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# **The splintered art world of Contemporary Christian Music**

**JAY R. HOWARD and JOHN M. STRECK**

For many, art is a product: the painting to be observed and contemplated, the concert to be heard and enjoyed. There is, however, another conception of art - art as activity - and it is in this context that Howard Becker (1984) develops his concept of art worlds. Art worlds, Becker argues, include more than the artists who create the work which the public commonly defines as art. Any given art world will consist of the network of people whose co-operative activity produces that art world's certain type of artistic product (Becker 1984, p. x). Organised according to their knowledge of the art world's goals and conventions for achieving those goals, the art world includes five basic categories of people: the artists who actually create and produce the art; the producers who provide the funds and support for the production of the art; the distributors who bring the art to the audience; the audience who purchases and collects the art; and finally, the critics, aestheticians and philosophers who create and maintain the rationales according to which all these other activities make sense and have value. These rationales, however, are not merely descriptive but prescriptive. For despite the efforts of those who would keep an art world static in its products and function, art worlds are dynamic. Changes in the art world are often made in response to changes in the rationales - i.e., the philosophical justifications for an art world's art - which identify the art world's product as 'good' art and explain how that art fills a particular need for people and society (Becker 1984, p. 4). Changes in rationales can also be driven by changes in the surrounding social setting (e.g., changes in the economy) in which the art world exists. While new rationales can move an entire art world in new directions, they can also result in the splintering of an art world into subgroups with divergent assumptions and divergent conventions. Contemporary Christian Music (CCM) is one such splintered art world.

The social, cultural, economic, and, in this case, religious formations of art worlds associated with particular subcultures can, and often do, allow members to define themselves as somehow separate from the wider culture, although not unproblematically so (Kruse 1993, p. 33). To misquote Kruse (1993, p. 34), participation in the Christian music art world merely allows Warner-Alliance (Warner's new CCM label) to sell you Steve Taylor, instead of Warner selling you Madonna. As with the alternative music scene that Kruse (1993) studied, there is nothing about the economic and social organisation of the CCM art world that necessarily seeks to subvert the mainstream music establishment and its white, patriarchal, capitalistic structures. Hence, Romanowski (1992) concludes CCM has been 'co-opted' by the commercial mainstream

However, despite the effects of being linked to the mainstream commercial music industry, art worlds can still define themselves as existing in opposition to the mainstream. While not actively changing the mainstream music industry, Christian rock allows participants to draw a line between themselves and the 'secular' society they see surrounding them. In studying musical art worlds it is necessary to examine the social context (Cohen 1993; Shepherd 1994). Regardless of 'objective' measures of impact on society, researchers must ask, 'For whom are what meanings created and

by whom?' Meaning is not inherent in the music, but rather within 'the contradictory discourses through which people make sense of and assign value to music' (Shepherd 1994, p. 135). Different subcultural groups with different types of cultural capital will make different types of music and assign different meanings to it (Frith 1987). Different art worlds make their own distinctive, yet contingent, contribution within the specific social and historical circumstances in which they exist (Shepherd 1994, p. 133). By careful examination of the social and historical circumstances that have impacted the ongoing development of the CCM art world we gain understanding of not only CCM, but the young Evangelical Christians who buy and make this form of music. We can begin to grasp the concerns that unite them as well as the views that divide them and splinter the CCM art world.

The lack of recognition of the splintered nature of the CCM art world has led to depictions of its nature that are representative in part, but not in whole. For example, Romanowski's (1992) depiction of CCM as co-opted by American consumer culture captures one aspect of this splintered art world particularly well - those artists seeking 'crossover' success - while Howard's (1992) analysis of Christian rock as having countercultural potential to challenge the dominant capitalist ideology captures a different aspect of this art world. Both depictions are in some sense representative; however, neither tells the full story. To do that it is necessary to consider the fracturing of CCM and its development into an art world that operates on the basis of multiple, often competing, rationales. These diverse rationales have been developed in the socio-cultural context of the battle by CCM artists, critics, and fans for acceptance within the evangelical subculture.

As the offspring of an unusual mating of the rock and roll youth culture and the Evangelical Church, neither parent viewed Christian rock as a particularly welcome addition to its family. Faced with rock music that claimed to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, pastors, parents and traditional evangelists argued that rock and roll was, by its very nature, evil - the syncopated rhythms being ' "demonic", "pagan", and inspired by "voodoo" ' (Flake 1984, p. 181). Christian rock music 'has nothing to do with the ministry,' stated Jimmy Swaggart. 'It's wrong and it's bad' (quoted in Klatt 1987, p. 126). Moreover, while some conservatives in the Evangelical community have tempered their views with regard to Contemporary Christian Music, some former defenders of the medium now criticise it. Thus, evangelist Bob Larson, who once wrote a ninety-page diatribe against Christian rock (see Larson 1971), now defends at least some CCM as 'an authentic idiom' (quoted in Baker 1985, p. 107), while pioneer Christian rock musician Larry Norman worries that 'We have prostituted ourselves' (quoted in Klatt 1987, p. 127). More than twenty years after CCM was begun, the Evangelical world still does not entirely trust rock music - Christian or otherwise - and in the context of this controversy CCM was born, has taken shape, and continues to evolve (Cusic 1990, p. 197). Consequently, out of the necessity to respond to the suspicions of the church (as well as the pressures of the rock music industry), the CCM art world has been forced to develop rationales for the acceptance of the rock idiom as a means for communicating a Christian message. While young fans have had to find rationales to justify their musical preferences to parents, pastors, and friends, it is the artist who has been most often expected to articulate these rationales. In addition to defending themselves from the attacks of their 'Rock music is inherently evil' opponents, artists also must justify their product to their record buying

audience. John Styll (1993), editor of Contemporary Christian Music magazine, argues that it has been the audience which, from the beginning, has resisted the artists' attempts to expand their range of subject matter beyond the gospel itself (p. 42). Hence, the artist must play the role of critic, as well as artist, in the CCM art world. Therefore, in our examination of the splintered art world of Contemporary Christian Music we pay particular attention to the rationales developed by artists, as well as those of the 'pure' critic.

