

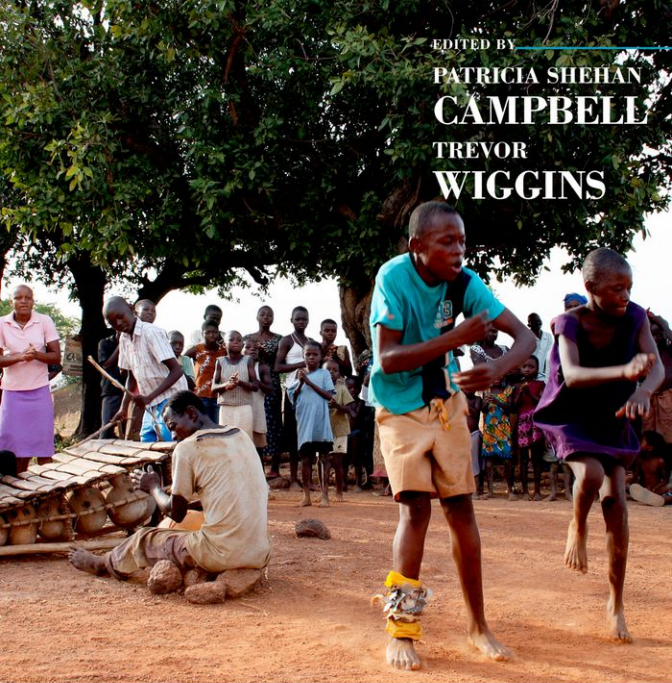
EDITED BY

PATRICIA SHEHAN

CAMPBELL

TREVOR

WIGGINS



≡ The Oxford Handbook of
CHILDREN'S
MUSICAL CULTURES

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

CHILDREN'S MUSICAL CULTURES

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CHILDREN'S
MUSICAL
CULTURES

Edited by

PATRICIA SHEHAN CAMPBELL

and

TREVOR WIGGINS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide.

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Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
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Published in the United States of America by
Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
The Oxford handbook of children's musical cultures / edited by Patricia Shehan Campbell
and Trevor Wiggins.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-19-973763-5 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Music—Juvenile—History
and criticism. 2. World music—History and criticism. 3. Ethnomusicology.

I. Campbell, Patricia Shehan. II. Wiggins, Trevor, 1953–

ML83.O94 2013

780.83—dc23

2012006708

ISBN 978-0-19-973763-5

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

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EDITORIAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

WE wish to thank mentors, colleagues, and students who have inspired us in our studies of musical children, including contributors to this volume. Many thanks to our life partners, too: Charlie Campbell, who occasionally comes up for air from his science projects to hear the stories and songs of children and to offer his logical comments, and Vivienne Wells, who demands I take breaks to walk dogs and regain my perspective as well as editing me. We remember and acknowledge Rita Klinger, whose incisive remarks, based on her rich history of teaching music to children in Israel and the United States, helped to inform the shape of this project.





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ABOUT THE COMPANION WEBSITE

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OXFORD has created a password-protected website to accompany *The Oxford Handbook of Children's Musical Cultures*, and the reader is encouraged to take full advantage of it. The authors of the chapters have many additional examples to support and illustrate their writing and the locations they describe and research. There are additional images (in color, of course), as well as audio and video extracts. These additional visual and sonic elements support the reader in a more rounded understanding of the world of children in different locations as they play and interact with each other and their environment. Here are brass bands from India, circle games from the Gambia and India, and songs from Japan, Ghana, Brazil, and many other places. The musical cultures of children are constrained only by their imagination and resources, and this website opens more doors on to their world to complement the book. Additional materials available online are found throughout the text as “web figures” and are signaled with the following symbols:

-  Audio recordings
-  Video recordings
-  Photos or diagrams
-  Links, sheet music, and other supplementary documents

You can access the companion website by using the username Music5 and the password Book1745.

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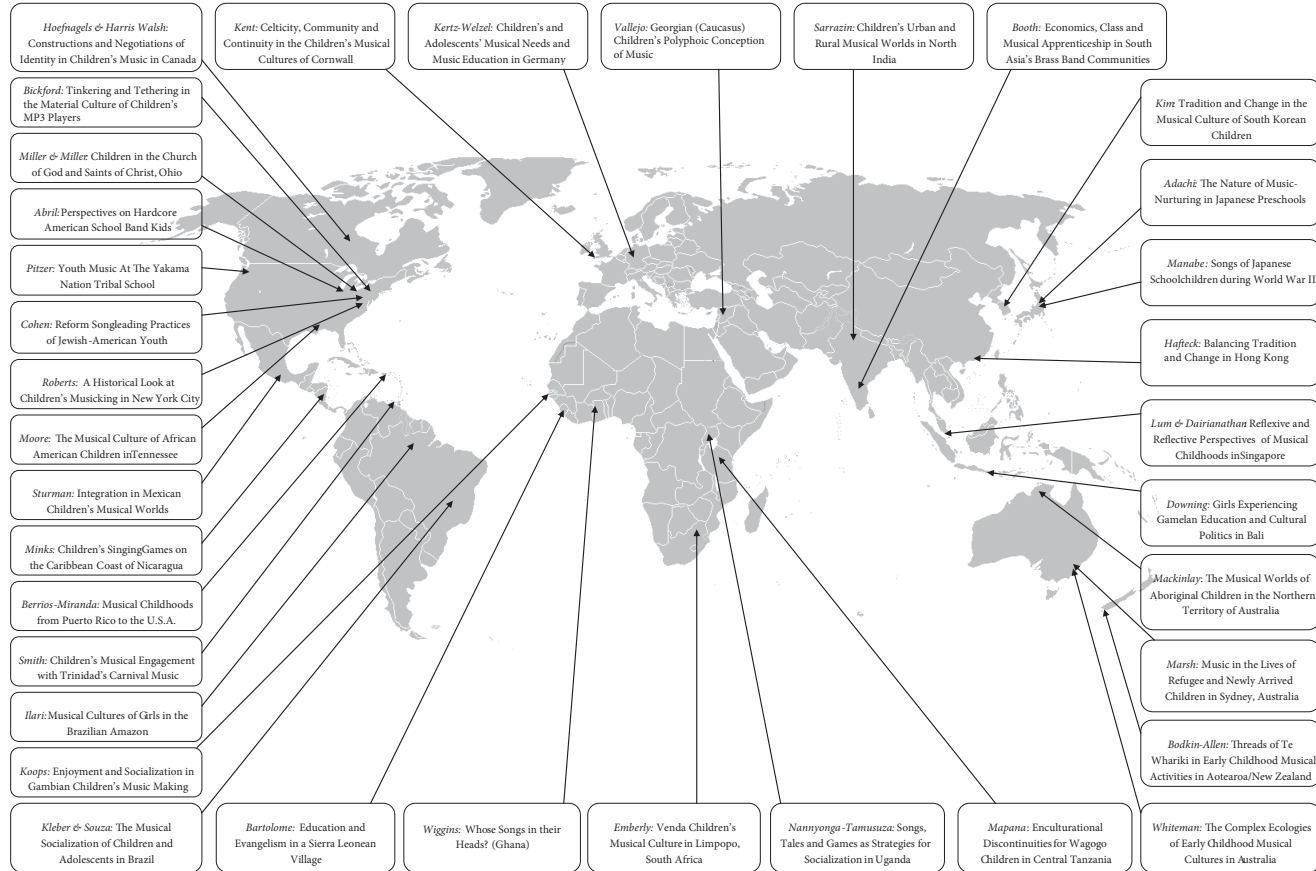
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THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

CHILDREN'S
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GIVING VOICE TO CHILDREN

PATRICIA SHEHAN CAMPBELL AND
TREVOR WIGGINS

CHILDREN's engagement with music is universal. They are awash with music, and the rhythms and melodies they exude from an early age are evidence of ways in which the music of their culture lives within them. From infancy, across their childhood years, and onward into their adolescence, they sing, dance, and play music because they must. They consume it as they also create it. As avid listeners, they escape to it and find safe haven in it. Their natural propensity for musical engagement is fostered and facilitated by families, communities, schools, and the media. Music defines them as children even as it distances them from those who do not share the same interests. They evolve a pastiche repertoire that grows from their living in cultures in which music is valued, and they find their way into music somehow—even if societal odds are against it. Children develop their musical sensibilities as their surroundings allow it, and from their innate instinct to be musical they grow more musical through cultural interaction and education. Yet they are not passive recipients of the music they value but active agents in choosing the music they will take time to listen and respond to, to make, and to choose to preserve, reinvent, or discard.

This volume represents an interdisciplinary inquiry into children and their musical worlds—their songs, chants, rhythmic speech, movement and dance routines, listening interests, sociomusical interactions, and creative expressions, alone and together, and on instruments and a diversity of everyday objects. Scholars from ethnomusicology and education, as well as those with expertise in folklore and developmental psychology, have contributed to this collection on the content and context of children's music making and the function and meaning of these musical expressions to them. They provide circumstantial evidence and critical commentary for why children engage musically; how music is differentiated by age, gender, race and

ethnicity, and socioeconomic circumstances; and whether the music children make is associated with the adult music of their experience or linked cross-culturally to the expressive practices of childhood that happen everywhere.

The thirty-five essay-chapters offer perspectives on children's musical cultures from a broad geographic base of mostly musical ethnographies from around the globe. They provide descriptions and assessments of the musical world of children in specific settings, their enculturation and possibilities for their musical education and training, the sources of knowledge and materials, and the range of music available to them, taught, expressed, invented, and preserved by them. Some chapters survey the extent of local music in children's use, or in particular contexts in which children gather (e.g., schools, homes, and playgrounds), and others offer an understanding of music from a "child's eye" perspective, investigating children's musical world and allowing their voices to be heard. The volume involves looking both at the nature, structures, and styles of the music preferred and used by children—with a broad definition of "childhood" encompassing early childhood well on into adolescence—and the meanings and messages that this music acquires and conveys both for the children and for those who are providing the music to them. It considers the ways in which particular musical styles or even specific pieces known and valued by children may represent different views of the world or of cultural heritage. An underlying weave in the writing is the premise that there are processes common to children's development regardless of where in the world they may live, and yet there are cultural factors—local, national, and global—that influence their thoughts and ways of being.

A RETROSPECT OF STUDIES OF MUSICAL CHILDREN

The study of children has long challenged scholars working across a number of disciplines. Such a challenge has necessitated the development of manuals and reflective words that advise methodological approaches and issues (Bluebond-Langner 2007; Graue and Walsh 1998; Holmes 1998; Montgomery 2009). Anthropologists have historically refrained from examining the life worlds of children, viewing them as imperfect and unimportant because they are only in the gradual process of becoming culturally competent adults (James and James 2008; Lancy 2008). Yet this view has been contested, such that anthropology is based on the premise that "culture is learned, not inherited" and children's capacity to learn culture is remarkably strong to have merited so little interest in the annals of contemporary anthropology. Hirschfeld observes that, although there have been a number of individual studies of children since the 1930s, "this work has not coalesced into a sustained tradition of child-focused research" (2002: 611). Only since the advent of the twenty-first century has there been a substantial increase of interest in the study of children within

the discipline of anthropology, leading to the setting up of a special interest group for Children and Childhood within the American Anthropological Association in 2007 (American Anthropological Association 2011).

