PRELUDE

For generations, most North American children spent their preschool years at home, particularly if those homes were middle class and graced with two parents, only one of whom worked outside the home. Preschools were of two varieties—compensatory programs for the children of the poor, or enrichment experiences for children of the privileged. In the great majority of cases, children simply stayed at home until it was time to enter kindergarten, playing with siblings or the children down the block, and relying almost exclusively on family and neighborhood to mediate between them and the culture. The music children listened and danced to, the poems and stories they learned, the images they saw on walls or in books or moving across video screens, the materials and toys available for their use, all the elements that contribute to children's artistic experiences, were selected and introduced—and, at least tacitly, endorsed—by parents. No matter how insular this situation might seem, however, it is impossible to keep all external influences at bay. As parents of children who spent their early days with Mom, Dad, Aunt, or Uncle, we remember our surprise when they began to use phrases whose source we could not readily trace or attribute. The world rushes in quickly.

The tremendous increase in children's participation in preschool education—a necessity for many families in which one or both parents are employed outside the home, a condition of contemporary life in the United States and much of the world—has expanded the life worlds of preschool children exponentially. Not only do the great majority of young children spend their days in education or care settings outside the home or in the company of paid caregivers; they spend their days increasingly in the company of other children, in a culture of their peers, absorbing rhythms and routines far different from those their parents may recall. The social changes in adult lives that have brought about these corollary changes in the lives of children have effects we have scarcely begun to recognize. As Joe Kinchloe (1998) puts it, " In the context of childhood education the post-modern experience of being a kid represents a cultural earthquake" (p. 172).

Advocates for the arts have contributed significantly to the philosophy and practice of early childhood education throughout its history. Yet the nature, value, and purpose of arts experiences in the lives of young children seem to remain puzzling and problematic to those most directly involved in teaching the very young. Conversations between scholars and teacher educators in the arts and in early childhood education occurs all too infrequently. It seems, in fact, that each group can and sometimes does forget that the other exists for generations at a time.

With the emergence of more inclusive sociocultural perspectives in education and psychology has come a recognition that young children are capable of far more than previously supposed and that the developmental process itself is far more idiosyncratic, culturally specific, and malleable, than we had thought. Recent attempts to define developmentally, or educationally, appropriate practice in early childhood education

acknowledge the possibility of actively teaching young children while preserving the element of individual exploration which has been the hallmark of excellent practice in Western early childhood education throughout much of the century just past. Many early childhood theorists and practitioners continue to perceive visual arts experiences as an inviolate realm of self–expression which should be immune to adult intervention or influence, or as a temporary expedient, a developmental phenomenon that children are destined to outgrow and discard as they develop greater facility with written languages, or as purely illustrative or descriptive in function, having more to do with science that with art.

At the same time, art educators, still relatively unaccustomed to teaching preschool and kindergarten children, frequently misjudge the terms of relationship between art and children's lives, focusing on elements of form to the exclusion of issues of meaning, and forsaking opportunities to build upon children's interests as the basis for early artistic learning. Recent developments and discussions in the fields of early childhood and art education indicate that these two groups, who between them bear primary responsibility for interpreting children's artistic experiences to the culture at large, maintain divergent, even conflicting attitudes about art and children. Despite considerable activity and interest in the arts and children in both fields, we frequently find ourselves speaking at cross-purposes.

We are in a period that is particularly promising, and at the same time perilous, for the arts in early childhood education. New perspectives on children have emerged, revealing hitherto unsuspected degrees of competence and immersion in the social world. Many early childhood educators influenced by the ideas of Bruner (1990), Vygotsky (1962, 1978), Gardner (1980, 1991), and others, have been persuaded that the arts can function as symbolic languages and, as such, can be considered central to the process of early learning. When the arts are viewed as intellectual and interpretive activities, and thus more closely related to the central aims of schooling (Bresler, 1995; Thompson, 1997), substantial possibilities for integrated learning become apparent. Simultaneously, the true complexity and intrinsic virtues of each art form seem to become increasingly well–defined.

The purpose of this anthology is to generate renewed dialogue on the role and the significance of the arts in the education of children from age 3 through age 8, at a time when such dialogue is likely to evoke substantial interest among arts educators and early childhood specialists alike. Sixteen authors whose work represents the best of contemporary research and theory on a constellation of issues concerning the role of the arts in young children's lives and learning contributed to this volume.

Exemplary early childhood programs emerge and prosper in many parts of the world, and interest in learning from the childcare and educational practices of others is high within the field of early childhood education. Many of the most innovative practices, which tend to attract the attention of researchers and teachers worldwide, are the result of a complex interweaving of circumstance, custom, deeply ingrained cultural assumptions and practices. Yet, as the world becomes increasingly accessible to each of us, the possibilities of appropriating and adapting the best of others' practices become increasingly real. The significance of the fact that our ways of parenting, teaching, and understanding of young children are inevitably filtered through a series of

personal and cultural lenses cannot be overestimated. The more familiar we become with the ways in which similar incidents can be viewed from different frames of reference, the more fully we understand that even the most basic things that children learn are socially and culturally mediated.

The book is organized in three sections:

1. Context. The settings in which children's earliest experiences with the arts occur inevitably shape those experiences and to a great extent determine what children will learn from them. Chapters describing the cultural contexts of early arts experiences amplify the cultural perspective maintained throughout the book, as authors from several cultures discuss how a particular art form and its practices are transmitted, valued, and perpetuated in the countries and communities which they have studied most extensively. Chapters describe the ways in which children's experience is mediated by the immediate culture of the schools they attend, the micro and meso levels, as well as by the culture at large.
2. Development. The process through which children's abilities to participate in particular art forms evolves has served as the foundation of arts education practice in early childhood years. Contemporary interest in the relationships between development and learning, and in development itself as a socially mediated process, influence interpretations of the nature of development and its centrality to early education. Chapters on development review established knowledge within a particular field, explore recent reconceptualizations of the relationships between development and learning, and offer promising directions for research and teaching.
3. Curriculum. The identification of arts experiences that are both artistically authentic and developmentally appropriate is a primary concern for early arts education. The tendency to sacrifice one goal for the sake of the other has been responsible for much mutual discontent between early childhood educators and arts specialists. These chapters describe exemplary approaches to conceiving and presenting art experiences that resonate with the "human sense" (Donaldson, 1978) that young children require and enhance their abilities to participate in the arts as creators, participants, and beholders.

Historically attempts to subsume all the arts in discussions of their educational integrity and prospects were motivated more strongly by political expediency than by philosophical conviction. In the United States, "arts" projects tended to attract federal funding more readily than similar undertakings, which involved only one art form. A few pedagogical texts which appeared in the 'sixties and early 'seventies (Dimondstein, 1974, e.g.) presented a search for deeper similarities of intention or structure, or presented experiences in the arts as exemplars of experiential learning. For the most part, however, the legitimacy of the notion that the arts can be grouped for educational purposes has remained largely unexamined.

Recently formulated National Standards for Arts Education (Consortium of National Arts Education Associations, 1994) recognize that the ties that bind the arts are deep and fundamental, having to do with the broad purposes and functions of

creation, performance, and reception of art forms. But in the schools and beyond, each field has its distinctive concerns, its own ways and means. The four art forms typically recognized in such discussions—dance, music, drama, and visual arts—have unique histories, purposes, and pedagogies in schools and preschools throughout the world. Interactions among arts educators are rare, often short-lived, initiated and pursued at the local level. This volume is an opportunity for arts educators to learn from one another, and an occasion in which similarities among the concerns and convictions that preoccupy educators in each art discipline may be considered for their relevance to others' situations. The inclusion of literature as a fifth art form which children encounter in schools provides an additional opportunity to compare and contrast methodologies and meanings, and perhaps to discover new possibilities for thought and practice that can be adapted for use in other disciplines.

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KAREN A. HAMBLEN

1. CHILDREN'S CONTEXTUAL ART KNOWLEDGE: LOCAL ART AND SCHOOL ART CONTEXT COMPARISONS

After a series of classroom lessons on linear perspective, a student is unable to render this type of perspective in drawings done in the natural environment. A graduate student prepares an exhibition of art work for review, but she does not include drawings that she works on during her spare time. A natural history museum exhibition of fishing equipment and related art forms draws record crowds of people from a wide range of occupational backgrounds; an exhibition of abstract art at an art museum is attended primarily by art professionals and students.

