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Music Makers: cultural perspectives in textbook development in Kenya, 1985–1995

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This article draws on my other writings about developments in the teaching of music in Kenya, and on the decision to promote traditional musics and to make music one of the compulsory examinable subjects at the end of primary school. It considers two textbooks published by Oxford University Press in Nairobi: Music Makers for Standards 7 and 8, by Brian Hocking and me, was issued in 1985, and Music Makers for Standards 5 and 6, this time with George Mutura as co-author, was published in 1989. The music education syllabus was revised in 1993, and both books were adapted to adjust the placing and progression of the material. This case study sets out the background of developments in Kenyan educational policy, notes the changes in curricular music, explores how the adaptation happened in practice, tracks the process, comments on its implications and considers responses to the completed project.

I have written elsewhere about developments in the teaching of music in Kenya in recent decades (see for example Floyd 1996, 2000, 2001), and on the decision to promote traditional musics and to make music one of the compulsory examinable subjects at the end of primary school (particularly after the change in 1984 to the '8-4-4' system as opposed to the previous 7-6-3: see below). As a result of this Oxford University Press in Nairobi published *Music Makers for Standards 7 and 8* (Floyd & Hocking, 1985) to meet the immediate needs of those about to take the exam. *Music Makers for Standards 5 and 6* (Floyd & Mutura, 1989) appeared four years later. The Music syllabus was further adapted in 1993, and some while later it was thought necessary to revise some of the textbooks that had previously been used. The revised syllabus of 1993 gave us the chance to adapt both books in the light of those revisions, to adjust the placing of the material across the four school years of the two textbooks, and to re-evaluate the priorities of educational authorities, publishers, authors, teachers and students. This case study in textbook adaptation sets out the background of developments in Kenyan educational policy, notes the changes in curricular music, explores how the adaptation of a pair of textbooks happened in practice, tracks the process, comments on its implications and considers responses to the completed project.

Education in Kenya

A fuller version of this background can be found in Floyd (2001), but it is necessary to give some appropriate contextualisation here. Eshiwani states that the purpose of education in Kenya is to transmit wisdom and prepare young people for their participation in society, with four categories of goals: utilitarian, social, cultural and personal (Eshiwani, 1993: 24).

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Omondi (1984)	**Ominde (1964)** (cited in Eshiwani, 1993)	**Gachathi (1976)** (cited in Eshiwani, 1993)	**Eshiwani (1993)**
National unity	Nationhood/National unity	National unity	National unity
National development	National development		National development
Individual development			Individual development
Social equality	Equal opportunities	Equal opportu-	Social equality
Cultural heritage	Cultural traditions	nities	Cultural heritage
		Traditional social	
	Individual responsibility	values	
	Adaptability for change	Adaptability	
		Relevance	
		Cooperative responsibility	
		Economic & labour values	
			International consciousness

Fig. 1 Goals and general education in Kenya

This very functionalist approach is highly symptomatic of the policies desired and required of Kenyan education as officially expressed from the time immediately after independence. These were spelled out in a number of Government reports and in Eshiwani's book, and are summarised in Figure 1. As well as the considerable attention paid to the practicalities of 'nation building' there is also an interesting reinforcement of the idea of culture as a determinant of social cohesion and pattern. This was to become an ever-stronger feature of Kenyan educational policy.

In 1981 the Presidential Working Party on the Second University in Kenya had proposals to make about educational policy in the country. This was the report that led to the current system, commonly referred to as the 8-4-4 system (eight years of primary education, four years' secondary education – two upper and two junior – and four at the tertiary level). The national objectives appear in the report thus:

> Kenya has one fundamental goal for her education: to prepare and equip the youth to be happy and useful members of Kenyan society. To be happy they must learn and accept the national values and to be useful they must actively work towards the maintenance and development of the Society. (Ibid.)