Ethnomusicology had also paid little attention to children, and reviews of the field have turned up a surprisingly small body of literature and research (Minks 2002). John Blacking's historic study of the Venda children of South Africa (1967) broke a new pathway, although his impetus was the study of adult musical culture to which the children belong. Even earlier, Richard Waterman's study of the Yirkalla, an Australian indigenous group, examined musical enculturation in the life cycle of boys and girls, who were socialized into their cultural values and traditions through song (1956). The bimusical environment in which young Australian Aboriginal children were raised (this time, the Pitjanjara) was noted in Margaret Kartomi's study of their experience with traditional songs as well as Western popular music and missionary hymns (1980). More recently, the oral-kinetic texts in double-dutch competitions of African American girls was studied ethnomusicologically by Kyra Gaunt (2006), bringing attention to the communally valued rhythmic, timbral, and melodic effects of vernacular speech in their performance practice. Yet despite a few scattered studies of children here and there, ethnomusicologists are just now making strides in their views of children as autonomous and separated from the adults of their culture. Like their colleagues in anthropology, they are emerging from a history of observational reports of their own making, into an understanding that children are capable of expressing themselves (James 2007: 261). Further, in ethnomusicology as in anthropology, the emphasis given to diversity over commonality has prevented the examination of patterns of children's practices (Minks 2006: 217) when in fact childhood may be best viewed for its global as well as cultural-specific entities.

From the end of the nineteenth century to the last years of the twentieth century, children's song appeared to be of great interest to scholars who collected, dissected, and discussed their composite parts. Children's song was seen by folklorists as a fixed cultural artifact that, like all folk song, could be examined for text, melody, and rhythm. Collections amassed, such as William Wells Newell's *Games and Songs of American Children* (1884) and Lady Alice Gomme's two-volume *Traditional Games* (1894–1898). Folklorists were particularly keen to study the texts of songs, chants, and rhymes as well as riddles, teases, and taunts. Beginning in the 1950s, the works of folklorists Iona and Peer Opie paid heed to children's songs and singing games for their lore and language and for the steady state of some characteristics as well as the variations across renderings of the song, in various regions and contexts. Their classic work, *The Singing Game* (1985), was intended to document the "final flowering" period of children's song, for fear that it would soon disappear (although it continues to this day).

A number of significant features of the music of childhood have become evident in the analysis by music scholars of collections of songs, chants, rhythms, and musical utterances, particularly of children in North America, Australia, and northern and western Europe (Campbell 2007; Marsh and Young 2006; Netti 2005).

Children's invented and reinvented songs and singing games are seen as featuring small vocal ranges of less than an octave, typically a sixth, and sometimes only a fourth. Three-tone, four-tone, and pentatonic melodies are frequent, and major and minor seconds and minor thirds are prominent. Duple-metered songs are common, although the complexities of cross-rhythms come into play when children sing in duple and move (as in clapping hands) in rhythms felt in triple meter. Syncopations abound in the melodies of children's songs, although straightforward binary rhythms are also evident. Children's songs, especially in English-speaking communities, tend to fall into repetitive and cyclical forms, particularly strophic form, although there is a sizable number of through composed songs in their invented song repertoire, too. The rhymed chants of children may be rhythmic but not pitched, or they may feature just two alternating pitches of a second or a third. Of their spontaneous singing, children engage in musical utterances, short melodic segments that include sustained pitches of a few notes to a wide diatonic spread of pitches, adding words and nontranslatable sounds that flow freely and expressively (Campbell [1998] 2010). The music of children reflects their environmental influences, such that the idiomatic nuances of popular song and other adult-made music surface in their melodies and rhythms. Elsewhere in the world, in parts of Africa and Asia, children's music exhibits similar features in the way of their uses of music and its social meanings as well as some of its sonic properties (Blacking 1995; Dzansi 2002; Lew 2005).

Educationists have traditionally approached children as recipients of knowledge transmitted to them by adults with training in subject matter and developmentally appropriate delivery techniques and systems. Researchers have viewed children as blank slates and have represented children as primitive, as copycats, as personality trainees, as monkeys, and as critics (Holmes 1998: 109–111). Only since the early 1990s have specialists in music education sought to expand their views of children, utilizing ethnographic fieldwork techniques to query their musical engagement outside the realm of formal schooling. One early project was Campbell's, *Songs in Their Heads*, published in 1998 and updated in 2010 (Campbell [1998] 2010). Campbell sought to construct a multidisciplinary study of children's musical interests and actions that allowed children to speak for themselves, with conversations set alongside standard descriptions and interpretations inherent in fieldwork. Of this same ilk are the works of music educators who have examined the processes by which children create and recreate songs, preserve them intact and vary them, and transmit and learn them through processes that fuse watching, listening, and imitating (Corso 2003; Harwood 1998; Lum, 2007; Marsh 2008; Riddell 1990). Recent years have also seen the publication of three volumes of children and their music, many of the essays written by those attuned to the musical education of children: McPherson's edited volume *The Child as Musician* (2006) is a thorough review of the musical development of children and the ways in which they engage with music, *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth* (edited by Boynton and Kok 2006) is a collection of essays by musicologists and ethnomusicologists that addresses the manner in which children are socialized into the musical life of their communities, both in past and contemporary circumstances, and *Musical Childhoods of Asia and the*

Pacific (Lum and Whiteman 2012) offers views of children in their musical worlds through methodological lenses prominent in education research.

The historic and continuing efforts of specialists across several disciplines and fields contribute to an understanding of children and the music they make, know, and value. Yet musical childhood is largely overlooked and underresearched, particularly with attention to a child-centered approach that gives voice to the children who create their culture, in which music plays a significant role. The intent of this volume is to advance a perspective of the world of music as children know it, in their own words, and as articulated by adults who can foreground children and their social realities, however ensnarled and entwined that process may be. The great leap forward from what has come before has resulted in further discovery of the complexities of the roles and meanings of music in the lives of children.

DEFINING CHILDHOOD

The struggle to define childhood is long and varied. From the Middle Ages, when children were depicted as miniature adults (with heads and bodies out of their child-like proportions), the emphasis has been on who children would become rather than who they really are (Ariès 1962). They were described as less developed, compared to adults, and defined more by what was missing than by the essence of this rich period of their early years. Even now, children are defined by age but not fully recognized for their agency and are assigned roles rather than allowed to experience and discover what is meaningful for themselves. Childhood is not so easily defined, and the simple and straightforward descriptions of the past may be tidy but also off the mark.

Children are in a unique liminal position, one that continues from birth clear through to their achievement of independence from the family in later adolescence, as subjects and objects of enculturation, education, training, induction, consumerism, peer pressure, and exploitation. They are variously accommodated, amused, or educated, often through the media, in a community—a *reservation* of sorts—that is made for them and by them in schools, after-school programs, sports activities, and social and service clubs especially designed for their needs. Even as the construct of childhood is defined by maturational, social, and cultural factors, so also are children, and they are fashioned by adults to fit into cubbyholed conceptualizations of who they are and are not, with little attention to their own sense of themselves. Children define themselves differently than adults define them (Valentine 2000), and we might predict that there is also variance in children's self-definitions as children from one place in the world to the next as they respond and interact with specific contexts.

Within the English language, there is a wealth of literature that has established some of the attributes of children in ways that emphasize aspects of the adult view of childhood. In the Bible, for example, St. Paul advised the Corinthians, "When I was a child, I spoke like a child, thought like a child, and reasoned like a child. When I became

a man, I gave up my childish ways” (1 Corinthians 13, International Standard Version). This view attends to the progression of children toward adulthood, and proposes that the giving up of “childish” ways is the indicator of progression to the state of “man” through personal autonomy rather than the control of society. William Shakespeare (1623) also offered a vision of childhood in *As You Like It*, when Jacques observed:

At first the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse’s arms;
And then the whining school-boy, with his satchel
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school. (act 2, sc. 7)

For Shakespeare, representing views of his time, the early stages of life are bounded by the body; the physical inabilities that inhibit action and communication by the intellect. In the twentieth century, we now know that those early weeks and months of “childishness” are the site of the most rapid learning, growth, and experimentation of the entire human existence. Children experiment with their new bodies, trying out their voices as they acquire language but also exploring a far wider range of vocalizations. It says much for some societies that this enthusiasm can be reduced to “creeping to school” within a few short years.

Outside the English-speaking world, however, there are points of pause on recognition of the challenges of the universal child (or childhood), when the meaning of words like “children” or “children’s musical culture,” and even “music,” take on different meanings as they translate problematically between languages. In some locations, children are expected to be responsible for contributing to the economic necessities of an adult world, and there is little time for childhood wonder, exploration and experimentation, and play. Children grow up quickly in these climes, if ever they were permitted to behave like children. They may know brief childhoods, too, with little recognition of the vast spaces between childhood and adulthood when, in their adolescence, they teeter between dependence and independence. Children are at one level and in some settings highly sophisticated in their interactions with others, learning very quickly to draw meaning from a large range of cultural and social indicators and behaviors, while they are at the same time naïve about the possible intentions and manipulations practiced on them. They can articulate their feelings, emotions, and preferences straight from the heart, spontaneously and in emotionally unrestricted ways, even as they are also capable of thoughtful and deliberate choices and (at a certain age) explanations and reflections on the experiences of their childhood.

THE PRINCIPAL THEMES OF THIS VOLUME

Principal themes and supporting strands of inquiry and intrigue emerge in the varied contexts of this volume. These function to create a framework for an examination

of children, their musical lives, and their identities in music. Local cultures in which children are living, learning, and developing are described, with attention to their homes and families, their neighborhoods, schools, community centers, and social groups, as well as national and cultural imperatives that press upon the young lives of children within school and on the far outside. On numerous occasions, historical streams of influence within local, regional, and national realms are traced as they function to shape children's lives, their learning, and their interests and values, and attention is paid to traditional and imported cultural strands that influence children's perceptions of music, the arts, and culture. The chapters collect around three broad topics:

- Engagements with Culture: Socialization and Identity, within which there are determinate subthemes of (re)making cultures by and for children, including updating tradition, cultural identities with multiple meanings, and personal journeys in and through culture
- Music in Education and Development
- Technologies: Impacts, Uses, and Responses (particularly as they influence their musical engagement and interests)

This framework for the study of children's musical culture is an assemblage of front-end questions that launched the volume and is furthered by emergent themes from the chapters within. They are not discrete themes but overlap and deepen understandings of the nexus of children, music, and culture. Although these themes and strands have been used to order the chapters, the contributors are not constrained by them, so that authors' views of the factors affecting their specific contexts may appropriately range across a wider range of inquiry than the specific section title. Some of the threads will be teased out later in this introduction.

