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**FROM CHRISTIAN BRIGADE TO COMMERCIALIZED POPULAR GENRE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF *GBÓKÙS* MUSIC AMONG THE YORÙBÁ, SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA**

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**ABSTRACT**

*An outcome of European, especially Christian missionary, incursion into African societies is the emergence of new social groups and new contexts for musico-cultural performances. Social change did not only trigger a modification of existing musical forms, it also facilitated the appearance of new ones; one of which is gbókùs music among the Yorùbá of Nigeria. In spite of its popularity at social ceremonies, the genre has received little scholarly attention. Adopting the theory of diffusion of innovation, this paper traces the evolution of gbókùs music in Yorùbá society from its formative stage as Boys Brigade parade music to its transitory period as a social music for funeral processions. The music was initially characterized by performances aimed at promoting Christian evangelistic activities until its development into full maturation aided by socio-economic factors from within and outside the church setting. The paper submits that gbókùs music represents a creative continuum of a mutated musical art within the normative contemporary African cultural production framework.*

**Keywords:** Gbókùs music, Yorùbá funerals, Commercialized genre, Boys Brigade Music (BBM)

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## **Introduction**

Music remains a vital component of African culture which cannot be side-tracked. As a way of life, it plays several functional roles and at different important stages in the lives of Africans - from birth through puberty, title-taking and marriage, to other occasions for celebration, including transition to life beyond (Okafor, 2005). There is no gain saying that one conspicuous outcome of Christianity and European incursion into African societies is the emergence of new social groups as well as new contexts of cultural performances, especially music. Many scholars have engaged the theme of 'culture clash' and how its occurrence has been a threat to the survival and sustenance of African indigenous practices, including traditional music, especially in the modern times (Olaniyan, 2001; Emielu, 2006; Arowolo, 2010; Muhib, 2011; Shinge, 2012; Shrikant, 2012; Kenalemang, 2013).

Within the discourse of the subject of culture rivalries, it is important to notably reaffirm a settled debate that African culture has never been static, even during the pre-colonial era. In other words, there were multi-layers of endogenously inflected modernity that framed African societies long before contacts with the outside worlds. Migrations, occasioned by trade, and dispersal of persons from their homelands due to internecine wars prior to the nineteenth century aided the transmission of 'modern' traditions, customs and practices among Africans. Political ascendancy, thus, became a catalyst for cultural hegemonies (Omibiyi, 1981:45). Olaoluwa (2011: 5) puts it more succinctly when he submits that: 'every conquering tribe or territory sealed its victory by imposing its ontological order as a form of modernity'. This antiquated African modernity was layered in many speckles and sediments before the advent of a famous and a more palpable 'modernity' framed by external forces, and which has risen to the surface.

Irrespective of the form, space and time of the occurrence of modernity, it has always provided platforms upon which new inventions and multiple strands of innovations were triggered. Secondly, it generated opportunities for people to creatively respond to emerging trends. Such is the case of *gbókùs* music, a genre that began as a quasi-military type of music from the Boys Brigade Company in some churches in Yorubaland but which invariably transmuted into a

popular music form within and without the church setting.

Existing studies on the advent of Christianity in Yorùbá society have highlighted the efforts of Christian missionaries, particularly the three earliest missionary bodies: the Wesleyan (Methodist), the Church Missionaries Society (Anglican) and the Baptist Mission that brought Christianity to Nigeria (Alokan, Alabi and Babalola, 2011; Omotoye, 2011; Vidal, 2012; Ikotun, 2013). Some of the studies dwelt on the earliest music forms such as canticles, anthems, *native airs* and so forth commonly associated with the church with little attention on emerging genres, a gap in knowledge this study attempts to fill. This paper, therefore investigates the growth and development of *gbókùs* music as a socio-religious artistic genre commonly found in Yorubaland.

