figure 5. Nzijjukira Mukama ("Remember Me, O God") Track No.3

Nzijjukira Mukama	Remember Me Oh God
Luganda	English
Solo	
Ejali emikwanno, kati balabe bange,	My friends, have become enemies
Eryali essanyu, kati maziga gokka,	What used to be joy, has become tears
Nsula bubi, ennaku ennuma nze,	It is terrible, am distressed
Nzijjukira onzijeyo enno mubulumi	Remember me oh God, get me out of trouble.
Bwe bandaba baseka, olwembera yange, troubled	Those who see me laugh, am
Gwenawanga omugaati, kakano aduula, scorning me	Those I used to help, are now
Mukama, wulira okusaba kwange,	God, hear my prayers,
Nnemenga okuswaala, mumikono	I should not be humiliated
gyabalabe bange	By my enemies.
Nzijjukira Taata	Remember me oh God
Refrain	
Nzijjukira, onzijeyo enno mubulumi	Remember me oh God, get me out of trouble
Nnemenga okuswaala mumikono -	I should not be humiliated
gyabalabe bange	By my enemies
Onnyimuse, nnyimirire ku lwazi,	Raise me up, so that I stand on the rock
Nnemenga okuswaala, mumikono-	I should not be humiliated, in the
gyabalabe bange.	presence of my enemies
Solo	
Ntwaala, kweka awatukuvu	Lift me high, put me in a holy place
Ppaka obubi buno nga buyise	Until this trouble is no more
Onnyimuse, onyweze ebigerere byange	Raise me up, strengthen my legs
Ogaziye ewema yange,	expand my tent,
Obwakabaka bwo bujje	bring down your Kingdom.
Refrain	

Nzijukira	Remember me oh God
Solo	
Jjukira, ekisa kyo kingi kyaluberera	Remember, your mercy is great and Everlasting
Jjikira, wasubiza okumpita	Remember, you promised To call me
Lwazi nga nkuyita	Rock, I call on you
Nzijjukira nange	Remember me too.

In this song, Babirye narrates how the people she considered as friends and others who depended on her for material assistance, tarnished the relationship and became her enemies. That introduction forms an issue she uses to cry for help, referring to specific texts in the Bible and connecting them with her situation.

Figure.6. Judith Babirye's Photograph



She sings two major solo parts and towards the end she emphasizes some words in the chorus. Babirye made the refrain to dominate her song, because it contains the core content of the prayer, as reflected in the lyrics. This repetitive style of singing is a typical characteristic of African songs. The chorus is sung by two different female voices, (soprano and alto) though not well balanced, maintaining mainly the intervals of a major 3rd and perfect 4th apart. This is

also associated with African harmony which sometimes comes out in form of parallel melodies. The main instruments are the electronic keyboard and the acoustic guitar. There are also sounds of brass instruments manipulated on the electronic keyboard. This type of accompaniment plays throughout the song, with variations in some sections. After the second solo section and the subsequent refrain section, the accompaniment plays without the vocal section, giving Babirye the opportunity to concentrate on prayer and meditation, followed by the dialogue between the soloist and the chorus.

Although this song is entirely about prayer, it also has similarities to secular popular music in Kampala. Firstly, it expresses life experiences which secular popular music artists have addressed in most of their songs. In addition, this music has been recorded on CDs and DVDs and it has been circulated to sacred and secular places through mass media, especially the Internet, like any popular type of music. It is also marketed like secular popular music and also performed during Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal functions including wedding parties, graduation parties, birthday parties, traditional marriage introductions.

In another perspective, the experience of suffering and need for the intervention of the supernatural form a vantage point Babirye's music to penetrate into different cultural spaces. For instance, many people in Uganda are facing problems like poverty and sickness such as HIV/AIDS; there are many street children who have lost their parents, women who are divorced and are helpless among other problems. In this context, Babirye's song can be seen to address a wide range of these social issues. In connection with this song, Paddy Musana stated that the lyrical texts of Pentecostal music reflect on the trials and tribulations of individual members and society at large (Interview on, 07.04.2010). It also connects with Mark Evans' observation on contemporary Christian music, in which he contends that it is generated on the basis of lived experiences of individual and regional identity (2006:11).

Some scholars have observed that prayer and music characterize the Pentecostals' identity, sometimes expressed in form of giving testimonies or giving glory to God (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005). Actually, Martine Viljoen observes that "the lyrics of Pentecostal music in the USA "represent a testimony of confession and faith ...symbolizing a transformation from darkness to light" (2006:268). Connecting prayer and music with Viljoen's observation, suggests that cultural globalization has spread to Uganda in form of Pentecostalism. Music and prayer form an interesting topic which I may develop for future research. Next, I examine how Pentecostals in Kampala have used music as a tool for evangelism.

4.3 Music and Evangelization

Pentecostals have been grounded in the conviction that their activities are motivated by the Holy Spirit (Anderson 2004:206), and a number of Pentecostal music artists emphasize that their music is created for proclaiming the word of God (Chitando 2002 and Ojo 1998). Actually, referring to Ugandan Pentecostal music as "gospel music" originates from that perception. Evangelization, the process of reaching out to people with a view of attracting membership and enlarging the church (Warrington 2008:247), has inspired Pentecostal gospel music artists to participate in the artistic creation of Pentecostal music. Connecting with this observation, Lydia Yiga asserts that singing is a ministry through which the voices of the unseen and the marginalized preach the word of God to all who have life and breath (Interview on, 02.07.2009). In line with Yiga's assertion, John Robbins discussed one aspect in which Pentecostals have been encouraged to work as evangelists, convincing others to convert to Pentecostalism (2004:124). Specifically, the growing number of Pentecostal music artists recording and marketing Pentecostal music is clear testimony that these artists have

been encouraged to use music as a tool for evangelization. In this section I will discuss evangelization in two contexts. On the one hand, I will use Bugembe's song "Kani" (an abbreviation of *Kanisa*, meaning "church") to serve as an example of how evangelization amongst Pentecostals of different churches has partly influenced creativity in Pentecostal music. On the other hand I will use that same song to explain how it has been interpreted by the mainstream audience.

Figure 7. Kani (abbreviation of Kanisa , meaning "Church") Track No 4

<i>Luganda</i>	English
1	
Bakulu mubadde bulungi, nange nasuze bulungi	Elders, are you fine, and I too.
Naye nnina omuwala eyantubudde mubyongo.	But one girl disturbed my mind
Naye nnina omuwala eyantubudde mubyongo.	But one girl disturbed my mind
Ebintu bibadde birungi, nga tutegekanambaga,	Things have been ok, we were preparing
	For a wedding
Naye, ee ono omuwala takyangala.	This girl no longer loves me
Sonno tubadde bulungi	We have been getting on well,
Nga tutegeka nambaga	Preparing for the wedding.
Chorus	
Ono omuwalatakanyajaga.	This girl has no longer loves me
2	
Kati ayagala nsimbi bugagga nabintu birungi	She loves wealth and luxurious life
Buli lwajja ewange aba aliko kyeyetaaga	She comes home for material things
Maama kwekujja gyooli, nga nsaba onyambe	Mummy, I have come for assistance
Ee -ee-ee,	Ee-ee-ee
Chorus	
Ono omuwalatakanyajaga.	This girl no longer loves me
3	
Namusanga muddwaliro e Kololo	I found her in Kololo hospital
Nga obulamu bwe bugenderera,	Her life was deteriorating
Nga abazadde be beralikirira	Her parents had lost hope
Nemikwano gye gyalikirira	Her friends had lost hope
Nga entaana emwesunga	She was about to die
Chorus	
Ono omuwala takya njaga	This girl no longer loves me
4	
Kwekuyita omusawo nemubuuza ogubadde,	I asked the Doctor about her situation
Omusawo nangamba nti aweddemu omusaayi,	He told me she was anaemic,
N'ebbanja ddene ate abazadde be baavu,	Her parents are too poor to pay the debt
Ko nze kambawe ogwange.	I decided to donate my blood to her
Mukama yabadde mulungi,	God was gracious,
Musaayi gwange gwamuyambye,	My blood saved her

