This Thing Called Music

Essays in Honor of Bruno Nettl

Edited by
Victoria Lindsay Levine
and Philip V. Bohlman

This Thing Called Music

EUROPEA: ETHNOMUSICOLOGIES AND MODERNITIES

Series Editors: Philip V. Bohlman and Martin Stokes

The new millennium challenges ethnomusicologists, dedicated to studying the music of the world, to examine anew the Western musics they have treated as "traditional," and to forge new approaches to world musics that are often overlooked because of their deceptive familiarity. As the modern discipline of ethnomusicology expanded during the second half of the twentieth century, influenced significantly by ethnographic methods in the social sciences, ethnomusicology's "field" increasingly shifted to the exoticized Other. The comparative methodologies previously generated by Europeanist scholars to study and privilege Western musics were deliberately discarded. Europe as a cultural area was banished to historical musicology, and European vernacular musics became the spoils left to folk-music and, later, popular-music studies.

Europea challenges ethnomusicology to return to Europe and to encounter its disciplinary past afresh, and the present is a timely moment to do so. European unity nervously but insistently asserts itself through the political and cultural agendas of the European Union, causing Europeans to reflect on a bitterly and violently fragmented past and its ongoing repercussions in the present, and to confront new challenges and opportunities for integration. There is also an intellectual moment to be seized as Europeans reformulate the history of the present, an opportunity to move beyond the fragmentation and atomism the later twentieth century has bequeathed and to enter into broader social, cultural, and political relationships.

Europea is not simply a reflection of and on the current state of research. Rather, the volumes in this series move in new directions and experiment with diverse approaches. The series establishes a forum that can engage scholars, musicians, and other interlocutors in debates and discussions crucial to understanding the present historical juncture. This dialogue, grounded in ethnomusicology's interdisciplinarity, will be animated by reflexive attention to the specific social configurations of knowledge of and scholarship on the musics of Europe. Such knowledge and its circulation as ethnomusicological scholarship are by no means dependent on professional academics, but rather are conditioned, as elsewhere, by complex interactions between universities, museums, amateur organizations, state agencies, and markets. Both the broader view to which ethnomusicology aspires and the critical edge neces-

sary to understanding the present moment are served by broadening the base on which "academic" discussion proceeds.

"Europe" will emerge from the volumes as a space for critical dialogue, embracing competing and often antagonistic voices from across the continent, across the Atlantic, across the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and across a world altered ineluctably by European colonialism and globalization. The diverse subjects and interdisciplinary approaches in individual volumes capture something of—and, in a small way, become part of—the jangling polyphony through which the "New Europe" has explosively taken musical shape in public discourse, in expressive culture, and, increasingly, in political form. Europea: Ethnomusicologies and Modernities aims to provide a critical framework necessary to capture something of the turbulent dynamics of music performance, engaging the forces that inform and deform, contest and mediate the senses of identity, selfhood, belonging, and progress that shape "European" musical experience in Europe and across the world.

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For Bruno Nettl
teacher, colleague, friend
on the occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday

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There is so much to acknowledge here, and within a matter of pages we turn over much of the task of acknowledging the many intellectual debts owed Bruno Nettl to the contributors who bring their own perspectives to the thing called music. There are many other individuals, nonetheless, whose roles in making this book possible—some smaller, others larger, all critical—deserve acknowledgment at this point. We are particularly grateful to the many students and colleagues who, from the very first queries about a Festschrift for Bruno Nettl, responded with enthusiasm and were quick to offer suggestions about the ways to make the volume really happen. As the list of distinguished contributors fully demonstrates, invitations were accepted with enthusiasm, and our contributors turned to their most thoughtful and

significant research to honor Bruno Nettl. We are also grateful for the abundance of practical suggestions we received, above all from those who worked with us to make this book a Festschrift and to transform it as a Festschrift into a volume whose individual chapters cohere as a much larger chapter in the history of ethnomusicology.

Even as the scholarship in this volume stretches across disciplines and geographical boundaries, the editors are indebted to the support they received close to their own academic homes. At Colorado College, Vicki Levine's research and editorial work were supported by the Christine S. Johnson Professorship in music (Susan Ashley, dean), a Mellon Faculty-Student Collaborative Research Grant in the humanities (Sandra Wong, dean), and a Jackson Fellowship in Southwestern studies (Eric Leonard, director). She received invaluable help with manuscript preparation from research assistant Emily Kohut, music copyist Connor Rice, and Help Desk student worker Caitlin Taber. Felix Sanchez, creative director of the Colorado College Communications unit, kindly designed the book cover, using a photograph of Wanda Nettl's untitled paper collage provided by Natalie Fiol, the Nettls' granddaughter. Vicki also thanks her writing partner, Professor Tamara Bentley (art history), for ongoing encouragement. At the University of Chicago Phil Bohlman expresses his gratitude for research funding from the Department of Music (Anne W. Robertson, chair) and from the Division of Humanities (Martha T. Roth, dean). His research assistants never fail to enhance his writing and editorial work, and for this project Phil especially thanks Michael Figueroa. At the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Philip Yampolsky helped us with the final stages of production, particularly the preparation of the index for the book. We also wish to thank the School of Music at the University of Illinois, and its director, Jeffrey Magee, for financial support for the Festschrift itself and for logistical support as the book becomes a springboard for celebrating Bruno Nettl's half-century of teaching and scholarship at Illinois.

From the first stages devoted to planning this book, we were fortunate to have the support of many who recognized that its potential as a Festschrift would be considerable. Bennett Graff, senior editor at Rowman & Littlefield, sought not to dissuade us from publishing the book as a Festschrift; rather, he began to explore just what needed to be done to realize the potential of a Festschrift. We extend our thanks to Bennett, and to Martin Stokes, who, as co-editor of Europea: Ethnomusicologies and Modernities, enthusiastically supported inclusion of the Festschrift in that series. It was a pleasure to work with the editorial and production staff at Rowman & Littlefield, and we

thank them for the many ways in which they worked with us as publication drew closer, especially Lara Graham and Monica Savaglia.

No project with or about Bruno Nettl would be complete without acknowledging the role of those who shared the sojourn of ethnomusicological scholarship with him and with us. To know Bruno as a teacher and scholar is to know him as a husband and father in his own family. This Festschrift, too, acknowledges the special intimacy of family, for it would have been impossible without our conversations with his wife, Wanda, and daughters Becky and Gloria. At home in Colorado Springs and Oak Park, our own spouses, Mark Levine and Christine Bohlman, were present from the start as we listened to and learned from our teacher, Bruno Nettl, and we close by thanking them for standing by us over the decades to which this Festschrift ultimately bears witness.