These familiar occurrences illustrate discrepancies among differing art contexts, each of which relies upon and perpetuates specific types of art knowledge, skills, behaviors, and attitudes. For example, there are various knowledge bases and assumptions from which classroom art instruction can proceed. Left to their own devices, young children commonly copy sophisticated artistic conventions of cartoon characters but in school settings, they produce work that conforms to the expectations of child art developmental levels (Wilson, 1974, 1985; Wilson & Wilson, 1977). In the history of art education, one can identify child psychology, the aesthetics of fine art culture, modern industrial principles, and formalistic art values as contributing toward some of our art education theories and practices (Logan, 1955). These and other constellations of meaning and value have constituted formalized, school art.

School art is often discussed as differing from other subject areas in that studio art lessons involve the concrete manipulation of materials and the direct experience of visual qualities. It seems that art instruction does not deal with abstract concepts and rules to the extent most school subjects do. In a relative sense, this might be so. However, when *art* contexts are compared, school art can be seen as rulebound and as offering few occasions for transfer to the interactions of individuals in other art contexts. In this chapter I propose that a great deal of formal art instruction in grades K–12 may consist of highly specific, if not false, models of art learning that ill–prepare children for participation in either professional art worlds or informal, local art experiences.

To provide the rationale for rethinking school art practices in terms of differing art contexts and of children's nonschool art expressions, I will discuss the following: (a) assumptions of transfer in general education and art education; (b) characteristics of school art, local art, and professional art contexts; (c) models of institutional and informal learning contexts; (d) research on local knowledge; and (e) areas of nontransfer between school art and the local art of children.

L. Bresler and C.M. Thompson (eds.), The Arts in Children's Lives, 15–27.

PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEXTS OF KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors, as they are appropriate to specific learning contexts, have been variously discussed as school culture, child culture, situational learning, situated knowledge, contextual knowledge, local knowledge, everyday knowledge, subcultures of learning, formal and informal learning, school subject domains, and so on. For research in general education, as reviewed by Perkins and Salomon (1989), context is most often limited to school domains or what is more commonly known as school subjects, wherein the concern is with the character of school instructional contexts and with whether there is any transfer *among* school domains. In particular, Perkins and Salomon (1989) explored the research and theoretical basis for teaching generalized cognitive skills as opposed to teaching domain–specific cognitive skills.

In most research, the question of whether cognitive skills transfer to other contexts is limited to whether transfer occurs *within* formal school learning contexts. For example, problem solving and analysis as general cognitive skills are often taught with the belief that they will be utilized in math, science, and other classes. However, the case can be made that problem solving and analysis can differ in kind from one subject domain to another–and even differ within a domain. For example, after nonart majors had completed a series of successful drawings from live models, it was found that these students were unable to incorporate learned drawing skills to other models and other drawing lessons (Wilson, 1974; Wilson & Wilson, 1977). This lead Wilson to suggest that for students not talented in art there may be limited transfer even among highly similar activities within the school art curriculum and that students may learn to draw *particular* subjects or objects rather than learn drawing skills per se.

Issues of transfer, domain–specific cognition, and general cognition have become embroiled in the wide–ranging and often media–oriented debate involving the merits of teaching cognitive processes as opposed to teaching the content of subject domains along with their domain–specific cognitive skills (Eisner, 1997, 1998; Hamblen, 1993b). Colleges of education and programs for teacher preparation have come under attack for focusing on methods of teaching to the detriment of subject content (Holmes Group Executive Board, 1986). Proponents of cultural literacy identify the knowledge of Western traditions as constituting a particular, desired content for curricula (Bloom, 1987; Hirsch, 1987). While head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, Cheney (1987) faulted education for teaching thinking skills without attention to information on literature, historic events, philosophies, etc. Cheney suggested that teaching thinking processes is specious unless there is substantive content about which to think. The back–to–basics thrust of current reform poses questions not only about whether there is transfer across subject domains but even whether cognitive processes should be the core of emphasis in any subject domain.

OCCASIONS FOR TRANSFER

In studio–based and child–centered art instruction, art educators have been particularly fond of emphasizing the benefits of process over product and the many

possibilities of cognitive and attitude transfer. Some art educators have claimed that art study involves the general thinking skills and behaviors of creativity, problem identification, problem solving, tolerance for conceptual ambiguity, etc. (see Eisner in Getty, 1985), and that these will transfer and translate into an increase in mathematics test scores, a rise in reading levels, job–related skills, and a generalized creative attitude toward life (The Arts, Education and American Panel, 1977; Boston, 1996). According to Eisner (1997, 1998), many of these claims have their basis in the desire to secure art's place in the core curriculum. Unfortunately, these claims also tend to obscure or call into question the actual, research–validated benefits of art study (also see Hamblen, 1993b; Winner & Hetland, 2000).

Since the turn of the twentieth century, there have also been various claims that art instruction will result in moral behavior, psychological well–being, and life–enhancing insights unavailable from other types of study. Although such optimistic claims have a tenuous basis in research (Hamblen, 1993b; Lanier, 1970, 1975; Winner & Hetland, 2000), they do indicate that the issue of transfer goes well beyond the school contexts that have been the usual concern in general education (Perkins & Salomon, 1989)

Transfer has been discussed in terms of specific skills, knowledge, strategies, attitudes, and values. Broudy (1982) studied the everyday uses of schooling in terms of replication (recall), association, application, and interpretation. Relevant to this paper, there are four occasions for transfer: (a) within a particular school domain; (b) among school domains; (c) between a school domain and everyday contexts in general; and (d) between a school domain and the local, everyday context of that domain.

Relatively little research has been devoted to how school–based knowledge and skills translate into nonschool settings or vice versa. For example, children's developmental levels are often discussed as something to overcome or as deficiencies, e.g., a child is described as unable to draw objects perpendicular to a baseline, a child seems unaware that human figures have jointed limbs (Hamblen, 1993 a). Art education research has tended to focus on school learning as preferable, with nonschool art knowledge and responses considered "unschooled"; i.e., criteria for success is set up in terms of school art learning (Hardiman, 1971). In a tautology of school learning and school success, student assessments are based on how well students perform on tasks learned in school and utilized in the school context. Except for correlating occupational success with school learning, there is little follow–up research on how specific school–learning "items" are utilized outside the school context (Rogoff & Lave, 1984) and more specifically, how domain–specific learning, such as art, transfers to other art contexts. Some studies of everyday, out–of– school cognition suggest that not only is much learning and application context–specific but that transfer of some skills and knowledge from school (a) does not occur or (b) is not considered useful for any of the events that occur in nonschool settings (Rogoff & Lave, 1984). Employers note the absence of basic work skills among entry–level employees, and school–aged children have long protested the irrelevance of what they are required to learn in school.

The concern in this paper is not with business and industry's complaints that schools should provide on–the–job training in both basic and job–specific skills. Such complaints are based more on seeing the schools as conduits for business and industry, and on students not learning basic reading, writing, and computational skills. (For a

highly publicized and widely distributed polemic on how art learning may support business and industry–related job requirements, see the Getty Education Institute for the Arts' publication, *Education for the Workplace through the Arts* [Boston, 1996]). Rather, the concern in this paper is that what is *actually learned* in formal institutions may not transfer to or have relevance in other *domain– related* contexts. Students entering professional art training are often asked to unlearn or ignore what they have acquired in their K– 12 art training; art students in K– 12 art classes must often censor images from the popular arts and their fantasies (Michael, 1983; Smith, 1989; Wilson, 1974; Wilson & Wilson, 1977). In describing traditional studio–based art instruction, Efland (1976) bluntly stated that such art "doesn't exist anywhere else except in schools" (p. 38). Unless such school art incorporates *principles* applicable to other art contexts, children may be losing contact with their own art worlds as well as access to the art of professionals.

THREE ART CONTEXTS

Ultimately, all of education is concerned with how well students will be able to apply what is learned in school to everyday living and to the skills required in particular professions or vocations. In this sense, there are three basic learning settings: (a) professional communities, (b) school contexts, and (c) the local context of everyday life experiences. Art that is made and/or responded to in these three contexts will be referred to in this paper as *professional art, school art* and *local art.* Although reference will be made to disjunctures among the three contexts, the focus will be on differences between school art contexts and the local art contexts of children.