Laba bwe nsasula ebbanja,	I even cleared the hospital bills,
Iyonna Iye baali babanja.	Which had accumulated
Muwala nga aba bulungi,	The girl was healed
nga atuyita na kukabaga	She even invited us for a party
Nembasuubiza nti sijja kukoma kumusaayi	I promised to further our relationship,
Njamutwala newaffe nmwanjulire abanzaala	Introduce, her to my parents,
Ee, nga muli mpulira mmwagala	I had great love for her
Ebintu bibadde birungi,	So far everything has been fine
Entegeka zibadde nnungi,	We have been getting on well,
Naye, ee,-ee- ee	But.....
Chorus	
Ee ee Ono omuwala takyanjagala,	This girl has no longer loves me
Anfudde banka jatereka ensimbi zee money	Am like a bank where she keeps her
Yanfuula Asikari nze a kuuma ewuwe,	I have become her home guard
Avuddemumaka, songa ayitayo mubuzibu.	She has deserted the home,
Songa ayitayo mubuzibu	Yet she comes back for assistance
Solo	
Bakulu nsulabubi	Elders, I am in a bad situation
Ekka akomawo munana,	She comes back home at 2:00 AM
Kani, Kani,	Kani, Kani
Muli mpulira mmwagala,	I really loved her.
Chorus	
Ono omuwala takyanjagaal	This girl no longer loves me
Kati yafuuka malaya,	She has become a crook
Asooka kusasulwa,	She is after money,
Buli lw'omuwa ebirungi	whenever you give her good things
N'asinja erinnya Iyo,	She praises your name
Ate bwo to muwa sente awo wewali obuzibu,	If you dont give her money, then problem arise
Ee maama e, bwotokyuse nkuleka.	OK if you do not change, I will chuck you.
Solo	
Ayambala obugoye obw'abaana abato	She puts on children's clothes,
Obugoye tebumutuuka,	She puts on undersize clothes
Ate amakundi gali bweeru,	She exposes her berry,
N'omubuuzza nnyabo oyambadde olaga wa?	If you asked, 'Madam, where are you going?
Agenda mu Kyakyi nga agenda mundongo,	She goes to church, like one going
	For a dance in a nightclub
Nomubuza Kani, e Baibuli eruwa	If you asked her about the Bible
Akuddamu nessanyu nti sigyetaaga,	She responds happily, "I don't need it"
Ndaba ne pasita takyagisoma.	Even pastor... does not use it
Netaaga mikono gyange	I need my hands to be filled
Ntoole bulikyebapa.	With everything I am given
Bwagamba nti toola,	When he says give
Nga nange ntoola, Bible yaaki,	I also give, why carry a Bible?
Bwotakimpa nnyiize ,	Without it, I lose faith
Oli omuwala aswaza.	That girl is a disgrace to me.
Nze leero nti twaala,	I have decided to give her what she needs,
bwotaakimpa nnyiize,	Without it, I lose faith
Asabiriza, eee	She is unfaithful
sikulwa omuwala, anziika.	Lest she leads me to the grave
Ne bw'omukubira essimu era aba asabiriza,	Even when called on phone, she still begs

Bugembe: Kani nkwagala	I also love you
Kani : Nange nkwagala, mpayo omutwaalo,	I also love you, I need ten thousand shillings
Bugembe: ono omuwala takyanjagala	This girl no longer loves me
Bugembe again: Kanni nkwaga	Kani, I love you,
Kani: Nange nkwaga, nsabayo akakaaga.	I also love you, I need six thousand shillings
Bugembe: Ee ono omuwala takyanjagala.	Ee, this girl no longer loves me
Naye Kani mbuza,	I ask you Kani,
wenakuwera omusayi gwange,	Since I gave you my own blood,
Kiki ekinanema aa aa aa,	What can't I do?
Kani.	Kani
Kani Kani, Kani.	Kani, Kani, Kani,
Bwe nnalabye a kyuse nengenda ewabwe,	I decided to go to her parents' home
Nembuza Taata we nti ono omuwala yabaki,	I asked her father about her life history
Kitaawe nangamba nti ebyoyo biwanvu	He told me the story is long
Twamuzaala kusande nga nenkuba etonnya,	She was born on a Sunday, it was raining
Netusanyuka nnyo nnyo netumutuuma erinya	We were happy, gave her a name
Olw'essannyu eringi, erinnya lye panvu,	The name was long
Bwe twalaba panvu, kwekulitema,	We shortened it to Kani
Erinnyalye ettuufu, y'ekanisa ya Yesu,	Her right name is the Church of Jesus
Bwe twalaba ppanvu nnyo,	Because it was too long,
Kwekumutuuma Kani .	We shortened it to Kani (Church)
Ekanisa ekyuuse, eyambala bubi nnyo,	The Church has changed, dressing badly
Tekyafa kumusaayi gwe,	It no longer follows the cause of Jesus' blood
Musaayi gwe gwatunaaza,	Jesus' blood cleansed us
Gwe gwatutukuza,	His blood saved us
Twali bakufa tuli mu nti twaala,	Here we are, only after material things
Twali bakufa tuli munti twaala,	Here we are, only after material things
Bwotakimpa nnyiize,	Without visible profits, no faith
Tudde kumusayige	Let's remember Jesus' blood
Musayi gwe gwatunaza	His blood cleansed us
Gwegwatununula	It saved us
Chorus	
Mukama tumufudde banka,	We have turned God into a bank
mwetutereka nsimbi,	Where we keep our money
Twamufuula Asikari akuuma awaffe,	We turned him into our home guard
Twafuuka bamalaya tusooka kusalwa	We have become crooks, we work for money
Solo	
Bwoba gwe okola otya?	Assuming you are the God, what do you do?
Ekanisa eserera	The Church is sliding
Egwerayo,	It is disappearing
Ne Setani a twewunya,	Even Satan wonders
Werabira otya omutonzi wo ,	How do you turn against your God
Wadde atwagala nnyo Yesu	Even if Jesus loves us dearly,
Twe nenywe tunaaze engoye zaffe	Let us repent and clean our linen
Bakulu twenenywe	Elders, let's repent

Bugembe, who wrote this song, is the leader of Light the World Church located in Nansana, a suburb of Kampala. His life has not been smooth from childhood. His parents died of AIDS

when he was still young and all brothers and sisters did not live longer because they were also HIV positive. He once lived in Kampala as a street kid, where a Good Samaritan, Patrick Ssemmambo, found him. Ssemmambo adopted him as a family member and connected him with the Trumpet Center Church, one of the Pentecostal churches in Kampala (Nyombi 2008). I have included this information to reflect on Begembe as an artist in relation to his song *Kani*, which he has used to appeal to pastors and the entire Pentecostal church to repent and to be faithful to their God. He composed this song for the Pentecostal church audience but it has also had a good reception in the mainstream audience.

Figure 8. Pastor Wilson Bugembe



The song is characterized by call and response sections, also in a narrative form. Bugembe (leader) sings long sections and keeps on repeating short phrases, typical of Kiganda *Kadongo kamu* (one guitar) music, which is among the popular music styles in Kampala. The basic rhythm of the song is typical of a Kiganda tradition, particularly Ebiggu music genre in 2/4 time. The music is also characterized by singing and dancing.