### **Music and religious revivals**

Despite the claims of novelty by some writers (e.g., Flake 1984) critical of CCM's adoption of secular music, the controversial adoption of popular musical styles by religious groups dates back to the early years of the Christian church (Ellsworth 1979, p. 21). Such borrowing of secular music for religious purposes was common in the Middle Ages (Ellsworth 1979, p. 21). In Luther's time it was customary to change secular songs into religious songs by altering the text and retaining the original melody (Cusic 1990, p. 16; Ellsworth 1979, p. 49). In eighteenth-century New England, a number of popular tunes were commonly used with religious verses inserted despite Puritan leaders who denounced the new 'ballad singing and filthy songs' (Cusic 1990, p. 40). William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, regularly insisted that well-known secular tunes be used with Christian lyrics (Cusic 1990, p. 57). Booth is further credited with the statement, 'Why should the devil have all the best tunes?' - a statement which Larry Norman turned into the first anthem of Christian rock, 'Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?' (1978). Not surprisingly Norman, considered by many to be the 'Father of Christian rock', in an early attempt by an artist to develop a rationale justifying the genre, cited the precedents of Luther, Watts, and Booth on the record sleeve of his 1976 album *In Another Land*.

Cusic (1990) suggests that music accompanying Christian revival movements generally comes from secular culture as revivalists seek popular styles of music to attract new converts and to add new life to traditional religion. The music begins in controversy, but as the revival becomes a movement, and then an accepted part of Christianity, the new music forms are also adopted by the church. In the words of Billy Ray Hearn, founder and President of Sparrow Records, 'When something new comes along the, the church usually rejects it; then they tolerate it; then it becomes acceptable; and, finally, it becomes traditional' (quoted in Romanowski 1990a, p. 1). However, somewhere in this progression a metamorphosis occurs: the music turns inward, addressing the believer rather than seeking to convert the non-believer. At this point, then, the church shuts its doors to other styles of music and incorporates the newly accepted musical style into its tradition. Eventually when this new tradition too has grown stale, a new revival will begin and alter the music of the church once again: 'This has been the history of music in religious revivals from Martin Luther's day to the Jesus Movement of the 1970s' (Cusic 1990, p. i).

Miller (1993) has developed a similar model of musical transitions in the church. The process begins with 'Separation', in which believers find that the old forms of music, firmly entrenched in the traditions of the church, have little bearing on their daily lives. At the same time, these styles communicate almost exclusively to those who have been socialised in a particular religious subculture, thus alienating the uninitiated. This, then, leads to 'Integration', as church innovators, believing that the old forms of music stifle worship and to the dismay of traditionalists, adopt

popular music styles, infusing them with Christian lyrics appropriate for the worship experience. The resulting 'Conflict' as these musical innovations are denounced as being anything from non-traditional to a compromise with the world to Satanic is the third phase in the progression. Ultimately, however, the conflict passes and the church enters a state of 'Renewal' in which worship music is once again presented in the musical language of the day - at least until what was once new and fresh becomes standard and the cycle begins anew.

According to Miller's (1993) model, CCM is in the final phase, 'Renewal'. The arguments in the Evangelical community over whether rock music can be Christian are largely settled. However, despite numerous books which argued rock and roll to be a morally neutral and value-free medium that could be used for the good of spreading the gospel (Lawhead 1981; Key and Rabey 1989; Miller 1993), the victory of CCM's defenders was neither the product of irrefutable logic nor (necessarily) the privilege of being right, for while the personal and financial crises of the medium's leading critics (e.g., Jimmy Swaggart) diverted their attention from Christian rock, the industry's burgeoning success quickly entrenched CCM in the Evangelical subculture. Arguments concerning the propriety of contemporary music forms became largely moot. As of 1987, CCM was generating yearly revenues of over \$300 million (Klatt 1987, p. 122); in 1994, they rose beyond \$500 million (O'Donnell & Eskin 1994, p. 62). CCM is available in Christian bookstores throughout the USA and Canada, accounting for more than 25 per cent of bookstore sales as early as 1984 (Romanowski 1990b, p. 158). At the same time, one can frequently hear music written by contemporary artists in Sunday worship services at Evangelical churches, along with the many 'praise choruses' that originated with the early Contemporary Christian Music record company Maranatha! Music in the mid-to-late 1970s. It is difficult to argue with this kind of success.

While the debates concerning the evils of rock have been more or less put to rest and CCM has been embraced by the Evangelical community, the industry is still splintered by controversy. A new debate is beginning as some have begun to worry that contemporary Christianity - its music in particular - has been swallowed up by popular culture. Among those who hold this view are two of the earliest CCM artists, John Fischer (who now writes a regular column in Contemporary Christian Music magazine) and Pat Terry. Fischer (1993) argues how Christianity has so identified with mainstream culture that it has 'rolled over and died' (p. 86) with respect to the radical, confronting nature of faith and the cross. Terry (1992) claims that in the early years of Christian rock, the trappings of an industry were missing: communication was more honest and touching. According to Terry, as the industry matured it forgot its roots. These views are echoed by another critic, journalist Dwight Ozard (1994a), who sees 'Fleeing the Cross' as one of the 'Seven Deadly Sins of CCM'. 'We have sought,' states Ozard, 'in our sheltered Christian experience, to flee suffering and demanded that our art do likewise. We have sought a painless redemption, both of our souls and our world. And so our redemption has been incomplete, our art ineffectual . . .' (1994a, 34). Hence, just as the Evangelical community at large is accepting CCM, many who have been immersed in the industry for a long time are beginning to question its spiritual health. The question to ask, however, is whether these symptoms are in fact signs of 'spiritual disease' or rather dis-ease on the part of one subgenre of CCM with regards to the rationales driving another.

