

**SYSTEMS FACILITATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF KAYAMBA MUSICAL
INSTRUMENT OF THE MIJIKENDA IN KILIFI COUNTY, KENYA**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Institute of Postgraduate Studies of Kabarak
University in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Master of
Musicology**

KABARAK UNIVERSITY

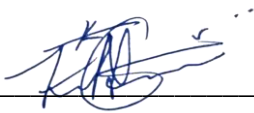
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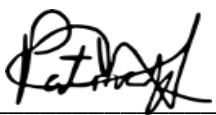
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DEDICATION

To Mr. Raymond Mckenzie Mtawali and the entire Mijikenda community.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the systems that contribute to the sustainability of the kayamba, a musical instrument linked to the Mijikenda community in Kenya. The kayamba has been resilient throughout the significant historical transformations due to factors like Islamisation, Christianisation, Colonialism, Nationalism, and Globalization. To achieve the overall objective of investigating the sustainability of the kayamba in Kilifi County, the study aimed to: i) describe the indigenous knowledge systems associated with the kayamba among the Mijikenda community, ii) discuss the cultural aspects connected to playing the kayamba among the Mijikenda community, iii) highlight the role of the kayamba in contemporary music contexts and iv) explore the music industry's aspects related to the kayamba. The study employed a qualitative ethnographic case study research design. Data collection involved maximum variation sampling. The theoretical framework integrated various models, including the Rice Model for ethnomusicology, Schippers' conceptual framework for studying sustainable music futures, Tilton's conceptual framework on the ecology of music, and Tilton's theory of resilience. The findings unveiled interconnected ecosystems that contribute to the kayamba's sustainability including indigenous performance infrastructures, and knowledge systems, contemporary-local performance infrastructures, and commercial aspects associated with the instrument's use. The kayamba possesses deep cultural roots within the Mijikenda music culture and assumes significant roles and meanings within its recontextualized environment in contemporary-local infrastructures. This research contributes to the development of a model for sustaining and revitalizing traditional music instruments with less resilient systems, which are vulnerable to endangerment. By understanding the mechanisms that have enabled the kayamba's continued relevance, policymakers, researchers, and cultural enthusiasts can apply similar strategies to preserve and promote endangered musical instruments and traditions worldwide.

Keywords: *Sustainability, Resilience, Indigenous knowledge systems, Contemporary-local infrastructures*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CBC	Competency-Based Curriculum
CMOs	Collective Management Organisations
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease
DAW(s)	Digital Audio Workstations(s)
DJ	Disc Jockey(s)
IPGS	Institute of Post Graduate Studies
KTN	Kenya Television Network
KMF	Kenya Music Festivals
KUREC	Kabarak University Research Ethics Committee
MADCA	Malindi District Cultural Association
MIDI	Musical Instrument Digital Interface
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation
TABAKA (band name)	True African Brotherhood Against Knowledge Assassination
TABAKA (philosophy)	Tuunde Asili Bora Afrika Kupitia Akili (This directly translates to creating good values in Africa through intellect)
PPMC	Permanent Presidential Music Commission
PRISK	Performers Rights Society of Kenya
QR code	Quick Response Code
VST	Virtual Studio Instruments
WWF	World Wildlife Foundation

CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Beat: In this study, this term refers to a configuration of rhythm, melody, and instrumentation (texture) that is idiomatic to a particular style. Most kayamba masters used this term to refer to the different genres that involve the kayamba instrument (See section 6.3.1).

Contemporary-Local: In this study, this word is applied to discuss musicking in the general area of Kilifi County include the Mijikenda and other communities living in the County.

Culture Emerging Classification System: In this study, this term refers to the systems of classification accorded to musical instruments derived from within a culture or subculture.

Ecosystem: In this study, this term refers to all interconnected factors defining the origin, development, and sustainability of music culture.

Hard Quantization: This is a MIDI (musical digital interface) term that represents rhythms that are set in line to the grid workspace of a digital audio interface or music notation software.

Infrastructure: In this study, this term refers to any social construct that facilitates and influences the transmission of a message.

Indigenization: In this study, this term refers to the application of the kayamba instrument to the music traditions of other ethnic communities such as the Akamba or the Abagusii. This study recognizes that the kayamba is used by other communities in specific indigenous music contexts.

Mediatization: In this study, this term refers to the use of media technologies for documentation and sharing of culture. The media inferred includes online streaming platforms such as YouTube, Apple Music and social media platforms such as Instagram, and TikTok.

Mijikenda: This is an umbrella term referring to a group of nine Bantu-speaking ethnic groups namely: Giriama, Duruma, Rabai, Chonyi, Jibana, Kauma, Kambe, Ribe and Digo.

Musicking: In this study, this term refers to any activity involved in a musical performance which includes performing, listening, rehearsing, practicing, composition, and dancing.

Music(s): In this study, this term refers to the repertoire, genres, songs, and musical instruments involved in musicking.

Musicker or Musickers: In this study, this term refers to an individual or a group of individuals who engage in musicking.

Resilience: In this study, this term refers to a music system's capacity to recover and retain its integrity, identity, and continuity when it is subjected to forces of change and disturbance.

Sustainability: In this study, this term refers to the ability of music traditions and music instruments to endure without implications of either a static tradition or a preservationist bearing.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In today's ever-expanding musical universe within our global village, the African continent remains a wellspring of unique textures, rhythms, and sounds. Musical instruments embody the tangible element of the intangible cultural heritage that encompasses music. African-origin instruments like the djembe and the marimba have spread into various musical spheres worldwide, including Western classical music, jazz, and contemporary popular music. These instruments retain their relevance in their original indigenous music contexts, serving as a testament to the resilience found in our diverse world and the rich cultural heritage shared by the African continent with the rest of the world.

The kayamba displays such resilient qualities. It is widespread in numerous parts of the world. For instance, in Mauritius, Reunion, and Seychelles, it is known as the maravanne. The kayamba is present in many African countries, with Johnson (2021) reporting its acquisition in Mozambique (W.J. [William Johnson Music] Johnson, 2021). Scholars such as Senoga-Zake (1986) and Floyd (2005) trace its origins to the Mijikenda community in the Kenyan coastal region. The Mijikenda is a group of nine communities that share a common origin history, as well as similar social, political, and cultural institutions. These communities include the Giriama, Kambe, Kauma, Chonyi, Jibana, Ribe, Rabai, Duruma, and Digo. The kayamba plays an integral role within the indigenous music contexts of these communities.

In Kenya, the use of the kayamba in the performance of indigenous music is not exclusive to the Mijikenda. Various Kenyan communities have adopted it in their music traditions.

Among the Abagusii, it accompanies the Obokano¹ (Varnum, 1971). It is listed as a traditional instrument belonging to the Bajun, the Akamba, and the Abaluhya in Floyd's (2005) biographical index of Kenyan musical instruments.

Beyond its role in indigenous music, the kayamba is ubiquitous in contemporary Kenyan music contexts. It can be identified in the early recordings of Kenyan patriotic songs, such as Heko Jamuhuri, Tushangilie Kenya, and Kenya Yaenda Mbele composed by Thomas Wasonga (popularly known as Mwalimu Wasonga), as well as Heko Baba Moi, Amka Kumekucha, and Kenya Kipenzi composed by Boniface Mganga. Popular arrangements of folk pieces like Safari ya Bamba and Vamuvamba, sung and recorded by the Muungano National choir under the leadership of Boniface Mganga, are distributed as Kenyan Folk Music (Apple music, 1989; Spotify, 1989).

The kayamba is common in choral music repertoires in churches, corporate events, Kenya Music Festivals, and state functions. Recognizing its presence in multiple musical contexts, Akuno (2016) designated the kayamba as a Kenyan instrument, representing a national nomination. Two notable performances of the kayamba as a Kenyan instrument are evident in the papal masses held in Kenya in August 1985 and November 2015. Video footage from these events showcases an ensemble of Conga drums and numerous kayamba players (AP Archive 2015; Colour at the Papal Mass, Joyous Moments, 2015). Father Henry Katana, also known as Father kayamba, demonstrated showmanship and virtuosity while playing the amplified-sized kayamba in both events.

Throughout its various musical contexts, the kayamba maintains its identity by retaining its name and playing similar musical roles. Additionally, kayamba has consistently maintained its core physical properties, playing technique, and mode of sound production. This attribute distinguishes the kayamba from other Kenyan instruments. For

¹ The Obokano is an eight-stringed musical instrument indigenous to the Abagusii Community of Kenya.

instance, the *orutu* (a bowed fiddle) known *asishiriri* among the Abaluhya community and the *wandindi* among the Agikuyu community, have similar organological features across cultures but employ idiomatic playing techniques and repertoire.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The kayamba, has demonstrated remarkable resilience and cultural significance across different periods, geographical locations, and musical contexts. Despite its enduring presence and widespread influence, there is a lack of comprehensive research on the kayamba, particularly in relation to its sustainability and the preservation of indigenous knowledge associated with it. The existing body of research on traditional musical instruments has largely overlooked the perspectives and contributions of the Mijikenda community, whose cultural heritage is deeply intertwined with the kayamba. This knowledge is at risk of being lost forever, as the elderly custodians who hold this valuable information are passing away without transmitting it to the younger generation. While efforts have been made by scholars, government institutions, and non-governmental organisations to preserve music cultures and traditions, few studies have focused specifically on the indigenous sustainability systems within the community and the active role of culture-bearers in safeguarding their musical heritage. This study therefore focuses on the study of the sustainability systems of the Kayamba. It places more emphasis on the on the indigenous knowledge systems that guide its musicking and the agency of the culture-bearers in facilitating its resilience and sustainability.

1.3 Research Objectives

The research objectives of this study are grouped into two sections: The general objective, and the specific objectives of the study.

1.3.1 General Objective of the Study

The general objective of this research was to explore the systems that have enabled resilience and consequently facilitated the sustainability of the kayamba.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

The study sought to fulfil the following objectives:

- i. To describe the indigenous knowledge systems accorded to the kayamba of the Mijikenda community in Kilifi County.
- ii. To discuss the cultural elements linked to kayamba musicking among the Mijikenda Community in Kilifi County.
- iii. To highlight the role of the kayamba in contemporary music contexts beyond the indigenous music practices of the Mijikenda in Kilifi County.
- iv. To explore the music industry aspects linked to the kayamba in Kilifi County.

1.4 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. What indigenous knowledge systems are associated with the kayamba of the Mijikenda in Kilifi County?
- ii. What cultural elements are linked to kayamba musicking among the Mijikenda?
- iii. How is the kayamba is used in contemporary music contexts in Kilifi County beyond the indigenous music practices of the Mijikenda?
- iv. How is the kayamba linked to the music industry in Kilifi County?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Agawu's observation of the musical instruments of Africa being an intersection of the old and new, traditional and modern, rural and urban, local and foreign aptly applies to the description of the kayamba (Agawu 2016, p.67). The kayamba has not only

withstood the test of time but has also thrived to the extent that it represents the Kenyan soundscape, particularly in national patriotic songs and the repertoire of the National Choir. Its distinct sound permeates traditional indigenous dances of the Mijikenda, performances at Kenya music festivals, and music produced by various church choirs (Kavyu, 1991). The kayamba's enduring presence and adaptability across these musical contexts serve as a testament to its resilience. Therefore, conducting a comprehensive examination of the kayamba within its indigenous musicking context is a crucial starting point for understanding the systems facilitating the kayamba's sustainability.

Indigenous musicking has been passed down through oral tradition from one generation to the next. However, a noticeable gap has emerged between the younger and older generations in terms of cultural transmission. The older population, which holds valuable indigenous knowledge that guides indigenous musicking, is gradually diminishing due to old age. This study is crucial as it helps document the cultural contexts, meanings and practices associated with the kayamba from these custodians. This study complements the already existing form of transmission of knowledge.

Although scholars such as Varnum (1971), Hyslop (1975), Senoga-Zake (1986), Kavyu (1991), Floyd (2005), and Nyangoya et al. (2018) have contributed to the existing research on the kayamba, there is a pressing need to expand upon their work. This study builds upon their research in two significant ways. Firstly, it ensures that the available information on the kayamba is aligned with its contemporary usage within indigenous and contemporary-local music contexts. Secondly, it provides insider perspectives on the musicking practices of the Mijikenda community. These perspectives encompass the indigenous knowledge systems that govern the kayamba's construction and usage, as well as the community-led initiatives established to safeguard and preserve the traditions associated with the instrument. By emphasizing these insider perspectives, this study

aligns with Schippers & Grant's (2016) notion of successful sustainability initiatives, which depend on grassroots collaboration and consultation. The research illustrates potential collaborative avenues among culture-bearers, formal institutions, and researchers in facilitating the sustainability of music traditions and, by extension, the kayamba instrument.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The Mijikenda community and the population of Kilifi County that use the kayamba will be significant beneficiaries of this project. Firstly, this research will bring attention to the musical traditions and cultural significance associated with the kayamba. Secondly, this study will enhance the community's learning systems by providing documentation and recordings. This format will enable the knowledge and information to reach a wider audience, enriching the appreciation of kayamba music in Kenya and beyond.

The Kenyan government is committed to preserving, safeguarding, and promoting cultural heritage through policies such as the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Cultural Expression Act, 2016 No. 33, and the National Music Policy (2015) from the Ministry of Sports, Culture, and the Arts. This study provides information on sustainable systems that can be applied to less resilient music practices and instruments in different ethnic communities. The examination of sustainable music traditions reveals possible pathways for fostering sustainable music futures (Schippers & Grant, 2016).

There is a pressing need for resources and pedagogical methods to support a curriculum focused on the study of Kenyan and African musics. The outcomes of this research will offer valuable insights for the education sector, particularly in the teaching of African music. The gathered materials encompass a comprehensive list of music genres, pedagogical techniques, and cultural knowledge that will enhance the learning

experiences of students and researchers studying African music in formal institutions like Kabarak University and Kenyatta University, as well as local institutions dedicated to the preservation of indigenous cultural traditions.

The findings derived from this research will offer valuable contributions to the fields of ethnomusicology, musicology, and African musicology, enabling a deeper understanding of the intricate connections and significance associated with the kayamba's musicking. As noted by Agawu (2016), musical instruments serve as repositories of their culture's music systems. The study of musical instruments allows scholars to explore how music systems are informed and influenced by their environment, cultures, belief systems, social structures, and economic systems. An example of a study that achieves this is Feld's (1984) research titled "Sound Structure as Sonic Structure", in which Feld elaborates on the Sociology of the Kaluli people using musical sound as a starting point. This study will not only enhance the value of the indigenous music of the Mijikenda associated with the kayamba but also elucidate the relationship between the music, beliefs, and the social structure of the Mijikenda community.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study aims to shed light on the factors contributing to the sustainability of the kayamba tradition. To accomplish this, the study examines the use of the kayamba within its indigenous music context as well as its recontextualization to contemporary music contexts.

The study does not encompass other indigenous music genres and styles within the Mijikenda music traditions that do not involve the kayamba. It also does not include the exploration of deep musical analyses unrelated to kayamba musicking. Furthermore, the

study excludes indigenous music traditions of other ethnic communities that use the kayamba, such as the Akamba or the Bajuni.

The research was conducted in Kilifi County, which hosts a significant concentration of Mijikenda communities, including the Kaume, Kambe, Ribe, Jibana, Girama, Chonyi, and Rabai. Kilifi County offers diverse musical contexts, including religious and tourist-curated performances, which were crucial in achieving the research objectives. The county also features various commercial enterprises related to the kayamba, such as the sale of musical instruments as souvenirs, music showcases, and institutions providing kayamba training, among others.

The study does not extend to other counties hosting Mijikenda communities, such as Kwale, Mombasa, Lamu, Taita, and Voi. Information on communities residing outside the boundaries of Kilifi County, was acquired through interactions with participants domiciled in Kilifi County during the study.

The study does not focus on the kayamba found outside Kenyan borders in countries like Mauritius, Reunion, Seychelles, and Mozambique. Additionally, it does not highlight the kayamba's recontextualization in choral music beyond the scope of Kilifi County.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

Though Kilifi County contains a sizeable population of the Mijikenda community, the Digo and the Duruma people are spread out further South (see Figure 2 Distribution of the Mijikenda Population along the Kenyan Coast). To address this limitation, the researcher engaged with a few individuals who had settled in Kilifi County from the target communities.

One of the challenges faced during the fieldwork was the language barrier. Most participants communicated in their native languages, posing difficulties in understanding

and collecting accurate data. To offset this limitation, an interpreter was hired to facilitate communication between the researcher and the participants. While this helped mitigate the language barrier to some extent, there may still be nuances and cultural subtleties that could have been missed in the interpretation process.

Being an outsider to the Mijikenda community, the researcher encountered challenges in establishing rapport and gaining trust at the beginning of the fieldwork. Acculturation to the traditions, customs, and social norms of the community was necessary to integrate effectively. Efforts were made to learn and respect the practices of the Mijikenda, including interacting with the council of elders and participating in local rituals. However, despite these efforts, there may still have been aspects of insider perspectives that were not fully captured or understood.

Data collection took place during the 2022 post-election season. The researcher experienced some concerns from a number of participants who presumed his political inclinations based on his ethnicity. To address these concerns, the researcher relied on research assistants to help navigate these conversations and steer them towards the research objectives.

A subset of participants expected or requested financial compensation for their contribution to the research. Despite explaining the voluntary nature of the study, some participants refused to participate because the benefits outlined in the informed consent form did not provide immediate incentives. The researcher addressed this issue by reiterating the details of the informed consent form on participant compensation and establishing an alternative rapport based on good will. However, this may have influenced the composition of the participant pool and introduced potential biases.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive review of the relevant literature, playing a crucial role in enhancing the overall understanding and analysis of the study. It begins by establishing a solid theoretical framework, which serves as both a guiding lens and a valuable tool for the analysis and interpretation of the research.

The section is organised in alignment with the research objectives presented in the first chapter. The first objective which is concerned with describing the indigenous knowledge systems is separated into two sections: organology and indigenous knowledge systems. The isolation of organology from other indigenous knowledge systems enables this study to juxtapose the indigenous knowledge systems of the Mijikenda with the existing studies on the same. The second section emphasises the importance of studying indigenous knowledge systems linking them to the structures that facilitate the sustainability of the kayamba.

The subsequent sections of this chapter are presented as follows: Cultural elements linked to kayamba musicking among the Mijikenda (objective two), The kayamba in contemporary music contexts (objective three), and Music industry aspects linked to the kayamba (objective four).

The final section highlights the gaps in the existing body of literature throughout this chapter. These research gaps will serve as a foundation for the subsequent chapters and contribute to the overall understanding of the topic under investigation.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This framework incorporates a combination of four theories that guide the analyses for the study. The first theory employed is the Rice Model for ethnomusicology (Rice, 1987/2017, pp. 47-58). This theory emphasises the importance of understanding the musical instrument within its cultural context, considering social and economic factors that guide its construction, use, and overall significance in the community. The Rice Model suggests a three-domain framework: Historical Construction, Social Maintenance, and Individual Creativity. The Historical Construction domain explores the formative process of music over time, including changes and reconstruction of past forms in the present. The Social Maintenance domain focuses on the social institutions and belief systems supporting the maintenance of the music tradition. The Individual Creativity domain addresses the agency, experience, and creative contributions of individuals in the music-making process (Rice, 1987/2017, p.51). This theory was instrumental in providing perspective and analysis for the data linked to the first and second objectives which aimed at describing indigenous knowledge systems and discussing elements of culture connected to kayamba musicking among the Mijikenda.

The Rice Model has limitations especially when applied to the third and fourth objective. First, it does not adequately represent the kayamba instrument in contemporary music contexts. Secondly, it overlooks the aspects of the music industry linked to the music cultures and instruments under study. Thirdly, it does not explore the intricate connections between the indigenous and contemporary music traditions and their impact on the sustainability of the kayamba instrument. Lastly, the model mainly highlights music traditions and social institutions, neglecting the study of individual instruments as the primary subject.

To address the first and second limitations, this study incorporates Schippers' conceptual framework for studying sustainable music future (Schippers, 2015, pp.13–14). Schippers' framework consists of five domains: systems of learning music, musicians and communities, contexts and constructs, regulations and infrastructure, and media and the music industry. The first domain, “systems of learning” examines the transmission of knowledge within indigenous and contemporary contexts. The second and third domains support the three domains of the Rice Model by focusing on musicians, communities, contexts, and constructs. The fourth domain, “regulations, and infrastructure” contextualizes the physical environment, availability of raw materials for the construction of the kayamba, and emerging issues affecting its sustainability.

The fifth domain, “media, and the music industry” addresses aspects such as remuneration of musicians and kayamba makers, cultural tourism², and mediatization. The Schippers' (2015) model was instrumental in the analysis of data linked to the third objective highlighted the role of the kayamba beyond the indigenous music contexts and the fourth objective explored the aspects of the music industry linked to the kayamba in Kilifi County.

To account for the third limitation of the Rice Model, this study incorporates Titon's (2009) conceptual framework on the ecology of music. Titon's framework applies ecological principles to music, viewing the musical environment as a complex and interconnected system. Four principles form the basis of this theory: adaptational advantage of diversity, limits to growth, interconnectivity, and musical stewardship (Titon, 2009, pp.122-124). These principles emphasise the importance of diversity within a musical ecosystem, recognizing limits to growth and understanding the

² According to IGI Global (2022), cultural tourism is a form of tourism that allows tourists to experience and be immersed in local cultural activities and festivals. This form of tourism encourages the local communities to embrace their culture(s) consequently boost economic growth.

interconnectivity between music culture and broader ecosystems. Additionally, musical stewardship highlights the responsibility to care for musicians, musical institutions, and resources to nurture sustainable music ecosystems. Through this conceptual framework, the study showcased the relationship and networks formed between the indigenous, contemporary, cultural, and commercial aspects of the kayamba and elucidate their implication to the sustainability of the kayamba.

To address the fourth limitation of the Rice Model, this study incorporates Titon's theory of resilience (Titon, 2015, pp. 157–195). Resilience refers to a system's capacity to recover, maintain integrity, identity, and continuity when facing disturbance and change. Adaptive management is proposed as the strategy for sustainability. Employing this theory, the study spotlighted the kayamba as a resilience instrument and placed it at the focal point of the research within the four objectives.

By integrating these theories, the study aimed to understand the kayamba within its indigenous and contemporary-local contexts, examine the foundations and building blocks of the music culture, and identify areas that can be strengthened for a sustainable future. This comprehensive theoretical framework considered cultural, social, economic, ecological, and resilient aspects to ensure a holistic understanding of the sustainable systems surrounding the kayamba instrument and its musical traditions.

2.3.1 Organology

The first objective of the study, aims to describe the indigenous knowledge systems associated with the kayamba. The study of musical instruments has evolved over time, with Dawe (2001) linking it to the Enlightenment Age of Exploration. Rice (2014) further connects early studies in ethnomusicology to this period, which witnessed European interest in the music of other cultures (pp. 13-14). These historical

developments paved the way for the study of musical instruments, and scholars have since developed tools to aid in their study and classification worldwide. One influential system is the Sachs-Hornbostel system of classification, published by Eric Von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs in 1914. Kartomi (2001) highlights the significance of this system, which became a fundamental framework in the study of musical instruments in the disciplines of musicology and ethnomusicology.

The kayamba has been studied within this framework, with the earliest known study attributed to Hyslop (1959). Hyslop provides a brief organological account of the kayamba in his work titled "More Kenyan Musical Instruments." His study aligns with the eclectic inclinations of comparative musicology, which aimed to collect and catalogue musical instruments. Hyslop himself acknowledges this approach stating:

The new instruments which have come to light during this second course for traditional instruments in Kenya have convinced the Music and Drama Officer that, for some time to come, more and more treasures of the music-making of the past will continue to appear, and year by year it will be possible to build up an increasingly comprehensive record of photographs, notes, and recordings (p. 28).

It is important to note that indigenous music and musical instruments are not confined to the past. While Hyslop viewed them as relics of history, traditional indigenous music continues to be relevant in contemporary contexts. These musical elements are subject to change and innovation to remain meaningful in the lives of the communities involved. Hyslop (1959) specifies the size of the kayamba he studied as measuring 16 inches in length and 8 inches in width. The size and construction materials specifications of the kayamba change as one encounter works by different scholars.

For instance, in the description of construction material, Senoga-Zake (1986) explains that the kayamba is made from *mitsuchi* (reed grass), *ngonge* (sisal ropes), and *pojo* (mung beans), also known as *choroko*. However, Kavyu (1991) presents alternative

materials used in constructing the kayamba, such as sorghum/grass shoots instead of reeds and small stones as substitutes for mung beans (*vigna radiata*). Kavyu also notes that porcupine quills are sometimes used as replacements for the reeds. A video titled "Journey to the Heart of the Kayamba" by Daniel Muhuni (2018) documents the manufacturing process of the kayamba, illustrating more variations in its construction process and material. Kavyu's account also highlights the kayamba's spread to other communities, including the Akamba, as well as its presence in regions outside of Kenya, such as northern Tanzania and parts of Uganda. This portrayal of the kayamba by Kavyu reveals a musical instrument and tradition that transcends time and space, differing significantly from Hyslop's (1959) perspective.

Classification of indigenous musical instruments is a crucial aspect of organological studies. Existing literature on the kayamba, including works by Floyd (2005), Hyslop (1975), and Kavyu (1991), classifies the kayamba as a rattle within the idiophone family of instruments using the Hornbostel and Sachs system of classification (Von Hornbostel & Sachs, 1961). Specifically, it is categorized as a shaken idiophone or rattle 112.2 (Von Hornbostel & Sachs, 1961, p.15).

However, this classification falls short in several ways, particularly regarding the mode of sound production. The kayamba is a hybrid instrument that can be both shaken and struck, as demonstrated in the video "Puredi ya Duruma" by Nguwa (2020). To accurately represent its nature as a struck instrument, it should also be included in category 111.2, which describes percussion idiophones struck with non-sonorous objects (such as hands, sticks, or stickers) or against non-sonorous objects (such as the human body or the ground). Describing the kayamba solely as a rattle overlooks its physical features, which the Hornbostel and Sachs system emphasises, and fails to acknowledge its mode of playing and the overall sound it produces (Von Hornbostel & Sachs, 1961).

As I discuss in Chapter 5, the Mijikenda community has tailored conceptualization and perspectives of the kayamba that address its classification, mode of playing, musical genres, and other topics linked to kayamba musicking.

Scholars have called for new approaches to organology that emphasise the cultural concepts and representations associated with instruments. Researchers such as Kartomi (2001), Agawu (2016), and Lee (2019) advocate for an approach that captures the cultural context and societal significance of instruments. Scholars such as Moore (1992), Kartomi (2001), and Agawu (2016) advocate for culture-emergent systems of classification that stem from a culture's indigenous knowledge system. Kartomi (2001) notes that culture-emergent systems encompass a wide range of cultural ideas, including performance practice, sound production, the relationship of music to other arts, religion and philosophy, music structure, social uses of instruments in ensemble environments, and the cultural beliefs associated with them. Understanding the culture-emergent classification of the kayamba may reveal a wealth of indigenous knowledge, shedding light on the Mijikenda's cultural perspectives on music and providing insights into the broader tenets that shape the lives of the Mijikenda community.

2.3.2 Indigenous Knowledge Systems

The second part of the first objective of the study is focused on the other indigenous knowledge systems associated with the kayamba. According to Ojo et al. (2016), indigenous knowledge refers to local information that is constructed through oral conversations among members of a community within a specific cultural context. These knowledge systems are continuously shaped and adapted as communities modify the inherited information to suit ever-changing conditions. Ojo et al. (2016) further explain that indigenous knowledge encompasses unique ways of knowing, perceiving, and thinking that is highly relevant to the existence, advancement, and development of

societies and the world at large. According to Ojo et al.: Firstly, this knowledge is constructed and preserved by past generations but is considered fundamental to the life and identity of a community. Secondly, the knowledge systems are functional and practical, serving as the conceptual framework through which a community conducts its affairs, including establishing hierarchy and governance, agriculture, healthcare, medicine, and music-making. Thirdly, these knowledge systems are both longstanding and contemporary.

Despite the foundational role of these knowledge systems in culture, Carvalho et al. (2016) explain that colonial education systems and disciplines have historically neglected them in favour of Eurocentric models. Consequently, these new systems exclude notable masters in specific fields who may not hold degrees or academic titles (Carvalho et al., 2016, p.112). The exclusion of the voices of culture-bearers and their indigenous knowledge systems can be attributed to power imbalances and hegemony (Carvalho et al., 2016; Nettl, 2005).

Incorporating indigenous knowledge systems into the study of music traditions, particularly traditional musical instruments like the kayamba, offers significant benefits. Nettl (2005) shares an example of how an indigenous perspective from one of his students from Ghana helped his class interpret complex rhythms with ease. The insights gained from African drumming offered a unique perception of rhythm for the class (p.151). Carvalho et al. (2016) support this premise in their study titled "The Meeting of Knowledges as a Contribution to Ethnomusicology and Music Education," where they explain that investigating indigenous knowledge systems alongside systems of transmission and learning contributes to a rich theoretical and practical corpus. By including these perspectives in university curricula, new possibilities, and alternative methodologies can be explored, challenging the currently dominant Eurocentric

perspectives found in most higher education institutions (p.113). This study aligns with this view and proposes the inclusion of findings based on indigenous knowledge systems from this and similar studies in the educational content related to the kayamba.

This study considers indigenous knowledge systems as both a reference and a source of innovation for the resilience of the kayamba. Exploring these systems will help identify the stable elements that contribute to the kayamba's identity, as well as the adaptable elements that allow for change. Schrag (2013 pg.438) defines stable and adaptable elements in the context of dynamic infrastructures. A stable infrastructure is characterised by regularity, predictability, and a well-defined organisation in terms of its location and time, while an adaptable infrastructure is more irregular and loosely organised in both aspects. Schrag (2013 pg.438) states that artists create adaptable structures that infuse new energy into existing stable structures. Without adaptable structures, stable structures would decay and dissipate. Without stable structures, creators would have no foundation on which to base their creations. The balance between the "old" and the "new" holds significant information on how communities develop sustainable traditions. The concept of sustainability and resilience hinges on the interaction between indigenous knowledge systems and their contextualization within the contemporary world. The study of indigenous knowledge systems among the Mijikenda, which guide the musicking of the kayamba, will provide insights into the foundations of the instrument's contemporary musical practices.

2.3.3 Cultural Elements Linked to Kayamba Musicking in the Mijikenda Community

This section is linked to the second objective of the study, which aims to discuss the cultural elements of the Mijikenda community that are associated with kayamba musicking. Senoga-Zake (1986) observes that the kayamba accompanies dances such as

the chimungwe and chiringongo among the Rabai, the kifudu dance among the Giriama, and the makayamba dances performed by medicine men of the Digo (p.169). Furthermore, Senoga-Zake notes that although the kayamba was primarily popular within the Mijikenda community, it had started to spread to other communities in Kenya, such as the Akamba.

Kavyu (1991) supports Senoga-Zake's (1986) observation regarding the spread of the kayamba and its use among traditional doctors. He refers to a traditional dance from the Digo community called *ngoma ya waganga*, which is used to seek out witches or cure illnesses. It remains unclear whether this dance ("ngoma ya waganga") is the same as the one mentioned by Senoga-Zake (1986) as the "makayamba." Kagotho's (2017) description of the performance shows similarities to the makayamba mentioned by Senoga-Zake (1986) and the Ngoma ya waganga mentioned by Kavyu (1991). Firstly, Kavyu (1991) describes ngoma ya waganga as "the music of the medicine men/women" (p.64). Secondly, all three accounts involve a healing ritual with traditional medicine men, and thirdly, they all incorporate the kayamba instrument. This study aims to establish whether there are additional healing rituals involving the kayamba or if the three accounts refer to the same phenomenon.

The term *makayamba*³ used by Senoga-Zake could possibly refer to various kayamba dances, indicating different music styles or genres featuring the kayamba. Although Kagotho's (2017) work focuses on the oral poetry and therapy achieved through kayamba music, it also provides essential details about the musical elements involved in this dance. Kagotho (2017) underscores gender-specific roles in this performance characterised by men playing the musical instruments while women dance (p.34). The

³The term and *Makayamba* refers to the plural form of the kayamba dance.

leader of the ritual, known as the *mganga*, serves as the traditional healer, and the kayamba is the main instrument used. Other instruments, such as the chivoti and mabumbumbu, provide instrumental accompaniment. Unlike the hierarchical order implied by Hyslop (1959), Senoga-Zake (1986), and Kavyu (1991), where the kayamba is primarily considered a musical accompaniment, Kagotho's (2017) discussion emphasises the integral role of the kayamba in the ritual. In addition to providing rhythmic accompaniment, the sound of the kayamba is believed to be recognized by the spirits in the ritual, serving the purpose of warding off evil spirits (p.32). While Kagotho's study focuses on the orality and therapeutic aspects of kayamba performance (healing ritual), it provides limited details about the music tradition as well as the musical instruments. This study aims to complement Kagotho's research by providing a musicological perspective and explaining the roles and meanings attributed to the kayamba, its music traditions, and the various music genres performed within the healing ritual.

In addition to the use of the kayamba in traditional medicine, this study will highlight other cultural traditions and institutions that are socially maintained by the Mijikenda community that necessitate its musicking.

2.3.3 The Kayamba in Contemporary Music Contexts

This section linked to third objective of the study, is focused on exploring the role of the kayamba in contemporary music contexts beyond its use within Mijikenda indigenous music practices. Several studies, including Varnum (1971), Kavyu (1991), Floyd (2005), and Nyangoya et al. (2018), have documented the presence of the kayamba in various music cultures across Kenya. The widespread presence of the kayamba in multiple music cultures and contemporary contexts in Kenya is a distinctive characteristic. Acknowledging this, Akuno (2016) identifies the kayamba as a Kenyan instrument and

emphasises its extensive use in diverse contexts, highlighting its symbolic significance as a representation of the 'Kenyan sonic signature' (p.459).

Nyairo (2008) observes that African instruments, such as the drum and the kayamba, were incorporated into church music during a crucial period in the history of Kenyan Christianity when European hymns were translated into Swahili and other local languages. Kidula (2000) describes Makwaya music as being based on a four-part harmonic system influenced by European choral traditions. Although initially devoid of musical instruments, the inclusion of instruments like the guitar and drums occurred during the development of Makwaya music, which also encompassed the kayamba and other African instruments.