Bugembe himself takes the part of the groom (leading section), representing Jesus Christ, and Kani is the bride representing the Church. The song is introduced by the synchronized keyboard strings, followed by Bugembe and a barking male voice in the background. Both repeat *Kani* three times to emphasize and establish the theme of the performance. After that he uses the term elders to refer to the Pentecostal church leaders, stating that they have been faithful and so has he. He also reports that there is a girl (Kani) who has become unfaithful. He narrates the story, mentioning that he found Kani (in Kololo hospital), and saved her life by donating blood, which created a vantage point for establishing a marriage relationship. He uses the African marriage context to explore the different processes followed up to the preparations for the official wedding. He then narrates how Kani tarnished the relationship, citing love for money and material wealth, indecent dressing, and prostitution as the examples of the immoral behaviors that compelled him to give up on her. Before he does that, he drives to *Kani's* parents' home to find out the background information about her birth and growth. At this point, Kani's father narrates the whole story, which Bugembe uses to reveal that Kani is actually, Kanisa (the Church).

At this point, Bugembe sings in a loud voice that the church has diverged from the traditional Pentecostal church cleansed by Jesus' blood. In the video, the crucifixion of Jesus is acted out to add meaning to the lyrics. He again describes the immoral acts associated with Kani's behavior, like indecent dressing, (synonymous with prostitution in this context) which is common among the young female Pentecostals. He also mentions worshipping God in anticipation of getting material wealth or performing miracles, loss of interest for reading the Bible and going to church for services among other things. He appeals to members of the different Pentecostal churches to repent, cleanse their garments with the blood of Jesus and receive God's blessings. He also calls upon the church leaders to repent, indicating that the

church is backsliding. He makes a general comment in the last part of the song, pleading with the church elders to repent.

This song contains a hidden meaning: the message connected with the church is brief and comes towards the end of the song. This is again a characteristic he adopted from *Kadongo kamu* music, one of the popular music genres in Kampala. The use of visible expressions especially connected with the love relationship, indecent dressing and the party among other things, places this song between sacred and secular. Actually, two thirds of this song is about the relationship between Bugembe as a man and Kani as a girl, and there are no words in the lyrical content relating to God or Jesus, not even reflecting on the Scriptures.

The lyrical content in the song *Kani* express life experiences based on true stories especially about girls (women) and their desire to love boys (men) in anticipation of getting money (wealth). Generally, Bugembe's lyrics have attracted a market for his music among Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal audiences. Similarly, creative dance movement which he incorporated into his music serves as another characteristic borrowed from the secular popular music world. In line with such transformations in Pentecostal music, Musumba contends that creativity is "the power of positive desire" because evangelization through music attracts people to believe beyond personal understanding (interview on 25.08.2009). Esther Kayaga said that music touches people's hearts, releases tension amongst people who are distressed and influences people to think positively about the creator (interview on 10.10. 2009).

Although Bugembe's style of evangelizing through music could be conceptualized as sacralizing secular music styles, Mark Evans contends that it is another way of secularizing sacred music. Evans observes that singing Christian songs in a style that is associated with the world makes it hard for the listeners to differentiate between sacred music and secular music. As such, this is one way in which sacred music gets secularized (2006:70). Bugembe's music therefore serves as an example of how secularization and sacralization processes can be

constructed and negotiated according to different cultural interpretations. Similarly, Bugembe's music serves as an example of how sacralization and secularization can be interpreted as complementary processes. In arriving at this, revivalism and evangelism create contexts in which to define each of the two concepts and how they come to represent the same process. On the one hand, Bugembe acts as a revivalist, preaching the message of repentance and calling upon Christians to repent and renew their relationship with Jesus the savior. In the context of revivalism, mixing Christian lyrics with secular popular music elements and expressions could be interpreted as secularizing the sacred. Also, recording and marketing this sacred music for earning an income would mean secularizing the music meant for sacred performances. On the other hand, Bugembe acts as an evangelist whose mission is to convert as many people as possible. In this context, he follows Rick Warren's advice to the pastors, observing that they (pastors) select music according to the people they intend to evangelize (1999:281). Similarly, Michael W. Smith points out that "in order to catch the right fish, you need to use the right bait" (1999). Warren and Smith's advice form a context in which to define sacralization of secular music styles, reflecting on Bugembe's music. It also connects well with places where he launched his music album, and thus, the sacred sounds sacralized those places. Sacralization and secularization also form an interesting topic for future research. Next I examine how Pentecostal music artists have also used their sacred music as a source of income.

4.4 Marketing Pentecostal music for Earning an Income

Pentecostal gospel music artists have articulated the Prosperity Gospel through art, portraying salvation as a transformative process (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:201) and how it contributes to the reinforcement of life (Omenyo 2002:31). This theology, which is associated with American Pentecostalism (Warrington 2008:238 and Kalu 2008:255), has been reflected

in most of the Pentecostal songs from Kampala. Lyrical texts of this music emphasize prayer, testimonies about healing, acquisition of material wealth and miracles among other things. The gospel is also referred to as the “health and wealth gospel”, and it emphasizes that “God’s generosity, as demonstrated with Abraham, is available for every believing Christian on earth today.” In addition, Kalu observes that prosperity theology is the route to prosperity, also noting that prayer serves as a tool for accessing all types of prosperity. He also observes that this theology fits well into the African communities because it is an aspiration for the poor (2008:255-256). Asamoah-Ghadu, also writes, “God rewards faithful Christians with good health, financial success and material wealth, according to his glorious riches in Christ Jesus” (2005:202). Such messages are common in the lyrical texts of the Pentecostal music in Kampala. This particularly shows how this theology encourages Pentecostals to create music, anticipating material benefits and better living standards.

The “health and wealth theology” can also be discussed with consideration to the fact that mass media and global technologies have played an important role in recording, dubbing and mass mediating Pentecostal music across continental boundaries. With regard to Kampala, media technology has facilitated Pentecostal music to play in public places and to compete for space in secular places. As Kalu has explained, mass media has functioned as a vehicle of commerce, persuading people to turn sacred music into a consumer product and promoting freedom of choice and competition amongst Pentecostals themselves (2008:103-122). Similarly, it resonates with Peter Beyer’s observation of privatizing religion, and the influence of the public on religious practices, pointing out that it exposes followers to the consumer choices (2000:71-72). Indeed, such themes have been manifested through art, opening up the possibility for this music to appeal to the Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal audiences. I have used Carol Bu’dhuike’s song *Kowoola Mukama* (Call upon the Lord) as an example of Pentecostal music reflecting on the Prosperity Gospel.

Figure No. 9: Kowoola Mukama (Call Upon the Lord) Track 5.

Solo & Chorus	
Koowola Mukama, Waali	Call upon the Lord, He is here
Kowoola Kabaka waali	Call upon the King, He is here
Agitwaale emitawanagyo gyonna	To take away all you burdens
Agitwaale emitawanagyo gyonna,	To take away all your troubles
Era mwesige	Trust in Him
Solo:	
Kitegeere nti waliwo amannyi agatalemwa,	You should know that there is
Ha, ha, ha leero	great power (irresistible).
Chorus	
Repeats after the soloist	
Solo:	
Okuwonya okusumulula ebyasiba	To heal and to set you free,
Mwekwate leero,	Trust Him today
Akusumulule akuwe eddembe	He will set you free and
	You will be saved
azitwale endwadde zo zonna,	He will take away all your
	health problems
Chorus: Akuwonye	He will save you
Solo:	
Olyooke obale ebibala kwe	You will then bear fruits,
kusubira nokugumikiriza	thus, hope and patience
Chorus	
Koowola Mukama, Waali	Call upon the Lord, He is here
Kowoola Kabaka waali,	Call upon the King, He is here
Agitwaale emitawanagyo gyonna,	To take away all you burdens
Agitwaale emitawanagyo gyonna,	To take away all your troubles
Era mwesige	Trust in Him
Solo:	
Tosirika	Do not give up
Gyonnagyonna	All your troubles
Kowoola naawe kowoola	Call upon Him
Solo:	Solo:
Ekyamagero kitwaale byomala okusaba,	After prayer, you will receive your
Tobusabusa	Miracle, do not doubt it
Chorus	Chorus:
Ekyamagero kitwaale byomala okusaba,	After prayer, you will receive your
Tobusabusa	Miracle, do not doubt it
Solo:	
Yagamba bwomala okusaba	After prayer
gwe gumikiriza ofune	be patient you will receive a miracle
Lwannyisa embeera embi	Resist all evil thinking
zonna ezilwanagana	that weaken your faith
nokukiriza kwo,	and strength

ojakuwangula nga oyimirira	You will overcome by abiding
	in Jesus' faith.
mubisubizo bye ye.	
(Joel 2:24),(Mark 11:25)	