The 8-4-4 system set out to deal as thoroughly as possible with these issues, and has a much clearer focus on practical and technical education. The primary school curriculum includes art and crafts, home science and agriculture, all of which are taught as practical subjects. For the purposes of this study it is interesting to note that it is at this stage that music becomes an examinable part of the primary curriculum, and an optional subject in Forms 1–4 (Years 9–12). The major criticism of the 8-4-4 system to date has been the

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amount of subjects, and its need for many (often new) books and other materials. In 1992 the Ministry of Education reduced the amount in various syllabuses, and the expectation of full provision in all schools, although Eshiwani sees this as 'succumbing to pressure' before the system could be realistically evaluated (1993: 180).

Towards indigenisation

Although there has been a clear set of purposes and goals in Kenyan educational philosophy ever since independence, the nature of the devised curriculum has evolved over the 35 years, rather than changing instantly. Eshiwani describes three stages of curriculum evolution which he categorises as 'adoption', 'adaptation' and 'indigenisation'. The first of these saw the use of imported syllabuses and teaching materials, set and marked by the Cambridge Examination Board in the UK. Many of the problems posed had little meaning for African students.

The adaptation phase characterised curriculum development in the 1970s, and it took two forms. The first was making only obvious changes, so that names and currencies were localised, and language structures were made more straightforward, while the essential structure remained intact. The second form of adaptation challenged the structure and material much more with regard to relevance and appropriateness, and its suitability for the realities of delivery.

Kenya is currently in the indigenisation phase. Eshiwani comments on what such a curriculum should be like:

> The 'indigenous' curriculum must be relevant to the Kenyan needs of today and tomorrow in content, approach and values. It must serve the needs of the majority, comprising thousands of school leavers who cannot go on with higher education. . . . the new curriculum should relate the school to the community, while at the same time emphasizing a problem-solving approach to learning. The problems posed in the classroom should be real human problems applied to the production and distribution of food, to the provision of shelter, health services, hygiene, water, energy, etc. (Eshiwani, 1993: 157–8)

Education, both policies and delivery, does not exist in a vacuum, however: it both reflects and initiates change within its context, which might also be called 'culture'. D'Souza, summarising the process of cultural adjustment, shows three cultures, 'traditional', 'national' and 'international', in order of 'importance' from lowest to highest, with 'traditional' gradually becoming subsumed by the others, and 'international' acquiring a decisive role. He defines 'importance' in terms of the spread of a culture, and also reinforces the least importance given to traditional culture by reminding us of the problems caused by 'ethnicism' in new nations. He comments on the official importance given to national culture through national symbols such as flags, anthems, loyalty pledges, and national goals and policies. He also suggests that international culture develops even faster as it is given such impetus across the world, and the 'developed' nations play a 'disproportionate role in formulating international culture' (D'Souza, 1987: 92).

The national culture then assimilates both traditional and international cultures. Kenya would like to foster traditional cultures, as it is within these that the uniqueness of Kenyans

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is to be found, but the perception is that KiSwahili (the 'national' language, which operates alongside the 'official' language, English) is not sufficient to cope with scientific and technological terms, and thus international culture could not be fully assimilated through that medium. However, D'Souza suggests that in 50 years:

> The national culture will be so mature that it could absorb any foreign ideas overnight. The idea is that once a foreign influence has been translated into KiSwahili then it may be regarded as having been internalised and ready for development. (Ibid.: 94)

Figure 2 brings together the ideas from Eshiwani and D'Souza outlined above and may clarify the problems and attempted solutions. It may be glossed as follows: post-independence

