MUSICAL PARTICIPATION BY BOYS
The role of gender in the choice of musical activities by males
in Australian schools

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This thesis seeks to examine the relationship between gender and musical participation by boys. The problem of males’ non-participation in certain musical activities has been the subject of research for many years. This thesis considers some of the issues in relation to this phenomenon. The notion of gender is discussed. Historical and contemporary perspectives in stereotyping are investigated to determine the extent of the problem, with a view to enhancing the experience of boys in musical endeavours. There are no studies of this nature in existence in Australia and the existing research from other western cultures, while providing some basis, cannot be directly applied to this setting. Furthermore, existing studies have not brought about significant change in the gender order in music education. This project seeks to address these shortcomings.

Masculinity in Australia is examined, with particular emphasis on the effects of hegemonic masculinity on those who do not fit this stereotype. Issues of bullying, depression and suicide are addressed. Empirical and sociological studies are re-examined in the light of more recent thought on the subject, particularly with regard to the possible causes of non-participation in singing and playing of certain instruments.

The extent to which stereotyping of musical activities exists in Australian schools is reviewed through a series of studies of participation and literature. A number of subjects are interviewed to discover some of the reasons behind the choice of particular instruments.

The thesis concludes with some perspectives arising from recent case studies of schools that have, to some extent, overcome some of the gender issues raised in earlier discussion. Constructs of masculinity and femininity effect musical participation in Australian schools and the extent of this effect is examined in this thesis.
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DECLARATION

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree of diploma at any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

PREAMBLE

This thesis seeks to investigate gender-related reasons for the non-participation of boys in certain musical activities. The impetus for this work was born of experiences in music programs in schools, particularly boys’ schools. It became apparent to the author that there were certain instruments that boys didn’t play. In discussion with colleagues, similar experiences in other schools came to light. This consequently led to the question of why each sex is restricted in relation to its involvement in certain activities.

How do constructs of masculinity and femininity impact on boys’ musical education in Australia? This central question invites a series of further questions that will be critical to the development of the thesis:

- What is masculinity in Australia?
- To what extent is masculinity and femininity constructed?
- How are gender roles acted out in the educational environment?
- What is the current nature of boys’ musical participation?
- What does femininity have to do with musical participation by boys?
- How has the stereotyping of musical behaviours occurred?
- What are the effects of gendered musical experiences?
- How can the gendering of musical experiences be managed?
- What can be achieved to enhance musical experiences for boys?

The study examines the formation of gender, weighing up the relevant biological, psychological and socio-cultural factors and adopting the interdisciplinary model of Horrocks (1995). This model states that gender is a node point for many activities and beliefs: political, psychological and symbolic. As with other studies into social interactions, there is a need for the approach to include an understanding of culture, the concept of masculinity within culture and the role of music within Australian society. The interdisciplinary approach to the project demands that a number of
methodologies and analytical frameworks are employed to investigate the central thesis.

The thesis falls into two parts. The first four chapters provide the history, background and framework for the latter four chapters, in which data from the fieldwork is analysed. Basow (1992) and Hall (1990) established that an understanding of context is an important part of the study of gender. Part of the structure of the research has been to use history, detailed chronologically to provide a sense of context.¹

A broad overview of gender issues in a broad sense takes place in Chapter 1. In establishing the nature and extent of the construction of gender, essentialist and constructionist arguments are examined with a focus on the interaction of biology and construction, as espoused by Fausto-Sterling (1995).

An outline of issues related to masculinity takes place in Chapter 2. Chapter 2 also discusses masculinity in Australia and the notion of “mateship.” The works of Connell (1995) and Kimmel and Messner (1995) are significant in contributing to the historical perspective of masculinity. Connell’s perceptions in relation to the coexistence of several masculinities, including hegemonic masculinity, are vital to the argument. Issues of masculinity politics, as espoused by Lingard and Douglas (1999) assist in defining the researcher’s standpoint within politics, as do the post-feminist views of Kipnis (1995), Benjamin (1995) and Horrocks (1995). The notion of mateship, a most important part of masculinity in Australia, draws on the works of Colling (1992) and Phillips (2001). The Fatal Shore (Hughes 1987) also provides an historical account of this phenomenon. Two further contributors to construction of masculinity are investigated in Chapter 2. The first of these is bullying, particularly homophobic bullying as outlined by Rigby (1996) and Plummer (1999). The work of Plummer (1999, 2000) will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. Some of his methods were employed by the author in fieldwork discussed in Chapter 6. The second major constructor of masculinity to be discussed is sport. Colling’s (1992) and Plummer’s (2000) approaches are significant in this discussion.

¹ This has its foundation in the field of clinical psychology and is based in the work of Plummer (1999)
Chapter 3 examines the nature of masculinities in the school context. Issues of sex-stereotyping and other gender concepts are discussed. There is a focus on the approach of teachers and students to gender and a reflection on subject choice, participation and achievement. The broad function of music education is also included in this general discussion. The purpose of Chapter 3 is to place into context the earlier discussions on gender and masculinity and to provide the framework for the discussion of stereotyping in the subsequent chapters.

A body of work in the area of the stereotyping of attitudes to certain musical instruments, dating from the late 1970s, already exists. These were mostly empirical works that focussed on aspects of difference in other parts of the world. Chapter 4 is a chronological account of some of the major research findings in stereotyping and gender in relation to musical participation by boys. The sex-stereotyping of musical instruments (as investigated by Abeles and Porter 1978; Griswold and Chroback 1981; Delzell and Leppla 1992; Fortney, Boyle and Carbo 1993 and others) is discussed at length, as the methods of these researchers are employed in Chapter 5. The gendered nature of music in the educational environment as studied by Koza (1993, 1994), Green (1997), Hanley (1998) and Adler (2001) is also reviewed. The last part of Chapter 4 reflects on the general issues arising from the first part of the thesis.

In the second part of the thesis, Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present and analyse data from the fieldwork. Chapter 5 replicates some of the work of other researchers, with two purposes: to discover the extent to which stereotypes found in other parts of the world are evident in Australia and to provide some longitudinal data in the field. A range of surveys was conducted. Some additional fieldwork designed by the author was also conducted in order to follow up on earlier findings. This is also reported upon in Chapter 5.

To examine the causes of stereotyping, some of the surveys questioned teachers and students regarding the reasons behind their choice of instrument. While responses focussed primarily on issues such as instrument size and sound, other issues were involved. For some musical instruments, choice was related to issues of masculinity
and femininity both in society in general and in schools. The existence of these issues provided the basis for the case studies of Chapter 6.

A series of interviews with male subjects in relation to their musical experiences was conducted. Subjects were invited to reflect on their experiences of music at school. Chapter 6 reports on these interviews. Chapter 7 reports on observations of schools focussing on best practice in the management of issues of masculinity, including the bullying of music students. Each chapter concludes with a summary and reflection. The final chapter draws together these findings and offers suggestions for further research.

**METHODOLOGY**

As stated earlier, a number of different methods has been employed in this research. This is a common feature of many gender studies in music education, though few have employed the technique with same level of comprehensiveness as this project. The framework for the research drew on the Gender Research in Music Education (GRIME) research agenda. GRIME is an international organisation involved in music education involving gender issues and a special research interest group (SRIG) of MENC: The National Association for Music Education (USA). The research agenda for GRIME (Gender Research in Music Education Website) incorporates a range of areas for investigation and states:

> Gender research presents unique methodological issues because gender is produced from social interactions that affect music teaching-learning process. It requires researchers to study interactions and therefore negotiate simultaneously with contextual, historical and culturally bound truths, a paradigm shift that makes anomalies disregarded by ratio-scientific research a central concern.