### **Christ, culture, and CCM**

The CCM art world by virtue of bridging the evangelical subculture and the rock music of popular culture, finds itself under unusual pressure to develop rationales to justify its existence and to define what is 'good art'. In order to find acceptance in the evangelical community, CCM critics, artists, and audience alike are forced to develop, maintain, and articulate rationales justifying CCM's existence in terms of evangelical values. Sociologically, these rationales can be seen as the product of the perception of the relationship between Christ on the one hand and Culture on the other. Niebuhr (1951) argues that Christians in all ages must answer the question, 'How can one be in the world, but not of it?' Biblically instructed, 'Do not love the world or anything in the world ...' (1 John 2:15 NIV), and yet at the same time existing in a given time, at a given place, and within a given culture, Christians must reconcile their faith in Christ with the beliefs of their surrounding culture. Niebuhr (1951) suggests that within Christendom there have been five primary ways of resolving this dilemma: Christ against Culture, Christ of Culture, Christ as the Reconciler of Culture, Christ Above Culture, and Christ and Culture in Paradox.

In the Christ Against Culture approach, Christ's admonition is interpreted as a call to abandon the world, to come out from among non-believers and be separate. Christ is seen as opposed to the customs and achievements of society and confronts humans with an 'either-or' decision: follow an evil society or follow Him. Consequently, there is a clear dichotomy between the sacred and the profane; there is the fellowship of believers and there is a hostile, evil secular world.

In the Christ of Culture view, however, Christ is viewed as the fulfilment of the highest aspirations of culture. Christ helps to guide civilisation to its proper goal. Emphasis is given to the aspects of Christ's teaching that seem to agree with the values and standards of society thus harmonising Christ and culture. Although culture is occasionally side-tracked and may lose its proper focus, it is assumed to be good.

Between these two poles, fall the other three views. Niebuhr (1951) argues that the Christ Above Culture, Christ and Culture in Paradox, and Christ as the Reconciler of Culture perspectives all agree with each other in seeking to maintain the great differences between Christ and culture, yet attempting to hold them in some unity (p. 41). The Christ Above Culture perspective understands Christ's relation to culture somewhat as does the Christ of Culture approach. Both see Christ as the fulfilment of cultural aspirations. The Christ Above Culture perspective sees Christ entering human life with gifts humans cannot envision nor attain unless He relates men to a supernatural society and a new value-centre (Niebuhr 1951, p. 42). Christ is a Christ of Culture, but He is also above Culture, He neither arises out of culture nor contributes directly to it.

The Christ and Culture in Paradox viewpoint considers humans subject to two moralities that are discontinuous and largely opposed. Christians are subject both to the authority of Christ and the authority of culture. This view is similar to the Christ Against Culture perspective, but differs in the conviction that obedience to God requires obedience to the institutions of society. Life must be lived precariously and sinfully in the hope of a justification which will only occur at the end of history (Niebuhr 1951, p. 43).

In the Christ as the Reconciler of Culture perspective Christ is seen as converting humanity within culture, not apart from it, and thus, while this viewpoint maintains a radical distinction between

God's work in Christ and humanity's work in culture, it does not propose people isolate themselves from society as does the 'Christ against Culture' viewpoint. Instead, Christ redeems a fallen or corrupted order: culture was good, but has been perverted and must be restored. Christ is the agent of that restoration.

Admittedly, these resolutions to the Christian's dilemma of 'walking in two worlds' (Keaggy 1988) (to borrow a phrase from a Christian songwriter) are, as Niebuhr (1951, p. 43) himself recognises, somewhat synthetic. However, despite the artificial element, Niebuhr's categorisation does identify the enduring motifs which have defined Christians' struggle to reconcile Christ and culture: separation versus integration (or assimilation), integration versus transformation. These same motifs, moreover, arise with regard to the development of rationales within the CCM art world. CCM can be divided conceptually into three specific subgenres: Separational, a central core of 'integrated professionals', and two 'maverick' groups (Becker 1984, p. 233), Integrational and Transformational, each based on a particular conception of the nature and function of rock music and a particular perspective regarding the proper relationship between Christianity and culture. These competing views can largely be categorised and described by Niebuhr's model. Specifics within a subgenre may change, and the subgenres may move closer together or further apart, but fundamentally they exist and operate according to the assumptions of the Christ against Culture, Christ of Culture, and Christ as Reconciler of Culture views that Niebuhr (1951) identified.<sup>1</sup>

While founded on the assumption that popular music could be a tool for proselytising America's non-Christian youth, changes in the music and the environment in which that music was produced and existed demanded new rationales legitimating Christian rock within the Evangelical subculture. For some, CCM became a tool not for evangelism but edification and worship; for others it was a wholesome alternative, communicating positive messages to the music listener; for still others, it was a means of individual expression - an artistic statement. Given these rationales CCM can be seen as a musical genre with three distinct orientations: Separational, Integrational, and Transformational. And ultimately, these orientations can be traced to Niebuhr's (1951) view of the possible relationships between Christ and culture.