The state played a significant role in the promotion of traditional musical instruments. A momentous event in choral history took place in August 1978 during the state funeral of Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first president. This funeral featured a mass choir of approximately 1250 singers (both male and female), under the patronage of President Moi. This choir later became known as the Muungano National Choir (Barth, 2020). The use of the term "National" implies an effort to unify choral musicians and musical sound into a 'National music Culture'.

In the pursuit of a 'National music culture', the Kenyan public embraced Christian music that had been recorded in Kenya since the 1950s. A careful analysis of Kenyan patriotic music, such as "Kenya Kipenzi" composed by Boniface Mganga during the initial stages of patriotic songs, to later compositions like "Kenya Yaenda Mbele" by Thomas Wasonga, reveals a consistency in the harmonic, musical, and instrumental structures shared between the church and national patriotic music of that time. The kayamba consistently appears as a musical instrument in this choral music. This study highlights

how elements of indigenous kayamba music are incorporated into these musical contexts when the kayamba is recontextualized within choral music.

Although there is a clear connection between Christian choral music and Kenyan patriotic music, as pointed out by Kidula (2000), and an acknowledgement of the kayamba's prevalence as a musical instrument in these contexts, as highlighted by Nyairo (2008) and Akuno (2016), there is limited information available on the specific musical and extra-musical roles that the kayamba plays in these contemporary contexts. Further exploration of these aspects is necessary to enhance our understanding of the kayamba's significance in contemporary music settings.

2.3.4 The Music Industry Aspects Linked to the Kayamba

This section focuses on the fourth objective of the study, which aims to explore the aspects of the music industry that are linked to kayamba musicking. Schippers & Grant (2016) observe that, in addition to studying cultural perspectives and working closely with communities to realise sustainable music futures, it would be more fruitful to consider other forces that impact the ecosystem of music traditions, such as technology, legislation, commercialisation, globalization, and media (p.10). Grant (2016) notes that music traditions exist in environments that are or will be commodified, mediatized, and globalized. Livingston (1999) emphasises the role of enterprise in studying and applying practical approaches to music sustainability. Livingston (1999) explains that any revivalist or sustainability endeavour would find it difficult to exist for more than a few years without entering an enterprise phase. This study recognizes that the kayamba instrument exists in a mediatized, globalized, and commoditized world. Therefore, the study of the role of enterprise in facilitating the sustainability of musical instruments and musical traditions is imperative.

Considering this, the study investigates the elements of the kayamba that enable its sustainability when it comes to entrepreneurship and commercialisation. This study investigates the economic aspects in which the kayamba is actively involved, as well as the ways in which this instrument contributes to the economy of individuals and collectives. Within the existing literature, some initiatives seem to have a direct link between enterprise and music sustainability. Examples pointed out by Grant (2016) include "cultural entrepreneurship and business, cultural tourism, cultural export strategies, and cultural enterprises" (p. 32).

Among these examples, cultural tourism and entrepreneurship apply the most to the kayamba. In Kilifi County, cultural groups are hired as part of the entertainment for hotels to showcase traditional music to local and international tourists (Ogude, 2012). Additionally, some of these cultural groups are occasionally invited to perform at political functions and national holiday celebrations (Mindoti & Agak, 2004). It is imperative to investigate the impact, both positive and negative, of these commercial endeavours on the sustainability of these music cultures. Titon (2015) expresses concerns with such performance sites, stating that when music is packaged for the stage and tourists, with the value-added mechanisms of commerce included in their curation, the overall effect encourages the perception of music as a commodity. What are the negative and positive effects of these commercial entities? An applied and engaged approach, in this study provides recommendations to encourage healthy partnerships between cultural groups, the community, and their commercial audiences. One goal of this study was to realise the sustainability of music traditions, as articulated by Titon (2015). Titon explains that when the sustainability of a music tradition is acquired, the music is perceived as something made by both the audience and the artist in their everyday lives,

actively connecting people. Consequently, people sustain the music, and the music sustains the people (Titon, 2015, p. 123).

2.4 Summary of the Study

Extensive research is needed to fully explore the musical instruments of the Mijikenda community. While some studies have touched upon certain instruments used by the Mijikenda, there is a scarcity of focused information on the kayamba. It remains unclear whether specific instruments and music traditions are exclusive to particular communities within the Mijikenda or if all instruments and music traditions are shared across the nine communities. This study specifically concentrates on the kayamba and its utilization across the nine communities within Kilifi County, encompassing the larger Mijikenda community. Existing works on Mijikenda music lack information on the indigenous knowledge that guides the structure of their music, such as rhythm, melody, harmony, and body movement. This study not only sheds light on these systems but also delves into the construction process and the methods of learning the kayamba instrument.

As emphasised by Johnson (1995), Kartomi (2001), and Agawu (2016), the study of instruments should encompass their form, context, and performance environment, while highlighting the relationship between the instrument, performer, and the sound produced. By adopting this holistic methodology, a comprehensive and detailed understanding of the kayamba as the subject of study can be obtained. Existing literature on the kayamba only touches upon its status as an instrument of the Mijikenda community. For instance, Senoga-Zake (1986) mentions its construction and performance contexts, while Hyslop (1975) focuses on its measurements and role. However, both accounts overlook the kayamba's relationship with the player, musical contexts, and performance environments. Additionally, unlike Hyslop's (1959) work where the instruments were taken out of their

natural environment and studied, this research will gather data directly from the kayamba's native surroundings in Kilifi County.

There is a paucity of studies that highlight sustainable music traditions and cultures within the Kenyan context. Furthermore, concerns have been raised regarding the erosion of indigenous music practices due to globalization. Consequently, studies and safeguarding initiatives such as the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List, advocating for the preservation and revitalization of these diminishing music traditions have emerged, but they tend to overlook thriving music cultures such as the kayamba. This study aims to generate vital information that can contribute to the development of sustainability frameworks for traditional musical instruments that are less resilient.

Though the kayamba is common within music shops as well as many tourist markets around the country, there is a dearth of research on how the commercialisation of the instrument and its traditions affect its sustainability. This research investigates this phenomenon to understand how this market facilitates the sustainability of the kayamba.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed explanation of the methodology employed in this study. It covers various aspects such as the research design, study location, target population, population sampling procedure, criteria for determining population size, data collection method, instruments used for data collection, types of data collected, data collection procedure, data analysis approach, and ethical considerations guiding the study.

3.2 Research Design

This research employed a qualitative study approach. An ethnographic case study research design was utilised. The research was focused on the Mijikenda community of Kilifi County. This population was chosen as they represent the indigenous home of the kayamba and its indigenous music cultures.

3.3 Location of the Study

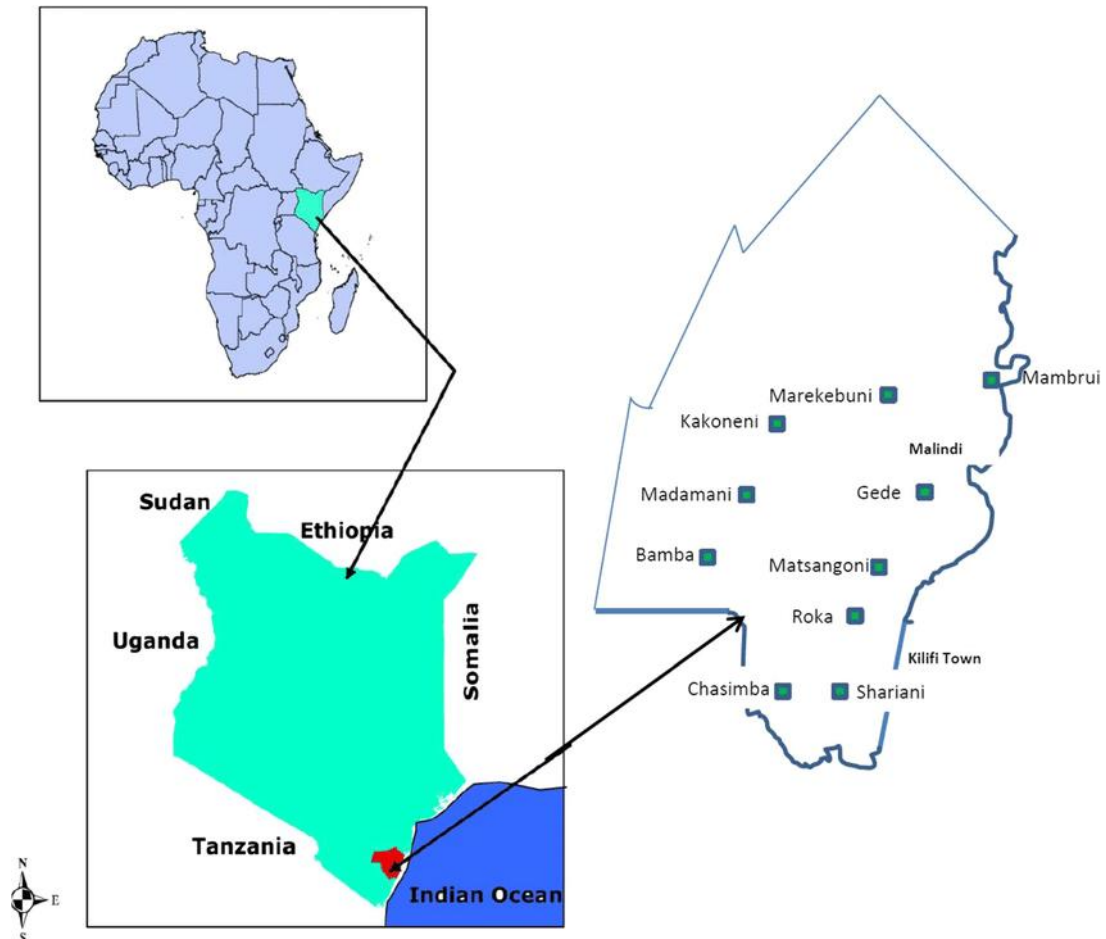
This study was conducted in the Coastal region of Kenya, specifically in Kilifi County. Kilifi County was chosen due to its significant concentration of traditional music instrumentalists and a sizable population from the Mijikenda community. Furthermore, Kilifi County as the homeland for many kayamba musicians, is a source of raw materials for constructing the instrument, and a prominent site for transmission and performance.

Spear (1978) affirms that within the Mijikenda community, nine distinct communities exist, with seven of them—namely Kauma, Giriama, Chonyi, Jibana, Kambe, Ribe, and Rabai—being highly concentrated on the Northern coast, particularly in Kilifi County. Two other communities, Digo and Duruma, are located further south. This distribution of

communities makes Kilifi an ideal location to obtain a broader understanding of the practices and customs of the Mijikenda.

Figure 1

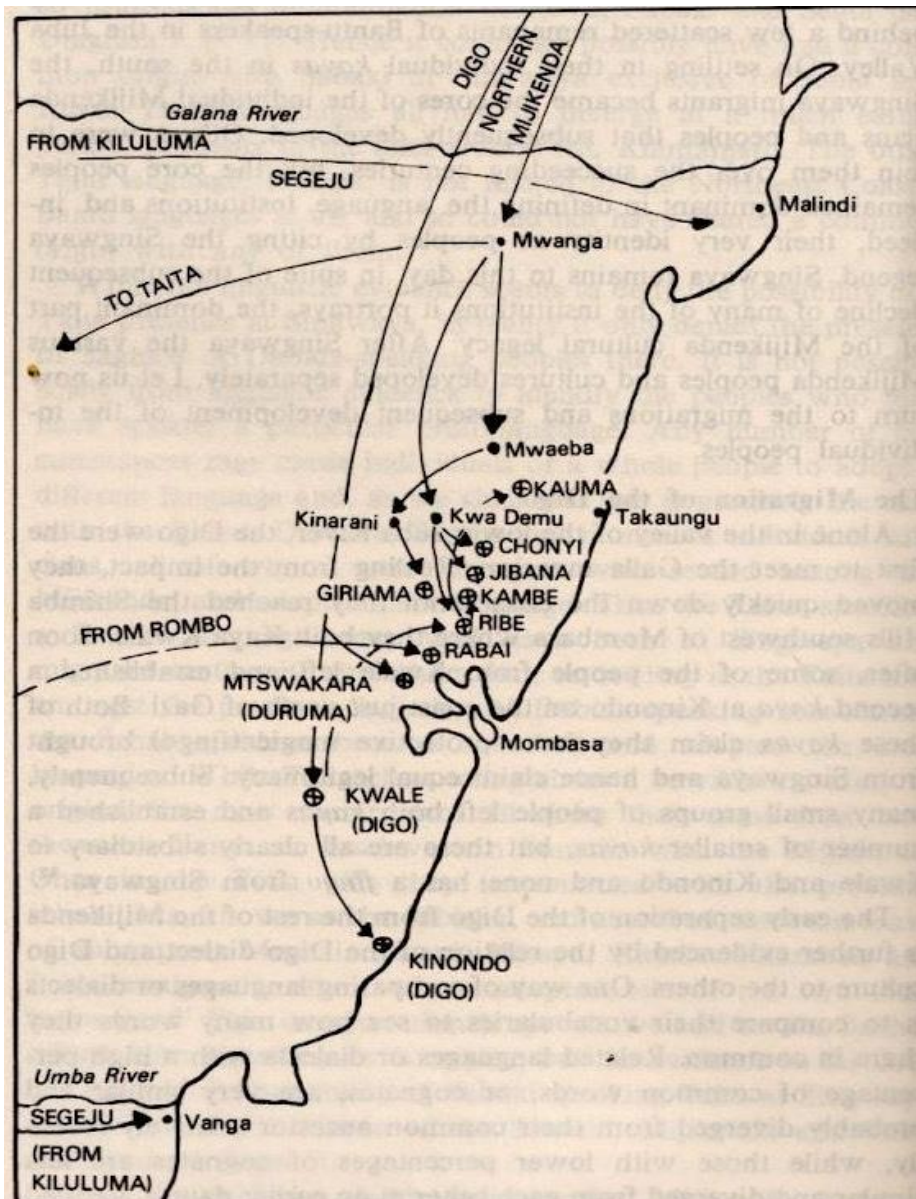
Map of Kilifi County



Note: This figure is an excerpt from the Gona et al. article titled “Persons with Disabilities as Experts-by Experience: Using Personal Narratives to affect Community Attitudes in Kilifi, Kenya (2018).”

Figure 2

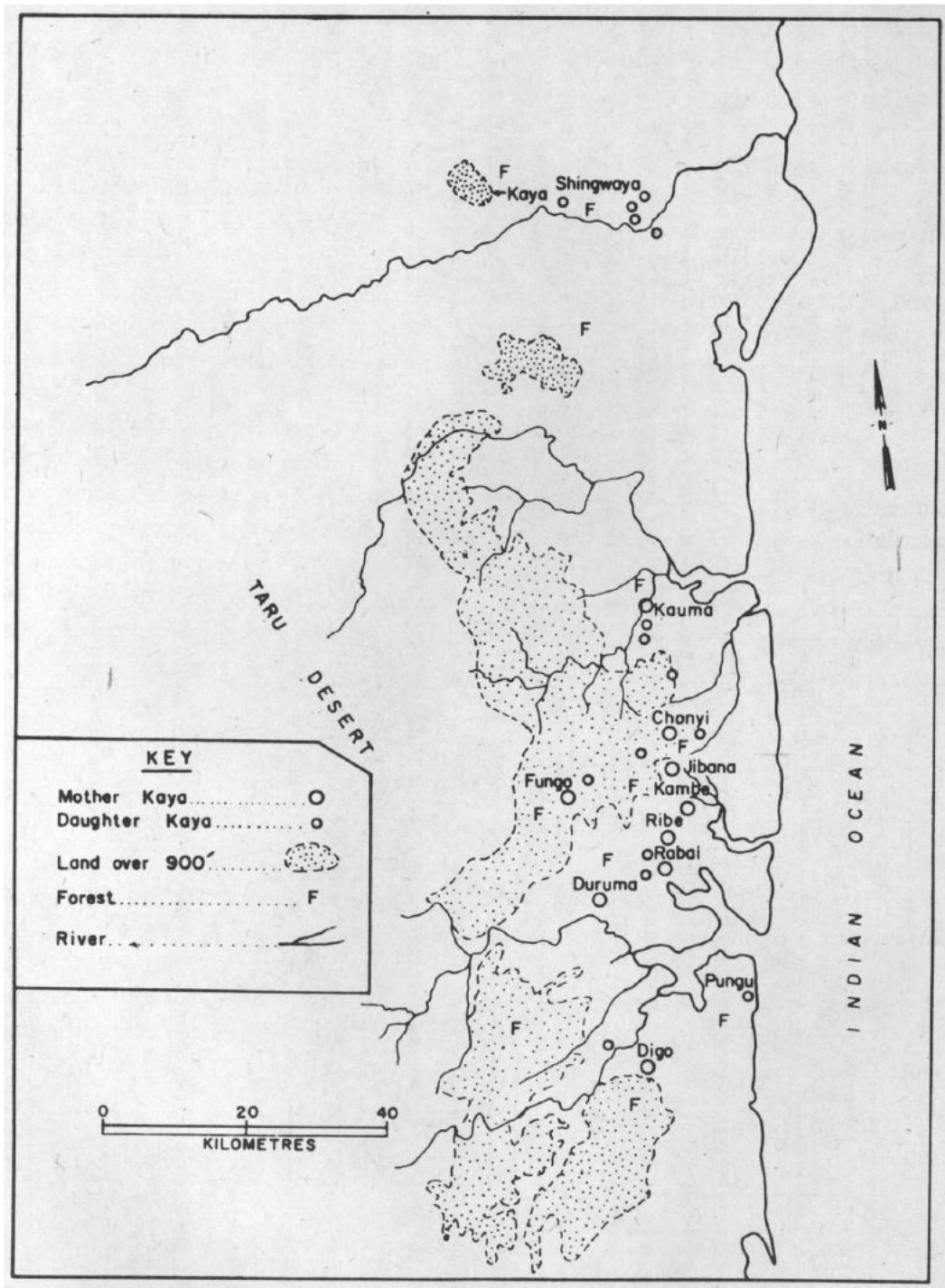
Distribution of the Mijikenda population along the Kenyan Coast



Note: This map is an excerpt from Spear's (1978) book titled "The Kaya Complex: A History of the Mijikenda Peoples of the Kenyan Coast to 1900."

Figure 3

Spatial Distribution of Kaya Settlements After 1750



Note: This map is an excerpt from Mutoro's (1985) journal article titled "The spatial distribution of the Mijikenda Kaya Settlements on the Hinterland Kenya Coast."

The maps above expound on the distribution of the Mijikenda community along the Kenyan coast. Figure 1 and figure 2 highlight the concentration of seven of the nine communities around the Northern and Central regions of the coast and the spread of the Digo and Duruma communities further South.

The fieldwork commenced in Malindi town, which was selected as the initial geographical point for the study and also served as the operational centre. Qin and Din (2018) emphasise the significance of Malindi and Mamburui as two of the earliest important settlements on the East African Coast (p. 212). These areas contain a wealth of historical information and sites of great importance for the Mijikenda people. Moreover, Malindi served as a prominent hub for overseas trade and acted as an entry point for the Portuguese into the country (Qin and Din, 2018). Consequently, Malindi has become a major tourist destination within Kilifi County. By starting the research in this location, it was possible to gain insights into the spread of the kayamba instrument through trade and tourism from historical times to the present day.

Furthermore, Malindi is the hometown of Raymond McKenzie, an expert kayamba player who played a crucial role as one of the main participants in the research. McKenzie also provided access to other master players of the kayamba instrument.

3.4 Population of the Study

The population of study for this research included instrumentalists, singers, audience members, and individuals who regularly interact with the kayamba in their ubiquitous lives. Additionally, the accessible population comprised kayamba players who actively performed kayamba-related music and were based in Kilifi County. The selection criteria for this group included individuals who had actively used the kayamba for a minimum of ten years. The accessible population encompassed performers of traditional music in

cultural dance troupes, masters of indigenous music among the Mijikenda community, as well as kayamba players beyond the indigenous music contexts, such as those involved in church music or live bands.

Additionally, a negligible population was included in the study. This group consisted of members of the Mijikenda community who had interacted with the researcher in various capacities outside of the research setting but possessed significant information relevant to the research topic. The negligible population comprised individuals such as drivers, motorbike riders, house matrons, staff members of residential places, vendors, hotel managers, and others. Including this population allowed the researcher to explore the collective attitudes and values associated with the indigenous cultural music of the Mijikenda as perceived by the people residing in Kilifi County.

3.5 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

3.5.1 Sampling Procedure

This study employed a purposive sampling method for data collection. The sites and individuals selected were chosen based on their capacity to contribute to the understanding of the research problem and the main topic of the study (Creswell and Poth, 2018). Following Marshall and Rosman's (2016) premise on what can be sampled, this study included the people (players and audience), actions (performance of the music associated with the kayamba and actual playing of the kayamba), events (dances and contexts in which the kayamba is played), and processes (which include processes of construction, and pedagogy of the kayamba musical instrument). To effectively answer this research's questions, this study employed the maximum variation sampling method. This sampling method was also an ideal fit to the ethnographic case study design because

it could accommodate the multiple contexts (subunits), events, and sites of kayamba performance in Kilifi County.

3.5.2 Sample Size

The number of participants was divided into six subunits. These subunits include:

- i) Individual kayamba master players (indigenous contexts)
- ii) Individual kayamba players (Contemporary music contexts)
- iii) Focus group 1(indigenous music context)
- iv) Focus group 2 (contemporary music context)
- v) Cultural dance performers group 1
- vi) Cultural dance performers group 2
- vii) Negligible population.

The participants from category i) to category vi) were purposively sampled for their knowledge and expertise on the kayamba. The Cultural dance groups were grouped into two. These two cultural groups performed different genres of kayamba music. The first cultural dance performers group (v) was interviewed, and observed for the msego, and bung'o performance. The second cultural dance performance group (vi) was interviewed, and observed for the kayamba ra tembe and kayamba kiringongo performances (See section 6.3.1 for more details).

Table 1*Sample Size and Subunits*

Subunit	No. of Participants
Master kayamba players in traditional music context	4
Master kayamba players in contemporary music performance contexts.	3
Focus group 1	2
Focus group 2	14
Cultural dance performers group 1	6
Cultural dance performers group 2	14
Negligible population	Approximately 100

3.6 Data Collection Methods and Instrumentation

The primary data was collected from interviews and observation. For interviews, this research employed semi structured and unstructured interviews, focus groups as well as casual and in-passing conversations. The observation involved direct and participant observation. The secondary data for this study was collected from text, audio, and visual documentation. Please see appendix III for the data collection instruments.

3.6.1 Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out to develop and refine the instruments of data collection, measure the extent of the researcher's bias and pre-understanding of the kayamba as well as help provide more background information useful for the research. The content of the proposal was shared with members of the Mijikenda community for inquiry and streamlining. Feedback was provided on the framing of the questions in the interview questions. The following was feedback given during the pilot study:

- i) All questions needed to be asked in Swahili.
- ii) Questions framed on musical concepts such as melody, rhythm, and instrumentation needed to be rephrased and more generalised as the participants had different theoretical conceptualizations of music.
- iii) Some of the research questions especially those from the second objective were moved to the observation and analysis data collection methods.

3.6.2 Trustworthiness

The parameters for trustworthiness in this research encompassed credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability, as outlined by Onwuegbuzie and Anney (2014), Creswell and Poth (2018), and Hayashi et al. (2019).

Credibility, as defined by Anney (2014) and Lincoln and Guba (1985), pertains to the assurance placed in the truthfulness of the research findings. It ensures that the findings accurately represent the original views and contributions of the participants. To enhance credibility, this study employed strategies such as triangulation, peer debriefing, and member checks. Triangulation involved utilizing multiple sources of primary and secondary data to corroborate information. The findings were shared with the participants to solicit their perspectives on the credibility and interpretation of the research. Peer debriefing facilitated the development of meanings and interpretations, enriching the study, and providing an avenue for addressing field-related challenges.

Transferability, as defined by Bitsch (2005), refers to the extent to which the results can be applied to different contexts or subjects. This study employed thick description and purposeful sampling to enhance transferability. Thick description involved providing a detailed account of the research process, from data collection to the study's context, through to the production of the final report. Purposeful sampling allowed the researcher

to focus on key informants and sites rich in the information required to answer the research question.

Dependability, also described by Bitsch (2005), relates to the stability of findings over time. To ensure dependability, this study employed an audit trail, the code-recode method, peer examination, and triangulation. The audit trail involved carefully examining the research process and its outcomes. The code-recode method allowed for objective coding by generating codes at different stages of data analysis and comparing them for similarities. Peer examination and triangulation served similar purposes as discussed in the credibility section.

Confirmability, as defined by Anney (2014), refers to the degree to which other researchers can corroborate the research findings. This study employed an audit trail, triangulation, and a reflexive journal to enhance confirmability. The audit trail and triangulation strategies were discussed earlier in relation to credibility and dependability. The researcher maintained a reflexive journal, recording all events during data collection, personal reflections, and other occurrences in the field.

Overall, these strategies and approaches were implemented to ensure the trustworthiness of the research and enhance its rigor.

3.7 Data Collection Procedure

Upon completion of all the necessary prerequisites for fieldwork, the researcher travelled to Kilfi County and fulfilled all the administrative requirements required by the County Government for approval of the research (See appendix IV- appendix VII for more details).

The interview process went as follows: upon reaching a participant, the researcher with the help of a local individual explained the nature of the research and ensured that the

participants were fully informed of their rights as participants according to the writings stipulated in the research consent form. Upon agreeing to take part in the research, the researcher provided the informed consent form for signing after which the interview questions and formal observation would start. Most of the interviews started by seeking consent for the recording of the interviews. Some participants were cooperative while some withdrew their consent immediately, they placed sight on my recording equipment. Some participants agreed to participate on the condition that the interview was not recorded. The researcher was sensitive to oblige to the wishes of the participants on the recording.

The raw materials for the kayamba were extremely difficult to find. I had to traverse through vast areas within Kilifi County. I searched through Kaloleni, Kilifi, Tezo, Mtsangoni, Malindi, Galana, and Sabaki areas. I was successful in finding the mwamba nyama grass which was more drought resistant compared to the mitsuchi. In my visit to Kaloleni, I found a handful of seeds from Father Henry Katana. He explained that most of the raw materials are now harvested from Kwale County and transported to Kaloleni to a maker of the kayamba in the area.

Most participants within Kilifi County expressed reservations in discussing traditional medicine practice. This tradition had been associated with witchcraft in the area and some participants had been victims of witch hunts in the area. To mitigate this, I sought private places and assured the participants of their anonymity in the study. Discussions on this issue were done off the record as well to allow the participants to express themselves freely.

Moreover, some of the participants were elderly and needed constant medical care. This dictated that the interviews had to be short and limited to allow for the participants to be

attended to. To mitigate this, I organised for multiple visits during times when the participants were most comfortable and willing.

3.8 Data Analysis and Interpretation

This section highlights the processes following the data collection procedures. It elaborates on how data was consolidated, organised, analysed, and interpreted. This study used the thematic analysis method. The data analysis was divided into three main steps broadly grouped as preparation and organisation of data, coding, and generation of themes, and finally presentation of findings and results.

The first step of this process started during the preparation for fieldwork. The researcher made folders for general types of data to be recorded. These folders included: audio recordings, videos, photographs and documents. Once the data collection process started, the folders were subdivided into smaller units such as transcriptions and audio recordings for the interviews, video performances for the videos. Each one of the folders and file names was appropriately labelled for ease of retrieval during the second step of data analysis. All these files were stored in a password protected SSD and the Google Drive folder on the cloud.

The second step started with extracting the raw data from the audio, and written formats into texts from which the codes would be generated. This process included thick description from the observation schedule and transcription of the recorded interviews. All the data was imported into the NVivo; a data analysis software custom for qualitative research methods. Once the data was imported, the researcher carefully read, and re-read the texts and identified written memos. The memos were the initial phase of the coding process. During a follow-up reading, initial codes were generated. The use of vivo codes was also incorporated for indigenous terms used to refer to the music such as *kinyaka*,

mvunjiko, and *puredi* which refer to specific concepts indigenous and specific to the Mijikenda community. The reading and rereading of the raw data to isolate repeating themes and grouping them into codes made up the open coding section of the data analysis.

The following step entailed axial coding. In this step, the codes were examined, refined and aligned and grouped into categories. These categories were grouped further into interrelated subthemes. This section involving the grouping of themes from categories into subthemes and then to themes constituted the selective coding section of the thematic analysis. Finally, the themes were developed into a thematic map and combined to answer the research questions. The themes that answer the question linked to emerging themes from the research are collated and interpreted to generate a report for the presentation of findings.

The preparation for the presentation of findings was a twofold process. The first section entailed a compilation of the main thesis and the second one entailed preparation of the viva. Both the written thesis and the viva were prepared based on the guidelines from IPGS.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The research methodology adhered to several ethical considerations. Firstly, a research permit was obtained from KUREC, ensuring that the study was evaluated for low-risk research and the absence of malicious intent. Additionally, a research license from NACOSTI was acquired to ensure compliance with national requirements regarding procedures and ethics.

Informed consent was a crucial aspect of this study. All participants were provided with a written informed consent form, which summarized the research objectives and ensured

that they understood the nature and purpose of the study. The form emphasised that participation was voluntary, without any form of coercion or deception, and that participants had the right to withdraw at any time. Appendix I contains a sample of the informed consent form.

Respecting the wishes and rights of the participants regarding recognition and anonymity was paramount in this study. Contributors who expressed a preference to be acknowledged by name were duly recognized. Conversely, participants who desired to remain anonymous were referred to as "the participants" in order to protect their anonymity. During the transcription of interviews, the names of participants who wished to be anonymous were replaced with alphabetical order aliases, such as Participant A and Participant B. Those who consented to being mentioned were identified by their actual names.

Given the sensitivity of the information shared, particularly considering the potential persecution of individuals and people groups associated with traditional healing practices, the metadata of all participants was withheld to ensure their protection and privacy.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected for analysis in accordance with the thematic analysis approach employed in this research. The data is organised into broad themes that collectively address the overarching question of sustainability systems related to the kayamba instrument. Alongside the data presentation, this chapter also includes a brief section providing a guideline for the subsequent data analysis and interpretation section.

4.2 Data Analysis and Presentation

The analysis process entailed three levels of coding: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. During the open coding, data was organised into initial thematic domains. Repeating phrases and concepts were highlighted and isolated from the raw data. During axial coding, the codes were refined, aligned, and categorized.

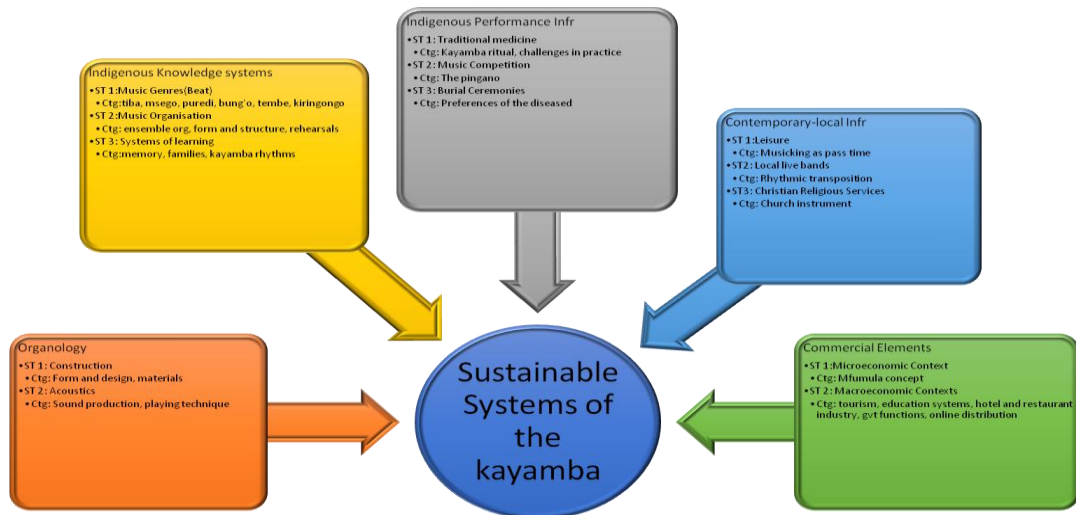
The selective coding process entailed combining the codes that had been categorized during the axial coding process into subthemes and further classified into themes during thematic analysis. Five main themes emerged from the data. These themes include:

- i) Organology of the kayamba
- ii) Indigenous knowledge guiding kayamba musicking
- iii) Indigenous performance infrastructures
- iv) Contemporary-local performance infrastructures
- v) Commercial elements of the kayamba

The figure provides an overview of the study's themes, subthemes, and categories.

Figure 4

Relationships between themes and the sustainability of the kayamba



Note: The figure above represents the relationships between the themes, subthemes, and categories to the sustainability of the kayamba. The management of space in the graphic required an abbreviation of particular words. A key representing the full words highlighted above include: ST for Sub Theme, Ctg for Categories, Infr for Infrastructure.

Table 2

Relationship between Themes and Research Objectives

Objective	Theme
To describe the indigenous knowledge systems accorded to the kayamba of the Mijikenda community in Kilifi County	1. Organology 2. Indigenous Knowledge Systems
To discuss the cultural elements linked to kayamba musicking among the Mijikenda Community in Kilifi County.	1. Indigenous Performance Infrastructures
To highlight the role of the kayamba in contemporary music contexts beyond the indigenous music practices of the Mijikenda in Kilifi County	2. Contemporary-local Infrastructures
To explore the music industry aspects linked to the kayamba in Kilifi County.	5. Commercial elements of the kayamba

The Table 2 above highlights the relationship between the themes and the research objectives.

4.2.1 Theme 1: Organology of the kayamba

In this theme, findings on the physical and acoustic properties of the kayamba are presented. This theme is broadly grouped into two sub-themes which include construction and acoustics. In the construction subtheme, two categories are highlighted. They include the kayamba's form and design and the material used for construction. Within the acoustics subtheme, two categories were highlighted. These include sound production and the playing technique of the kayamba.