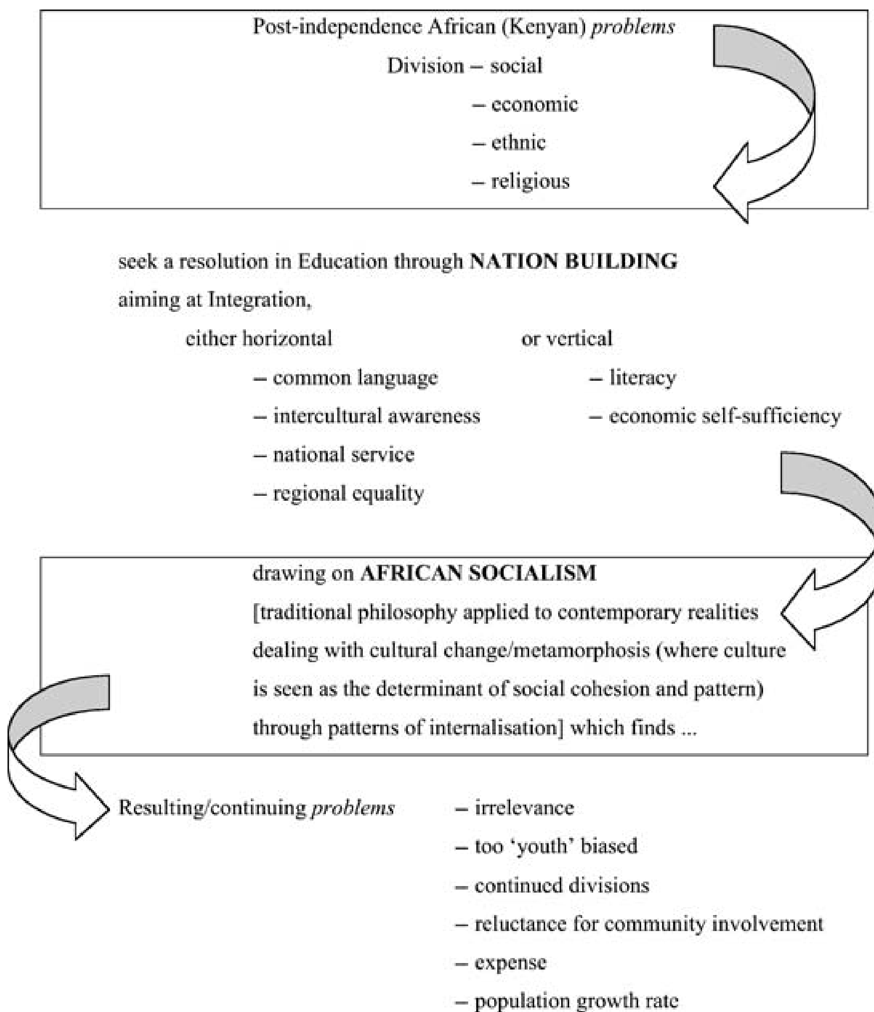

Fig. 2 Kenyan education: problems and solutions

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Africa sees internal division as its major problem, and seeks to resolve that through 'nation building'. The job of delivering this is given to education, which attempts the task through either horizontal or vertical integration. To provide a structure it draws on aspects of African socialism, particularly its vision of combining what is best of traditional Africa and the contemporary world. However, because of several shared continental problems, education is restricted in its effectiveness, which leads to further difficulties. Education is then given the further task of resolving the difficulties by overcoming the problems, at least for future generations. Within Kenya, music has been given a significant role to play in containing the paradox.

Music education in Kenya

Singing first appeared as a school subject in Kenya in 1921, in the 'Departmental Instructions Governing Native Instruction in Assisted Schools', as an optional subject alongside history, geography and physical exercises (Mungeam, 1978: 272). Later on, there were students who took the Cambridge Overseas O- and A-level in music. There was in this examination no Kenyan or other 'non-Western' element.

Twelve years after independence, in 1975, the Ministry of Education published a new syllabus for music, aimed at achieving the goal of engendering 'respect and development of cultural heritage' and instilling 'an understanding of past and present culture and its valid place in contemporary society . . . [and] a sense of respect for unfamiliar cultures' (Ministry of Education, 1975: vi). Its Africanness is made explicit in its aim: the

> Collection, promotion and preservation of African music. Its value should be understood and it must be authentic and suitable for Primary Schools – geared to encourage creativity in pupils' minds. (Ibid.)