ENGAGEMENTS WITH CULTURE: SOCIALIZATION AND IDENTITY

(Re)Making Cultures for/by Children/Updating Tradition

Ethnomusicologists have always acknowledged "traditional" music as an area of primary interest, while recognizing that musical traditions by men and women have to be created, invented, and constantly refreshed if they are not to enter a state of preservation (or made static through the process of museumization). Concern for the preservation of traditional music, also often termed "folk" music, has been evident in the United Kingdom for at least three centuries since it began to be "collected" (Harker 1985). During the past half century, publications and professional organizations dealing with "tradition" in some way are almost too numerous to mention

and include, for example, *The International Council for Traditional Music*, the now classic *Folk and Traditional Musics of the Western Continents* (Nettl 1965), *Music & Tradition* (Widdess and Wolpert 1981), and *Cahiers de Musiques Traditionnelles*, from volume 1 of 1998 to the latest, volume 23 of 2010 (Ateliers d'ethnomusicologie). These all tend to focus on the nature of the adult-made music and the circumstances of its transmission as well as the meaning and place of the music within its culture. There are few mentions of children in relation to tradition, save the occasional reference to a specific genre of children's music or a group of children learning traditional music as part of an initiation into adulthood. Expert adult musicians and cultural elders assume the role of culture bearers, responsible for remembering and performing cultural tradition, overseeing its performances by adult members of the community, and ensuring that it is passed on at an appropriate time and fully understood by the following generation. This is, of course, a partial view, since children also frequently play a part of musical traditions, both contributing to them and absorbing their heritage. But within the realities of formal education across the majority of the world, children are typically removed from the adult world and located in a special enclave called "school" for much of their time, where they are taught adult-valued knowledge and offered adult-structured experiences. Curricular content for children is typically that knowledge believed by adults to have universal application, for communication or for a community's economic development via technology, manufacturing, or farming. If the arts are ever included in a school curriculum, they are more likely to be offered from a national or international canonic standard rather than local perspective, and they may be taught more as knowledge rather than through direct experience, which then alters the nature of learning as well as precisely what is learned. In the end, these societal decisions for children's education may offer little recognition of, and support for, their own valued traditions and their own culture-bearing qualities.

Children's lives, their learning, and their interests and values are the outcomes of historical streams of influence that have existed for generations, or even centuries, within local, regional, and national realms. Time-honored cultural traditions in music and the arts may be untraceable to the circumstances of their origin and evolution, and yet they may have always been there—innate, inherited, indigenous. Some of the strongest traditions are as likely to have been imported as they are indigenous, and their presence may be wrapped into colonial histories in which some nations once exerted undue pressure and influence upon other nations. The music of a culture, including the music that children make, preserve, and pass on, may be embedded in a colonial heritage. The music children learn at school, or perform at churches, may well be vestiges of that earlier history: English-language songs in Hong Kong preschools (see the chapter by Chen-Hafteck—subsequent references to chapters in this volume will give just the author name) and in English-language classes in the Gambia (Koops); the study of Western classical instruments (and the examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music) in the schools of Hong Kong and Singapore (Chen-Hafteck; Lum and Dairianathan); the use of Wesleyan hymnals in the children's choir of a village church in Sierra Leone (Bartolome).

The continuation of traditions within indigenous societies is complicated by their locations within the priorities of a second nation, as in the case of the Aboriginal Australians (Mackinlay) and the Yakama of the western United States (Pitzer). In fact, children of these societies live in two worlds, code switching in and out of two cultural systems, their values, and their languages. They know the music of their first nation from birth and in all of the customary rituals and practices that thread through the seasons of their childhoods, even as they learn the music of their second nation through its mediated sources as well as the government-sponsored standards of the school curriculum. Their cultural histories are complicated and continuing, and they struggle with their multiple identities at large and in music.

The element of a familial history emerges, too, in considerations of children's musical lives, one that is linked in a linear way to living generations ahead of them, including parents and grandparents as well as aunts and uncles, who surround children and contribute to their musical sensibilities. Such is the account of three generations in a family that traces its musical heritage to Puerto Rico (Berrios-Miranda), where a first generation remembered the live music of *carnaval* and the *bomba* and *plena* music on the Motorola radio, a second generation was raised on salsa's rhythms and instrumental improvisations, and a third generation now responds to reggaeton's electronic mix of hip-hop and reggae. The pathways of young musicians are rooted as well in a family history of professional musicians, in which fathers and grandfathers, steeped in musical knowledge of the brass band world, were the influential models for a third generation (Booth). As mentioned earlier, a colonial heritage or context is a significant historical element in many places. While there is not space in this volume to reexamine the extensive research from the perspective of children's musical heritage, the chapters by Lum and Dairianathan, Chen-Hafteck, Wiggins, Koops, Bartolome, Mapana, Nannyonga-Tamusuza, Smith, Mackinlay, Berrios-Miranda, Moore, Pitzer, Sturman, and Vallejo all offer some comment on and insight into colonial legacies.

In her chapter, Downing specifically explores issues of young girls as tradition bearers in creating a new gamelan ensemble in Bali, a dichotomy that both subverts tradition by innovating a girls' gamelan and propagates gamelan tradition more widely, as the girls' gamelan is a popular tourist attraction. Cultural continuity is mostly a concern of adults who want to ensure that a succeeding generation is inculcated with appropriate attitudes and mores, often carried and indicated by the performance of songs in which the musical qualities render the words more memorable. This use of songs is explored in two religious contexts in the United States (Cohen; Miller and Miller), as part of the creation of Japanese identity in the first part of the twentieth century (Manabe), and in traditional gender roles and expectations in Uganda (Nannyonga-Tamusuza). A unique choral repertoire, supported by an equally unique written script to communicate the language, is the subject of Vallejo's research in Georgia. This area has become known for its adult choral tradition, and Vallejo begins the process of inquiry into the ways in which children learn in this context. Singing, as well as learning an instrument, is also the medium through which children learn in the Mexican context explored by Sturman. The development of orchestral playing by children in Latin America

has achieved wide notice, often referred to as “*El Sistema*,” but Sturman’s inquiry also encompasses the ways in which children are the medium for the creation of a culture that sets out to bring together traditional music and language with adopted skills. Other fascinating insights come from Pitzer, who provides evidence that the Yakama traditions are becoming reenergized and owned by a new generation, and from Moore, who delves into the traditions of African American children that have survived as the culture of and for children for multiple generations.

A view of children as passive recipients of adult culture is also partial and does not recognize the capacities of children to change adult culture (rather than only imitating it), aligning it more with their interests. In some cultures, there are genres of children’s music, passed between generations of children, who are then also culture bearers. Children often live in a plural context that is the nexus of local and national issues, dealing with different identities as well as a variety of inheritances from immigrant communities. Several chapters explore the relationship between local identities and a sense of nationality, mostly located in Africa (Bartolome; Emberly; Koops; Mapana; Wiggins) where postcolonial national boundaries include more than one indigenous ethnicity as well as a colonial legacy. Bodkin-Allen has a different view of parallel issues in New Zealand/Aotearoa as children “play” with their identities, and Kent both traces a historical tradition and maps the contemporary situation for an underrepresented Cornish culture within the United Kingdom. Mackinlay observes the issues in Australia for culture bearers located within a dominant culture whose policies are not always supportive of Aboriginal traditions, while Marsh examines the cultural heritage and materials of newly arrived immigrant children. National cultural imperatives for the transmission of appropriate materials also appear as issues in Hong Kong (Chen-Hafteck), Singapore (Lum and Dairianathan), and Korea (Kim), where Western classical music is the state-sponsored music of choice over indigenous forms.

Discussions about culture and interactions with it tend to assume a model of an individual who interacts directly with that culture as an autonomous person: an adult. For children, the situation is more complex and there is a series of modalities affecting their interaction with cultural materials, with their domestic setting providing a major context within which they are first exposed to cultural materials. Children are gradually allowed autonomy in their choice of their active engagement within the culture, subject to social and economic constraints. With the increasing availability of music through the media, the home is less the site of active family music making than was formerly the case, but perhaps most mothers still sing to their children—at least in private. Whiteman explores the ways in which young children construct their world at micro- and macrolevels in relation to their family and local community, considering locations in Australia and Hawaii.

The tendency in many households to leave the radio or television (or perhaps both) playing and to use big-screen entertainment as placeholders for absent parents and caregivers, means that children may hear more music in their childhood than they would previously have heard in a lifetime. This may contribute to the phenomenon of “continuous partial attention” in which an individual monitors several diverse sources,

trying to avoid missing anything (Stone 2010) but also pays less specific attention to any source and is more easily distracted by something else because it might be significant. Parents may leave their choice of media playing but are also likely to introduce a child to radio or TV programs made specifically for them at an early age. There is little quality control, such that programs made for children range from educational, through edutainment, to programs whose sole aim seems to be to sell merchandise. Hoefnagels and Harris Walsh explore some of these issues in Canada, looking at the repertoire and intentions of the performers. The extent to which this is a local culture is complex; some aspects of the repertoire present a global village where the world comes to a given locality, but this is also culture at the national level, inducting children into a North American context. By contrast, the family and locality of the culture that Miller and Miller observe in an American church is highly focused. It rejects many aspects of the surrounding general culture but is linked to other churches internationally by shared beliefs. Parental control of what is heard and done by the children continues for longer in the church setting so that the children are better prepared to pass on this aural-oral culture. Nannyonga-Tamusuza also reports on a local culture in Uganda, where music and songs support and inculcate family roles and there is a designated person, a paternal aunt, who is responsible for the transmission of knowledge and culture.

The Amazonian riverine culture that Ilari explores is very local, mostly due to geographic location, and there is a sense that this is a liminal community from a wider Brazilian perspective. Very local family and community cultures may find themselves under pressure from media access in the future, as such access enables children to identify the individuality of their cultural behavior and to question it; music is often a powerful tool to ensure that the traditional behaviors and roles are embedded within children's consciousness at an early stage. The Aboriginal culture in Australia that Mackinlay reports on is already under pressure from a dominant national culture. Thus, the indigenous culture, based on the extended family, is struggling for meaningful survival and exploring how they will respond to the influences of this dominant culture. In contrast, Kleber and Souza report on community projects in Brazil, where cultural activities, particularly music that extends across both traditional and more international styles, are offering a medium through which socioeconomic hardship, antisocial behavior, and low self-esteem are being addressed. Of course, because children are not simply recipients of local culture, they create their own culture within peer groups, negotiating an environment drawing on the cultural inheritance from their families and their own experience. The detailed observation of a group of children in Nicaragua by Minks shows how the rules and behaviors for games work within this cultural web.

Cultural Identities with Multiple Meanings

An important element in the journey through childhood and adolescence is the development of a conscious identity. This personal identity is shaped and defined by language, ethnicity, and religious beliefs and is often publicly expressed (and

personally determined from tween-age, or even earlier) through dress, music, and dance. Derived from a sense of belonging to a particular group, identity is frequently oversimplified, summarized by a single word or reference. Saïd observed,

No one today is purely *one* thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim or American are no more than starting points. . . . Yet just as human beings make their own history, they also make their cultures and ethnic identities. (1994: 407–408)

As young as they are, children make their own identities, and these are not purely *one* thing. They are familiar with and sensitive to labels, and they learn early on their power to include, exclude, and cause hurt. Yet childhood is marked by a growing awareness of the meaning of multiple symbols of cultural and social location. Young children use music because they find it appealing, and it is only as they mature that they recognize the symbolic meanings attached to music's place in the construction of their personal identity. The widespread availability of global materials through locally available media such as radio, TV, films, and the internet has led to a "glocal" situation for many children, so their identity is shaped by elements and influences in local, national, and global spheres. The question of how local identities are recognized at the national level, the materials that support local identity, and the presence and attraction of national and international media, is in play for children in New Zealand (Bodkin-Allen), Sierra Leone (Bartolome), South Africa (Emberly), Brazil (Ilari), the United Kingdom (Kent), the Gambia (Koops), Australia (Marsh), the United States (Pitzer), India (Sarrazin), and Trinidad (Smith). In contrast, Hoefnagels and Harris Walsh examine the glocal world specifically created for children by adult performers in Canada. Language usage is another interesting aspect often associated with songs. Although linguistic code switching is not always indicative of identity (Depperman 2007: 35), Minks explores the linguistic codes in operation around a children's game in Nicaragua.