Professional art is the art of galleries, museums, academic settings, and commercial art businesses in which socially designated art experts exercise the behaviors, skills, and attitudes of institutional art knowledge. *School art* is formalized art instruction that occurs in K–12 classrooms. The training of artists at professional art schools and at universities is not being included in this discussion; such formal learning contexts have more kinship with professional art contexts than with the school art of grades K–12. *Local art* is the art of everyday experiences, wherein art responses and production are learned through informal processes. This is the art one meets as one goes about the business of life. Popular, commercial, environmental, etc., arts may be produced as part of professional contexts but experienced as local art. Domestic art, folk art, child art, the hidden stream art of the homeless, and other similar types are created in and may always, remain in the context of local, everyday experiences.

The three art contexts identified have fluid boundaries and are themselves composed of many subcontexts (Becker, 1982). For example, local, everyday art consists of popular, commercial, folk, environment, and child art as well as communal and individual expressions and responses to art. These art forms can also be found within professional contexts of experience, but they would probably be understood and responded to differently there.

CONTEXT MODELS

Brown (1989) and Feldman (1980) developed theoretical models of how societies develop different learning contexts and how individuals create, experience, and give meaning to those contexts. Brown examined three cultures of learning which are highly similar to the three art contexts discussed in this paper. According to Brown, learning occurs in the cultures of (a) experts, (b) students, and (c) "just plain folks". Each of these learning cultures has different goals, focuses of action, and cognitive processes. The culture of experts is goal focused, and action is based on (more–or–less) professionally agreed–upon values and assumptions. The culture of students is characterized by individual cognition, an emphasis on abstract thought, abstract symbol manipulation, explicit rules, and context–free abstractions and generalities. These are the learning characteristics of modem industrialized societies that are based on patriarchal, hierarchical systems of organization. In contrast, learning in the local contexts of "just plain folks" tends to be collaborative, involve the manipulation of concrete materials, and be experiential and situation–specific. These are characteristic of the actions of pre–K children and youngsters before they internalize the demands of school contexts. These are also the learning characteristics often attributed to nonindustrialized, traditional cultures based on matriarchal systems of organization.

In much the way individuals learn varying forms of etiquette for different social settings, individuals experience and learn socially sanctioned forms of knowledge in different learning contexts–and responses vary accordingly. How a particular phenomenon, such as art, is experienced and understood in highly divergent but co–existing contexts is suggested by Feldman's (1980) developmental model of subject domains. According to Feldman, development does not occur within the cognition of the individual. Rather, development exists within the way a particular domain is experienced in different contexts. In other words, development is socially situated, which may explain why children exhibit different developmental levels within school from what they seem to be capable of doing outside the school context. At times, learning may involve figuring out what is appropriate, not what one is literally capable of doing.

Feldman proposed a continuum of five contexts for domain development: the universal, the cultural, the disciplinary, the idiosyncratic, and the unique. These contexts extend from what humans universally experience, such as the acquisition of a verbal language, to what is considered professionally unique, such as the creation of a new form of poetic verse.

Applied to art, Feldman's model accounts for the universal production of graphic symbols by children and for the universal presence of art throughout time and space. From the universal, art expression and response move to the learned experiences of art in cultural context. Everyday art experiences and visual forms of communication constitute particular, culturally sanctioned forms of art. Specific study of art in the formal contexts of school results in understanding art as a *discipline* or body of knowledge and skills. The development of an individual artistic system is *idiosyncratic* to the discipline. Innovations which might change the discipline, and, perhaps, eventually become everyday cultural experiences of art, are considered *unique* to the subject domain. For example, Pollock's abstract expressionist style would qualify as a

BRUNO NETTL

2. WHAT'S TO BE LEARNED? COMMENTS ON TEACHING MUSIC IN THE WORLD AND TEACHING WORLD MUSIC AT HOME

Ethnomusicologists as a professional group are interested in discovering the ways music is taught in the world's cultures, and in learning how musical systems are taught – transmitted – through the generations. They are usually also, naturally, interested in the way the world's music are taught in American and European systems of primary and secondary education. Less attention has been paid to the ways these two areas of endeavor can inform each other. This essay provides some comments, largely from my own experience as an ethnomusicologist and a parent.

NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC IN FIRST GRADE, 1999

In December of last year, I carried out an annual ritual which I've always found satisfying but for which I always prepare with several days of stage fright. I visit the first–grade class of my daughter, an elementary school teacher, to teach for an hour and a half about Native American music. Of course it was fun for me to see my daughter, whom I still see as a little girl, now the experienced educator very much in charge; and fun for the children to imagine their (they think) middle–aged teacher having a dad who knew her when she was small.

But what to teach? I know that a number of texts in music education provide material and sophisticated relevant discussion, but the purpose was for me to bring my own experience and background. I could play recordings, but the children's attention span wouldn't be long; I could teach some songs, but in the end they wouldn't sound the least bit like Native American singing; I could try to explain some rudimentary things about musical style, but that's a lot to ask of first graders. We could imitate some activities, learn a gambling game or a Peyote song, have a miniature powwow. These activities would show something about the musical styles and a bit, too, about music as it contributed to culture. We could maybe learn to do a Stomp Dance

Actually, I tried them all, none with great success, none total failures. Surprisingly to me (but broadly described by Campbell, 1998), the children quickly picked up simple songs, bits of typical dance steps, and at least some comprehended the difference between the cascading melodic contour of Plains music and the undulations of a Navajo song. But I wondered whether they would, the next week, be able to recall anything — identify contours, tell what a Stomp Dance is like, know that songs are important in worship, say that drums and rattles and flutes are the principle instruments.

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Probably not, my daughter thought, but rather, twelve years from now, in college, in a world music course, one or two of them might say to themselves, "Oh yes, I remember this from first grade." So, I'm not sure how worthwhile my attempt was, but throughout I kept wondering about my mission — not the cultural, but the explicitly musical one. Should I be trying to show that this music is really like "ours," whatever "ours" is, easy to understand and internalize; in that case, would these songs have been integrated more, given English words and piano accompaniment? Or should I stress that this music is really very different, very strange, show how we can't really make our voices sing it without a lot of practice, that they really employ a different language, if you will? Should I say to the kids, "This is really like the other kinds of music you know," and compare the Stomp Dance to some call–and–response games they knew, and the Peyote syllables to tra–la–la or ee–yi–ee–yi–yo? Or should I keep pointing out how the songs always go with other activities — ritual, recreation? How could I bring up, at a first–grade level, concepts such as ethnicity, questions such as "whose music is this," and the validity of comparison? Most important, should I put forward or guard against the implication that this music is only interesting because it is associated with Native Americans, while the great music by Mr. Bach and Mr. Mozart — the kids had heard of them — is always interesting to everyone? Well, in the end, these energetic first–graders didn't think this music strange, didn't question whether it sounded like music, took for granted that this was indeed the music of Native Americans, different from their own, but that one could listen to it and sing it.

The questions raised in my experience are also the ones that I always faced as a college teacher of world music, who must decide whether the basic assumption in his courses is that all of the world's music is basically one system that can be comprehended by all of our students with modest effort, or that the world of music is a group of discrete musical languages each of which can be learned only with great effort and never completely, whose role in culture cannot be fully comprehended by outsiders. And the approach to my daughter's pupils that I should have followed, had I had time and expertise, results from the following assertion: In any society, the way in which music is taught and transmitted is an integral part of the musical culture. And so, in thinking of how to teach something essential to my first–grade friends, I should have tried to do it in the way the Native Americans, whose music I was presenting, taught their children.

HOW DO YOU GET TO CARNEGIE HALL?

Not an easy task; but we as educators should probably pay more attention to the learning processes – and the purposes of learning – that lead to the music, or to any domain of culture, that we ourselves are imparting. To ethnomusicologists, discovering the way a society teaches its music – well, more broadly, the way a musical system "teaches itself" or "transmits itself" — should be a major endeavor.

