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# Of Garage Bands and Song-getting: The Musical Development of Young Rock Musicians

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## **Abstract**

This paper explores systems of music transmission, teaching and learning in evidence within the rehearsals of rock bands. Informants were nine musicians in two Seattle rock bands, all white males, ranging in age from fourteen to sixteen. Through interviews and observations of practice sessions, 'song-getting' and 'skill-building' processes were noted. Attention was given to the young musicians' analytical listening behaviours, their evaluative remarks, and the social interactions of the groups' leaders as 'expert' musical models with other members of the group. Early home and school musical influences were examined, and ways in which the school music curriculum might be made more relevant to the needs and interests of young rock musicians are discussed.

## **Introduction**

"Well, [general] music at school is boring because we just sit and listen to stuff. And band goes too slow, 'cause the bulk of the kids don't practice. And I quit my piano lessons 'cause I wasn't getting anywhere--just playing "Feelings" and "Scarborough Fair" over and over again. But I got a guitar at home, and a couple of guys from school and I formed a band this summer. It's working out." (Jeffrey, age fourteen).

**I**n discussions of the content of school music programs, a considerable body of literature in American music education makes reference to the historic Tanglewood Conference of 1967. There in western Massachusetts, an assembly of leaders from education, business, and government met to discuss the values and functions of music and the arts in "post-industrial American society". A recurring theme was the content of school music classes, with agreement by all that "the musical repertory should be expanded to include music of our time in its rich variety, including popular teenage music..." (Choate, 1968, p. 139). In the

nearly three decades since then, a host of essays were delivered to attest to the curricular inclusion of popular music at all levels and in every context. Tanglewood played no small part in bringing the popular music that permeates American society into the schools; its elegant declaration inspired thought and incited action on the subject.

But popular music may not include the 'raw real-ness' of rock music. While simple definitions do not fare well, popular music frequently has been viewed as the umbrella category that may include all types of music EXCEPT art--usually Western European art--music (Hamm, 1982). Popular music may include such disparate genres as ragtime, country-western, broadside ballads, minstrel songs, and show tunes. It should also include nearly all of the musical styles that young people build into their environments through the choices they make in radio stations, tapes and CDs, and MTV programs. Of these, the greatest portion of their preferred musical styles are more directly placed somewhere within the realm of rock music. Whether soft, hard, heavy metal, and at least a dozen other subsets that change with the seasons, the inclusion of rock music in its most current manifestations within the school program is still a controversial subject in some circles. This, despite the consistent statement by students, that 'today's rock music is our music'.

For many young people, rock music is 'power chords', guitar solos, imaginative music, music that's 'true to life', 'intense'. It is more than 'Rock around the Clock', 'Unchained Melody', 'Locomotion', and 'Lean on Me'. It is percussive and rhythmic music. It is also complex sound that consists of resultant tones and overtones, renewed and energised by feedback (Walser, 1993). It is a carrier of meaningful ideas expressed poetically and given emphasis through musical imagery. It is in-

variably more sophisticated than it seems, often with intricate polyrhythms folded into melodic elaborations and embellishments. At times, rock music is musical virtuosity at its best.

Although it is the musical choice of most young people, rock music in its multiple manifestations is the genre that frequently does not receive the attention within the curriculum that it so rightly deserves. Few teachers have much good to say about contemporary rock music, although they themselves were likely to have been attracted to some variation of it in their youth. Rock music is largely a censored music - censored by parents, clergy, professional lobbyists, politicians, principals and teachers. Of those who have ventured to bring rock music into the curriculum, some have admitted to the stripping down of its authenticity: substituting or 'bleeping out' its lyrics, reducing the complexity of its rhythms and melodic ornamentation, keeping the volume down. Rock music that 'makes it' into a school program is thus often antiseptic, a pale imitation of its true colours.

Only a handful of studies exists on the interactions of musicians in rock bands (Bennett, 1980; Coffman, 1972; Gay, 1991). Music educators typically have been concerned with music instruction within school settings, while sociologists interested in interactions among group members have not targeted musical ensembles as groups for their investigation. Music transmission in various cultural contexts has been studied and summarized (Campbell, 1991; Finnegan, 1989; Kingsbury, 1988; Merriam, 1964; Neuman, 1980), but the phenomenon of the rock band has been largely overlooked as a culture and a context for the study of music teaching and learning. An exploration of the interactions and events of young rock musicians may bring an understanding of the musical and social dynamics of this ensemble, while adding to the knowledge base on music transmission in various cultural contexts.