Personal Journeys in/through Culture

It would be surprising if reflections on the role and function of music within the spheres of culture, socialization, and identity did not result in the reexamination by some authors of their own childhood development and experience. This might have resulted in the reinvention of history with 20/20 hindsight, such that what would come forward would be either a glowing reminiscence of a childhood in which it was always a golden summer or a damning indictment of past practices that did not measure up to our present advanced state of knowledge. In fact, a balanced and reasoned set of personal journeys emerged instead through autoethnography, a mode of writing that has become established relatively recently as an accepted form of academic inquiry (see, e.g., Holman-Jones 2005 and the 2009 music-focused collection by Bartleet and Ellis). Four contributors to this volume examine issues for a community specifically through their own experience, often studying children who are now at a similar stage as a comparator and reference point. Lum and Dairianathan

explore the acculturative issues raised by the strong presence of Western instruments and examinations in Singapore, with its continuation of Chinese (and Malay and Indian) cultural traditions and values. Mackinlay interrogates the childhood experiences for Aboriginal children in northern Australia, where there are many unresolved cultural differences between a traditional upbringing and the values expressed by state-controlled educational practice. Moore reflects on both the delights and challenges of an African American upbringing in the southern United States, while Berríos-Miranda considers the continuities and changes for her mother, herself, and her children in Santurce, Puerto Rico and Seattle, United States, over the course of these three generations. In parallel with Lum and Dairianathan, and with Mackinlay, Mapana considers music education in Tanzania, focusing on his experience in the Wagogo cultural region and probing how music experiences in and out of school can be local and national, while Chen-Hafteck explores the ongoing dialogue around identity for herself and children today in Hong Kong.

Music in Education and Development

The place of the arts, and specifically music, in formal education has always been a matter of debate and justification, particularly after the early years when “play” is valued. Reasons put forward for music’s maintenance in educational institutions, communities, and individual families include its inherent artistic qualities, its impact on children’s cognitive development, its contribution to children’s emotional well-being, its communication (in song texts) of social values and required behaviors, its long-standing presence in a traditional school curriculum, its prospects for the economic livelihoods of adults who have amassed skills from their school years onward, and even its social status. National and cultural imperatives press upon the presence of music in schools for children’s greater good, even as there are local communities that stand in support of its place in their state-sponsored system of education. In the case of governments that recognize the arts as an economic product, there are attempts to maximize their income from it, in which case they may sponsor the training of highly productive young musicians while providing little musical education for all others. In various societal circumstances, children learn music more or less well as a result of the education and training that is offered to them in schools, preschools, free or family-afforded special music schools, after-school programs, or private tuition (as in the case of piano lessons). Children’s musical education may function to develop their musicianship, their creative thinking processes, and their knowledge of history and culture. For very few, music may become their livelihood and professional work (e.g., Booth; Lum and Dairianathan), while for most children, their musical education will lead to later leisure activity and an outlet for their personal expression alone and in groups.

In the schools, musical study by children frequently leads to the acquisition of skill sets and repertoires by children through their participation in instrumental and vocal music ensembles as well as through listening lessons and guided experiences in creative musical invention. Such aims fall short when students' musical needs and music education actualities are ill matched, as has happened in those German schools where lessons are more tailored to passive listening than to engaging children in the process of making music (Kertz-Welzel). Likewise, the government-mandated content of Euro-American art music within the schools of Singapore (Lum and Dairianathan), Tanzania (Mapana) and other nations with European colonial histories does little to develop a connection of students to their own living local musical cultures. In Brazilian programs, where there is an honoring of children's social realities, the results of musical training and education are positive and meaningful (Kleber and Souza). Membership in musically demanding school programs in Hong Kong, Mexico, the United States, and elsewhere fire up children and youth, who forge their personal, social, and cultural identities alongside the development of their musical skills (Abril; Sturman). Government, religious, and private sponsors of schools are well aware that the musical content of the curriculum may be chockfull of societal values and mores, too, and that songs are vessels of language learning (Chen-Hafteck; Koops) and cultural understandings that are deemed important for children to acquire (Manabe).

The rise of attention in many of the world's nations to the early education of young children, especially infants, toddlers, and prekindergarten children, has prompted specialist-teachers to seek out playful and multisensory experiences that enhance children's cognitive and socioemotional growth. Increasingly, music is a compulsory subject of study in the certification training of early childhood educators. Preschool children are commonly engaged in singing, listening, moving, and playing rhythm instruments (Adachi; Kim; Whiteman), and for some there are the additional after-school experiences through the global network of trademarked music education providers such as Kindermusik and Gymboree (Chen-Hafteck). While the musical education of young children figures importantly in a wide array of national and regional policy papers, it is valued within local cultural communities as well, where musical threads are woven through kindergartens, childcare centers, and immersion centers as a means of teaching language and cultural values (Bodkin-Allen).

Children learn music formally in after-school programs, in nongovernment organization-sponsored projects (Kleber and Souza), and in specially designated music schools (Vallejo), where they may go once their academic studies at school are finished for the day. They may know "an education through music," arranged by their parents who immerse them in private lessons and daily practice routines and even a carefully selected list of required Euro-American musical works for listening and learning (Lum and Dairianathan). The regulated study of piano, violin, flute, trumpet, guitar, and a host of instruments is its own industry and encompasses adult performers who teach, specially trained music pedagogues, an industry of instrument makers, books, recordings, tuners and repair services, and the supply

of supplemental materials such as metronomes, strings, and reeds. The music(al) education of children is at once a humanistic endeavor, a social system, and a business enterprise.

The shifting spheres of children's interests and engagements in music are associated with their age and development. The gamut of childhood, from infancy through the teen years, offers them a grand variety of musical encounters in which they may become increasingly involved (and at more sophisticated levels of involvement). As children grow physically, intellectually, socially, and emotionally, their capacities to listen, respond to, and actively make music undergo considerable change. Children's potential for skill development continues across their childhood years, as does their understanding of music, its structures, and its meanings. The way children use music in their lives also evolves, often in response to changes to their emotional needs and social circumstances.

Developmental psychologists have long been interested in children's growth, and a rich literature has amassed on children's ability to perceive and make cognitive sense of music (Trainor 2005), to sing in tune and in time (Welch 1998), to move in rhythmically responsive ways to music (Metz 1989), and to developing the motor skills and aural acuity to play instruments (McPherson 2005). Attention to infants and toddlers is considerable, and musicologists and biologists alike are finding fascination in mother-baby chatter for the qualities of a communicative musicality (Malloch and Trevarthen 2009) that arise within the first months of life. This interest has now begun to map skills of language and music that develop before birth, with a recent report stating, "Human fetuses are able to memorize auditory stimuli from the external world by the last trimester of pregnancy, with a particular sensitivity to melody contour in both music and language" (Mampe et al. 2009: 1994). Neuromusical researchers intent on finding keys to incipient language and its development are finding parallels in the ways in which the sustained pitch vocalizations of song are emerging simultaneously with the building blocks of language—phonemes, words, short phrases—that are sounded by infants and toddlers (Patel 2008). Motivational studies are also considerable, too, in discerning from a sociopsychological perspective how musically impassioned children continue their musical studies into adolescence while others slow their interest or drop out altogether (McPherson and Davidson 2006). Music educationists have contributed to the literature on children's musical growth, especially on questions that pertain to establishing a schedule of instruction that is resonant with children's readiness to learn within formal school programs (Campbell and Scott-Kassner 2010).

Across the cases of children's musical cultures that comprise this volume, children of various ages are documented and described. Whiteman observed that even very young children of indigenous Hawaiian and various Australian families are active agents in determining which of the songs and rhythms from home, church, and preschool they will value and share. Preschools are the sites of examination by Bodkin-Allen, where music is threaded through the day's activities in New Zealand childcare centers and kindergartens to deliver to young children a sense of their nation's bicultural identity and multicultural society. Chen-Hafteck, and Kim turn

their lenses, albeit briefly, to preschools in Hong Kong and Korea as the portal of formal education in music, where children's songs are sung, rhythm patterns are chanted and played, and learning through play is held as an ideal that merits continuous reminding in order to be achieved. They observe children's socialization through a repertoire of songs and listening experiences and ways in which early learning is consciously linked to some of the national imperatives to preserve and transmit culture to young children. Adachi's review of preschools in Japan suggests that children engage regularly in teacher-directed activities of singing familiar and new songs, listening to music, and movement to music. The early education of young children appears replete with musical experiences, perhaps in acknowledgement of the natural appeal that music has had for them in their early years of development.

School-age children, especially between the ages of five and twelve years, are in the midst of a time of singing, dancing, and playing music "for fun," with increasing proficiency as a result of their maturation, experience, and learning opportunities. They sing in school the songs they are taught by teachers (Ilari; Kent; Manabe; Nannyonga-Tamusuza), with some of the repertoire embedded with political meaning or cultural values they may not yet fully grasp. Beginning with their entrance to school, children may engage in individual and group lessons for honing skills and repertoire on instruments such as piano—as in Singapore (Lum and Dairianathan), Hong Kong (Chen-Hafteck), and Mexico (Sturman). In institutionalized settings outside school, they play in ensembles especially meant for them, including junior-sized gamelans in Bali (Downing) and steel pan ensembles in Trinidad (Smith). They sing in community choirs in the former Soviet republic of Georgia (Vallejo), in regional cultural pageants and festivals (Kent), and in church choirs in Sierra Leone (Bartolome) and in African American communities (Miller and Miller). In specially funded after-school social programs in Brazil, they start as children and continue into adolescence the development of necessary skills to play music in a range of instrumental ensemble styles that include Brazilian *chorinho*, *pagode*, samba, and hip-hop (Kleber and Souza).

Music happens among children on the far outside of school in peer and mixed age groups, especially between the ages of five and twelve years, whether they are singing together and playing singing games (Emberly; Koops; Marsh; Minks; Moore; Roberts; Sarrazin), dancing to music in the family home (Berríos-Miranda), or listening to the songs supplied by the music industry at home or in family-oriented concerts of children's singer-songwriters (Hoefnagels and Harris Walsh). The songs children invent, appropriate from mediated sources (Emberly; Marsh), or transmit intact (or with variation from earlier generations of it), are playful, sometimes teasing, reflective of their valuing of friends and family (Moore), present and future relationships—both real and imagined (Koops; Minks; Sarrazin)—and cultural customs passed to them that they do not yet understand (Nannyonga-Tamusuza). Occasionally, these songs are intended by children to have shock value as they role-play situations through the songs that are within their experience (Roberts). Children collect and share these songs in same-age (and same-grade) groups, with

peak interest by children ages five to eight years, and older children may also model these songs for younger children coming into the fold of singing games. As they progress into their middle childhood years, children are increasingly prone to share music via the available technology (Bickford; Chen-Hafteck; Mackinlay; Marsh; Sarrazin), and this activity continues through their adolescent years (Kertz-Welzel; Kim; Wiggins).

In their search for identity as adolescents, music becomes them. It sweeps over them, fascinates them, and subsumes them. Children generally graduate from “childhood” at about age eleven into what is referred sometimes referred to as “youth,” when the growing pains are as much socioemotional as they are physical. The search for identity intensifies through the teen years, especially ages thirteen to eighteen as they make their ways through junior and senior secondary schools and as they gradually figure out who they are personally and collectively and to which groups they belong. Some continue the musical involvement that they knew as children, whether in perpetuating children’s songs (Emberly), participating in ensembles (Downing; Smith; Vallejo), or playing on solo instruments (Lum and Dairianathan; Sturman). A coming to grips with who speaks for them, sometimes through the mediated songs they listen to, is very much within the midst of the adolescent angst that they negotiate (Ilari; Kertz-Welzel; Sarrazin). As well, adolescents are exploring their identity through the songs they invent (Pitzer) and in the roles they fill within the school ensembles that they join (Abril). Some adolescents are making their way to the work they will do in the world, and the music that they have played from childhood onward occasionally develops into their economic mainstay (Kleber and Souza; Booth).