This made itself apparent in the syllabus content for primary schools, by the inclusion of the National Anthem and traditional dances and instruments which are expanded and developed at various ages (although the National Anthem is the one musical element found across all seven years).

For secondary schools the African elements included in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) were:

- repetitive drum pattern in the aural paper;
- African melodic analysis, prescribed African recordings, and general musical knowledge on traditional music in the written paper;
- performance on African instrument or voice in the performance paper.

However, it needs to be made clear that at this stage very few schools were offering any curricular music. In most years fewer than 10 out of over 1,000 secondary schools entered candidates for the KCSE. It is clear that there was an intention to indigenise the curriculum, but although the content was changed, and the range of musical products made more Kenyan, the processes of investigation, the critical tools, remained entirely of the Western analytical type. It may be that this was because all those involved in the preparation of such syllabi had themselves been trained almost exclusively in Western methodology, although several had developed ethnomusicological skills later.

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National unity	through combining scholars and performers in intra-national mixed musics
National development	(i) through the production of scholars, performers, and recording (ii) by creating a curriculum that will give manufacturing and other economic and commercial skills (iii) by stimulating social need through festivals, accessible to the whole community
Individual development	identifying and nurturing talents
Social equality	equal opportunities for music across the country
Respect and development of cultural heritage	through promotion of festivals allowing an exposure to a wide range of Kenyan cultures

Fig. 3 Goals for music and general education in Kenya

All this does not mean that there was no music going on in other schools: in fact there was, and remains, a very vigorous national music festival, with selection at school, zone, district and provincial level before the finals in Nairobi are reached. This festival included many classes for the performance of 'traditional' music in which the most rural schools tended to do very well, being much more identified with single communities. This led to discussions amongst adjudicators and in the press as to whether 'traditional dress' should be worn, or something more 'modern' and 'sophisticated'. In latter years there was a move back to what was really traditional, as there was a fear that these original cultural expressions would be lost, and to no real purpose. This points to a dichotomy that Kenya has had to deal with in its presentation of itself: it wants to value what is authentic, and truly Kenyan (or in fact truly of the multifarious communities within Kenya), but it also wants to be seen as 'developed' (with all the confusion and cultural baggage that implies), with a significant place in the 'modern world'.

In 1982, prior to the introduction of the 8-4-4 system, a Presidential National Music Commission was set up 'To undertake a detailed study and make recommendations on the preservation and development of the rich music and varied dance traditions of our people' (Omondi, 1984: v). They presented their report in January 1984. It consisted of 647 chapters of comment, discussion and proposal. Paragraphs 61–179 (pp. 17–42) deal with Music Education, and describe first the goals of the policy for music education (see Figure 3). Let us place this set of goals, which are music-specific, beside the other sets of goals for education mentioned earlier (see Figure 1).

It is interesting to note the goals that are common to all authors: national unity, social equality/equal opportunities and traditional values/culture/heritage. All of these are basically part of 'nation-building', through projects and attitudes that require cooperative action between the various communities. Thus 'Social equality' is here synonymous with

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'Equal opportunities', as it is to do with equality of provision and accessibility throughout the country, regardless of ethnic, religious, and other perceived differences. The importance given to things traditional is an indication of a demand for indigenisation, of 'being Kenyan', although the very nature of Kenya as a set of inappropriately devised borders containing between 40 and 70 separate identifiable communities makes 'Kenyan-ness' difficult to quantify. The place of the individual varies from self-fulfilment, to personal responsibility within the community, to involvement as a member of a community in self-help projects. Adaptability becomes rather more specifically 'International consciousness' in Eshiwani, and this is echoed in particular curricular proposals given in the Omondi report, although it is not specified in the particular goals of music education. For example:

> Too much stress has been placed on Western music at the expense of African music despite the fact that some aspects of this Western music is [*sic*] archaic, irrelevant to the experience of the student, and of no functional value. The syllabus seriously overlooks contemporary trends in music as well as acquaintance with the music of other world cultures. (Omondi, 1984: § 114, p. 30)