Basically, prayer, healing and miracle dominate the lyrical content of this song. The music is performed in a style characterized by a blend of Ekidigida and *sokous* music material, typical of hybridized music commonly played in places designated for entertainment. The lyrics (in Luganda) unfold in call and response form, also associated with the Kiganda traditional music. The chorus consists of short, repetitive phrases and dances throughout the performance. This is typical of secular popular music dominating the sound scape of Kampala. The lyrics are quite few as compared to the music for evangelization, another aspect characterizing music created for marketing. Also, the song has been designed in such way that instrumental accompaniment dominates and in some sections singing stops, giving prominence to instruments and dancing to continue.

When I asked her why she used that style, Bu'dhuike told me that she had recorded some songs but lacked market for that music, as such she used this secular popular style to market her music. Indeed, this song "Kowoola Mukama" (Call upon the Lord), became the title for an album consisting of six songs and Kasiwukira (her promoter) gave her money in exchange for her copyright. She also explained that creating music requires having knowledge about the style which promoters consider as good, compelling Pentecostal music artists to listen and watch secular music videos (Telephone interview 11. 09. 2010) Bu'dhuike's statement connects with Jean Kidula's observation, in relation to Pentecostal music in Kenya. Kidula observes that the message in the gospel songs is religious, but the characteristics of the music reveal "a commercial enterprise with a financial component, resulting in intense competition and creativity (2000:413).

Figure 10 Carol Bu'dhuike, performing on 1st January 2010.



Similarly, writers of articles, especially those appearing in the local newspapers and magazines, have noted that commercialization of Pentecostal music has become prominent in Kampala. For instance John Vianney Nsimbe, the editor of the Victoria Gospel Music Awards magazine, has observed that Pentecostal music artists like Sseku Martin and Wilson Bugembe among others could become rich by marketing their Christian music (2008). Also, Charles Kasibante, the editor of the “Living the Dream,” magazine cites Judith Babirye and Treves Kazibwe (Pentecostal music artist) among others who have made great contributions towards

the popular music industry in Kampala (2010). These artists have earned their popularity by creating and marketing volumes of Christian music.

Some of these artists have testified through their music that they were once poor, helpless, marginalized and did not have any hope for a good future. Although this kind of message comes in testimony form, to the Pentecostals it is valued as a miracle. These testimonies of miraculous performances resonate with John Robbin's view about Pentecostals in third world countries. Robbins observes that most of the Pentecostals in these third-world countries are people of low economic class, migrating from rural areas to urban centers to seek an alternative source of income (2004). Indeed, Pentecostal music artists who have gained some sort of wealth through art have attracted others to come to the city and participate in the creation of this music. Actually, the Victoria Gospel Music Association magazine gives names of artists who won the 2007/2008 gospel music awards and these are from different parts of Uganda (Nyombi 2008). However, some Pentecostals do not want to show that they are actually creating music for earning an income. For instance Kenny Miziki told me that it is by God's mercy that Pentecostals music has become popular (Interview; 19.08.2009). Pastor Samuel Mukalazi also said Pentecostal music is purely created for praising and glorifying the name of God (Interview 19.08.2009).

Generally, the desire to earn an income has inspired Pentecostals including those who are not musically talented to find means of joining the network of people creating this music. Particularly, those who are not musically talented extract themes from the Bible and have secular popular music artists to compose music for them. For instance Sliver Kyagulanyi, who is a songwriter and performer in the secular and Christian scenes, has in one way or another helped a number of popular musicians in Kampala including Pentecostals to create Pentecostal music (Interview; 28.09.2009). Similarly, Dr. Tee who has changed from secular popular music to Christian music, has written gospel songs for a good number of music artists

in Kampala (Kasibante 2010:14). Creating Pentecostal music for earning an income has also resulted in the integration of music and dance, hence embracing entertainment and more creativity in Pentecostal church music. Below, I have examined the extent to which entertainment has become part of Pentecostal church music.

4.5 Entertainment

As already mentioned above, entertainment has become an integral part of the Pentecostal music culture. In this section I have included the Pentecostal music of the Kingdom Dancers as an example of music for entertainment. The title of the music is *Leero* Dance, or “This is a Day for Dancing”.

Figure 11 Leero Dance (Today, we are Dancing) Track No. 6

Leero dance,	Today, we are dancing
Kuno okulya kulimu obulamu	This spiritual feeding is lovely
Yesu dance,	Jesus and dance
Ekiba kyo kibe	Come what may
Leero dance	Let's dance today
Bano abaana bakirira,	Children are dancing forward & forth
Bambuka nga bemenya.	They twist their bodies up and down
Solo	
Leero Dance,	Today we are dancing
Kuno okulya kulimu obulamu,	This spiritual feeding is lovely
Yesu dance,	Jesus and dance
Paka mugulu nga twetala	We shall dance, up to heaven
Oo guno olmulembe mupya	Oh this is a new generation
Abaana tukuba kidongo	We are playing music
Nga nkikuba ne mitala	When I play the music,
Nebawulira	People at the far end hear it.
Yesu yatwesize	Jesus trusts us
Yatukiriza okukuba ekidongo	He has permitted us to play the music
Njagala nkwate ku besi	I want to play the bass guitar
Ndabe abaana ba Mukama	I want to see the children of God
nga be menya	Twisting their bodies
Ebyenaku twabittadde	To hell with misery,
Esanyulya Mukama mannyi gaffe,	Rejoicing in the Lord is our strength,
Omukadde leero abukabuka	The old person is also dancing
Yatutadde ffe katuwewo	He set us free, let's dance
Ekya Yesu kyasuse	Jesus' music is great
Kino otuyana nokalirawo	You sweat and become normal