Technologies: Impacts, Uses, and Responses

An important feature of this volume is children’s engagement with the glocal elements in their lives, now made so apparent through the rapid inclusion, almost as toys, of social networking, cell phones, and DVD and MP3 players in children’s lives. This is, in some ways, an inversion of the concept of “glocal,” usually defined as “think globally, act locally.” Children may act globally by virtue of their developmental passage but think locally. Even where socioeconomic circumstances or remote location mean that some children may have less direct access to these technological “toys,” children are aware of them via friends or people passing through. New technologies are also starting to make a significant impact on the documentation of many cultures, occasionally by the children themselves. In earlier times, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists arrived at a location, pointed their lens and microphone at those things they considered important, and later considered ceding some control to local people as researchers became more aware both of the effect of their work and the implications for their relationship with the people being observed. Emberly offers a telling anecdote of tables turned on her by a child, who pointed the video camera at her and asked direct questions; she willingly gave the floor to the child as she had yearned for

such an opportunity to learn since the inception of her work. Culture-bearing adults, and now children, are becoming more aware of the value of documenting their lives, both to demonstrate what they have achieved and for the status this demonstrates. Audio and video recorders, and even cell phones, have been used and become progressively cheaper and more readily available in most parts of the world, with economic circumstances as the only barrier to children as researchers.

Technology and the media are increasingly evident in children's lives, and their impact has not gone unnoticed by parents and teachers. Current generations of children are growing up in a "digital-ready" world, and they accept as standard practice the ability to communicate easily with others, build their social network of friends from near and far, and access information immediately. If given the opportunity, children are rapid learners in how to access the menu-driven methods of commanding, organizing, and accessing most digital devices. Booth observes the presence of the digital age in India as a young man (and gender seems to be a part of the complex equation) organizes the family technology and learns how to operate and program a keyboard, in spite of not understanding the manual. In the United States, Bickford documents the use by children in an American school of these new technologies in remarkable ways: splitting earbuds to share mediated music with a friend and tapping out text messages in lieu of passing notes or whispering. Kim mentions the gamut of electronics in use by Korean schoolchildren, from MP3 players and cellular phones, to gaming activity on computers and via the internet; she notes also the strong influence of media stars on the preferred songs that Korean children listen to and learn.

The pervasive presence of television, radio, film, DVDs, CDs, and the internet in homes, and sometimes at school and in community settings, offers images that have a marked influence on children's real and fantasy worlds. Chandler's review of research suggested that children's perception of reality changes substantially over the course of their development between the ages of four and twelve (Chandler 1997). He reported that although young children from the age of three realized they could not influence events on television, they invariably assumed that it was all "real" in a number of ways. From the age of around seven or eight, children tend to discriminate on the basis of their knowledge that "things like that do happen" as one of the factors. This is a significant backdrop for understanding the world that Hoefnagels and Harris Walsh observe, in which children are inducted into the "global village" created for them by adults, so that they know songs from many places around the world—all of it presented to them in a context and arrangement that is familiar, with the world represented as happy and carefree. This contrasts strongly with India, where Sarrazin charts the impact of the video CD and the sound systems of passing buses on children. These media experiences offer an "other" world in many respects and enable many children to access the Bollywood film music, a marker of their membership in Indian society.

In some societies, the range of music available through technology and the media is of concern for the sustainability of traditional music. Music broadcasts by even the most local radio or TV stations are often dominated by the availability of

prerecorded and imported media, and the ability of stations to represent the diversity of local culture is very limited—as is the case for localities in Ghana (Wiggins) and South Africa (Emberly). In comparison, Lum and Dairianathan observe music in Singapore, a highly technologized society, where the media availability of Western classical music supports the genre's preeminent position in society, which is substantially funded by the government.

As was mentioned earlier, the threads of interest and inquiry in this volume are not bounded by the headings under which the chapters have been grouped. In this following section, we enumerate and explore other strands that have emerged from our collected writings.

A Children's World?

For a majority of adults, and parents in particular, the creation and maintenance of a world for children where they are not exposed to the worst of the adult world is a high priority. Adults recognize that children understand in ways appropriate to their maturity and create music that they believe will appeal to children (Hoefnagels and Harris Walsh). They intentionally provide songs for children's contemporary enjoyment that carry encoded messages for future socially appropriate behaviors and values (Nannyonga-Tamusuza). There is, of course, potentially a darker side to this adult-sponsored music for children, with notions of induction typically summarized by the phrase, "Give me the child until he is seven, and I will show you the man" (Singer 2000). Music may be used as an element of control, as children are recipients of the embedded morality of songs that were intentionally selected by parents, teachers, and caregivers to distance them from matters they perceive to be harmful to their ethical development. Some elements of this can be seen in Manabe's writing about children in Japan during World War II, and some of these darker issues also emerge in Roberts's analysis of historical recordings from New York. Children may also themselves use the power of song to make negative comments on others more immediate and memorable (see, e.g., Björkvold 1992: 71; Campbell 2010: 44–45). Given the extent of hardship and conflict around the world, fascinating work lies ahead as to the role of music for children in challenging situations of work as child soldiers and of their struggles in families suffering the effects of failing economies. Such research would be difficult to arrange, and it should be no surprise that there is very little extant literature about the darker side of music by and for children that could be included in this volume.

Subversive Behaviors by Children

Children have a great facility for imitation. This appears in the form of mimicry, which serves a key role in the identification and cohesion of a social group. Children intentionally use and adapt words, graffiti, labels, and clothing for personal and

group ends. Moore reports children's imitation at play of adults talking to them ("Oh-oo-oo child, I'm so tired, I've got to go home"). Bickford observes many aspects of imitation as well as invention in children's use of MP3 players. As they listen to adult-made mediated music, children decorate their players in individual ways, sometimes showing disregard for the economic value over the social function of technology in ways that adults find subversive, such as breaking a pair of headphones in order to share them. This subversion also extends to the musical realm of fidelity and quality. MP3 players, although using a compressed format, are capable of delivering high-quality music, usually downloaded via a computer. This is of little importance to the children who swap tracks among themselves using the headphones and built-in microphones, which greatly reduces the quality of the sound and introduces additional environmental sounds to the track. That fidelity is less important than social function is clearly illustrated when a child refuses an offered download because he has already recorded that track via the microphone in a car. Cohen illustrates the ways in which American adolescents create and maintain their own subculture through subverting the words of songs, with the knowledge and collusion of the "adult" world, all of whom have passed through this same process of induction and inclusion and have now graduated or been excluded from this world by the function they now assume. Similar processes in a different setting are also described by Roberts who examined historical recordings of children in New York City in the mid-twentieth century, where children take and remake music from the adult world that surrounds them.

Children, Music, and Gender

The extent of musical engagement of children does not tilt in the direction of one gender over the other, and boys as well as girls are enmeshed in music as children, though somewhat differently. Gendered codes are in active play in some cultures, which then elicit expectations for gender-specific roles. In Bali, for example, it is traditionally expected that boys are noisy and boisterous while girls are silent and demure, such that government-funded cultural projects are now underway to engage women and children in artistic practices once reserved for men alone. Downing reports on the establishment of a girls-only gamelan in which players feel a sense of pride in preserving Balinese culture even as they simply enjoy being together as friends, as they would in any girls' club, sharing stories, laughing, and joking. Gender roles have been inculcated through song texts, too, as the Japanese military marches (*gunka*) of World War II memorialized male soldiers for their loyalty and bravery on the battlefield (Manabe); *gunka* texts declared the primary activity of boys and men in wartime while also conveying the implicit message that supporting roles be played by girls and women.

Particularly in infancy, in toddlerhood, and until entrance to school, most boys and girls enjoy making music, listening to it, and responding to it through movement and dance—and they do so together, with little notable differences between

genders (Opie 1985: 27–28). Societal notions begin to affect the course of musical activity by school age, however, and girls more than boys embrace the singing games of playground practice (Marsh; Minks; Moore). The content of songs sung mostly by girls encompasses subjects that include boy-girl flirtation, romantic relationships, and even forecasts of marriage (Sarrazin), which girls particularly enjoy playfully mentioning to partners or around the circle. Girls may use singing games to construct and contest forms of gender and sexuality, as information on eventual sex roles emerges in songs (Nannyonga-Tamusuza), and sexual innuendo surfaces even when the meaning may not be understood (Nannyonga-Tamusuza; Roberts).

In the dances in which Puerto Rican children engage, girls learn to develop a sense of personal security, understanding how to negotiate the physical advances of male partners—a behavior that is socially significant far beyond the dance floor (Berríos-Miranda). Some of the myths that thread through songs sung by riverine girls of the Brazilian Amazon feature supernatural creatures (*encantados*) who warn young girls of the dangers of city life, handsome young men, and becoming pregnant too soon (Ilari). Likewise, junior calypsonians in Trinidad create songs that warn against crime, HIV/AIDS, and the consequences of sexual relationships before marriage (Smith).

Boys of school age are frequently less active than girls in informally organized singing groups and in choirs, although membership in choirs in the former Soviet republic of Georgia (Vallejo) and a village choir in Sierra Leone (Bartolome) appears to maintain a gender balance. In one denomination of an African American church choir, there are particular tasks that belong only to boys, including the Shepherd Boy with his staff leading the procession of children, and the bugler, who signals the beginning of a service, and thus boys remain active musical participants (Miller and Miller). Where rural children in India continue to fill traditional gender roles, the extent of their musical play reflects these roles; boys who attend school regularly devote their time to study over play, including musical play (Sarrazin).

In many cultures, there are tendencies among adolescents toward male or female behaviors in accordance with traditions that are strictly monitored by the youth themselves. In North America, traditional gender stereotypes are continued in the selection of instruments to play in the school band, where flutes are almost exclusively “girl instruments” and lower and larger brass instruments remain within the realm of boys and, once selected, are played clear through secondary school (Abril). Song leader positions at the Reform Jewish summer camps are open to adolescent girls and boys who play guitar and sing with a strong voice, although boys appear to rise more frequently than girls to these leadership opportunities (Cohen). Until recently, only boys of the Yakama Nation Tribal School played drums, while girls were permitted to dance to and sing some (but not all) songs; Pitzer observes that this gender barrier has been lifted. In India’s Muslim communities in which men work to earn money while women stay home to raise children and keep house, Booth documents how boys raised in musical families acquire skills fit for working their way into lives as professional musicians. In many venues worldwide, cultural expectations have it that girls often continue in musical activities they began

in childhood, be it group singing and singing competitions, piano lessons, various instrumental ensembles, dancing, or informal listening.

CONCLUSION

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This volume will expand and deepen understandings of children for their expressive practices in music. Varied circumstances of children are depicted, dissected, and then drawn together for their shared and distinctive features of music for its sonic and sociocultural qualities and for its meanings and values to children who listen to it and make and remake it to their personal taste. The chapters are ordered by some central themes but can be interrogated through many other links, as we have set out to show. A map of the world illustrates the geographical distribution—for every fascinating location, another is omitted and awaits future research. Each chapter offers its own explicit lens and, like children, is not only *one* thing or approach (nor is it located solely under one heading) but consists of multiple themes that overlap and intersect. Together, the collected chapters comprise a rich weave of understandings of children's musical cultures.