The unique methodological issues include providing a context for the research through the historical and cultural matters presented in the first part of the thesis. This is followed by quantitative and qualitative research as presented in the second part of the thesis. Significant issues raised by GRIME to be pursued by the author include:

- A continued monitoring of sex-stereotyping of instruments.
- How the profession of music education constructs gender expectations for males and females.
• What it means to be male in a feminine discipline.
• Sex equity issues concerning ensemble practices and policies.
• How schools support hierarchical gender systems.

While each of these issues is of great consequence for the author, few males have worked extensively in the field. This has relevance for the third point above.

Fieldwork was constructed to complement and extend the existent body of research. This incorporated examining topics raised in general gender issues and in relation to music. One of the purposes of the research was to add an Australian perspective to pre-existing knowledge. To simply apply findings from United Kingdom, United States and Canada to the Australian situation would deny the importance of variables crucial to the study of gender; particularly the function situational factors have in constructing gender. Further, the research endeavoured to provide a longitudinal perspective on gender issues in music by using elements of earlier studies. Finally, the fieldwork aimed to provide new perceptions of the issues related to boys’ participation in musical activities.

In seeking to fulfil these goals, field studies took place in three phases:

Phase 1: The administration of surveys to establish the extent to which stereotypes exist through
• The choice of musical instruments of primary and secondary school students (Studies 1, 3 and 5).
• Opinions of tertiary students in respect of masculine and feminine attributes associated with certain instruments (Study 2).
• Participation by secondary students in ensembles (Study 4).
• Common attitudes of secondary school students in respect of instrument selection (Study 3).

Phase 2: Case studies of adult males who reflected on past experiences of music.
Phase 3: A review of best practice as evidenced in communities, schools and individuals to examine how the effects of musical choices could be managed.

The methods used in Phase 1 to examine the nature of stereotyping are based on the GRIME agenda and on a number of earlier researchers. In relation to the GRIME agenda, Phase 1 focuses on sex stereotyping of instruments and ensemble participation. Following a literature review, replication of the work of Abeles and Porter (1978), Griswold and Chroback (1981), Delzell and Leplla (1992) and Fortney, Boyle and Carbo (1993) was considered most appropriate for this phase. These particular projects were chosen partly because of their place in the research area and partly for their methods. For example, Abeles and Porter were chosen because they were the first researchers in the field of stereotyping of musical instruments. Longitudinal data could be correlated between their work and the current project. As the work of these researchers is reviewed extensively in Chapter 4, the exact methodology to be employed in Phase 1 will be discussed at the beginning of Chapter 5.

The methods employed in Phases 2 and 3 of the research draw on three main sources:

- The phenomenological approach of Conway (2000).
- The commonsense approach employed by Green (1997).

Unlike the quantitative studies of Phase 1, elements of these methods underpin aspects of the research to be discussed in the first part of the thesis. Each of them will be discussed in some detail here and referred to again in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

A phenomenological investigation of gender and instrument choice conducted by Conway (2000) explores factors for the existence of stereotyping in instrumental music. She draws on Patton (1990) for her methodological base describing the connection between gender and musical choice as a phenomenon. Patton (1990, p.69) states that “phenomenological enquiry focuses on the question: ‘what is the structure and essence of experience of this phenomenon for these people?’” Conway (2000, p.3) interprets this in the statement in this way: “[it is a] focus on what people
[high school instrumental music students] experience [regarding gender and instrument choice] and how they interpret the world [as reflected in individual interviews].” She also raises the issue (as the does the current research) that there may be implications regarding fewer musical opportunities for boys as well as girls. Much research has focussed on opportunities for girls and has come from a feminist perspective, according to Conway. Adler (2001) concurs with this view. The post-feminist approach of Kipnis (1995), Benjamin (1995) and Horrocks (1995) mentioned briefly earlier appears to have some merit in the desire of this research to concentrate on the needs of boys. This will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter, in which masculinity politics are discussed in detail.

Conway (2000, p.3) advocates the use of the interview as part of her research design: “An interview methodological design was chosen because I believe it is the best tool for exploring the gender and musical instrument choice of these high school students.” She quotes Seidman (1991, p.5) in saying “If the researcher is interested in what it is like for students to be in the classroom, what their experience is, and what meaning they make of that experience, then it seems to me that interviewing, in most cases may be the best avenue of inquiry.”

Interviewing has been used in the humanities and social sciences as a research tool for many years and has a significant body of literature to support its use. Glasser and Strauss (1967) formulated the clinical interview, making it a research tool. In The Discovery of Grounded Theory they established a rationale for collecting qualitative data from a relatively small number of subjects. This method provides a useful basis for discovering new phenomenon (as described by Conway 2000) and developing new theories. The way in which Plummer (1999) used Grounded Theory in his study into aspects of homophobia has been used as a model in this research.

Layder (1993), in New Strategies in Social Research expands on Grounded Theory and developed a research map that could include documents, interviews and observation. Each of these aspects of the research map has been employed. Layder’s research map includes five analytical levels, each becoming broader in its scope: self, situated activity, social settings, macrocontexts and historical dimensions. Each of these five levels has been considered in the overall research structure. Where
Plummer (1999) used Layder’s model in this form, the current research structure inverts it by gradually narrowing the focus: Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4 are concerned with social settings, macrocontexts and historical dimensions that lay the foundations for the later inquiry. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 focus more on self and situated activity through interviews and observations. The reason for this inversion is to enable the early chapters of the thesis to set the historical and cultural perspectives while the later chapters focus on fieldwork and applications for practice.

As this research concerns processes and meanings, the interview satisfies most of the methodological needs of the project in this phase. A history of the subject’s experiences in music provides a developmental perspective, at the same time enabling the researcher to identify the social process through which those musical experiences were created. The ultimate aim is to construct more satisfactory explanations and solutions to further enhance the musical experiences of males and females. By taking a “history” of musical experiences, a chronological perspective that is less inclined to bias the subject’s responses could be achieved. It is acknowledged that interview data can be influenced by project design and interview technique. Mechanisms to ensure the integrity of the data include the use of email (which makes the raw data less open to intrusion by the researcher), peer review mechanisms and transparency of the analytical process. For example, detailed quotes are included in the body of the thesis to illustrate relevant arguments.

A further way in which the validity of data is ensured is to relate the findings to existing theory and literature. This can appear to be repetitious, but is it is an integral and deliberate part of the research design. The longitudinal and interdisciplinary aspects of the project have been outlined earlier. The links between research findings in other disciplines, in music education and in the specific studies of stereotyping and gender in relation to musical experiences are essential to the central arguments.

It is recognised that to some extent, validity of data can also rest with the credibility of the researcher. As a practising music educator, with experience in teaching students from preschool to tertiary levels in state and private institutions, the researcher brought a considerable amount of sensitivity to the subject. Almost ten years have been spent working almost exclusively with boys, but the experience in
mixed-sex settings is equally relevant. Strauss and Corbin (1990) found that theoretical sensitivity of this nature could assist the researcher with issues of validity. The need for the research grew out of experience and it is anticipated the findings will be offered for implementation into practice in the classroom. This perspective also represents one of the limits of the research: the views expressed are from the perspective of a music educator: the author is not a sociologist, counsellor, psychologist or health professional.

Data analysis triangulation is also seen as a significant means of insuring the trustworthiness of data. Raw data for all phases of the research was presented to colleagues in formal and informal settings to ensure its validity. In all, four colleagues provided feedback on the data. After considering their responses, the researcher proceeded to continue analysing data.