### **Separational CCM**

Within the framework of Niebuhr's (1951) typology, Separational artists are those who tend to see Christ against Culture. In this 'either-or' confrontation, one is either for or against Christ: there is no middle ground. The emphasis, then, is on salvation, evangelisation of non-believers, and the separateness of the faithful. These concerns are reflected in the rationales utilised in Separational CCM: evangelism, exhortation of the believer to a more dedicated life, and facilitation of worship.

Cusic's contention that for the Christian artist there are two distinct types of music, that which deals lyrically with Jesus Christ (gospel music) and all else (secular music) (1990, p. 219), reflects the Separational view that CCM exists as a tool for evangelism. Eddie DeGarmo, of the band DeGarmo & Key - one of Christian music's best selling acts - exemplified this attitude when asked about the possibility of his band 'crossing over' to the pop charts:

I think the term is a misnomer. The Bible is very specific about the world not liking Jesus. So being a crossover band, you find that it is very difficult to actually 'take the cross over'... To record for a Christian label... is a censorship

issue... because [only] Christian labels would allow us to sing the songs that we wanted to sing. [Songs] which happen to talk about Christ. Secular labels would not. (DeGarmo and Key 1993)

DeGarmo's statement reveals a redefinition of 'crossover music' in the eyes of Separational CCM artists. Technically, crossover refers to music that appears on more than one of the music charts (e.g., Adult Contemporary, Country, R&B, etc.) simultaneously and yet DeGarmo reinterprets the phrase to suggest taking the cross (i.e., the message of Jesus Christ) over into the secular marketplace for the purpose of evangelism. The term is a 'misnomer' because DeGarmo has redefined it, giving it a religious meaning it was not originally intended to carry. This, however, is consistent with DeGarmo and Key's stated desire to maintain the explicit gospel content of their lyrics. Music that reaches both CCM charts and, for example, the Top Forty charts while surrendering lyrical integrity is not 'crossover' according to DeGarmo and Key. This view clearly reflects the separational view that the music has value only as a means to an end: evangelism.

This does not imply that evangelism is the sole purpose for Separational CCM. If that were the case then separational bands like DeGarmo & Key who place a significant price tag on their products (CDs currently retail at \$14.98, and concert tickets range from \$5 for a performance by an unsigned band playing at a local church to more than \$35 for integrational artists playing coliseums and stadiums) would be placed in the evangelically indefensible position of charging for the gospel. However, as DeGarmo's partner Dana Key has written, 'the gospel must always be free; entertainment is not' (Key and Rabey 1989, p. 146). While they may in fact present an entertaining package, for Separational bands like DeGarmo & Key evangelism or edification is the first and foremost goal, and 'everything else is external' (Key and Rabey 1989, p. 146).<sup>2</sup>

Musically, DeGarmo & Key are known for producing both blistering blues-tinged guitar rock and adult contemporary pop (depending on the album), but these are not the only styles represented by Separational CCM. Focused on evangelism, it is necessary for separational artists to produce music that corresponds to all of the current popular styles. As a result, Separational CCM presents an image of yesterday's popular music, staying one step behind the cutting edge of rock. Thus, besides the adult contemporary sounds that define most of what is on religious radio, there is also Christian heavy metal, Christian grunge, Christian industrial, Christian rave, Christian rap and so on.

Despite the musical diversity, however, there is tremendous lyrical homogeneity within Separational CCM. Lyrics present clear and explicit theological statements, reminding the listener of God's love, concern and proximity or the need for personal salvation: 'God good, Devil bad', sing DeGarmo & Key (1993); 'You can trust in God', proclaim the Allies (1989); 'Make it right', urges Kenny Marks (1987), 'Fall in love with Jesus tonight'. Moreover, where artists deviate from such statements it is to exhort the listener to adhere to certain standards of behaviour; to be, in the words of one singer, 'black and white in a gray world' (Phillips 1985). These musicians define themselves as 'ministers' or 'missionaries' (for example, see Donaldson 1983) and their music reflects that orientation; the music is the platform for their ministry. Moreover, in the effort to insure the perception that their music has a clear religious message, the Separational artists have relied more and more heavily on the religious terminology of the Evangelical church. Evangelical Christians understood the meaning behind religious double-talk like 'if you die before you die then

when you die you won't die': non-Christians did not. This, then, served to further entrench CCM in the Evangelical subculture.

Beyond the music as evangelism debate, Separational CCM has also been defined (and limited) by Christianity's ongoing debate over the details of orthodoxy, for with a denominationally diverse Christian audience one is guaranteed to offend someone, regardless of the view presented, should one stray too far from the universally accepted, and often meaningless, religious clichés. Cusic (1990) suggests, therefore, that this predicament has forced gospel artists or, more accurately, Separational artists to choose safe topics for their songs (p. 227): the conversion experience, the requirement of a personal relationship with Jesus, and repackaging the gospel story in a contemporary and commercial fashion are safe alternatives. Consequently, as the industry developed, the lyrics came to revolve almost exclusively around these generic theological themes (Ozard 1994a, p. 18), and artists who stuck to the religious clichés - who mentioned the name 'Jesus' as often as possible - found the greatest level of Evangelical acceptance, and hence, the greatest measure of commercial success.