Njagala ndabe abakuguka mu Yesu	Those who are spiritually mature,
Nga mukuba ekidongo	Get up and dance
Chorus	
Leero dance	This is a day for dancing
Solo	
Buli ayingira tasigala kyekimu	Whoever comes in does not remain
	The same
Abalwadde, abakoye, batenda	The sick and the weary wonder
Kino sikirabangako, guno gutujja	This music booms,
Tugukuba pa nkyo	We dance until the next day
Abakadde manyenya bikiyi	Old women shake their clothes
Kampala eyogera Yesu yekka	In Kampala, praise Jesus,
Yesu yekka	They praise Jesus,
Twagala ffe, Yesu dance	We like praising Jesus, and then dance
Yesu, Dance	We worship, and dance
Muleke ffe tumenyeka	Give up on us, we are breaking
Abasumba banyenya mitwe	Pastors shake their heads,
Bagamba bano abaana	They appreciate the way
batta kidongo	We display different strokes
kino kyo kitujja butuzi	This music booms a lot
abalogo bakoowe okuloga,	Wizards should just give up
amazima gakawa	It is hard to believe
naye Yesu dance, Yesu dance	But Jesus, dance, Jesus, dance
awoma nga honey	It is as sweet as honey
wetunamalira nga Yesu	By the end of the dance
omuyita Mukama	You will be referring to Jesus
nga tulokose	As your personal savior and
	We shall all be saved
Ssikitidde kankube ekidongo	I will not give up dancing
Yesu alimpa ne empeera	Jesus will reward me
Teri a wereza Mukama	Nobody serves the Lord
Naviramu awo ngalo nsa	And gains nothing
Mukama wulira esaala zaffe	God hear our prayers
Kankube ekidongo	Let me dance
Paka yesu bwanawurila	Until Jesus responds
Agulewo emilyango	And opens the gates
Ssikitidde kankube ekidongo	I will not give up dancing
Yesu alimpa empeera	Jesus will reward me
Teri awereza mukama	Nobody serves the Lord
Naviramu awo ngalo nsa	And gains nothing
Mukama wulira esaal zaffe	Jesus hear our prayers
Kuluno anadamu ekidongo	He will replay the music
Kankube ekidongo	Let me dance
Pakaa Yesu lwa wulira	Until Jesus responds
Agulewo emilyango	And opens the gates

The lyrics of this music reflect on dance and entertainment as the central themes for the performance. The leader of the song uses lyrics that encourage the dancers to exploit different motifs, indicating that Jesus approves of entertainment in church. He refers to the

dancers as children, associating this type of performance with the youth. He also mentions the elderly and the pastors, emphasizing that they have given consent to dancing as a spiritual benefit to their church members. Apart from a few words like Jesus, pastors and salvation that connect this music with Christianity, it is hard to differentiate between this music as Christian music and secular popular music. It unfolds in a similar style with Treves Kazibwe's (Dr Tee) song, *Omulembe gwa Yesu* (Jesus' Generation), another song characterized by lyrics praising Jesus and dance movements associated with secular popular music performances. Actually, music artists like Dr, Tee and Sliver Kyagulanyi who double as gospel music artists as well as secular popular music artists have partly contributed to the popularity of Pentecostal music. Also, Pentecostal music artists who participated in the secular popular music world before changing to the Pentecostal faith have had an impact on Pentecostal music. For instance Twino Karios was a member of "Fire base band" (owned by Bebe Cool) before changing to Pentecostalism (interview; 25.08.2009) and Luther Tee Ssalongo was in Gents Band Interview 19.08.2009). These examples also serve as meeting points for Pentecostal music and secular popular musical elements.

While seeking to know why entertainment has become part and partial of Pentecostal music, I got the following responses: Kyagulanyi's explanation showed that the spread of Christianity fragmented the African cultures and also introduced the categorizations of sacred and secular performances. However, Christianity did not allow for the practice of the African culture of combining aspects like singing, dancing and playing musical instruments during worship. Conversely, secular popular music artists do address this musical culture, thereby meeting the entertainment desires of the mainstream audiences. What is happening, Pentecostals are reorganizing the fragmented musical elements and reshaping and indigenizing their church music (Interview; 18.09.2009).

Eddy Kayima, another gospel music artist, also told me that popularizing gospel music has come as a response to the demand for entertainment in church by the youth. He noted that pastors have responded to this demand in a number of ways including evening services (or “Evening Glory”) (from 6:00-8:00 PM), special music performances during Sunday services, gospel music concerts organized regularly in different churches and launching of new albums (Interview 25.08.2009). Indeed, I observed an evening service at Light the World Church, shortly after conducting an interview with Bugembe. Similarly, Monica Kirabo, a gospel music artist, said it is important that Pentecostal music artists create music that attracts the youth to Pentecostal churches. If the churches only have choral music, the youth will seek entertainment elsewhere. She also expressed that their churches attract people because of entertainment and miracles but the youth mainly come to these churches because of entertainment (interview; 25.08.2009). Kirabo’s view brings in the aspect of a generational influence, which Kayima mentioned, explaining that the changes in the Pentecostal religious practices are partly defined by the demands of the youth who are the majority in these churches (interview 25.08.2009).

Similarly, newspapers and magazines have become important avenues for publicizing Pentecostal music concerts. For instance, in the VIGA magazine, live Pentecostal music performances have been included on Monday, Friday and Sunday and at the end of every month, Pentecostals organize a Christian music concert in one of the theatres in Kampala (Nyombi 2008:33). Pentecostal music concerts cited in this section are a clear testimony that entertainment has become an integral part of the Pentecostal culture particularly in Kampala.

Damaris Seleina Parsitau has also observed a similar practice in Pentecostal churches in Kenya. She recommends the embracement of entertainment, stating that it has saved the youth from spending time and money in nightclubs, discos or concerts (2006). Similarly, David Maxwell observes that the born-again movements “offer African youth, who

are the most vulnerable group in Africa's contemporary social and economic malaise, an alternative pattern of life" (1998). John Collins has also observed this among the Pentecostals in Ghana, as he writes in his 2004 article. He reports that people who wanted to enjoy a popular dance session would rather go and attend Pentecostal church services than going to the commercial high-life shows (2004:420). These examples show that Pentecostals in other parts of Africa embraced entertainment as an integral part of their church music a long time ago, and this has now also occurred in Kampala. It also implies that the growing trend of Pentecostal music in relation to entertainment has become a trans-cultural phenomenon, influenced by the globalizing factors especially media technology. Pentecostalism and entertainment also connect with the participation of Pentecostal music in secular popular music competitions, particularly those involving music awards. Below I examine how music awards have influenced creativity in Pentecostal music as a result of the fluid boundaries between the Pentecostal music practices and the secular popular music world.

4.6 Music Awards

The Pearl of Africa Music Awards, which started in 2003 in Uganda, attracted the participation of secular popular music artists as well as Pentecostal music artists. Among other artists, Pastor George Okudi won three awards during that year. At a national level, he was the best male gospel music artist and his music group was also the best. Okudi also won an award as the best music artist in the whole of Africa (Okudi 2005). These achievements attracted many Pentecostal music artists to take part in secular music shows, providing an avenue for Pentecostals and secular music artists to interact.

Figurer 12. Pastor George Okudi



In 2007, Pastor Wilson Bugembe performed a Christian song called *Mukama njagala kumanya* (God I want to Know You) and won an award as the best gospel music artist of the year (Nyombi 2008). Following the developments in PAM awards, Pentecostal music artists have also formed the Victoria Gospel Music Awards. The organizers of VIGA have drawn inspirations from the organizers of the PAM Awards, which are dominated by secular popular music items with gospel music as a formalized music genre. The Victoria Gospel Music Awards is also an annual event encompassing a number of awards just like the mainstream (PAM) awards. VIGA also gave Bugembe an award as the best gospel music writer of the year (*Mukama njagala kumanya*).

Figure 13 Bugembe Performing at During New Years Celebrations, at Kololo



Following the developments of the PAM Awards and VIGA, I have observed that these music awards have partly contributed to what Kalu has described as unstoppable creativity in Pentecostal music because of technology and continuous cultural interactions (2008: 122). These music awards have inspired individual Pentecostal music artists to divert from choral music which requires the participation of a group of people and instead work for personal recognition. It has also opened up the possibility for some Pentecostals (those who are not talented in musical performance), to cooperate with secular popular music artists especially in area of composing Christian music (Kayaga: Interview; 10.11.2009). It has also developed a spirit of competition amongst Pentecostals, in anticipation of winning awards thereby adopting new musical and dance choreographies. Further, it has attracted secular popular music artist to participate in such events, and to extend their popular artistic style to

the sacred circles. For instance Juliana Kanyomozi and Bebe Kool are among the secular popular music artists who performed songs on Christian themes and won awards during the 2008 Victoria Gospel Music Award ceremony. Generally, music awards have played a significant role in transforming Pentecostal music to popular style and also extending its function to the mainstream audiences. Besides, they have influenced Pentecostal music artists to also address social problems confronting Ugandans, as discussed below.