There are proposals in the *Report of the Presidential National Music Commission* (Omondi, 1984) which are aimed at enhancing traditional music through educational provision. These include:

> *75(d) That music syllabi should emphasise the theory and practice of traditional African music which is relevant to the child's environment (ibid.: 147). [Awareness of cross-cultural interaction is emphasised, and taken to mean intra- as well as international. The intention is to develop understanding and acceptance of groups beyond one's own through their cultural expressions. However, it is not at all clear what is meant by the 'theory . . . of traditional African music'.]*
>
> *80(b) That music teachers of noteworthy talents should be commissioned immediately by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology to write for music teaching (ibid.). [The singling out of music teachers as potential authors of textbooks is significant. Most previous texts had either been imported (mainly from the United Kingdom) or written by Europeans holding senior music posts in Kenya.]*
>
> *80(e) That traditional musicians should be made use of in schools, either as subordinate staff or simply as tutors. In the latter case they could be rotated so as to serve several schools (ibid.: 148). [This is looking to ensure authentic music and performance practice, moving away from the 1975 syllabus's demand for 'sweet sounds' (Ministry of Education, 1975: 1) towards sounds appropriate to the cultural context of a particular performance.]*

In response to 75(d), the primary music syllabus (as revised in 1992) includes the following elements: National Anthem; the appreciation of folk music, including social context, dance, costume, decoration, etc.; respect for other cultures; the collection, preservation and use of songs and musical instruments; and the comparison of songs and dances in traditional, popular and contemporary styles.

In the secondary school syllabus this revision is continued, with all work based on studying two of African, Western and Oriental music; the appreciation of folk music; respect for other cultures; the performance of songs, instruments and dances; comparison of

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traditional popular and contemporary songs; analysis of music; the collection, preservation and use of traditional songs, dances and musical instruments, with costume, etc.; and participation in and organisation of public performance.

With regard to 80(b), there was a sudden increase in the number of locally produced texts by Kenyan (and other) authors (for more detailed examination of this see Floyd, 1996: 194–9), so that by 1993 there were 20 texts. These have continued to be produced, although the rate has slowed down, with those texts that are being produced as cross primary school series being the most successful.

There is material here for a good study of traditional instruments, and several texts would be sufficient in themselves. There is also a fairly wide range of song material, although only a few texts contain enough variety to be useful as cross-cultural sources, and several Kenyan peoples are represented by only one song in any text, or not at all (for example the Maasai), while other groups (notably the Kikuyu and related peoples, who form roughly 25 per cent of the population) are extremely well represented.

Turning to proposal 80(e), it is clear that many schools have been involving traditional musicians in the curriculum, through a variety of methods. In some they are visiting specialists, in others they are friends or relatives of staff or students, and some are employed as non-teaching staff (as groundsmen, for example), with some time allocated for music provision. No research has yet been done on the effectiveness of this provision, so it is not yet appropriate to make any conclusions beyond the observation that where this happens students are exposed to expertise and authenticity in one culture (often their own), in addition to a wide range of other cultures from within Kenya and beyond via texts. It was in this context that Oxford University Press (Nairobi) published a pair of music textbooks, beginning in 1985.

Music Makers

The nature of the initial publication pattern meant that some difficulties were inevitable. The remit from the publishers was that the book for Standards 7 and 8 (the last two years of primary school, at the end of which an exam – the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education – was taken in about 12 subjects) should include everything necessary for students taking the exam the year following publication. In short, all eight years' material had to be condensed into two years (which would, in fact, have to be assimilated by this first group of students in only one year). Although this was demanding in terms of the quantity of material, the authors were determined that the book should be based on actual musical experiences, creative and responsive, rather than follow a pattern of theoretical work with additional information to be learnt about instruments and so on, which had been the usual pattern for previous books for music education, almost all of which had come straight from the UK. The course was planned in units, six to a term, each of which started with a song to be sung. The songs were collected from around the country in an attempt to make sure that all groups were represented, and to enable the syllabus requirement to be met that music education in Kenya was about sharing a knowledge and understanding of the musics of others, although it was impossible to ensure absolute equality of representation. In addition, the songs were recorded live from children themselves, ensuring that the material being used was current and appropriate. The music was printed in staff and sol-fa notation (the