4.2.1.1 Subtheme 1: Construction

The participants provided insights into the various construction modes of the kayamba instrument. Their remarks highlighted three major designs. Raymond Mckenzie, one of

the participants elaborated on the structural differences among the designs, particularly focusing on the shapes of the materials used in construction. This remark was marked by participants Kwicha Iha and John Bidii. The first design of the three was highlighted by the Kwicha Iha and John Bidii. John Bidii also used the term 'kayamba original' to describe the initial design. Daniel Muhuni, a master kayamba player versed with indigenous music in both traditional and contemporary local contexts, distinguished between the first design, referred to as *kayamba ra pepo*, and other designs created for church or tourist purposes, indicating the association of different designs with specific contexts (see Figure 9 to Figure 12 for design 1 – design 3 of the kayamba).

The participants also provided detailed descriptions of the raw materials used in kayamba construction. Initially, the main body of the kayamba was made from reeds called mitsuchi, woven together using strings known as makonge, and the frame was constructed with flexible sticks. The seeds used were referred to as *turituri*, and a bamboo stick called kibao was attached at the top of the instrument. While these raw materials are still used in other designs, there have been variations in the type and application of the materials. Raymond Mckenzie and Daniel Muhuni mentioned the use of dried mung beans as a substitute for *turituri*, and Daniel Muhuni preferred using *canna indica* seeds, although he expressed a preference for *turituri* if available. Concerns were raised by Daniel Muhuni and Father Henry Katana regarding the scarcity of initial raw materials due to factors such as limited rainfall and diminishing land resources due to population increase in the area. Raymond Mckenzie also mentioned the cutting down of indigenous trees and loss of land to human occupation as reasons for the scarcity of raw materials. As alternatives, Raymond Mckenzie and Daniel Muhuni identified mwamba nyama reeds as grass reeds for construction.

The table below contains excerpts from the data collected that are linked the construction of the kayamba.

Table 3

Excerpts on the Construction of the kayamba

Participant	Quotation
Raymond Mckenzie	<p>“We used to make the genuine kayamba since other types of kayambas did not exist. Nowadays there are kayambas such as this [lifts the kayamba] from Kakamega.”</p> <p>“We used to get the mitsuchi grass (grass reeds) in the forest to make the kayambas.”</p> <p>“...if you look at the kayamba [grabs a kayamba], this kayamba is different from the Mijikenda kayamba because the frame of the Mijikenda’s kayamba uses three sticks.”</p>
Kwicha Iha	<p>“The kayamba! The kayamba was made like this [scribbles on the ground to make a shape]. Like that, square! [Describing the above design] An old design.”</p> <p>“This is the main kayamba. So with this one, you place a piece of wood in the middle. [Referring to the placement of the kibao] This one has a frame. There is a small wood in the middle. But it is usually one that is attached. The original one.”</p>
John Bidii	<p>“There are many kayamba instruments out there. We guys are presenting you with the ‘kayamba original’. This is the ‘kayamba original’! The real tradition.”</p>
Father Henry Katana	<p>“...you know, it’s really hard to find those turituri inside the kayamba.”</p> <p>“There I know, there is a lot of rain. Christopher can go there to look for the mitsuchis. But also because of the rain, it can be very difficult to get the mitsuchis ”</p>
Daniel Muhuni (Mbuch)	<p>“The kayamba comes in different forms, which one are you looking to get? The kayamba ra pepo itself? The kayamba for the church, or the one they sell at the tourist shops?”</p> <p>“... There are different reeds: mwamba nyama and mitsuchi. When I pick a kayamba, I can tell you that these are mitsuchi, and these are mwamba nyama...”</p> <p>“... Sometimes people use mung beans, but for that you need to dry them by passing them through a fire. The mung beans withers after sometime so this one or the turituri is the best.”</p>

The above narratives provide details on the development of the instrument from a single design with defined raw materials for specific purposes to varied designs with varied raw materials for different purposes. The narratives highlight an indigenous origin and a point reference point to this diversified musical instrument.

4.2.1.2 Subtheme 2: Acoustics of the kayamba

Participants explained the nature of sound of the kayamba with regards to its construction as well as its mode of playing. Father Henry Katana observed that, though his kayamba was significantly bigger in size in comparison to most of the kayamba instruments in Kilifi County, the playing technique is generally the same. However, there is a significant difference in the dynamic level of his kayamba due to its size. With regards to raw materials, Kwicha Iha and Daniel Muhuni explain that the overall sound quality and playing technique remain the same despite the difference in structure. Despite the similarities in sound quality and playing technique observed by Father Henry Katana, Kwicha Iha, and Daniel Muhuni, Raymond Mckenzie highlights some differences in the nature of sound due to structural differences such as the presence of the kibao. Raymond Mckenzie also observes that the timbre of the kayamba is dependent on the reeds and the quantity of seeds. Father Henry Katana corroborates this observation when he explains that he sometimes adds turituri seeds to the kayambas to improve on the quality of sound.

Kwicha Iha, Daniel Muhuni, and Father Henry Katana explain the playing technique of the kayamba. The three participants showcase a similar way of holding and playing the kayamba. Kwicha Iha and Daniel Muhuni elaborate the body movements and physical interaction with the kayamba to produce their desired sound.

The table below contains excerpts from the data collected that are linked to the acoustics of the kayamba.

Table 4

Excerpts on the Acoustics of the kayamba

Participant	Quotation
Father Henry Katana	“It could be that my kayamba is slightly bigger. Maybe the difference is just the size. The sound and the playing technique is quite similar to the other kayamba playing.”
Kwicha Iha	“Though this kayamba has a different design, the sound is quite similar to the kayamba we use”. “You move the kayamba this way while hitting with this thumb, and the other way while hitting the other thumb.” “This kayamba is accompanied by a kibao right in the middle of the kayamba that while you shake like this, you hit the kibao and it provides the bass that goes like this ba.. Ka ba... ka. Ba papa [vocalizing the hits on the kibao].”
Daniel Muhuni	“This kayamba is made from mwambanyama... It would stay for about 5 years... the sound is the same, the playing technique is similar... but I don’t prefer it... I prefer the one made from mitsuchi.” “...the kayamba is the wrists, you see? [drawing attention to the wrist’s movement].”
Raymond Mckenzie	“When you play the kayamba, and hit on them, the stick hits the kayamba and makes a different sound. You will know when or if that kayamba has mbao or kibao and when it doesn’t have the kibao. This is because there is a distinct sound made when the kibao hits the reeds so it has a double beat effect. The sound comes from the kibao that hits the reeds on the kayamba.” “[Describing the acoustic properties] The timbre will be dependent on the seeds used inside the kayamba and the type of reeds. So, if the grass is thin, the kayamba will have a higher pitch. If the mitsuchi is heavier, then the pitch will be low.”

The above narratives elucidate the similarities and differences in sound and playing technique attributed to the changes in design and materials used for construction. It also

highlights nuanced details of the instrument adhered to by the masters during the construction and the playing of the kayamba.

4.2.2 Theme 2: Indigenous Knowledge Systems

The participants showcased knowledge and meanings that are embedded in their cultural practices. These indigenous knowledge systems guide the musicking of the Mijikenda community. This theme is divided into three main subthemes. The first subtheme provides information on music genres; locally referred to as the beat. The beat is an umbrella term that guides most of the aspects of Mijikenda musicking. The second subtheme provides an overview account on guiding principles for music organisation. In this subtheme, the study highlights indigenous principles that dictate ensemble organisation as well general form and structure. The third subtheme explains the systems that facilitate the transmission of the music and traditions of the kayamba through learning.

4.2.2.1 Subtheme 1: Music Genres (Beat)

Masha Iha, Kwicha Iha, Raymond Mckenzie and Daniel Muhuni explain the music genres that involve the kayamba. Masha Iha highlights the following music genres; *kayamba msego*, *kayamba kiringongo* and *kayamba bung'o*. Raymond Mckenzie includes these three and adds *kayamba puredi*, and *kayamba ra tembe* into the repertoire of music genres. Among the participants, Kwicha Iha and Daniel Muhuni explain that all the other genres spring from kayamba tiba. All the participants agreed that all these genres have distinct musical characteristics which also include body movements, instrumental accompaniment, and song repertoire. The table below contains excerpts from the data collected linked to music genres.

Table 5*Excerpts on Music genres (Beat)*

Participant	Quotation
Masha Iha	“... kiringongo is used in the kayamba, msego uses the kayamba. The kayamba is its own music...”
Raymond Mckenzie	“. The kayamba was used in different types of traditional music like ‘Kiringongo from the Chonyi, msego from the Giriama and Redi from the Duruma people from the South Coast.”
Kwicha Iha	<p>“It started with the kayamba, kayamba tiba, then it went to kiringongo which was music but also works in the tiba music then it came to be used even in weddings.”</p> <p>“...then it was merged with bung’o, which was also played at weddings and competitions.” ... kayamba msego. That's the fourth one.”</p> <p>“...Now, put the kayamba puredi among them... all those come from that kayamba tiba, for treatment.”</p>
Daniel Muhuni	“.... It was important for them because of the healing. ...so they used it in the Mijikenda originally for healing.”

In the narrative above, participants spotlight various kayamba-related genres. Additionally, the participants highlight the ethnic contexts most affiliated with the music genres. Furthermore, the excerpts above highlight the chronological development of the genres and their use in specific contexts.

4.2.2.2 Subtheme 2: Music Organisation

The participants provided valuable insights into the indigenous knowledge systems that guide their musicking specifically concerning music organisation. The information gathered from this subtheme has been categorized into three main categories: ensemble organisation, music rehearsals, and music form and structure.

Ensemble organisation was discussed by Raymond Mckenzie, who noted that the ensemble is typically divided into three groups: singers, dancers, and instrumentalists. According to Raymond Mckenzie, these sections are crucial for musicking to occur. He also highlighted the significance of an overall ensemble leader, referred to as the *ngoi*, who directs the performance. Raymond Mckenzie further emphasised that the *ngoi* primarily communicates through singing. Kwicha Iha agreed with this observation and added that an ensemble may also include a special member called the *sogora*. The *sogora*, as explained by Kwicha Iha, is a master of the genre being performed and is responsible for composing the music, working on the choreography of the dancers, and directing the instrumentalists. Additionally, Kwicha Iha mentioned that the *sogora* is always in charge of rehearsals and other music preparations.

All participants agreed on the importance of rehearsals in preparing for music performances. Kwicha Iha and Raymond Mckenzie specifically mentioned that these rehearsals take place in a location called the *kinyaka*. Kwicha Iha elaborated on the duration and activities that occur during these rehearsals. Furthermore, Raymond added that young men often engage in searching for suitors within this context.

Regarding music form and structure, the participants explained that the preparation in the *kinyaka* involves assembling the unique and intricate elements of form and structure for the performances. Additionally, Kwicha Iha highlighted the existence of an overarching framework for the form and structure of the music. He mentioned that although the sections within each genre differ, they can be grouped into *yandaro/muganda*, *mvunjiko*, *puredi*, and a restatement of *yandaro*. Kwicha Iha also acknowledged that these sections may have different names in various communities, citing the example of *yandaro* commonly used among the Duruma, and *muganda* commonly used among the Giriama people, both referring to the beginning section of a performance.

Excerpts from the collected data related to the Music Structure subtheme are presented in three tables. Table 6 contains excerpts relevant to ensemble structure, Table 7 includes excerpts related to rehearsals, and Table 8 presents excerpts linked to form and structure.

Table 6

Excerpts on Music Organisation: Ensemble Structure

Participant	Quotation
Raymond Mckenzie	“... there are singers, there are dancers [pause], the dancers of the steps and there are instrumentalists. So there are like 3 groups: singers, dancers of the style/dance and instrumentalists, so there are 3 distinct groups.”
Kwicha Iha	“Yes, as the sogora, I decide from here, we move here. From this one we move to this one... once they are over, we will be alert to exit.”
Daniel Muhuni	“When you are a sogora, you become the master... It means that you are well versed with all the aspects of that genre.”

Table 7

Music Organisation: Rehearsals

Participant	Quotation
Raymond Mckenzie	“At the kinyakani, people go to learn. That's like a class...” “Some even used to go to the kinyaka, the meeting place. Some would go there to look for girls sometimes without even having a clue of the songs being practiced. A young male would be hanging around there 3 months or even a year without learning the songs because their aim was not to learn the songs but to get a lady.”
Kwicha Iha	“...we can take like 3 hours in practice to teach one another but once it is all learnt we can reduce the time... If we had like 3 hours of practice...” “We would go until 12 - 1am and close. By then, we'd have discussed the order and structure of the song as well as a review of what each of us had done. We'd correct each other until all of us understood. That was the nature of studies in the kinyaka...”

Table 8*Excerpts for Music Organisation: Form and structure*

Participant	Quotation
Kwicha Iha	<p>“In Mijikenda, ndaro is like the beginning song that you perform while you are entering the performance area. So you’ll start with that ndaro. There are two names that come from us; muganda and ndaro.”</p> <p>“In Duruma dialect, it is referred to as ndaro, In Giriama, it is referred to as muganda.”</p> <p>“We are from ndaro and went onto vunjika ...”</p> <p>“...Vunjika belongs to a lady and gentleman.”</p> <p>“The third one calls for the ladies. Puredi”</p> <p>“Then we go back to the first one...”</p>

4.2.2.3 Subtheme 3: Systems of Learning

Participants in the study explained that the indigenous music systems governing the process of kayamba music, including construction, music genres, form, and structure, are primarily acquired and transmitted through oral tradition. The data compiled on systems of learning identified three main categories: memory as a repository, musical families, and foundational kayamba rhythms.

Among the participants, Masha Iha and Kwicha Iha emphasised that all the essential information is embedded in the musickers' memories. Kwicha Iha specifically highlighted that he stores all musical information in his brain, including details about genres and their characteristics. Masha Iha added that accessing such information from the masters requires spending quality time with a teacher. Both Katoi wa Tabaka and Daniel Muhuni explained that they acquired their musical skills and knowledge by spending time with kayamba masters.

Furthermore, the participants, specifically Kwicha Iha, Masha Iha, and Daniel Muhuni, emphasised the association of different families with specific music genres. Kwicha Iha, for example, mentioned that he learned acrobatics and music from Kazungu Chipa, also known as Kota, who was famous for acrobatics during Kwicha Iha's youth. However, Kazungu Chipa was not Kwicha Iha's sole teacher, as he also mentioned Charo wa Shutu among the list of his musical mentors. Masha Iha explained that he was one of Kwicha Iha's early music teachers. Daniel Muhuni identified other families known for specific genres, such as Mzee Mwatela and his family for sengenya music, Kwicha Iha and his family for bung'o music, and Masha Iha and his family for drum-related music, particularly the mabumbumbu.

Master kayamba players, notably Kwicha Iha, Katoi wa Tabaka, and Daniel Muhuni, stressed the significance of understanding foundational rhythms for playing the kayamba. Kwicha Iha provided a detailed explanation and demonstration of these five rhythms, showcasing their practical application. Katoi wa Tabaka and Daniel Muhuni also mentioned that they had to learn the basic rhythms from the older generation during their training. The table below contains excerpts from the data collected linked to systems of learning.

Table 9*Excerpts on Systems of Learning*

Participant	Quotation
Masha Iha	<p>“I have the expertise to play the kayamba, if you’d like to know, you’d need to dedicate your time and come and learn with me”.</p> <p>“I used to pick up Kwicha in my bicycle and bring him to my home for practice...”</p>
Kwicha Iha	<p>“... all music is here” [points to the head].”</p> <p>“...Yes, you will put all of it in your brain. You will know that this song you sing does not go well with that one, and that one does not go well with this one.”</p> <p>“In its speech, the kayamba has about 4 to 5 beats.”</p> <p>“I started learning music from the wazee... I had been sent here by my leader. They asked who my leader was and I responded, ‘Chipa’, Kazungu Chipa also known as Kota.”</p> <p>“This I learnt from those before me. I learnt until I became a sogora [referring to acrobatics... There was a mzee called Charo wa Shutu].</p>
Katoi wa Tabaka	<p>“I first went to MADCA to learn cultural music with the wazee.”</p>
Daniel Muhuni	<p>“When you are on the ground, you’ll see that different families are known for different music. For instance, Mzee Masha and his family are known for ngoma. Any music that involves the ngoma, ... mainly for the mabumbumbu and gonda. If you go down the coast, you will meet Mzee Mwatela. He is famous for the Sengenyas, Tikitsi, and Dumbwi ... The Mckenzie family, especially Kwicha, is known for bung’o music.”</p>

4.2.3 Theme 3: Indigenous Performance Infrastructures

The participants highlighted indigenous cultural contexts in which the kayamba is incorporated. Three main cultural contexts were highlighted by most of the participants. They include: traditional medicine rituals, music competition, and burial ceremonies.

4.2.3.1 Subtheme 1: Traditional Medicine and Healing Rituals

Data on traditional medicine and healing rituals as collected through interviews. Secondary data was predominantly collected from a video footage titled “Culture Quest: The ever evolving culture of the Mijikenda herbalist by KTN (Kenya Television Network) News published on the 21st of September, 2021. Observation of this ritual was not possible. This is because, most of the traditional herbalists are in hiding or have been exiled from the area from persecution linked to fears of them being associated with witchcraft. Some participants agreed to participate in the interview process on condition that they remain anonymous. This research identifies such participants with alias names such as Participant A, B, and C.

Daniel Muhuni, Raymond Mckenzie, and Kwicha Iha express the importance of the kayamba in the traditional healing ritual. Daniel Muhuni claims that the kayamba is the only musical instrument used across all the nine communities of the Mijikenda. He adds that every community in the Mijikenda uses it for healing. Kwicha Iha provides detailed insight into the role of music in the healing ritual. He explains that the healing process entails the appeasing or exorcising of disease-causing demons. Both Raymond Mckenzie and Kwicha Iha highlight the agency of genre in this process and draw correlation between the different musics and the healing process.

Kazungu wa H’awerisa, Participant A, and Participant B express reservations, mysteries, and persecution that has caused this indigenous institution to be rare especially within Kilifi County. Participant A expresses reservations in the traditional healing rituals especially those that involve the kayamba. He refers to them as ‘strange’. His sentiments echo the negative attitudes that emanate from members of the community who view it as witchcraft. Participant B explains that the social tensions from these attitudes have caused a fall out with his son. These social tensions affect not only nuclear family

relationships but also the extended family ties. These tensions also spread to relationships between members of the community. Kazungu wa H’awerisa explains that the resulting tensions have led to persecutions leading to physical violence and even deaths of the members of the community who are suspected to be witches and wizards. The table below contains excerpts from the data collected that are linked to traditional medicine and healing rituals.

Table 10

Excerpts on Traditional Medicine and Healing Rituals

Participant	Quotation
Daniel Muhuni	“The kayamba was used in kupunga...It was used in healing... This is the only instrument in Mijikenda that unites all the communities; because every subtribe has the kayamba.”
Kwicha Iha	“...It's for medicinal purposes. For instance, if a person is sick, the kayamba is used in healing. It is a form of treatment...” “...that was used to exorcize the demons that maybe have gotten in them. You know music can be used to get rid of those bad spirits that make someone unhappy. So that became like treatment. They say that once you are possessed, once the music of the kayamba is played, you feel better the following day. So that became like a form of exorcism. Those were the origins of the kayamba.”
Raymond Mckenzie	“...The person knows the spirit attacking them so they specify which rhythm to be played at different times and the community joins in if they enjoy the music or if they have the spirit of the specific rhythm being played.” “... kayamba ra pepo includes all of these ones, msego and the likes, all are played there because maybe the patient was a performer of the kiringongo (word used was mchezaji), they will ask for the kiringongo style so that they can feel that they are in the music.”
Participant B	“...I have had quite a fall out with one of my sons. He almost hit me just yesterday because he thinks his father is a witchdoctor.”
Participant A	“... most of our family members were waganga. The lineage ended with my father after he became insane from being disturbed by those demons. He got born again and has not played the kayamba ever since. Those things are strange I tell you.”
Kazungu wa H’awerisa	“Most of the people you see here [MADCA] have been rescued from their villages. Some have received death threats and some have been victims of mob justice because of their association with witchcraft. These people are stigmatised and persecuted by their communities and even family members. They are old and weak and cannot defend themselves. They are suffering because of holding onto their culture.”

The above narratives represent details on the use of the kayamba for the traditional healing practice. Additionally, it spotlights the tensions resulting from the affiliation of the ritual to witchcraft. Furthermore, these excerpts showcase the plight of individuals who have been misrepresented and consequently persecuted by members of the community.

4.2.3.2 Subtheme 2: Music Competition

Raymond Mckenzie, Kwicha Iha and Daniel Muhuni explain that there were music competition events organised by different communities within the Mijikenda community. These participants gave information on this event in past tense and expressed worries that it might have succumbed to cultural changes as depicted in the excerpts below.

Table 11

Excerpts on Music Competition

Participant	Quotation
Kwicha Iha	“ <i>Pingano</i> , saying kupingana is a competition between two groups from different locations who would meet on a Sunday or Saturday at a particular place; ‘kiwanja’. From there, they would compete.”
Daniel Muhuni	“Long ago people used to meet in a field sometime on a weekend or a less busy day for a musical showdown. It was common knowledge for the community that on some particular day, there would be a pingano. People from different villages or sublocations would come to the venue... The dance groups would dance and play music in the field...”

4.2.3.3 Subtheme 3: Burial Ceremonies

Participant C, and Raymond Mckenzie observe that the burial ceremonies especially those of the elderly provide an opportunity for performance and recalling of ‘old’ cultural music. Participant C and Raymond Mckenzie explain that it is compulsory that the spirit of the departed is appeased by the music the deceased loved performing in their youth.

The table below contains excerpts from the data collected that are linked to burial ceremonies.

Table 12

Excerpts on Burial Ceremonies

Participant C	“...my mother loved to dance to Duruma music. That was why when she died, we needed to call those performers from Duruma to escort her.”
Raymond Mckenzie	“[referring to the deceased] it is a must that the music is played so that she is happy” “... it is also honouring. The performers sing songs praising the deceased in her memory”

4.2.4 Theme 4: Contemporary-Local Performance Infrastructures

The participants in Kilifi County identified different music contexts beyond the indigenous performance infrastructures where the kayamba is played. Three main contexts emerged from the data collected. These contexts include: leisure, local live bands, and Christian religious services.

4.2.4.1 Subtheme 1: Kayamba for Leisure

The participants, particularly Jeffa from Tezo, Raymond Mckenzie, and Kwicha Iha, shared their observations regarding the making and playing of instruments as a common pastime among the wider population in Kilifi County. Jeffa, for example, explained that

his uncle engages in making and playing the kayamba during weekends and after work. His uncle has amassed a collection of kayamba instruments of various sizes. On weekends, he invites his peers who also play the kayamba to perform old songs that evoke memories of their shared experiences and events from their youth. Similarly, Raymond Mckenzie stated that he enjoys preparing raw materials for manufacturing musical instruments during his free time. Occasionally, he gathers his friends for a music session, using it as a way to pass time and reminisce about the past. Kwicha Iha observed that making and playing instruments, including the kayamba, can be a profitable pastime. He explained that he often receives orders for traditional music instruments, and making these instruments during his free time serves as preparation for future orders. The table below presents excerpts from the collected data related to the kayamba as a leisure activity.

Table 13

Excerpts on Leisure

Participant	Quotation
Jeffa from Tezo	<p>“... My uncle has lots of kayambas. When he is not at work or in the shop, he is either weaving the kayamba or playing it.”</p> <p>“... during the weekends, ... my uncle gets his old friends, those wazees... especially in the evenings... they play the kayambas and sing many songs sometimes up to the wee hours of the night, it can even get to 4am... they are usually very happy when playing those old songs.”</p>
Raymond Mckenzie	<p>“When I am free, like now, I often prepare these things... some of them need time to dry like the ones you see hanging here [pointing to some skin in a room] ...”</p>
Kwicha Iha	<p>“[Referring to some musical instruments in a corner of his house] ... see like these ones are waiting for an order. When I have some time I make them because I am sure someone will call me for an instrument. Right now I am trying to finish this bung’o for an order... to test them out, I will call some friends and we will play together before I send them out.”</p>

The narratives above showcase the construction and musicking of the kayamba as a ubiquitous pastime for most of the participants. The participants also link the musicking experience during leisure to a way of recalling past experiences and making money.

4.2.4.2 Subtheme 2: Local Live Bands

The participants highlighted that indigenous instruments are almost always played alongside music instruments of Western origin. Most music mentioned by the participants had an element of fusion between the indigenous and popular music. Khatib, one of the participants, mentioned that an event is considered successful and pompous with the presence of *mwanzele* music. He insisted that he would not attend an event that does not feature a *mwanzele* band.

A famous band leader Katoi wa Tabaka explains his process in creating music such as the *mwanzele* that features a fusion of contemporary popular music and indigenous music. He explains that musicians such as himself and Mzee Mwangandu most often modify their music to resonate with the audience. Katoi wa Tabaka explains some of the modifications he makes to his music involve playing rhythms from other instruments on the kayamba. He notes that some instruments such as the *mugabe* or *ndema* would be difficult to transport by air because of their metallic nature⁴. As a result, most of the rhythms played on these instruments are moved to the kayamba.

The table below contains excerpts from the data collected linked to the kayamba in local live bands.

⁴ The Mugabe and the ndema are made from recycled iron sheets and aerosol cans. The Kenya Airport Authorities regulations prohibit these materials.

Table 14*Excerpts on Live Local Bands*

Participant	Quotation
Khatib from Malindi	“I cannot be found in a party without mwanzele, without mwanzele, there is no party.”
Katoi wa Tabaka	<p>“I used to close myself in a room and just practice for hours on end. I used to play percussion and rap at the same time... I started selecting genres from the Mijikenda community. We have like 60 genres of music, so I selected like 33 genres ... from these 33 genres I started making music, so there are 33 songs in an album”</p> <p>“Mwanzele fuses well with jazz music, then I found out that mavunyo and msegoo fuse well with taarab and soul music, so if I am doing mwanzele, I will need a saxophone.... Mchechemeko goes very well with trap music... So I started fusing all these music ... then I found out that hardcore rap fuses well with the mabumbumbu [vocalizes the mabumbumbu music] ... and making songs.”</p> <p>“The mugabe is played like this [uses two fingers to tap on the kayamba imitating mugabe playing] ... I take that and play it on the kayamba like this [playing the kayamba in the same rhythm...”</p>

4.2.4.3 Subtheme 3: Christian Religious Services

The participants noted the use of the kayamba mainly in the Catholic church. Kwicha Iha, and Father Henry Katana highlight the presence of the kayamba in the church. Kwicha Iha explains that you can recognise rhythms borrowed from the msegoo genre playing to church music. Father Henry Katana confirms that the kayamba can be incorporated into any song as long as it has a beat. He attributes his kayamba playing skills to his background in playing indigenous music. He explains that he learnt to play the kayamba by imitating his father while playing the msegoo songs.

Though the kayamba is prominent in the Catholic church, John Bidii warns that one has to be careful not walk with it into any Christian community. He explains that one might be perceived to be maleficent with intentions of bewitching a congregation and might experience violence. Father Henry Katana explains that initially, the kayamba was banned in the Catholic church too. He states that after he took it for vetting by the Catholic bishops and was approved, he and other kayamba players could finally incorporate it into the church mass.

Table 15

Excerpts on Christian Religious Services

Participant	Quotation
Kwicha Iha	<p>“... We have incorporated the kayamba even in the church.”</p> <p>“The kayamba is spread out. It doesn’t mean it is played among the Mijikenda only... It has been absorbed into other religions like the Catholic Church, once they took on the kayamba and realised that their beats could be played with the kayamba, they even added shakers...”</p>
Father Henry Katana	<p>“... if any song has rhythm, you can play the kayamba. As far as a song has its own beats.”</p> <p>“My dad used to play Giriama music called ‘msego’. And when I went to seminary to study to be a priest, I borrowed my dad's kayamba.”</p> <p>“... one challenge was that it was initially prohibited in the churches. They used to ask, “what is this instrument for? It was used for traditional music, maybe it has some evil in it.” but of course those who were involved, bishops saw that it was good. But some of the parishes struggled to allow the playing of the kayamba but they later agreed.”</p>
John Bidii	<p>“You have to be careful not to carry a kayamba around, especially that type [referring to the ‘kayamba original’]. You might be beaten up because those people will start saying ooh, witch! ooh you have evil intentions...”</p>

The above narratives showcase forms in which the kayamba appears within the Christian Religious service contexts. It is interesting to note that whereas the kayamba is welcomed and features within the Catholic Church contexts as observed by Father Henry Katana, there are reservations from some Christian communities who associate its use to witchcraft as observed by John Bidii.

4.2.5 Theme 5 Commercial Elements of the kayamba

The participants highlighted avenues through which the kayamba contribute to the economy of the individuals and the collective community within Kilifi County. The data was grouped into two main sub themes namely, microeconomic contexts, and macroeconomic contexts. The participants showcased different terms of operation and engagement based on the nature of relationship between buyer and seller.

4.2.5.1 Subtheme 1: Microeconomic Contexts

The microeconomic contexts encompass economic relationships shared between members of the community. These relationships include individuals and groups with shared bloodlines from the nuclear and extended family, close friends, members of the same cultural dance group, and members of the same village.

Participants, especially Mariam Chizi, Raphael from Takaye, and Raymond Mckenzie explained the nature of acquiring and paying for music services. Mariam Chizi elaborated that the amount of payment is open-ended. Payment according to Mariam Chizi is arbitrary. Raymond Mckenzie noted that the payment is quoted in the form of a metaphor. In an informal discussion with one of the dance groups, Raphael insisted that it is important for everyone to know what the mfumula would be before committing to a performance.

Table 16

Excerpts on Microeconomic Contexts

Participant	Quotation
Mariam Chizi	“Nobody will tell you that the mfumula will be this amount, or that amount! No no! That is not our culture. We accept you as a visitor and accept whatever you can give willingly out of the generosity of your heart.”
Raphael from Takaye	“... it is important that it is said in the open, what the mfumula would be. We don’t want others to leave here grumbling and complaining thinking that some game was played...”
Raymond Mckenzie	“You will pay. You will pay for transportation; you will also be charged for their food and money to wash the costumes they’d be wearing.”

4.2.5.2 Subtheme 2: Macroeconomic Contexts

The macroeconomic contexts encompass economic relationships shared between the Mijikenda community and the broader community within Kilifi County. The broader community includes the contemporary-local performance contexts and performance infrastructures that entail musicking of the kayamba. Infrastructures found in these macroeconomic contexts include tourism, education systems, hospitality, government functions, and online streaming services.

Participant D, and Abdullah showcased the importance of having the kayamba in their souvenir shops. Abdullah was keen to demonstrate the playability of the many kayamba instruments found in his shop. He exhibited the different sizes and demonstrated that they were functional. Participant D gave a similar demonstration to Abdullah. He was also keen to add that the many different kayamba instruments in his shop were designed

for tourists. He explained that the local population did not use the same type of kayamba as that in his shops in traditional events.

Participants especially Katoi wa Tabaka, John Bidii, and Raymond Mckenzie explained the hospitality industry's role to the musicians' economy within Kilifi County. Raymond Mckenzie highlighted his work experience as a musician in a hotel as one of the major milestones in his life. Katoi wa Tabaka noted that he hosts a regular show in one of the restaurants in Malindi. He highlighted the importance of the restaurants, lounges, and hotels in enhancing the livelihood of musicians like himself and promoting culture as a secondary result. John Bidii narrated that when the COVID 19 pandemic hit the hotel industry, it also affected the musicians significantly. Most of his traditional dancers had to go back to farming and stop performing cultural dances in the hotels all together.

Participants also expressed the role of formal education in promoting their economic livelihood. Kwicha Iha, for instance, explained that the new syllabus proposed by the government had improved his sales of traditional instruments. He also got job opportunities to teach students within local schools. Additionally, both Raymond Mckenzie and Kwicha Iha explained that they had worked for a significant number of years in the universities in the country. Raymond Mckenzie narrated of his work experience which comprised of thirty five years at Kenyatta University and one year at Kabarak University. Kwicha Iha notes that he joined Kenyatta University and worked as an office caretaker. The agreement between Kwicha Iha and Kenyatta University involved him working to develop the cultural music tradition in the institution.

In addition to the tourism, hospitality and education industry, participants noted the performance opportunities presented by the government in official celebrations and functions. Participant E recalls how the community looked forward to such events in the past.

Participants noted BOMAS of Kenya as an important source of employment for the traditional dancers. Garama Mckenzie, Raymond Mckenzie, Kwicha Iha, Mariam Chizi, and Karemba Mckenzie mentioned that they had worked in BOMAS of Kenya at some point in their lives. Kwicha Iha mentions that he joined this institution in 1975 and worked there for a significant number of years before moving to Kenyatta University.

Participants especially Raymond Mckenzie highlighted the presence of traditional music in the online streaming services especially YouTube. He however expressed concerns on the flow of revenue generated from streams to the cultural performers. Raymond Mckenzie emphasised that while traditional music is becoming more accessible through online streaming platforms like YouTube, there was a need for better mechanisms to ensure that cultural performers receive fair compensation for their work. He suggested exploring alternative revenue models or implementing policies that protect the rights and royalties of traditional musicians in the digital age.