The application of GRIME’s research agenda in Green’s (1997) *Music Gender Education* makes it an ideal reference point for a study of this nature. Green’s approach was to allow students and teachers to speak in commonsense ways about music and gender. The notion of commonsense can also be found in Hanley (1998) who replicated some of Green’s study. White and White (2001), whose work was in relation to training the male voice, also refer to the notion of commonsense. An important aspect of the project is that it examines and contributes to the literature. In contributing to the literature, it is intentionally taking the observations of participants (Chapters 5 and 6) and practitioners (Chapter 7), placing them in context and feeding them back to the music education community. The use of commonsense in research design and implementation has its foundations in Green and others but more importantly makes the work pertinent and accessible for music educators in the field. A more esoteric approach may appear to be more academically rigorous at the risk of being less palatable to the ultimate intended audience.

The three methodological approaches for Phases 2 and 3 have been used to complement each other. The phenomenological view of Conway along with Green’s commonsense approach in talking about music are fused with Plummer’s Grounded Theory applications in relation to homophobia to provide a framework for this phase of the research.
The research is limited to the experience of boys in terms of musical participation. Many other issues have also arisen throughout the discussion, but at all times this was the primary focus. Recent research into the particular needs of boys has been incorporated. There is no suggestion that girls do not have similar problems in relation to musical participation but it is not the purpose of this research to examine those issues.

Definitions and Contexts

Researchers are generally required to provide definitions and contexts related to their field of study. Fowler and Fowler (1964) suggest that a definition can be described as stating the precise nature of a thing or the meaning of a word. Correspondingly, to delimit is to state precisely what something does not intend to do, or to find the boundary of it. This boundary permits a researcher to present what a term “is” and what it “isn’t” (Stronach 1996). The notion of what something “isn’t” is of particular relevance in the discussion in relation to definitions of masculinity and femininity as it seeks to establish that femininity “is” described as everything masculinity “is not.”

The definitions of sex, gender and other relevant terms have been given in a glossary for easy reference throughout this work. Many of these definitions will be outlined here for clarity before proceeding to the role of gender in society.

In the context of this research, the term “sex” is used as a biological term that describes the presence particular chromosomes: XX chromosomes for females and XY chromosomes for males. “Sex differences” refers to research that assesses the nature and extent of psychological differences between the sexes while “sex roles” refers to the ways in which women and men are expected to behave. These roles are typically interactional and imply reciprocity. “Sexuality” is used in the context of sexual preference (or orientation) and is assessed on a continuum from completely heterosexual to completely homosexual. “Sex discrimination” will be referred to as the treatment of someone (favourably or unfavourably) on the basis of sex.
“Gender” is used as a broader term used to describe the social significance of sex. The terms femininity and masculinity will be discussed in much greater detail later in this thesis. They are essentially used to refer to the social and cultural expectations attached to being a woman or man including thinking, behaviour, aspirations and appearance.

There are a number complexities involved in research of this nature. One concerns the over-emphasis of small differences. This will be discussed as part of this chapter. Another complexity is the question of elusiveness, fluidity and complex interrelationships of biological sex, gender and sexuality. These will be discussed in more detail through the next chapter.

The Gender Research in Music Education organisation (GRIME) referred to earlier advocates the employment of three types of standpoint to assist in studying these interactions: hermeneutics, critical theory and standpoint epistemology. Of these, the current work has been largely in the area of critical theory.

Critical theorists have argued against the exclusive use of the scientific model for social inquiry. Criticism refers to the positive act of detecting and unmasking, or exposing existing forms of beliefs that restrict or limit human freedom . . . the positivists' goal is to predict and control, the hermeneutics' is to understand, and the critical theorists' approach is to emancipate—that is, to uncover aspects of society, especially ideologies, that maintain the status quo by restricting or limiting different groups' access to the means of gaining knowledge (Nielson 1990, p.9).

Because critical theory emphasizes ideology as organizing factors for the world, it rejects the idea that "objective" knowledge can ever exist. Proponents argue that there is never a neutral or disinterested position because everyone and every group is located socially and historically. Furthermore, this context inevitably influences the interpretation of social interactions and the production of knowledge. To the critical theorist, all knowledge is socially constructed. Research based on critical theory can produce multiple and contradictory versions of the world, which is sometimes dismissed as relativism. Particularly in light of the power relations ² surrounding

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² The work of Foucault (1978) in this regard is discussed in the following section.
gender constructions, struggling with multiple interpretations of the world may create a way of escaping dominant (gender oppressive) ideologies in music education research.

THE ROLE OF GENDER IN SOCIETY

White (1989, p.17) states, “Of all the things you might remember about someone, when did you ever forget what sex someone was, even after the most fleeting encounter?” From the moment of birth (“It’s a boy” or “it’s a girl”) gender takes on an important role in life. The significance of these words, says Doyle (1995, p.2) is in the “restrictions they set, the privileges they grant and they expectations they lay down.” While we can see the biological sex of an individual, we don’t always understand the ways in which gender are enacted.3

From the moment of this biological classification, Block (1978) insists that children are treated differently. Gender differentiation4 begins almost immediately for most children in simple but strong statements. An example of this is colour-coded clothing for babies. This differentiation continues as children reach points at which talents and traits are assessed. Differential treatment of these characteristics often takes place based on the sex of the child.

One could argue that in an effectively organized society, each child would be examined to identify his or her potential for the development of socially valued talents and traits. This would be followed by the cultivation of these characteristics through both formal and informal educational processes with the eventual utilization of these talents for the betterment of society and the well being of the individual. Williams (1982) suggests that this is rarely the case due to a variety of reasons, one of which is gender.

The way in which gender prevents the cultivation of talents is a vexing issue. It is associated with the notions of representation, ideology, identity and discourse. Representation, says Buchbinder (1998), constructs our models of being-in-society

3 Gender in this context is defined as the social meanings that are often attached to biological sex.
4 Gender differentiation is considered to be the exaggeration or creation of differences where no differences exist.
that invite us to desire and imitate those models which society and ideology approve at the same time warning us against other possibilities. These can also be referred to as discourses (Gee 1996). In terms of gender, representation shows us ourselves and how we ought to be and how not to be. Representation, in the lay world, assumes a close correspondence between the representation and the thing being symbolized. The connection between anatomical sex and gender seems commonsense. It also underlies the concept of sex role. “Sex role” was defined by Parsons and Bales (1956) who describe males as “instrumental,” meaning aggressive, competitive and rational while females were “expressive” that is nurturing, gentle, emotional and non-ambitious. The sex role theory has found support in popular writing on gender, particularly in the mythopoetic men’s movement that is diametrically opposed to the profeminist and post-feminist movements. These approaches to masculinity will be discussed in the next chapter.

Representation is bound up in a culture’s ideology. It could be argued that ideology “theory” began with Marx. Ideology, according to Marxist social theorists describes the power relationship among social classes. In order to be successful, ideology should make itself invisible, so it can sustain the existing class structure and power relations undisturbed. The dominant class usually preserves ideology by establishing and maintaining belief systems and practices that seem inevitable. This is often done subconsciously. The products of culture – works of art and social institutions - are produced within and by ideology. It is their task to validate and articulate the culture’s ideology. This research seeks to uncover some of the invisible ideologies and related (if subconscious) practices.