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latter being commonly used in Kenya, often because it is easier to print than staff notation), and several were also recorded on an accompanying tape. The song was then used to bring particular elements – rhythm, pitch, dynamics, etc. – to the students' attention. There followed a creative exercise in which students were asked to use the elements explored in a short devised piece, and to record it in an appropriate way. There were two other parts to each unit: an aural exercise drawing on as wide a range of musical experiences as possible, including some specially recorded on the tape; and work on traditional music, which included the study of instruments, including construction and playing, or analysing performances seen, or collecting songs, examining contexts, costumes, and so on.

The problem for the authors arose when the book for Standards 5 and 6 (Kenya Standard numbers are roughly equivalent to UK Year numbers) came to be written, which had to be designed to precede a book which already contained much relevant material. It was decided to maintain the same pattern of units, but to take longer over introducing ideas, and give more opportunities to develop skills over a period of time. Songs were again chosen from a broad range of sources, and to the parts described above were added exercises to develop sol-fa sight-reading (an element from the syllabus not tackled in any depth in the first book). There was also a recognition of popular styles as well as traditional and Western musics.

The mismatch between the books for Standards 5 and 6 and for Standards 7 and 8 had to be addressed at some point, and the revisions of 1993 were to prove the spur. The first task was to reorganise the material more efficiently across the four years of the upper primary curriculum. This was tackled by redistributing the songs more progressively, as in the first editions the songs could only be progressive across two years, so several songs in the Standards 7 and 8 book were significantly easier than those at the end of the Standards 5 and 6 book. Conversely, there were many songs at the end of the Standards 5 and 6 book that were much more difficult than those at the beginning of the Standards 7 and 8 course. Of course, there always needs to be a balance between different aspects of complexity, and Standards 7 and 8 should not just be a time for difficulty – important lessons can be learnt from the simplest music.

The examples below show the new order of the songs in Standards 5 and 8, at either end of the four-year upper primary period:

Standard 5

Luhya
Doh = F
Fine
s. s : s. l | m. m :–. d | m. m : m. r | d. l, :–. d ||
Li - li - li - o li - li - o, li - li - li - o ka-mbe - ka
D.C. al Fine
d. d : d. d | d. l, :–. d | r. d : d. d | d. l, . d ||
Nya-ma ndu-lu ka-mbe - ka su - tse ndu - lu ka-mbe - ka

Example 1: Lililio (Luhya lullaby, collected by Joshua Eshiokunjira)

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Doh = F

Nyumba - ya mwari wi - tũ ĩi i - gi - ti - two na i - tha -
nji na i - cu - thii cia ng'o - mbe ii nyum - ba
ya mwa - ri wi - tũ ii i - gi - ti - two. na i - tha -
nji na i - cu - thii cia ng'o - mbe.

Example 2: Nyumba ya Mwari (Gikuyu song about families, collected by Rehab Wanjiku)

Standard 8

A - ma - le - le le - le, A - ma - le - le le - le,
A - ma - le - le le - le. *Fine* Du - ngi - she ga - la sit ga - ra na ga -
la, an si - ra ina - fu si wo - lin ga - la. *Da capo al fine*

Amalele,
I will kiss you and then go;
Because I trust you,
I will go home with you.

Example 3: Amalele (Oromo/Boran love song, collected by Yohannis Akililu)

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1. O - lak - te tip - chep Ka - me - njei wa, O - lak - te tip -
chep Ki - la - ma-on a - ha, O - lak - te tip-chep Ki - la-ma - on.

Chorus:
Chep-tu - ge-nyo chep-tu - la - mai-wa, Chep-tu-ge-nyo chep-tu -
la - mai - wa, U - re - ren - bet u - re - ren-
ke-mboi-kwen, U - re - ren - bet u - re - ren - ke - mboi - kwen.