The lyrics of Separational CCM are not without their critics, particularly those operating on the assumptions of the Transformational genre who claim that Separational CCM is too much 'cotton candy' and fails to represent the real world. As early as 1982, Glenn Kaiser of Resurrection Band (now Rez) claimed, 'I think the Christians have created a musical sub-culture that doesn't really relate to unbelievers' (Newcomb-Smith 1982, p. 13). At the same time, the long-time voice of the Transformational genre, journalist Brian Quincy Newcomb, argues that it is not only impossible to consolidate an entire theological idea into four words that will make a catchy slogan, but also that it is wrong to do so (1994, pp. 6-8). Separational artists present a clear and simple answer - Jesus Christ - but fail to recognise the questions. 'We have to communicate the basic truths,' states one artist. 'We don't have a lot of time, at a concert or high school assembly, to be subtle' (Wittenburg Door 1984, p. 24). Never an end unto itself, Separational CCM lacks value apart from its proselytising function and thus the Separational artist breaks no new ground musically or lyrically (Cusic 1990, p. 227); they become a 'Spiritual Salesman' promoting 'bumper sticker theology'.

Ironically, while the Separational artists were advocating separation from the world, and viewing Christ against Culture, as Romanowski (1992) points out, the Christian music industry was being drawn into that very culture. With the success of Christian music artists within the Evangelical subculture (some Separational artists sell more than one million copies of their albums through Christian bookstores alone) and polls which pointed to vast numbers of American Evangelicals who never visited the Christian bookstores, the music industry at large began to take an interest in Christian music. At the same time, moreover, the Christian music industry became interested in the opportunities they believed the secular industry held for them, and thus since the 1970s ties between the two have been developed and maintained. Each of the 'big three' CCM record companies has changed ownership. Word was bought by ABC (later Capital Cities/ABC) in 1974 and held for eighteen years until it was sold to Thomas Nelson Publishers; Sparrow was recently sold to EMI; Benson, too, was recently sold. Moving in the other direction, the major labels have also frequently attempted to capitalise on the Evangelical audience, the most recent effort being

Warner Brothers' formation of Warner-Alliance in 1992. Beyond the connections of ownership and new labels, moreover, are the plethora of joint distribution agreements such as that of Myrrh (a subsidiary of Word) and A&M. CCM is not as separate as some would like to believe it to be, and thus Separational music often finds itself being propelled out of the safe haven it has created. Those who embrace the change - often at risk to their careers in the Separational subgenre - become CCM's Integrational artists.

### **Integrational CCM**

In Niebuhr's (1951) typology, Integrational CCM most closely reflects the Christ of Culture option wherein Christ is seen as the culmination of the best of culture. Integrational artists seek to place themselves squarely within the confines of the secular rock art world - Amy Grant albums sitting right next to Grateful Dead albums on the shelves of the record store chains. As most have found, however, this goal often requires alteration of the art work itself, particularly for those who formerly operated as part of Separational CCM (for example, see Romanowski 1992, 1993).

Quebedeaux (1978) argues Evangelicals often enter 'the world' in order to change it, thus affirming the Christ who transforms culture (p. 13). Yet, in order to gain the world's attention, Evangelicals must become respectable by the world's standards. In the process of obtaining that respectability Evangelicals can lose their distinctiveness. The great evangelical fear, then, is that the world will transform Evangelicals before Evangelicals can transform the world. This has been the case with Integrational CCM, their music transformed from blatantly evangelical messages to 'positive pop' which, for the most part, addresses the value of the individual and the importance of love. Thus, Amy Grant moves from 'Sing your praise to the Lord' (1982) to 'you could be so good for me' (1991);<sup>3</sup> Kim Hill from 'I will wait on the Lord' (1991) to a country ditty about a wife who leaves her abusive husband called 'Janie's Gone Fishin' (1994). Thus, biographer Bob Millard's comments about the lyrical content of Amy Grant's music is reflective of the themes found more generally in Integrational CCM: 'The message is usually simple: Resist temptation, life gets tough but God is only a prayer away, love your spouse, get religion involved in your everyday life, forgive yourself, and have a good time' (Millard 1986, p. 12). These 'love your spouse' (particularly when the song does not clearly define the loved one as the spouse) and 'have fun' themes are often viewed by those in Separational CCM as compromising the evangelical message which gives the music purpose. For those like Amy Grant and Michael W. Smith, who are successful in their crossover bids, such criticism hardly matters. Others, who find the effort more daunting, often follow up their failed crossover albums with more explicit statements of faith that will placate the ruffled evangelical audience.<sup>4</sup>

The transformation of evangelical Separational CCM into the 'positive pop' of the Integrational artists reflects Denisoff's (1972) insights about 'Protest music' - music which stresses the lyric or intellectual aspect of song by attempting to convince the listener that something is wrong and in need of alteration (p. x). Protest music, like CCM, is defined by its lyrical content, rather than by its musical style. It is designed to 'convert' the listener to a new perspective that calls for a response. Denisoff concluded that as the folk-styled song of persuasion gained public acceptance, the harsh, confrontational lyrics became softer and smoother. Sparse music was replaced by additional guitars, drums, and even string sections which helped temper the severity of the lyrics. The

commercialisation process made the political messages of the protest songs impotent - to the extent that many listeners failed to recognise the songs as expressing a political message. The same process is at work in Integrational CCM. The more commercially successful the crossover song, the less distinguishable it is from standard Top Forty fare. Crossover success depends, to some extent, on the audience's inability to determine that either the song or the artist are 'CCM'.<sup>5</sup> Hence, Romanowski's (1992) conclusion that the industry has been co-opted.