An identity is allocated within an ideology – individuals find a place in the social structure. Adler (2001, p.1)5 refers to the notion of identity capital. “Identity capital” he says, “refers to an individual’s purposeful effort in activities that highlight socially desirable traits, and avoidance of activities that might highlight socially undesirable traits.” He further points out that participation in gender-incongruent activities is socially punished. This often occurs through the loss of self-esteem, social-esteem, power or social exclusion. It may even be enforced through verbal or physical means.

5 Adler has produced the most recent work in the areas of engagement of boys in singing, some of which is yet to be published.
Unks (1995) concurs, finding that boys observe standards of behaviour and avoid “opposite gender” activities to circumvent verbal and physical violence including the use of homophobic labels.

According to Althusser (1984), individuals become ideological “subjects.” He calls this a state of being always-already in ideology, since it precedes individuals and will always interpellate them. Ideology is not always the same: it can change across time and culture, within a lifespan and between individuals. When the products of culture are interpreted, it is done in the knowledge that the ideology in which the creator created it may have changed: there is a need to be aware of possible ideological anachronisms being imposed as a result of this change.

Althusser’s theory of ideology includes the idea of interpellation. Interpellation is embedded in a larger hypothesis about state apparatuses i.e. ideological state apparatuses and repressive state apparatuses. Ideological state apparatuses include social institutions like the family, religion, education and the law as a complex code of permissible social behaviours and practices. Repressive state apparatuses include models of enforcement, such as the police, military and the law as a means of coercion and punishment. The theory suggests that we are irresistibly and unknowingly coerced into acceptance of a dominant ideology and those that are complicit in that coercion.

Foucault (1978) suggests another way of examining dominant and subordinate ideology. His notion of discourse allows us to avoid some issues of dominance. In contrast to the Marxist theories, his is an epistemological investigation, not a purely sociological or historical one. Discourse in this context signifies the network of social, political and cultural relationships including those things that provide the relays for the circulation and dispersal of power in the social structure. Gender is not only a cultural topic then, but gender is implicated in power relationships that go beyond the distinctions of male/female or masculine/feminine to embrace historical and social formations of the concept.

Foucault’s work identifies and traces formations. It looks at the way in which power is central to constituting those realities. A discourse then develops out of, and within,
an historical cultural framework. Cohn (1995, p.132) refers to gender discourse as not only words and meanings, but also a system of meanings: of ways of thinking, images and words that shape experience, understanding and representation of men and women. She claims that in this system, characteristics are polarised and that men are viewed as the first pole and women the second: society, as with all other polarities values the first over the second. While this is a symbolic system and real men and women do not necessarily fit these gender ideals, this system of meanings affects us: whether we want to or not, we see others and ourselves against these binaries. The term “binary oppositions” is used to describe this phenomenon in poststructuralist literary theory (Moon 2001).

Through feminism, gender has been brought into the consciousness to take its place alongside race, age and social class as one of the organising principles of social life and one of the central mechanisms by which power and resources are distributed in society (Kimmel and Messner 1995, p.xiv).

Foucault’s (1978) discourse of body and gender, specifically his study of the history of gender, is revealing. He suggests that until the 18th century there were two genders and one sex – the female genitalia was the (inferior) inverse of the male. Anatomy told them otherwise, but it was what people thought that caused them to know in this way. A discourse could shape the way in which the experience of individuals is perceived and given meaning. Furthermore, an episteme (a way of knowing) on which a discourse is based, and by which it is informed, allows one to see in certain ways and not in others. An individual operates in a field of discursive practice in that those cultural discourses that are available prompt to accept and emulate or to reject and condemn certain behaviours. These discourses may also be blind to other behaviours and practices to the extent that they do not even exist.

Discursive practices may be ideological in that they reflect and support the discourses of the dominant social class or group: in the case of gender, patriarchal ideology may be embraced as well as ideologies that resist patriarchy – feminist, gay/queer, anti-sexist and the like. Foucault (1978) argues that the emergence and presence of a dominant discourse produces a resistant discourse. He goes on to state that power is part of the way that social relationships and configurations are actually structured.
The resistant discourses in gender challenge the dominant discourses: “the ideological illogicalities, gaps and injustices that have maintained the façade of being natural, inevitable, equitable and normal” (Buchbinder 1998, p.13).

The dominant group confers authority on some, but not all members of society. According to post-colonial theory (Said 1991), the “others” are unauthorised and disempowered. As far as Althusser (1984) is concerned those who are confined to the other category are also ideological subjects but they have been interpellated as inferior subjects.

Buchbinder (1998) refers to the dominant model of masculinity as a neat representational configuration that in reality does not exist. This phenomenon has been brought about by anxiety about what characteristics can be considered masculine in a post-feminist environment.

There are two basic points of view about gender difference society: the essentialist and the constructionist. On one hand, there is the suggestion that gender differences are the result of biology, while on the other hand, social learning theory suggests gender behaviours are acquired or constructed. Biological models have focussed on the way in which innate biological differences are responsible for different behaviours in males and females. Constructionist or sociological models have reflected on the effects of socialisation of boys and girls in relation to their sex-role. A further analysis by anthropologists looks at how masculinity differs across cultural boundaries: psychological and social differences are the result of ways in which cultures interpret, shape and modify biological difference. As discussed earlier in relation to identity, Adler (2001) and Unks et al. (1995) found that boys conform to standards of behaviour and avoid “opposite gender” activities.

There is a danger in theorizing about sex differences that the essentialist position is presumed. While this research is not essentialist, the notion of physical difference must be investigated, as there are biological differences that can effect participation in
music. The following discussion focuses on masculinity and the extent to which it is biologically determined, socially constructed or a combination of both.

**ESSENTIALISM**

Biological determinism or essentialism is the idea that human beings have a fixed nature that is expressed in their behaviour: there is a definable female or male nature that is expressed in personality and societal roles (for example, job preferences). This nature is often seen as being biologically determined. Phillips (2001, p.210) goes as far as suggesting “the brain is wired for masculine behaviour before the end of the first year of life.” Having taken this seemingly essentialist stance Phillips (2001, p.69) also states:

*This does not mean men can’t be good with language or women with maths, that women can’t achieve or men relate…there are no sharp boundaries that divide male and female. Biology can never say never and always… neither can masculine and feminine be defined absolutely.*

The complex domain of definition and delimiting as discussed on page 12 is relevant in this discussion. As a post-feminist, operating within a post-modern perspective, the idea of not defining in the broad sense is acceptable to the author. The role of biological determinants is constantly changing particularly as developments in genetic mapping take place. At this time it not possible to categorically prove or deny that genetics are responsible for some differences between the sexes.

One of the arguments against essentialism is that no research can be carried out on subjects who are not exposed to socialisation: nature and nurture cannot be separated. Current research is limited to humans with clinical disorders, animals and studies of twins. With regard to animal studies the main difficulty, as Mahoney states (1985, p.58), is that “scientists are not comparing like with like.” The animal world may suggest some possibilities, but the evidence needs to be selected carefully. Examples have been found where animal behaviour contradicts human gender stereotypes (Fisher 1979 and Raymond 1980, p.54). If the information is partially selected, it is not possible to apply that information universally to female and male behaviour.

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6 The principal biological difference that effects participation is the changed voice. Other differences are related to auditory perception, tactile sensitivity and limb size. These differences will be investigated in later chapters.
Basow (1992) also questions the generalizations of animal findings. In addition, human behaviour is learned and carried out in a symbolic social environment.

Fausto-Sterling (1995)\(^7\) comments on the notion that masculinity is constructed through social discourse, including music videos, poetry, rap lyrics, sports, beer commercials and psychotherapy (1995, p.127). Underlying all this, she says there must be a blueprint. Even constructionists, she says, have doubts. In this instance, that doubt is the body. Biologists claim that the body tells the truth.