"How do you get to Carnegie Hall?" asks the newcomer to New York, trying to find his way to a concert. "Practice, practice, practice," replies the Broadway wag. But there are actually many ways in which one arrives at the Carnegie Halls of world music and, like "practicing" as a concept, "learning music" means many things. One may

learn pieces, or a way of performing, or the abstract fundamental principles of a musical system. Perhaps one learns how to listen and appreciate music; perhaps one learns exercises such as scales, or short and easy pieces composed for learning. Each of these, or any combination, amounts to learning a musical system, and this in any case consists of many (and sometimes various types of) discrete units that a musician – composer, performer, improviser, even informed listener – learns to manipulate. In one way or another the method of teaching breaks a system down into these basic units. In Western academic or classical music they may be pieces or compositions, or smaller ones such as chords, characteristic sequences of chords, or tones in a melody. The way the members of a society teach the music of their culture tells us what is important about the music; but also, learning how the music works teaches us about the values and guiding principles of its culture.

In many societies, including in particular some of those of the South Seas, children and young people learn the important elements and values of their own culture through musical experience, and adults continue to undergo this process into old age (Ramseyer, 1970, pp. 28–31). Among the people of Yirkalla, South Australia, only old men knew the entire ceremonial musical repertory (R. Waterman, 1956, p. 49), and the men in some North American Plains Indian tribes moved every few years into a new warrior society, learning each time new ritual and cosmological materials, education continuing well past middle age. Perhaps music has something of this enculturative function everywhere, but if we have recognized the importance of music in the learning of culture, we have not paid much attention to the way in which people learn music, and surely not to the ways in which the elements and values of a culture affect the learning of music. If we are to take cognizance of all the music of a culture, we must be concerned with the way it is learned and even with the materials that are used to teach it.

In the general Western academic conception of music, learning plays a major role. Study and teaching at all levels come up in many American conversations about music. A large proportion of musicians make their living by teaching, and much of the population spends time and energy in formal learning of music, though in most cases not with the aim of professional musicianship. A large percentage of published music is didactic in nature. We care greatly with whom one studies music and how one goes about learning. If one could monitor all musical sound produced in this society, perhaps the majority would turn out to be for the purpose of learning, in some sense of that word. One reads general statements to the effect that in non–Western cultures, and certainly in nonliterate cultures, learning is "by rote," and there are of course writings about the nature of oral tradition. Often we know little more, even where other components of musical culture are admirably documented. Merriam (1964, pp. 145–64) was one of the first to look at the problem as a whole.

There are a number of issues for us to be concerned with; let us look at a few. Most important among them, perhaps: When music is transmitted, what is actually learned? While we assume that a musical system in written or oral tradition is transmitted more or less as a unified whole, there are probably certain things which people learn about a musical system that are most important, and which must be handed down, while others are left more or less to be picked up by chance without special

attention or instruction. Another area of interest in this sphere of learning is how people practice, in what activities they actually engage when they are teaching themselves music, when they are carrying out the instructions of a teacher, mediating between the points of instruction and performance. Also related is the use and nature of special materials whose purpose is to help people learn – exercises, etudes, texts on the principles of musicianship. Then there is the identity of teachers and their role in society and in music. And we should know, in an intercultural context, how people in infancy acquire music, and the way in which a musical system, first heard by small children before they are in a position to reproduce it, is perceived by them. There are many other matters that might be of interest, but these issues are sufficient to illustrate a general point that I am trying to make, that a musical system, its style, its main characteristics, its structure, are all very closely associated with the particular way in which it is taught, as a whole and in its individual components.

Western academic musical culture is surely one of the most specialized, in the sense that a musician is primarily involved in one aspect of the "music delivery" process – composing, performing, teaching, etc. It is further specialized in rather rigorously separating various kinds of musicians from each other. Singers in the United States are not even members of the musicians' union. Solo violinists rarely play in orchestras. A pianist is regarded mainly as a soloist, or accompanist, or jazz ensemble musician. Yet the course of musical education is very much the same for all. One normally begins with an instrument (even if one ends up as a singer), and almost everyone at some point learns to play piano. Piano lessons normally begin with exercises, and the terror of serious beginning students is the requirement that, before all else, they must master the scales in all of the keys and always begin practice with them, with the knowledge that even if they become virtuosos, the need for practicing these scales will not abate. After becoming somewhat proficient on an instrument, one is likely to take up the study of music theory, a subject that is theoretical not in the general sense of the word but rather in that one learns material which does not apply directly to the making of musical sounds but is generalizable to all aspects of musical activity. Until recently, music theory concentrated almost exclusively on harmony and began with types of chords, its basic units.

In both cases, instrumental and theoretical, one first learns things that do not normally constitute music but that must be manipulated and extended in order to be recognized as components of music. Few serious pieces merely use scales or use chord sequences precisely in the way they are learned at the beginning of music theory classes. In Western academic music, then, much of the musical system is learned in the abstract. What the teacher first teaches is largely theoretical concepts and gymnastic exercises rather than units of a higher order, i.e., actual compositions.

In most of the world's cultures these compositions are imparted directly by the teacher to the student. Not so in Western academic music – or at least one does not learn the teacher's special approach. Piano students usually do not learn Beethoven sonatas *from* their teacher, with the latter first playing the piece for them, asking them to interpret as they have heard. Rather, the teacher usually confines herself more to general observations, to the instruction of technique and of the materials that make possible the learning of technique, and beyond that asks the students to imbibe

Beethoven from the written page, learning, as it were, from the composer. I see our system of teaching as a combination of theoretical and practical materials, with the teacher playing a much larger role in the former.

TEACHING AND LEARNING THE BUILDING BLOCKS

In the classical music of South India the situation is somewhat similar. While the Western musician learns the basic system through piano and theory classes, the Indian is likely to learn it by exposure to vocal music, even if he turns out an instrumentalist. At the knee of the teacher he studies a long series of exercises that exhibit the characteristics of *raga* and *tala*, melody and rhythm, and juxtapose the two in various combinations. These exercises and some simple introductory pieces constitute or include fundamental units such as rhythmic and melodic motifs that are later used in learned compositions and, more important, in the improvisation which forms much of the core of musical performance. The emphasis is upon memorizing materials that will make it possible for one to improvise. Indian composers who, in contrast to improvising, create songs such as the extended South Indian *kriti*, whose structure has common features with improvisations, evidently undergo training similar to that of the performer. In the Western classical system, by contrast, performer and composer in part at least have rather different kinds of learning experience.

Western and Indian musicianship have in common the concept of discipline, the need to practice the building blocks of music for many hours at a time, directing one's effort only indirectly to what will happen in a performance. A pianist spends much time on scales and exercises, even with a Chopin recital coming up. South Indian singers do not spend their time only trying out various combinations of material and improvising, as they will have to do in public, but also devote hours every day to exercises, from the simple to the very difficult. Indeed, Indian musicians are evaluated by each other only in part in accordance with their musicianship as exhibited in performance or with their knowledge of repertory and in large measure by their reputation for disciplined practice and study, called *riaz* by North Indians (Neuman, 1980, pp. 32–43). "If a musician wants to celebrate the genius of another musician, he will do so. . .in terms of practice habits" (Neuman, 1980, p. 31).

To these two cultures, Persian classical music provides a contrast. The musician of Iran studies the *radif,* memorizing it precisely from his teacher's version, which may be similar but not identical to that of other teachers. The teacher is concerned only with the student's ability to reproduce what he sings or plays for him with utmost exactness. He does not explain the minutiae of the structure of the *radif,* although the student needs to learn these in order to engage in improvisation, the central activity in true performance. The student must deduce from the *radif,* with its many examples of variation, melodic sequence, extension and contraction of motifs, that its very structure is the guide to improvisatory procedure. Once the *radif* is memorized, the student is considered ready to perform without further instruction. He has learned a theoretical construct and must now suddenly move to improvisation. The Indian musician studies building blocks of varying degrees of complexity, units that gradually become

BRENT WILSON

3. BECOMING JAPANESE: *MANGA*, CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL CHARACTER

INTRODUCTION: CULTURAL INFLUENCES IN CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

We now have considerable evidence that children in various parts of the world draw humans, animals, and objects differently (Aronsson & Anderson, 1996; Wilson, 1987; Wilson & Litgvoet, 1992; Wilson & Wilson, 1979, 1981, 1984). Although cultural graphic influences on the style of children's drawings have been documented, the consequences of these influences on children's lives have not been studied. If one culture provides graphic models that are radically different from those of another, and if children use those models, do they affect the way children see themselves, influence the way they conceive of their society, determine the way they construct their views of the world, and perhaps even govern how they live their lives? If we are to understand the role that art making plays in the lives of children, we need to pose questions such as these and search for answers.