Introduction

Bruno Nettl's Lifetime in Search of Music

Victoria Lindsay Levine and Philip V. Bohlman

> *Who was in the audience that night [at the University of Illinois]? . . . An ethnomusicologist who'd spend the next forty years proving that music evaded every definition.*
>
> —Richard Powers, *Orfeo* (2014)

> *But to the central question, I have no answer and no theory.*
>
> —Bruno Nettl, *A Lifetime of Learning* (2014)

How remarkable it is to devote a lifetime of learning, writing, and teaching to this thing called music! It is the search for music's thingness—its materiality, its ontology, its tangibility and presence in human history—that defines Bruno Nettl's career. It is a search that inspired so many to join him—as students, colleagues, listeners, and learners—and it is a search that provides the substance of *This Thing Called Music*, the Festschrift with which Bruno's fellow sojourners honor him on the occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday.

The passion of a lifetime pursuit notwithstanding, Bruno is only too well aware that music's thingness is paradoxical. Whenever given the chance to focus on this thing called music—his lengthy essay on "Music" in the 2001 *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* was the first-ever entry on the central subject of the most venerable of all reference works devoted to music, indeed, an entry still not superseded—Bruno struck out along the pathway of potential plurals. If musics proliferated, especially across the intellectual history of ethnomusicology, this is for Bruno no ground for equivocating. In

his 2014 novel, *Orfeo*, Richard Powers captures Bruno, not quite fictionally, as a concert-going ethnomusicologist at the University of Illinois's Smith Hall in the early 1960s, already determined to seek definitions for the indefinable. Critically important for his search is that the singularity of music's thingness actually resists the dismissal that could otherwise be reduced to non-definition. Quite the contrary, it is the singularity of the plurals that established music's primacy in Bruno's enjoinder to his students always to "think big!" Surely, we witness here one more motto befitting Bruno's lifetime in search of music, and it is hardly surprising that he emphasizes that message in the ACLS *Lifetime of Learning* Haskins Lecture in May 2014. Each new monograph and each new editorial endeavor expands the boundaries of ethnomusicology, enhancing the field in the many ways that project the big ideas while capturing the minute differences in the ways all humans and societies think about music.

It was our challenge as editors, one we enthusiastically embraced, to ensure that this Festschrift contributes to Bruno Nettl's lifetime in search of music that all the contributors here have followed so closely. As we responded to the challenge, we learned much, once again, about how complex this thing called music really is. As the editors initially sought structure for the different sections, for example, we thought we might tease out a group of themes that best characterized Bruno's scholarship and teaching. Identifying individual themes—the concentration on certain regions, music cultures, or repertories, for instance—proved to be difficult, and then impossible. A cluster of former students that might represent a Bruno Nettl school once again failed to materialize. Disciplinary boundaries did not parse conveniently into discrete academic allegiances. Even determining the core subject for the book—this thing called music—did not succeed in checking the influx of big ideas.

We freely confess to the obvious fact that the titles we have given to the individual sections evoke titles from some of Bruno's most influential publications, as well as his penchant for big ideas rather than staking the boundaries of specialized research. Quite deliberately, we chose these titles because they refer to the many rather than the few, hence the plurality of music's singularity. "Communities of Music" are notable for the ways they embody "Issues and Concepts" and afford the multiplication of "Change, Adaptation, and Survival." "Historical Studies" emerge from "Analytical Studies" to yield the "Intellectual History of Ethnomusicology."

Critical to all these sections and the chapters they contain, moreover, is the explicit connectivity and collectivity they reflect. It is together, as a collective, that we have joined with Bruno to experience this thing called music. The concept of the collective surely anchors the ideas that flood in

upon Bruno's most ambitious writing about music and musics, for it is the collective that makes the singular plural. Drawing his *New Grove* entry on "Music" to a close, he writes: "The purpose of this article is, indeed, to show that, in its conception of music, the world is a pastiche of diversity" (Nettl 2001:436). We could not be more pleased that the collective of music scholars who contributed their voices and ideas to this Festschrift have captured precisely such a pastiche of diversity.

Many of the scholars who contributed to this Festschrift are Bruno's former students and doctoral advisees from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, including the editors. Although Bruno has retired from teaching, we remember him in his role as a professor, with high expectations tempered by encouragement, sociability, and engagement with all things musical at the university. Among his most popular courses were those focused on geographic regions, which were offered under the rubric "Music 317." These courses were among the few musicology offerings open to both undergraduate and graduate students, and we flocked to them from the School of Music, the Anthropology Department, and other departments across campus. Bruno provided lengthy reading and listening lists, and we studied those materials in depth because we knew we would be called upon for cogent synthesis and incisive discussion. Although the literature in the field has grown exponentially, the materials on those bibliographies and discographies have become classics that still constitute the core of required reading for any aspiring ethnomusicologist. Among the outstanding features of Bruno's course design was his openness to various analytical approaches and theoretical models. There was nothing dogmatic in the shape or content of his reading and listening lists, or in his lectures; no evidence of professional rivalries through omissions or obvious bias. Bruno consistently modeled an appreciation for the boundless curiosity, tempered by intellectual balance, he so richly demonstrates in his publications.

Fully aware of the long hours we worked preparing for seminars and exams, Bruno often stopped by our offices or library carrels with an invitation to coffee, lunch, Friday happy hour, or a party. To receive a photocopied installment from Bruno's *Chacun* papers, which began with "*Chacun à son goût*, or *de gustibus* . . . ?: A New Approach to the Determinants of Music" (1981), signaled an invitation to dessert at the Nettls' home. These hilariously clever epistles propounded Bruno's theory of just desserts, poking fun at academic polemic with the argument that the best music comes from cultures with the best desserts. He assigned a fictionalized name, inspired by particular sweets or pastries, to everyone invited to the party, and part of the fun of receiving the invitation was decoding the names and the invented

publications attributed to them. The Nettls' home was always open to students, and during Bruno's teaching career it was the scene of spontaneous dance parties, marzipan-making sessions, riotous limerick readings, and, of course, dessert parties. Bruno taught us to be serious music scholars, but not to take ourselves too seriously.

Bruno wanted all of his former advisees to succeed, and therefore his guidance did not end when we finished our dissertations and received our diplomas. He mentored us during job searches and throughout our professional careers, writing countless letters of support for promotions and grant applications. Bruno's role as adviser has gradually transitioned to that of helpful colleague. He recommends us for research and publication opportunities and collaborates with us when our interests coincide. He is often the first to read our new publications and to send a congratulatory note, and he stays in touch through frequent phone calls and e-mail messages. Bruno celebrates our milestones, such as marriages, babies, and significant birthdays, and is particularly attentive as we weather the vicissitudes of aging. As an adviser, Bruno preferred to be perceived as avuncular rather than as a father figure; in actuality, he has always nurtured and maintained deep and abiding friendships with his former students.

Bruno's vocation for teaching extends beyond the University of Illinois and continues to inform new generations of music students and aspiring ethnomusicologists around the world. His magisterial volume, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts* (1983, 2005), is the most comprehensive introduction to our discipline and stands as a pinnacle in the history of music scholarship; its third edition went to press as this Festschrift was being completed. Prior to the publication of *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, Bruno introduced generations of students to our discipline through *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology* (1964); the practice exercises and problems he presented in the appendix are just as applicable in 2015 as they were fifty years ago. In addition, thousands of students experiencing world music for the first time have received an introduction to the topic through the textbook *Excursions in World Music* (1992), now entering its seventh edition, the foundations for which were laid by Bruno and his co-authors from the University of Illinois and elsewhere.