### **Theorizing Diffusion of Innovation**

This study is anchored to the theory of diffusion of innovation. The theory explains how an innovation is taken up in a society and factors that determine rates of diffusion in a given society. It posits that cultural innovations such as inventions had a single origin and they spread from one society to others (Kroeber, 1923; Malinowski, 1939). Some scholars such as Boas (1924) and Herskovits (1945) discussed the influence of culture contact in a diffusing process. For example, Boas described diffusion as creative ‘borrowing’ and an invention which occasionally occurs through culture contacts and acculturation. He maintained that through contacts and mingling of two or more forms, new types of the forms emerge. This view is in line with that of Herskovits who suggested that transference of traits in a society is not as fundamental as the manner in which the borrowed traits are reworked and re-interpreted in the society. They both concluded that the acceptance of whatever is borrowed from the outside does not in any way suggest total acceptance of the traits, rather, a reworking and re-interpretation by the adopters is inevitable to complete the entire process. Factors that determine rate of diffusion of innovation as put forward by Rogers (1995) include:

- i. *Relative advantage*: the extent to which an innovation is better than the idea it supersedes in terms of economic advantage, social prestige, convenience and satisfaction by users.

- ii. *Compatibility with existing values and practices*: the degree to which an innovation is perceived to be compatible with existing values, knowledge and practices of its users, as well as the degree to which it meets their needs and aspirations.
- iii. *Simplicity and ease of use*: basically dealing with how ‘easy to use’ an innovation is perceived by its users.

The theory was adopted to explain how the BBM was creatively modified and adapted to suit social contexts of a group of people, especially church members in Yorùbá society. The innovation later diffused into the society when the musical genre became transformed and repackaged into a commercialized popular art form, now known as *gbókùs* music. In addition, the musical genre gradually moved out of the confines of the church. Creative minds behind this development explored the possibilities of generating some income for themselves. This was in addition to providing quality service aimed at meeting specific socio-musical needs of some religiously conscious individuals (elite) who were concerned and determined to maintain their Christian identity. As a matter of fact, the genre is now being patronized by both Christians and non-Christians and has grown to become a brand of instrumental popular music in Nigeria. Many scholars such as Adedeji (2007), Samuel (2006) and Iroanya (2013) acknowledged how Christian music artistes have creatively ‘spiced’ their art with African indigenous elements and materials to produce new musical forms or set new social contexts for performance. They further argued that such innovations do not necessarily constitute a ‘bastardization’ of their musical art; rather they should be seen as an expansion of space for performance and listening pleasure of their numerous patrons.

### **Locating and Establishing the Base**

Western Christian missionaries began their activities with the preaching of the gospel, provision of health care and western education across Yorubaland (Samuel, 2015). Their proselytizing movements were complimented by their converts’ enthusiasm and efforts in organizing themselves into groups within the various erected places of worship (church buildings). This is quite similar to what obtained during the pre-colonial Yorùbá society when social groups were

formed based on age group, gender, profession, lineage, ethnic and so forth, essentially for mutual assistance and cordial relationships. Different associations that existed within the church setting included: the Boys' and Girls' Guild, Men and Women's Guild, Young Men Christian Association (YMCA), Young Women Christian Association (YWCA), Youth Christian Fellowship (YCF), Boys Brigades (BB) and Royal Ambassadors (RA) among other groups (Fadipe, 1970: 250-260; Vidal 2012:106).

In the same vein, music in Christian worship at inception was rendered under different performance modes such as chanting of psalms and canticles, hymns singing and special choir presentations as introduced by the missionaries to feature in many aspects of the liturgy (Edewor, 2002; Okonkwo, 2006; and Vidal, 2012). After this period, several other associated genres performed for Christians under non-liturgical category emerged. Many factors responsible for their emergence included: proliferation of churches, the dynamic nature of Yorùbá culture and unique nature of music (Samuel, 2012/2013). One of the non-liturgical forms is the Boys Brigade Music (BBM), which Okonkwo (2006) described as marching band music in church. According to her:

Progressively, another genre of music was introduced into the church music which is band music by the Boys and Girls Brigades, and Young Wives Association. The basic aim of establishing these groups is to draw the young nearer to Christ (Okonkwo, 2006:166).

For the sake of clarity, Christian music is generally often categorized into liturgical and non-liturgical forms. The former is mainly sacred, comprising hymns, psalms, chants, canticles, special choir renditions and choruses, and used by Christians during worship. The non-liturgical version however, consists of all forms of music used by Christians during evangelistic activities, especially outside the church settings such as open-air crusade, retreats, rallies and so forth (Samuel, 2012/2013; Onwuche, 2007; Adedeji, 2007). Also included in this category are various vocal and instrumental gospel bands which Christians patronize for the purpose of entertainment at various social functions. This is not to assume that the foregoing musical types do not feature at times during church services, but since they do not form part of the order of service during Christian worship (liturgy), they could as well be properly labeled as 'music in the church'



instead of 'church music'. Gospel music and BBM both fall into this category. Faseun (2008) attests to the fact that orthodox and indigenous denominational churches combine both forms in their evangelical programmes i.e. musical groups such as gospel bands and BBM on the one hand and pure liturgical music on the other hand.