Money (1975) makes the assumption that men are made, not born: proper socialisation becomes more important than genetics. His simple solution to accidents such as penile mutilation (following botched infant circumcision) was to raise the boy as a girl. Such cases are rare and individual. They can help to indicate that biological determinants could be a factor in gender identity, but using individual cases to apply general principles in this case is also fraught with danger.

Money’s work has been criticised by Fausto-Sterling. In part, she claims Money is unable to explain the higher percentage than normal of lesbianism and more frequent aggressive behaviour in those born as boys yet raised as girls.

While earlier researchers in essentialism have received much criticism, there has recently been a return to a more reconciliatory framework in which some biological arguments have been given merit. In the context of this research it is important to examine this field in a little more detail. Later, some reference will be made to biological precursors of musical ability and the biological changes which effect participation in singing. The differential choice of musical participation by boys and girls and the undeniable fact that the male voice is physically different to the female voice warrant this examination of the physical nature of sex differences. The aim of these investigations is to establish the extent to which physical difference could effect musical participation.

\(^7\) Fausto-Sterling is Professor of Medical Science in the Division of Biology and Medicine at Brown University and as such adds considerable weight to this argument.
Physical Differences

Researchers in the 19th century endeavoured to establish the superiority of the male brain. Hutschke attempted to compare brain components of males and females in 1854. In 1859, Darwin’s *Descent of Man* touched on similar theories. In 1869, Geddes tried to establish that males had a greater range of abilities. Brocas developed his brain size theory in 1873. This theory endeavoured to prove that the male brain was larger than the female brain. Inherent in this type of thinking is that dominant ideology (to use Althusser’s term) which states that man is better than woman. This notion, erroneously based in physical difference, is central to the thesis, in that feminine attributes and pursuits (like some musical behaviours) are considered by the dominant group to be less worthy.

More recently, a number of researchers have investigated the physical differences between males and females. Table 1 represents a summary of the relevant differences found by Phillips (2001), Basow (1992), Haeberle (1978, p.617), Williams and Wallner (1978, p.153) and Maccoby and Jacklin (1974).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facial Features</td>
<td>Pronounced, face and head longer</td>
<td>Delicate, face and head rounder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>Thicker, longer</td>
<td>Shorter, more rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoulders</td>
<td>Broader, squarer</td>
<td>More rounded, sloping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscles</td>
<td>Bigger, more obvious</td>
<td>Mostly hidden under fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hips</td>
<td>Narrower</td>
<td>Wider, more rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hands/Feet</td>
<td>Larger, digits stronger &amp; blunter</td>
<td>Smaller and narrower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legs</td>
<td>Longer, bulging calves</td>
<td>Smoother contours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vision</td>
<td>Narrower field, longer</td>
<td>Wider field, shorter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>More directional</td>
<td>Less directional, more sensitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taste/Touch/Smell</td>
<td>Less sensitive</td>
<td>More sensitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The size and shape of limbs and musculature and the areas of touch and hearing are of relevance in relation to musical participation. These will be followed up in Chapter 5.
Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) comment that while girls have greater tactile sensitivity, the instances of this are very specific and the differences are very small. Basow (1992) commented that females are more sensitive to high tones. In tests where the rate of response of the ear was tested, boys were found to respond more slowly to aural information. This affected 15% of boys in the first ten years of life.

Basow acknowledged that sex-typing and situational factors contribute to variation in almost all of the listed characteristics, while definitional and cultural factors are cited as variants in a smaller number of characteristics. The fluidity of definitional factors has already been discussed. Cultural factors are presented in some detail in the following chapters to provide contexts for the fieldwork in the second part of the thesis.

In 1982, DeLacoste-Utamansing and Holloway found that the corpus callosum (which separates left and right sides of the brain) is larger in males than in females. Basow (1992) also concurs, stating that the male’s brain tends to be more hemispherically specialized. This results in males being less able to cross over between the different sides of the brain. Some evidence to support this can be found in cases of stroke victims where females learn to use the opposite side of the brain to improve function, while males do not to the same extent.

As Welch (2001) points out the use of both sides of the brain in singing is quite important: patterns of sound are perceived on the right side of the brain, while linguistics are perceived on the left side. In order to sing well, both sides must co-ordinate. There are other obvious physical differences in the voice, reported by Welch (2001) and Gackle (2002). Those of particular significance to the current debate include:

- At puberty, the male vocal folds change by 4mm up to 11mm in length, while female change is much smaller (1.5mm to 4mm);
- The male voice, once changed, usually sounds a sixth to an octave lower than the female voice;
• Voice change is most active between 12.5 and 14 years. The male voice also changes again at around age 70 when it becomes higher;
• The female voice continues to get lower through the life cycle. There is also evidence to suggest that at around day 21 of the menstrual cycle, there is vocal fold swelling, increased mass and asymmetry of the vocal folds.

Biology has demonstrated that differences exist in terms of hormonal balance and reproductive processes. With regard to hormones, similar levels of hormone are present in male and female pre-pubescent children, yet behaviours are different. It is known that the presence of testosterone effects behaviour, as does the presence of oestrogen. While, as Brannock (2000) suggests, the presence of these hormones does not necessarily prove they cause certain behaviours, it does provide some evidence of the effect of hormones on behaviour. It is significant that so many behaviours (including those related to instrument choice and musical participation) change as the balance of hormones alters at puberty.

The idea that gender can be fluid across time periods and within a life cycle will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. The physical evidence that the voice changes thorough the life cycle is connected to gender-related reasons for musical participation. Of particular interest are the comments in relation to pitch changes in the male voice, as singing in low voice is perceived differently from singing in a high voice. The relationship between physical differences and participation in musical activities will be discussed in Chapter 4, 5 and 6 when a clearer picture of the musical preferences is evident.

Other differences

Researchers in the field of physical difference have also noted behavioural differences between the sexes. Some researchers claim these are related to physical attributes, others insist they are purely the result of enculturation. This debate will be pursued later in the chapter. In either scenario, these differences are worthy of investigation.

As an example of this, it is not yet possible to categorically state that testosterone causes violence as many other sociological factors may impact on violent behaviour.
Phillips (2001), Basow (1992), Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) and Feingold (1994) agree that the behaviours in Table 2 are commonly exhibited.

### TABLE 2
Summary of behavioural differences between males and females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Behaviours</th>
<th>Female Behaviours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visual spatial skills dominate, particularly in spatial rotation tasks</td>
<td>Verbal skills dominate – listening, qualifying and self disclose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement centred</td>
<td>Emotional, feeling centred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicate information</td>
<td>Communicate emotions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power oriented</td>
<td>People oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefers objects</td>
<td>Prefers faces and names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer autonomous cognitive style</td>
<td>Prefer connected cognitive style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More verbally and physically aggressive, compete, dominate</td>
<td>Co-operate, Listen, Sensitive to verbal and non-verbal cues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better at strength activities</td>
<td>Better at balance, rhythm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better at gross motor skills</td>
<td>Better at fine motor skills</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Each of the behaviours in Table 2 represents broad generalisations. There would be, for example, some women who are better than some men at strength activities, just as there would be some men who communicate emotions more than information. These domains require further classification, qualification and discussion in the light of more specific research.