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PART 1

**ENGAGEMENTS
WITH CULTURE:
SOCIALIZATION
AND IDENTITY**

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PART 1A

**(RE)MAKING
CULTURES FOR/
BY CHILDREN/
UPDATING
TRADITION**

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GIRLS EXPERIENCING GAMELAN EDUCATION AND CULTURAL POLITICS IN BALI

SONJA LYNN DOWNING

On the evening of July 31, 2006, an ensemble of young female gamelan (Indonesian percussion ensemble) musicians entered a temporary stage that had been set up in the soccer field in Ubud, Bali for a music festival. Placing themselves at their instruments, they sat with upright posture, confident and prepared, and were seemingly unfazed by the throngs of locals and tourists watching them from below. At the sharp cue from the lead drummer, the girls proceeded to perform their prepared repertoire of *gong kebyar* standards and new compositions, which variously included intricate interlocking parts, well-rehearsed dynamic and tempo variations, choreography, and singing (see Web Figure 1.1 ). This performance was notable for three reasons: first, young girls were performing gamelan music as a highly polished, skilled, and experienced ensemble—something that would not have been likely a few decades earlier and that many Balinese still regard as novel; second, they were playing across the stage from an adult women's gamelan making this perhaps the first mock gamelan competition involving a girls' group; and third, it served as a prelude to a speech given by the Indonesian minister of culture and tourism. The minister's speech called on children to participate in Indonesian cultural arts as an act of patriotism, describing the performers as an example of both what Indonesian children should strive for and, conflictingly, what to avoid. In so doing, he discursively placed national and regional pride, the burden of upholding

nationalist gender ideals, and promotion of the tourist economy on the shoulders of ten- to sixteen-year-old girls. The event illustrated the way that children's gamelan ensembles are located at the nexus of a complex web of competing forces, from nationalist educational and cultural projects to regional assertions of local or religious (Balinese-Hindu) identities. Tensions between ideologies of citizenship, gender roles, and the preservation of Balinese culture are played out in the promotion and support, or lack thereof, of children's gamelan ensembles and the *sanggar*, or private performing arts studios, that run them.

Historically, gamelan performance was the sole domain of men. Young boys and adult women have had opportunities to play for the past few decades, but only very recently and only in a few locations have girls been allowed and encouraged to perform gamelan music (Downing 2010). Despite being rooted in the community, these ensembles are subject to national and cultural imperatives of representation, preservation, and capitalism as well as both Indonesian and foreign historical influences on discourses of cultural arts. Girls' performances are used by community leaders and national politicians to promote a campaign of strengthening local cultural practices in response to perceived threats of globalization and increasing Islamic fundamentalism as well as to represent the nation internationally as an artistic and cultural paradise. They are also offered as both attractions for and antidotes to increasing tourism. In this chapter, I explore how children's gamelans bear the weight of supporting potentially conflicting ideologies of gender and childhood and how their members are negotiating alternative ways in which to move beyond those ideologies.

Three community-based performing arts organizations are featured here. The first is Sanggar Çudamani in Pengosekan village, just south of Ubud. Directed by I Dewa Putu Berata and his American wife Emiko Saraswati Susilo, this *sanggar* includes an internationally touring adult men's gamelan, one of the only continuously active girls' gamelans in Bali, dance classes for children, and an intensive study program for foreigners. The girls' gamelan was started in 2001, largely through Susilo's impetus, and is taught by Berata and other members of Çudamani's men's gamelan. The second organization is Sanggar Maha Bajra Sandhi, directed by Professor Ida Wayan Oka Granoka, in Batukandik, outside Bali's provincial capital of Denpasar. Since the late 1990s, this *sanggar* has involved boys and girls of a wide range of ages in gamelan music, dance, and traditional Balinese vocal styles. The third is Sanggar Pulo Candani Wiswakarma in Batubulan, which has been active since about 2002. This *sanggar* is directed by I Ketut Pradnya, who hires music teachers from across Bali to teach their specialties to the mixed-gender children's gamelan ensemble.

POLITICS AND THE PERFORMING ARTS IN BALI

For far too long, anthropologists and other scholars have reinforced the perceived separation between cultural arts and politics in which Bali has become a "cultural paradise" and even acts of violence are understood not in political or economic

terms but as particular to Balinese culture (Robinson 1995: 274–280; Vickers 1989: 36). The early anthropologists in Bali—Margaret Mead, Jane Belo, Gregory Bateson, and composer Colin McPhee—have been heavily critiqued for their blindness to, and silence on, political issues. Mead and Bateson were fascinated by children and childhood in Bali, hoping that the study of children would uncover the key to understanding what they saw as Balinese personality traits (Bateson and Mead 1942). Belo's work on Balinese kinship and child development (1955, 1970) mirrors Mead and Bateson's work on village life and cultural transmission through families. McPhee (1955, 1966) concentrated on court and sacred music, though he was also involved with children's music making. Finally, Bateson's steady-state model of Balinese society in no way accounts for the social and political upheavals due to tensions between kingdoms up to the nineteenth century, much less those due to Dutch presence and colonization from the seventeenth century to WWII (Bateson 1970). Australian scholar Adrian Vickers discusses the legacy left by Mead and Bateson with their focus on domestic and religious arts, writing that they “ensured that culture and art would become the only topics in talking about Bali. History, economics, politics and other less savory topics were dropped or relegated to the margins of Bali's image” (Vickers 1989: 124). Despite these glaring gaps in the scholarship, all of these scholars have been immensely influential on anthropologists in general and scholars of Bali alike. Recently, scholars such as Vickers, David Harnish (2005), Andrew McGraw (2009), and Michael Tenzer (2000) have begun to account for the interconnections between politics and the performing arts, though no one has yet examined the roles of children within these interconnections.

In the early 1970s, Clifford Geertz described the prevalence of competing ideologies in Indonesia as an “ideological pandemonium” (Geertz [1973] 2000: 229), and this observation still seems true in early twenty-first-century Bali. The ideology of gender complementarity, contrasting constructions of childhood, tensions between regional and national patriotism, the discourses from the Indonesian women's movement, and the movement to strengthen Balinese customs, religion, and identity overlap and often contradict each other. As recent sociomusical formations, girls' and mixed-gender gamelan members and teachers find themselves pulled in multiple directions by these competing ideologies.

Gender categories in Bali are an overlay of national ideals of family structure and Balinese ideals of gender complementarity. The Indonesian New Order ideology of women's roles and family structure that was current from 1965 to 1998 appears to hold strong in many areas. This ideology defined women not as individuals in their own right but in relation to their husbands first, their children second, and finally to the state, implicitly through the first two relationships (Suryakusuma 2004: 169–170). This hierarchy in some ways contradicts Balinese gender ideals, in which men and women each have complementary roles to fulfill in society. New Order ideologies of women serving their husbands and their country by educating their children in national principles hold strong among older generations; however, girls in Bali are starting to overtake their male counterparts in academic success in school, implying possible future change in how these ideas are adopted and enacted.

Indonesian conceptions of childhood have also changed over time. Japanese scholar Saya Shiraishi (1997) and Dutch scholar Frances Gouda (1995) remind us that the current concept of childhood in Indonesia was imposed by the Dutch and then adopted through a Western-modeled education system. Shiraishi writes that the notion of childhood “was profoundly political from its birth, for the natives were equated with children who needed to be educated and guided, and this notion of the ‘natives’ as ‘children’ served twentieth century Dutch colonialism” (Shiraishi 1997: 13). Still, these conceptions of childhood overlap with, rather than displace, indigenous beliefs and practices, including the belief that children are closer to the spiritual realm than adults in the cycle of reincarnation (Mead 1955: 40), even while they are given adult-type responsibilities from an early age.

A few music teachers I spoke with mentioned children’s brilliance and purity, drawing on the idea of children’s closeness to the gods. Granoka (2005), director of Sanggar Maha Bajra Sandhi, described children as “funny, holy, sacred, and pure.” Composer I Dewa Ketut Alit from Pengosekan spoke of a growing conception of children as being less capable than adults. He noted that some music teachers see performing silly, watered-down music and dance as appropriate to children’s youthful characters, though he does not agree with this notion. Instead, he challenges young musicians to achieve higher goals and to strive to deeply understand what they are practicing and performing. He told me, “I believe children can do more than we think. They are terrific. They are brilliant, and have strong energy” (Dewa Ketut Alit, personal interview, Pengosekan, Bali, July 31, 2006).

Regarding children’s responsibilities, a look at language is helpful. The Balinese words for girl and boy are literal: *istri alit* or *istri cenik* (small woman) and *lanang alit* or *lanang cenik* (small man). Children, especially girls, have many adult-type responsibilities at home (Parker 1997: 507). In my observations, girls often take care of their younger siblings and around puberty start to join their female relatives in making and setting out religious offerings for the house and preparing offerings to bring to temples. Simultaneously, a more Western sense of childhood as a time for play, school, and little responsibility is prevalent, being spread through the media as well as through the education system (Parker 1997: 502–503).

Many people in Bali are accustomed to weaving their daily lives through and between these varying conceptions of gender and childhood. However, the conflict between national and regional identity has recently come to the forefront as regionalism has been on the rise across Indonesia (*The Jakarta Post* 2007). Balinese regionalism, in particular, has grown due to a fear of the loss of culture due to tourism and globalization and has increased dramatically in reaction to the two terrorist bombings in 2002 and 2005 and the resulting suspicion of Muslims and non-Balinese Indonesians. It has coalesced within the *Ajeg Bali* campaign, defined by Elizabeth Rhoads as “a discourse on strengthening Balinese identity through promoting and protecting Balinese Hinduism, language and *adat* (custom and customary law)” (Rhoads 2007). The root word *ajeg* means to uphold, preserve, and safeguard, so *Ajeg Bali* means to preserve

Balinese culture and identity as distinct from other ethnic groups in Indonesia and beyond.

Ajeg Bali as a slogan has been supported publicly by local officials (McGraw 2004: 15, 2009: 313). The campaign promotes a strengthening and standardization of Balinese customs though the deliberate propagation of lessons on everything from offering making and Balinese dress to Hindu religion via print and broadcast media. Among other results, the *Ajeg Bali* movement dehistoricizes and commodifies Balinese cultural and religious practices. The *Ajeg Bali* campaign also serves to depoliticize and undermine local and individual control over education and cultural practices, including the performing arts. This aids the perpetuation of the myth that Bali is a cultural paradise, and its combination with the subsequent depoliticization and disempowerment of *sanggar* and women's organizations alike bodes badly for women, children, artists, and educators working outside the state education system. However, Balinese cultural aims conflict directly with the national education system, as girls find themselves with not enough hours in the day to complete all of their religious and domestic tasks and their homework and other activities for school. Because the stated goals of each side in this conflict are seen as positive and because they are done in the name of strengthening Indonesian and Balinese identity and pride, children and their families have little room to resist either side.