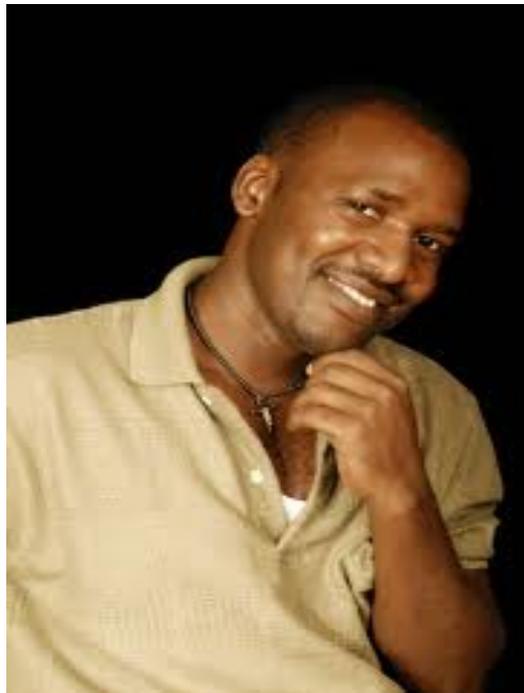
4. 7 Pentecostal music and social problems in Uganda

Pentecostal music artists have not only articulated issues related to their faith but they have also joined the secular popular music artists in the struggle to use art as a means of sensitizing the public about the problems prevailing in their society. To give an idea of how Pentecostal music artists have exhibited a spirit of nationalism, I refer to their joint performance in a song called “Save the Future.” It is about the children (orphans), who have lost their parents because of the HIV/AIDS plague, wars and domestic violence. This song does not focus on salvation or the Pentecostal faith; rather, it addresses an issue that would be the concern of the government or the general public. This kind of joint performance was conducted by secular popular music artists in 2006; as such, Pentecostals have been inspired to come up with a similar performance.

Besides, individual Pentecostal music artists have addressed the situation of street kids as they appeal to the general public to come to the rescue of these kids. Other issues addressed include poverty, sickness and unemployment. Pentecostal music artists always articulate these issues in form of persuasive evangelism, affirming to public that Jesus is the best solution to such problems. In relation to these issues, Bugembe cited specific music examples reflecting on suffering and explained how a number of people have used those songs for consolation.

Among others, he mentioned his own song “Mukama njagala kumanya” (God, I Want to Know You), “Mukama gwe omanyi ebyange” (God, You Know All About Me) by Wasswa Kiying and “Yesu berange” (God, Dwell in Me), by Judth Babirye. Also, Bugembe observed that secular popular music artists have tried to address such problems through art, but their music lacks the message that creates hope for a better future (interview; 20.08.2009). Pastor Samuel Mukalazi described secular music as dead music because it does not communicate religious messages, and referred to Pentecostal music as meaningful to the listeners in terms of life and hope (interview; 19.08. 2009).

Figure 14. Treves Kazibwe (Dr Tee)



Dr. Tee also points out that Pentecostals music is appealing to the general public because it is used to articulate the problems confronting society. Specifically, he believes that the Biblical themes meshed with specific issues that artists have addressed in their music shows a positive trend. He said it in *Luganda* emphasizing that “njagala enyimba ze dini

ziyimbire ne mubifo bamalaya we betundira, bayiza okweddako ne bakyukira Katoda, meaning “It is my desire to have Christian music played in places where sex workers conduct their business, listening to this music might influence them to stop that evil business” (interview; 05. 10.2009).

With regard to the secularization and sacralization processes, Pentecostals contend that their music is created for the ministration purpose and as such, popularizing this music aims to achieve spreading the gospel across sacred and secular boundaries. They also contend that drawing styles from the secular popular music world is actually reclaiming these music from Satan, as such, sacralizing secular music styles. Actually, some of the Pentecostals I interviewed emphasized that good sounds, should be used for glorifying the name of God instead of playing in nightclubs for purposes of worshipping Satan. For instance, Lydia Yiga stated that that “Satan does not own anything good, not even a style of singing or dancing, instead he turns the good sounds into music for promoting immorality (Interview; 02.07.2009). Bugembe expressed that “it is the grace of the Lord that Pentecostal music has become popular in Kampala.” He also attributed the popularity of Pentecostal music to the (*Luganda*), pointing out that “music speaks to the heart and it is important for listens to get the meaning of the music. Connecting with how Pentecostal music and problems in Uganda, he pointed out that “Ugandans themselves know their life experiences, as such we need to sing about ourselves” (interview; 20.08.2009).

While as traditional Christians consider playing Pentecostal music in places designated for recreational activities as secularizing it, Pentecostals themselves regard it as penetrating what has been traditionally labeled havens for evildoing (Kiyingi: interview 25.08.2009). Meshach Muwonge also stated that playing Pentecostal music in recreational places shows how the power of God has weakened the devil (interview; 02.08.2009). All these responses show that secularization and sacralization are constructions interpreted and negotiated

according to different religious cultures. These expressions also reflect on sacralization as a process connecting with popularizing Pentecostal music. However, the musical examples in this chapter and the responses of the Pentecostals secularization as a process does not apply to the of the sacralization and secularization processes have been negotiated by the Pentecostals in relation to the different factors influencing creativity in Pentecostal music, especially evangelization. In the next chapter I make summaries of the research findings and the concluding remarks.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Concluding Remarks

5.1 Summary

In this study I have examined different aspects in which Pentecostal music has become similar to secular popular music. I have traced the origin and growth of Pentecostalism in Uganda, focusing mainly on Kampala. My observation is that Pentecostal music was rooted in the Western choral form especially the four-part harmony introduced by the Anglican Church missionaries during the colonial period. These missionaries did not only use the Namirembe Church Music Festival to boost their Christianization mission, but also to introduce Western music culture, resulting in fragmentation of the local cultures and undermining the Ugandan local music. In the process of using music as a tool for achieving these two objectives, the Tukutendereza Yesu revivalists cherished the Western choral form as the authentic musical culture for performing sacred music. The subsequent revival groups like the Eschatos Bride Ministries, Golden Gate Choir and Calvary Cross Choir, were all rooted in the Western choral (sacred) music tradition.

I have also observed that the participation of the Ugandan Pentecostals in the establishment of more Pentecostal churches in Kampala (especially from the 1980s) and the desire to attract members to these churches opened up the possibility for using Michael W. Smith's fish analogy. Smith observes that "in order to catch the right fish, you have to use attractive bait" (1999), and this connects well with evangelization (targeting the youth) and sacralization of secular music styles. In addition, the desire to earn an income through art, has compelled Pentecostal music artists to listen to, and watch secular music videos as away forward for negotiating spiritual and material benefits. It has exposed Pentecostal music

artists to secular music shows on televisions and radios, videos and tapes, thereby recognizing “each other’s styles, aspirations and language (Martine 2002:145). Actually, Pentecostal music has become a commercial product and it has attracted a network of people to participate in its creation, artistic designing, production and consumption. Involved in this network are pastors, Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal music artists, producers, promoters and Pentecostal and the non-Pentecostal audiences. Above all, I have observed that technology which has facilitated the recording, dubbing and dissemination of Pentecostal music, has played a significant role in the popularity of Pentecostal music. Among other factors, radio, television and Internet (You tube), have played a central in the dissemination of Pentecostal music across sacred and secular places.