This paper seeks to explore the musical growth of young performers of rock music. Sociomusical aspects of garage bands will be probed, and the personal

perceptions and social structures of group members will be pieced together from interviews, a review of relevant literature, and field notes taken from observations of rehearsals (Sanjak, 1990). Informants were members of two groups of American adolescents that met regularly to make rock music. Teaching and learning, i.e., the transmission of repertoire and skills from one member to the next, will be described, along with the relationship of formal training to "in-group" musical development. Attention will be briefly paid to compositional strategies engaged in by young rock musicians in their song-writing. Finally, implications of the development of garage band musicians will be discussed in light of teaching and learning processes (if not curricular content) within the school music programs.

### **Garage Bands: Two Cases and Their Commonalities**

Rock bands are a distinctive musical world (Becker, 1982), one that is in many ways far removed from the world of school bands, choirs, and orchestras. This world consists of well-traveled pathways (Finnegan, 1989) pursued by young musicians today in garages and basements, as well as by others growing up during an earlier generation - in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Members of rock bands, or groups that aspire to become a rock band, come to play their role from a set of roles within the group, with specific activities and obligations associated with them. They meet regularly on weekends and some evenings, sharing the purpose of making music as a group, and gradually develop conventions that guide their music-making activities.

Of the nine young musicians interviewed and observed in practice sessions in Seattle in the summer of 1994, common characteristics emerged. The young musicians, all white males, ranged in age from fourteen through sixteen, and were students in grades eight, nine, and ten at one senior and two junior high schools within the Seattle public system. The first group consisted of two

eighth and three ninth grade students and the second of one ninth and three tenth grade students; as neither group had settled on a permanent name, references will be made to the 'younger' or 'older' group. Group members appeared to be mostly middle class, and all but two had formally studied musical instruments prior to their assembling in garages and basements that summer.

The boys who assembled in the Seattle groups had known each other from school, or from their neighborhoods. They knew each other's musical interests, and they knew through previous conversations that they shared common preferences and tastes for certain styles of rock music - particularly heavy metal and grunge. That summer, they were gathering to go beyond the point of mere listening. Larry, aged 16, explained their purpose: "We get together to play music. We're learnin' songs, and we're planning on playing school jobs this fall."

As noted by Bennett (1980), "An individual's rock career begins with gaining access to an instrument" (p. 19). Family sponsorship and light employment had allowed the nine young Seattle musicians' entry to a group, in that each had borrowed, bought, or had bought for them, suitable (if temporarily suitable) instruments. The younger group consisted of four guitarists and one drummer; three of the guitars were acoustic, and a fourth was an electric six-string on which bass lines were played. The players admitted that this was not the ideal blend, but that they thought they could get together the proper "equipment" by renting a bass, "pickups", and amps until they earned the amount of more appropriate instruments and amplification. The older group contained guitar, bass guitar, keyboard, and drum set. Their amplification system, while not 'state of the art', allowed for them to produce an acceptable sound quality for the rock music they were learning. In each group, there were two or three members who alternated as singers, and several who provided vocal harmonies. (Members of both groups admitted that the average

price of instruments and a sound system were well beyond their means. At \$US1,500 for an electric guitar or bass, \$US3,000 for a drum set, \$US5,000 or more for a keyboard, and about \$US15,000 for a sound system with microphones, they were aware of the need for considerably more family sponsorship or jobs that could earn them the cost of such equipment.)

Members of the two groups met regularly for sessions lasting between two and five hours. The older group scheduled sessions around the fluctuating work schedules of two of the tenth grade boys who had summer jobs "loading trucks". Still, they managed two to three sessions weekly. The younger group met as much as four times weekly. Although their sessions tended to be longer in duration, the younger group appeared to have less structure within rehearsals. Occasionally, music-making would break down about midway into a session, and conversations about rock groups, and then girlfriends and sports, would turn the remainder of the younger group's rehearsal into more 'social club' than musical group.