COMMUNITY-BASED MUSIC EDUCATION

Children's gamelans and the *sanggar* that provide the umbrella for them create a space outside school and family, although most *sanggar* are located in a family compound. All children are considered potentially musical, though access to musical training is limited by financial resources and is concentrated in southern Bali, where local economies are generally stronger than in other regions of the island. Participation depends largely on the interest and motivation of the children themselves; especially in the Ubud area, many come from families in which other members are also performing or visual artists. Children's gamelan rehearsals exist in spaces beyond rigidly structured schools, more analogous to what Shiraishi calls the neighborhood community, or the space where the majority of people in Indonesia conduct their everyday lives (Shiraishi 1997: 126). During a children's gamelan rehearsal, anyone can drop by to watch, including parents, siblings, neighbors, and potentially tourists. It is a place to catch up with friends and to see how the children are improving (see Figure 1.2).

Sanggar rehearsals are contexts in which children receive positive and constructive discipline from trusted role models, as opposed to strict authoritarian discipline at school. Çudamani member and teacher I Dewa Ketut Alit Adnyana told me that he valued the encouragement and structure given by Berata when Adnyana



Figure 1.2: The Çudamani Girls' Gamelan rehearsing in the *bale banjar* (community hall) in Pengosekan, Bali. I Dewa Ketut Alit Adnyana (far left) leads the rehearsal (2002).

was first playing and learning gamelan. Adnyana now aims to provide the same supportive discipline to the younger members of the *sanggar*. Even though Berata and Susilo are the directors of Sanggar Çudamani, rehearsals of the girls' gamelan are largely managed by the young men and teenage members of the *sanggar*, who are, in many cases, the girls' cousins and older brothers. They are less than a full generation older than the girls and so do not fall into the *bapak-anak* (father-child) power dynamic present in school and other governmental institutions (Shiraishi 1997). The girls take full advantage of this when they can, requesting to rehearse certain pieces or pushing their teachers to have a longer or shorter rehearsal. Sanggar Maha Bajra Sandhi presents another alternative structure. Granoka is the director but often leaves the logistics of running rehearsals as well as the composition and choreography of new productions to his daughters (see Figure 1.3), who have the closest day-to-day interaction with the members.

Girls' and mixed-gender gamelans undermine the national ideology of women's ideal roles by contradicting the notion that adolescent girls must be quiet, if not altogether silent. Australian anthropologist Lynette Parker has observed, "The muteness of girls and the noise of boys is part of a gendered code" (Parker 1997: 508) that is present in Indonesia and implemented through both schools and societal pressures. The dichotomy of girls as silent and boys as noisy must be extended to include the fact that Balinese women sing devotional poetry in ritual settings, sometimes quite loudly. While women have found gamelan to be another outlet for noise making in the past few decades—albeit generally not as loudly as male groups—gamelan is still a relatively new location for girls and young women to appropriately "make noise." They must continually negotiate their way through this context, finding a dynamic



Figure 1.3: Ida Ayu Arya Satyani (center left) teaching members of Sanggar Maha Bajra Sandhi (2006).

balance between their teachers' expectations of how loud or fast they should play (or sing) and their own (also changing) levels of comfort with how bold to be in practice and in performance.

Despite being located beyond national institutions, children's gamelans are still subject to some ideologies, the most prevalent and explicit of which is that of cultural preservation, itself tightly intertwined with ideas about preparing future generations of citizens. Sanggar Pulo Candani Wiswakarma provides one way of addressing cultural preservation (see Web Figure 1.4 [📺](#)). Pradnya explained to me the goals of having children learn performing arts at his *sanggar*, which are for them to become fuller human beings and to have a better understanding of Balinese values. He wants the members of Pulo Candani Wiswakarma to have a balanced education. He sees what they learn in school as primarily related to science, math, and other rational kinds of knowledge he associates with Western influences. In order for the children to be balanced human beings, they need to learn Balinese arts, he says, because the arts are "the root of our culture, our identity, our principles" (I Ketut Pradnya, personal interview, Batubulan, Bali, September 8, 2006).

Sanggar Maha Bajra Sandhi contrasts with Sanggar Pulo Candani Wiswakarma in addressing the issue of cultural preservation. Granoka is keen to encourage children's participation in all aspects of the *sanggar's* activities, including playing gamelan, dancing, practicing yoga, singing, and developing new repertoires and rituals. He is motivated not so much to preserve Balinese culture as to create it anew, building on forms and concepts from older performance styles. He is, in a sense, revitalizing older forms and styles, though his emphasis is on high-quality creation,


rather than preservation. He places children at the center of this process, not only to benefit them and to prepare future generations of performing artists but also to make use of what he sees as their spiritual purity and brilliance. With participating children as the source of such purity, the rituals they create have more spiritual power. In this way, children not only are learning and rehearsing in preparation for their future but are already active members in cultural and spiritual development and practice.

One of Sanggar Çudamani's main activities is to revitalize older pieces and genres that are rarely performed anymore. Another is to run children's programs to teach both boys and girls Balinese dance and gamelan music. Çudamani's directors aim to balance their work to preserve pieces and genres by providing opportunities for their members to create new musical, vocal, and dance compositions, and they often engage in local and international collaborations. The "Çudamani" link on their 2007 tour web page states, "Çudamani's members see themselves as a community of leaders who, through their music and dance, positively contribute to the artistic, cultural and political life of their village" (Çudamani 2009b). Among other creative and boundary-pushing activities, Çudamani and other *sanggar* are doing radical work in encouraging girls to study and play gamelan. By strategically crafting their activities within the language of *Ajeg Bali* preservationism, they are able to break down past limitations of girls' musical participation in an already socially accepted context.

Case Study: Learning and Performing "Suluh" (Reflection)

On the level of individual participation, the goal of cultural preservation is partially a motivating factor. When I asked the members of the Çudamani Girls' Gamelan what they like about playing gamelan, not one of them stated anything about being one of the first continuous girls' gamelans in Bali or advancing women's rights or roles. Instead, their answers ranged from enjoying being together, laughing and joking, to being glad they are able to perform Balinese cultural arts. One answer that was given with surprising regularity, as an answer to why they joined in the first place, what they like about playing gamelan, or what is important to them about having a girls' gamelan, was a close variant of "*Supaya bisa melestarikan budaya Bali*," or "So that [I/we] can preserve Balinese culture." Most of the time I spent with them in 2005 and 2006, however, they were most immediately concerned with playing well and playing together, balancing their individual schedules, and working out their musical parts.

As these girls grew older and busier, their afternoon rehearsal schedule stopped being feasible, and they switched to rehearsing twice a week starting at 6:00 pm. On the evening of August 21, 2006, the girls started rehearsing Berata's new composition for them called "Suluh." They rehearsed in one of the *sanggar*

pavilions for almost two hours straight with total patience and attention (see Web Figure 1.5 ). The piece so far seemed refined with many subtle tempo changes. At one point, Adnyana tried to get them to play louder and faster. The girls responded, playing as strongly, loudly, and quickly as they could. At first the result was jumbled and messy, but by the end of the rehearsal and after many repetitions, they had cleaned up the interlocking passages. Adnyana seemed pleased, as did the girls. The *kendang* (drum) player, Dewa Ayu Eka Putri (Ayu Eka), picked up her part quickly, enjoying the challenge of new material and playing enthusiastically and even with some individual physical style. The *reyong* (row of gong chimes) players had some of the most complex parts and needed the most attention from the teachers and the most repetition; at one point I caught the eye of one *reyong* player, Ni Wayan Febri Lestari, and she silently mouthed, “*Kewah!*” (Difficult!). Eventually one of the teachers called an end to the rehearsal. The girls’ focus finally broken, the *gangs*a (metallophone) player Ni Luh Putu Wiwik Krisnayanti suddenly gasped and asked, “What time is it?” On hearing the answer (“eight o’clock”), she clapped her hand to her forehead, crying, “Oh no, I still have so much homework!” and several other girls groaned in commiseration. They hastily threw the covers over the instruments and quickly dispersed, heading home to the rest of their long evening’s tasks.

This piece, “Suluh,” exemplifies the interconnection between the girls’ individual lives and identities and the societal goals placed on them by others. A significant motivation for people to teach gamelan is the desire to enrich the lives of children through participation in cultural arts. The goal of children improving themselves and their moral character through musical practice and performance is expressed through the lyrics that Berata wrote for the piece, which he composed specifically for the Çudamani Girls’ Gamelan. Here, the goal of improving oneself is not part of a national ideology project, as can be seen in schools in Bali, but is conveyed through distinctly Balinese modes of expression. The sung lyrics are in polite and formal Balinese language. The music is written for the *slendro* mode on Çudamani’s seven-tone gamelan instruments. The piece includes choreography for the musicians taken from basic positions (*agem*) and movements from female Balinese dance forms. All of these aspects of “Suluh” contribute to its Balinese identity.

These lyrics describe how performing music and singing serve as a guide for the players to become better people and to improve their moral characters, particularly the first eight lines of the *pengawak* (middle section). The first line and fifth of the *pengecet* (last section) continues the theme of bettering oneself. The goals of becoming a better person and of participating in the preservation of the arts are symbiotic. By learning Balinese values through the arts, one can improve one’s moral fiber and knowledge; in turn, one is better equipped to work at continuing, preserving, and strengthening Balinese cultural arts. The preservation of Balinese culture is mentioned in “Suluh,” in lines 9 and 10 of the *pengawak* and again in the last line of the *pengecet*.

Lyrics for “Suluh” (Reflection)

Composed by I Dewa Putu Berata (2006)

Balinese	English
<i>Pembuka</i>	<i>Opening section</i>
Om Swastiastu	[formal Balinese greeting]
Pamur waning atur titiang ring sang rauh	We thank those who have come
Dimogi sami rahayu	May everyone receive health
Yulati manguh kasu kerten kayun.	May everyone be happy in their hearts.
<i>Pengawak</i>	<i>Middle section</i>
Praya katur sesidan titiange sadulur	Whatever I can give
Antuk manah liang	With a very happy heart
Megambelan magendang gending	Playing music, drumming, and singing
Anggen masesuluh	This is used as a guide
Benjang pungkur sida becik.	So that tomorrow I may become better.
Titiang sami melajah nyalanin gending	We all are studying how to engage in singing a song
Kadasarin antuk unteng kayun	Based on a heart that is good and pure
Ngainekelin angga.	As a resource within ourselves.
Mangda ye lestari	So that we can preserve
Budaya lan seni Bali.	Balinese culture and arts.
Ledangan titiang menabuh.	Allow me to play [gamelan].
<i>Pengecet</i>	<i>Last section</i>
Nunas sasuluh manyuluhin angga	I ask for a mirror/reflection so that I can improve myself
Kawimur dan titiang	I am still small
Melajah nabuh, magendang gending	Just beginning to learn to play, drum, and sing
Dasarin antuk mamonyah.	To develop my courage.
Nunas sasuluh manyuluhin angga	I ask for a mirror/reflection so that I can improve myself
Kawimur dan titiang	I am still small
Melajah nabuh, magendang gending	Just beginning to learn to play, drum, and sing
Dasarin antuk mamonyah.	To develop my courage.
Ida dane sami ngiring sareng ngajegan Bali.	All together we are taking care of Bali.
<i>Penutup</i>	<i>Closing</i>
Pamuput atur titiang mangkin mogi sida	I hope my words have made people's hearts happy.
ngulangunin pikayun.	

By writing these lyrics for the girls to learn and perform, Berata is effectively teaching the girls to do what they are singing. By singing about the very act in which they are participating, Berata has his musicians engaging in a performative metadiscourse, or since it is through singing, Katherine Meizel suggests the term “metacantrics,” creating a clever pun on Alan Lomax’s much contested system of cantometrics (Lomax 1976).¹ However, rather than referencing Lomax’s assumption of a lack of awareness on the part of the singers he studied, I want to make the distinction that Berata is deliberately creating a context through which the girls immediately embody the ideals of upholding and preserving Balinese cultural identity.