The view that girls become more verbally competent than boys has been supported by Hyde and Linn (1985). They found that girls were highest in measures of speech production and anagrams. Feingold (1994) found that girls excelled in spelling and grammar and that boys suffer from speech difficulties (for example a boy is three or four times more likely to suffer from stuttering than a girl) and dyslexia (five to ten times more). Feingold says that this is possibly explained through social interaction and brain organization, finding that the site for speech production is more localized in the female brain. A point worthy of investigation is whether this capacity for females with regard to verbal skills enhances their capacity to sing or to be predisposed towards singing activities. Welch (2001) has already been quoted in this regard.
Baennenger and Newcombe (1989) reinforce the argument regarding visual-spatial tasks. This is particularly so if the spatial task involves rapid mental rotation of images (Basow 1992). This difference could be reduced (in some cases even reversed) when differential experience and knowledge are controlled. Hyde (1981) further qualified the findings of Maccoby and Jacklin (1994), indicating that gender accounts for less than 5% of variability on visual spatial tests.

Bullying, as discussed in Chapter 2, is a contributor to the construction of gender. The topic of aggression is therefore particularly relevant to this research. Both sexes learn aggressive behaviour, but it appears young females are more inhibited about performing it. Maccoby and Jacklin’s (1994) figures suggest a high proportion of males can display aggressive behaviours. Maccoby and Jacklin’s data covers a wide age range, but preschool males were found to have the highest rates of aggressive behaviours. Eagly and Steffen (2001) provided proof that aggression was more likely to be part of the male make-up but indicated that the differentiation was considerably smaller than Maccoby and Jacklin. Aggression is determined by social norms, situational factors, attitudes and previous learning history, though Susman et al. (1992) suggested the physiological basis for aggressive behaviour could be found in the effect of androgens on amygdala. This hormone was most active in prenatal and pubertal stages of development.

In 1987, Maccoby and Jacklin revisited their data on aggression in preschoolers. In refining their theory, they suggested that boys associate with boys and girls associate with girls as a result of behavioural compatibility. In other words, gender segregation occurs because of a difference in play style that is peer driven. Boys at age three are engaging in more aggressive behaviours such as hitting and pushing. They play in large groups, outdoors and are more likely to have a leader. Girls begin to exhibit more nurturing behaviours such as grooming and offering compliments. This early indication of aggressive behaviours and the way in which they are manifested will be followed up in later chapters that deal with the issues of bullying.

A further aspect of the biological possession of aggression can lie in the definition given to this type of behaviour. Aggression can be defined not only by what someone
does, but by whom it is done. For example, Mahoney (1985) points out that a girl who swears is often judged verbally aggressive in a way a boy is not.

Motor skills are also a significant factor in performance of music. Basow (1992) and Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) state that boys excel in motor performance from about age three. This could have a biological base, which is enhanced by training. Differential treatment and practice probably account for most differences; including those in agility, balance, eye-motor co-ordination, flexibility and reaction time.

As with the physical differences, the relationship between these behavioural differences and participation in musical activities will be discussed in Chapter 5 when a clearer picture of the musical preferences is evident. The physical differences between the sexes in Table 1 above are basically irrefutable, as is the evidence of Welch regarding the voice. These differences are proven to exist. The behaviours listed in Table 2 are common enough for a number of researchers to agree that they can be applied to each sex. The argument of the essentialists is these behaviours are the result of physical differences.

In summary (according to an essentialist perspective), adolescent boys excel in visual spatial activities and girls in verbal abilities. Although boys appear to have a slight advantage in mathematics, their presumed edge in science may be due to factors other than mathematics ability. Girls outperform boys in creative tasks that involve words. Boys appear to have better gross motor skills; girls have better rhythm. Feingold (1994) claims that the sexes do not seem to have radical differences in abilities, at least not ones that matter in terms of leading a productive life. Depending on the definition of “productive”, this may be the case, but the enhancement of these small differences through stereotyping leads to the construction of gender.

CONSTRUCTIONISM

The constructionist view referred to by Fausto-Sterling (1995) above maintains that behaviours are learned and that no individual is free from societal influence. In contrast to an essentialist view, Hall (1990) argues that identities are not historically fixed but are subjected to the continuous interaction of history, culture and power.
There are two major cognitive developmental theories concerning children’s developing knowledge gender: The development of gender concept and the gender schema theory.

In gender concept theory, children develop gender identity, stability and constancy. Kohlerg (1966) summarized the development of gender concept in these terms:

**Gender identity, based on physical characteristics, is established at around age 2. Gender stability, that is that gender is stable across time (once a male always a male), usually occurs between the ages of 3 and 4 while gender constancy (gender is constant across time and situations) is apparent by the age of 5.**

Through self-socialization children have knowledge of differential sex roles from an early age: certainly, according to Edelbrock and Sugawara (1978), before entering school. By the age of five, children are aware of sex stereotype traits as tested by Best (1977). Women, Best says, are perceived by this age group to be gentle and affectionate while men are seen as strong and aggressive. By the age of eleven, further delineation has occurred with other traits determined by adolescence. Urberg (1982) concurs, reporting that children as young as 2 are beginning to learn traditional sex role stereotypes and that by the age of 7, they are as accurate as adults in labelling traits or activities as stereotypically masculine or feminine.

Once initial gender identity is established, social learning theory as defined by Golombok and Fivush (1994) with its emphasis on the roles of modelling and reinforcement, plays a part in the process of gender role development. Modelling is defined as the observation and imitation of others and is sometimes referred to as observational learning. Reinforcement is the modification of behaviour as a result of its consequences.

Gender schema theory describes and explains the developing content and organization of gender knowledge. Distinct dimensions of gender related knowledge include behaviours, roles, occupations and traits. Of these, the orthogonal view is of interest in this discussion. This means that instead of masculine and feminine being opposite poles of the one axis, they are actually in different perpendicular dimensions and therefore independently variable. This is the view of gender is espoused by Bem
(1981) who developed the Sex Role Inventory. This inventory includes a list of personality characteristics considered to be stereotypically male or female. For example, those considered feminine might include affectionate or gentle, while those considered male may include ambitious or assertive. The importance of the development of this inventory is that, unlike earlier scales, it deals with masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions. Someone can therefore, according to the inventory, hold both masculine and feminine attitudes.

Furthermore, it offers a quadripolar typology, in which sex roles can be described in four dimensions: as masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated. Androgyny, where one can move across sex-role behaviours when processing information, is considered the most desirable for adjustments and psychological health. Urberg’s research (1982) also used a model that did not offer children a binary choice. Like Bem, her data was based on students’ categorizing attributes as belonging to females only, males only, both or neither. Urberg found that girls were less stereotyped than boys. This approach to gender categorization was later subscribed to by Deaux and Lewis (1984), Huston (1983) and Martin (1993).

Sedgwick (1995) suggested the inclusion of effeminacy, butchness, femmeness and other terms as independent variables. In an attempt to prove her theory she refers to men who are highly masculine, highly effeminate but at the same time, not a bit feminine. The adoption of such independent variables is an acceptable viewpoint within the post-feminist framework used in this research.

The development of gender concept and gender schema theory share two basic assumptions:

1. Children’s understanding of gender differs at different ages;
2. The development of gender understanding parallels the development of children’s growing ability to reason about other aspects of the world.

Bandura (1977) suggests that gender role behaviour is acquired through the same process as other behaviours. Sex-typed behaviour (that is behaviour where the sex and the gender are the same) is thought to be the result of differential reinforcement of boys and girls.
Common examples of differential reinforcement can be found in Fagot’s (1978b) study of children from 20 – 24 months. Girls were given approval for dancing, dolls and dress ups while being discouraged from running, jumping, climbing and manipulating. Boys were more likely to be discouraged from engaging in feminine behaviour. This is a significant issue that is central to the construction of masculinity i.e: the process of avoidance of femininity. The research of Langlois and Downs (1980) supported this view while Lytton and Romney (1991), found that toys, games and activity choices were important aspects of gender development. Parental differences in treatment were found to decrease between the ages of 2 and 5. This could be due to parents’ satisfaction by age 2 with a child’s own knowledge of their gender identity.