Not surprisingly, Integrational artists defended this assimilation into popular music through the development of new rationales. They argue that their music, by integrating with the mainstream, presents a wholesome alternative to the hedonism inherent in most rock. Michael W. Smith, for example, sees himself impacting culture by presenting himself as a positive role model (Hefner 1993, p. 14), his message to kids with poor self-esteem being, 'Hey, you're all right ... You're very important to God' (McCall 1986, p. 19). Amy Grant suggests, 'There are a lot of songs that I just write and the only differentiation between them and secular pop music that I would say is that they are an observation of everyday life from a Christian perspective' (Millard 1986, p. 155). It is enough for Grant, and there are many like her, to simply present a Christian perspective on life in the mainstream media without the trappings of explicit theology or evangelism. At the same time these artists, like the Transformational artists, question the verity of the explicit messages found in Separational CCM. Grant, for example, laments the 'regimented idea of what Christianity is' which Separational music demands (Millard 1986, p. 107). More stringently, Leslie Phillips, once the heir-apparent to the gospel queen throne recording five CCM albums (three of which were quite successful by CCM standards) before leaving the Christian music industry to record for Virgin Records under the name Sam Phillips, explained her departure by saying, 'The audience was demanding propaganda ... People would say you're a heretic if you asked questions, and didn't give them the fundamentalist line' (Giles 1994, p. 60). This need and desire to ask hard questions without offering easy answers animates CCM's other maverick subgenre, Transformational.

### **Transformational CCM**

Transformational CCM corresponds to Niebuhr's (1951) category of Christ as Reconciler of Culture. Thus, despite Cusic's (1990) functionalist suggestion that Christian art must pose the Great Answer instead of asking the great questions (p. iii), the Transformational artist is in fact more concerned with those questions. They tend to see their music as art, consider art to be valuable in its own right apart from any utilitarian function, and have thus developed new rationales for CCM.

Again, while Transformational artists tend to represent the progressive end of the musical spectrum, the styles are nevertheless diverse and the music is most clearly defined by its lyrical content. The Transformational musicians tend to think of themselves as 'artists' rather than as 'ministers'. They view their music as a reflection of the creative Divine Image of God found in all humans, and as such, inherently valuable regardless of its utility for evangelism or exhortation. Thus, while Cusic (1990) argues, reflecting the assumptions of Separational CCM, that gospel music loses its purpose (evangelism) when it becomes 'art for art's sake' (p. iv), for those operating under the assumptions of the Transformational subgenre, 'art for art's sake' is a perfectly (if not the only) acceptable rationale. There is, moreover, historical precedent for this view.

Despite the assumptions of Separational CCM, sacred music has not always been legitimised by evangelism, exhortation, and worship facilitation. Spencer (1990), for example, claims early spirituals constituted the 'archetype of protest' which later manifested itself in antislavery, social gospel, and civil rights hymnody (p. vii). He also suggests that early blues was a music of rebellion, a radical affront to the hypocrisy of the church and the advocates of slavery (p. viii). Similarly, Transformational artists often legitimise their art in these terms. Their music is not only a reflection of their struggle with the shortcomings of secular society, but also a critique of the church (Howard 1992). Based on the assumptions of Christ as Transformer of Culture, conversion is linked with public discipleship. Faith must be taken into the market-place and used in the perpetual struggle against the corrupted structures of society (Quebedeaux 1978, p. 18). In the view of many Transformational artists, one must answer the Bible's call for social justice, in addition to that of personal morality - an idea which challenges the personal theology of many Evangelicals.

While the Evangelicals' belief system often suggests to the believer that they are somehow privy to 'the truth', Quebedeaux (1978) contends that this belief is, in fact, non-biblical, for no one is promised to know the entire truth in this life; as humans, we see 'through a glass, darkly' (I Corinthians 13:12 KJV). This, more-over, is a common theme in the Transformational subgenre. While Separational CCM presents straightforward, if potentially cliché filled, statements concerning the nature of God (e.g., 'Our God is an awesome God'), Transformational bands usually take a more enigmatic approach. With the 1987 Daniel Amos release 'Darn Floor - Big Bite', for example, humanity's ability to understand the nature of God was compared to Koko's (the gorilla who was taught to use sign language) ability to understand an earthquake. After watching videotaped footage of an earthquake, Koko had signed, 'darn floor - big bite', and Daniel Amos's writer, Terry Taylor, seemed to feel this was an appropriate metaphor for man's experience with God and thus shaped his song and album of the same title around that idea. However, as David Edwards (1983), another Transformational artist, argues, most Christian audiences prefer piety (however artificial) to honesty, and thus 'Darn Floor - Big Bite', despite critical acclaim, sold very few copies. Daniel Amos is not the only band to see poor sales as a result of dealing publicly with the struggle of taking the Christian faith beyond John 3:16 and making it relevant to the real world.

Beyond this questioning the Transformational artists have also proven themselves willing to admit their frequent failures in the effort to be faithful to Christ. Moreover, unlike Separational CCM (and the bulk of the Evangelical subculture) where failings are presented as past obstacles that have been overcome with the help of Christ, for most of those operating within the realm of Transformational CCM, failure is a current and ubiquitous condition. Thus, when Mike Roe of the 77s sings, 'The lust, the flesh, the eyes, and the pride of life/Drain the life right out of me' (1987), he is not speaking in the past tense: it is a current struggle. Similarly, as Steve Hindalong (drummer and lyricist for The Choir) puts it, 'We're just not always that happy' and thus his music is designed to communicate 'the tension that is [the] reality of any human being' (Porter 1993, p. 21). Tension and struggle, however, are somewhat anathema to religious clichés, and thus the lyrics of Transformational artists often lack clear religious references. Noting that an abundance of religious terminology does not necessarily make lyrics any more substantial and can indeed mislead the listener into believing the Christian life is a uniformly positive experience, Transformational artists turn the metaphors of 'darn floor, big bite' rather than 'God good, Devil bad' theology.