Though the lyrics both teach and express a desire to preserve traditional values, the form is very modern in its execution: the performers are young girls, rather than adult men or boys or even adult women, and “Suluh” is performed on a gamelan *semarandana*, an innovative seven-tone gamelan genre developed by I Wayan Beratha in 1987 that has increased in popularity since then (McGraw 1999–2000: 63). The piece also includes choreography for the musicians, something that has become popular in new compositions especially since about 2003 (I Nyoman Windha, personal interview, Denpasar, Bali, October 8, 2006). In this way, the passing down of cultural values and Balinese identity is made up-to-date and relevant to the present day.


Notably, in their conversations, the girls focused on the musical complexities of the piece, commenting that they enjoy it because of its well-written melodies and because they are glad to have learned a new mode. Ayu Eka explained, “The piece is difficult, but I like it. It is difficult because it uses *slendro* and because it is slow. It looks easier because of this, but actually it’s more difficult” (Dewa Ayu Eka Putri, personal interview, Pengosekan, Bali, August 22, 2006). In this way, Ayu Eka was not repeating stock phrases about cultural preservation or even about self-improvement but was getting straight to the heart of artistic participation and innovation.

Even though girl musicians relish learning and performing gamelan for artistic and cultural satisfaction, their performances may be supported by government officials to foster ulterior motives. State and cultural projects are often motivating factors in creating new performance venues and events to encourage artistic activity in certain regions or for certain demographic categories, in this case, women or children. As Sharon Stephens writes, “The creation of a modern state and national culture is integrally related to the creation of new sorts of gendered and age-graded subjects and spaces and the establishment of institutions variously engaged in spreading these constructions throughout society” (Stephens 1995: 15). Children’s gamelan performances at festivals are often used by festival organizers or other officials as “crucial sources of ‘authentic’ national culture” (Minks 2006: 210) to promote national patriotism and Balinese pride. Children’s placement by the national government at the crux of objectified notions of culture and tradition keeping the nation together and healthy is exemplified by the speech given by Jero Wacik, the Indonesian minister of culture and tourism (*Menteri Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata*),

referred to at the beginning of this chapter. His speech coincided with the night the Çudamani Girls' Gamelan performed at the month-long Ubud Festival in a *mabarung* (competition) style performance across the stage from the women's gamelan Chandra Wati from Ubud.

The performance was the first mock competition² in which the Çudamani girls had participated and may even have been the first including an all-girls gamelan on the island. Noting the social importance of gamelan competitions, McGraw writes,

The development of a truly competent generation of female Balinese musicians able to compete and perform on an equal footing with men depends on more serious and radical changes to Balinese music culture, not to mention the wider social context. Such a development would require the creation of, and competition between, girls' ensembles. (2004: 15)

This event at the Ubud Festival was not a real competition for a jury or to win placement or prizes, nor was it between similarly experienced or aged groups. However, it was an initial step in showing that such healthy competition is possible if there were enough girls' groups. The event was also special because Çudamani members Ayu Eka and her younger sister Dewa Ayu Swandewi, a *gangsa* player, played across the stage from their mother Desak Made Berati, who plays *kendang* for Chandra Wati (see Web Figure 1.6 ). Three weeks after the performance, Ayu Eka told me, "When I performed in Ubud with my Mom, I felt very proud that I could continue [gamelan performance] from my mother's generation to my own" (Dewa Ayu Eka Putri, personal interview, Pengosekan, Bali, August 22, 2006), indicating pride as a culture bearer, despite the newness of girls playing gamelan.

The girls' and women's performances and Minister Wacik's speech exemplify many of the conflicting identities and roles of female musicians in Bali as objects of desire, as icons of Balinese regionalism, and as paradigms of Indonesian cultural pride. Wacik stated that although Indonesia is still very weak technologically and economically compared to other countries, at least it has art and culture to be proud of internationally. He said that therefore these practices should be cared for well and that if children are involved, they will be able to work toward preserving them as adults. Echoing the notion that cultural arts, supported by the family, will improve people as human beings, he said, "If they do not [participate in the cultural arts], children will dry up. And fathers and mothers from now on, I ask of you, push them to study the arts because the arts will make them complete human beings" (Jero Wacik, public speech, Ubud Festival, Ubud, Bali, July 31, 2006).

The minister held up the Çudamani's girls' performance that night as an example, though not necessarily one to be followed entirely. He referred to the girls' gamelan as merely appearing beautiful, as if they had not seriously studied what they were doing. He said, "I ask these children, who played gamelan just now so prettily and all dressed up, to also be smart and skilled. Do not only be pretty playing gamelan without being skilled." It seems that the girls' unusual technical abilities and professionalism for their age were lost on the minister, as he fell into the trap Balinese scholar Cok Sawitri identifies of only looking at female musicians as objects, without noticing or considering their musicality (Sawitri 2001).

TOURISM, CONSUMERISM, AND CHILDREN'S GAMELANS

Although the *Ajég Bali* campaign became popular in part in resistance to the negative effects of tourism, such as increased commercialism and a fear of the loss of traditional practices, it often ends up in conjunction with goals of developing and maintaining a cultural tourism industry. *Ajég Bali* aims to strengthen cultural practices and identity, which are then used by both Balinese and Indonesian governmental officials to promote tourism. A substantial percentage of artists in Bali actively participate in the tourist industry. Selling paintings, woven baskets, or sculptures allows them to provide for their families and afford the rising costs of fuel and sending their children to school, and in this way, tourism's presence in Bali can be a blessing (Sanger 1988; see also Harnish 2005; Picard 1996; and Vickers 1989 for more in-depth discussions of tourism in Bali). However, the benefits and effects of tourism are complex, and many artists and scholars are highly critical of the changes it has wrought on the arts and how it has disempowered Balinese artists, including young musicians.

Sanggar Çudamani was founded in part in opposition to potential detrimental effects from involvement in the tourist industry. This opposition can be seen in the language used in the "About Us" section on Çudamani's website:

Çudamani maintains that the vitality of Balinese arts relies on the connection of performance to the religious and social life of the village. . . . Based on a traditional village model, i.e., not for financial profit or individual gain, the group sets the highest artistic standards in the service of the temple and the community. (Çudamani 2009a)

I was surprised, then, to learn that the girls' gamelan was to perform at a major hotel in Ubud for a group of tourists in August 2006. Adnyana explained to me that while they do not play for regular tourist shows, which they feel is detrimental to the spirit of their performances, when something special comes up they consider it and that the directors are always keen to increase the performance experience of and awareness about the girls' gamelan. Alit also pointed out the potential benefits of using "the opportunity of tourism to improve" their work (Dewa Ketut Alit, personal interview, Pengosekan, Bali, July 31, 2006).

Unfortunately, the hotel staff did not treat the Çudamani members and leaders with as much respect as the musicians expected. The hotel staff made the arrangements at the last minute, confirming the performance only two days before, and then the morning of the show requested an additional piece to be performed that night. It was a testament to the girls' skills, however, that they were able to pull off a clean performance with only a single review rehearsal of one piece, and the additional piece without a dress rehearsal at all. Still, the girls were disappointed and frustrated that such an upscale and successful hotel as this failed to provide the customary rice meal afterward. Already the girls could see the discrepancies between

a new system governed by profits rather than longer term and community-based reciprocity.

Especially since the late 1990s, the Indonesian government has encouraged both trade and tourism, and the forces of globalization have been felt acutely in Bali. One of the negative effects of globalization and the increase in capitalization in Bali has been children turning into consumers, obsessed with buying and showing off the latest gadgets or spending countless hours with television or computer games. According to children's gamelan members, participation and membership in a gamelan offers alternatives to such potentially mind-numbing pastimes and builds a stronger self-confidence and sense of identity.

The context of children's gamelan rehearsals, outside the structure of the school and beyond the family, providing a space for creative, collaborative learning, bears some similarities to thinking about the concept of "play." Stephens's statement "Play is the ground of a notion of culture as living resource, rather than objectified product" (1995: 34) may be applied to the space of children's gamelans. Her assertion that "play also requires a certain open-endedness and a possibility of surprise—qualities that one might argue are in short supply in the solitary, efficient electronic play of some materially privileged children" (1995: 34) shows children's gamelan as a structured type of play that serves as an excellent alternative to electronic play. Ayu Eka gave an account that strongly supports this. She told me that most of her friends are supportive that she plays *kendang* in a girls' gamelan. Sometimes, however, people try to insult her for it and call playing in a gamelan *kuno*, a term that literally means ancient, though Ayu Eka explained that in this context it is used as a derogatory term analogous to the Indonesian word *jelek*, meaning bad or ugly. She uses the term herself to reclaim the balance of the interactions and, in so doing, presents a case for gamelan as an alternative to paying money for empty entertainment playing with cell phones, which have become a status symbol in Bali:

There are people who say, "Playing gamelan is *kuno*." I tell them, "Using cell phones is what is bad (*kuno*). Tomorrow your cell phone will be out of date (*kuno*), and then you will buy another one and use up all your money. If you play gamelan and dance, you will definitely improve yourself. It is always new and there is nothing boring about it. You do not have to pay anything, and you can even make a little money at it." But sometimes I ask them in return, "Why should we be embarrassed to play gamelan? Tourists from abroad are not embarrassed to pay tens of millions of *rupiah* [thousands of dollars] to play gamelan here, while all your money is used up buying cell phones. It is better to play gamelan! Gamelan can make your mind excellent," I tell them. (Dewa Ayu Eka Putri, personal interview, Pengosekan, Bali, May 1, 2006)

Ayu Eka identifies playing gamelan as more worthwhile, gratifying, and better for the mind than playing with cell phones. She also draws on the international appeal of gamelan. Her replies are strong responses to the threats of global consumerism and the resulting detriment to local cultural practices. Perhaps her statement that gamelan improves one's mind shows how she has indeed taken up Berata's teachings through the lyrics of "Suluh."

CONCLUSION

Children's musical activities are located at the center of current debates about what Balinese identity is and how to best enact, embody, present, and represent it. Teaching gamelan to children is done with the motivation of cultural preservation to support local identity and establish difference from the national majority. Children's gamelans are often supported with the goal of cultural promotion for both local and national purposes to increase tourism through their performances at festivals, competitions, and tourist shows. The activities of these organizations and the experiences of their members exemplify how children, especially girls, must negotiate competing influences of national educational policy and regional cultural policy, national and regional identity, and increasing global capitalism. Despite the constraints and obstacles facing children's gamelans, community-based gamelan music education offers children a supportive learning environment, alternatives to the nationalist ideologies of family and school, and alternative activities to help combat the negative effects of consumerism. Many musicians' identities and self-confidence strengthen because of their involvement with children's gamelans, be it teachers like Alit and Adnyana, who find teaching children a highly rewarding occupation, or children and young women, like Ayu Eka, who find pride and solidarity in their musical experiences with other young female musicians.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am grateful to the children, their families, and their music teachers and the leaders of the *sanggars* mentioned here for sharing their musical lives with me.

NOTES

- 1 Lomax (1976) created his cantometrics project to determine correlations between vocal timbre and style with aspects of cultural and social life of particular populations.
- 2 Tenzer (2000: 86–88, 102–105) discusses the history of these battle-of-the-bands style contests between gamelan ensembles.

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