The locations for rehearsals of the two groups included both garages and basements of group members. The younger group began in the previous winter to alternate their meetings in each other's basements and even occasionally, 'family rooms' and bedrooms. As Bryan, aged 15, described it,

In our early days, we just needed to listen to the music. We didn't even always have instruments. We needed to get the feel of the pieces, write down the words, figure out the chords.

By late spring, they had settled on one site, a garage attached to the house of one of the members. There were ample plugs for a stereo and the electric six-string guitar and small amplifier. There were no cars in the garage, but typically, chairs, a card table for laying out 'word-sheets' and soft drinks, and a few carpets thrown about for stretching out on the floor. The older group alternated their practice sessions between one member's basement and another's

unattached (but electrically wired) garage. There, too, were a few chairs and benches (in the garage), and tables and shelves used as music stands.

For all members, this was their first rock group experience. They had assembled themselves out of a larger population of young people who listen to rock music, and who dream of being 'on-stage' and 'in-concert'. They had also reached beyond the stage of casual listening and talking about music and musical groups, to the stage of study and analysis of the music and the performance art of rock music. Without guidance from the outside, they were listening carefully in order to be able to copy recorded performances. They were "getting songs" and the skills coincident with performing them, and acting as models for each other's emulation, and as diligent students. More rarely, they were "writing" songs, composing without notation music that fit their rock music sensibilities. While it might be typical for the more serious members to look to a future of repeated re-groupings into stronger and more lasting relationships (Bennett, 1980, p. 27), these young rock musicians were growing musically from their time spent in their first groups, listening and playing "their music".

### **Early Influences: Home, School, and the Media**

Rock musicians, and young aspirants, show similar histories of their earlier musical experiences (Finnegan, 1989; Gay, 1991). Most begin as young children, making music at home with parents and siblings. Many are influenced by family members who play or sing, and then by family friends and neighbors. Tom, age 16, remembered:

When I was a little kid, my dad used to play on his Martin D-28 [guitar] some of the 'oldies-by-goodies', tunes out of the '60s. I knew all the big songs of the Beatles, the Stones, the Animals, and the Who, just from singing along with my dad.

For Alan, aged 15, a drummer, it was the drumset of an older neighbor boy that first brought him into the realm of rock music:

I used to just listen to him play. He'd let me beat his extra sticks together while he played, and I just jumped around, dancing. Later, he gave me lessons.

The media plays a significant role in the musical enculturation of young people. Rock music is a constant sound that ripples from stereos, radios, and TVs and into the impressionable ears of group members, from their earliest memories onward. Some band members watched MTV so regularly and for so long, that they were able to give season-by-season accounts of changes in musical groups, genres, and programming. Jeffrey remarked that

The music videos have really changed with the times. When I was little, they were pretty boring, just the bands standing there, playing. Now, there are stories to tell, with shots shifting from group members playing instruments to playing characters in the stories. Plus, the music is way beyond punk, with a lot more sound variety.

Several band members noted that they choose songs to play that have "good videos connected to them". Terry, aged 14, qualified the music the younger group selects:

We sure don't do rap, or that older stuff from Van Halen or Aerosmith (groups). The music we play is the current music coming from groups like Nirvana that speak our language. And we can get that from KISW (a radio station).

While schools may not foster rock music within the curriculum, they nonetheless provide prospective rock musicians with early musical training. Six of the nine young musicians started their "applied music lessons" through their school's band programs. They played wind instruments (three on saxophone, and one each on trumpet, trombone, and clarinet) since the fourth grade, and had played three or more years in their elementary school and junior high school bands. Two of this group had also taken piano lessons in their home, while the keyboard player in the older group studied since he was eight with a teacher whose studio was located in a local music store.

School music instruction had provided basic skills in reading music and, to a lesser extent, writing music (although none were reading nor writing standard musical notation in the bands they had assembled). They viewed their general music classes, which all remembered from their kindergarten or first grade years, as consisting of content and activities remote from their current musical needs and interests. Nathan, age 16, recalled: "...singing, yeah, mostly singing folk songs--that's what we did in elementary school." He added, "We could've been learning guitar, but then, the teacher didn't play." Most viewed listening lessons and movement activities as "kidstuff", with no relationship to the listening they were doing as members of their groups.