Bruno is an intensely social person, and as such, he has established collegial relationships throughout the world, including with many of the contributors to this Festschrift. The essays presented here attest to his fruitful collaborations with colleagues in North America, Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. Bruno's appreciation of diverse topics, methodological approaches, and theoretical models is reflected in these pages. The contributors hail from

ten countries; their terminology draws upon twelve languages other than English; and their primary disciplinary orientations include historical musicology, systematic musicology, music education, history, medical humanities, linguistic anthropology, and, of course, ethnomusicology. The collection itself evokes the myriad intellectual paths Bruno has traveled alongside many companions.

With this Festschrift, then, we celebrate listening and thinking, learning and writing, connectivity and collectivity, complexity and diversity, the singularity of plurals, boundary crossings, thinking big, and serious music scholarship, all imbued with a sense of wonder at this thing called music, and with gratitude for Bruno Nettl.

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PART I

COMMUNITIES OF MUSIC

CHAPTER ONE

Recording the Life Review

A Case Study from the Medical Humanities

Theresa Allison

Bruno Nettl accepted me as a graduate student in 1992, the year after he retired from the University of Illinois. He thought it might be interesting to see what happened if a medical student also trained in ethnomusicology. Twenty-some years later, he remains active as a writer, a researcher, a teacher, and an advocate within the Society for Ethnomusicology and without. He continues to challenge his former students, now tenured faculty, music publishing professionals, and administrators, to grow and develop. With this in mind, it seems fitting that the only physician he mentored should try to bring together theories from medicine and ethnomusicology, in a case study about eighty- and ninety-year-old men and women who continued to learn, to grow, and to make music together.

Over the past sixty years, ethnomusicologists have examined and adapted theoretical models from fields such as cultural anthropology, social theory, philosophy, history, and political science. Gerontology, by contrast, has remained largely ignored in our discipline, despite the fact that many ethnomusicologists study with local elders and examine intergenerational differences. Similarly, while a growing number of gerontologists have become interested in the performing arts, few have considered the work of ethnomusicologists. This chapter integrates the two discourses using a single case study, the production of a CD and DVD in a uniquely geriatric setting, a nursing home.

In gerontology, we have long accepted Robert Butler's concept of the life review and the ways in which reminiscence can create meaning in later life

(cf. Butler 1963; Butler 1974a; Butler 1974b; Haber 2006). In his seminal 1963 article, Butler contradicted prevailing medical theory, which associated reminiscence with senility, asserting instead that life review was a natural and universal occurrence, one important to the resolution of unresolved psychological conflicts (Butler 1963). His approach continues to be used in clinical practice and refined in theory (cf. Haber 2006; Webster, Bohlmeijer, and Westerhof 2010). But the life review holds within itself a tacit assumption that the process of integrating one's life is inherently narrative. In ethnomusicology we recognize that people do not merely talk about their lives, they enact their lives through daily routines and creative performances. The life review, I assert, may take place through performance as well as narrative, through music as well as words.

The narrative properties of reminiscence therapy and the life review in late life development have been well studied; however, little has been written about the performative and presentational aspects of the process. This is now changing. With the development of the National Center for Creative Aging,[1] researchers and advocates alike are gaining access to the wide variety of artistic products created by elders. We have seen successful grassroots interventions to enhance creativity among people with dementia, such as the iPod project[2] and Meet Me at MoMA.[3] Tool kits such as the TimeSlips[4] improvisational theater are being disseminated widely throughout skilled nursing facilities. Scholars are working not only to promote the role of the arts in aging, but also to promote the careful intellectual scrutiny of those arts. A new study of the health effects of singing in community choirs[5] has brought to the academic table questions of methodology and analytic goals as well as questions about humanity in relation to science.

I approach aging and the arts by looking at music as a performance medium through which elders not only create meaning, but present their lives through performance. Through concerts and music recordings, elders have the opportunity to create a permanent legacy for their families and their communities. I learned of the potential for songs to serve as life review from a group of older, self-identified non-musicians in a collaborative Songwriting Works workshop.[6] For example, their lilting waltz, "I'm 100 Years Old," includes the following lyrics:

Chorus:
I'm 100 years old or so I've been told
But I don't feel my age at all
I'll live and find out what this life is all about
And I hope and I pray it's a ball!

Verse 1 (soli, spoken by the elders):
When we were eighteen we had different lives
Some had husbands, some had wives
Did we ever carry on!
We graduated high school, went to college for a time
Some had children, went to work
And then the war was on

We went into the service: the Army, the Navy, the Shipyards
The Air Force, the Coast Guard saved hundreds of lives
The $64,000 question: Will we ever really have peace?
We watched while in that war so many, many died

Chorus (repeated)

Verse 2 (soli, spoken):
They say "Life begins at 40"—I can tell you it's true
Our 40s and 50s were sensational times
Just looking back on them—Oh boy, I can't tell you—
We were traveling gypsies
On the road all the time

Chorus (repeated)

Verse 3 (soli, spoken):
Sixty is like a diamond—to see your children all grown up
I'm happy, content—
We're still carrying on!
Keep your mind and body active
I can tell you that's a must!
To go through the stages, it's healthier to love
With peace in your heart
Life will agree with you
It sounds like a dream—but it's true
It's true!

Chorus (repeated)[7]

The composers and performers, whose average age was eighty-seven, wrote this song in a small group process, facilitated by the singer-songwriter Judith-Kate Friedman. Although not all songs written in this process fit the concept of a life review, "I'm 100 Years Old" certainly does. In a decade-by-decade overview of a lifetime, the singer-songwriters created an integrated

story of vibrant adulthood. I could appreciate intuitively that it was written by a group of eighty- and ninety-year-olds from the World War II generation. My surprise was in learning that the composers were frail, chronically ill, self-identified non-musicians, some of whom had dementia, and all of whom were living in a nursing home.

To be fair, this music was not written at a stereotypical, for-profit skilled nursing facility. The Jewish Home, San Francisco, is a 430-bed, not-for-profit skilled nursing facility in San Francisco that was founded upon a philanthropic mission to serve the Jewish community more than 140 years ago. When the CD and DVD were produced, elders had already been writing songs for four years with Friedman. In 2003, after the production of the CD, some of them began a psalms study group with Friedman and the Jewish Home's Rabbi Sheldon Marder, in which they wrote psalm-inspired musical responses (Allison 2008; Friedman 2011; Marder 2005). Although I worked with Friedman, Rabbi Marder, and many of the elders who wrote and recorded the songs during two years of participant-observation research, and provided medical care at the Home for four years, the locus of this chapter is a specific, historical moment in the Home's seventeen-year-long songwriting history, two years prior to my first visit to the Home, and five years prior to the ethnographic research study.[8]

How Do You Produce a CD in a Nursing Home? Background and Method

In 1997, elders began weekly songwriting sessions with Friedman, one group including cognitively intact elders and a few cognitively impaired elders, the other including people who all had moderate to severe dementia who resided in a "wandering" or "egress-controlled" unit. Initially supported by the California Arts Council (1997–2000; 2001–2002), the Songwriting Works program was affirmed as a line item in the activities budget by the Home in 2000.