One of the predominant cultural graphic influences on the style of young people's drawings is that of the popular media; there may be no country where the influence is more pronounced than in Japan (Wilson, 1997). As I will show, when Japanese children enter kindergarten, some of their drawings already reflect one or more of several distinct styles of *manga* (the comic books read by the Japanese from infancy into adulthood). The influence becomes ubiquitous as Japanese children grow older. The strong *manga* influence present in Japanese children's drawings provides an opportunity to study the role of media in providing models through which children understand themselves and their society. The use of *manga* by Japanese children also provides an opportunity to study the "collusion" between commercial forces and children in shaping conceptions of national identity.

A GRAPHIC NARRATION TASK: CLASSIFICATIONS OF CHARACTERS AND STYLES

I am currently conducting two related inquiries of Japanese children's graphic narratives. One study involves an analysis of thematic content and narrative structure of these *manga*–influenced graphic narratives. The second more basic study, reported here, is an analysis of *manga* types and characters. As a researcher, however, I find myself torn between modern and postmodern desires. On the one hand I feel a

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compulsion to study cognition, to present classifications, and to point to a table of statistics relating to the types of characters Japanese children depict in their graphic narratives. On the other hand, what I really wish to do is to read the graphic narrative characters as signs that will inform us about children, art, and culture. I'll try to have it both ways.

Children's sequential narrative drawings have been studied for two decades (Wilson & Wilson, 1983, 1987). In 1988, as part of an ongoing cross–cultural study of children's story drawings, I visited various regions of Japan to collect samples of young peoples' drawings. In schools in and around Joyetsu, Monbetsu, Nagasaki, Osaka, and Utsinomya, 1151 students in kindergarten, second, fourth, and sixth grades were given sheets of 12 x 16 1/2 inch paper on which six 4 1/4 x 4 3/4 inch frames were printed. Instructions were to draw a story by creating characters, placing them in settings, showing what happens, what happens next, and how things finally turn out. In short, students were asked to respond to a task to produce graphic narratives much like those that they were accustomed to seeing in *manga*.

The Classifications

Preliminary analyses of Japanese children's graphic narratives revealed that the popular media, especially *manga* and *anima* (animated cartoons) strongly influenced their drawings. In fact, Japanese children's drawings so closely resembled *manga* and *anima* that it was possible to develop a classification system based on specific types of *manga* characters. The method of classification, in effect, consisted of asking, "What are the sources of the characters children put in their drawings and are those human, animal, and other characters drawn using the shapes and configurations for bodies, heads, eyes, hair, limbs, etc. that are found in commercially produced *manga* and *anima*?"

Figure 1 illustrates the major classifications used. They include: (a) doll–like characters—the contemporary paradigmatic *manga* female type's heart–shaped face (although some are drawn with a flattened chin), saucer–shaped eyes, and razor–cut hair (the bodies range from elongated Barbie–like bodies to diminutive Cupie–doll types); (b) animals and birds—the most common is an anthropomorphic rabbit with enormous stylized ears and simple facial and body features (including other animals such as cats, bears, foxes, birds, and turtles—fish were not included in this classification); (c) cyborgs and superheroes—the classification includes robotic types and humans with extraordinary powers; the most common cyborgs are an atomic–powered cat named Doraemon, superhuman samurai warriors, and robotic types; (d) monsters are limited to a few Godzilla types usually depicted as no larger than household pets; (e) comic characters include a variety of types, nearly all of which invite derision because of their peculiar features and abnormalities; (f) other *manga* types consist primarily of humans, mostly males, with a variety of stylized features such as large eyes and shaggy hair, and vegetables and flowers often depicted with human characteristics; (g) mixed types contain hints of some of the features from one or more of the foregoing *manga* types combined with features associated with Japanese child art; and (h) non–*manga* drawings—humans and animals (of the types children

either borrow from one another, learn to draw from their observations of photographs and non–*manga* illustrations, or sometimes learn to draw by themselves). The non–*manga* classification also includes things such as architectural structures, automobiles, space ships, etc. containing features that are sometimes found in *manga* but which are difficult to attribute to specific *manga* styles. Some non–*manga* drawings are clearly associated with child art, others are stick figures, while a sizable number depict sports figures such as baseball players (often similar to the life–like figures found in *manga* sports stories but with insufficient characteristics to identify them specifically with *manga*). Finally, in the case of the youngest children, the classification included scribbles, and geometric and amorphous shapes.

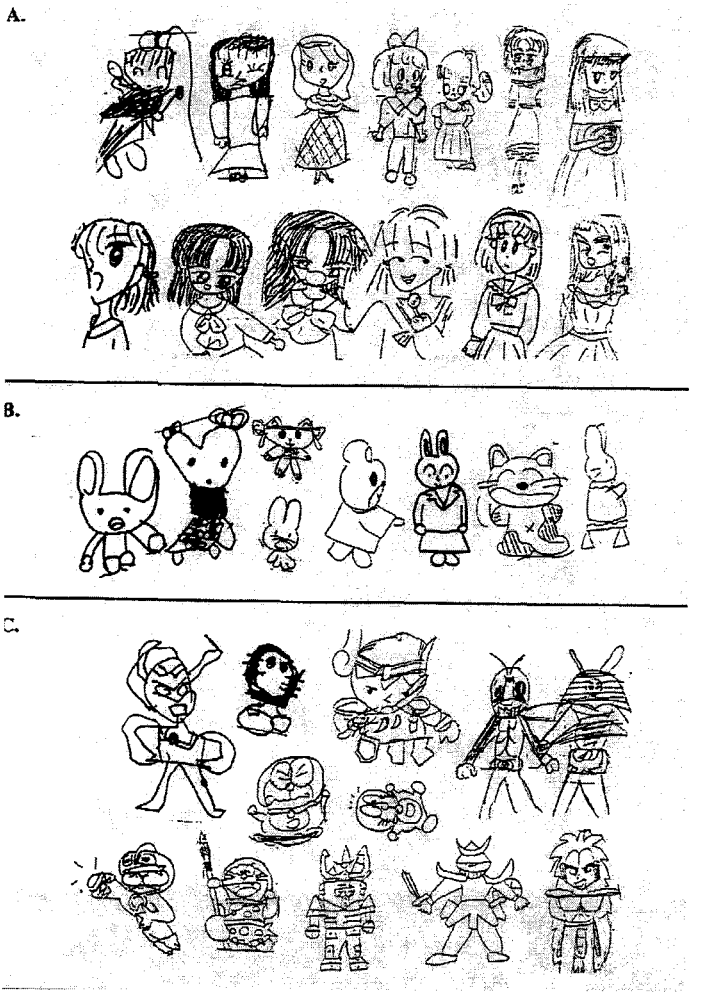

Figure 1. (A) Manga "Dolls Types," (B) Animals, and (C) Cyborgs

Most of the narrative sequences consisted of six frames, but some children used as few as three and others as many as 16 frames. In the analysis process all the frames were reviewed to determine whether one or more *manga*–type characters were present in the sequence. (1) If one or more *manga*–type characters were present, the one most dominant or the most characteristically *manga* character was classified. (2) When there was no clear indication of one or more *manga*–like types in the narratives, a determination was made regarding the presence of features that were influenced by *manga*, but did not follow a paradigmatic *manga* style. These characters were classified as "mixed types." (3) When characters, other objects, and things appeared not to have been influenced by *manga* they were placed in the non–*manga* classification.

The Presence of Manga and Non–manga Types in Japanese Children's Graphic Narratives

Table 1 shows a variety of different patterns in the use of *manga* characters by Japanese children. Only two–percent of kindergarten children produce the paradigmatic "doll" figure. By sixth grade, however, 19 percent of the drawings contain this "doll" figure as the dominant type. Twelve percent of the kindergartners produce a prototypical animal character, and by second grade, 18 percent of the children's narratives are built around these cuddly creatures. It is notable, however, that the incidence of cuddly creatures declines between second and sixth grade. Seven percent of the narratives, from kindergarten through sixth grade, are based on a cyborg character and there is little difference in usage among the grades. It is interesting that monsters are hardly used by any group. The presence of comic types is rare in kindergarten and second grade drawings, while fourth and sixth grade students employ comic types in their drawings between four and five percent of the time. The use of other *manga* types increases steadily from one percent in kindergarten to 25 percent in sixth grade. The classification "mixed types" reveals that a third of the kindergarten children may have tried to draw *manga* characters, but didn't quite succeed. From second through sixth grade the presence of mixed types declines—perhaps indicating a growing mastery of *manga* features and types. Finally there is a decline in the presence of non–*manga* types after kindergarten (46 percent). Approximately one third of the drawings of second through sixth grade depict non–*manga* styles and types.