By the time of the interviews, all had "quit" their school bands, three had begun to study guitar through formal arrangements, and both drummers were taking lessons from private teachers. For some, their decision to drop band from their school schedules had to do with the slow pace of the rehearsals or the "simple, easy music" of the bands' repertoire. Most, however, did not explain their reasons for quitting beyond noting their boredom at rehearsals, their disinterest in the concert (or marching) band sound, and the greater meaning of rock music to them.

The early musical influences were varied, and yet the patterns of family, media, and school were undeniable. The formation of their own rock groups, however, brought to them the most important musical experiences they could name. With their instruments in hand, and friends around them with similar taste in music, most were convinced that they were coming into new musical territories that had little to do with their earlier training.

### **Transmission: Skill-Building and Song-Getting**

In an analysis of heavy metal music, Walser (1993) was struck by parallels between rock musicians and classical 'conservatory' musicians. He noted similari-

ties in age, economic status, and extent of practice:

...musicians in their late teens and early twenties, assembled for long hours of rigorous practice. There is a parallel sense of isolation for the sake of musical craft and creativity... And like conservatory students, many of these heavy metal musicians take private lessons, study music theory, and practice scales and exercises for hours every day.... (and) few will ever make enough money to compensate them for the thousands of hours they have practiced and rehearsed. (p. ix)

The members of the rock groups described here were at earlier stages of their growth as musicians, and perhaps a bit less serious in their intent, but their commitment to skill-building and song-getting was nonetheless notable. The rehearsals, taken collectively, provided the schooling for the development of the young musicians' playing ability--both individually and as an ensemble. As Gay (1991) noted, rock music is a "do it yourself" form of music, and the pathway to becoming a rock musician is the learning experience one gains through membership in a series of rock bands (p. 291).

The function of practice sessions is to "get" or learn songs that fit the ensemble's cohesive sound, to build playing skills, and to develop a repertoire that will last the duration of a playing gig--at least two hours of musical material. "Song-getting" is the knowledge of how to "get" a song from a recording (Bennett, 1980. p. 132). To get is to copy a song, to learn its melody and words, chordal progressions (and strumming rhythms), the drums' rhythmic accompaniment, the formal organization of sections (introduction, bridge, verses and chorus, and closing), lead guitar "riffs", and all of the stylistic nuances identified with the recorded song.

Much of the listening for song-getting occurs independently and prior to rehearsal, with group members sitting alone in their homes, playing the CD or tape repeatedly. This independent listening is often done with guitar or mallets in hand. Mark, aged 15, explained that "I work on the chords while I listen. The chance is good that it's one of about three or four chords that I know. But I'm

not always in the right key...." Alan sits on his bed with his mallets and "...plays along with the music". Keyboardist Jimm, aged 15, remarked that "I write the words to the song while I listen, and then I figure the chords out at the piano". Importantly, the initial song-getting is a private interaction of the individual with his recordings, operating at his own speed of learning.

Members often arrived to the group practice sessions with newer songs at least partially learned. In the rehearsal space, drumsets for both groups, and the keyboard and amps for the older group, usually remained in the garage (or basement). Beginning with the tuning of the guitars, an array of sonic and visual experiences were blended into the sessions. In both groups, a guitarist (in the older group, the lead guitarist) tended to function as leader. In between the sounds of strummed chords, short runs on guitar (and keyboard), and drums and cymbals crashing, the group leader would typically call out the order of old songs to be practiced, and new songs to be learned. The leader often printed the list of song titles in large letters and then taped it to the wall.

During the summer of 1994, members in the two groups estimated their repertoire of learned songs to be between four and seven. Their explanation for how they learned these songs emphasized the many repetitions or "run-throughs" each one required. Bryan noted that

...for a song to sound the way it does on the CD, it might take us forty run-throughs, over three or four sessions. That's about six or seven hours. And then we have to play it every time we get together so that we don't forget it.

At least a few of the old songs were typically played at a rehearsal before the group attempted a new song. These old songs appeared to warm up the musicians, to provide group and musical cohesion, and to spur them to their learning of additional songs.