While admitting their own struggles and personal failures, it is also not uncommon for Transformational artists to offer a critique of both society and the Church. According to CCM critic Dwight Ozard (1994a), the true Christian artist is not the one who functionally submits his or her art to the task of evangelism, but rather the one whose art is revolutionary and subversive (p. 34). Believing the true Christian artist to be a challenge and a threat to the church and society, Transformational artists as a whole have presented a raw and often painful look at the world, addressing in their music such issues as apartheid in South Africa, church bigotry and self-satisfaction, materialism and the plight of the inner city poor.<sup>6</sup> At least, in part, the goal of the Transformational artist is to present an honest commentary on life from the experience of one struggling to be faithful in a broken and hurting world. However, the tensions between an audience and industry that demand music filled with religious truisms and artists who hope to fashion an honest reflection of life's struggles leaves most Transformational artists struggling to find a niche in the highly censoring world of the Church, Christian radio, and the retail world. Most, therefore, resigned themselves to the fact that, for them, music would never be more than a hobby, and are forced to support themselves through other means (Newcomb 1992). As 'ministers', Separational musicians could reasonably expect to support themselves on sales to the Evangelical audience; as 'entertainers', successful Integrational musicians could quite possibly expect to get rich; as 'artists', the Transformational musicians followed the historical precedent: they starved.

Spencer (1990) suggests that in the Niebuhrian Christ and Culture typology the entire history of gospel music is an anti-cultural movement (p. 207). Gospel music has traditionally presented Christ as 'Everything' - Friend, Protector, Liberator - but not as Reconciler (p. 222). Transformational CCM, on the other hand, sees itself and culture as in need of reconciliation. Christians share many of the same failures, questions, and doubts found in culture. From this position, Transformational artists are able to see the shortcomings and strengths of both the religious subculture and the wider culture and develop a critique that offers hope for improvement in both as they struggle to 'work out their salvation' (Philippians 2:12 NIV). Transformational artists have been able to create a niche for themselves within the industry. They tend to sell fewer records than their Separational counterparts, but they sell enough to remain viable. Some, however, have found the constraints of the industry too restrictive and become members of the 'Secular Christian' music scene.

### **'Secular Christian' music**

According to Becker (1984), art worlds spend much effort determining what is art, what is our art, and who are our artists (p. 36). With regard to CCM, moreover, the determinations have largely revolved around a form of music which is not necessarily Christian music and yet has much in common with the genre: the popular music of the mainstream rock industry produced by artists who (usually as individuals rather than artists) claim the label 'Christian'. These artists - U2, Bob Dylan, The Call, Vigilantes of Love, T Bone Burnett, Van Morrison, King's X and Midnight Oil are notable examples - are not considered to be CCM, and yet their music is often embraced by Christian music fans who find a Christian view-point presented in their lyrics. Despite the fact that these artists rarely view themselves as ministers, they often find their lives and faith scrutinised more closely than those artists constituting CCM-proper. While Christian rock fans are

often anxious to embrace these artists as 'one of ours' (thus expecting the mandated religious content of CCM), the artists themselves usually take great pains to distance themselves from the stereotypes of the evangelical subculture.

While usually explaining themselves as artists who happen to be Christian, examples of all three forms of CCM can be found manifesting itself in the work of these mainstream rock artists. In some cases, as with B.J. Thomas, Deniece Williams, and Phillip Bailey, the artist attempts to maintain two parallel careers: one in mainstream rock, making music without explicit reference to the Christian faith, and the other within the confines of Christian music as a gospel musician singing Separational CCM. Others, however, while working solely within the confines of the mainstream music industry, nevertheless produce music consistent with the 'positive pop' entertainment of Integrational CCM. Particularly within the country music genre, where the Christian faith is often included in the down-home image the artists convey, numerous 'singers who are Christians' (as opposed to 'Christian singers') create music consistent with a Christian world view and yet not explicitly evangelical.<sup>7</sup> Finally, however, the bulk of Christian artists operating in the mainstream industry produce music consistent with the Transformational view. When asked about the role of the Christian artist in effecting social change, Bruce Cockburn responded:

I see myself as telling the truth as I understand it, in the most creative way I can. And that is about it... the responsibility of promoting the good things in life over the bad... stops at telling the truth - telling it as accurately and meaningfully as I can. (Ozard 1994b, p. 25)

Christian artist T Bone Burnett similarly explained his view by stating

I learned early on that if you believe Jesus is the Light of the World there are two kinds of songs you can write - you can write songs about the Light, or about what you see by the Light. (Flanagan 1986, p. 52)

Most Christians working in the mainstream industry - like the Transformational CCM artists - chose the latter approach.

## **Conclusion**

Just as the rock music industry cannot be assessed by examining only a single style of music, neither can Contemporary Christian Music be analysed without considering its many orientations. If one tries to make sense of the industry without an understanding of its three primary subgenres, along with the rationales that support them, Christian rock and roll may appear to be 'oxymoron' (Flake 1984, p. 11). If one looks only at one of the subgenres (e.g., Howard 1992; Romanowski 1992), one understands the CCM art world in part, but not in whole. Hence, we argue for the need to view CCM as a splintered art world that operates on the basis of three different sets of rationales which are in turn built upon basic assumptions regarding the proper relationship between Christ and Culture. The various orientations of Contemporary Christian Music distinguish themselves from one another and from the mainstream vis-ai-vis the lyrics of the music. The Separational orientation emphasises the religious functions of the music: evangelism, edification, and worship facilitation. Integrational CCM, while recognising some potential for evangelism, focuses on presenting positive role models and wholesome entertainment. Finally, Transformational artists, through the belief that Christian art has value apart from evangelism, offer both a critique of society

and the church and an image of the struggling Christian, striving to believe but remaining painfully honest about his or her human failings. Each of these orientations represents a distinct assumption concerning the relationship between Christ and Culture. Separational CCM sees Christ against Culture and in opposition to secular society. Integrational artists, however, affirm the positive values of secular society within a Christ of Culture view. Finally, Transformational artists see Christ as the reconciler of both secular culture and a broken church. These diverse views of the proper relationship between Christ and Culture divide not only the CCM art world, but the Christian Right in general. Just as the world of rock music is not a monolithic entity, neither is the Christian Right. Differing assumptions about the nature of the Christian in the world result in differing music forms, as well as differing political views, among Evangelicals.