2. Ki - ko - lul - kot, Ki - ko - lul - kot, Ka - ron
ke - ka - tiyen Che - son - gony che - po
Kap - chu - rian, Che - son-gony che - po Kap - chu - rian.
(Chorus)

Ki - la - nda e - re - ra, Ki - la - nda e - ra - ra, Ki -
lo - nchi Ka - mba - la, Kia - tu - iye chep - lem - yat
ko - ri - re a - ha! Kia - tu - iye chep - lem - yat ko - ri - re.

Example 4: Olakte Tipchep (Kalenjin warning song, collected by Samuel Towett)

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Example 5: Ntinyakamba (Samburu boasting song, collected by Malcolm Floyd)

This reordering of the material allowed a more logical progression, but it is important to note that its logicality could not be shared everywhere else. The introduction of 5/8 (in Standard 5) as a time signature might be a much later feature of music education in England, for example, but the musical reality of the Kenyan situation means that it is not only appropriate but necessary to include it an early stage of children's education there. Similarly, the considerable variety of songs included would be problematic, and lead to accusations of tokenism, if followed in other places. But people in Kenya have to live with these issues of the construction of identity all the time: they are members of a particular group, but they are also Kenyan, with an interest in wider global paradigms of identity. In addition, as these books start with Standard 5, it is expected that children will have spent much of the previous years' schooling at a vernacular level, working on and in the construction of their own immediate cultural identity, including a vernacular language in most cases.

There were, however, other more problematic points that had to be addressed which arose from the 1993 revisions, and which required a great deal from music teachers in primary schools, and thus from any resources they would choose to employ. The authors of *Music Makers* were asked to provide new or additional material in the revised versions for:

Standard 5

performing a variety of dances (1993: 14.1)
playing a musical instrument (ibid.), with keyboard exercises particularly requested
vocal exercises, including breathing (ibid.: 14.11)

Standard 6

more exercises in reading, writing and sight-singing music (ibid.: 16.1, 16.2)
more patriotic/national songs (ibid.: 16.11)
more work on playing instruments and singing (ibid.: 17.11)

Standard 7

greater range of expressive terms (ibid.: 21.11)

(Standard 8 had no specific new requirements)

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These can all be drawn together as: dancing; patriotic/national songs and singing exercises; playing musical instruments; and reading and writing music.

Each of these has its own justification, but each also causes its own problems for authors of textbooks. There was some work in the early books about the relationship between music and dance, and students were encouraged to explore further through going to occasions where dance happened, including working with experts in their own area and attending or performing in the multi-layered and multi-locational national music festival. However, to go any further in a textbook for children of this age and experience would be difficult if unsupported. Video would be an obvious enhancement, but even if this were produced there would be very few schools with the equipment to use it.

A number of national/patriotic songs were included in the revisions, singing exercises were also incorporated, and it was hoped they would prove useful, although there has been no research yet to evaluate this.

Learning to play musical instruments is rather more problematic. In the original book for Standards 7 and 8 there were basic instructions on playing the recorder (widely and relatively cheaply available in Kenya), with a range of tunes, some of which were traditional. Both of the early books also contained a few examples of tunes, along with instructions for making and playing a range of the more straightforward traditional instruments. The problem becomes acute when training in playing the keyboard/piano is required. The problem is twofold: first, there is the lack of such instruments except in a few highly localised areas, thus making the requirement impossible for many to observe; second, there is the difficulty of teaching the keyboard to a whole class (which may contain 40 children, 50, or many more) – and if the class is split into groups the amount of time consumed would be considerable, for both pupils and teachers.

Teaching the reading, and particularly the writing, of music is a task to which a textbook is well suited. But even this is not without its problems, as the increase in the amount of material required can change the book's philosophy. From being a practice-based experiential course from which appropriate theoretical constructs are drawn, it becomes focused on theory, with the written versions of songs there as examples of writing, not of song, all reinforced by tests to be completed on paper, thus removing the young musician further from the source – the music itself.