Table 1. ***Percentages of Manga and Non–manga Types among Japanese Children***

Grade	Doll	Animal Bird	Cyborg	Monster	Comic Type	Other Manga	Mixed Types	Non–Manga
Kinder –garten (94)	02	12	05	00	01	01	33	46
Second (351)	12	18	09	03	01	04	18	34
Fourth (409)	14	14	08	02	04	11	16	30
Sixth (297)	19	06	05	01	05	25	14	34
Total (1151)	11	13	07	02	03	10	20	34

When the types are combined for all four groups, 46 percent of Japanese children's drawings in the sample show the direct influence of *manga*. When this figure is combined with the mixed types, two thirds of the Japanese drawings are influenced by *manga*. The influence of *manga* is probably even higher than the data reveal. Some of the realistically drawn sports characters and things such as automobiles, space ships, and architectural structures found in *manga,* but not easily identifiable as *manga* styles, must surely have affected the children's drawings. Moreover, many of the children who chose not to draw *manga*–type characters in their stories, probably could have—if they had been invited to.

In short, the influence of *manga* on the characters and features of Japanese children's narrative drawings is enormous. What are the consequences of Japanese children's use of *manga* models? What do these findings tell us about Japanese children and Japanese society?

THE SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF JAPANESE CHILDREN'S NARRATIVE DRAWINGS: PRETEXTS AND TEXTS

The entire Japanese *manga* industry can be seen as an enormous sign that contains a collection of other signs that when read, tell things about the Japanese people. When Japanese children create their own versions of *manga,* their modeling of adult *manga* may also be viewed as a sign composed of other signs. Every individual *manga* sequence drawn by a Japanese child becomes a sign that contains a collection of other

PATRICIA SHEHAN CAMPBELL

4. THE MUSICAL CULTURES OF CHILDREN

Music is important to children, and there are few who do not revel in it. They welcome opportunities to think and act musically, and they do so with exuberance. The music is in them, too, manifesting itself both audibly and visibly in the pitches and rhythms of their play, in the songs they sing, and in the ways that they step, sway, bounce, and "groove" to it. Children express and entertain themselves, and communicate and socialize through the musical sounds they make or that surround them in their homes, neighborhoods, and schools. They are drawn to music, for as they explore, experiment with, and respond to it, music is the refuge in which they find fulfillment and safe harbor away from the worries of their young lives. While all the arts provide children with outlets for expression, the power of music as both aural phenomenon and a stimulus of kinesthetic activity functions for them—on request—as much as a veil of protection from, as well as a bridge for interactions with, others. As they take in other performances or make their own musical sounds, children are often transformed by the density and intensity of patterns that are logically ordered and expressed from the heart (and soul). For children, music is a natural inclination, and it often appears to be as essential to their well–being as it is for them to be warm, fed, and well–rested.

School is one of the places in which children acquire music. They learn songs and gain other musical knowledge from their music teachers, their classroom teachers, and from other children. These songs sometimes enhance their learning of language, or mathematical concepts, or appropriate social behaviors, and they may be accompanied by "action," be it signifying gestures, dance, or games. Music is accessible to children beyond the classroom, too, so that many learn music as it is provided to them by their parents, siblings, and extended family members and by the social and religious communities of their family's involvement. It is also mediated to them in a large variety of ways: radio, TV, recordings, videotapes and films, CD–Roms, and other late–breaking technological avenues. Thus the acquisition of musical repertoire and a set of techniques for making and responding to this music are available to children formally and informally, both in school and "on the outside."

The purpose of these pages is to consider the roles which music plays in children's lives, and the manner by which the various folkways, technologies, and institutional settings help them to perpetuate and preserve particular musical expressions and experiences. Children's membership in various social and cultural units will be explored, and the inevitable influences which those units have upon children's musical ideas, values, and behaviors will likewise be considered. An understanding of the content and processes of children's play (and in particular their musical play) will give rise to a discussion of the use and function of music in their lives, and will bring focus to some of the salient musical and textual features of their playful musical "lore." How

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children are musically enculturated and formally educated in and through music will comprise the greater extent of this chapter, which will close with the interface of their formal and informal experiences in coming to know music.

CHILDREN'S SOCIAL UNITS AND CULTURAL GROUPINGS

Children's societies are a blend of progressive and conservative patterns of behavior, fantasy and innovation, and routine and ritual. At times they invent expressive behavior all their own in clever and original ways, while at other times they embrace behaviors they have heard or seen before through mimicry (if not outright mockery) of their perceptions of it. They dress up like their heroes of the media, shoot toy laser guns like space warriors, and lip–sync to the songs of their favorite recording stars. More often than not, children are likely to settle for the center of the spectrum, developing variants on language, stories, games, and songs that they have already experienced. They "tamper" with what they have witnessed but also adhere to its essence, ascertaining that it remains substantially the same as they had first perceived it. They create parodies of songs and new "editions" of stories, and are known for their ability to shape language to a dialect and vocabulary all their own. Children are prone to playing with the components of music in order to make them fit their expressive needs, yet they are also anchored to the values and practices of the adults who raise them.

Children constitute their own over–arching, all–encompassing folk group (Dundes, 1965; Sutton–Smith, 1995), in that they share common traditions in language, values, and behavioral patterns. They are thus a "big" culture, united by experiences of their brief lives and the knowledge they have acquired and stored within them. In their early phases of learning, as children's acquisition of conceptual knowledge is rapidly developing, this knowledge is still in various formative stages. Their world view is not the same as that of adults or adolescents who have had longer life experiences, and while their perceptions are colored by their sociocultural surroundings, children share with each other similar extents of knowledge, as well as play preferences and interests that are associated with their similar intellectual and physical development.

But children's culture is large, multifarious, and decidedly pluralistic. Thus, it is possible for children to be members of more than a single folk group, belonging as they do to a family sibling group, a neighborhood, a preschool play group, a class within a school, a soccer team, a girl scout troupe, a youth choir, a gang. Children belong to big and little cultural groups, overlapping one to the next and learning the lore of each.

Among the traits that are most likely to break the larger culture into sub–cultures (or "little" cultures), age and stage of intellectual, social, and emotional growth are prominent. Jean Piaget (1951) divided childhood into four stages of intellectual development from infancy through age twelve, from sensorimotor learning to the immediate application of abstract reasoning to the knowledge they acquire. Likewise, Jerome Bruner noted three age–based phases of learning (1966). Gregory Bateson (1978) discussed the manner in which learners proceed through early, middle, and mature phases of cultural acquisition, and Catherine Ellis (1986) further moved these phases into a framework that is pertinent to the development of children's musical

selves: from their musical enculturation, to their conscious commitment to practice, to their musical mastery. Children's culture can also be divided by types of care and schooling provided to them: nursery or daycare, preschool, elementary school (and middle or junior high and high school); they are further distinguished by primary (kindergarten through grade two or three) and intermediate (grades three through six) grades, and even more so by individual grade levels. Distinctive children's groups are also based upon factors such as gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and ability level.

It may thus be difficult to conceive of a single children's culture, and to "lump" children as one musical culture. Like snowflakes, each one is unique and not easily homogenized into a single entity. Perhaps, as Mark Slobin (1993) suggested, big music cultures (like "children's culture") are best conceived in smaller units (p. 11). His claim that people live at the interaction of three cultures suits children well. They can be conceived of as members of the "super–culture" (the large and overarching category, "children"), several "sub–cultures" (embedded units, e.g., preschoolers or fourth–graders, girls or boys, African American or Chicano children), and "intercultures" (unities resulting from shared experiences and widespread influences that cut across the sub–cultures, such as players of various ball games, collectors of dolls and action figures, or listeners of mass–mediated popular music) (p. 12). To this can be added each child's idioculture, or culture of the self, to which Charles Keil has given considerable thought (1994). Children have their idiosyncratic thoughts and behaviors, and can take their place as members of multiple cultures, each with its own musical affiliations.