Similarly, I have observed that secular dance movement and entertainment which Pentecostals of the colonial period regarded as worldly (Garlok *et al.* 1998:87-89) have become part and partial of the Pentecostal music culture. Dance itself has been formalized as a ministry and it is used by some young Pentecostals to reach out to people, especially the youth. It has also been incorporated into the Pentecostal church worship music, as a way forward for the addressing the demand for entertainment in church and also for attracting and retaining membership especially the youth.

Also, the Pentecostal and the mainstream audiences at the receiving end have played a key role in the shaping of Pentecostal music. Particularly, the mainstream audience which has provided a large market for this music has been a key factor in the changing of Pentecostal music to a popular style. The Pentecostal and the mainstream audiences have also defined the venues in which to organize the events of launching Pentecostal music albums. For instance, promoters who buy copyrights from artists and desire to realize good profits, organize such events in recreational places where they can attract large audiences. Similarly, some Pentecostal music artists use their church premises for launching their music albums,

targeting the Pentecostal audience. As Howard S. Becker has observed, the making of Pentecostal music is a collective activity involving a network of people (1973).

Furthermore, prayer and evangelization have been put to music in a popular style, to appeal to Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal audiences in a number of contexts. Also, participating in music awards, articulating individual life experiences and problems confronting the ordinary Ugandans, have been key issues in the growing trend of popularizing Pentecostal music. As Kidula (2000) has observed in her study of gospel music in Kenya, also, in Kampala, Pentecostal and secular popular musical sounds are the same, the difference lies only in the lyrics (2000).

5.2 Concluding Remarks

This study shows that the first Pentecostal movements in Uganda, including the *Tukutendereza Yesu* cherished the western choral music style and observed the boundaries between sacred and secular music performances. Sacred music functioned as an important tool for negotiating revivalism and evangelism. Changing from western choral to secular popular style suggests that Pentecostals have broken away with the past and through art, they are redefining and reconstructing their religious culture. Peter Clarke has observed, these changes in religious practices come in the context of constructing a culturally and spiritually meaningful form of religion (2006:187). In addition, , it demonstrates how Pentecostals have responded to the Christianization and Westernization processes (as reflected in the developments in the Namirembe Church Music Festival) and how they are redefining the sacred and secular distinctions. Also, the transformations in Pentecostal music show that Pentecostalism itself has become a contemporary religious culture.

Similarly, the introduction of Pentecostalism in Uganda fragmented the traditional musical cultures especially that of singing, playing musical instruments and dancing as interlocked musical practices. However, secular music artists cherished it and they have used it in their hybridized popular music to appeal the mainstream audience in Kampala. In relation to this culture, popularizing Pentecostal music is a clear testimony that the boundaries between Pentecostal music and secular popular music have become fluid, meaning that Pentecostals have redefined the sacred and secular distinctions. This development shows that Pentecostal music artists are responding to the colonial missionary Christianity in a way that Kalu has referred to as reclaiming the African lost identity (2008:4). Also, drawing inspirations from secular popular music especially in dance movement context shows how Pentecostals have diversified their musical practices to attract the youth to their faith. It could also be explained in relation to David Martine's observation about Pentecostalism as a dynamic religious culture, changing its cultural practices according to a particular time and place (2002:143).

Also, marketing Pentecostal music as a popular product, which traditional church musicians would perform for free "to the glory of God" (Kidula 2000:413), means that Pentecostals have turned their music into a consumer product. This resonates with Kalu's concept of revivalism, stating that people respond to change reflecting on the past and present including where they live and how they organize themselves, and "respond to the numerous world and the external forces around them" (2008:16). This kind of revivalism does not mean renewing the Western choral music style, rather show how Pentecostals are mending the African fragmented musical cultures, by negotiating sacred and secular music material. Connecting Kalu's statement with marketing Pentecostals' music, Pentecostals have practically demonstrated the desire to address their economic problems by negotiating place for their music in the popular music industry. Along the same line, Pentecostal music has

found market among the Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals, which Gregory Barz associates with “openness to foreign and indigenous musical ideas and commodities (2001:111). Indeed, Pentecostal music has gained popularity and it is competing for space with secular popular music.

Further, the emergence of entertainment within church is a typical practice of Pentecostal churches initiated by African Pentecostals, who combine the western cultures and the African ones “making worship full of lively music” (Omenyo 2002:73). According to John Collins, it is one way Pentecostals are marching with the “anxieties and tensions of urban life” which he has also observed among the Pentecostals in Ghana (2004:414). This has also been partly attributed to Pentecostal music artists who participated in the secular popular music bands before converting to Pentecostalism. Artists like Dr, Tee, Sliver Kyagulanyi Twino Karios, Luther Tee Ssalongo and Musumba discussed in chapter four, have played a role in the Pentecostal music transformations. Kalu has also observed that artists, who have participated in the secular popular music world, have also introduced new styles and dance choreographies to Pentecostal music (2008:121). Barz has also explained that musicians who change from the secular music culture to the gospel music culture maintain their musical identity and influence the music traditions of their new cultures (2001).

Further, extending Pentecostal music to secular places, more so in form of launching new music albums, can also be defined as another way contemporary Pentecostalism has contested the colonial missionary Christian interpretation of the sacred versus the secular. Following the cultural transformations in the Anglican Church of Uganda, Kevin Ward (1991) and Kalu (2008:16) observe that the initiators of the Tukutendereza revival movement were the youth. In establishing a relationship between the youth and music, I reflect on Eddy Kayima’s views expressed in an interview I conducted concerning popularizing Pentecostal music. He specifically stated that this is a response to the need for revivalism and it also

symbolizes generational influence (Interview; 25.08.2009). Indeed, it reflects revivalism and Rick Warren also points out that “every true revivalism has been accompanied by new music”(1999:288).

In another perspective, the diversity of Pentecostal churches in Kampala has problematized its religious practices, opening up the possibility for Pentecostal music to gain popularity as a result of mixing sacred and secular popular musical elements. It has also influenced Pentecostal churches to compete “amongst themselves in adopting new musical and dance choreographies” (2008:122). In Kampala, it has attracted a number of Pentecostal music artists including Wilson Bugembe, Wasswa Kiyingi, and David Bweyinda among others to start their own Pentecostal churches. Following the way these artists have put in place their churches, popularizing Pentecostal music comes out as one of the various ways Pentecostals have exhibited the quest for power (Kalu 2008:4).

In relation to the lyrical content of Pentecostal music, I have observed the influence of the prosperity gospel on the creation of Pentecostal music. This gospel has encouraged many Pentecostals to develop messages preached by pastors into lyrical texts and create music in a popular style. Given that evangelization is a central practice in Pentecostal churches where all members are encouraged to act “as evangelists working to convert others” (Robbins 2004:124), Pentecostals have put particular emphasis on Christian lyrics and secular style. This resonates well with the quotations Hiromi Lorraine Sakata uses in her discussions connecting with the sacred and the profane. Particularly, the expression concerning spiritual knowledge and how it is transferred to the listeners through words (1994:89), emphasizes the significance of the lyrics in a sacred performance.

With regard to secularization and sacralization processes, this study shows that the fluid boundaries between Pentecostal music and secular popular music have opened up for the two to become complementary process. In arriving at this conclusion, the concepts of

revivalism and evangelism form important contexts in which the two processes can be interpreted. From the revivalists' point of view, drawing inspirations from secular music and popularizing Christian music connects with Bryan R. Wilson's definition of secularization, as the process by which religious thinking and practices lose significance (1966:14). Indeed Pentecostals changed from choral music style and practices, yet the revivalists emphasize that "what has been is what will be and what has been done is what will be done" (Ecclesiastes 1:9-10, quoted in Omenyo 2002:77). This is one among the many ways that refer to Pentecostal music as getting secularized. However, evangelists contend that; "There is no such thing as 'Christian music.' There are only Christian lyrics" (Warren 1999: 282). This implies that all music is secular, it can only become sacred by blending it with Christian lyrics thus, sacralizing the secular. This is a complex issue and it forms an interesting topic for future research.