Between 1997 and 2001, more than two hundred elders at the Home participated in weekly groups facilitated by Friedman using the Songwriting Works approach. In 2001, they received a unique opportunity, philanthropic support to produce a commercial recording, and then funding to make a video documentary of the process. Through a strange twist of fate, the recording took place during the events and aftermath of the World Trade Center attack, causing their particular performance of life review to be silhouetted against a contemporary tragedy.

This performance of culture involved multiple steps. To create their CD, elders participated in much more than the processes of choosing topics and writing the songs. They were involved in the selection of those twelve songs that would represent their legacy; aesthetic decisions about orchestration (in particular what instruments would accompany the singers and who would get each solo); decisions about the ordering and presentation of songs, for concert performance and for the CD recording; production and selection of paintings and artwork used in the CD cover and booklet; rehearsals; concert preparation; public performance; professional recording; and finally, the careful process of editing and production. Friedman notes that "the elders were even involved in decisions about production values and aesthetics such as the ratio of reverb on a given mix or the layering and degree of stereo panning of voices in choral pieces at a portable studio brought into the Home's synagogue" (personal communication, May 2014). Because of the unique needs of the songwriters, this performance of life review involved staff members in supportive roles at the Home, including assistance with makeup, hair, and in some cases, bathing, dressing, and transportation via wheelchair. This is the process that the ethnomusicologist Chris Scales refers to as the interface between recording *culture* and *recording* culture (Scales 2012:3). They were learning how to make a record and, simultaneously, were presenting themselves for that permanent record. One of Scales's critical points involves the negotiation of autonomy between musicians and their producer, and in this aspect, *Island on a Hill* (2002) is unusual. The musicians themselves were almost completely naïve of the steps required to record their music and yet were given extraordinary degrees of autonomy in decision making vis-à-vis the recording company.

The essential prerequisites to CD production listed above are largely invisible to consumers of music, and were invisible to the songwriters themselves until special funding became available for the production of the recording. At that point Friedman, serving as project director, professional songwriter, and CD producer, began a weekly CD production class in collaboration with the Home's art and media director. Several, although not all, of the songwriters and one other elder, a skilled musician, joined the class and engaged in a nine-month process of learning how to produce a recording by producing their own, *Island on a Hill*. Friedman described this process to me in detail. She explained, "The first thing we did was to listen through every single song. There were forty songs, and the elders chose the songs [that they wanted to record and share]. I would play the songs for the group and we would all see their reaction, their and our own aesthetic sensibilities in the moment" (personal communication, April 2014). When asked about

the unusual degree of decision making given to the elders, she agreed that the intent was to provide the elders with as much agency as possible in each part of the process. She explained, "We collaborated on production in the same inclusive way as in the songwriting process itself" (personal communication, May 2014). In this group of men and women who had been stripped of much of their independence through institutionalization in a nursing facility, CD production became an extraordinary opportunity not only to make music, but also to engage in decision making, to exercise control, and to present their legacy in musical form.

This process also differed from conventional psychology and the narrative form of reminiscence therapy. Friedman observed that "when the life review happens creatively, it doesn't matter if they are telling the truth or not" (personal communication, April 2014). The highly metaphoric nature of songwriting enables the composers to weave together dreams with fact, leading to a very different artistic output than the memoir that may result from a conventional life review. This may be one of the reasons why songwriting enables groups of cognitively intact men and women to interact with those who have dementia and succeed in the creation of what Friedman considers a good song.

Self-Presentation through Compact Disc Production

So, what is a good song? The audio recording, *Island on a Hill*, represented the twelve best songs out of forty compositions, selected by a jury of the composers themselves. Five of the twelve songs chosen for the CD, "Gefilte Fish," "Let the Fire Fall," "Chanukah Tonight," "Beautiful Hawaii," and "Island on a Hill," were prefaced by reminiscences spoken by some of the songwriters. Friedman notes that this was a production decision intended to provide more context and to include new participants in the project (e-mail communication, May 2014). The concluding cut, "Serenity," was not a Songwriting Works composition at all. Instead, "Serenity" presented a musical setting of a popular prayer by Reinhold Niebuhr (cf. Brown 1986: xxiv) recorded before the singer's death and included posthumously.

Reviewing the titles, a few topics stand out from the perspective of life review: there are multiple sonic, cultural, and religious references to Jewish culture, from the klezmer opening of the "Yiddishe Polka"; to songs about food such as "Gefilte Fish" and "Jewish Penicillin," a recipe for chicken soup; to the song about Chanukah. Other pieces, such as "*Esther, Mayn Schwester*" (Esther, My Sister), invoke Yiddish language to express a more universal concept, in this case the joy of a new grandchild. Still others recall

family holidays in Yosemite National Park and in Hawaii. One of the more poignant songs, "Don't Forget Me," brings home the fears of being lost in a nursing home and of the deep-seated need for human relationships. Nearly half of the songs were written in groups in which some people had intact cognition and some had dementia. Two of the songs were written on a residential unit that is specially designed to house people who have moderate to severe dementia and who wander, or get lost.

The choice of the title track, "Island on a Hill," is significant for a different reason. The island on the hill can be seen on the CD jacket, also painted and designed by the songwriters. The island is the Home itself, and the song represents a thank you to the institution that houses the songwriters. Friedman has noted on multiple occasions that it is fairly common for new Songwriting Works groups to choose a tribute to a beloved place or group of

Figure 1.1. CD Cover, *Island on a Hill. Courtesy of The Jewish Home, San Francisco*

people as the theme of their first collectively composed song. New songwriting groups across the country have asked her if they could write their first song in honor of the institution or organization that provided the songwriting workshops. It is a classic form of musical reciprocity, a way of giving back when it is not possible to reciprocate through money or goods. In music more generally, the use of song to give back to a patron is a concept that stretches back many centuries, and across many cultures.

We should be attentive to the choice of songs because they were selected by a jury composed of the songwriters, based upon their own criteria. It is the same process I observed the songwriters to use when they selected songs to accompany the dedication of their new synagogue in 2007, and it provides the musicians with an almost unheard-of level of autonomy vis-à-vis a recording studio. In this process, musical beauty is only one criterion, balanced against issues of identity, memory, and personal history. Above all, Friedman says that the songs needed to resonate with the jury. It appears that they chose the songs they loved the most.

In essence, the songs in *Island on a Hill* can be treated as the products of life review activities, based upon vignettes that have been carefully mediated and selected for presentation in concert and for audio recording. The CD itself is a representation of their collective lives, one that can be given to their families as a legacy and played again in further reminiscence.