All children start out in the nuclear culture of their family, and then graduate to others (Slobin, 1993, p. 55). Their musical knowledge spins out from this primary source in ever–widening concentric circles first within and then beyond the family. These circles are the result of developmental changes, so that with increasing age they graduate from one progressive layer of age–culture to the next. Children's first live musical experiences are often lullabies sung to them by their parents, particularly their mothers, during infancy and throughout their first year as "lap babies" (Whiting & Edwards, 1988, p. 5). While these lullabies may vary in pitch and rhythmic information from one family to the next, their soft and slow dynamic qualities nonetheless are universally intended to lull little ones to sleep. Remarkably, some of this early music is remembered and recalled even into adulthood, so integrated is it within the young and impressionable minds of infants.

With toddlerhood comes the play songs of the "knee children," which continue to be sung through their later preschool years as "yard children" (Whiting & Edwards, 1988, p. 198). These songs are sung as children play in yards and parks, on swings and in sandboxes (and certainly indoors as well). Play songs and rhythmic chants are not always consciously rendered, but nonetheless trickle out of children in seemingly spontaneous ways as they playfully engage themselves with toys, other objects, and other children. Their musical content is taken from songs they have heard, some of it beamed out to them from their TVs and car radios. Yard children rarely play in silence, but talk, make sounds, and often sing to themselves and others with whom they play.

A shift to the next age–based musical culture occurs as children enter school. At five, six, and beyond, they may still hear lullabies at bedtime, and they will probably continue to semi–consciously sing as they play or work on their projects. Yet when they graduate to the level of "school children," they enter into the realm of singing games, clapping chants, and regular and purposeful rhythms. These musical genres depend upon the interaction of children with other children, in patterns of socialization that were previously unimportant to them. In partners, clusters, and circles and line formations, with or without props (jumpropes, balls, scarves, and sticks), most girls and more than a few boys learn and preserve traditional and contemporary melodies, rhythms, and choreographed forms given them by other children. As in the cases of lap babies and the knee and the yard children, the particulars of music and text may vary from one cultural subset (i.e., neighborhood, religious or ethnic group) to the next, but the engagement of children in these musical genres is a natural result of their entry into this age–based culture.

A particularly intriguing facet of children's cultures is the manner in which their songs can be distinguished by the ethnicity of their singers. Carol Merrill–Mirsky (1988) observed that Euro–American and Asian children were likely to sing pitched melodies while at play, while African–American children performed more non–pitched rhythmic chants. She described African–American children's singing games as more numerous, more syncopated, and more likely to make use of formulaic introductions that those of Euro–American, Asian, or Latino children. She found not only musical but also gestural distinctions among the songs belonging to children of the four broad ethnic–cultures. Others have corroborated these findings, including Campbell (1991), Harwood (1987), and Marsh (1995).

Meanwhile, as children become embedded in the living musical cultures of their families, neighborhoods, and schoolyards, the mediated mass music rains on them as well. It blares at them in the background of their favorite TV shows, and through the jingles that advertise the toys, food, and drink they hope to have. It undergirds or outwardly carries the messages and morals of the videos they watch. The mediated popular music appears as ambient sound or as a provocative experience, and neither children nor their families need to produce it (i.e., to perform it) to "have" it within their ears. But while children may readily receive the media's music already packaged for their passive consumption, they also continue to want to actively participate in it as they hear it. From Barney songs to the music of Clint Black or Pearl Jam, children will sing, move, and groove to mediated, commercial music. They are receiving and working through the musical grammar and idiomatic expressions of popular music, the orally–transmitted urban folk music of their time.

Just as popular music constitutes a musical interculture that is widely shared by children across many sub–cultures, so does the phenomenon called "school music" provide them with a common repertoire. The music which teachers select for their lessons and programs varies from teacher to teacher, of course, but there are also standard sources to which teachers refer in planning lessons. There may even be a common *canon* of songs and musical works which teachers embrace, passing this music among themselves at workshops and professional meetings. For over a century, patriotic songs like "America," "America, the Beautiful," and "The Star–Spangled

Banner" have been appearing in school textbooks, programs and assemblies; added to this are favorites like "This Land is Your Land," "This is My Country," and the more contemporary "God Bless the U.S.A.". While Stephen Foster songs are rarely sung anymore, basal series textbooks like *The Music Connection* (Silver Burdett & Ginn, 1995) and *Share the Music* (Macmillan, 1995) offer a varied fare of traditional and composed songs for singing and listening. Under the rubric of "multicultural music" songs like "Sakura" from Japan, "Kye Kye Kule" from Ghana, "Las Mananitas" from Mexico, and "Sorida" from Zimbabwe recently have been added to old standbys like "Clementine," "Shenandoah" and "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot." Recent development in state–mandated policy for cultural pluralism has governed selections that now rest securely under the umbrella of "school music," a repertoire that many children in American schools may share.

Children of all ages constitute the larger superculture—the big culture of children—and are grouped together and said to be recipients and processors of similar musical knowledge through similar experiences. Yet it is absurd for us to conceive of children as a single musical culture extending from infancy through pubescence, all united by the same experiences. The concept of children fitting into multiple cultural units is far more logical. Indeed, the microcultures and micromusics defined by Mark Slobin suit the many musical realities of children, for their musical worlds are indeed many–splendored, a true conglomerate of styles and influences far too complex to pin down or generalize.

HOW CHILDREN USE MUSIC

For young children, musical meaning is deeply related to function. "Good music," we say, should be the stuff of children's experience; "good for what?," they want to know. Children use music in its every guise and function, and find that as they think and do music, they are buoyed by it, comforted in it, reflective through it, and exuberant as a result of their expressions with it. In my own research on children's musical values (Campbell, 1998), their uses of music ranged from the playful to the serious, and from the solitary to the social. These uses or functions fit categories raised by Merriam (1964), Gaston (1968), and Kaemmer (1993); I use Merriam's list as an organizer here. In interesting ways, these functions overlap one another, so that it is entirely possible for a child to find aesthetic fulfillment as he physically responds to music he hears or is making. Importantly, music contributes in positive ways to children's lives, and many recognize—even in their youth and inexperience—that they could not live without it.

Emotional Expression

Music's power to express raw emotions is not lost on children. I learned about this use of music from ten–year–old Alan, who explained that one of his chief reasons for singing atop a tree stump far removed from everyone (and everything) was that it was a means of releasing his emotions, expressing his feelings, and exploring his musical thoughts without interference. With no one within earshot, his wailing may have been

MINETTE MANS

5. PLAYING THE MUSIC – COMPARING PERFORMANCE OF CHILDREN'S SONG AND DANCE IN TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY NAMIBIAN EDUCATION

How do young Namibian children engage with music? What and when do they play? How are they educated in the performing arts? These are fascinating questions upon which I hope to provide a perspective. By way of introduction, let me explain a few very general principles on which informal, community–based arts education tends to be based in Namibia. I follow this with a look at the principles on which arts education in schools are based, focusing on music and dance. The term music must be understood in an African framework where dance and music are usually holistically integrated and often inclusive of costume, ritual, stories framed within a particular cosmology. Performance is thus "a web of meaning to be read from its surrounding context" (Erlmann, 1996, p. 66). I will be using the terms music, dance and play interchangeably, depending on which aspect is in most sharply focus.

Namibia is an extensive but lightly populated country in south–western Africa. Apart from one city, and sixteen towns of reasonable size, most of the country consists of semi–arid agricultural land thinly dotted with villages. About two–thirds of the population[1] live in the semi–rural and rural areas where the development infrastructure of roads, electricity and communications systems are gradually being implemented. Hence a large proportion of the population does not have day–to–day access to newspapers or television, and entertainment is self–constructed and performed mostly in communal settings. Ironically, the poverty and lack of development of the past has contributed to robust cultural practices, and performances that have long since been discontinued in urban areas retain their vitality in many rural areas.

An interesting characteristic of Namibian cultures is that a major portion of all musical performance amongst different cultural groups is called play[2] not only for children but also for adults. Of course, play is central to our understanding of young children, but we often forget how much of their play is musical play, in which rhythm, movement, characterization, drama or pantomime, and imagination are combined. Play

[1] The population totals about 1.5 million, spread over about 825,000 square kilometres.