New songs are new to the ensemble's performance as a whole, although individuals bring to practice at least a few playable parts. Guitarists may know

the chords and a few 'licks' or melodic figures that characterize the piece, drummers have a sense of some of the rhythmic patterns, and one or more members may have prepared word-sheets from repeated listenings. When the song title is announced, some discussion is initiated on how the song is structured. Large sections of the piece are identified, such as verse, chorus, and bridge. Lyrics serve as guideposts for referring to song parts ("after 'I was standing in the cold'"; "at the part that begins 'going down the road'"). Keys and chord progressions are settled on, partly verbally and partly through demonstration. Musical means of communicating musical sounds is a common technique. As the guitar is capable of demonstrating not only chords but also rhythms and 'lead' melodic phrases, it is a primary tool of 'instruction'.

At least one guitarist who knows the chords counts off, and the first run-through begins. He functions as musical leader for that particular song, or as the more "expert" player to whom others will give their attention. He will keep the sound going, usually singing as he plays. Others will 'play along', and if they have not figured out the chords as yet, or have figured the progression in a different key, then musical, verbal, and visual cues are important. The song's musical leader often calls out chord names; when he sings, other guitarists watch him while getting the chords and rhythms. The drummer follows the tempo, if not the rhythmic patterns, of the musical leader.

In this process of knowledge construction appropos learning a new song, the more expert player transmits what he knows to the less expert players. A phenomenon occurs relevant to Lev Vygotsky's view of expert-novice interactions during instruction (1978), in which the expert prompts the novice to achieve higher levels of skill development. Vygotsky explained it as the Zone of Proximal Development, or

...the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem

solving under adult guidance or *in collaboration with more capable peers* (1978, p. 86).

Yet, there is no sense among the players that the musical leader is precisely a teacher, or that a studio-style 'face-to-face pedagogy' is necessary in learning the song. Any gap between the competence of the musical leader of a new song and the less expert players seems manageable, since the others are already familiar with the song through extensive listening and private practice. Still, the musical leader is the guide who appears to draw the others toward greater musical accuracy. As he performs the song, he models the chords, melodies, and rhythms, and brings shape to the music.

Following a first run-through, it was typical for group members to discuss the song by its components, and to listen to the recording in order to confirm their impressions. As they discussed, they also played or sang:

Nathan: (musical leader) First of all, it's way too fast.

Alan: Yeah, let's slow it down, like (ALAN PLAYS AND SINGS).

Larry: Doesn't the bridge come too soon? And it goes between G and A (LARRY PLAYS).

Alan: Let's listen to it. (ALAN PLAYS THE CD)

Nathan: See. The G and A go back and forth, even, like rocking. Let's do it. 1-2-3-4. (THE GROUP PLAYS THE BRIDGE)

Throughout the sessions, learning appeared to be tied to an immersion process by which group members continued to watch and listen to the musical leader as they played (and sang) through repeated performances of the new song. Each attempt was followed by their critical remarks of how to match their performance more closely to the recording; these remarks were interspersed with musical sound-bites that clarify their meaning. The drummer and bass player functioned as musical unit, talking together about getting "the bottom" and "the flow". In the older group, the keyboard player continued to experiment with sound qualities that would both complement the guitar and match the

recording. After five or six repetitions, when the song began to "gell", the group often fell into playing a familiar piece to give a "break" to the intensity of learning a new song.

The acquisition of a song by the ensemble was often a rigorous process. Group members showed themselves to be intensely involved in building their skills and repertoire. While all members were committed to learning a new piece, the musical leader (who was sometimes but not always the leader of the group) functioned as the musical model. Through his demonstration and occasional verbal remarks, he facilitated the transmission of the song from the recording to the live performance by the band.

### **Collective Composition: Writing Original Material**

Several members of the older group were intent on working up "original material". As Larry noted, "the original material is what defines a group. Once we start getting gigs, we will need to bring in our own material if we want to be more than a 'copy band'". Composition was also referred to as "writing songs" - a process that fits somewhere between orality and literacy, and between an individual and personal activity and a collective group procedure.

The guitarist and keyboard player claimed to "write" their songs at home, and to bring them to practice when they were, according to Tom, "...ready for group input". He described the literate component of songwriting as consisting of "putting down words, and the chords above them". Oral practices were prevalent, however, in that no melody was ever written, nor any other accompaniment parts. While at least seven of the group members could read music, the song-sheets showed only words and the letter names of chords.

In one instance of collective composition, the older band's guitarist presented an original song to the group by singing and accompanying himself on the guitar or keyboard. As in the acquisition of a new song, other players watched and listened, and then began to play along. At

no time did the songwriter dictate what parts group members would play. Instead, it was left to players to experiment with and to refine their parts over the course of repeated playings.