It seems that perhaps the syllabus makers, and the publishers trying to fulfil their requirements, forgot some of the most interesting things to come out of the Presidential National Music Commission (Omondi, 1984), which underpinned much of the original rationale for the construction of the music syllabus. This is particularly true of the importance placed on the variety of school musical experience, and the pattern of its delivery. The report talks of children singing and dancing, of being taught by traditional and other musicians in practical ways, and even suggests ways of affording the employment of such staff in schools, through combining this work with other duties. A book can do many things for children, and can ease the job of teachers and thus make it more rewarding, but it would be a shame if the deep internalised musical experience was lost in an attempt to over-value the theoretical at its expense, or through trying to train children for unrealistic objectives in a bid for modernity and global relevance, at the expense of valuing the local.

In the event, the whole project is held in suspension, for several reasons. Firstly, the World Bank has asked (required?) Kenya to review its educational programme with an eye

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to relevance and entrepreneurism, weeding out that which does not fit those parameters, and Music is one of those areas of the curriculum likely for serious reconsideration. (This is reflected in contemporary events in Britain, with many seriously considering that Music will disappear from primary schools.)

The second reason for not proceeding is the proposed coming together of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania: a reforming of the East African Community. This has led to talk of a unified curriculum, with publishers able to produce for a much larger, economically viable market. A textbook could do little to grapple effectively with the huge cultural diversity within such an area, but it would at least be reasonable to hope that the intentions of those responsible for music education would be to empower and develop the processes and practices of cultures today, by enabling the realisation of the potential of the authentic cultures of tomorrow. And perhaps the practice of using books to draw out theory and ways of understanding that arise from the music itself will be maintained.

A third reason may be the proliferation of music textbooks by Kenyan and other authors, which must at least confuse the marketplace. Several authors/publishers seem to have produced one book for a particular standard, or a book aiming to cover a whole aspect (such as theory, or instruments), to test the market reaction. Though these often contain much creative material, they leave difficulties for those trying to construct coherent schemes. Figure 4 summarises what was available up to 1998.

Author	Published	Target Standard
Akuno	1994	4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Amunga	1991	4
Floyd & Hocking	1985	7, 8
Floyd	1987	8
Floyd & Mutura	1989	5, 6
Gichimu	1990?	8
Gichimu	1992	3
Karanja	1990	6
Karonji & Akuno	1992	8
Mbugua	n.d.	General
Nzioka	1990	General
Senoga-Zake & Eldon	1981	General
Wahome	1984	General
Wahome	1986	8
Wahome	1986	General (instruments)
Wahome	1991	General
Wahome	1993	7
Wanjala	1990	8

Fig. 4 Authors and textbooks available up to 1998

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There have also been changes in my own views on music education over the years I worked in Kenya. A distinction has arisen between what I thought was 'good music education' and what I thought was 'good for particular communities'. The first gave priority to sharing musics and contexts within and beyond Kenya (thus leading to the choices described above as to the pattern of the introduction of material, and a deliberate policy of diversity); the second gave priority to strengthening the very things that made communities particular and identifiable. This conflict stayed with me on my return to England, and became particularly acute when I realised that my work in Kenya had the potential to enrich the music education of my English students. I remained unclear, however, about how the reverse might best happen – where was the enrichment that went the other way? In my experience the contribution of Western-style music education to Africa (and other parts of the world) has been in the area of theory and analytical engagement, and my attempt to subvert this found expression in the inclusion of creative and contextual tasks in textbooks. My continued research has now led me to a new position: that enrichment happens through a deeper understanding that music processes are realised within contexts, and in response to impacts upon those contexts. It is this latter that makes music constantly re-creative. It is to do with exploring the dynamic relationships between individual, community and nation, as explored and expressed through music. And while music is often difficult to analyse meaningfully, it is the action of analysis, as performative praxis, that has its impact upon people as communities of learners.

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