Table 17*Excerpts on Macroeconomic Contexts*

Participant	Quotation
Abdullah	“It depends. All these kayambas work. Which one do you prefer? There is this one [unhangs a kayamba from display and starts playing] ... these ones are for the small children [picks smaller shakers made from reeds].”
Participant D	“We make these ones for the tourists; we don’t play these ones for our events.”
Raymond Mckenzie	<p>“[Comments on work experience at Bomas]...My older siblings were already in Nairobi at Bomas of Kenya in Lang’ata so I joined them.”</p> <p>“[Comments on his experience in Hotels] After Bomas, I joined Shade Hotel located in the Ngong’ area past Karen. There I learnt different types of music because I got to interact with people from different areas in Kenya...”</p> <p>“[On work experience in the Kenyan Universities]...I worked at Kenyatta University for thirty-five years then I retired when I was 60 years old in 2019...I left there, luckily, I was called by Kabarak University. I worked there for a year up until the Covid years. In July 2021, I was completing my 2-year contract with Kabarak University. Due to the bad situation when there was Covid and people not being able to meet, the renewal of my contract became unstable...”</p> <p>“[Comments on availability of indigenous-based fusion music genres on the internet]...If you go to the internet and ask, I want mwanzele, you will get it right there.”</p> <p>“[Comments on lack of copyright for creative work]...The msego song is mine but I can’t claim ownership of it or prevent anyone else from picking the same song and recording it. Any other person can go record it and sell it and there is nowhere music society would come in and call them to book for picking other people’s music and recording it for their own personal gain.”</p>
Katoi wa Tabaka	“... you should come to Bar Bar, I have a show every Tuesday night... in addition to playing my music, we promote local talent and promote other upcoming artists...”
John Bidii	“[In reference to the effects of COVID19 to the hotel industry] Before COVID we’d be called to hotels and perform. We were more regular with practice and life was good... Now most of the dancers who are elderly have been forced to go back to the farm ...”
Kwicha Iha	<p>“... this CBC has increased the demand for traditional instruments... I get more calls and orders now than I used to...”</p> <p>“I teach in a secondary school down here; they give me some good money...”</p>
Kwicha Iha	“[Referring to work experience in Kenyatta University] ...So he was taken there and I was made a caretaker... The cultural centre in KU was a work post but when the the activities in the cultural centre died down, I moved”
Participant E	“[Referring to music functions during president Moi’s regime] ...During Moi’s day, there was no payment but there was a lot of food. We would be transported from our homes to the occasion, you’d eat and then brought back home...”

4.3 Data Analysis and Interpretation

In the following chapters, I include the data from the participants in the field, my personal experience in the field, and data from existing sources of literature to discuss the themes emerging from the data. The discussions from these themes elucidate the sustainability systems of the kayamba. The organisation of the themes within the three specific chapters, from the theme on the organology (chapter five) of the kayamba to the final theme on commercial elements (in chapter seven) of the kayamba presents a pragmatic flow of these systems from the physical and tangible elements of the kayamba to the intangible element linked to music traditions, cultural values, and other social structures that form the backbone of the kayamba's sustainability.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORGANOLOGY OF THE KAYAMBA

5.1 Introduction

The physical composition and structure of the kayamba coupled with its acoustic properties serve as an ideal point of entry in studying the sustainability systems of the kayamba. An inquiry into these physical properties of the kayamba highlights relationships between the kayamba, the people, and its naturally occurring environment. Reading into this instrument's construction, form, and design reveals systems that have allowed the kayamba to thrive within the Mijikenda community and spread across different parts of the country and even the world.

This chapter is grouped into three sections. The first section is a discussion of the kayamba's construction, form, and design. The second section highlights the kayamba acoustic properties and playing technique. The third section discusses the implication of the organology theme to understanding the sustainability of the kayamba.

5.2 Construction: Material, Form and Design

During my journey into Takaye Village, Kilifi County, I was welcomed by special features that are idiomatic to the Coastal region, specifically the Mijikenda community. The vegetation, the architecture, the warm weather, and the art. The image of the kayamba instrument that I carried with me in mind was beginning to feel more and more at home as I went further into the County. Music instruments carry stories of their place of origin (Dawe, 2001). The next two sections elaborate on 'what' (material) makes the kayamba and 'how' the kayamba is made (form and design).

5.2.1 Material

The Mijikenda community has a wealth of material culture. Grass and reeds are one of the most common materials used in many different contexts in the community. For instance, grass and reeds are skilfully used to make mats, roof thatching, baskets, and food stores, among many other useful items in the Mijikenda home. Before the Swahili influence, the traditional home of the Mijikenda was made of dry grass and wooden poles. This mode of housing is quite rare in the towns but is still present in some villages. The technology of putting wooden frames and grass reeds together is quite akin to the one used in the making of the kayamba.

The following materials are integral to the construction of the kayamba: a) Reed grass, b) Seeds, c) Wood or sticks for the frame, d) ropes (sisal or synthetic). The Mijikenda community has specific preferences for variants of these materials. It is important to note that the combination of these materials is similar to the technology of house construction highlighted above.

The participants identified the mitsuchi as the predominant species of grass used to make the kayamba. The scientific name for this is *hyperthelia dissoluta*. The plant is identified as mitsuchi. These plants require a consistent supply of water to grow. While looking for this particular plant around the County, I traversed the County with the help of Raymond Mckenzie. We stopped at many different homesteads in the various Sub-Counties and Wards and asked if the locals had spotted this plant anywhere in the neighbourhood. Most of the people from the local community were well-versed in the different species of grass that grow locally and could identify the mitsuchi. Unfortunately, we could not spot the actual mitsuchi plant (local name for the whole plant). The locals explained that the lack of rain in the region had led to a severe scarcity of this species of grass. The local population resulted in using alternative species of reed grass known as mwamba nyama.

The scientific name for this alternative reed grass is *Rottboellia exaltata*. Most of the kayamba instruments made for tourists, especially in the regions of Malindi, Gede, and Watamu used this type of grass reeds.

The kayamba masters pointed that the seeds inside the kayamba are known as tembe. This term also refers to a genre of music (See section 6.3.1, Music Genre: Beat); the kayamba ra tembe. The term tembe refers to small seeds or pellets. All participants corroborated the fact that the original seeds used to make the kayamba are known as the turituri. These seeds are harvested from the *abrus precatorius* plant, locally referred to as *mturituri*. These seeds are red with a black patch (See Figure 5 Turituri (Abrus Precatorious)). Participants highlighted that this plant was quite common in the past. During the time of the study, this plant had become extremely rare within the County. Participants mentioned that the increased population and demand for land had resulted in significant deforestation. It was increasingly difficult to find wild trees and other forms of naturally growing indigenous vegetation including the mturituri. Additionally, the severe dry season experienced in the region made it extremely difficult for this plant to be found. I was fortunate to find the seeds in Kaloleni Sub-County. In a passing conversation with a public transport driver known as Jeffa from Tezo Ward, he mentioned that because of how rare these seeds are, his uncle who makes and plays the kayamba grows the mitsuchi reeds and the mturituri plant because they are becoming increasingly hard to find in his region.

There are other alternatives to the seeds on the kayamba. In Kilifi County, participants use small pieces of stones or coral, and *podzo* (mung beans), as tembe. Most of the kayamba instruments made for tourists used small pieces of stones. The vendors explained that the small stones were easily available in comparison to the turituri. The use of coral for the seeds was a unique way of construction. I found it with one

participant, Katoi wa Tabaka who has innovated ways of recontextualizing the kayamba into more contemporary popular fusion genres of his music. Kwicha Iha and Raymond Mckenzie explained that mung beans could be used. The mung beans need to be dried to increase their durability while inside the kayamba. This process ensures that no living organisms are left inside the seeds during construction. Raymond Mckenzie expressed reservation with the use of the seeds (mung beans) stating that the seeds are prone to wither faster in comparison to the small stones and the turituri. Kayamba instruments with small stones had a significantly different sonic quality compared to those with the turituri. This sonic phenomenon can be explained by the difference in shape. The spherical shape of the seeds provides less resistance while they rub on the reeds during playing. This gives more rhythmic and sonic control to the player of the kayamba with the seeds in comparison to the kayamba with irregular shaped rocks.

An alternative seed from the turituri is also used for the making of the kayamba; *the canna indica* seeds. They are approximately the same size but are more spherical in shape. These seeds are not easily infested by small insects and do not wither. According to Daniel Muhuni, this plant can be grown on small pieces of land and require very low maintenance. It is common to find a mixture of the *abrus precatorius* seeds and the *canna indica* seeds used in the same kayamba. This was the case when I ordered a kayamba from Kwale County.

There was a significant difference in the type of wood/sticks used for the frame. The local community from Kilifi County mainly uses sticks that bend. Raymond McKenzie gives a criterion for finding the right pieces. He states, "any tree that can sustain a bend can be used to make the kayamba". These sticks are held together by the use of ropes. The participants noted that it is common to use sisal ropes known as ngonge/ makonge or

synthetic ropes made from plastic. The kayamba from other regions had processed wooden frames most of which were fastened using small nails.

The ‘what’ that makes the kayamba is one of the main ways to tell its origins and the practice of the people that use it. Most participants could identify origins of the instrument by analysing its physical components. Phrases like “kayamba ya mdigo” [literally translates to kayamba of the Digo], or “kayamba ra pepo” [literally translates to kayamba of the healing ritual] were common in the responses made by the participants. Additionally, the physical material of the instrument embodies information on the environment of a place. A look into the materials used for the construction of the kayamba, for instance, the use of mitsuchi or mwamba nyama, could be used to identify whether the kayamba’s place of origin received little⁵ or a lot of rain. Additionally, the presence of the tirituri suggests that land was an abundant resource in the past.

Participants often explained that the materials used in the construction of the kayamba were readily available. This was not the case during the research. Climate change has resulted in unpredictable rain patterns with severe precipitation and longer periods of drought over the past four years. Cheruiyot et al. 2022 confirm that these changes have resulted in a significant reduction of vegetation leading to food insecurity. According to my observation in the field, I realised that a kayamba made with tirituri and (or) *canna indica* seeds and mitsuchi is more likely to be found sourced from Kwale County. A kayamba made from the more resistant mwamba nyama grass and small pieces of stones is more likely to be sourced from Kilifi County. A kayamba made with processed timber for the frame than bending sticks is more likely to be sourced from a

⁵ The use of raw material to determine the amount of rainfall received can be arrived at based on the fact that the mitsuchi are available in areas that receive ample rainfall. The mwamba nyama grass is more prominent in the semi-arid areas.

community outside the Mijikenda and most likely from outside communities living within the Coastal region.

5.2.2 Form and Design

The 'how' of assembling the materials to create the kayamba holds crucial information about the history of the people who craft it. Throughout my research, I discovered significant variations in the terminology used by different individuals to refer to different types of kayamba instruments. For example, the process of constructing the kayamba using processed wooden frames and metal nails was referred to as 'kuunda,' which translates to 'to construct' in the local language. On the other hand, the kayamba instruments made from sisal ropes and flexible sticks, primarily among the Mijikenda community, were called 'kushonwa,' which means 'to be weaved.' This 'how' of construction reveals that the kayamba accommodates different construction technologies, reflecting the community's indigenous knowledge system that guides its form and design. During the study, three distinct designs were identified by the participants. The first design featured a straight-sided, rectangular-shaped instrument, often referred to as the kayamba original. Kwicha Iha drew a rectangular shape⁶ on the ground, stating that the kayamba resembled that shape, although he referred to it as a square during the interview. Drawings from both Raymond Mckenzie and Kwicha Iha indicated a rectangular shape. Kwicha Iha mentioned that this was an older design, which was not commonly found in the area due to raw material scarcity. A specimen of this type of kayamba was accessed from Kwale County and transported to Kilifi County for research (see Figure 9 First Form and Design of the Kayamba (kayamba original)).

⁶ Most of the respondents spoke little to no English. In this instance, Kwicha Iha refers to the square because of its straight edges but draws a rectangle on the ground.

The second design is a rectangular-shaped kayamba with rounded sides, considered the most popular among the interviewed kayamba players. Although this design is generally regarded as traditional, Kwicha Iha noted that the rounded sides were a recent decorative addition. Both the first and second designs share similar frames consisting of three sticks forming the kayamba's structure, with two sticks on the sides and one in the middle. The ends of the kayamba are closed off with bamboo or thin sticks. Both designs are woven using ropes made from sisal or synthetic string. Additionally, both kayamba designs feature a piece of bamboo wood attached to the middle stick of the frame, serving as a pad. This wooden pad, known as the kibao, sits at the top of the kayamba and is struck with the thumbs (see Figure 9 First Form and Design of the Kayamba (Kayamba Original)).

The third kayamba design is rectangular and utilizes processed wood for the frames. This design incorporates handles on the shorter sides and is most commonly found in commercial contexts. An online survey indicated that this shape was among the most frequently sold online. This design was also used for performance demonstrations. Kwicha Iha and Raymond McKenzie confirmed that these kayamba instruments were transported from the western part of the country. Raymond mentioned that this particular design is considered 'modern' and addresses the difficulties encountered in constructing the first and second kayamba designs: a) the makers can use straight pieces of wood, which are more accessible than flexible sticks that can withstand bending without breaking, b) the wooden frame replaces the bamboo on the sides, which can be challenging to find in some parts of the country, and c) the wood is already shaped, eliminating the need for additional processing such as skinning, drying, and bending to create the kayamba's frame.

The size of the kayamba is arbitrary, with participants commonly referring to it as 'medium' when asked about the standard size. Kwicha Iha mentioned that there are three sizes: small, medium, and large, which aligns with Father Henry Katana's specifications when asked about the cost of the kayamba. Except Father Henry Katana's kayamba (see Figure 12 Father Henry Katana with his Kayamba), most kayamba instruments measured approximately 40 cm in length and 20 cm in width.

The existence of these three designs carries various implications for understanding the organology of the kayamba. Firstly, the designs provide a diachronic account of the instrument's development, from its initial design to the third design, which is more prevalent in contemporary markets. Although the three designs indicate a development from an 'old design' to a 'new design,' evidence suggests that all three designs coexist in the present. Secondly, this study observed that the form and design of the kayamba are influenced by its contextual use. Kayambas from the Mijikenda community are more likely to be based on the first and second designs, whereas kayamba instruments from other communities are more likely to follow the third design. Thirdly, the presence and significance of the kibao depend on the performance context. The kibao is predominantly used in traditional Mijikenda musical settings. Kayamba instruments repurposed for contemporary performance spaces, such as those used by Katoi wa Tabaka or those made for tourists, typically lack the kibao. Nevertheless, participants consistently played the kayamba with a striking motion in indigenous contexts. The presence of the kibao, along with other construction elements, has substantial acoustic implications for the instrument and its relationship with the player.

5.3 Acoustics and Playing Technique

Chinaglia (2020) explains that musical instruments, especially historical instruments, carry information about the acoustic past. The sound of the kayamba represents an

acoustic past, present, and potentially a future. Musical instruments have the ability to evoke a sense of place and time, particularly in spiritual contexts. Drawing from my experience as a pianist and keyboard player in church settings, I have observed that certain sounds, such as synth pads, create an acoustically conducive environment for spiritual activities like meditation and prayer. In some cases, I have had to adjust harmonic frequencies, while in others, I have added textures to enhance the acoustic ambience for the congregation. I observed a similar level of attention to detail and care in relation to the kayamba played by the Mijikenda community.

Unlike in other performance contexts, the kayamba is the main instrument in traditional healing rituals for the Mijikenda (See sections 4.2.3.1 and 6.3.1). Similar to the role of a synth pad, the kayamba contributes to creating a suitable acoustic and spiritual ambience. Therefore, the kayamba has specific sonic requirements and technical demands placed upon the player. Both the makers and players of the kayamba are concerned with its tone and pitch. According to the participants, the sound of the kayamba is primarily influenced by the thickness of the grass. Raymond McKenzie explains that thin-reed grass tends to produce a higher pitch compared to thick-reed grass. The presence of tembe (seeds) in the kayamba instrument also affects its response during playing. From my participant observation, I noted that kayamba instruments with turi turi seeds and/or *canna indica* seeds were relatively easier to play compared to those using small stones. The smooth surface of these spherical seeds allows them to rub easily against the reed grass during playing. The combination of mitsuchi, turituri, and/or *canna indica* seeds creates a unique sound envelope for the kayamba instrument, making it suitable for indigenous spiritual contexts. The presence of the kibao further augments the Mijikenda community's attention to sound quality.

In the indigenous music context of the Mijikenda, the kibao is an essential component of the kayamba. The kayamba played in this context is expected to produce two main types of sound. The first sound resembles that of a rain stick, while the second is a deep, percussive sound similar to a muffled kick drum. Although the sound and playing style may seem similar to the recontextualized kayamba used in contemporary-local contexts, a closer examination of the acoustic features and musical expectations of the musicians reveals significant differences. The combination of the kayamba and its kibao serves as the primary rhythmic accompaniment in most ensembles within indigenous performance settings. Ensembles that utilize the kayamba are rarely accompanied by other percussive instruments such as *chapuo*, *mbumbumbu*, or *mshondo*. The kayamba is typically played in ensembles featuring melodic instruments like kiringongo, and bung'o.

The material and physical characteristics of the kayamba require a human entity to fulfil its acoustic, symbolic, and historical functions. Nicholas Thomas (1991) explains that objects are defined not only by their composition but also by what they have become. The kayamba instrument retains its essence through its interaction with the human player. The Mijikenda have a meticulous way of playing this instrument. During playing, the kayamba is held from the sides, with the middle stick of the frame placed between the fingers for a firmer grip (applies to the first and second designs). The kibao side of the kayamba faces the player, and the thumbs are positioned just above it. The kayamba is held by the fingers of both hands near the mid-joint of the second phalanx. The shoulders are relaxed, and the arms are loose. This posture allows the flow of energy from the shoulders through the arms and into the fingers, ultimately reaching the kayamba. This posture and technique establish a unique relationship between the kayamba and the player, transforming the instrument into an extension of the player's hands. This physical phenomenon is more descriptive of the players' experience than

poetic. Pianist David Sudnow (1979) describes a similar connection when playing the piano, considering it an extension of himself and an additional medium for sonic expression beyond his vocal cords. This description resonates with my personal experience while learning the kayamba. Placing the kayamba on specific points on the fingers feels like attaching a prosthetic to the end of a limb. Once in place, the hands (a combination of instrument and hand) can perform a musical function, resulting in a transformation of both the instrument and the player.

The kayamba of the Mijikenda produces sound through shaking and hitting. The shaking technique is crucial and requires attention to detail. The shaking movement originates from the arms, involving a combination of the shoulders and elbows. The energy from this motion transfers to the wrists and then to the fingers, allowing for subtle rhythmic alterations. Hitting the kibao occurs simultaneously with shaking. The thumbs extend just above the palms, and during hitting, the contact between the thumb and the kibao is made at the inner part of the thumbs' mid joint. The force from this hit pushes the kibao against the body of the kayamba, resulting in a percussive low-end bass sound. The playing position of the kayamba can vary during dancing. Combining dancing and playing the kayamba is technically demanding and often used to showcase levels of mastery and virtuosity during improvisation sections of the music.

The kayamba offers its performers ample opportunities for musical expression. The performer engages in both shaking and hitting while simultaneously dancing and singing, representing three independent and nuanced forms of musicking valued by the Mijikenda community. It can be argued that the musical significance attributed to this instrument has made it indispensable to the Mijikenda community.

5.4 The Implication of Organology of the Kayambato Sustainability

Among the most explicit connections of the kayamba to the Mijikenda reside in the material used in its construction. The specific use of the mitsuchi, bamboo, sisal ropes, and the turituri links the instrument, the natural environment, and the Mijikenda community. Under Schippers' (2015) model for the study of sustainable futures, the availability of raw materials is highlighted as 'the hardware of music' under the regulation and infrastructure domain. The use of this specific material can be viewed as a point of departure, an origin from where all the other variations of the kayamba emanate. This is identified under the Rice model of ethnomusicology as historical construction. The participants describe these material elements as crucial to the construction of the 'kayamba original'. Indigenous knowledge systems guide the choice of material as well as the form and design implemented in the construction. Whereas the term 'kayamba original' contains overtones of tensions held between the authentic and 'un-authentic', it is important to note that the participants used the term mainly to distinguish one form and design from another. The first design and its use of specific materials are used as a reference and guide. This information is used, not as a limiting standard or policing tool but as a starting point for adaptation and variation.

The sustainability of the kayamba can be attributed to its diversity and variation in material, form, and design. Based on the first principle of conservation ecology of the music discussed by Titon (2009), the kayamba displays the adaptational advantage of diversity. The kayamba quickly adapts to changes all the while maintaining its integrity and identity. One of the most significant and visible changes is climate change. The changes in climate have resulted in the use of new materials for construction. These changes are realised through the interaction of people, historically constructed knowledge systems, and new technologies accessed through individual creativity and

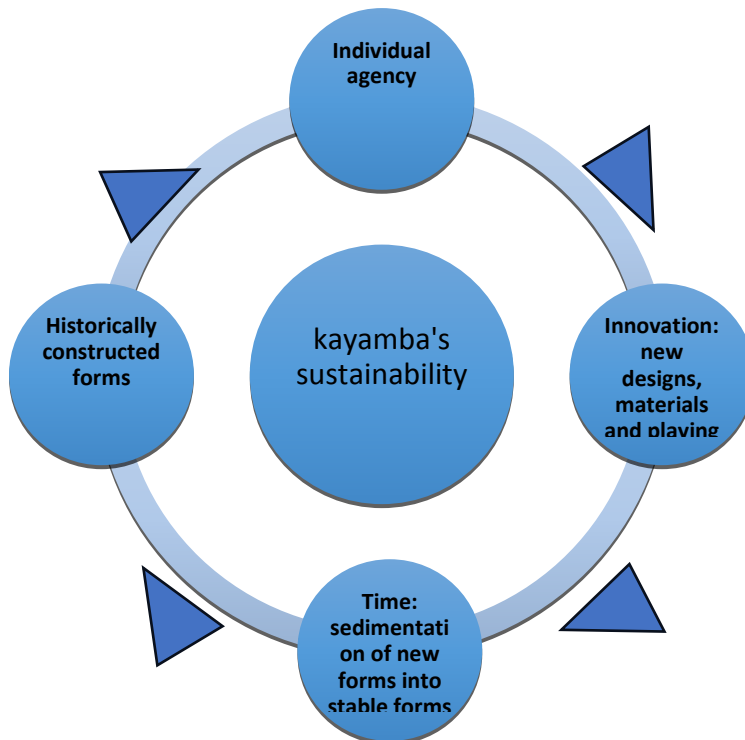
contributions. Schrag (2013) explains how these three entities interact to form sustainable music traditions:

Artists create through plastic, malleable structures in ways that infuse new energy into the stable structures. Without this, the stable structures will decay and dissipate. And without stable undergirding, the creators in malleable forms will have no place to hang their musical hats (Schrag 2013, p 438).

The Mijikenda people navigate these changes by identifying the most critical aspects of the kayamba's construction and innovating alternatives that in turn make new construction traditions that are socially maintained within the community. Innovation in tradition and culture is critical to the sustainability of a musical tradition and musical instruments (Harris, 2017). The diagram below explains the cyclic relationship between historically constructed forms, the individual agency in innovation, and the time to facilitate the sustainability of the kayamba instrument.

Figure 5

Kayamba's Sustainability



Some of the adaptation due to the environment includes the change from the use of the mitsuchi to the mwamba nyama. The mwamba nyama grass is a more drought-resistant specie of grass compared to the mitsuchi. This grass is more accessible in Kilifi County during the long dry seasons. The use of gravel, coral, and dried mung beans serve as alternatives to the turituri seeds which are becoming increasingly rare in this specific environment.

Adaptation to the changes and natural environment is one of the two main reasons for the diversity experienced in the kayamba's construction. The second reason for its diversity is due to its changes in construction during recontextualization. The kayamba displays flexibility in form and design as it moves from indigenous performance infrastructures to contemporary-local performance infrastructures. A significant change is the loss of the kibao to the kayamba used in most contemporary-local contexts. It can be argued that including the kayamba in an ensemble with more than one percussive instrument such as the standard drum kit or conga drums eliminates the need to add the kibao in the construction of the kayamba. The musical value of the kayamba is focused on its rain-stick effect rather than the combined percussion and rain-stick effect in its indigenous performance context. Additionally, the requirements of evoking a specific acoustic effect are distributed to more instruments in the ensemble.

The Table 18 below explains the interaction between the stable and malleable elements of the instrument and the variations arrived at during adaptation.

Table 18*Stable and Malleable Elements in Kayamba Adaptation*

Stable Elements	Malleable Elements	Innovation: Variations
Material: reed grass, sticks for frames, vibrating particles, string for fastening the reeds and frames	Type of reed grass, shape of sticks for frames, the material of frames, type and nature of vibrating particles, type of strings for fastening the	Reed grass variations: Mitsuchi (<i>hyperthelia dissoluta</i>), Mwamba nyama (<i>Rottboellia exaltata</i>) Frame sticks variations: bending sticks, firm processed wood. Use of nails for the frames Fastening string: sisal, synthetic string. Vibrating particles: turituri (abrus precatorius), <i>Canna indica</i> seeds, small stones, pieces of coral.
Shape: Flat surface and hollow body to contain the vibrating particles	The exact shape of the frame.	Rectangular frame, rectangular frame with angled sides.
Size: Should fit between the right hand and left-hand during playing.	The actual size of the kayamba	Very large, large, medium, and small.
Sound production and playing technique: The particles inside the kayamba are made to slide on the grass reeds	Specific ways of shaking and hitting.	Shaking back and forth across the right and left arm, lifting the kayamba and letting the particles fall to one side (like a rainstick), hitting the kayamba's top frame with the thumb, hitting the kayamba's kibao with the thumb.

Diversity is one of the main ways in which the kayamba has maintained its integrity and identity despite the many changes.

The subsequent pages contain a pictographic account of the organology of the kayamba:

Figure 6

Turituri (Abrus Precatorius)



Note: This photo was taken in Kaloleni County. The seeds belong to Father Henry Katana. He uses these seeds to replace the ones that fall off when playing.

Figure 7

Canna Indica Seeds



Note: These seeds were harvested in Nairobi County and belong to Daniel Muhuni. They are used as an alternative to the turituri which have become quite rare.

Figure 8

Mwamba Nyama (Rottboellia Exaltata)



Note: This photo was taken in Gede in Kilifi County.

Figure 9

First Form and Design of the Kayamba (KayambaOriginal)



Note: This kayamba is approximately 15 years old. It represents a typical indigenous design of the kayamba. The second image shows the attachment of the kibao to the middle stick in the frame.

Figure 10

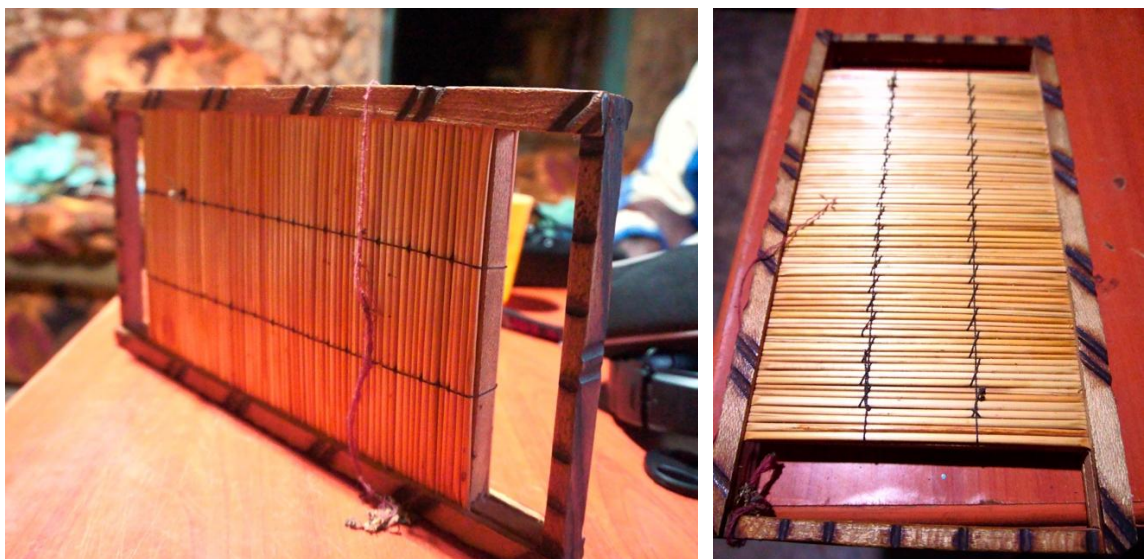
Second Form and Design of the Kayamba



Note: This picture was taken at a tourist shop known as Bismillahi Shop in Malindi town. The kayamba is similar on both sides, front and back. It misses the kibao. Small stones are used in the place of fillings in place of the turituri seeds.

Figure 11

Third Form and Design of the Kayamba



Note: These photos were taken in Kilifi County, Malindi Constituency in an area known as Takaye. This kayamba was used for by Raymond Mckenzie, Garama Mckenzie and Kwicha Iha for the music demonstrations for this thesis.

Figure 12

Father Henry Katana with his Kayamba



Note: This photo was taken at St. Barnabas Catholic Church in Father Henry Katana's office, in Kaloleni Sub county.

Figure 13

Three-Stick Frame and the Weaving Using Synthetic String



Note: This photo was provided by Daniel Muhuni and was taken in a conservation project by the Debe Debe Foundation in Nairobi County.

Figure 14

Playing posture of the kayamba



Note: These photos were taken at the debe debe foundation offices headed by Daniel Muhuni (the man in the picture).

5.5 Conclusion

Although the theme of organology provides deep insights on the relationship the kayamba has with its natural environment, its acoustic implications, the interaction with its players as well the communities' concepts that guide it, it is important to investigate other aspects of its ecosystem that support its sustainability to gain a holistic picture. The next chapter elaborates two themes linked to the indigenous musicking practices of the Mijikenda community.

CHAPTER SIX

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AND INDIGENOUS PERFORMANCE INFRASTRUCTURES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the interconnected themes of indigenous knowledge systems and indigenous knowledge infrastructures, recognizing their fundamental connection. These themes are intertwined, and any exploration of one aspect inherently impacts the other, as described by Titon's (2009) principle of interconnectivity. For instance, the kayamba healing tradition (an indigenous knowledge infrastructure) relies on kayamba music (based on indigenous knowledge systems) for its execution, while the survival of the kayamba instrument, specifically intended for healing rituals, depends on the continuation of the kayamba healing tradition. Indigenous performance infrastructures are intricately guided by indigenous knowledge systems, which in turn find practical application within these performance contexts.

The chapter is structured into two main sections, each delving into a specific theme. Within each section, there will be a description of the theme, an exploration of subthemes, and an analysis of their implications for the sustainability of the kayamba instrument.

6.2 Theme 2: Indigenous Knowledge Systems

This theme delves into the perspectives and communication patterns surrounding music within the Mijikenda community, with a specific focus on the utilization of the kayamba instrument. The study primarily emphasises the rich musical traditions associated with the kayamba. The objective of this theme is to present two comprehensive sections of information.

The first section centres on the fundamental constructs and concepts that shape the practice of kayamba musicking. These concepts and constructs will be explored in three distinct subthemes, each connected to the overarching theme of indigenous knowledge systems.

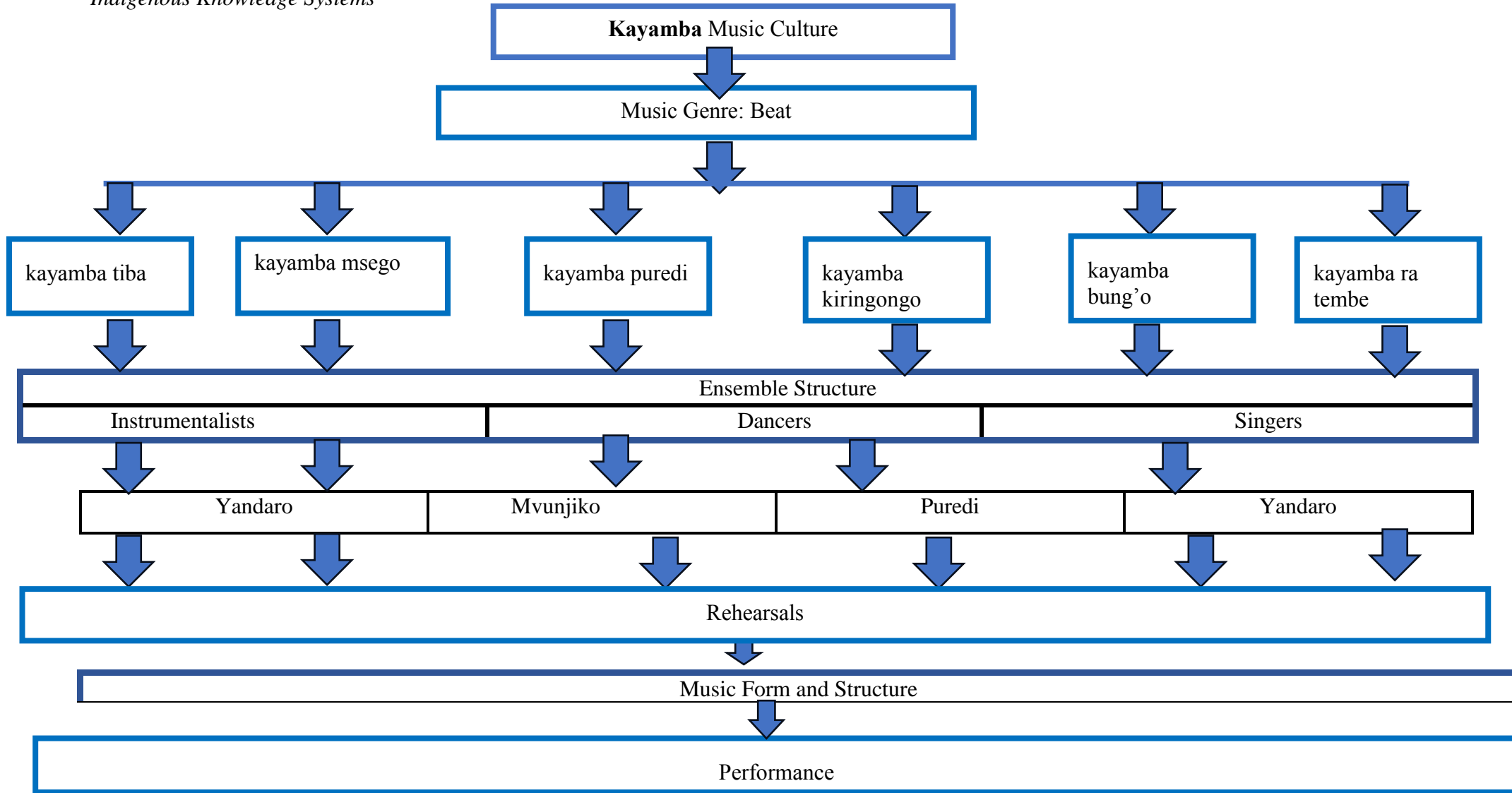
The second section examines these constructs and concepts in relation to their impact on the sustainability of the kayamba. The subthemes, presented in a specific order to reflect how the participants conveyed their knowledge systems, consist of the following:

- a) Music genres
- b) Music organisation
- c) Systems of learning

To better conceptualize the organisation of these indigenous knowledge systems, refer to the diagram provided below. It serves as a framework for understanding the interconnections and interdependencies among these different components.