[2] For example *dhana* means to play, and *uudhano (oudano)* is the form of song–dance–play. */Hurub* means play, and *≠ab /hurub* is play with reed–pipes and dance. Similarly children play *omukwenga, outetera, onyando, ondjongo*, and others. Play is more fully discussed in a paper presented at a conference of the Nordiska Afrikainstitutet in Turku, Finland in October 2000 (in press) entitled "Unlocking Play in Namibian Musical Identity".

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usually involves the group collectively singing and clapping while others (ones, twos, or more) take turns at dancing individual variations to fixed rhythmic patterns in the centre of the circle or space. Play often centres around taking turns or surprising another by "giving" a touch, like "tag". Much children's play is a preparation for adult play. Although the notion of play is often relegated to the status of "mere recreation", it is an important facet of communal education, and in the Namibian context it also embodies value systems. It is not mere frivolity but, as Peter Brook (1968) says, play is hard work! Hence "[p]lay is a reflexive activity, and, as most everyone would agree, what is communicated through play, while defined as amusement, can be quite serious indeed" (Arnoldi, 1995, p. 22). Through play, young children are educated not only in a specific music–dance, but in the moral values, conditions of existence, and social relationships of their societies with all their ambiguities and inconsistencies. Music and play can be described as aspects of education for socialization.

Socialization Through Music

Songs illustrate social structures and values through references to kinship and family structure, world views, the importance given to marriage and lineage systems, religious systems, value systems, and production systems. Song not only provides a channel for the transmission of societal values and histories, but is in and of itself a way of knowing and reflecting on self and society. Blacking (1985) states that, "music is an important way of knowing, and the performing arts are important means of reflection, of sensing order and ordering experience, and relating inner sensations to the life of feeling of one's society" (p. 65). Chernoff (1979) underlines this approach by writing that "music's explicit purpose, in the various ways it might be defined by Africans, is, essentially, socialization." Apart from being used as a *means* of socializing young persons, music and dance have long provided the *context* within which socializing education could take place. Philosophical and moral systems of the society are built into the music and dance–making itself. They link with the philosophical and moral systems that lie at the root of social structures, and are seen as a metaphor of life (Dagan, 1997). So much experience and knowledge is implicit in performance. For example, I recently recorded a chantefable called "Nauwa" that surprised me by its extreme brevity. Upon enquiry as to the meaning of the text [3] I was told that a long story preceded the actual chantefable, involving kidnapping of a girl (Nauwa) for marriage by monsters or cannibals, her escape with the help of her mother–in–law–to–be, the chase, and so on. It is only the culmination of the story, where the monster stubs his toe on the stone and cries out against Nauwa that is actually told and sung. The child must know this background story before understanding and participating in the chantefable.

Unlike city living, life in those rural communities without access to television or radio involves musical performances on numerous occasions – "at the drop of a hat" as I was told. These occasions quite naturally include celebrations, weddings, birth and funeral ceremonies, work, change of life stages, seasons, inaugurations, healings and so on. In the past, more than the present, the celebration and ritualization of the cycles of

[3] The text basically states a man stubbed his toe on a stone and cursed the girl Nauwa for causing his pain.

life informed and prepared the younger generation in terms of social expectations regarding adult life, kinship and community ethos. Even when young children are not directly involved in performances they are included on the fringes from where they observe and learn.

How does that learning happen? Partly through enculturation or immersion in cultural practices and partly through direct oral/aural instruction. Historically, Namibian cultures have, by and large, been oral cultures.[4] We know that education forms part of all cultures, whether it occurs via the written word or orally. In fact, both African and Western writers today challenge the colonial concept that an oral culture is inferior to one based on a written form (cf. Arom, 1991; Chernoff, 1979; Coplan, 1991; Kubik, 1974, 1986, 1987, 1989; Mazrui, 1990; Okpewho, 1983; Tay, 1989; Vail & White, 1991; and others). Hence, educational practices in Namibian societies prior to government schools included initiation "schools", apprenticeship, "child–to–child" and peer education through which a wealth of specialized life–related knowledge was imparted to the new generation. In these societies teaching or instruction was mainly oral/aural and music, dance, stories, narratives, games and ritual were therefore major means through which knowledge, life skills and social values were transmitted. Nowadays this is not so common, but similar events still take place. An example: in the northern Kunene Region small Ovazemba boys between the ages of four through ten often still attend the circumcision school, *etanda*, usually during a school vacation period. In this time they are circumcised, and while waiting for healing they are instructed about their responsibilities, roles and expected future behavior. They form a named age group with life–long bonds and undergo tests. Even though their mothers may come to care for them, they learn to hunt, to sing special *onyando* songs, create musical instruments and make special palm frond skirts to wear for the dance. *Onyando* songs are performed during the final procession home and the whole community joins in. These songs are some of the most beautiful I have come across in my research! Their educational purpose is considered very valuable in the community, alongside formal schooling which cannot replace these valuable life lessons.

It is common knowledge that children in African societies are likely to be introduced to music and dance at an early age through routine exposure, being integrated into almost all social events,[5] whether they are carried on their mothers' backs, clinging to their skirts, or moving within their own peer group. Damara children on our ranch often break into exuberant choral song even when struggling to carry water to fire fighters in the extreme heat or fetching wood. Children's integration into performance is not mere happenstance. The importance of being drawn into performance becomes clear with the insight that it forms a vital link in the socialization process – a process of Africanization. In many Namibian communities children are considered symbols of the inner strength and "wealth" of a family. They are welcomed

[4] This statement does not negate the fact that schooling and literacy in Namibia and all over Africa are steadily on the increase, and so is the publication of written literature as well as academic texts.

[5] I have observed a healing in Katima Mulilo (1994) where the healer's singers were young girls – the leader appeared to be about twelve years old. They were expected to continue their singing throughout the night until the divining (*liyala*) was completed. Considering the crucial role of the singers to the success of the event, this was no light responsibility.

as future helpers and they bring the possibility of future marital ties and kinship extensions through which familial wealth may increase. Hence, songs and dance illustrating and teaching about future economic tasks are common practice.[6] The responsibilities of cattle and goat herding are usually the task of small boys and youths. Baby care, cleaning and cooking remains the task of girls. Thus one finds songs which prepare and inform, one example being the songs sung at an Aawambo boy's name–giving ceremony (*epiitho*) to remind those gathered of the boy's future herding task. Ovahimba children may not play their musical games inside the home compound, only adults may. During the day children have chores to perform, but at night all the children may go outside to a clearing, play *omukwenga* or *ondjongo* and sing about cattle and dance until late at night. Kxoe, !Kung and Ju/'hoan people have many songs and dances that teach about the character and habits of animals and birds – important knowledge for a future hunter. Among Ju/'hoansi there are special songs following the hunt, indicating whether it was a "good" killing or not.[7] In this event the community is informed and instructed in terms of the inherent meaning of the hunt and ethical standards are reinforced. Even when these songs are not performed by children, they listen, observe and learn through enculturation.

This brings me to ask how children feature in community performances? Ottenburg (1997) suggests that there are at least three categories of children's dance in most African societies. These are:

> [T]hose that are unique to children, passed down from generation to generation but not danced by adults. A second occurs when children on their own imitate adult dances and dancers if permitted to do so, and the third is found when adults organize children to perform specific dances, as at initiations and other events governed by adults. (p. 12)

The *onyando* mentioned above is an example of the latter category, while *omukwenga* and others might be examples of the second. However, although Ottenburg does not refer to performances created by children for children, it is my experience that, apart from the above, several such categories exist in Namibia. For example, most forms of *oudano, omukwenga, ondjongo* that I have observed have been created by children and taught peer–to–peer. When children start attending school they share songs from different cultures and adapt and transform their own as a result. Further, small children play an observing role at communal (mostly adult) play or events. They may move to the rear of the play circle or enter and imitate the dances of their elders. Their initial attempts at participation are generally treated supportively by peers and elders. For example I've observed a small girl of about two years follow her mother (a good dancer) into the circle, trying to catch her skirt as she swirls and stamps. Onlookers encouraged the toddler with shouting and friendly laughter, and swung her out of harm's way only when the dancers were likely to knock her over.

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[6] In fact, children in many areas are expected to work very hard and wait until last before receiving food. Often from the age of about ten years they do not sleep inside the house or compound, but in a room or hut just outside.

[7] E. Olivier, personal communications, Windhoek, 1996.

(Above) **A SMALL GIRL IN AN ADULT PERFORMANCE OF *UUDHANO*** (captured from digital video by M. Mans, 1999)