Life Review through Documentary Filming

The songs are further modified for presentation in the video documentary, *A 'Specially Wonderful Affair* (2002). For example, one scene in the video begins with a woman who lives at the Home talking about how to make gefilte fish and is then interspersed, line by line, with a man reciting the haiku poem that led to the song "Chanukah Tonight." The phrases are mixed out of sequence for artistic effect, creating what in musicology we might consider a hocket, a line-by-line interspersing of voices that, together, create an intact whole. Following the filming, the decision was made to include these spontaneous statements as cuts on the CD. The woman's statements were included as the "Recipe" followed by the song "Gefilte Fish." The man's recitation was included as the "Haiku" that preceded "Chanukah Tonight." This scene in the video segues to a rehearsal, showing the augmentation of the chorus by a klezmer band consisting of clarinet, violin, guitar, and piano. The decision to orchestrate with klezmer instruments was, according to Friedman, also a decision made by the group in conversation about their goals for the final musical sound. Accordion, bass, and drums were later added in the studio.

The klezmer band was chosen for the majority of songs that were intended to be klezmer tunes or to have a Yiddish or folk reference, but not for all of the songs. For example, "Jewish Penicillin" is a song about chicken soup, recited as a beat poem and accompanied only by fretless bass and drums, with judicious use of silence for emphasis by the woman who won that particular solo audition for the recording. The songs that have Hawaiian themes also include ukulele and slack key guitar in their accompaniment.

Reminiscence in the Context of Contemporary Events

Generally speaking, the medical literature treats the life review and reminiscence therapy as if they occur in a politico-historical vacuum. Effectiveness is predicated upon the timing of the life review within the life span of the individual who is reminiscing and the outcomes of the therapy. But, for older people who still possess all of their faculties, reminiscence occurs in the context of current events. The impact of current events was brought into sharp relief when the funding became available for the documentary film production in early September 2001. Prior to September, plans had been made to record the tracks professionally for the CD in two settings. The songs would be recorded in the synagogue, which was intended to function as a somewhat controlled, studio-like setting, using multiple tracks and takes. The songs would also be recorded in the Main Lounge, the Home's proscenium-style hall, during a concert for the community. Because of the new funding opportunity, a film crew was engaged to spend several days filming at the Home and to videotape both the on-site studio session and the live concert. On September 5, 2001, the singer-songwriters began final rehearsals and filming commenced. Then, on the day prior to the concert, the World Trade Center collapsed under the September 11 terrorist attacks. This tragic event led not only to a visceral reaction by the elders, but an artistic one. The response of the elders in the video was insightful and immediate, including statements such as "they killed so many thousands of people" and "I hope it doesn't lead to war" (*A 'Specially Wonderful Affair* 2002). The statements mirror the lines in "I'm 100 Years Old" about their World War II experiences. Despite the trauma of the events, the elders made it clear to the nursing home administration that they desired to continue, and this drove the decision to have the concert in the immediate wake of the World Trade Center's collapse. Another administrator noted that this approach of coming together as a community during tragedy was part of a long-standing tradition, and that being able to have the concert was empowering for the singers. Speaking with me years later, the songwriters still stood by their decision to finish the recording.

Although it is difficult to reconstruct the events more than a decade later, a few key program changes seem to have been made in response to the terrorist attacks. Prefatory remarks about the bombings were given by the director of resident life, who framed the concert as a supportive event in the context of a tragedy. Then the rabbi offered a prayer for peace. In the documentary itself, further changes are included that enhance the view of the concert as a supportive event. The film reflexively examined the circumstances under which it was made, interviewing musicians, elders, and administrators about the decision to proceed despite their grief. In the film, the concert appears to begin with the slow, nurturing, hopeful "*Esther, Mayn Schwester*," a song about a new grandchild, sung by the grandmother to a sister named Esther. The song is accompanied by images of an older woman holding a baby. Accompanied by images of a great-aunt holding her grand-niece, the song presents an intimate, caring event against the backdrop of violence. At the film's conclusion, even the credits serve as legacy moments, accompanied by one of Friedman's own compositions, "Things We Keep." The final credits include each elder's name, a current photographic still, and a portrait from the past. In this way, the elders are able to leave the audience with a visual representation both of who they are now and who they have been, bringing the two together in a unified self. The concept for the closing credits was that of the filmmaker, Nathan Friedkin.

In gerontology, we can speak of creating meaning through reminiscence therapy and life review in later life, but we enrich that conversation when we include artistic expression. We should look not only to narrative approaches, but also to performative approaches to the life review. Songwriting, singing, recording, and filming can all function as performances of life review. Moreover, when they express the culture and lives of their performers, the resulting music provides a permanent legacy for future generations.

Notes

1. The National Center for Creative Aging has multiple resources available on its website, www.creativeaging.org (accessed 21 February 2014).

2. Popularized through the documentary film *Alive Inside*, the iPod project, which aims to give an iPod MP3 player with personalized music to every institutionalized person with dementia, can be accessed through its website, musicandmemory.org (accessed 21 February 2014).

3. The Museum of Modern Art (New York) has a special program intended to enable people with Alzheimer's disease to come to the museum, enjoy the art, and have meaningful interactions with their loved ones and with docents. Information

on this project and its offshoots around the United States is available at www.moma.org/meetme (accessed 21 February 2014).

4. Online training for TimeSlips, including the storykit and resources for training certification, is available through the website www.timeslips.org (accessed 21 February 2014).

5. The Community of Voices project, led by the neuroscientist Julene Johnson at the University of California, San Francisco, is a partnership between community organizations and health sciences researchers, funded by the National Institutes for Health and the National Institute on Aging. It is a randomized, wait-list controlled trial of a one-year choral program that uses validated scientific measures to examine the effects of choral singing on health and well-being. The intervention and recruitment are ongoing, and more can be learned about the project at the website www.communityofvoices.org (accessed 21 February 2014).

6. Information about Songwriting Works programs, including trainings, can be found at www.songwritingworks.org (accessed 1 July 2014). A recording of "I'm 100 Years Old" is also available on the website.

7. © 1998–1999 Composing Together Works and Jewish Home, San Francisco. Words and music by Singers and Songwriters of the Jewish Home in San Francisco with Judith-Kate Friedman, California Arts Council artist-in-residence. Performed by the Singers and Songwriters on their debut CD *Island on a Hill* (2002). Distributed by cdbaby.com. A project of Songwriting Works, www.songwritingworks.org. For more information, contact: 360-385-1160.

8. The original ethnographic research was conducted in part with the resources of the Jewish Home, San Francisco, and with the support of a Health Resources Service Administration training grant. IRB research approval for the human subjects research study (2006–2008) was obtained through full committee review by the Committee on Human Research at the University of California, San Francisco (H11533-27356), and with the support of the research committee at the Jewish Home, San Francisco. Both Judith-Kate Friedman and Rabbi Sheldon Marder are published authors who waived their right to confidentiality in writing so that they could be credited appropriately. Portions of this chapter were presented at the November 2012 meetings of the Gerontological Society of America and at the University of California, San Francisco Geriatrics Grand Rounds in January 2014.