### **Yorùbá Traditional and Christian Funeral Practices: A Synthesis**

Active participation in numerous social activities is phenomenal among the Yorùbá, essentially due to the strong bond they share as members of the same community (Odejobi, 2014). The prominent functional roles of music in these social ceremonies cannot be overemphasised. For instance, musical forms such as *oríkì* (praise/panegyric recitative), *ẹkún'yàwó* (bride's cry) and *isípà-òdẹ* (dirges performed by guild of hunters in honour of a departed colleague) are examples of music associated with naming, marriage and burial respectively (Fadipe, 1970; Ajuwon, 1980; Adeleke, 2005; Adegbite, 2006; Vidal, 2012).

The burial ceremony, especially of an elderly, is elaborately celebrated in Yorùbá society, so also is music performed to announce when a king joins his ancestors. Its significance among the people is not unconnected with the people's worldview as contained in the popular saying: 'death does not signify an end to living; rather, a mere transition from the physical to the spiritual world'. Unless the deceased (elderly individual) is accorded a befitting burial, s/he cannot be deemed to have 'rested in peace'. The implication therefore is the deceased is denied the opportunity of a smooth passage into the ancestral world (Lawal, Lawal and Adeyinka, 2013; Adeboye, 2016). The belief among the people is that such an individual becomes a wandering ghost and could constitute a danger to the surviving children, other relatives or members of his/her family.

The pre-colonial Yorùbá society placed a high premium on funeral ceremony, also known as 'befitting burial' in honour of an individual who died at a ripe (old) age. Any deceased who has children old enough to organize a burial for him/her is considered fortunate and therefore ripe for a befitting burial. Ogbuagu (1989) observed that any person in African society who failed to

accord his parents a proper burial was regarded as a fool, inconsiderate, insensitive and wicked or out rightly useless. Members of the society often mocked and referred to such a fellow as irresponsible.

If it was not immediately feasible for the children of the deceased to conduct a ‘proper burial’ ceremony for their departed parent due to financial constraints or for any other unforeseen circumstance, the corpse may be interred in the meantime without much funfair. Necessity was however laid on the children and family members to atone for this oversight to perform what is labeled as the “second burial ceremony” at a possible earliest opportune time. This usually took the form of an elaborate ceremony wherein community members are invited to feast - dine and wine extensively. When such funeral rites are performed, the spirit of the deceased is believed to leave its wandering state and now qualifies to transit from the terrestrial ball to the world beyond in addition to a status upgrade to ancestor.

The deceased, thus becomes a ‘living dead’ saddled with the responsibility of watching over his/her household from the world beyond to positively influence their affairs. In addition, his/her abiding presence was believed to attract good fortunes and blessings towards the surviving relatives. A performance of proper funeral ceremony ‘unlocks’ the door and empowers the delighted deceased to come back at an opportune time to his/her family by way of reincarnation in line with the cyclic nature of the African life (Adeogun, 2006; Jimoh, 2012).

It is noteworthy that the act of *gbígbé òkú* (corpse carriage) is an important part of the burial rite in Yorùbá society and an activity often accompanied with series of musical performances. It is the hallmark of honour any deceased can be accorded by surviving children and relatives. Two Yorùbá statements: ‘*òkú olómo, gege làá gbée*’, (the corpse of one survived by children is carried majestically) and ‘*eni omó sin, n ló bí ’mọ*’ (only s/he that is buried by his offspring is adjudged to be have truly given birth) both attest to the importance of this belief among the Yorùbá. Adegoke (1995) attempted to trace the advent of the ‘corpse carrying’ tradition to the family of Èsò-Ìkòyí in Ile-Ife (the ancient town mythologically held as the cradle of humanity and center of the universe). The family was famous for a ritual ceremony known as *èsò-gbígbé*

(carrying of ẹsọ): a rite performed to effect a formal separation between them and their deceased. The Ẹsọ-Ìkòyí and their descendants were warriors and Oníkòyí was their leader. Adegoke further explained that the ritual involved wearing of special costume by two special armed men (carrying weapons) to depict the dead as a warrior during his lifetime. Thereafter, it became a practice in Yorùbá society and believed to provide opportunity for family members, relatives and other mourners to escort the deceased on his spiritual journey to the world beyond but this escort terminates at the grave site.