Figure 15

Indigenous Knowledge Systems



6.2.1 Music Genre: Beat

One afternoon, after a long day spent in the County, I joined a group of men at the home of a local brewer known as the *mgema*. The place wasn't too far from where I was staying. Upon arrival, I was warmly welcomed and offered a seat. Raymond Mckenzie introduced me to the wazee (elders), but their response was met with an obviously awkward silence. It seemed they were contemplating what to say next, particularly in the presence of a young researcher from the city. However, the silence gave way to the background music playing from a boombox placed under a tree at the corner of the gazebo where we sat. "Is that tambala playing?" I asked, breaking the silence and seeking to identify the music the men were listening to. My question served as the ultimate icebreaker.

"How did you know that?" one man asked, while another responded, "Ah! You are Giriama." Yet another asked, "Can you identify the next one?" as he changed the track playing in the background. This question initiated a conversation about music genres and their significance to the local population.

On a different day and in a different context, during an interview with Masha Iha, after he identified the kayamba as a musical culture, he posed a follow-up question: "Which kayamba do you want to know? There is kayamba msego, kayamba kiringongo, kayamba bung'o..." For Masha Iha, knowledge of these music genres served as the starting point for our discussions on kayamba music.

Both accounts made it evident that any conversation about kayamba music needed to be contextualized within a specific music style. The participants referred to music style as "beat," a term consistently used in all conversations. Unlike its common usage in Western Classical music, where it refers to rhythm and pulse, in this context, it

encompassed entire music traditions and styles within the Mijikenda community. The term "beat" comprised instrumentation, choreography, and song repertoire associated with a particular style. It was used interchangeably with "music style" and "dance." Synonymous Swahili words included *ngoma* and *mchezo*. The word *ngoma* held multiple meanings depending on the context, referring to an instrument (drum), a song, dance, prayer, or ritual. On the other hand, *mchezo* directly translated to dance, encompassing song and instrumentation when used in a musical context.

The participants were keen on listing the genres chronologically based on their existence within the culture. Most prominently, *kayamba tiba*, the style performed during traditional healing rituals, was identified as the starting point or, as Kwicha Iha phrased it, "the mother of all the other beats." Kwicha Iha explained: "It is *kayamba tiba* that gave birth to *kayamba kiringongo*, *kayamba bung'o*, *kayamba msego*."

In this genre, the *kayamba* instrument takes centre stage, with no other instruments used apart from the *kayamba* and vocals. According to Kwicha Iha, *kayamba kiringongo* evolved from *kayamba tiba*, introducing a new style of music. He explained:

In kayamba kiringongo, the kayamba remains the same, but when we add the marimba, we call it kiringongo. The sayings belong to the songs of the kiringongo. Most often, when we combine the kayamba and rimba [referring to the kiringongo], we call it kiringongo.

In this genre, both the *kayamba* and the *kiringongo* must be included. The *kayamba* follows the rhythm of the *kiringongo*, while the *kiringongo* plays the melody of the song. In *kiringongo* music, the *kiringongo* often starts with a solo, followed by the *kayamba*, and then the vocals. The dance follows after the *kiringongo*, *kayamba*, and introductory songs have been performed. Occasionally, the *chivoti* instrument is featured in this music.

During a demonstration of kiringongo specifically arranged for this research, the performers incorporated a ndema (two metal rods struck together). The kiringongo initiated the performance during the introduction, establishing a pitch for the songs and setting the tempo and character of the piece. The kiringongo played a solo (call) that was responded to with vocal singing (response). After Raymond Mckenzie played the melody on the kayamba, Kwicha Iha and the other performers echoed the melody. During the interlude played by the kiringongo and the kayamba, Kwicha Iha made calls and chants, establishing communication between the kayamba player and the kiringongo player. In this performance, Kwicha Iha, as the vocal lead, directed the music and signalled the next song by modifying the rhythm of the kayamba and the lyrics. The call was made by playing a melody on the instrument or through Kwicha Iha's singing. The melodies played by the kiringongo were well-known, passed down through oral tradition, and naturally elicited responses from the singers. The kiringongo player rarely used his voice, as the singers knew the exact song he played during his solo. After the instrumental solo and call, the singers responded with the melody and lyrics played on the kiringongo.

As the name suggests, kayamba bung'o is a genre of music that combines the kayamba and the bung'o instrument. Differing from the kayamba kiringongo or kiringongo genre, kayamba bung'o starts with bung'o songs accompanied solely by the kayamba. Kwicha Iha describes the beginning of this music as follows:

With bung'o, you will come in with the songs unaccompanied until you get to the middle of the field. Once you get to the middle, the kayamba players will invert the kayamba [creating a rainstick-like sound as the seeds slide through the reeds]. At that point, everyone will be quiet. They will go while bending like this [he demonstrates a bent posture], and start their chants [he chants in Giriama]. Like that, after that, they respond and keep quiet, they call and respond, and after that, they come in [indicating the return of the kayamba players by playing a rhythm]. Once it gets there, the bung'o will come in after one or two songs.

The introduction section, comprises singing songs and playing the kayamba. Following this is a section marked by the entry of the bung'o.

In a demonstration recording made for this research, the bung'o played a complete melody as a call, to which the singers responded with a song, complete with lyrics. The bung'o took the lead from the second section, and the songs continued in a call-and-response fashion. During one of the bung'o calls, the bung'o player changed the melody and introduced a different rhythm for the kayamba. The melody he played made this transition familiar to the ensemble, as they knew precisely when and what to change based on the phrase played by Kwicha. He repeated this cueing phrase until all the kayamba instrumentalists were in sync. Once the bung'o player was satisfied with the synchrony of the kayamba instruments, he switched to a different song. Observing this demonstration revealed the participants' innate understanding of the cues given by the bung'o. Kwicha Iha could direct the kayamba players to change the rhythm of the songs simply by modifying a phrase. He guided the dancers to the centre stage for an improvised solo dance or instructed them to leave the dance area by playing specific phrases on the bung'o. Kwicha also specified the number of dancers he wanted to perform a solo in the middle of the stage, whether one or two, through specific phrases played on the bung'o. He could request the performance to build up in energy towards the climax and then lead them back to the calm introductory section. Kwicha further explained that he could introduce different sections within the performance by providing directions through playing the bung'o.

In the bung'o music genre among the Giriama, the second section is characterised by an improvised dance involving a man and a woman or two pairs of the same gender, who leave the formation and dance in the centre of the performance area. The third section features only female dancers, while the men remain as singers and instrumentalists. This

marks the climax of a bung'o performance, after which the dancers return to their formation, singing and dancing the final section that signifies their exit.

Kayamba msego is a genre of music composed and played solely on the kayamba. Masha Iha points out that the kayamba is the main instrument accompanying msego songs. During the video demonstration for this research, Kwicha Iha explains that the songs are short but packed with meaning. This was demonstrated when one lady spontaneously broke into a msego chant during an intermission, leaving the singers, dancers, and instrumentalists in laughter.

In the demonstration recording, the participants incorporated two whistles (mafilimbi). Kwicha Iha explained that for msego, performers can use the whistles (mafilimbi) to lead the kayamba, providing additional rhythmic accompaniment. He observed that, unlike bung'o and kiringongo, this style of music didn't involve many varied rhythms. The puredi section of msego was characterised by the mshindo, which he referred to as mguu. He explained: "For kayamba msego, the puredi is done with the feet. Kupiga mishindo..."

Kayamba puredi⁷ is another genre that incorporates the kayamba instrument and is mainly performed in the Duruma community. Alongside the kayamba, the puredi incorporates the ngoli (a horn from a small-sized ungulate like the dik-dik antelope) and the fimbo (a decorated sceptre) as dance ornaments. The puredi dance is performed by the men of the Duruma community. Based on secondary data collected from video performances, variations in the accompanying instruments were observed. In a YouTube video titled "Duruma Dance" by Brothers TV EA (2012), performers used the filimbi to accompany the dance. In another video titled "Puredi ya Duruma" by Nguwa (2020), performers

⁷ The term puredi was used to refer to both music genre (kayamba puredi) and the climatic section of a performance. Originally, this word is Mijikenda edition from the English word 'parade'. To distinguish the two meanings, the puredi that refers to a part in the form and structure within a music genre is always followed by the genre of music in reference. The kayamba puredi genre is highlighted as a dance or a music genre within the discussions.

used the chivoti and the kayamba for this genre. In both videos, the performers played the kayamba while dancing. The kayamba puredi genre heavily relied on the sound of the kibao for accents. The dance was characterised by vigorous movements of the shoulders and back. This genre of music was prominent in an area beyond the scope of this research, particularly within Kwale County. Information about this music was sourced from recorded YouTube videos and interviews with participants within the geographical scope of the study.

Kayamba ra tembe is a genre of music that incorporates all four kayamba genres (kayamba kiringongo, kayamba msegò, kayamba bung'o, and kayamba puredi) but only uses the kayamba instrument. The name kayamba ra tembe derives from the seeds/fillings placed inside the kayamba. Kwicha Iha explained that although the traditional custom involved playing only the kayamba in this genre, recent innovations and variations include the use of drums (ngoma).

Understanding the concept of music genre or beat serves as a preamble to comprehending the indigenous knowledge systems of the Mijikenda. Musical instruments act as agents of the musical style, establishing a connection between instruments and genres such as kayamba kiringongo and kayamba bung'o, highlighting the complex relationships between genres and instruments.

Participants attributed human qualities to these instruments. For instance, while learning the kayamba with Kwicha Iha, he would say, "I have said this..." while playing a rhythmic pattern, "...and you should respond by saying this..." while playing a second rhythmic pattern. The instruments became the voice of the musicians within this music genre. Kwicha Iha also demonstrated his ability to conduct and direct the entire ensemble using phrases played on the bung'o. The musicians understood the instructions encoded

within the musical phrases. During the performance, evidence of a highly structured musical language and system guiding the execution of these music genres was observed.

The music genre dictated all other aspects of musicking, including ensemble structure, orchestration, as well as musical form and structure. The next section highlights overarching principles and elements of the musical system that cut across the discussed music genres above.

6.2.2 Music Organisation

This section aims to shed light on key overarching aspects of kayamba musicking within the Mijikenda community. It serves a dual purpose. Firstly, it provides the reader with valuable information to appreciate the indigenous music of the Mijikenda. It offers visual and aural cues that aid in understanding Mijikenda music. Secondly, it provides crucial background information for comprehending the overall implications of indigenous knowledge systems on the sustainability of the kayamba.

This subtheme is organised into three categories: ensemble structure, music form and structure, and rehearsals.

6.3.2.1 The Ensemble Structure

The participants explained that in most of the performances, the ensemble is most often divided into three main sections. These sections include the singers, the dancers, and the instrumentalists. There are a few exceptions to this especially with the kayamba *puredi* genre in which the instrumentalists double as dancers. The unique structure of the kayamba allows for the instrumentalist to dance while playing. The participants highlighted that these three sections of the ensemble are detailed and that each requires a level of specialization. Singers are concerned with the lyrics (texts) and melody of the music in the performance. Instrumentalists are integral in providing the right rhythmic

and melodic accompaniment. The dancers are tasked with the execution of choreography and articulating elements of music encoded within body movement. These three sections are individually detailed and coordination among them is critical for a successful musical performance.

The flow of performance is directed by the leader who is called Ngoi. In addition to directing the performance, the Ngoi is also charged with soloing. Raymond Mckenzie explains that the ngoi is chosen for the quality of leadership in their singing voice, dancing or playing of musical instruments.

An additional key individual in the performance of most music genres is the sogora. The term Sogora is a title bestowed on an individual who has mastered all three aspects of a particular style of music. This term is predominantly attached to the playing of instruments as most genres are titled based on the instruments that are comprised within it. Daniel Muhuni provides an example of a list of Sogoras as follows: KayambaSogora, Sengenya Sogora, Mambumbumbu Sogora, Unganja Sogora, Juba Sogora, Chi/kijembe Sogora, and Gonda ra koko Sogora. The Sogora is also tasked with composing music for the genres, choreography for the dancers, teaching, and directing the instrumentalist. The Sogora is an authority in whichever music they are known for.

In the instance where the sogora and the ngoi are present in the same performance, the ngoi takes performance cues from the sogora such as when to start the music, when to move to a different section of the music, and when to guide the ensemble to solos. These sections of music are often rehearsed and predetermined. Though every music genre contains a unique configuration, there is an expected flow in the form and structure that is observed in most of the performances.

6.3.2.2 Form and Structure

The overall form and structure of kayamba-related music is characterised by an introduction section, a build-up to a climatic section, a climatic section, and a recapitulation to the beginning or similar section with the same energy and idiomatic characteristics as the beginning section. These four sections have specific names and requirements dictated by the indigenous knowledge systems.

The first section of the music is known as yandaro or ndaro. The word ndaro literally translates to a group. In this part of the performance, the dancers' section of the ensemble organise themselves into a queue to enter a performance area or stage. According to Kwicha Iha, this section is usually slow in tempo. Kwicha Iha highlights that two words are also used to refer to this section of music namely: ndaro, and muganda. The Muganda refers to the queue that is made when the performers are moving toward the performance area (uwanja). The words yandaro, ndaro, and muganda refer to a section performance where the performers organise themselves to get onto the performance area. Kwicha Iha also explained that different communities use these words differently. For instance, among the Duruma people, the entrance section of the performance is referred to as ndaro whereas among the Giriama, this section is referred to as Muganda.

During a performance demonstration organised by Kwicha Iha and John Bidii, the dance group performed this as an introduction to a series of performances. The dance group performed an entire song as an introduction to the series of performances expected for the recording. After the performance of the muganda, John Bidii exclaimed to me, “that was the muganda! It just passed! I hope you got it!” This exclamation was an acknowledgement that the muganda was an opportunity for the musicians to prepare and get in synchrony. Like a warm-up session during choral practice. He insisted that I keep it in the recording to emphasise on its importance in the performance.

The second section in most of Mijikenda's indigenous music relating to the kayamba is referred to as vunjika or mvunjiko. The word mvunjiko refers to a specific type of body movement where the shoulders and the back are moved back and forth in synchrony to the movement of the feet. Usually, this movement goes hand in hand with the shaking of the kayamba. The vunjika or mvunjiko section of these music styles is cued in by a change in a melody being played by an instrument such as the bung'o or a change of rhythm by the lead kayamba player. In most cases, the leader of the performance ushers in a lady and a gentleman from the file. The lady and gentleman step into the middle of the performance area and perform an improvised dance together for a specific period of time and return to the file. Another pair of dancers is called and they perform a specific series of improvised dances and return. This cycle continues until the leader cues in the next section of the music.

The next section of the music is referred to as the puredi. Puredi comes from the English word 'parade'. Kwicha Iha explains that this is the climax section of the performance. This section is characterised by one person coming (or a gender group male or female dancers) to the middle of the performance area and performing a dance. Kwicha talks about a variant of the puredi known as the mshindo which also appears in this third section. The mshindo in this section is an improvised rhythm performed by stamping the foot that is answered by a specific rhythmic phrase. The puredi varies in different music genres. Whereas the mshindo is present in the puredi section of the msego, the puredi for the bung'o is characterised by more animated dance movements involving the shoulders, the waist, the chest and other body parts as explained by Kwicha:

[referring to the msego] ...its puredi is different from the bung'o. For the bung'o, the mshindo is absent. For the bung'o, the shoulders or the waist, or other body parts, or the chest 'katika' (move), msego doesn't have the 'kukatika'. For the msego, they have the mshindo...

After the three sections: yandaro/ndaro/muganda, mvunjiko, and puredi the music goes back to a yandaro section where the performers cue each other to exit the performance area.

The use of onomatopoeia was a key feature in describing the nature and character of dance within the sections highlighted above. Participants used syllables to communicate rhythmic ideas and dance patterns that are featured within the music. Here is a description of Kwicha Iha on the puredi section of the mabumbumbu:“... Yes. They follow what the drums say. You will hear the drums say giji iji gijigi giji ja! Jaga jaga! Something like that. That is its puredi.”

Another example while Kwicha Iha explains the role of the kibao:

This kayamba is accompanied by a kibao right in the middle of the kayamba that while you shake like this, you hit the kibao and it provides the bass that goes like this ba.. ka ba... ka. ba papa [vocalizing the hits on the kibao)].

The level of detail with regard to transitions from one section to another, choreography within the sections, mastery of songs, and instrumentation necessitate that this music is rehearsed. The details of the ensemble structure as well as the form and structure are consolidated into a performance in highly coordinated rehearsal sessions.

6.2.3.3 Rehearsals

The rehearsals take place in a designated place called Kinyaka or Kinyakani. Tinga (1997) locates it a physical location designated for the kinyaka in the work titled “Spatial organisation of a Kaya.”Kinyaka holds special significance among the people of the Mijikenda community in a number of ways. First, it is here where the song texts and melodies are written and rehearsed by the singers. The instrumentalist and the dancers learn their parts here as well. The group leader brings the three elements of the performance together and communicates all the cues, songs, and parts that have to be

stored and performed from memory. Secondly, based on the mastery, natural talent, and memory of the members, a potential ngoi and sogora are realised over time and selected to take the place of the existing sogora and ngoi who could beaging. Thirdly, the Kinyaka acts as a place where young ladies and men meet and form relationships that form into families. In a nutshell, the Kinyaka is the place where the groups' repertoire, leadership, music structures, and preferences are formed and established.

The Kinyaka holds a special place in the understanding of the indigenous knowledge systems guiding kayamba musicking in Mijikenda culture. On one hand, it is a socially maintained institution that serves as a confluence of the musical elements that guide kayamba musicking. All musical elements go through the kinyaka to be consolidated and organised for the performance. Additionally, the kinyaka acts as a site for the transmission of indigenous knowledge systems which include musical concepts and repertoire. The continuity of master musicians within the community is also realised within this site. The Kinyaka finds itself in the middle of a sandwich. On one side lies the production and consolidation of musical information and on the other lies systems of transmission, distribution, and consumption of music.

6.2.3 Systems of Learning

The title of this subtheme is borrowed directly from the first domain of Schippers' (2015) framework for studying sustainable music cultures. This section highlights the storage and transmission processes of music cultures related to the kayamba instrument. Three main categories which include oral tradition as a vehicle and repository for transmission of indigenous knowledge systems, musical families, and set pedagogical etudes essential for learning the kayamba instrument were highlighted by the participants.

Nzewi (2007) explains that the indigenous music of Africa is organised, framed, and theorized by concepts and understandings embedded in oral memory that are also transmitted and advanced as oral tradition. The memory of the people of the Mijikenda is the largest repository of their indigenous music. When asked where they store their music, Kwicha Iha responded as follows: "all music is here" [points to the head]." While answering a question on musical styles and songs Kwicha Iha stated: "...Yes, you will put all of it in your brain. You will know that this song you sing does not go well with that one, and that one does not go well with this one."

Masha Iha, responded as follows: "I have the expertise to play the kayamba, if you'd like to know, you'd need to dedicate your time and come and learn with me". Daniel Muhuni responded: "I had to sit with those wazee as they teach me..." Katoi wa Tabaka explained it as follows: "I first went to MADCA to learn the cultural music with the wazee."

From the above excerpts it is evident that both the teachers (Masha Iha and Kwicha Iha) and the students (Daniel Muhuni and Katoi wa Tabaka) teach and learn the kayamba through oral tradition.

Most of the information with regards to the songs, form and structure, dances, and construction of instruments is preserved and transmitted through oral tradition. Willing students acquire the information by watching, practicing, and experiencing the music while it is being performed. To understand the technical information on playing the kayamba, I had to learn by watching the masters play it, asking questions, and through trial and error imitating the playing of the master players.

The oral tradition among the Mijikenda, especially the indigenous knowledge systems that guide musicking are entrusted to skilled individuals and families. Musical information domicile within the oral tradition is divided into families who act as schools

of particular genres. In the field, I interacted with a number of these families who were known for particular music genres. An example is the Mckenzie family which is comprised of: Garama Mckenzie, Kwicha Iha Mckenzie, Raymond Mtawali Mckenzie, and Karemba Mckenzie. According to Daniel Muhuni and Masha Iha, this family is famous for the kiringongo and bung'o music within the Takaye - Malindi area. During my fieldwork it was common to see the members of the Mckenzie family meet at the boma⁸ for practice. Raymond Mckenzie explained that this was their family legacy carried on from their parents. Another case observed is the Masha Iha family where his son, Kazungu Masha is now a highly skilled player of the Mabumbumbu and performs regularly with the Mijikenda jazz band, headed by Katoi wa Tabaka. Most members of the Masha Iha family are affiliated to music performances and are well-versed in the music of the ngoma (drum music).

Though musical families are prevalent and great hubs for music, the music information is not limited to the individuals of the family. Raymond Mckenzie mentioned that anyone who shows interest and natural talent can be trained. The families and individuals act as repositories accessible to any member of the community who shows interest in particular music genres. Individuals who express interest in more than one style of playing are free to learn from different families and individuals. For instance, Katoi wa Tabaka learned his playing from the wazee at MADCA and Mzee Mwangandu. Daniel Muhuni learned the kayamba alongside other instruments from different masters during his fieldwork in the coastal region.

⁸ A boma is a cultural homestead. The homestead is made up of houses that surround a field. Members of the family and close friends often meet under a tree or shade for leisure and sometimes play music together.

Additionally, these families and individuals co-exist and share musical information. For instance, Masha Iha remembers mentoring Kwicha Iha from a young age. In one of the interviews, Masha Iha recalls taking Kwicha Iha, who was then a small boy, for practice. Kwicha Iha recalled his mentors, Charo wa Shutu, and Kazungu Chipa, and explained how these individuals contributed to his profession as a musician and as an acrobat. The transfer of information from master to student is set on a hierarchical system that delimits basic information from virtuosic content. Learners are highly encouraged to start from set foundational information before they are allowed to participate as dancers, singers or instrumentalists in an ensemble.

The Master kayamba players explain that there is quintessential information required in learning the kayamba. The most emphasised entailed a set of five rhythms that serve as basic building blocks for kayamba playing, much similar to the scales and etudes in Western classical music traditions. These rhythms are a set of five patterns as played by Kwicha Iha and corroborated by Daniel Muhuni, Katoi wa Tabaka, Masha Iha, and Raymond Mckenzie.

Tempo: 120bpm

Straight rhythm.

Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern two

Kwicha Iha: Mijikenda Community

The image displays musical notation for two parts: Kibao and Kayamba. Both parts are in 6/8 time, indicated by the time signature '6/8' at the beginning of each staff. The Kibao part consists of four measures of music, each containing a sequence of eighth notes. The Kayamba part also consists of four measures, with each measure containing a sequence of eighth notes. The notation uses a treble clef and a common key signature. The music is presented in a standard staff format with a repeat sign at the end of each part.

The notation below is a transcription of the kayamba rhythms as played by Kwicha Iha. There are two staves, each representing a part of the kayamba. The top staff represents the rhythm played on the kibao of the kayamba by the left and right thumb. These rhythms are usually played alternately (left thumb followed by right thumb or vice versa). The bottom staff represents the rhythm produced by the shaking of the kayamba. For a more accurate representation of the music, some rhythms are played with a swing. The 50% swing is an algorithm feature to help the notation software represent the rhythm with more accuracy. The straight rhythm is hard quantized⁹.

Tempo: 120bpm

Straight rhythm.

Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern two

Kwicha Iha: Mijikenda Community

Tempo: 120bpm

Straight rhythm.

Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern one

Kwicha Iha: Mijikenda Community

⁹ Hard quantization: This is a MIDI (musical digital interface) that represents rhythms that are set in line to the grid workspace of a digital audio interface or music notation software.

Tempo: 87.60bpm

Swing: 50% on eighth notes.

Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern three

Kwicha Iha: Mijikenda Community

Musical notation for Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern three. The notation is in 2/4 time. The Kibao part consists of a sequence of quarter notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The Kayamba part consists of a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The pattern is repeated twice.

This rhythm resembles the popular 'Hokame, Homze! Call from the Safari ya bamba' choral arrangement recorded by Muungano choir. Kwicha plays this rhythm while singing to the same call (Safari Ya Bamba: Folk Music of Kenya Vol I, 1989).

Tempo: 132bpm

Swing: 50bpm on eighth notes

Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern four

Kwicha Iha: Mijikenda Community

Musical notation for Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern four. The notation is in 6/4 time. The Kibao part consists of a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The Kayamba part consists of a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The pattern is repeated twice.

Musical notation for Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern four (continued). The notation is in 6/4 time. The Kibao part consists of a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The Kayamba part consists of a sequence of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The pattern is repeated twice.

Tempo: approximately 120bpm

Swing: 50% on eighth notes.

Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern five

Kwicha Iha: Mijikenda Community

The musical notation for Kayamba Rhythms: Pattern five is presented in two parts. The first part shows a Kibao part (top staff) and a Kayamba part (bottom staff) in 6/4 time. The Kibao part consists of a sequence of eighth notes and rests, with accents (>) under the eighth notes. The Kayamba part consists of a sequence of eighth notes. The second part shows a Kibao part (top staff) and a Kayamba part (bottom staff) in 6/4 time. The Kibao part starts with a 4-measure rest (indicated by a '4' above the staff) followed by a sequence of eighth notes and rests, with accents (>) under the eighth notes. The Kayamba part consists of a sequence of eighth notes. Both parts end with a double bar line and repeat dots (:).

The rhythms above serve as building blocks to kayamba playing. Though the order of performance was varied from master to master, they all insisted on learning these basic rhythms before moving on to playing kayamba music genres.

6.2.4 Implication of Indigenous Knowledge Systems to the Sustainability of the Kayamba

This section applies the term indigenous knowledge systems to highlight the network of knowledges, beliefs, and traditions that guide the Mijikenda's conceptualizations, constructs, and performance of music within indigenous music performance contexts. This section highlights the relationship these knowledge systems have to the sustainability of the kayamba music instrument.

The very existence of indigenous knowledge systems guiding the musicking of the Mijikenda provides the kayamba instrument with a cultural context that constitute deep and wide historical constructions that dictate its musicking. An application of Titon's

(2009) principle of limits to growth highlights these indigenous knowledge systems as boundaries that restrict the kayamba of the Mijikenda to the music traditions and cultures of the Mijikenda. The location of the kayamba within the Mijikenda community dictates that the kayamba employs the ‘musical theories’ of the Mijikenda that guide its systems of learning, storage, transmission, and music organisation among other elements of its musicking. The existence of these indigenous knowledge systems provides the kayamba instrument with an identity and a culture, an indigenous home that informs its musicking and provides a cultural reference even as the instrument wanders to many cultures within the country and around the globe.

In addition to providing the kayamba with a cultural reference and origin, the indigenous knowledge systems provide a link between the instrument and the guiding framework of Mijikenda musicking; the music genre/beat. An application of Titon’s (2009) principle of interconnectivity enables the study to link the instrument to the indigenous knowledge systems that guide its musicking. The concept of kayamba music culture, kayamba instruments, and genres of the kayamba is deeply entangled and interconnected. The music genres and the instruments cannot exist without each other. This defines an ecosystem that dictates that an emphasis on one (instrument or genre) affects the other. It can therefore be argued that the existence and maintenance of these music genres have directly impacted the existence and sustainability of the kayamba instrument that enables its use in musicking.

Indigenous knowledge systems are based on historically constructed traditions. The first domain of Rice’s (1987/2017) model explains an application of these systems as a way of “re-encountering and recreating forms and legacy of the past in each moment of the present” (p.50). The participants refer to the historically constructed forms as utamaduni. Adherence to these systems provides a connection between the past, the present, and the

future. Kazungu wa H'awerisa explains this concept as follows: "You can't know if you are lost if you don't know where you are going. You can't truly know where you are headed if you don't know where you are from".

This statement accentuates the need for history and historically constructed forms in the present and in the imaginations of the future. The cycle of sustainability of the kayambainstrument is characterised by historically constructed forms found and established within the indigenous music systems and built upon through innovation and sedimentation. According to Kazungu wa H'awerisa, the sustainability of the kayamba is inevitably linked to these indigenous knowledge systems.

Schippers' (2015) domain of systems of learning elucidates on the clear structures of storage and transmission of the indigenous knowledge systems that guide kayamba musicking. The role of memory is articulated as imperative in the process of storage and transmission. Nzewi (2009) refers to this process as ideosonic documentation (p.135). The term ideosonic documentation encapsulates the practice of retaining and producing from memory the essential elements of musical information. This study observes that memory, both collective and individual, is key in maintaining these indigenous knowledge systems. The Mijikenda community distributes these indigenous musical knowledges in repositories located in individuals such as the masters and the sogora, and in collective groups such as musical families. The knowledge systems are grouped into music genres and styles which embody entire music traditions including instrumentation, dance, and choreography, as well as song repertoires. These musical communities and individuals act as vehicles of indigenous knowledge systems and agents of sustainability for kayamba music traditions and the kayamba instrument.

An additional element of the systems of learning is the kinyaka. This site acts as a socially maintained institution that not only facilitates the learning of indigenous

knowledge systems but also acts as a site for innovation and sedimentation of culture. In the kinyaka, future culture-bearers and stewards of the music cultures that involve the kayamba are identified, nurtured, produced, and established.

6.3 Theme 3: Indigenous Performance Infrastructures

This theme focuses on the socially constructed institutions and belief systems that form the foundation of indigenous music performances. It incorporates the conceptual and thematic framework, as well as the concept of the music event as a unit for analysis, initially developed by Stone (1982), to discuss the second subtheme.

Within this study, three main performance contexts have been observed as infrastructures for kayamba musicking. These contexts include traditional medicine and healing rituals, locally based music competitions known as pingano, and burial ceremonies. The following sections offer a detailed account of these performance infrastructures.

6.3.1 Traditional Medicine and healing rituals

Traditional medicine among the Mijikenda community follows standard protocols and procedures, collectively referred to as *'tiba za kienyeji'* or *'tiba za kialisli'* within the region. The first step in this tradition is the diagnosis process. When someone falls ill, either the patient, a close family member, or a friend consults a specialist in diagnosis known as *mpiga ramli/ramli*, or *mpiga mburuga*. The ramli consults with the spirits to identify the source of the problem, which can stem from various causes such as an unhappy ancestral spirit or dealing with a patient possessed by an evil spirit known as p'epo. If the cause of the problem is an ancestor that needs appeasing, the ramli prescribes a sacrificial ritual to appease the spirit. On the other hand, if the problem is caused by a p'epo or witchcraft, the ramli recommends a doctor who specializes in exorcism through a healing ritual that incorporates music.

The doctor, known as *mganga*, is responsible for restoring the patient's health. Alongside the use of music, the healing ritual involves the utilization of herbs, charms, and other healing tools such as *mwingo* (a special whip used to sprinkle water on the spirit-possessed person), *chigodi* (a special seat used during spirit appeasement), and *vuwo ra chifudu* (medicinal water used in the healing ritual).

The music played during the ritual is referred to as *ngoma ra pepo* or *kayamba ra pepo*, or *kayamba tiba*, depending on the context. *Ngoma ra pepo* involves the use of drums and *mahando* (hand-held gourd shakers) and is more prevalent among the Giriama community in Kilifi. *Kayamba ra pepo* or *kayamba tiba*, which translates to *kayamba* music for the spirits or *kayamba* music for healing, is the specific focus of this study. In *kayamba tiba/kayamba ra pepo*, the *kayamba* is the main musical instrument in the performance and ritual. Participants mentioned that during the ritual, the spirit being appeased may request specific genres of music, and the *mganga* insists on their performance. If the spirit specifically asks for the *kayamba*, the musicians, including the *mganga*, have to play it accordingly. This phenomenon is explained by Kwicha Iha: "...we, the Giriama, use the *ngoma*, not the *kayamba*. But there is that *shaitani* (evil spirit) who prefers the *kayamba*. If they ask for it, we have to find it and play it."

According to the informants, the *kayamba tiba* or *ngoma ya pepo* is typically played from around 8 pm until around 4 am the following morning. The ritual involves the participation of the patient, the *mganga*, the musicians, and members of the community. All the interviewed participants explained that the healing ritual takes a considerable amount of time, although the exact duration in terms of hours or days is not specified. Raymond McKenzie provides further insight: "...When someone was sick, we used to call the experts. They used to play different rhythms of the *kayamba* like *msego*, *kiringongo*, and *puredi* for almost the whole night..."

The process of playing the kayamba for healing is known as 'kupunga,' which translates to exorcism. During a discussion with Daniel Muhuni about the designs of the kayamba instrument, he identified the first design as the kayamba ya kupunga, meaning the kayamba used in exorcism.

The music played in the kayamba ritual is a combination of different kayamba genres. These genres are requested by spirits and performed by expert musicians. Raymond explains: "The person knows the spirit attacking them, so they specify which rhythm to be played at different times, and the community joins in if they enjoy the music."

Different spirits have different music preferences. The participants also noted that not all spirits need to be exorcised; some simply require appeasement through the playing of specific genres of music. The music also aims to relax the person's mind and provide comfort, according to Raymond McKenzie. Raymond provides a rationale for the type of music requested during the healing process of an individual who needs the k'oma (spirit) appeased:

Yes, but only the big trees. The Mijikenda believe that the spirits go there. So, for example, here we have the k'oma, the ancestors. Most of the time, these people [the k'oma] are the ones who dwell in your body. If your grandfather played a particular style of music, and you were close to your grandfather, then you'd be prone to do what your grandfather does.

This explanation reveals that the spirits inhabiting individuals are the spirits of their family members, who had preferred genres of music. These spirits request their favourite musics to be played to the person they reside in.