Given the early age at which stereotypes have been found to exist, parental attitude and role modelling are of considerable significance. As parents and teachers are a product of their own culture, they hold to certain ideas that are held to be appropriate behaviour for boys and girls. The teacher as role model can have positive and/or negative effects on student behaviour. Investigations in relation to music teachers as role models will be pursued in Chapters 5 and 6.

Alloway (1994, p.7) says that parents, teachers, popular culture and children themselves are implicated in maintaining and generating gender divides. This is borne out in many ways, including the purchase of toys. The sex-typing (or sex-stereotyping) of toys is an example of how stereotypes are communicated by culture: through literature, movies, television, humour and role models. Individual’s compliance with these roles is, in many cases, automatic.

Strongly entrenched stereotypes exist regarding what constitutes being male or female. They are complex and vary by race, class and sexual orientation. They function very powerfully to shape our expectations of others and our own behaviour. Basow (1992, p.21) states that people vary in the degree to which they possess traits stereotyped as gender appropriate.

Despite this variation and the work of Bem and Urberg to develop the concept of sex role beyond a bipolar approach, a binary is established in the minds of young children
and from that time on males and females are considered opposites. Jay’s (1991) analyses of this binary maintains that in such a structure, there can be no middle ground: one term is positively identified and the other is not. This idea finds support in the work of Cohn (1995) reported earlier. Craib (1987, p.721) concurs: “Masculinity is often organised not as a positive construct but rather as that which is not feminine or, more bluntly, not effeminate.” The latter is explicitly defined as everything the former is not. In this case, females are described as everything males are not. This argument has been referred to earlier in the chapter in relation to the work of Stronach (1996) and will have greater significance in the discussion of homophobia and avoidance of femininity in Chapter 2.

This binary viewpoint, while existent in perception and not reality is the process through which stereotypes develop. Such stereotypes include: males are aggressive, females are passive; males are violent, females are beautiful. These stereotypes have been found to have widespread support under research conditions. Basow (1992) reports that a high degree of consistency could be found with these and other traits. She states that for most people, masculinity is associated with competency, instrumentality and activity; femininity is associated with warmth, expressiveness and nurturance. Studies conducted in the 1970s with nearly 1000 males by Brovermann (1970 and 1972) demonstrated a broad consensus regarding the existence of different personality traits in men as compared with women.  

Williams (1982) provides further proof of the existence of stereotyping. In their study, the subjects were asked to indicate those traits that were more characteristic of one sex than the other. At least 75% of Williams’ respondents (of both sexes) considered men to be associated with the words aggressive, loud, forceful, strong, self-confident and unemotional. Adjectives associated with women included emotional, gentle, high strung, sensitive and weak. A full list of adjectives perceived to be associated with each sex is found in Appendix B. Williams also reports that the sex stereotypes he found to exist were apparent across cultures in twenty-four different countries, including Australia. They were strongest in Scotland, New Zealand and England and least applicable in France, Japan and Pakistan. Williams, like many other researchers

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9 More than 75% of Broverman’s respondents found this to be the case.
of stereotyping used meta-analysis in examining gender differences. This provides two estimates – one of size and one of degree of variability. It has been seen to bring more objectivity and organization to the field of study. Using this method, gender difference can be seen to have significance in a statistical sense.

According to Hort, Fagot and Leinbach (1990, p.210) it appears that society’s perceptions of maleness are more stereotypically framed than are their perceptions of femaleness. This has its foundation in the theory espoused by Archer (1984) that rigid notions of masculinity are reflected in the rigid socialization of males. This concept will be pursued in the next chapter and in the fieldwork of the second part of this thesis.

**ESSENTIALISM VERSUS CONSTRUCTIONISM**

It is impossible to separate biological and constructed influences. Gender identity is formed through the interaction of biological, psychological and sociocultural factors. Basow (1992) advocates an interactionist perspective, that is the relationship between biology and behaviour is bi-directional and that the biosocial model has merit.

In support of this, Pollack (1999) suggests that the behaviour of boys results from a combination of biological and environmental factors. Biology can create tendencies for boys and girls to behave differently, but it is not an absolute. For example the “testosterone equals aggression equals boys” viewpoint has virtually no research to support it. There is an increasing amount of proof linking biology with many types of behaviour. Cultural stereotypes and the reinforcing behaviours of children and adults may exaggerate these small differences in biology. Mahoney, to certain extent, (1985, p.64) concurs: “the biological model used to explain gender difference is inadequate, but the biology is not irrelevant – it is crucial. Without it, society would collapse”. Nevertheless, biology must not be used as an excuse for behaviours, or as the sole reason for behaviours or as an irreversible given.

There is no logical reason to suggest that biology causes behaviour, or that the line of causation moves only from the biological to the social. Furthermore, the view that biological differences make males and females better suited to different social roles is
Biology should be perceived as contributing, along with many other factors, to the construction of gender. While society is not neutral to gender, class, race and sexual preference, it is difficult for research to be independent on this issue.

If accepting a biosocial model, it remains that differences do exist between males and females. They are largely constructed differences that may have a basis in biology and sometimes have other contributing factors. Furthermore, sex differences are typically small and researchers can fail to report when no differences occur. Findings are often interpreted in the direction of existing stereotypes.

Connell (in Kimmel and Messner 1995, p.125) rejects the biosocial model outright, attacking “their history as speculative, their anthropology as selective and their mechanisms of selection and inheritance imaginary”. He claims that male and masculine are very different things and that masculinity is implanted in the body, it does not grow out of it: “gender is a structure of social practice, related in complex ways to biological sex, but with an historical dominance of its own.”

Clatterbaugh (1995) states that essentialism is embedded in socio-biology, which argues that certain behaviours and attitudes have been useful as mechanisms for the perpetuation of genetic material. There is therefore a set of hard-wired genetic predispositions. Many socio-biologists do not see the point in changing male and female behaviours. This is because they will not work or the costs to society and individuals will be too great.

If a biosocial model cannot be accepted on essentialist grounds then the interdisciplinary model of Horrocks (1995) provides the most balanced solution. He, like Basow (1992) maintains that gender is a node point for many activities and beliefs: political, psychological and symbolic. The cultural, definitional and situational factors alluded to by Basow earlier are crucial to the study of difference and ultimately to the post-feminist views of masculinity and femininity espoused by the author.

Fausto-Sterling (1995) also offers her support with regard to the interaction of biology and constructionism: although based in evidence, scientific writing can be seen as a
particular kind of cultural interpretation: the enculturated scientist interprets nature. In the process he or she uses that interpretation to reinforce old beliefs or build new sets of beliefs. In this way science contributes to the construction of masculinity. Masculine constructs, she claims, are among the building blocks for particular kinds of scientific knowledge.

REFLECTION AND SUMMARY

The body of this chapter has focussed on theoretical support and methodologies to be employed in the thesis, on the role of gender within society and the debate between essentialism and constructionism. An interdisciplinary approach has been adopted, incorporating a number of methodologies and analytical frameworks. This also reflects the eclecticism of a post-modern perspective in many respects and the post-feminist framework supports the research throughout. The central notion of post feminism, that some males and females are disadvantaged by the gender order, is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. It is important to acknowledge that this viewpoint has been taken because it accepts that while males have power, some are disadvantaged in society.