Similarly, another example of ‘corpse carriage’ tradition in Yorùbá society known as *àkó* performance was also found in Ọwò, a notable town in Ondo State. Abiodun (1976) described *àkó* as a burial procession in honor of a privileged deceased whose children were successfully both materially and socially. Part of the rites was the carriage of a wooden effigy of the deceased (representing the real corpse) around important places in Ọwò by young men in the community. The procession was often accompanied with *bẹmbẹ* drum, a membranophonic drum similar to the European snare drum (Vidal, 2012:46).

A considerable number of changes have however attended some aspects of Yorùbá social institutions. Okafor (2012) noted that since the main interest of the Europeans was to maintain its subtle socio-political hegemony and economic exploitation through commercial activity and missionary activities, Christianity was, therefore, deployed as an agency of cultural diplomacy through which African indigenous practices were steadily weakened. Indeed, numerous missionary activities presented and promoted the domineering European culture in good light before their captives. For example, European missionaries discouraged the converts from participating in indigenous practices, banned their converts from attending social ceremonies on Sundays and also disallowed the use of traditional music and musical instruments for church services and other Christian activities, sometimes even outside the church premises (Olaniyan, 2001; Samuel, 2012/2013; and Vidal, 2012).

In spite of the foregoing, Africans (new Christian converts) did not completely lose consciousness of their culture, neither were they fully persuaded to nullify their beliefs and

cultural practices as expressed in a popular statement: *ìgbàgbọ kòní k'amá s'orò* (the Christian faith does not forbid anyone's involvement in traditional rites). A complete annihilation from their long standing traditions was simply unacceptable to many of the converts as they regarded certain doctrines in their new found faith largely unfulfilling, detrimental to their wellbeing and that of their kinsmen. They felt obligated to honour some indigenous practices and therefore got involved in the celebration of important ceremonies such as annual traditional festivals and divination etc as prescribed by culture. Indeed, Lawal, Lawal and Adeyinka's (2013) and Odejobi's (2014) writings about social ceremonies among Yorùbá Christians noted that a typical Yorùbá Christian's burial is not only elaborate, but also the costliest compared to other religious adherents'.

Christians however took cognizance of the identity of their new found faith which they were not willing to give up especially in public. As a result, certain forms of modifications were introduced in order to suit Christian leaders' yearnings and aspirations when celebration of social ceremonies was concerned. It is in the light of the foregoing that BBM became relevant as a syncretic musical form at various socio-cultural events of Christians and non-Christian alike. In any case, the Christian converts were described as 'syncretist' (Samuel, 2012/2013) because in addition to their indigenous practices, they equally embraced and subscribed to some aspects of European practices by way of Christianity and western education.

### **Advent of the Boys' Brigade Movement in Nigeria**

Femi-Ologbe (2014) observes that the Boys' Brigade was introduced to Nigeria in 1908 through the Anglican and Methodist churches in Lagos. The group gradually developed to become popular among the churches, including many African Indigenous Churches such as the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), The Apostolic Church (TAC), Cherubim and Seraphim (C&S) and Celestial Church of Christ (CCC) to mention but a few. Music making progressively became an important feature of the organization in form of a purely instrumental and military-like genre known as the BBM. It comprised brass (mainly trumpets) and percussive instruments such as the

snare, bass and tenor drums, and cymbals. According to Vidal (2012), this type of music was at a time introduced into mission schools to accompany marching and singing activities during morning and closing assembly parades. It soon became an established sub-genre under the category of music in Nigerian churches.

It is instructive to note that at inception, BBM was primarily aimed at enhancing evangelistic activities. Closely tied to this is the fact that it was also set up to elicit the interest of more members, especially the youths who intend to ‘perform music for Christ’. Indeed, BBM shares two common features with gospel music, being also a musical art meant for the propagation of the ‘good news’ of Jesus Christ. Adedeji (2004) argues from the biblical point of view that the common notion as articulated in a popular saying: *òfẹ́ ní'gbàlà* (salvation is free) obligates faithful church members to go about propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ without seeking any form of monetary gratifications.