Raymond McKenzie, Kwicha Iha, and Participant B provided a brief explanation of the ritual process as follows:

...someone would go to the ramli to diagnose what type of spirit is ailing. If the spirit is not meant to be in your body, people would make a clay image of the spirit. Once

the spirit is diagnosed and confirmed, the kayamba would be played as instructed by the mganga, who knows the required music and medicine. During the playing, the patient would take the clay sculpture of the spirit and find a baobab tree, where they would throw the sculpture. People would follow the patient until they reach the baobab tree. Then, water containing herbs would be poured on the patient. The sculpture would be beaten and broken at the baobab tree, symbolizing the removal of the spirit from the person, leaving it at the baobab. However, this process only applies to stubborn spirits that cause illness. If the diagnosed spirits bring pleasure without causing illness, they are not cast out.

The requested music is often associated with the community performing the ritual. For example, a ritual among the Chonyi community would rarely include the msego genre because it is not as popular among the Chonyi people. The kiringongo genre would be the most expected. The musicians who play the music are commissioned and directed by the mganga.

Unfortunately, the practice of traditional medicine has been declining. Conversations with Kazungu wa H'awerisa and a group of Kaya elders at MADCA revealed persistent persecution from community members who have chosen other religions, particularly Christianity. Only a few individuals were willing to discuss the details of this ritual. To supplement the interview data, this study employed videos from neighbouring counties where the practice of kayamba ra tiba was more prevalent.

This specific performance context serves as an annex to many other traditions and indigenous knowledge systems, including traditional medicine, traditional botany, traditional religion, and indigenous music systems. This performance infrastructure has been sustained for generations and is still practiced despite the challenges and debates that surround it. The second indigenous performance context is the pingano.

6.3.2 Music Competition: The Pingano

Pingano or *mstomano* refers to music competitions that hold great significance within the Mijikenda culture. These competitions are typically held in designated fields known as

uwanja. According to the informants, pingano serves as a platform for various ndaro (cultural dance groups) to compete against each other in musical battles. The participating groups often come from different villages, sub-locations, and locations. Historically, these competitions were frequently held on Sundays.

The adjudication of pingano is carried out by the attending members of the community, with the number of spectators and their engagement determining the quality of the performance. The performers set up at different stations within the same field, and the community members move from one performance station to another. The competition concludes with the dance group that garners the largest audience and the loudest applause emerging as the winner.

Several factors are assessed during pingano. The informants highlighted the importance of the quality of the lyrics in terms of poetry and content. Additionally, the synchrony, creativity, and skill displayed in the choreography are evaluated. The mastery and virtuosity exhibited in playing musical instruments are also considered. The genre of music performed is another aspect that is assessed. The first three elements play a crucial role in attracting and retaining an audience.

Winning these competitions holds significance for the dance groups. First, the pingano serves as a platform for a group to establish its reputation within the community. Furthermore, the best ngoi and sogora in different music genres are often selected from the top-performing groups, and the winners are viewed as representatives and custodians of the music they perform. The winners are said to have '*kutsoma*' (won), while the losers are said to have '*kutsomwa*' (lost).

Secondly, recognition gained through pingano determines which groups are offered performance opportunities within the community. When someone has a wedding or plans

to celebrate a harvest, priority is given to the winning groups from pingano. Through pingano, specific groups and families have built a reputation and become associated with particular music genres. For example, Mzee Masha's family and performance group are renowned for music genres involving drums such as mabumbumbu and gonda, while Kwicha Iha and his family are famous for their mastery of bung'o music. Mzee Mwatela is well-known for Sengenya, Tikistsi, and Dumbwi. Additionally, pingano and kinyaka contexts provide an opportunity for individuals to identify potential marriage partners. Skilled male dancers and instrumentalists have a higher chance of winning a potential spouse's hand in marriage (George, 2014).

The assessment criteria for music involving the kayamba follow a similar pattern. Apart from evaluating the mastery of singing, dancing, and instrument-playing, the synchrony of the kayamba movements plays an additional role. In genres like puredi, where the instrumentalist also sings and dances, the level of performance is determined by the seamless synchrony of the kayamba movements. Observing the body movements in relation to the shaking of the kayamba reveals any synchrony issues. If some members of a group appear to have different directions when shaking the kayamba, the performance is deemed in need of practice or not good enough. Conversely, if the performers who fulfill the roles of dancers and instrumentalists display high synchronization, the performance is praised as being of high quality.

During the fieldwork period, the majority of active informants and dancers were aged between their late 50s and mid-70s. They expressed concerns that since most young people are not willing to learn these music traditions, their generation might be the last to carry them forward, leading to a complete loss of these indigenous music cultures. Unfortunately, the pingano music tradition is rapidly fading due to this decline in interest.

6.3.3 Burial ceremonies

Music plays a vital role in the traditional burial ceremonies of the Mijikenda community. Despite the presence of competing traditions influenced by religious-based burial rites, I observed a strong adherence to indigenous traditions during my stay in Kilifi County, particularly in relation to burial rites and ceremonies.

During my research, I had the unfortunate opportunity to witness the passing of Rashidi's mother, one of the research participants. When I visited the bereaved family, they mentioned that the deceased had a great love for kayamba music. In order to celebrate her life and appease her spirit, the family organised a group of traditional dancers to perform during the burial ceremony. Interestingly, although the family belonged to the Jibana community, they specifically sought out a cultural dance group from the Duruma community as the deceased had a deep fondness for the *puredi* music of the Duruma. This finding is supported by Yaa's (2018) study, where participants noted that the songs performed during burial rites depended on the age and favourite songs of the deceased.

It is worth noting that the use of kayamba music is not uncommon during burial ceremonies. However, the Kifudu music genre (does not use the kayamba) was highlighted as one of the most prevalent genres in the burial ceremonies of the area. This study primarily focuses on this particular ceremony as an indigenous performance infrastructure for music that incorporates the kayamba instrument.

6.3.4 The Implication of Indigenous Performance Infrastructures to the Sustainability of the Kayamba

This study applies the word indigenous performance infrastructures to include social institutions, contexts and constructs, belief systems, and all aspects of the Mijikenda culture that necessitate and facilitate the existence of kayamba music culture within the

Mijikenda community. This section highlights the relationship between the indigenous performance infrastructures above and their contribution to the sustainability of the kayamba. Discussions in this section will highlight the accounts of the performance infrastructures discussed above in relation to the theoretical framework of the study. Within the theme of indigenous performance infrastructures, (an exception to other themes), this study considered presenting the implication to sustainability in separate sections. The ideas and concepts addressed through the subtheme showcased significant independence and was best presented within separate sections.

6.3.4.1 Traditional Medicine and Healing Ritual

This study places emphasis on the relationship between the kayamba healing ritual and the sustainability of the kayamba instrument. By applying the principle of interconnectivity (Titon, 2009), the study explores the conceptual networks that link the kayamba instrument to the culture, contexts, constructs, and belief systems of the Mijikenda community.

The first connection observed is between the kayamba healing ritual and the natural environment where the ritual takes place. This ritual acts as a confluence, bringing together the deity of the Mijikenda, the land and natural environment, the living members of the community, and the music performed. Big trees, especially baobabs, are considered spiritual and sacred. They are seen as dwelling places of the spirits and serve as portals between the physical and spiritual worlds. The use of medicinal herbs to create *vuwo ra chifudu* requires a deep understanding of botany. The kayamba instrument is woven into this tapestry that connects the environment, medicine, and botany. It is a core element of the ritual and holds the same significance as the sacred items used in the ritual. Additionally, the reverence given to these trees and the preservation of the natural environment contributes to the maintenance of the region's ecosystem. The belief in the

sacredness of trees prevents deforestation and excessive clearing of forests, thereby preserving weather patterns and climate conditions. The maintenance of the natural environment ensures the availability of raw materials, completing the ecological cycle that links the instrument, raw materials, and the natural environment.

Secondly, the traditional healing ritual necessitates the preservation of music genres and their repertoire within the culture. Music is regarded as a therapeutic tool, similar to a stethoscope or a needle and syringe for the *mganga*. This characteristic embeds the *kayamba* instrument and its music culture into the daily life of the Mijikenda community.

The third link involves the aspect of construction. To meet the acoustic and technical requirements of the instrument for traditional healing purposes, the *kayamba* must adhere to the construction standards dictated by the community. The music traditions associated with the ritual require the *kayamba* to be woven according to indigenous specifications (*kayamba* original) for this specific musical purpose. This ensures that the historical formations addressed by Rice (1987/2017) are considered when producing instruments and music intended for healing.

The principles of music stewardship (Titon, 2009) and individual agency (Rice, 1987/2017) are evident in the community's efforts to sustain these music traditions. The traditional healing ritual exists in a liminal space, intersecting with post-colonial and global influences that bring competing and complementary identities, belief systems, religions, changing technologies, and philosophies. The tensions arising from this intersection have negatively affected the Mijikenda population practicing traditional medicine.

One of the major contributors to these tensions is religion, with Christianity, Islam, and African Traditional Religion being prevalent in Kilifi County. Unfortunately, those who

practice African Traditional Religion are among the most affected by religious tensions in the area. According to Participant A, Participant B, Raymond McKenzie, and Kazungu wa H'awerisa, individuals engaged in indigenous rituals are viewed as wizards, witches, and threats to the community. They face persecution within their own families and villages. During my stay, I was specifically warned against carrying the kayamba, especially near places of worship, as it might incite violence from those who believe I am casting spells. Participant B shared his personal experience of facing persecution from his son due to their differing beliefs, which caused a significant rift between them. Participant B was even accused of causing the death of their granddaughter. Additionally, Kazungu wa H'awerisa explained that older and vulnerable members of the community are targeted because of their association with traditional rituals. Many individuals in his rescue centre have received threats, and some have experienced violence from community members and even their own families.

Consequently, indigenous rituals, especially the healing ritual, have become extremely rare in Kilifi County. Some traditional medical practitioners have relocated further south to Kwale and Mombasa County, where the population is more neutral, although their safety and security are not entirely guaranteed.

Fortunately, some local county governments and communities working together to develop policies that recognize and protect traditional medical doctors and ritualists. One example is the Utamaduni na Tiba za Kitamaduni Association, founded by Japheth Mukomba. This association is registered by the County Government of Kwale and focuses on advocating for the rights of traditional medicine and knowledge systems in the coastal region of Kenya. Japheth Mukomba explains that his association has had joint meetings with the Kenya National Museums and the World Wildlife Foundation (WWF),

as well as the government, to create an umbrella group that protects and guides the practitioners of traditional medicine in the county (KTN News, 2021).

Additionally, the Malindi District Cultural Association (MADCA), chaired by Emmanuel Munyaya and located in Malindi, serves a dual purpose. It acts as a rescue centre for community members facing persecution due to their association with indigenous rituals and serves as a repository of the traditions and cultures of the Mijikenda people. This site is open to the public for research and inquiries about the history, traditions, and beliefs of the Mijikenda.

These two associations exemplify community-led initiatives aimed at preserving culture and maintaining indigenous social structures. They are the community's response to global and technological changes and represent the efforts of culture-bearers to nurture the cultural soil that holds the music cultures of the kayamba.

It is important to note that despite facing significant persecution and challenges from the community, the healing tradition holds a special place for a section of the Mijikenda population. Some villages in Kilifi County are located far from healthcare centres, and certain community members live in poverty-stricken regions and cannot afford medicine or healthcare services from government or private institutions. Traditional medicine practice is considered more affordable and accessible for these populations, making this institution important to them. Traditional medicine is often seen as a last resort when other forms of medicine have failed. Nyevu Mwangya, a patient from Kwale County, explains that she consulted traditional medicine men after trying other forms of medicine, and it was through the kayamba healing ritual that she fully recovered (KTN News, 2021).

According to Daniel Muhuni, the kayamba healing ritual serves as a unifying element shared among all nine subgroups of the Mijikenda community. This institution is socially maintained by all members of the community. As a result, the kayamba instrument is sustained not just as a musical instrument but as an integral part of a ritual that connects the people, the land, and the divine.

6.3.4.2 Music Competition: The Pingano

This study adopts the concept of the music event as an analytical unit, which was pioneered by Ruth Stone in her work titled "Let the Inside Be Sweet" (1982) and further developed by ethnomusicologists and musicologist scholars such as Steven Feld (2012), Christopher Small (1998), and Turino (2008). The concept of the music event focuses on examining music within its performance context, emphasizing the dynamic and ephemeral nature of live music experiences. It takes into account various elements including the performers, the audience, the venue, the social and cultural context, and the interactions between these components. In this study, the pingano music event is observed as an indigenous performance infrastructure that plays a crucial role in facilitating the sustainability of the kayamba and shaping its performance.

The pingano music event serves as a socially maintained institution and performance infrastructure where the production and consumption of music are the primary goals. It serves as a tool for the community to steward indigenous music cultures and traditions. Within this context, the community actively engages in music stewardship by upholding the standards of music performance. Performances that meet the approval of a larger audience are considered successful, while music genres and traditions that fail to attract attention gradually fade from the community's collective memory. This process reflects the community's criteria for sustaining the aspects of music culture they deem worthy, as highlighted by Titon (2010) and Schippers (2015). As Schippers & Grant (2016)

elaborate, researchers should be sensitive to the community's preferences regarding which music cultures should be sustained and which may naturally disappear. This study observes that the pingano event has consistently affirmed the significance of music genres and performers, including the kayamba, solidifying the instrument's place and music culture within the Mijikenda community.

The pingano event also encourages individual agency in composition, improvisation, and overall creativity associated with music cultures. Performers incorporate their creative faculties into the choreography, instrument dexterity, instrument design, and other aspects of the performance. These creative elements are evaluated through observation, with some being approved and others not. Those approved receive applause and praise, ensuring their sustainability, while those that do not meet the criteria gradually fade away. Moreover, this music event serves as a site for the innovation and preservation of culture, as creative elements accepted within this musical context are integrated into the cultural systems and music traditions of the Mijikenda.

Given the importance of the pingano event for the sustainability of Mijikenda music cultures, it is crucial for scholars to collaborate with the culture-bearers to facilitate revitalization projects for this performance infrastructure. Participants expressed concerns about the event's fading, mainly due to the generational disconnect between the elderly population that has practiced it and the younger generation.

6.3.4.3 Burial Ceremony

The burial ceremony holds significant meaning as a transitional rite of passage from the living to the living dead within the Mijikenda community. In this social institution, music serves as a bridge connecting the realms of the living and the dead, providing a permanent portal for the living to transition into the spirit world. The Mijikenda community attributes music with the power to permeate the spirit world, elevating the

importance of music cultures associated with the burial ritual. Similar to traditional medicine practice, this performance infrastructure serves as a bridge between the physical world, the spirit world, and the music culture. During the burial of Rashidi's mother, the kayamba music culture was upheld to facilitate a smooth transition for the departed and to foster a peaceful and harmonious relationship between the spirit of the departed and the bereaved family.

The burial ceremony also necessitates the recollection of the music traditions of those who have transitioned into the spirit world. The act of replaying this music serves to remember and keep these musical traditions alive in the individual and collective memory of the community. This requirement ensures that music traditions are consistently performed and intentionally preserved in the oral tradition.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter elucidated the indigenous ecosystems that facilitate the kayamba's resilience and sustainability. Indigenous knowledge systems and indigenous performance infrastructures are embodied historical constructions that are socially maintained and developed upon by individuals (Rice, 2017/1987). These ecosystems also serve as reference points for recontextualization and diversification. Schrag (2013) explains these historical constructions as foundations for innovation. The next theme highlights the recontextualization of the kayamba for the contemporary-local performance infrastructures and commercial elements.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONTEMPORARY-LOCAL PERFORMANCE INFRASTRUCTURES AND COMMERCIAL ELEMENTS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter combines two themes: contemporary-local performance infrastructures and the commercial elements associated with the kayamba. These themes exhibit similarities in their recontextualization of the kayamba from its indigenous music and economic environment.

Within the contemporary-local infrastructures, the kayamba is incorporated into various musical contexts and assumes new roles within various ensembles. In the commercial elements theme, the kayamba finds applications in diverse markets and industries, such as tourism, music, and education. In both themes, the kayamba adapts by embracing new terms, knowledge, and conceptualizations. Despite these adaptations, the kayamba maintains key elements that define its identity and integrity, demonstrating its resilience within these contexts.

This chapter is divided into two main sections. Each section provides a description of the theme, an account of the subthemes, and a discussion of their implications for the sustainability of the kayamba.

7.2 Theme 4: Contemporary-local performance sinfrastructures

This study employs the term "contemporary-local performance infrastructures" to encompass local performances within Kilifi County that take place beyond the indigenous performance structures. This theme focuses on performance contexts where the kayamba instrument is incorporated into contemporary music performance spaces. The motivation for this theme stems from Schippers & Grant's (2016) assertion that:

There is a need to examine music practices within their contemporary global context, in close collaboration with the communities themselves. This benefits not only their histories and 'authentic' practices but also their dynamics and potential for recontextualization in contemporary settings, which includes considering new musical realities, changing values and attitudes, and political market forces (p.3).

This theme sets the groundwork for exploring how the kayamba instrument has been recontextualized and applied to diverse musical contexts, observing changes in its structure and use across these contexts. Schippers & Grant (2016) suggest that all music practices naturally reinvent, redefine, and recontextualize themselves. This study applies the same observation to the kayamba instrument, acknowledging its capacity to be reinvented, redefined, and recontextualized in various contemporary performance contexts. The theme is further divided into three main subthemes that constitute the contemporary-local performance infrastructures: leisure, local live bands, and Christian religious services.

7.2.1 Leisure

During my stay in Kilifi County, it was evident that the construction and playing of musical instruments was a popular pass time among many individuals. During my arrival at my first location, there were shakers referred to as the donga hung next to a store just outside Raymond Mckenzie's house. He explained that the instruments he was making were meant for his personal collection. He added that he makes most progress with this during his leisure hours.

During my morning and evening walks, I occasionally bumped into children and adults playing traditional musical instruments. In one instance I watched as a child aged approximately 11 years sitting at the veranda outside of their house at sunset practicing the kiringongo. In another instance, after a recording of a performance, a young male

student closely related to Kwicha Iha picked up the kiringongo and started to play a kayamba kiringongo song. The elders present which included Raymond Mckenzie, Kwicha Iha, and Rashid watched him play quietly as we set down the recording equipment and musical instruments. When the young boy paused for a moment to try and figure out a section that was proving complex to him, the elders stepped in to help and applauded him for the impromptu performance. Other younger children nearby aged between 3 and 6 picked the filimbi (whistles) and played in the background as we continued to talk casually. Leisure within this boma was characterised by such examples of musicking.

In a discussion on the construction of the kayamba with Jeffa from Tezo, he mentioned that his uncle makes and plays the kayamba on the weekends and after work when he goes back to work. His uncle has kept a collection of many kayamba instruments of different sizes. Jeffa explained that over the weekends, his uncle invites his agetates who use these kayamba instruments to play old songs that remind them of memorable experiences growing up, and events in which they played together. These informal sessions can start at 4 pm and could go on until 3 am in the morning.

Whereas these contexts appear like a normal pass time, musicking during leisure weaves the music instrument and music traditions into the tapestry of the life of the people of Kilifi County. Ighodaro (2019) explains that the concept of culture and leisure, “allows us to acknowledge some inherent aspects of human nature, such as our need for identity, our creativity, attunement to aesthetic meaning, spirituality, and our propensity for play and enjoyment.” (p.39).

During these leisure times when the local members of the community are playing the kayamba, they enunciate their connection to the culture of the land, their identity, their creativity, their connection to the aesthetics of the community, their spirituality, and their

affinity to play and enjoyment. For the elderly members of the community such as Jeffa's uncle and Raymond Mckenzie, these moments offer a space to relive moments in their past that are encapsulated in the sound and music of the traditional instruments they played in their youth.

7.2.2 Local Live Bands

It is not unusual to find a traditional musical instrument playing among instruments of Western origin such as the keyboards, brass instruments, and guitars. During the course of my fieldwork, I experienced multiple performances where Western music instruments were played alongside the indigenous music instruments. Mwanzele music is an indigenous-based fusion music genre that is currently quite rampant in Kilifi County. Young male and female participants insisted that this music is a much-needed catalyst to bring a party to life. Khatib, a gentleman in his early twenties elaborated on the importance of this music as follows: "I cannot be found in a party without Mwanzele, without Mwanzele, there is no party."

The mwanzele music incorporates the lungo (also referred to as uteo) and ndema. Musicians also incorporate the bass guitar and sometimes the standard drum kit. Mwanzele music is widely produced and consumed in this region.

The kayamba is also used in some of these contemporary ensembles. One individual who has become quite popular in this region known as Katoi wa Tabaka (officially known as Pato Katoi) has developed an art of fusing the Mijikenda traditional music with Western music. Katoi wa Tabaka incorporates the following instruments into his compositions and performances: The kayamba, *gunda* (a long horn), lungo (also known as uteo), ndema (metallic percussion instrument), *mayanga* (a type of hand-held shaker), *donga* (a type of shaker), *njuga* (shakers worn on the legs), chapuo (a type of drum),

mshondo (a type of drum), mabumbumbu (a type of drum), a tailor-made form of donga made from a coconut shell, keyboards, drum set, the bass and electric guitars, instruments from the saxophone family, and a DJ mixing turntable. He stages his performances in festivals around the globe. When he is in the country, Katoi wa Tabaka hosts regular shows around the county with his band called the Mijikenda Jazz Band.

Among the many instruments in the band, Katoi wa Tabaka specifically plays the kayamba and the gunda. The kayamba is of particular importance to his music due to its ability to be played across many genres both in the indigenous and contemporary popular music contexts. Katoi wa Tabaka's musical background has its roots in the hip hop and rap of the 1990s. In fact, his last name, Tabaka, is an acronym for his first band formed in his high school days that stands for 'True African Brotherhood Against Knowledge Assassination (TABAKA). The philosophy of this band is also represented in the letters as well. The philosophy of the band was Tuunde Asili Bora Afrika Kupitia Akili (TABAKA) which literally translates to creating good values in Africa through intellect. This band predominantly performed rap music. He was active in this band between the ages of 15 and 21 years. He continued with the rap tradition and was part of a rap band during his studies at Trieste University in Italy. He came back to Kenya and joined MADCA where he learned the indigenous music of the Mijikenda and studied the indigenous musical instruments under the sogora who lived there in 2013.

The combination of hiphop and rap music and indigenous music training can be heard in most of his songs and music compositions. Among the most distinctive features of Katoi wa Tabaka's music is his ability to rap and play the kayamba simultaneously. Katoi explains that to achieve this, he first learned how to play and rap using the chapuo. He explains it as follows:

I used to close myself in a room and just practice for hours on end. I used to play percussion and rap at the same time... I started selecting genres from the Mijikenda community. We have like 60 genres of music, so I selected like 33 genres ... from these 33 genres I started making music, so there are 33 songs in an album.

In his process of studying, he found out that:

Mwanzele fuses well with jazz music, then I found out that mavunyo and msego fuse well with taarab and soul music, so I am like, If I am doing Mwanzele, I will need a saxophone.... Mchechemeko goes very well with trap music... So I started fusing all these music ... then I found out that hardcore rap fuses well with the mabumbumbu...

Katoi wa Tabaka's choice of instrumentation was a result of careful and deep study of indigenous as well as popular musics.

The kayamba plays an important role in his music in a number of ways. First, important rhythms played in specific music genres that are articulated by other instruments can be played on the kayamba. Katoi wa Tabaka plays a mchechemeko rhythm usually played on the donga on the kayamba in his mchechemeko and trap fusion music.

Tempo: 122 bpm

Straight rhythm.

Mchechemeko trap fusion

Katoi wa Tabaka groove

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is for Kibao, the middle for Kayamba, and the bottom for Bass Guitar. All are in 6/8 time. The Kibao part features a repeating eighth-note pattern. The Kayamba part features a repeating eighth-note pattern. The Bass Guitar part features a repeating eighth-note pattern.

The rhythm played on the second staff above is played by the donga in a standard mchechemeko ensemble. The rhythm played by the kibao above is combined with the rhythm and notes on the bass guitar. The rhythmic patterns are traditionally played on the

The concept of writing similar rhythms for different instruments such as the one seen above is similar to the art of transposing melodies for different instruments. For example, a melody on the violin written for the trumpet would have the same pitch but different textures. This idea is echoed in the way Katoi wa Tabaka puts together his rhythmic ideas and assigns them to specific instruments. This study terms this process as rhythmic transposition. All the other elements of the rhythm remain similar but the instrument and texture is changed.

Thirdly, the ability of the kayamba to play different genres of music enables Katoi wa Tabaka to fly with his most important instruments on the plane. Most of the instruments like the daba, ndema or ndong'a are metallic and cannot be allowed on the plane. Katoi wa Tabaka transposes the rhythms to be played on the kayamba as well as on his tailor-made donga from coconut shell when he goes on tours that require him to use a plane for transport.

Katoi wa Tabaka's art form speaks to the complex relationships caused by interaction between cultures as highlighted by Nettle (2005) in reference to modernisation. Nettle's (2005) ideas on modernisation suggest a retention of indigenous central features with additional external features as cultures interact. Emielu (2018) expands on this concept and explains that African cultures have displayed resilience by holding on to the core values of their cultures and traditions and have only allowed the aspects of foreign cultures and traditions that enhance indigenous practices. Consider the following words used by Katoi wa Tabaka: Mijikenda jazz, mbumbumbu rap, and mchechemeko trap. These words showcase the existence of two music cultures in one. It may be argued that the dichotomy between the 'Mijikenda-centric' and 'Western-centric' terms is evidence enough of an enunciation of a hybrid identity. The existence of genres that feature both the Western and Mijikenda elements including music instruments lean heavily toward

Emielu's (2018) description of progressive traditionalism. This concept confirms the "sense of diachronic and progressive development where an indigenous music tradition reinvents itself on a continual basis to reflect generational realities along a historical continuum" (p. 226). The kayamba instrument finds itself caught in this wave of reinvention of tradition and culture and changes appropriately keeping its sense of identity and integrity, a mark of its resilience.

7.2.3 Christian Religious Services

The kayamba is among the few traditional musical instruments that can be found in a church religious music context. It is important to note that most Christian denominations within Kilifi County link the use of indigenous musical instruments to witchcraft, sorcery, and devil worship. Due to this association, most of the musical instruments and indigenous rituals are viewed as suspect and banned in most of the existing Christian denominations within Kilifi County. The Catholic Church is an exception mainly due to the inculturation edict instituted between 1962 - 1965 by the Second Vatican Council (Nyangoya et al., 2018). The kayamba is used to accompany the different sections of the mass. According to Father Henry Katana:

The order of the mass is what matters and is the same across the globe, though the composers may write the Mass in English, in Kiswahili, in Giriama or among those from the hinterland like the Kikuyu. If any song has a rhythm, then you can play the kayamba. As long as it has the song [referring to the mass] then has its beat [referring to an underlying accompaniment rhythm from the kayamba]. The kayamba does not have a lot of technicalities, you just hear the beat and you play.

Father Henry Katana, who heads the St. Barnabas Parish in Kaloleni, explains that the kayamba can be played in most musical sections within the Catholic church mass. Father Henry Katana gives an account of how he got to play the kayamba in the church. He states:

My father played the kayamba, and I learned by copying from him. We played Giriama songs that my dad used to play known as msego. These were the songs we used to play. When I went to the seminary to study to be a Padre, I borrowed his kayamba and presented it to the church. The people in authority sat and deliberated and agreed that the kayamba would be a good fit.

Father Henry Katana joined the seminary in 1970 and had been playing the kayamba before his enrolment. He explained that he was among the first priests from the Giriama community to be ordained. Father Henry Katana explains that the kayamba was initially prohibited in the church. After the vetting and permission from the bishops as highlighted in the quote above, he was allowed to play it in church. Since then, he has played it on many stages. He explains that he played when John Paul II first came to Kenya in 1985 and he didn't oppose it. He later played it on the second and third visits of Pope John Paul II. Additionally, he played it again when Pope Francis visited Kenya. He explains it as follows:

Even the fourth time, recently when Pope Francis came, I also played. So there was no longer anxiety and now it's played everywhere, I even went to Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, and continued playing the kayamba. I finished my studies in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania and they accepted my kayamba. I also remember I went to Israel. Pope John Paul was going to lead mass there: I was given a ticket to be a part of it. I went and played. Even when I went for studies in Dublin, I played.

Father Henry Katana has been playing the kayamba in church for over 46 years and has been giving lessons to anyone wishing to play it in church. According to Father Henry Katana, the main role of the kayamba is to provide rhythmic and textural accompaniment. A congregant from Father Henry Katana's parish explained that the kayamba augments the musical experience in the church. She explained that the sound of the kayamba "uplifts the spirit of the music and makes our hearts happy, you feel that rhythm better".

Father Henry Katana's kayamba is significantly large in size in comparison to the ubiquitous kayamba instruments in Kilifi County. This makes the instrument louder and gives it a deeper texture in comparison to a medium sized kayamba. This provides the kayamba with a loud sound that is able to fill the sound of the parish without additional amplification. Father Henry Katana's mode of playing is also different. He includes jumping and vigorous dancing to his playing. This choreography is specific to his playing and was not experienced anywhere else during the course of the research. The significant change in design with regard to size is evidence of kayamba's adaptive capabilities to context.

In one of the key moments during my research, I presented Kwicha Iha with a question concerning the application of the kayamba in the church. My question was received by genuine laughter from Kwicha. His (Kwicha's) answers after the laughter evoked serious thoughts. Kwicha's response was as follows:

...you hear that the beat being played is that of msego but they are singing their own songs to the msego beat. [laughing]. So once the kayamba comes in, you will know that the msego or the kayamba beat can combine with the music.

Based on Kwicha's response, it can be argued that the inclusion of the kayamba in church does not only change the kayamba instrument but also colours the music in the church with indigenous music idioms. By including the kayamba in the church mass, one also carries specific features founded on indigenous music traditions. The msego style learned by Father Henry Katana is carried and transmitted within the church service 46 years later.

7.2.4 Implication of the Contemporary-local Performance Infrastructures to the Sustainability of the kayamba

Schippers' (2015) domain of contexts and constructs provides a great entry point into the discussion on the sustainability of the kayamba. This domain highlights the contemporary-local performance infrastructures as new contexts that necessitate a recontextualization of the instrument. In this new context, the kayamba is redefined and re-invented within the new musical conceptions and structures. The use of the kayamba especially within the live band contexts provides this instrument with different sonic requirements in comparison to those highlighted within indigenous performance infrastructures. The kayamba is played alongside other musical instruments, not as a primary instrument and the centre of a music culture but as an accompanying instrument that adds indigenous sonic elements. The kayamba's capacity to play rhythms from different instruments such as the daba and the donga provides new musical realities and possibilities for the musicians. Kato wa Tabaka realises this through a process that this study refers to as rhythmic transposition. This capacity to take on new rhythms from other traditional music instruments presents the kayamba with even more possibilities for application in varied contexts. This unique capacity echoes the views of Kwesi Yankah in his forward to Nketia's (2016) book titled "Reinstating traditional music in contemporary contexts", in which he observes "resilient art accommodates, reinvents, and blossoms with a new lease of life" (p. xv).

The domain of regulation and infrastructure in the same framework (Schippers, 2015) presents the study with an opportunity to examine the hardware of performance. This study highlights the Catholic Church as an infrastructure that not only supports the playing of the kayamba but also implies some indigenous music genres within its musicking. The identification of the msego music style within the Catholic mass

highlights an unlikely context for the transmission of indigenous music traditions linked to the kayamba instrument. This albeit unlikely is not uncommon for the kayamba. One can hear the kayamba's foundational rhythms (pattern 3- see section 6.2.3 Systems of learning) in the accompaniment of the Safari ya Bamba choral performance written and arranged by Arthur Kemoli for the Muungano National Choir.

The capacity of the kayamba to maintain its integrity and identity even to the point of becoming a vehicle for the transmission of elements of musical cultures is a conspicuous testament to its resilience. The theory of resilience proposed by Titon (2010) enables the study to highlight how the kayamba navigates the challenges caused by changes most specifically through innovation, and community engagement. Taking the case study of Father Henry Katana, the adjustment of the size of his kayamba to the large instrument increases the acoustic faculties of the instrument with regard to dynamics. Hiskayamba is significantly loud and does not require further amplification when played in the hall of St. Barnabas Parish. Katoi wa Tabaka innovates ways of fusing indigenous music played by the donga (mchechemeko) on his kayamba through rhythmic transposition.

Jeffa's uncle, and his friends exemplify the quality of community engagement in the resilience and sustainability of the kayamba instrument. He (Jeffa's uncle) took the initiative to plant the mitsuchi and the mturituri in his compound. Additionally, he constructs and performs on the kayamba together with his friends. This re-enactment keeps the instrument and the music it plays alive in contexts beyond the indigenous performance infrastructures.

Indigenous performance infrastructures, indigenous knowledge systems, and contemporary-local performance infrastructures play significant roles in the sustainability of the kayamba instrument within the Mijikenda community and the larger population that lives in Kilifi County. The contemporary world is highly linked to the

economy and economic well-being of a people. For a music culture and music tradition to thrive, its commercial elements and impact on the population it serves must be put into consideration. The next theme highlights the relationship between the commercial aspects of the kayamba and their impact on its sustainability.

7.3 Theme 5: Commercial Elements of the kayamba

This theme focuses on the study of commercialisation and its various aspects within the music industry, particularly in relation to kayamba musicking. Grant (2016) highlights the significance of examining technology, commercialisation, legislature, globalization, and media, as they form a crucial ecosystem that influences music traditions. By investigating these aspects, a more comprehensive understanding can be gained regarding the potential and challenges for the sustainability of the music cultures under study.

Within this theme, two primary subthemes were identified: micro-economic contexts and macro-economic contexts. These subthemes are distinguished due to their distinct terms of engagement and the application of different economic philosophies and concepts. Each subtheme sheds light on specific dimensions of commercialisation in the music industry, providing valuable insights into the economic dynamics at both individual and societal levels.

7.3.1 Micro-Economic Contexts

This subtheme explores the economic dynamics within the same community, encompassing relationships among relatives, close friends, and members of the same cultural group. A significant number of participants emphasised the importance of clearly articulating the seller-buyer relationship before quoting a price, which is then established through a bargaining process. These micro-economic contexts are primarily

concentrated within indigenous performance infrastructures, although not exclusively. In this environment, currency holds a more relational than transactional value. The informants commonly referred to it as "kufanyia ndugu" or "kusaidia ndugu," which translates to stepping in for a brother or sister or helping one another.