In attempting to identify the impact of each of these subgenres on the CCM art world as a whole, several rather tentative conclusions may be drawn. First, Integrational artists sell the most records and are the most visible, but are at the same time the least distinguishable from their mainstream counterparts. While whenever a music form is incorporated into the music industry, it will necessarily be changed by that process, CCM's other two orientations have (so far) been co-opted to a lesser degree. Separational CCM by emphasising the lyrical content of the music which sets it apart from popular music, maintains itself as a clear subcultural phenomenon in terms of lyrics if not music. Transformational artists, as a whole, sell the fewest records, while striving for artistic integrity with an emphasis on spirituality that is not as prevalent in the rock music industry in general. Future analyses of this art world need to recognise the diverse orientations within CCM and the varying consequences of these orientations. Only then can a holistic understanding of this art world be developed.

Clearly a disclaimer is necessary. Not all artists will fit neatly into one of these three orientations, and, moreover, as circumstances change artists may change their assumptions about what it is they do and why they do it. In the words of Gene Eugene, 'Some fans of our band would like us to just kind of do the same thing all the time, because that's what made them happy when they first got saved. But, you know, I'm different now. I'm thirty-one years old and I'm going through different things' (Heyn 1992, p. 17). Marriage, divorce, birth, death, high sales, low sales - the significant events of life and career can clearly change an artist's outlook. At the same time, some artists attempt to exist in each of these subgenres at once, some songs or albums catering to the demands of religious radio and the Evangelical subculture, others being designed to attract the attention of secular radio, and still others being attributable to an 'artistic vision'. The Choir presents a case in point. Most of their recordings fall under the Transformational category. However, Derri Daughtery and Steve Hindalong, the two principal figures in the band, recently produced and recorded an album of worship music titled, *At the Foot of the Cross* (1992) which temporarily placed them within the Separational genre. The band followed that effort with *Kissers and Killers* (1993), a collection of songs without explicit religious reference, which was first used as a demo in efforts to obtain a recording contract with a mainstream rock label (Integrational CCM) before being repackaged and released on a Christian label. Despite these limitations, however, this three part typology does point to the difficulty associated with making categorical statements concerning Contemporary Christian Music (that which applies to one orientation does not necessarily apply

to the others), and further presents itself as a more useful framework in which analysis of the Christian music industry, and perhaps even the Evangelical subculture at large, can be done.

## Endnotes

1. For the purpose of this paper the last three views (Christ Above Culture, Christ and Culture in Paradox, and Christ as the Transformer of Culture) will be considered as one due to their common attempts to recognise the great distinctions between Christ and Culture, while simultaneously trying to find a measure of unity between them. Each of these three approaches is an attempt to avoid the extremes of the Christ Against Culture and Christ of Culture perspectives. The title 'Christ as the Transformer of Culture' was chosen because it most accurately represents the rationales of the Transformational maverick subgenre of CCM.
2. DeGarmo & Key made this explicit with their 1987 release D&K which, in the initial run of the cassette version, included two copies of the album (at the same price of a standard CCM cassette) and instructions to the buyer to give away one copy to a non-Christian friend.
3. The 'you' is printed with a lower-case 'y' on the lyric sheet.
4. For example compare the albums *Back to the Street* (1986) and *This Means War!* (1987) by the band Petra which followed *Beat the System* (1984), their attempt at crossing over. Another example, is Amy Grant's *Lead Me On* (1988) which followed her initial successful crossover release *Unguarded* (1985).
5. This need to hide an artist's CCM roots has extended to business practices as well. The Prayer Chain, for example, are a Christian grunge band signed to Reunion Records. Their album *Shawl* (1993) was released not only on the Reunion label but also the Rode Dog label. Rode Dog, however, was a label created by Reunion solely for the purpose of marketing The Prayer Chain in mainstream record stores by down-playing the band's ties to CCM (see Newcomb 1993).
6. Admittedly, there is a certain amount of tension here between the message of these artists and the medium through which they choose to communicate it. The effectiveness of a Christian rock star climbing on stage to criticise the star mentality or gross commercialism seems questionable. Similarly, when in front of thousands of people Steve Taylor sings songs which criticise society and the church for being smug ('Smug', 1993) one cannot help but feel a certain twinge of hypocrisy. As is the case with mainstream rock, the rebellion of Transformational CCM can begin to seem artificial in the face of the consumer pressures which drive the industry. Based on this some would argue that CCM has simply immersed the Evangelical youth in a religious version of consumer culture (see Romanowski 1992). This, however, seems to give too little credit to the message in the music, particularly - as in the case of Rez Band whose members live communally as part of the Jesus People USA and serve the poor of inner-city Chicago - where the message is combined with a significant distinction of lifestyle. There is no doubt a sense of contradiction in the message of Transformational CCM; but contradiction does not necessarily imply co-optation.
7. Because country music and CCM share a great deal in common - to stereotype: belief in God, conservative politics, and a business base in Nashville, Tennessee - some postulate that country will be the location of the next big crossover campaign in CCM (O'Donnell & Eskind, 1994). Already, Christian artists like DeGarmo & Key and Kim Hill are receiving airplay on TNN and numerous CCM artists are expected to release albums to the country market in the very near future.

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