It is clear from the foregoing that the BBM was not originally conceived as a commercial venture. However, the genre has since extended its boundaries from being an agency of proselytization to accommodate other features as it moved out of the confines of the church. The BBM has become largely revolutionized, repackaged and has since metamorphosed into an established commercialized popular genre performed at social ceremonies. The music, now known as *gbókùs* music among the Yorùbá of Southwestern Nigeria, is being patronized by both Christians and non-Christians alike.

### **The Etymology of *Gbókùs***

Although it may be difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty the source of the term *gbókùs*, nonetheless popular folk etymology suggests that it was derived from the Yorùbá word - *gbókùùgbókùù* (pall-bearing). Fadipe (1970) noted that some Yorùbá words were formed through phrase repetition. Examples of such words include *gbòmogbòmo* (kidnappers), *kòlèkòlè* (builders), *gbálègbalè* (sweepers) as well as *gbókùùgbókùù* (literarily, corpse carriers). The letter ‘S’ that was added to *gbókùs* to form *gbókùs* may be to represent the second phrase. This is

because letter (S), in a way, connotes plurality in English language. The letter could have also suggested the collaborative efforts involved in carrying a corpse among the pall bearers since an individual cannot singlehandedly carry a corpse placed in a casket. Our theory is also informed by the fact that both the performers and the audiences of the music are native speakers of Yorùbá language and many of them have been exposed to some level of western education.

The term, *gbókùs*, is more or less name customizing and a part of contemporary slang expression commonly found among Nigerian youths, and considered an expression of ‘modernity’. Komolafe (2014) described name customization as a concept borrowed from ‘mass customization’. It is a business idea that allows the customers to create personalized variants of initial design of their preferred products before purchase. Name customizing allows a name bearer to create a personalized version of the name to act as identity marker and maintain some level of distinctiveness compared to other bearers of the same name or similar product. It also allows the bearer to create a cordial relationship with his/her social group and to poke fun at oneself (Komolafe, 2014:48).

Such terms are constructed using such techniques as reverse spellings, blending, truncation, reduplication, affixation and mathematical symbolization to make the idea of the name sound elegant (English) and catchy. For example, truncation is described by Ndimele (2003) as a shortening whereby a word is derived through loss of phonetic materials. The process may adopt any part of a word and do away with the rest. Indeed, many Yorùbá personalized names were constructed using truncation. They included: Yinkus or Yinks, coined from Yinka; Kenny or Kennis from Kehinde; and Gbengus from Gbenga, among others. None of our respondents could however authenticate the actual source of *gbókùs* as a term. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the term: *gbókùs* could have been formed following a similar pattern.

### ***Gbókùs* Music**

As earlier observed, the roots of *gbókùs* music can be traced back to the activities of Boys Brigade, particularly their musical performances at social events of Christians. Such

performances at inception were neither conceived as a professionally engaging performance nor meant to be carried out as a commercial venture. Rather, they were designed to stimulate fun at social ceremonies as the ‘gospel is proclaimed’, and conducted *pro nobo*. Christians at that time often use available opportunities, including any gathering within and outside the church for evangelism. It can, therefore, be inferred that as BBM practitioners led and accompanied burial processions, their original intent was evangelistic rather than any form of financial benefits which could accrue to them. Within the general Yorùbá worldview, when a popular Christian individual dies, s/he should be accorded certain honour (ẹ̀yẹ), especially if s/he was an active member of the church. Such a funeral is celebrated with pomp and pageantry, and is believed to be potentially stimulating enough to draw a non-Christian to embrace Christianity. According to one of our informants, ‘...some Christian converts testified during special testimony period in their churches that they were motivated by this desirable honour (ẹ̀yẹ) as one of the reasons for accepting Christ as their personal Lord and Savior’.