Activities falling under this category involve performances in community rituals and ceremonies. The provision of musical services is not limited to a specific genre, although different music groups may be sought after for their expertise in particular musical styles, especially in healing and burial rituals. In the micro-economic context, monetary payment to musicians is a relatively recent occurrence. Raymond McKenzie provides insight into how musicians used to be compensated in the past:

In the past, payment came with tourism. All you had to do was invite them [the musicians]. All you needed to do was take care of their food. Most often, ugali... If you wanted the group to be very happy, you'd need to give them maize flour and a goat... Maize flour for them to cook and the goat as the stew... The goat is given while it is alive. The musicians slaughter it themselves and prepare it on the site of the performance. They do not carry the food home... They slaughter the goat and prepare it to eat with the ugali so that they can get the energy to play the music... You eat that goat and finish it at the event. Nothing remains. You just carry the skin, the hoofs, and the head. These are given to the sogora or the ngoi. The sogora and the ngoi take them since they are the heads of the group... The skin can be used by the members of the group to make drums... In the olden days, the skin used to be used for clothes... We only used the cow's skin to lay on the bed.

Raymond explains that in the present time, the costs of performances are determined based on transportation expenses and the costs of washing the costumes. He states: "You will pay. You will pay for transportation; you will also be charged for their food and money to wash the costumes they'd be wearing."

These parameters hold metaphorical significance. Masha Iha and Raymond McKenzie elaborate that within the Mijikenda community, particularly the Giriama, it is not customary to provide a monetary quotation. The charge is presented as a code for the service acquirer to decipher. Estimates are based on the individual's financial capacity and their interpretation of the given metaphor.

I, too, experienced this mode of quotation. After a discussion with the elders at MADCA, there was a moment of silence and hesitation as I bid them goodbye. One of the elders privately but firmly called Raymond McKenzie aside, pointing out that he was not adhering to tradition. That evening, Raymond, who was assisting me in interpreting most of the conversations, explained that tradition dictated I should have offered a mfumula, which is a measure of the local brew. Through further interactions with elderly members of the Mijikenda community, I discovered that this expectation applies not only to music groups' payments but also anyone seeking information from a senior community member.

The mfumula concept has its roots in Mijikenda indigenous traditions. When family elders gathered to discuss community matters, an enquirer seeking their audience would provide a measure of palm wine served in gourd cups with bamboo straws. The mfumula represented the main measure of the gourd/bottle from which the men would share the brew. While this tradition still exists in some kaya (homesteads), in others, the term mfumula has been translated into monetary appreciation.

During a discussion on the meaning of mfumula with Mariam Chizi, she mentioned that no community member would specify the expected amount. It is considered impolite to ask for a specific sum of money. In my interactions with community members, I had to determine the amount for the mfumula. Before initiating discussions with any participant, I needed to establish myself as a son of the community, which positioned me

as an insider eligible for the micro-economic context. The participants gave me the name Kiranga¹⁰, defining my entry point as a son of the community. I was treated as an insider and had to adopt their culture. The mfumula was a sensitive topic, as the local community was hesitant to provide me with estimates. Calculating this amount also served as a test of my understanding of their customs, respect for elders, and appreciation of their culture. In my calculations, I used the price of local brew (mnazi) as the standard unit of measurement. If I was engaging a focus discussion group or a cultural dance group, I ensured the amounts split would cover everyone's drink. The elders used the term kajama (a measure of local brew) as a way to calculate the mfumula. I quickly learned to accompany the mfumula with an explanation containing an estimation of the kajama, which earned me social capital. Although the amounts varied (as the price varies by location), the participants appreciated my knowledge of their values.

Payment negotiations for musical services within the micro-economic context are arbitrary. The standards are set based on the relationship between individuals and the financial capacity of the service seeker. If the seeker is a member of a cultural dance group in need of musicians, the group members share the various costs involved, such as transportation, while the seeker contributes to food and drink expenses. Raymond Mckenzie puts it as follows:

For members, they mostly need to cater for the food and drink but not the transportation. The group would take care of the transport as a way to help facilitate the event. However, if the invitation is made by a non-member, the person is charged the full amount, including transport.

¹⁰ The name Kiranga was a welcome accident. While seeking authorizations from the Kilifi County Government offices, one of the attendants misspelled my name, Kiragu to Kiranga. When Raymond Mckenzie who was accompanying me in these trips so this, he mentioned that this was actually a common name in his family. From then on, he happily called me Kiranga.

Other metaphorical forms of remuneration for musicians include soap for washing costumes, goats, and local brew.

This arbitrary mode of price negotiation enables different community members to afford musical services. Some of these services, such as traditional medicine, offer accessible solutions to community members who cannot afford the government or private hospitals. It also strengthens the bond between the community and musicians, bringing them together for local celebrations like harvests, weddings, and times of mourning, particularly during burials. Most participants concluded that the community and culture are prioritized when musical needs arise, with payments often considered as an afterthought and a form of appreciation.

The accounts above highlight the tensions that arise in a world where the concept of value must be interpreted through multiple currencies. From my interactions with the local community, I found that value is based on the quality of the relationship between the transacting parties. The "mfumula" and "kajama" concepts hold more meaning than mere formulas for calculating remuneration in the micro-economic contexts. In a postcolonial world that has experienced colonisation, nationalisation, and globalisation, it can be argued that the community encoded its value system within these concepts to maintain its integrity in an ever-changing world. Although transactions are conducted in terms of the local currency, the value exchanged preserves the social and cultural meanings associated with it. This concept helps navigate the tensions between art, culture, and money, as highlighted by scholars such as Klamer (1997), Bridson et al. (2017), and MacDonald-Korth et al. (2018). MacDonald-Korth et al. (2018) address these tensions as follows:

Artists generally do not view their work as a mere vehicle for profit. Rather, artistic practice is imbued with deep social, ideological, political, and cultural meanings that

are a core part of artists' identities. While many would argue that this is one of the core strengths of art or what makes art so unique from the rest of the economy, it is a major challenge to overcome when looking at the sector from a purely economic angle(p. 17).

The perspective presented by MacDonald-Korth et al. (2018) highlights the challenges arising from the relationship between economies and art, which are further accentuated when indigenous knowledge systems and cultural wealth are involved. At the micro-economic level, the Mijikenda community has recontextualized indigenous frameworks and sustained the values embedded in their traditional economic systems. These systems enable them to transact and practice cultural values in a modern, capitalistic economic environment.

7.3.2 Macro-Economic Contexts

This subtheme examines the economic relationships within the Mijikenda community and their interaction with various infrastructures in Kilifi County, including tourism, music education, cultural showcases, and music copyright.

In Kilifi County, tourism plays a significant role as one of the primary industries. Many businesses in the county, such as hotels, lounges, restaurants, tourist shops and markets, historical destinations, museums, and cultural centres, are linked to the tourism sector. These tourist shops and markets are spread throughout the county, and they often sell traditional musical instruments.

The kayamba, a prominent instrument, is frequently sold in these tourist shops. However, the kayamba instruments found in these shops are specifically made for tourists. The master kayamba makers from the Mijikenda community hold a low opinion on the quality of construction of these instruments. Participants provided reasons for this view:

- i) the kayamba lacks the kibao, a key component of the instrument in Mijikenda

indigenous music; ii) the artistry of weaving (mshono) the kayamba does not match that of the master makers; iii) the reeds used in these kayamba instruments are often too far apart, exposing the inside seeds/gravel; iv) little attention is given to the inside seeds in kayamba instruments made for tourists, as the makers often use small rocks that are not ideal for the overall acoustic sound of the instrument. These four factors were explained in various contexts by different shop vendors. Some vendors explained that the kayamba instruments they had in stock were meant specifically for tourists, hence the missing details. One vendor at the entrance of the Gede ruins stated, "We make these for the tourists; we don't play these ones for our events." According to him, tourists mainly buy these instruments as souvenirs and symbols of the cultures they encounter during their visits. Another reason for the missing details was the scarcity of raw materials. For the kayamba makers to obtain the required reed grass (mitsuchi), they would need to contact locals living near the Galana River, who would have to wake up at 4 am to make a two to four-hour walk into the forest to collect the reeds. Turituri seeds are also harder to find in the area. The scarcity contributes to the poor quality of the grass reeds, and the turituri seeds are now not easily found, even in the forests.

The demand for traditional instruments in Kilifi County has increased due to primary and secondary schools, especially those adopting the Competency-Based Curriculum (CBC¹¹) education system. This system requires students to receive training in playing traditional musical instruments from the early stages of their education. It has boosted the income of traditional instrument makers, including those who make the kayamba. Furthermore, higher learning institutions offering courses in African music, such as Kenyatta University, Technical University, and Kabarak University, provide

¹¹ CBC stands for competency-based curriculum. This curriculum was rolled out in December, 2017 to replace the 8-4-4 system by the Kenyan government. This curriculum encourages learning traditional instruments as well as local indigenous language.

employment opportunities for the master makers and create a market for musical instruments in the communities. Masters like Raymond Mckenzie, Kwicha Iha, and Daniel Muhuni have benefited from such programs and have sold musical instruments to these schools.

The hotel and restaurant industry significantly contributes to the livelihoods of cultural music performers. Hotels often contract cultural dance groups and other cultural acts, such as acrobatics, to entertain their clients. Negotiations regarding the costs are often mediated through middlemen or group leaders.

Government functions have played a significant role in facilitating performances by cultural dance groups. The tradition of performing at government functions has a long history, dating back to the pre-independence era. Kwicha Iha recalls:

Even just after independence when Kenyatta would come to Malindi, the chief would visit the dance groups in the location and inform them that Mzee¹² would be present. If you don't go to perform, then the dance would be banned. The role of the dancers was to entertain the crowd before the speech. The group was maintained by performing on public occasions... If you refuse to play for Mzee, the music would be banned.

Raymond clarifies that while these events were mandatory, community members did not feel coerced into performing. They were motivated, and during Jomo Kenyatta's and Moi's regimes, the community members were treated to food and drink. Rashid adds:

That was good because we'd eat there more than we'd eat here or anywhere else. You would eat and drink! When you go to such a function, you will eat, drink, and you will have some to carry. Since everything would be paid for, you'd eat and drink. It was not a joke. There was no monetary payment, but just by being there, your stomach would be full... So once you are from the occasion and explain to your friend what happened, they'd work harder to be present for the next one.

¹² The participant in this context uses the term mzee to refer to Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta.

During these performances, some performers would catch the attention of other visitors accompanying the political leaders, resulting in them receiving gifts in the form of money. Additionally, members of the crowd would offer the performers money, food, and animals as gifts. Rashid explains:

Those functions were very colourful. When you stand out, a visitor would give you 20 shillings, an attendee or participant even from the village could gift you with a chicken... People would carry what they had in food, chicken, and many other gifts to give to the performers. People lived like that. There was courtesy, unlike now when things have been spoiled because of money. During Moi's era, there was no payment, but there was a lot of food. We would be transported from our homes to the occasion, we'd eat and then be brought back home. That was special because there were no forms of transport outside walking. We'd walk from here (Takaye) to Malindi, Gede, or even Watamu.

Participants explained that traditional music performers are now remunerated with money. The payments provided by government officials are now determined by the organisers, and while participants observed this change, they expressed contentment and gratitude when such opportunities arise.

A similar system of performance for leaders and payments to performers is also replicated during the campaign period. I was informed that different political leaders aspiring for positions had provided numerous performance opportunities for cultural groups during the campaign period. This serves as an alternative source of income during the campaign and election period when the tourism industry, a leading income earner for traditional performers, experiences a decline in tourist numbers due to fears of violence and insecurity associated with the political season.

Traditional music is recorded, produced, and published on online platforms such as YouTube and SoundCloud. When participants were asked about their favourite music genres, some played audio tracks saved on their phones, while others used my phone to

access streaming platforms and showed me their preferred music. Although most participants consumed this music, they had little awareness of the economic connection between the music they listened to and the people who published it on these platforms. Most of the owners of the accounts where the music is listened to and downloaded from are local DJs who visit the groups' homes and pay for the performances. They record these performances and upload the recordings online as "cultural music." The content published in these contexts benefits the account owners, while the performers featured in the recordings are often left out. As a result, many masters have become wary and guarded when outsiders express interest in traditional music. Some of them would only provide information on the condition that they would be remunerated. The indigenous music genres, such as zaire, mchechemeko, sengenya, and msego, among others, are often categorized as folklore and considered the property of the community rather than individuals. This has denied local composers and musicians copyright protection for their compositions, as the music is recorded, produced, and distributed as folklore, leading to various forms of copyright injustice, including infringement and cultural appropriation.

7.3.3 Implication of Commercial Elements to the Sustainability of the Kayamba

This theme emphasises the significance of considering context when studying the commercial aspects associated with the kayamba's musicking. The study reveals that the Mijikenda community employs different economic frameworks when engaging in musicking within indigenous performance infrastructures compared to contemporary-local infrastructures. Although these infrastructures are interconnected, they represent distinct ecosystems with varying commercial elements.

The commercial elements within indigenous performance infrastructures are guided by indigenous knowledge systems, incorporating concepts such as mfumula, kajama, and kufanyia ndugu. These concepts are recontextualized to assign meaning to values and

currencies in contemporary transactions between musicians and the community. This phenomenon exemplifies Emielu's concept of progressive traditionalism (2018), whereby indigenous traditions are reinvented and applied to contemporary commercial systems, reflecting current realities (e.g., the use of money as currency) while preserving indigenous meanings, practices, and identities. The highlighted commercial elements within these infrastructures underscore the importance of Mijikenda traditions and cultures within the community, linking the kayamba to commercial elements while upholding indigenous meanings and constructs.

The kayamba exists within a commodified, mediatized, and globalised environment (Grant, 2016). When the kayamba and its musicking are recontextualised in contemporary-local and global contexts, the instrument becomes part of an industry and is treated as a commodity. The kayamba and its music culture are transformed to serve a different purpose. Music and musical instruments tailored for specific contemporary musical purposes give rise to new forms of music (Barber, 1987). This concept of new musical forms can be directly applied to the kayamba instrument. Nicholas Thomas' perspective (1991) on objects emphasises their evolution beyond their original intended purposes, implying that the kayamba instrument is viewed based on its recontextualization within contemporary-local infrastructures. This perspective enables the study of the kayamba within the regulatory and infrastructures domain as well as the music industry and media domain within Schippers' framework (2015). Industries in which the kayamba has been packaged and incorporated include the tourism industry, institutional infrastructures (government, schools, and universities), the music industry, and health (physiotherapy).

The tourism industry plays a vital role in sustaining the kayamba and its musical traditions. In Kenya, tourism is a significant foreign income-earning industry, with 65%

of tourists visiting the Kenyan Coast, the home of the kayamba instrument and its indigenous music traditions (Ongoma & Onyango, 2014). The kayamba is packaged in two ways: as a souvenir instrument representing the material culture of the Coast people, and as a performance for showcases, transforming the music traditions into a product with commercial implications. Through transculturation, tourism primarily supports the economy of the people in Kilifi County. However, it is worth noting that the commercialisation process comes at a cost. Many kayamba instruments made for tourists are difficult to play and are primarily designed for display purposes. Participants expressed concerns that further growth in this industry may distort the image and sound of the kayamba for future generations. Authenticity and creativity tensions arise within the tourism industry and in performances for government and formal institutions.

Music and musical instruments recontextualized for institutional performances and museological purposes have both positive and negative implications for the sustainability of the kayamba and its musical traditions. Government functions and bodies such as the Permanent Presidential Music Commission (PPMC) and the Bomas of Kenya are deeply rooted in the history of the community's musical traditions in Kilifi County, although their representation within academic studies may pose challenges. Musicians and communities have built legacies based on their involvement with these institutions. Prominent musicians like Charo wa Shutu, Kazungu Chipa, Masha Iha, and the McKenzie family are frequently referenced due to their participation in performances for former President Jomo Kenyatta and their connections to the Bomas of Kenya and Kenyatta University. These institutions serve as a source of income for musicians and culture-bearers of Mijikenda music traditions.

The education sector is another significant component of institutional infrastructure. It hosts drama and music festivals that require the performance of traditional music,

providing platforms for the re-enactment of music traditions on stage annually. Scholarly critiques by Barber (1987), Kidula (1996), and Ogude (2012) shed light on the tensions of representation resulting from the recontextualization of indigenous music traditions. This study views these contemporary infrastructures as contexts for the performance of music traditions, serving as repositories and sites for the transculturation of music traditions and musical instruments. These festivals create a demand for culture-bearers who provide training to students participating in the events. Additionally, the CBC curriculum has generated a demand for traditional musical instruments and music traditions. While relatively new, this curriculum has benefited culture-bearers and instrument masters through the increased demand for indigenous music and musical instruments.

Considering the significant influence of technology on today's music markets, scholars ought to connect cultural sustainability perspectives with the development and application of technology (Friedrich & Granberg, 2022). In Kilifi County, the consumption of indigenous-based fusion genres, including indigenous music, commonly occurs through streaming platforms, memory cards, and flash drives. Loading music onto mobile phones and flash drives is facilitated by local movie and music vendors for a small fee. It was common to encounter boda boda¹³ riders playing indigenous-based fusion music styles such as mwanzele, juba, or zaire tracks in the background. Investigation into the production of this music revealed several aspects: First, some music was recorded by renowned artists within the community and uploaded to streaming websites; Secondly, local community groups were paid a one-time fee to record music, which was then uploaded to streaming platforms with viewership and

¹³ Boda boda is a local term given to public transport service providers who use the motorbike as their mode of commute. This term not only refers to a motorbike for commercial use but also a specific road culture with its own conceptual and practical implications to the community.

royalties directed to a few individuals, often local DJs and content creators who recorded the performances for their social media platforms; Thirdly, random videos captured at events where cultural dance groups performed were uploaded without consent and ethical considerations to streaming websites. Regulations have yet to catch up with technological advancements in distribution, leading to copyright infringement and cultural appropriation of the intellectual property of culture-bearers based on indigenous knowledge systems. These challenges highlight the need for applied ethnomusicologists, governments, and culture-bearers to collaborate in developing the cultural soil, as advocated by Titon (2015).

7.4 Conclusion

Nettl (2005) identifies the song as the most indefatigable tourist (pg.113). This study suggests music instruments come a close second as the material and tangible aspect of music culture. The kayamba does not shed its identity and integrity completely while it is recontextualized within the musical and economic environment. It carries with it colours of tradition in form of music genres (such as the msego) and economic concepts (such as the mfumula). This study notes that the kayamba might as well be a trojan horse for the entry of indigenous music tradition into the eclectic global world.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of the summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the thesis. It starts by providing an outline of chapters one to three that contain the background information, research question, review of related literature, and an explanation of how the research was carried out in the methodology section. Additionally, this chapter provides a summary of the findings in chapter four and the discussions in chapter five to chapter 7. Finally, this chapter concludes with providing recommendations for policy and further studies.

8.2 Summary

This study aimed to explore the systems that have contributed to the resilience and sustainability of the kayamba. The kayamba is recognized as a resilient instrument due to its ability to recover and maintain its integrity, identity, and continuity despite significant changes affecting indigenous music traditions and instruments. Not only has the kayamba demonstrated resilience, it has also remained sustainable by adapting and recontextualizing itself to suit contemporary settings and performance contexts while preserving its integrity.

The thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter One provides background information on the research problem, states the problem itself, and presents the research objectives along with contextualizing questions. The justification and significance of the study are explained, followed by the scope and limitations of the research and how these limitations were addressed.

Chapter Two offers a review of related literature, highlighting existing research and identifying research gaps. Additionally, the chapter presents the theoretical framework that guides the study.

Chapter three focuses on the methodological aspects, including the research design, study location, population, sampling procedure, and size, instrumentation and data collection methods, data collection procedure, data analysis process, and ethical considerations.

Chapter four presents the collected data, organised into themes and presented in narrative form, with excerpts from interview transcriptions supporting each subtheme. This chapter serves as a segue into the subsequent three chapters, which comprise the data analysis and interpretation. These chapters are divided based on their content: Chapter Five focuses on the organology of the kayamba, Chapter Six explores indigenous knowledge systems and indigenous performance infrastructures, and Chapter Seven examines contemporary-local performance infrastructures and commercial elements.

The final chapter provides a summary, conclusion, and recommendations. Based on the presented findings, an overarching framework is proposed, encompassing five themes and their contributions to the kayamba's sustainability in Kilifi County. This framework includes the material object (the musical instrument), socially maintained indigenous performance infrastructures, indigenous knowledge systems, and commercial aspects that support the economy of the culture-bearers. These elements form an ecosystem, each with its own unique aspects.

The study acknowledges that the kayamba undergoes changes in ensemble roles as it is recontextualized in contemporary-local infrastructures, transforming into a different instrument with altered organology, symbolism, and meanings. This aligns with

Nicholas' statement on instruments evolving into what they are made to be. The kayamba carries its music genre into the contemporary-local context, blending traditional progressivism with modernity. Moreover, the kayamba serves as a commodity, finding a place in various industries and providing a livelihood for many individuals in Kilifi County. It is sold as a piece of art in the form of souvenirs, representing a tangible expression of a sonic world that can be purchased and transported.

8.3 Conclusion

The ecosystems highlighted in the previous sections demonstrate the remarkable interconnectedness, adaptive management, and musical stewardship associated with the kayamba and its rich musical traditions. While the instrument appears to be thriving, there is still much that can be done to ensure its continued growth and development within the realm of indigenous music performance.

This study contributes a valuable rubric for the examination of sustainable musical instruments. By applying the framework of organology, indigenous knowledge systems, indigenous performance infrastructures, contemporary-local infrastructures, and commercial elements, researchers can effectively analyse and understand the resilience or vulnerabilities of various musical instruments. A comprehensive exploration of these elements in relation to other instruments can shed light on the risks and opportunities they face.

Despite showcasing resilience and sustainability, the kayamba is not immune to the dangers of potential obsolescence and endangerment. Without proactive strategies to safeguard and promote its sustainability, the instrument may face a decline in usage and cultural significance. The Mijikenda community's historically constructed and socially maintained social institutions are gradually being replaced by externally influenced

systems. Concerns have been raised by the elderly population regarding the loss of traditions and cultural wealth due to technological advancements, social changes, and economic pressures.

For example, the practice of traditional medicine is now concealed within Kilifi County, as it is often associated with witchcraft and sorcery by individuals influenced by other religions. Many traditional healers have sought refuge in protective institutions like MADCA or have relocated to neighboring Kwale County, where an association of traditional healers exists. The tradition of pingano, in particular, has become exceedingly rare, as most performers are elderly and prioritize their time and energy toward farming and other livelihood activities. Unfortunately, the younger generation is generally uninterested in taking up and continuing this valuable cultural tradition.

In light of these challenges, it is imperative to implement interventions aimed at preserving and revitalizing the kayamba and its associated musical heritage. Collaboration between community members, cultural organisations, educational institutions, and governmental bodies is crucial for developing comprehensive strategies that promote the transmission of knowledge, encourage youth engagement, and ensure the instrument's long-term survival. By embracing these interventions, we can foster a sustainable future for indigenous musical instruments and safeguard the invaluable cultural treasures they represent.

8.4 Recommendations

From the findings and conclusions of this study, it is thus recommended that:

- i) There are safeguarding interventions for vulnerable social institutions such as the traditional medicine practice and burial rites. Most of these institutions are fundamental to the Mijikenda culture but are at risk of being phased out by

religious and political agendas. The safeguarding interventions could be offered by both the government and non-governmental institutions. The government should offer recognition of the practitioners and provide protection in instances where the medicine men experience threats or intimidation by opposing local groups.

- ii) Endangered music traditions especially the pingano should be revitalized. The pingano is a rich cultural activity that could be re-introduced to the young population in Kilifi County. This could be brought back and organised in the same way local sports matches and tournaments are organised in other counties. Various stakeholders can work together to mobilize the youth and the custodians of culture to bring back this tradition that ensured the sustainability of most music traditions. This would also offer a form of employment¹⁴ and meaningful activity to the local population especially the youth.
- iii) There should be efforts in place to standardize the kayamba and other instruments sold in tourist shops. Most of these are made as souvenirs but presented as actual music instruments. This has led to a misrepresentation of the kayamba's form and design. Local vendors can be encouraged and incentivized to make playable musical instruments. This would not only facilitate to more resilience but also spread quality kayamba instruments to different parts of the world where it could be performed alongside instruments from across the globe.
- iv) The welfare of the custodians of culture and indigenous music knowledge should be put into consideration. Most of these master musicians are living under very poor conditions. They have impressive biographies and have performed on many

¹⁴ There is a dire need for employment of the youth living in Kilifi County. Most young people are currently seeking employment opportunities. Some are at risk of falling into destructive drug and crime habits while others have taken on boda boda business and run them without formal training on road safety.

platforms around the world but end up languishing in poverty once they retire¹⁵ and are unable to perform due to old age and health-related problems. Efforts to manage their welfare should be put in place to ensure they have a more conducive environment in their sunset years.

- v) More efforts to mediatize the cultural indigenous music should be put in place to ensure a wider scale of dissemination and distribution. The Mjikenda community boasts of a large repertoire of music traditions. Unfortunately, a significant percentage of these music traditions are still embedded in oral traditions and the custodians are elderly. Efforts to record, archive, and distribute this music traditions should be put in place. However, arrangements should be put in place to recognize their agency and adequately remunerate their contributions to such endeavours.
- vi) Whereas most of the custodians of culture are elderly, some are tech-savvy and have a high aptitude for using technology. Such should be identified, trained, and equipped to use technology to distribute their music and musical information across the globe. Some participants explained that they were able to have online lessons with people from different parts of the globe during the COVID-19 pandemic. There is significant economic potential yet to be realised through the use of technology in the dissemination of culture in this global world.
- vii) Most masters of the kayamba who have worked in formal institutions such as the university or other preservation sites expressed discontent with their terms of engagement and payments. Some are regarded as casual staff, others as demonstrators, and other low-paying positions. They explained that this was due

¹⁵ Most of the master musicians work as casual laborers in institutions and are not legible for retirement benefits. Some work as part-time farmers and rely on their produce for upkeep once they leave their performance duties. Most of them do not have anything to show for the productive years of their youth apart from pictures and videos of their performances on various platforms around the world.

to their lack of high education which is a factor considered when deciding on their remuneration. Institutions ought to re-examine the terms of engagement and find ways of remunerating these individuals for the mastery and wealth of information they add to the various programs. This will not only ensure an improved livelihood of the masters of traditional instruments but increase the value for the art encouraging more young people to take up the instruments and learn them to a level of mastery.

- viii) Curricula and learning materials for traditional musical instruments should be developed. These should be made based on the indigenous knowledge systems of the instrument's cultures. This will facilitate a deeper understanding of the traditional music instruments and help realise the wealth of knowledge, meanings, and repertoire embedded in the plethora of African musics.
- ix) The local community should be educated on copyright and their performance rights. This will reduce the rates of copyright infringement and cultural appropriation currently in place.
- x) The local manufacturers of traditional musical instruments should be encouraged to patent their designs and unique contributions to the construction of musical instruments. This will help realise the individual agency to the growth and development of music traditions and as well as give a name to the minds behind the development of designs and consequently music cultures.

8.4.1 Recommendations for Policy and Practice

With respect to policy,

Better implementation of policies linked to the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Cultural Expression Act, 2016 No. 33.

Better implementation of the National Music policy (2015) from the Ministry of Sports, Culture and the Arts.

- i. *Affordable and Easier¹⁶ processes of cultural performers to register with the Collective Management Organisations (CMOs) such as the Performers Rights Society of Kenya (PRISK).*
- ii. *An inclusion of indigenous-based fusion music idioms such as mwanzele, kayamba msego, kayamba puredi, juba, kifudu among others as works that can be copyrighted alongside the more familiar genres of music.*

The recommendations provided above highlight the importance of implementing specific structures to support indigenous music traditions and their accompanying knowledge systems. In the following section, I present recommendations based on my interactions with culture-bearers and my general experience in the field.

Firstly, I propose the establishment of cultural repositories or cultural heritage management centres within the local community. These repositories would be best managed by the culture-bearers within each county. Currently, formal institutions such as the Permanent Presidential Music Commission (PPMC) and the BOMAS of Kenya are among the few organisations promoting, preserving, and facilitating the performance of indigenous music in the country. However, most of these institutions are concentrated in Nairobi, Kenya's capital, and are disconnected from the community's culture, natural environment, and indigenous performance infrastructures. By establishing cultural repositories and heritage management centres, we can gather more information on oral traditions from the collective memory of the culture-bearers. Furthermore, this initiative would provide employment opportunities for the counties and affirm the significance of culture and cultural heritage to the young population in these communities, potentially sparking interest in learning indigenous knowledge systems.

¹⁶ Currently, the instructions to register with PRISK (Performers Rights Society of Kenya) is an 8-step process. The first step requires artists to obtain an application form from one of the regional offices. The third step requires that the artists have commercially published recordings and the final step requires a membership application fee of sh5,000. These terms in particular make registration quite inaccessible to local cultural performers, most of which can barely read or write and are living behind the poverty line.

Secondly, incorporating indigenous knowledge systems in the adjudication of traditional music during institutionalized festivals like the Kenya Music Festivals and the Kenya Drama Festivals would significantly enhance the quality of the performances showcased on these platforms. Moreover, this approach would give a voice to the culture-bearers and allow them to shape the representation of music in these recontextualized spaces.

Thirdly, it is crucial to revitalize indigenous performance infrastructures such as the pingano. These infrastructures empower communities to preserve their music traditions. Unfortunately, the pingano is rarely held nowadays, as many cultural groups primarily consist of elderly individuals. Additionally, cultural groups comprised of young people tend to focus on showcasing cultural music for tourists. However, this performance context holds great potential for the community, musicians, and music traditions. It can provide employment opportunities for the community, keep the young population active and engaged, and highlight musicians and music families as authorities in specific genres and repositories of specific music cultures. By revitalizing this infrastructure, we can bring to the forefront the contributions of musicians and musical families to the development and sustainability of music cultures and traditions. Furthermore, this context could help improve the quality of indigenous music performed and even become a site for revitalizing and reviving less resilient and endangered music traditions and music instruments such as the muturiru (Larue, 2016).

Fourthly, it is essential to empower cultural groups and community individuals to copyright their musical works. This can be achieved through trainings and sponsored registrations with Collective Management Organisations (CMOs). Additionally, these groups and individuals should be equipped with the necessary tools for recording, producing, and publishing their musical works on digital platforms. Trainings in audio recording, video production, and computer skills can help overcome the economic and

technological disadvantages expressed by some participants who intend to acquire these skills.

Lastly, incentives should be provided to traditional musical instrument makers, such as those crafting kayamba instruments, to construct instruments of high quality that accurately represent the physical and acoustic properties of the originals. This will significantly improve the quality of traditional musical instruments sold in souvenir shops to tourists, which often fall short of meeting the physical and acoustic requirements of the indigenous music traditions they represent.

By implementing these recommendations, we can foster the preservation, revitalization, and sustainable development of indigenous music traditions and their associated knowledge systems.

8.4.2 Recommendations for Further Research

This research identified a wealth of indigenous music genres that are known and practiced within the Mijikenda community. Most of these music genres such as the dumbwi, namba and tikitsi are highly endangered and are at risk of being completely phased out. There is an urgent need of detailed research on these music genres and traditions as the custodians of these music cultures are elderly and may not have the capacity to perform this music in the near future.

In addition to the study of music genres, this study established a depth and breadth to the theoretical systems of the music of the Mijikenda. There is a need for more focused musicological research to distil and elucidate these musical systems in detail.

The wealth of musical repertoire among the Mijikenda community can be explored by the creation of anthologies, albums, and other various media to not only archive the

music but encourage wide-scale dissemination and consumption of indigenous music globally.

There is a need for digital simulation software for traditional music instrument and more specifically the kayamba. This would facilitate an even wider distribution and contemporary use for the instruments. The digital simulations could be achieved by the designing of Virtual Studio Instruments (VSTs) that emulate the physical kayamba and transmit MIDI data to Digital Audio Workstations (DAWs). Digital simulations for archival, preservation learning is already taking place. A team of individuals from Kenya and Sweden succeeded to make technology referred to as the sample bar¹⁷. This sample bar device is made up of a collection of audio performances that are triggered by a QR code printed on wooden blocks and scanned through an infrared camera that are processed by the computer. Through this bar, people can trigger music samples from traditional music instruments from Mijikenda community and manipulate dynamics, song movements and even add sound effects. The sample bar has background information on the instruments playing that are displayed on a screen with an accompanying photo.

The kayamba exists in multiple ethnic communities locally and internationally. There are scarce studies discussing its spread from the Mijikenda community to other communities. The kayamn or caiamb of the Islands (Mauritius, Reunion, and Seychelles) sounds and looks a lot like the kayamba of the Mijikenda. Studies investigating the link between the cultures would go a long way in explaining the spread and distribution musical instruments.

¹⁷ The sample bar now resides in Tafaria Castle and Centre for the Arts in Nyeri- Nyahururu Road near the Aberdare National Park. More information on this technology is cited on InteractionAction (2021) and evokingspaces (2017).

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Kabarak University Research Ethics Committee

Adult Informed Consent Form

STUDY TITLE: Systems Facilitating the Sustainability of kayamba Music Instrument of the Mijikenda in Kilifi County, Kenya.

PI: **Dr. Ernest Patrick Monte.** Affiliated Institution **KabarakUniversity** Co-investigator: **Prof. Jean Kidula** Affiliated Institution **University of Georgia**

Introduction

You are invited to participate in this research study being undertaken by the above listed investigators. This form will help you gather information about the study so that you can voluntarily decide whether you want to participate or not. You are encouraged to ask any question regarding the research process as well as any benefit or risk that you may accrue by participating. After you have adequately been informed about the study, you will be requested to either agree or decline to participate. Upon agreeing to participate in the study, you will be further requested to affirm that by appending your signature/thumbprint on this form. Accepting or declining to participate in this study does not in any way waive the following rights which you're entitled to:

- a) Voluntary participation in the study;
- b) Withdrawing from the study at any time without the obligation of having to give an explanation and;
- c) Access to services which you're entitled to

A copy of this form will be provided to you for your own records Should I continue YES/NO

This study has been reviewed and approved by Kabarak University Research Ethics Committee (KUREC)

What is the Purpose of the Study?