Not surprisingly, the original song was replete with many of the musical conventions of pieces they listen to and play. Players know an extensive repertoire of formulas, or standard patterns, which they receive aurally and develop kinesthetically. A short chord pattern, a melodic figure, or a bass line that settles comfortably in the kinesthetic memory were especially likely to be retrieved and utilized in the band's process of creating an original piece.

Song-writing was rare among the activities of the two bands. Group members were mostly at earlier stages of their musical development, and focused on song-getting and skill-building activities. Contrary to Larry's view, attaining the level of a "copy-band" - with the ability to sound like the recording - was the noble goal of most of the young musicians. Composition was at least one step beyond that goal.

### **Implications: Teaching and Transmission**

The musical development of young people under the tutelage of musician-educators in school programs is well-documented. Less known is the nature of their musical progress beyond formal instruction, and particularly, how they develop as performers of their preferred music. The observations presented herein support the premise that for some adolescents, musical learning is furthered through the rigorous practice sessions of emergent rock bands.

The song-getting and skill-building processes of young rock musicians occur both independently among the young musicians, in the privacy of their own homes, and within the group practice sessions. Concentrated, analytical listening and repeated trials to "play the song like the recording" give structure to the rehearsals. Critical to this transmission and acquisition process is the players' immersion within the song; they listen and play

repeatedly until they "get it". Their own evaluative remarks and their attention to the stylistic details of the song they attempt to copy are marks of their increasing musical maturity.

Little of the musical learning that occurs within the context of garage band rehearsals is vague and without structure. For each new song targeted for learning, a musical leader functions as "expert", principal "on-site transmitter", and model, leading the group through their acquisition of the various melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic components of the song. He knows the chords, and can play the melodic figures that characterize the piece. As is the case in the interaction of teacher with students, the musical leader helps his fellow band members reduce the gap between their actual and potential levels of skill development in the performance of a given song. His modeling and constructive remarks shape the song toward its intended sound.

What possible meaning can these observations hold for music educators in school settings? Do we open the curriculum to the inclusion of 'rock music appreciation' courses? This is probably not necessary, as rock music is already widely accepted. Further, the genre demands the listener's thorough engagement rather than the passive listening associated with appreciation courses. Rock music may be less an academic discipline, to be dissected and dulled by discussion of its features, than it is intended (and rightfully interpreted by its young listeners) to be a visceral experience. It may be best experienced through bodily movement and dance, or by 'musicking', i.e., performing the music.

Do we consider the rock band as a chamber ensemble worthy of our coaching? Perhaps, although the contextualization of rock music in its rehearsal and performance spaces is closely wedded to its sound; rock music in a school band room may be blatantly 'out of context'. As well, rock music has historically contained within it an element of rebellion, and as such, has been intended to be heard and performed by adolescents and 'twentysomethings' beyond the reach of par-

ents, teachers, and other adults. THEIR music surrounds them and provides them with sonic boundaries that block out the adult world. Further, as many teachers are five, ten, or more years away from the rapidly developed repertoire of today's rock music, few are in touch with rock music as it is currently conceived. Uninformed teachers might not make convincing coaches.

The lesson to be gained from a glance at garage bands may be more related to an understanding of the nature of music learning than to the matter of curricular development. Young rock musicians, most of whom receive training through the lessons and ensemble experiences of school music programs, seek to learn the performance skills of their preferred music sometime in early adolescence. Contrary to what it may seem, there may well be a considerable relationship between aural skills honed in school and those utilized in copying a song. As well, while each instrument has its particular performance techniques, the disciplined process of developing those techniques are directly transferable--from clarinet to guitar, and from trombone to bass guitar. Curricular attempts at ear-training and applied performance techniques are likely links to the development of young rock musicians.

The systematic study of garage bands, and the processes by which skills and repertoire are learned, may shed further light on the nature of musical development as both a psychological and a socially interactive process. The bulk of research in music education has dealt with school music instruction, with the heaviest concentration given to children in the primary grades. A closer look at musical interests and music-making among secondary school students, both in school and on the outside, is long overdue. The results of such probing may be a more balanced view of musical development from early childhood through adulthood, and one

that spans the spectrum from enculturation through the most formal of instructional venues.

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