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CHAPTER TWO

Music in the Culture of Children

Patricia Shehan Campbell

The study of children's musical expressions, interests, and inclinations, especially outside the reach of direct adult influence, is a recent phenomenon. In music education, children are at the core of the teaching-learning enterprise, yet historically the accent has been on their role as passive receptacles of musical skill and knowledge, the nature and extent of which are determined by professional musician-educators. Still, children express and engage musically of their own accord, with and without an interest in matching, or even sounding remotely like, the adults who surround them. The study of children's musical lives—including their repertories, uses of music, musical values, song acquisition, learning music informally, and creating music—informs understandings of music as sound, behavior, and values. Bruno Nettl's early interest in the origins of music drew him to examine developmental phases of children's musical and spoken communication (1956), including characteristic traits of children's songs. He later recommended the inclusive study of *all* of a society's musical subcultures, including those of children (2005). Nettl's work prompted others to study children's musical cultures, generating the current movement, which attends to children's clear sense of agency such that the culture they know is their own, rather than one inherited intact from their elders. Drawing from work by ethnomusicologists, educators, sociologists, and psychologists, this chapter assesses the current state of research on children's musical culture, including the meaning of music in children's lives, the music of very young children, musical genres created by and for children, music and children's social networks, and the role of music

technology and mediated music in childhood. My purpose is to explore some of the ways in which children conceptualize music, musical development among children, and how children acquire, discard, and invent musical traditions through the influence of family, friends, and music educators.

What Music Means to Children

Music matters to children, and they show their understanding of it in the way they use it in their lives. It lulls them to sleep and mediates their amusements (favorite TV shows, movies, video games, and child-friendly Internet sites). It figures in their singing games and their spontaneous songs while at play. Yet children do not typically define and describe music, for they value musical engagement over talking about it, and their world is blanketed in the music they make and to which they listen (Campbell 2010). For children, music just *is*, and the songs and sounds of their surroundings bring them joy, solace, safety, and a sense of identity. Music for them is an experience that is "in the air" they breathe, and it needs no explanation, since words cannot suffice to explain its meaning and value to them.

When they do talk about music, it becomes clear that children conceptualize music differently from adults. For adults, music is a contested domain. Scholars have described music in many ways, including sonic perspectives (organized sound within a temporal framework), euphonic perspectives (non-adaptive pleasure-seeking behavior), as adaptive behavior, as a harmonizing influence, as an act, and as a meaning-making system (Cross 2005; Levitin 2006; Pinker 1997; Small 1998). Adults attempt to implant their definitions of music in children, for example, in classes where music is presented according to its sonic elements (melody, rhythm, texture, timbre, form). The music that teachers select for curricular lessons, and the ways in which they direct children to experience it, reflect adult perceptions of its definition and meaning. Likewise, adults in the media select, compose, and arrange the music that they see as fit for children. Children's voices are noticeably absent, even though research suggests that children should be valued as co-constructors of their own rich musical cultures (Boynton and Kok 2006; Campbell 2010).

Research on children's conceptualizations of music indicates that they focus on the sonic and functional aspects of music. Sonic aspects encompass instruments, voices, natural sounds, and technology (devices that record, store, and play back sound), whereas functional aspects emerge in children's association of music with birthday parties, church services, family gatherings, weddings, and various rituals of life within a family (Whiteman and

Campbell 2011). As children mature, they develop greater vocabularies and the potential for articulating their impressions, although often only when pressed, since such definitions continue to be expressed indirectly or behaviorally. By middle childhood, they complicate their understanding of music to include an emphasis on music as a component of social life (Turino 2008), in which both making music and the sonic product are important to them, so long as it involves them with their peers (Small 1998). Mood is another realm children describe in explaining music's role for them. In the words of one ten-year-old boy, "music makes me feel good," and the shaping of mood that comes from listening, playing his keyboard, or singing loudly while walking his dog, gives music his value and meaning (Campbell 2010).

Music of the Very Young

Children's earliest musical experiences are up-close and personal, delivered by their parents and caretakers who inflect spoken communications with pitch, rhythm, and sometimes full-fledged musical expressions (Trehub 2006). Around the world, infant-directed singing is pervasive, referred to as "motherese" or "parentese." The undulant, often high-pitched and breathy voices of women (and men) are both gentle and playful (Dissanayake 2000). Characteristic of these vocal expressions are changes in dynamics, tempo, and timbre, with episodes of squeals, whispers, coos, and murmurs. Preverbal infants develop pitch and rhythmic awareness, as proto-conversational vocalization flows musically from adult to child (Trehub 2006). With the continuous parental flow of musical speech and song in a child's first year, the production of single words emerges, which leads to the development of two- and three-word communications and then full sentences. Whether they are growing up in Canada, Cambodia, or Kenya, children's early speech is as musical as that of their parents and caretakers (Trainor, Austin, and Desjardins 2000).

Educators, ethnomusicologists, and psychologists agree that the music young children can perceive is the music they may eventually learn to produce (Blacking 1995; Campbell 2010; Deliege and Sloboda 1996); what children absorb and how they process it influences their musical production in songs and rhythms. Infants can perceive time and temporal sequence, and their own rhythmic movement grows increasingly regular and patterned. By the age of three, children typically find the rhythms of speech and song easy to reproduce and develop the ability to keep a steady pulse, even as they learn to perform clapping and patting rhythmic patterns. Newborns can detect differences between high and low pitches. They hear melodic changes

as small as a semitone before the age of one, and can group pitches of the music they hear based upon register, contour, and interval size. Pitch and time discrimination are acute among children entering school, and derive from the musical sounds that enter their young lives (Campbell and Scott-Kassner 2013).

Children's Musical Genres

Musical genres for children include adult-generated lullabies, the musical utterances and spontaneous songs of children at play, and children's songs and singing games, including those that are traditional and those that are newly created by children or for children by adults (Campbell 2010; Marsh 2008; Nettl 2005). There are also heritage songs, many of them on the school-music menu, including patriotic songs, seasonal songs, and songs containing texts that refer to historical events and figures, socially acceptable etiquette, and moral lessons. Teachers often deliver these genres live to children and many of the songs remain in school, although children embrace some and carry them intact into their play and leisure activities, or with intentional variation as parodies. Finally, media and technology deliver the music of entertainment to children (Bickford 2013; Emberly 2009; Lum 2007).

Of these genres, lullabies emerge earliest in the child's musical life. Across many cultures, mothers, fathers, other family members, and caregivers sing lullabies to children. Lullabies are soft, slow in tempo, and intended to calm, soothe, and lull infants and young children to sleep (Trehub 2006). Lullabies may consist of words or vocables and typically involve a gentle, pulsive movement as little ones are gently swung or rocked. Whereas some lullabies are transmitted orally generation by generation, such as the Anglo-American "Hush Little Baby," the Irish "Einini," the Serbian "Sviraj," or the Shongana "Yo Mamana Yo," many arise spontaneously.