The main reason(s) for conducting this study is to answer the following questions:

1. What are the indigenous knowledge systems associated with the kayamba of the Mijikenda in Kilifi County?
2. What are the cultural elements linked to playing the kayamba among the Mijikenda community?
3. How is the kayamba used in contemporary music contexts in Kilifi County beyond the indigenous music practices of the Mijikenda?
4. How is the kayamba linked to the music industry in Kilifi County?

(In order to answer these research questions, you are requested to voluntarily answer question(s) and/or accept some procedures performed on you)

Who can Take Part in the Study?

This study will include individuals who are actively playing the kayamba and are based in Kilifi County. The participants must have been in active performance for a minimum of ten years. The interviewed participants will be comprised of: 4 master kayamba players, 2 cultural groups that perform indigenous music, 2 traditional healers and 2 church musicians who play the kayamba.

In Case You Agree to Participate in the Study, What Will Happen?

This is what is going to happen once you have agreed to participate in the study:

- i. First, the researcher will contact you to schedule for interview session of a minimum of one hour for the short case study interview or 2 hours for the long case study interview. For the prolonged case study interview, more than one session of one-hour interviews will be required.
- ii. Second, a qualified and well-trained interviewer will ask you questions in a private place where you will feel comfortable. In case there is any question you feel uncomfortable responding to, you will not be coerced to respond. The questions will be on the following areas: (list the areas below)
 1. Community background
 2. Duration of playing
 3. Mode of learning.
 4. Music repertoire and genres played.
 5. Location of performances.

6. Special technical details you use when playing the kayamba.
7. How you are remunerated
8. How you acquired your kayamba.

3. Third, after the interview, the following procedures will be done {detailed information on any procedures to be undertaken by the investigator(s)}

- i. After the interview, the recordings will be transferred to a secured folder.
- ii. The recordings will be transcribed.
- iii. The data collected from the interviews will be combined with that collected from participant and direct observation as well as documentation.
- iv. This collection of data will move into the data analysis, interpretation stage of the research.

4. Last, you are requested to provide your contact details (phone number or any other reliable form of contact). This will help reach you in case new information regarding the study emerges. Other reason(s) for requesting your contact details is:

- i. To seek further consent on the event we might need to revisit the data collected from this research at some point in the future.

5. The contact details you will provide shall remain confidential to the lead researcher (PI).

What Potential Risks are Associated with Participation in this Study?

Any research involving human subjects has the potential of imposing a number of risks/harms or discomfort including psychological, physical, emotional, environmental, cultural etc.

The risk of the participants contracting COVID-19 during the data collection process. This risk will be mitigated by the researcher adhering to COVID-19 safety measures which include hand sanitizing, social distancing and use of masks at all times.

Privacy & Confidentiality

Privacy is the right of an individual to have some control over how his or her personal information/data is collected, used, and/or disclosed. Confidentiality is the duty to ensure information (data) is kept secret only to the extent possible/reasonable. {Explain to the participants how privacy and confidentiality will be upheld. Explain to the participant any extra precautions, you will take to ensure safety and anonymity. How

well data will be handled and after how long will the data be discarded and how the data will be discarded}

1. The recordings of the interviews will be transferred to a password protected folder in a secure solid-state disk and backed up on a secured google drive folder only accessible to the researcher.
2. The recordings will be transcribed. Names mentioned during the interview will be given aliases during transcription and analysis and presentation of findings.
3. The data will be discarded after at least 5 years. This duration will allow for the research to defend this study should there be question of scientific conduct. As this information will be stored in a digital format, discarding the information will entail permanently deleting the files from the main folder on the Solid-state drive and the Google Drive folder.

In case you aren't comfortable answering any of the questions during the interview because of feeling embarrassed or uncomfortable, it will be within your rights to decline. Otherwise every measure has been taken to ensure that the interview is conducted in a private area with minimal to no interference so that you feel comfortable.

If at all you suffer any injury, illness or complication(s) by participating in this study, kindly contact us immediately using the contact details provided at the bottom of this form. You will be attended to by the study clinician and if there is need for further assessment or treatment you will be referred accordingly.

What Benefits are you going to Accrue by Participating in the Study

1. Individuals will gain a holistic perspective on the music of the kayamba, one that highlights their indigenous knowledge systems and how they contribute to the contemporary contexts of music.
2. The appreciation and value of the kayamba instrument will increase. Consequently, the Mijikenda's community's culture and contribution to the global sonic soundscape will be recognized. Kilifi County will be known as a source of a widespread and resilient music instrument spread across the continent and the world.

3. Findings of this study are bound to contribute positively to the economic ventures that pertain the kayamba especially regarding the sale of the instruments as well as music performance of kayamba related genres.
4. This study will highlight weak aspects of the Mijikenda music culture that will need sustainability efforts. Positive action towards such findings will help foster the sustainability music traditions related to the kayamba.
5. The data collected inform of music repertoire, genres, processes of construction, and classification will act as a supplementary cultural repository of the Mijikenda community. This information will supplement the already existing information embodied in oral tradition.
6. This research will showcase the Mijikenda's musical and cultural wealth and the community's potential to contribute to not only global diversity but musicological and ethnomusicological knowledge in the academy.

What will it Cost You to Participate in the Study?

It is going to cost the participant's time and knowledge on the music of the Mijikenda.

**Will Any Expenditure that You Incur by Participating in the Study be Refunded?
Or will you be Paid for Participating in the Study?**

Participating in this research will not result to any monetary reimbursement.

In Case I Have any Further Questions/ Concerns in Future Whom Should I Contact?

In the event that you need further clarification or questions regarding your continued participation in the study feel free to contact the PI on the email address: emonte@kabarak.ac.ke phone number: +254 717 467 230. In case of concerns regarding your rights and/or obligations as a research participant do not hesitate to contact the secretary, KUREC on kurec@kabarak.ac.ke

What Alternative Options are Available to Me?

The decision on whether to participate or not is voluntary. You will be free to withdraw from the study at any point during the study without providing any explanation.

How Will the Findings of this Study be Communicated or Shared?

Research findings will be published in a published master’s dissertation. This master’s dissertation will be submitted to the Institute of Post Graduate Studies [IPGS] in Kabarak university. An additional PowerPoint presentation and outline of the same will be made for ease of access. The findings will be published in the Kabarak repository portal, an online facility that can be accessed by all authorized individuals.

Statement of Consent

I have comprehensively read the consent form or/the information has been comprehensively read to me by the researcher. I have understood what the study is about and all the questions and concerns that I had have been responded to in a clear and concise. The study benefits and foreseeable risks have been explained to me. I totally understand that my decision to participate in this study is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw at any point during the study.

I freely consent to participate in this study

Signing this form does not in any way imply that I have given up the rights am entitled to as a participant

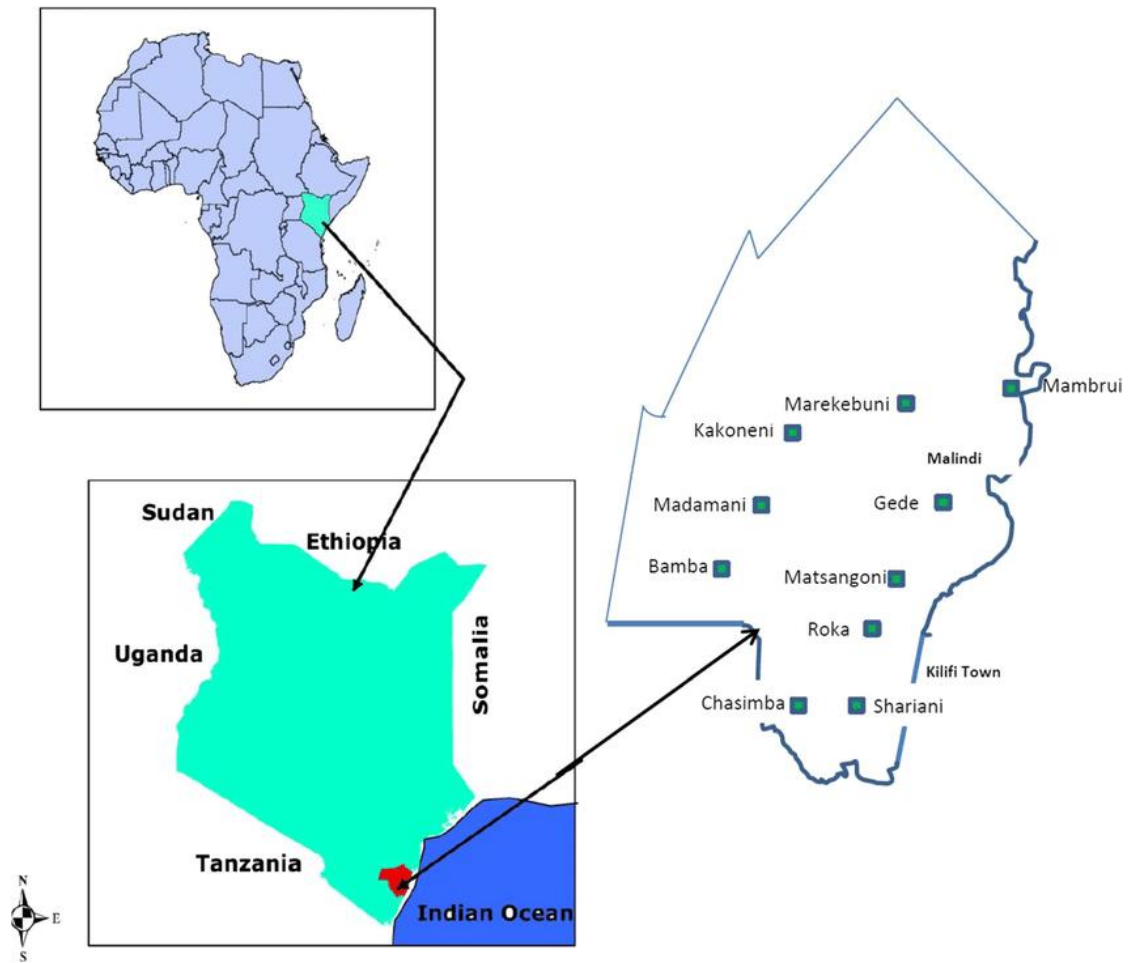
I agree to participate in this research YESNO _____

I agree to provide my contact details for follow-up YES__ NO .

Participant’s Name

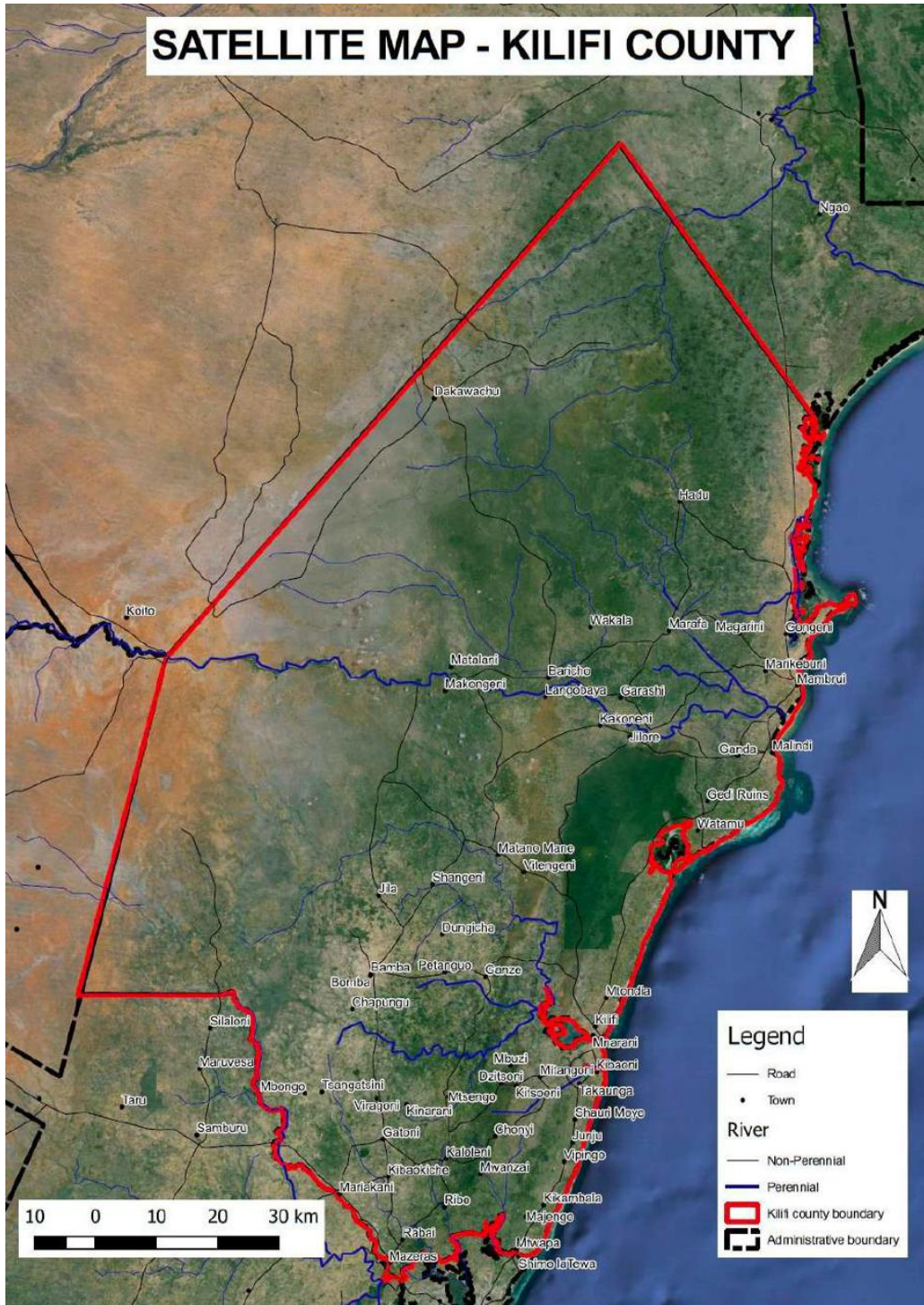
Participant’s Signature/Thumb printDate

Appendix II: Map of Kilifi County



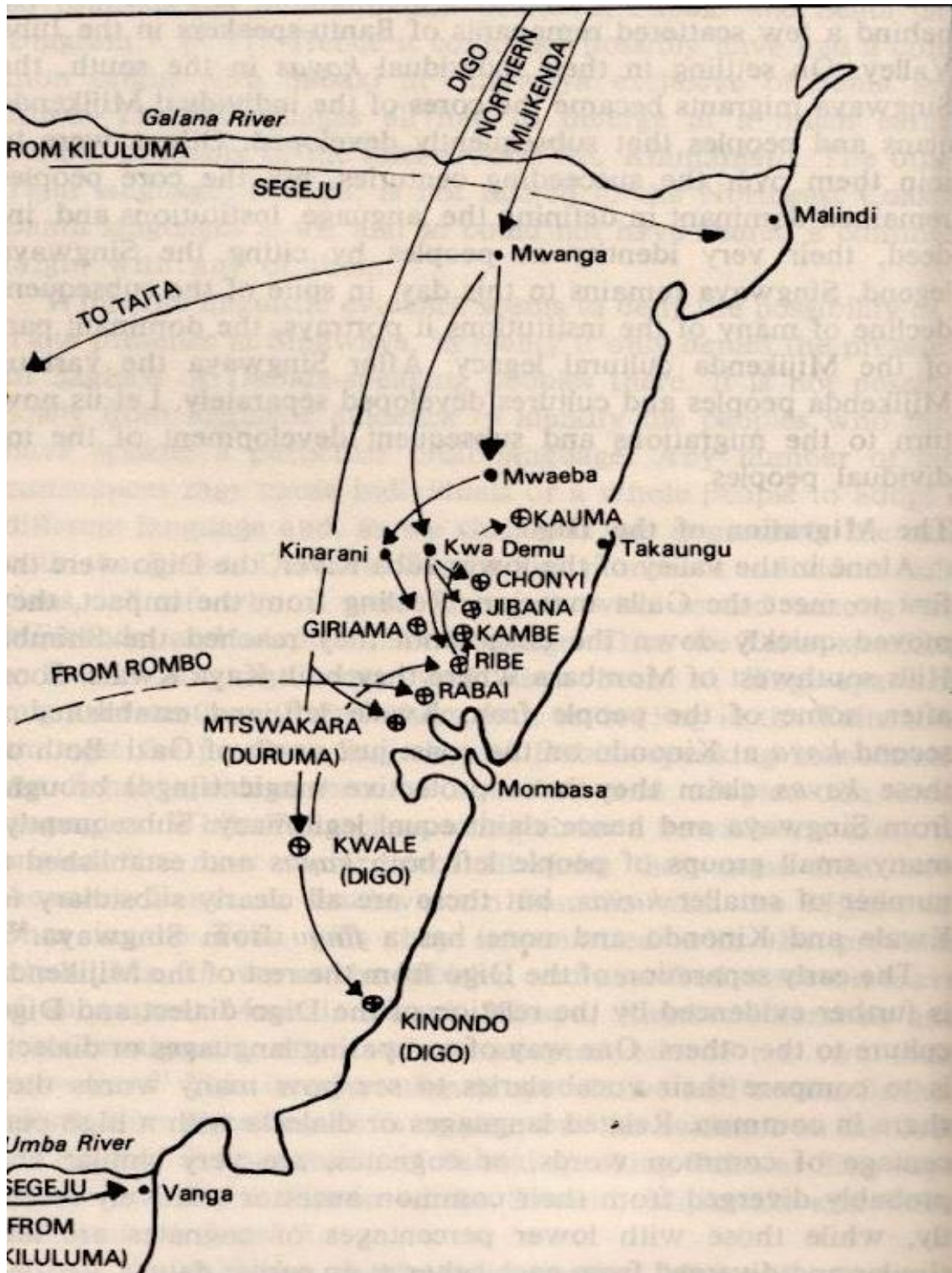
Note: This map was sourced from Gona et al. research article titled “Persons with Disabilities as Experts-by Experience: Using Personal Narratives to affect Community Attitudes in Kilifi, Kenya (2018).”

Appendix III: Satellite Map of Kilifi County



Note: This map was sourced from Kilifi County Climate Risk Profile (n.d.)

Appendix IV: Distribution of the Mijikenda People according to Thomas Spear (1978)



Appendix V: Data Collection Tools

I. Interview Schedule

Note:

The questions and issues highlighted on this schedule have been formulated to guide a semi-structured interview. Key questions are followed up by prompts to facilitate the depth and breadth of response throughout the length of the interview. These questions will be used for the individuals as well as the focus groups. The questions are guidelines to invite meaningful discussions and not to restrict the depth of the topics discussed.

Introduction:

The structure of this schedule is based on the order of objectives. The order of the interview questions will be kept open to include any information that might fall in any of the categories during the discussion with the participant(s).

Questions will start as a follow up from greetings and a short briefing.

Objective One: To describe the indigenous knowledge systems accorded to the kayamba of the Mijikenda community in Kilifi County.

A. On systems of learning:

1. What is your music background?

- Music in your family
- Earliest musical memory
- When did learning start?

2. Where and from whom did you learn the music?

- In your home
- Ceremony
- Master musician?

3. What was the focus while you were learning how to play the kayamba?

- The lyrics?
- The music's melody
- The rhythm that guides the dancing?

4. How do you become a master kayamba player in the Mijikenda community?

- Is it inherited from family lines?
- Does it take the musician to learn other music instruments as well?

B. On Music form and structure

1. How do you perceive music of the Mijikenda?

- Is there a way of representing rhythm?
- How do you know that the pitches are accurate?
- To what standards do you tune the instruments?

2. How do you communicate musical ideas to your fellow ensemble members?

- Is there a coded language for performance directions such as soft, loud, increase in intensity, reduce in intensity?
- What dictates the length of a kayamba performance?
- Are there a set number of movements/ distinct parts?
- What names do you give to the different sections of a piece of music in this genre?
- Do names bear other meanings in addition to the musical meanings?

3. What entails a good kayamba performance and performer?

- What makes one a Master kayamba player?
- Are there levels of mastery and competence involved in playing the kayamba?
- How do you tell an 'amateur' or learner kayamba player?

4. How is repertoire stored within the Mijikenda community?

- Is there a repository of kayamba music in the Mijikenda community?
- How does oral tradition contribute to this?
- Are there other forms of storage of repertoire outside oral tradition and memory?
- Is the music recorded to digital formats for sharing?

C. Construction of the kayamba

1. How is the kayamba made?

- Does the process or raw material change across different communities?
- What materials are used to make the kayamba?
- Has this process changed or has it remained constant overtime?

D. Indigenous performance Contexts

1. What music styles incorporate the kayamba instrument?
 - Are these music styles specific to communities within the Mijikenda or are they shared across the entire Mijikenda community?
 - When are these music traditions performed?
2. What musical role does the kayamba play in these music styles?
 - Can the music be played without the kayamba?
3. What other non-musical role does the kayamba play in the performance?
 - Does the kayamba symbolize anything additional to the music tradition or ritual?

E. Classification

1. How are musical instruments classified in the Mijikenda community?
 - Is there an order of importance?
 - What decides the method of classification: mode of sound production? symbolic meaning? Musical role?
 - Does the name/category of classification contain other meanings?

Objective Two: To describe the elements of culture connected to playing the kayamba among the Mijikenda community in Kilifi County.

1. How does your music interact with other aspects of your cultural life within your community?
2. What contexts necessitate a music performance?
 - Is the type of music to be played at these occasions or contexts necessitated by cultural norms or people's preference?
 - Are there genres (which use the kayamba) that have stopped being played at such occasions? If so, why?
 - Is the music performed the same way as it was in the past or have there been some changes?
 - What changes have occurred?

3. How do the following factors influence the music practices in your culture?

- Gender
- Societal roles
- Ceremonies and rituals
- Environment
- Aesthetics
- Religion
- Generational links

4 How does your musical practices contribute to the construction of the following identities?

- Cultural
- Social
- Personal
- National

5. In addition to musical instruments, what other equipment or tangible resources are required to curate, perform, and transmit a culture?

- How are they sourced?
- Have they the same as those that were there 20 – 25 years ago?
- How have they changed?

Objective Three: To understand the role of the kayamba in contemporary music contexts beyond the indigenous music practices of the Mijikenda in Kilifi County.

To be asked to kayamba musicians who play in Church contexts.

1. How did you learn how to play the kayamba?
 - Was it in the church or from otherwise?
 - What kind of repertoire did you start playing on?
 - Did the music have significant meaning to the context you were learning it?
2. Are you required to undergo special training and rituals to be confirmed as a kayamba player in church?
 - Are there formal lessons or training from the church directly linked to playing kayamba?
 - Was there a commissioning ceremony for your role as a kayamba player?

3. Have you played the kayamba in other environments apart from the church?
 - Have you played the kayamba in an indigenous music space?
 - What was the nature of your performance?
4. Are there set rules/norms/practices on how you go play the kayamba in church?
 - Are there forbidden rhythms or music?
 - Are there particular genres highly preferred compared to others?
5. Is your role as a kayamba player accompanied by other responsibilities, musical or otherwise?
 - Leading/directing the music/ music ensembles?
 - Wearing special regalia?
 - Maintaining the kayamba and (or) other music instruments?
6. How does the church acquire the kayamba?
 - Is it made specifically for the church?
 - Is it bought from expert makers?
 - Are there differences in construction between the kayamba in church to the kayamba in indigenous music practices?
7. Have there been changes in how the kayamba is played in your church and other music contexts you've been involved in over the past 20 – 25 years?
 - Have new technologies such as synthesizers and workstation keyboards affected the way the kayamba is played?
 - Has the level of importance increased or diminished over years?

Objective four: To explore the music industry aspects linked to the kayamba in Kilifi County.

Questions designed for every interview scenario.


1. Are you remunerated for the kayamba playing?
 - What is the form of remuneration? Money/ applause/ prestige or other?
2. How widely is the music you play accessed by people in your community?
 - How is it accessed, is it through live performances, online videos, audio recordings or others?
 - Has this changed over the past 10 years or more of your playing?
 - Do you see this changing in the next decade?


3. Are audiences of your performances required or expected to pay?
 - What dictates the price of the payment?
 - Does the price vary from one performance/music context to the next?
4. Does the ministry of culture/ other cultural institutions contribute to the music endeavours?
 - What is the nature of contribution? Policy/ financial/ festival curation or others?
5. Have you travelled to other countries to showcase the music of the kayamba?
 - What was the nature of the performance?
 - Was the travel and the tour sponsored or self-financed?
 - Did you talk about the culture during the showcase?
 - What was the audience response?
 - Were you remunerated?
6. Are there issues of copyright to the music you play?
 - Who owns the music?
 - Does everyone have a right to play or perform this music?
 - Are familiar with any laws that protect you as a musician?
 - Do you compose some of the music you perform?
7. Are there particular people/institutions that sponsor your musical goals?
8. What is the nature of the relationship between the music you play and the tourism industry?
 - Is the music a major or minor source of attraction for cultural tourism?
 - Is the music or the music event changed when presented to tourists?
9. How do you publicize your music performance?
 - Social media
 - Word of mouth
 - Print media
 - Television
 - Radio

ii. Observation Protocol

Name of dance/Music genre/ritual:					
Specific Ethnic group:					
Occasion:					
Time:					
Duration of performance:					
Duration of the occasion:					
Description of place/site:					
Description of movements (body and formations)					
Description of music:					
Music instruments present: (Must include the kayamba)					
Role of music instruments present:					
Costumes and cultural artefacts:					
Number of participants:	Male			Female	Children
Average mean age:					
General comments on the music event					


Appendix IV: NACOSTI Research Permit


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

Ref No: **751748** Date of Issue: **17/August/2022**


RESEARCH LICENSE




This is to Certify that Mr.. James Nderitu Kiragu of Kabarak University, has been licensed to conduct research in Kilifi on the topic: SYSTEMS FACILITATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF KAYAMBA MUSICAL INSTRUMENT OF THE MIJIKENDA IN KILIFI COUNTY, KENYA. for the period ending : 17/August/2023.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/22/19739**

Applicant Identification Number **751748**


Director General
**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &
INNOVATION**

Verification QR Code



**NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document,
Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.**

THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is Guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period
2. The License any rights thereunder are non-transferable
3. The Licensee shall inform the relevant County Director of Education, County Commissioner and County Governor before commencement of the research
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies
5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials
6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project
7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report (thesis) within one year of completion of the research
8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
off Waiyaki Way, Upper Kabete,
P. O. Box 30623, 00100 Nairobi, KENYA
Land line: 020 4007000, 020 2241349, 020 3310571, 020 8001077
Mobile: 0713 788 787 / 0735 404 245
E-mail: dg@nacosti.go.ke / registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke

Appendix V: KUREC Approval Letter



KABARAK UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Private Bag - 20157
KABARAK, KENYA
Email: kurec@kabarak.ac.ke

Tel: 254-51-343234/5
Fax: 254-051-343529
www.kabarak.ac.ke

OUR REF: KABU01/KUREC/001/18/07/22

Date: 27th July, 2022

James Nderitu Kiragu,
Kabarak University,

Dear James,

RE: SYSTEMS FACILITATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF KAYAMBA MUSICAL INSTRUMENT OF THE MJIKENDA IN KILIFI COUNTY, KENYA

This is to inform you that **KUREC** has reviewed and approved your above research proposal. Your application approval number is **KUREC-180722**. The approval period is **27/07/2022 – 27/07/ 2023**.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following requirements:

- i. All researchers shall obtain an introduction letter to NACOSTI from the relevant head of institutions (Institute of postgraduate, School dean or Directorate of research)
- ii. The researcher shall further obtain a RESEARCH PERMIT from NACOSTI before commencement of data collection & submit a copy of the permit to **KUREC**.
- iii. Only approved documents including (informed consents, study instruments, MTA Material Transfer Agreement) will be used
- iv. All changes including (amendments, deviations, and violations) are submitted for review and approval by **KUREC**:
- v. Death and life-threatening problems and serious adverse events or unexpected adverse events whether related or unrelated to the study must be reported to **KUREC** within 72 hours of notification;
- vi. Any changes, anticipated or otherwise that may increase the risk(s) or affected safety or welfare of study participants and others or affect the integrity of the research must be reported to **KUREC** within 72 hours;
- vii. Clearance for export of biological specimens must be obtained from relevant institutions and submit a copy of the permit to **KUREC**;
- viii. Submission of a request for renewal of approval at least 60 days prior to expiry of the approval period. Attach a comprehensive progress report to support the renewal and;
- ix. Submission of an executive summary report within 90 days upon completion of the study to **KUREC**

Sincerely,

Prof. Jackson Kitetu Ph.D.
KUREC-Chairman



Cc Vice Chancellor
DVC-Academic & Research
Registrar-Academic & Research
Director-Research Innovation & Outreach
Institute of Post Graduate Studies

As members of Kabarak University family, we purpose at all times and in all places, to set apart in one's heart, Jesus as Lord.
(1 Peter 3:15)



Kabarak University is ISO 9001:2015 Certified

Appendix VI: County Commissioner Approval Letter



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND CO-ORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telephone:
Fax:
Email: cckilificoordination@gmail.com
When replying please quote
Ref: **EDUC.12/7/VOL.7/54**

County Commissioner's Office
Kilifi County
P. O. Box 29 - 80108
KILIFI

And Date 30th August, 2022

All Deputy County Commissioners
KILIFI COUNTY

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION
NDERITU KIRAGU LICENSE NO: NACOSTI/P/22/19739

The above-named student has been authorized to carry out research on
***"Systems facilitating the sustainability of Kayamba Musical Instrument
of the Mijikenda in Kilifi County, Kenya."***

The research study will be conducted in Kilifi County, starting from **30th
August, 2022 to 17th August, 2023.**

Any assistance accorded will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
KILIFI COUNTY
P. O. Box 29 - 80108
KILIFI

SHALLY RONOH
FOR: COUNTY COMMISSIONER
KILIFI COUNTY

c.c.
County Director of Education
KILIFI COUNTY

The Dean, Music School
School of Music and Media Studies
Kabarak University
NAKURU, KENYA

Nderitu Kiragu
School of Music and Media Studies
Kabarak University
NAKURU KENYA

Appendix VII: Ministry of Education Research Permit



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
State Department of Early Learning and Basic Education
KILIFI COUNTY

Telephone 041-7522432
EMAIL: cdekilificounty@yahoo.com
Fax no. 7522432
When replying/telephoning quote

County Education Office
P O Box 42 -80108
KILIFI

Ref: **KLF/CDE/G.10/3/98**

30th August, 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION -
MR. NDERITU KIRAGU – LICENSE NO. NACOSTI/P/22/19739

The above named student has been authorized to carry out research on “***Systems facilitating the sustainability of Kayamba Musical Instrument of the Mijikenda in Kilifi County Kenya***”. The research study will be conducted in Kilifi County starting from **30th August, 2022** to **17th August, 2023**.

Any assistance accorded to him will be highly appreciated.


WASAI ISAAC
FOR: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KILIFI



Copy to:

- TSC Director – **KILIFI**
- Nderitu Kiragu – Kabarak University - **NAKURU**

Appendix VIII: Evidence of Conference Participation



CERTIFICATE

We certify that

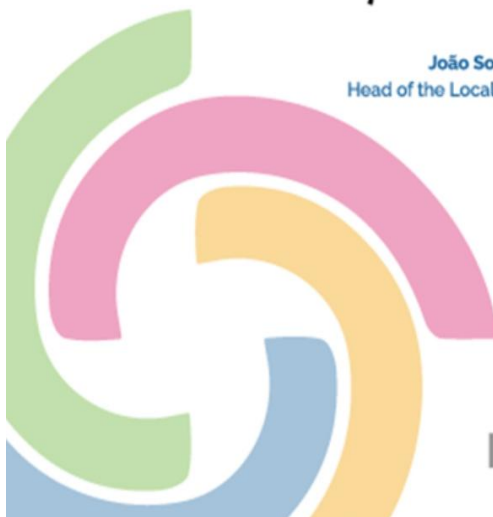
James Nderitu Kiragu

has attended the **46th ICTM Conference**, that took place at Universidade Nova de Lisboa in Lisbon, Portugal, from 21 to 27th July 2022.

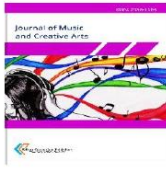
Lisbon, 27th July 2022

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'J. Soeiro de Carvalho'.

João Soeiro de Carvalho
Head of the Local Arrangements Committee



Appendix IX: List of Publication



Journal of Music and Creative Arts

[ISSN 2958-1184]
Volume: 02 Issue: 01 | September-2023



WHAT'S THE DEAL? THE LINK BETWEEN THE SUSTAINABILITY AND COMMERCIAL ASPECTS OF THE KAYAMBA OF THE MIJIKENDA COMMUNITY

Author

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Email: jaymotito@gmail.com

Kabarak University, Kenya

Cite this article in APA

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Abstract

This paper aims to elucidate the sustainable systems birthed from the interaction between the kayamba instrument and its commercial elements. The paper underscores the commercial elements linked to the kayamba and how the configuration between the indigenous and contemporary economic contexts contributes to the resilience and sustainability of the kayamba instrument. This research takes on a different approach from the ubiquitous studies of indigenous musical instruments of Africa, which have been linked to their evident endangered state. The strategies provided are mostly based on etic perspectives and outsider interventions, which more often than not lead to essentialised and ossified traditions rather than promoting healthy environments for the music traditions to thrive. This paper shifts focus from a preservation to a sustainability framework. It incorporates a qualitative research approach that highlights the Mijikenda community's perspectives and agency in facilitating the sustainability of the kayamba musical instrument. The participants of this research were purposively sampled. Data was collected through the use of participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and focused group discussions. The data collected went through thematic analysis. Findings from this research are integral to the development of initiatives linked to the sustainability of musical instruments and music traditions. The conglomeration of indigenous and contemporary economic contexts provides a holistic view of the resilience and sustainability of indigenous musical instruments of contemporary Africa.

Key terms: contemporary economic contexts, indigenous economic contexts, kayamba, resilience, sustainability.

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