Although the BBM is essentially associated with numerous Christian social activities, its engagement with and utilization during burial processions have been most popular. Furthermore, the transformation of BBM to *gbókùs* music was highly motivated by the pecuniary gains which the band boys derived from their patrons at performances. Monetary gifts in form of ‘spraying’ during ceremonies involve pasting of wads of currency notes (money) on performers’ or dancers’ heads during ceremonies. This is in line with a long standing tradition among the Yorùbá where patrons and any other member of the audience are expected to demonstrate their generosity towards and appreciation for good performance by pasting money on the body (often the foreheads) of musicians, dancers, including celebrants: Yorùbá Christians and non-Christians alike. Lawal et al (2013) and Odejobi (2014) confirmed this practice among the Christians when they observed that members of the congregation do ‘spray’ money on the choristers, instrumentalists and choir leaders, including band boys when they render sonorous songs or display high proficiency on instruments, especially during non-liturgical programmes. Many band boys and other gospel artistes, therefore, explored the financial opportunities on such occasions to create for themselves additional source of income to their primal occupation.



Today, many *gbókùs* bands, which are completely independent of any church denominations, have been formed. Just like common itinerant street music performers who are derogatorily referred to as *mogbó-moyà*, (attendees-without-invitation), the boys sometimes turn up at social events without any formal invitation from the celebrant or his family members. Our findings revealed that it is the financial benefits from the art that is the primal motivating factor for the action of the performers. In addition, their performances, one way or the other, have contributed to the transformation of the genre into a commercialized popular music. To this end, what is now known as *gbókùs* steadily evolved as a simple and unassuming musical art to gradually become a serious composite and organized business venture with the capacity to provide several services associated with the burial ceremonies. Such services include pall bearing (as undertakers), supply of caskets, digging of graves, embalming, arrangements for ambulance to convey corpses and transportation for band boys to perform music, to mention but a few.

Although structural analysis of *gbókùs* music is outside the scope of this paper, nonetheless, we consider it important to present a brief schematic arrangement of how the genre is framed. *Gbókùs* music is schematically characterized by a number of core features. A summary is presented below: (a) medley as overall structure; (b) imitation of instrumental sections by voices or sing-along mode; (c) parody of themes and tunes from hymns and popular choruses known as *orin idaraya*; (d) call-and-response pattern initiated by lead solo trumpet with other brass instruments acting as chorus [response]; (e) no strict conformity to the Yorùbá linguistic/tonemic system in melodic constructs; (f) predominance of diatonic melodic material with occasional (mis)use of chromatic notes; (g) hierarchical descent arrangement of accompanying drums from bass through tom-tom, to tenor and snare; (h) multiple layering of instrumentation timbres to create a dense polyrhythmic texture; and perhaps the most prominent, (i) highly danceable rhythmic patterns as accompaniments to the melodic part.

## **Conclusion**

We set out in this paper to fill an apparent void in Yorùbá musicological field of study by attempting to establish that the development of *gbókùs* music by its proponents is a socially



motivated response to the increasing domination of modern performance spaces by their counterparts/opponents. A penetrative gaze into the contemporary Yorùbá popular music will confirm that many musical forms emerged through socio-religious activities. For example, while *wéré*, *wákà* and *fíjì* were historically linked to Islam (Adegbite, 2006; and Omojola, 2006), *juju*, highlife and various gospel styles had their roots firmly attached to Christianity (Alaja-Browne 1989; Adedeji, 2004; Omojola, 2012).

*Gbókùs* music could have emerged in a similar pattern. On one hand, *gbókùs* music could be viewed as an expression of a musical form in binary opposition to the prevailing elitist orientation that characterized church music which was promoted by church leaders of that period. On the other hand, it represents a convenient viable alternative to seemingly boredom which pervaded that era.

Secondly, *gbókùs* music is a confluence of Christian and Yorùbá music traditions judging by its instrumentations, musical features and roles at social functions. It provides an avenue for expressions of some aspects of Yorùbá indigenous practices in Christendom through music during social ceremonies. Music performances by *gbókùs* band boys during such occasions have become an agency for revitalizing, consolidating and promoting Yorùbá artistic aesthetic values wherein Christian faithful find avenues for deep expressions as they participate in socio-cultural functions without losing their much cherished religious identity.

Most importantly, *gbókùs* music tends to share a similar feature with Nigerian gospel music, especially as an example of commoditised Christian religious music. We can conclude that *gbókùs* music, in many respects, represents a creative continuum of a mutated musical art within the normative contemporary African cultural production framework.

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