Musical utterances and spontaneous songs emerge among children prior to school age, especially during play (Campbell 2010). These genres are typically open-ended and original, with beginnings and endings unpredictably developing from, and returning to, their playful interaction with toys and other children. These expressions are intermediary between speaking and singing, consisting of phrases of words or syllables that are sung or rhythmically chanted. Their melodies tend to be narrow in range, restricted to an interval of a third or a fourth, mostly stepwise in motion, and repetitive. Alongside spontaneous melodies are rhythmically chanted words and phrases that fluctuate between pulsive and more rapid, syncopated patterns. Around the world, children's vocal practices often resemble one another more than

they sound like the adult music of a particular region (Campbell and Wiggins 2013; Lum and Whiteman 2012).

As children build their repertory of songs, spontaneous singing tends to decline. Children's physiological development, including greater lung capacity, well-exercised vocal folds, and a sharpened set of articulatory techniques, enables them to gain control of their voices and to use them expressively in controlling pitch, rhythm, dynamics, tempo, and quality. By school age and as a result of adult influences within the family, through the child-oriented media, and in child care and preschool, English-speaking children tend to know folk songs from the oral tradition, such as "Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star" and "Mary Had a Little Lamb." They experience an array of singing games (Opie and Opie 1985), including classics such as "Bluebird" and "Skip to My Lou" and interactive chants including "My Mama Told Me" or "My Sailor" (Campbell 2010), which involve children standing in pairs, circles, or lines as they clap, pat, stamp, snap fingers, and move their bodies in complex patterns that complement the music. Singing games include jump-rope and ball-bouncing chants, rhymes, hand-clapping and street games, and even an array of chanted cheers associated with organized sports, with musical and movement content and game rules transmitted among children informally and holistically.

Heritage songs appear in school music classes; the repertory includes standards that generations of curriculum specialists considered important to raising citizens of a common culture or nation-state. In the United States, "America the Beautiful," "This Land Is Your Land," and "De colores" exemplify heritage songs. The North American heritage repertory tends to concentrate on strophic form songs, often with verse-chorus arrangements, or narrative songs with multiple stanzas. The songs tend toward pentatonic, six-tone, or diatonic melodies, most often set in major rather than minor or modal keys. The presence of pentachordal (sol-fa-mi-re-do) patterns, and the three-tone mi-re-do final cadences from Anglo-, Latin-, and many African American songs, may indicate the value adults place upon asserting tonality, even when children themselves may tend toward the descending minor third.

Another adult-to-child genre, emanating from mediated sources, is music from children's entertainment. Music of classic and contemporary children's or family films reflects popular genres of the period, from concert music to songs from Broadway musicals, hip-hop, techno, and country. Comparisons of *Peter Pan* (1953), *Mary Poppins* (1964), *The Lion King* (1995), and *High School Musical* (2006) reveal more than a half-century gap between the lush predominance of strings to the fusion of instruments and electronic sampling techniques. Even as children are influenced by the sounds that surround

them, so too are film composers, who reflect the sounds of their times in the scores they write for children's entertainment.

Music and Children's Social Networks

Children's social networks may be examined from several disciplinary perspectives, and recent work by Bickford (2012, 2013), Emberly (2009), and Minks (2006) reveals a growing interest among ethnomusicologists in the social functions of children's musical practices. Children live in multiple contexts, and work in cultural pedagogy recognizes that children learn in school as well as in other social and cultural settings (Campbell 2010; Katsuri 2002; Marsh 2008). Educators must understand the knowledge that children bring to school and turn to children's in-school and out-of-school experiences to convert knowledge from one context to another (Kertz-Welzel 2013).

In one theory of child development, Urie Bronfenbrenner posited that an ecological environment is a powerful influence on children's thought and action. He described a "set of nested structures, each inside the other like a set of Russian dolls" (1979) as proximal environments that nestle within systems that are increasingly distant from the child. These include the school system, local economy, and national policies and infrastructures for children's health, education, and welfare (Bronfenbrenner and Morris 1998). The microsystem, encompassing home and family, is the child's most immediate environment, followed by the neighborhood school. A child develops his or her social and cultural reality through interactions with parents, siblings, neighbors, teachers, and friends within this microsystem. Time spent in school, in after-school programs, on the playground, at the mall, and in religious institutions helps to shape identity. Bronfenbrenner refers to the relationship between the child's contexts of home, school, and neighborhood as the mesosytem, the influences of government policy and media as the exosystem, and the dominant beliefs of a culture as the macrosystem. His model offers an ecological perspective on the forces both near and far that influence the developing child in understanding self and others.

Arjun Appadurai's theory of "-scapes" (1996) is also relevant for understanding children's musical influences. For Appadurai, human life involves a web of interconnections, which are changing conceptions of self and other and re-shaping local identities. He recognized the impact of globalization on societal change and asserted that the world is no longer a collection of autonomous and monadic spaces. Thinking is now a more complex task, requiring consideration of nuances, hybrids, and resultant products of many mixed influences. In formulating a framework of five "-scapes" that influence

the folkways of adults and children alike, Appadurai describes ethnoscapes (the people of our world, including immigrants, refugees, and tourists), technoscapes (the technological developments that deliver worldwide information), finanscapes (the movement of money, goods, and trade across cultures), mediascapes (the electronic distribution of cultural information, images, and attitudes), and ideoscapes (the floating images of political positions on constructs of freedom, welfare, citizens' rights, and democracy). These strands of influence encircle children, adding colorful pieces to their complex, mosaic-like identities.

Ethnomusicologists have applied Appadurai's and Bronfenbrenner's theories of social networks to understanding the contexts of children's musical lives. Lew (2006) studied Malay, Chinese, and Indian children in a Malaysian preschool and at home. She found that Bronfenbrenner's nested structures operate within the realm of children's musical utterances, rhythmic play, and heritage songs. All were traceable to musical sources in the home or school, including parents, entertainment by mediated sources, teachers, and peers. Young children's mediascapes were particularly influential in the music they spontaneously made at play. Lum (2007) applied Bronfenbrenner's micro-macro model in tandem with the techno-, media-, and ethno-scapes proposed by Appadurai in a study of first graders at an elementary school in Singapore. He noted that not only did home and school figure prominently in children's musical activities, larger social systems, driven by politics and cultural identity, also figured in the school music curriculum and the teacher's personal choices. Appadurai's concepts also applied to three Singaporean children selected as subjects for case studies, in their free play on various electronics and media sources, including portable karaoke machines, DVDs, CDs, and TV. These studies demonstrate the influence of children's social networks on their musical lives and validate the relevance of social network theory to children's musical development.

Children are born and bred within the intimacy of families, and in this closest and most constant of social units, they first learn the cultural patterns that define them. The structure of the family involves the distribution of status, authority, and responsibility within the nucleus of parents and children, and encompasses the network of kin relationships that link members of the extended family (Fomby and Cherlin 2007; McAdoo 2007). Children learn their current and eventual roles, rights, and responsibilities within the family and acquire family values and preferences that shape their decisions (Freeman 2000). Issues that concern individual achievement, lifestyle, and educational or occupational aspirations spring from the family, and the family's ethnicity, race, and religious beliefs are usually central in the mediation of

children's values. As a result of family upbringing, children know a cultural reservoir of motivations, skills, attitudes, and behaviors that follow them through childhood, youth, and into adulthood.