The discussions thus far, show that the factors contributing to the reciprocal relationship between Pentecostal music and secular popular music are diverse and complex. These factors resonate with Li Wei's observation, that "under the process of global modernization and, westernization as well, music change or acculturation becomes more prominent and visible" (1992). The findings of this study also connect with Belk *et al.*'s analysis on how the consumer culture shapes the secularization and sacralization processes, and how the two complement each other. Most importantly, this study shows that the similarities between Pentecostal music and secular popular music do not only mean secularizing sacred music, but, also sacralizing secular music styles and places with Christian musical sounds.

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APPENDICES

Appendix (1) Discography

Babirye, Judith. Nzijukira, Kampala, 2007 [DVD].

Bu'dhuike, Carol. Kwoola Mukama, Kampala, 2009 [DVD].

Eschatos Bride Choir Tukutendereza Yesu, Jinja 1982 [CD]

Kasujja, Samuel Kyuma kya Yesu, Lindirira Yesu. Kampala 2009 [DVD].

King Dancers, Leero Dance, Kampala 2009 [DVD].

Light The World Mass Choir, Kani. Kampala, 2008 [DVD].

Treves Kazibwe (Dr. Tee), Mulembe gwa Yesu, Kampala, 2009 [DVD].

Pentecostal Gospel Music Artists, Save the Children, Kampala, 2010 [DVD].

UAFCR, Historical Choir. Bendesta Niwazi, Jinja, 2008 [CD].

APPENDIX (2)

List of Music Tracks

[These releases are self –distributed by the artists, and do not include record company or catalogue information on the packaging]

Track No.1.	Tukutendereza Yesu	Eschatos Bride Choir	Vol. 1	(CD)
Track. No.2.	Bendesta Niwazi	UAFCR Choir	(Un known)	(CD)
Track No 3.	Nzjjukira	Judith Babirye	Vol 6	(DVD)
Track No. 4.	Kani	Wilson Bugembe	Vol.6	(DVD)
Track No. 5.	Kowoola Mukama	Carol Bu’dhuike	Vol.2	(DVD)
Track No. 6.	Leero Danse	Kingdom dancers,	Vol 3	(DVD)
Track No. 7.	Lindirira Yesu	Samuel Kazibwe	(Un known)	(DVD)
Track No. 8.	Save the Future	Pentecostal Music Artists	(Un known)	(DVD)
Track No 9.	Mulembe gwa Yesu	Treves Kazibwe (Dr. Tee)	Vol. 1	(DVD)

APPENDIX (3)

List of Informants

DATE	NAME	PLACE	TIME
02.07.2009	John Mukisa	Wilson Street, Zainabu Aziizi Building	12:00- 1:00 PM
02.07.2009	Esther Kayaga	Wilson Street, Zainabu Aziizi Building	1:05- 2:00PM
02.07.2009	Lydia Yiga	Wilson Street, Zainabu Aziizi Building	2:10-3:30PM
02.08.2009	Meshach Muwonge	Kansanga Mircle Centre	4:00-4:10 PM
02.08.2009	Wasswa Kiyingi	Kansanga Miracle Center	4:10-4:20 PM
19.08.2009	-Meshach Muwonge -Kirwana MCAfrica -Ken Miziki -Ps. Samuel Mukalazi -Ivodrous -Carol Bu' dhuike -Luther Tee Ssalongo	Astoria Hotel Kampala	2:00-5:30 PM
20.08.2009	Ps. Wilson Bugembe	Light the World Church Nansana	4:00-600 PM
25.08. 2009	-Wasswa Kiyingi -Ignatius Kezala -Edison Subi -Godfrey Musumba - -Twino Karios - Eddy Kayima -Monica Kirabo	Karerwe - Kampala	4:00- 8:30 PM
28.09.2009	Sliver Kyagulanyi	Kiwatule- Kmapala	1:30-3:00 PM
05.10.2009	Treves Kazibwe (Dr, Tee)	Makindiye	3:00-4:10 PM
14.11.2009	Joshua Mafabi	Jinja town	
22.011.2009	Irene Kisakye	Nakivu Primary Sch	1:00-2:00 PM
05.02.2010	Arthur Musulube	Wairaka	10:20-11:00 AM
10.03.2010	Gladys Mirembe	Wilson Street, Zainabu Aziizi Building	2:05-3:30 PM

06.04.2010	Ps. John Ssenyonjo	Wilson Street, Zainabu Aziizi Building	2:00-3:30 PM
07.04.2010	Dr Paddy Musana	Makerere University	10:30-12:00 noon
29.06.2010	Anita Desire Asasira	Makerere University	11:10-11:40 AM
06.09.2010	Abby .Ssalongo. Kibalama	Bergen (Telephone interview)	11:15-11:35 AM
21.09.2010	David Mukisa	Bergen (Telephoen interview)	2:00-2:30 PM
21.09.2010	Jean Peace (Telephone interview)	Bergen (Telephone interview)	10:10-10:25 AM
11.10.2010	Micheal Kwiri	Bergen (Telephone interview)	3:30-4:05 PM

APPENDIX (4)

List of Events Attended

DATE	FUNCTION	PLACE	TIME
14.06.2009	Sunday Service	Kampala Watoto Church	10:30- 12:00 Noon
21.06.2009	Sunday Service	Kampala Watoto Church	12.30-2:00 PM
28.06.2009	Sunday Service	Rubaga Miracle Center	10:30- 12:00 Noon
05.07.2009	Sunday Service	Rubaga Miracle Center	12.30-2:00 PM
12.07.2009	Sunday Service	Namirembe Christian Center	12.30-2:00 PM
19.07.2009	Sunday Service	Namirembe Christian Center	10:30- 12:00 Noon
02.08.2009	Gospel Concert Jacky Ssenyonjo Launched an Album	Kansanga Miracle Center	03:00-08:00 PM
09:08.2009	-Sunday Service	Prayer Palace	10:30-12:00 Noon
09:08.2009	Gospel Music Concert Irene Kisakye Launched an Album	Pride Theatre	03:00-8:30 PM
14.08.2009	Gospel Music Concert Ps Wilson Bugembe Launched a new Album (Kani)	Hotel Africana	03:30- 8:30
16.08.2009	Sunday Service	Prayer Palace	10:30-12:00 Noon
16.08.2009	Gospel Music Concert Ps Wilson Bugembe Launching His Album (Kani)	Ggaba Beach	03:00-09:00 PM
20.08.2009	Evening Service	Light the World Church	06:00-08:00 PM
06.09.2009	Sunday Service	Victory Church Ndeeba	10:30-12:00 Noon
13.09.2009	Gospel Music Concert Carol Bu'dhuike Launched her Album (Koooola Mukama Waali)	Victory Church Ndeeba	03:00-08:00 PM

14.11.2009	Gospel Music Concert John Mukisa Launched a New Music Album (Omubili Ki-box)	Kajansi Community Centre	04:00-08:30 PM
25.12. 2009	Gospel Music Concert	Jinja Town Hall	06.00-08:00 PM
01.01.2010	Gospel Music Concert	Jinja Christian Center	04:00-08:30 PM
26.03.2010	Gospel Music Concert (Fund raising for Bududa landslide Victims)	Kansanga Miracle Center Organised by Judith Babirye and Wilson Bugenbe	05:30-07:30 PM
27.03.2010	Gospel Music Concert (Fund raising for Bududa landslide Victims)	Mukono Deliverance Church	4:00-06:00 PM
24.06.2010	Lunch Hour Service	Victory Church Ndeeba	01.00-02.00 PM