From infancy onward, and even in utero, children are enveloped in the music of the family that is linked to the larger cultural community that shapes children's musical sensibilities. Various family demographic characteristics may influence children's exposure to and experience in culture and the arts, including music (Berrios-Miranda 2013; MacKinlay 2013). Marriage patterns, family size, and roles assumed by members of the nuclear family all influence children's musical behaviors, inclinations, and tastes. Even more relevant to children's musical development may be the parents' socioeconomic status and employment, the influence of religious beliefs and practices, and the presence of elders within the family circle, especially grandparents. Other considerations are the behaviors of families related to heritage, assimilation, or rediscovery of cultural identities. Finally, child-rearing practices naturally affect children's family experiences in music.

Families implant in children the subconscious foundation of reality within the scope of acceptable, valued behaviors. A web of attitudes, created through attunement over time within a family, community, and the larger culture, are called into play as children and youth make decisions. Children receive massive amounts of information both circumstantially and actively, and they turn that data into generalizations, stereotypes, and theories that they use to navigate life. Children of families who value music are often taught by example that musical choices concern not whether one will make music, but which instrument(s) they will learn. As Edward T. Hall postulated, the acquisition of culture begins with birth and is a "process [that] is automatic" (1992:225); it is "learned but not taught" (Rice 1994:65). Hall argued that "acquired information is so basic and so fundamental" (1992:225) as to be a part of the self, with behavior patterns that are automatic and not dissectible. Since behaviors are linked to subconscious and communal values, a family's behaviors and attitudes continuously project themselves to children, whose individual perceptions, attitudes, and choices are deeply affected by the behaviors they internalize from their home surroundings.

Children's musical repertory and musical values are more a matter of informal processes, in school and at home. Of these processes, enculturation is more informal, in which children achieve cultural competence by absorbing many facets of their home environments, learning by virtue of living within a family, community, or culture. Melville Herskovits described musical enculturation (1949) as so informal as to appear as ambient sounds such as singing and pitch-inflected speech. Alan P. Merriam defined a second and related

phenomenon, socialization, as "the process of social learning as it is carried on in the early years of life" (1964:162). Children are socialized musically in ways that overlap with enculturative processes, through music intended by parents to entertain children, generate social interactivity and language development, and teach concepts such as numbers, body parts, and friends (Minks 2006). In both enculturation and socialization, the role of the family is certain and strong in the formation of children's musical behaviors and identities.

Children and Mediated Music

Children's musical development is enhanced through the media-produced surrounds of home, school, and other spheres of activity. Even young children are keen to join with the preferences of their peers and share a common culture in the preferred music on TV, radio, Internet, and electronic playback devices. They eat, do homework, fall asleep, and wake up to mediated music. It comes to them in stores, shops, markets, cars, buses, and even at school recess and leisure time. Teachers deliver active listening engagements and singing, and in more privileged sequential programs, children can play rhythm instruments, xylophones, recorders, and band and orchestral instruments. Yet beyond this limited exposure, and the possibility of private music lessons for some children, the musical enculturation and socialization of children increasingly comes from friends and the mediated music they share (Bickford 2013).

The most constant source of music piped into children's lives is television, while video-gaming devices come in at a close second in their continuous presence and influence. Programs such as *Sesame Street* have exposed North American children for well over a generation to social and cultural issues, as well as activities that support children's acquisition of basic skills in identifying numbers, colors, letters, social roles, and relationships. As edutainment, these programs combine elements from the entertainment industry with theories of child development and education to teach children about cognitive process, symbolic representation, and social environments (Campbell 2010; Campbell and Scott-Kassner 2013). In short segments, audiences of young children hear nursery songs and popular music forms, see dance images, and are introduced to diverse musical styles from guest artists such as Ladysmith Black Mambazo and Bobby McFerrin (Lury 2002).

Children are often attracted to, and intrigued by, music for older audiences. There are eager audiences of children for the music of child-stars Justin Bieber and Miley Cyrus, as once was the case for an earlier generation

who followed NSync and the Backstreet Boys. Children are also captivated by the music and moves of adult artists such as Beyoncé and Lady Gaga (Campbell 2010). It appears that "in the new childhood, the distinction between the lived worlds of adults and children begins to blur. While certainly childhood and adulthood are not one and the same, the experiences of adults and children are more similar now than they were before" (Kincheloe 2002:79). Increasingly, children learn from popular culture's "cultural pedagogy,"[1] from radio and television programs, or by observing their elder siblings and parents engaged in music technology, imitating and emulating the next popular tune and advertisement jingle.

At home, on the Web, and at the arcade, video gaming has become increasingly prominent in children's mediated landscape. *Dance Dance Revolution*, a dance-simulation arcade game featuring popular music; *Mad Maestro*, where the player conducts classical music with the ability to control tempo, balance, and volume; *BeatMania*, where players scratch hip-hop turntables in time to the beat; and *Taiko no Tatsujin*, which features two Japanese *taiko* drums, are just a few music-based video games that have a global fan following. Jacob Smith suggests that "playing these games can feel like a genuinely musical experience: the controller is no longer a trigger but a percussion instrument, and the player stops thinking in terms of locking on targets and instead tries to feel the groove" (2004:65). Children playing Xboxes and PlayStations, or playing games on transportable hand-held devices, are bombarded by popular music that blasts in the background. MTV channels foreground popular music, as do action and adventure films that are accessed by children on their personal laptops and table-top computers, thus influencing their tastes. Karaoke singing is a global pastime in private and public spaces, as solo or group expression, suitable for all ages. Clearly, mediated music is pervasive and has a wide-ranging impact on children's musical intake, and they are often in control of the music they choose and discard, too. As Kincheloe explains, "driven by information technologies and media, these social changes have helped provide children with new degrees of control over the information on their own time schedules in isolation from adult supervision" (2002:78).

Conclusions

The ethnomusicological study of children's musical cultures continues to develop. Ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, folklorists, child development specialists, and educators are attending to the musical content of children's songs and the social and cultural significance of music in children's lives.

Children will always be drawn to music for its power and ability to bridle their energy, captivate their thoughts and feelings, and provide a safe haven from their worries. Music enhances their play and is an important means for learning their world. Ethnomusicologists' recognition of the presence of children's music in the cultures they study enriches and expands our understanding of the full spectrum of habits, heritage, mores, and values of a people writ large. Likewise, ethnomusicologists are developing an awareness of children as individuals and members of collective culture, with particular capacities, worldviews, and social identities all their own. Future ethnomusicological research on children has the potential to provide a more integrated view of human life through examination of the sounds, behaviors, and values of their musically expressive lives.

Note

1. Katsuri explains that "cultural pedagogy is the recognition that learning occurs not only in school, but also takes place in many other social and cultural sites/contexts (such as the mass media)" (2002:54).

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