In relation to methods and in keeping with the interdisciplinary approach, the Gender Research in Music Education (GRIME) research agenda has been used as a basis. The first part of the thesis sets the context for the fieldwork of the second part. History, contexts, social setting and situational factors are critical to the study of gender as a fluid entity and are acknowledged as such in the literature. This is particularly so in the work of Layder (1993), whose research map has been employed throughout. While Layer’s map broadens its scope across a study, this thesis seeks to invert that. It begins with the broader contexts, before becoming more specific in Chapters 6 and 7. Elements of Conway’s (2000) phenomenological approach to the interview have been embraced along with Grounded Theory as applied by Plummer (1999). The commonsense approach of Green (1997) has also been utilised. Green’s approach is not a method, but rather a way of approaching the topic in a way that makes it of most use to the researcher, the subjects and the intended audience: the music education community.
The role of gender is discussed in the body of the current chapter. The notion of representation within an ideology is espoused. Dominant and subordinate ideologies are put into the framework of a discourse (Foucault 1978). The idea that a gender discourse is a system of meanings that shape how experience, understanding and representation take place is put forward. The main element of this system is a binary that establishes masculinity as a dominant group and femininity as “everything else.” This dominant group is responsible for conferring power on some members of society, leaving the others disempowered. The relevance of this point will become clearer in the ensuing chapters. However, this thesis proposes that some musicians’ participation rates are affected by this discursive practice.

The two main elements within the gender debate, essentialism and constructionism are discussed in the last part of the chapter. The view being espoused here is that biological differences are a small but significant part of the construction of gender. Biology is relevant with regard to the discussion on music, particularly the voice. The physical differences and changes in the voice are clear and dictate certain roles within music and the wider culture. The other small physical differences (for example, in hearing and limb size) will also be discussed in Chapter 5. These physical differences are significant because they form the basis for stereotypes on which the gender divide is constructed. Gender is constructed and biology, along with many other factors, contributes to this construction. The notions of Basow (1992), Hall (1990) and others with regard to the contribution of situational, definitional and cultural factors, including history and power will be investigated in the following chapters as they deal with issues of masculinity and schools in an Australian context.
CHAPTER TWO

MASCULINITIES

This chapter seeks to identify and discuss issues of masculinity and its construction. As identified in Chapter 1, gender is used as the broader term to describe the social significance of sex. The terms femininity and masculinity are used essentially to refer to the social and cultural expectations attached to being a woman or man including thinking, behaviour, aspirations and appearance.

Masculinity and femininity are viewed as opposites in a binary structure. An attempt to define masculinity as a single entity within this structure is an important part of this investigation, but given the eclectic and pluralistic nature of the framework, a precise definition of masculinity may prove to be difficult. Recent thought has centred on the notion of the existence of a multiplicity of masculinities (Tolson 1997; Brod 1987; Kaufman 1987; Kimmel 1987; Jefferson 1994; Connell 1995). Of these, Connell used the term “hegemonic masculinity”, implying the existence of a variety of masculinities and a hierarchical ordering of them, in which one form overrides almost all others by social and psychological processes. The notion of hegemony will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. At this point, it is relevant to point out that hegemony refers to the beliefs and values held by the dominant and powerful social groups. Connell (1995, p.71) also challenges the concept of defining masculinity as an object, insisting that the focus be on “the processes and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives.”

Connell, as discussed in Chapter 1, also rejects sex role theory, on the grounds that it underestimates the political power that men exercise over women. Sex role theory, he says, takes as a basic assumption that men and women are equal. This is a common fault in gender research: men, through patriarchy, have power in the macro sense. However, there are some men who are not empowered and Connell’s views provide a framework for their type (and other types) of masculinity. Pleck (1981) also rejected the sex role theory because it did not accurately describe men’s experiences. The author has rejected the sex role theory, as this thesis seeks to examine men who are marginalised in their experiences of music.
Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997, p.119) state: “masculine identities are not static, but historically and spatially situated and evolving.” They may change over time within a culture and vary from one culture to another. For example, the men of France in the 17th century who wore make up and high-heeled shoes would not be seen in the same way in 21st century Australia. They provide some proof of the historical evolution of gender. Kimmel and Messner (1995, p.xxii) also argued that the meaning of masculinity could change throughout the course of a man’s life. The physical voice change throughout the life cycle of males and females has been referred to in Chapter 1. This, and other elements related to musical experience as it changes throughout school and later life will be viewed more closely in the second part of this thesis.

The roots of Western male gender in the 21st century can be found in earlier historical periods. Doyle (1995, p.27) summarizes these succinctly in Table 3 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideal Male</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
<th>Major Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epic</td>
<td>Epic sagas of Greece and Rome (800 – 100 BC)</td>
<td>Action, strength, courage, loyalty and the beginning of patriarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual</td>
<td>Teachings of Christ, early church fathers and monastic tradition (400 – 1000AD)</td>
<td>Self-renunciation, restrained sexual activity, antifeminine and antihomosexual attitudes, and a strong patriarchal system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chivalric</td>
<td>Feudalism and Chivalric code of honour (12th century social system)</td>
<td>Self sacrifice, courage, physical strength, honour and service to the lady and primogeniture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renaissance</td>
<td>16th century social system</td>
<td>Rationality, intellectual endeavours and self exploration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourgeois</td>
<td>18th century social system</td>
<td>Success in business, status and worldly manners</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Doyle (1995, p.27)

Some of these observations will be referred to later, but notions of patriarchy that emphasize physical strength, courage and the subordination of women and homosexuals are worthy of comment at this point as they relate directly to the power
relationships inherent in masculine and feminine constructs and their effect on musical participation.

By 1995, Connell has clustered types of masculinity on the basis of general social, cultural and institutional patterns of power and meaning. These are hegemonic masculinity, subordinate masculinity, complitious masculinity and marginal masculinity.

**HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY**

Hegemonic masculinity refers to the dominant and dominating forms of masculinity that have high status and exercise strong influence. The majority of men may not consciously subscribe to this form, but it asserts this influence through cultural and institutional practices and has strong roots in patriarchy. It favours toughness and aggression and as Clatterbaugh (1997) puts it, “limits emotional horizons.”

Heterosexuality, power, authority, aggression and technical competence characterize hegemonic masculinity. While it is not true across all cultures and all periods of history, it is represented and shaped by the media and while it does not always involve violence, it is often underwritten by the threat of violence.

McLean (1997) takes this further: the process of making a man out of a boy often involves physical and emotional brutalisation and emphasis on hardness and strength. At the same time contempt for sensitivity, delicacy and emotional intimacy need to be demonstrated. While not all boys experience such treatment, all are aware of its existence and are affected by that awareness.

There is a cost to challenging this dominant code. The notions that boys are more likely to be discouraged from engaging in feminine behaviours than girls for engaging in masculine behaviour (Fagot 1978; Langlois and Downs 1980) and that boys are determined at all costs not to be female (Kenway 1997, p.15) are part of the construction of hegemonic masculinity. This is an extremely important cultural assumption with regard to musical behaviours and will be pursued in subsequent chapters.
Masculinity in this model is identified as much by what it “is not” as by what it “is.” This has been discussed in broad terms Chapter 1 in relation to the work of Stronach (1996). McLean (1995, p.293) also subscribes to this view saying that masculinity is clearly defined by what it is not: “what men definitely are not is women”. Gilbert (1998, p.24) concurs:

The threat of a hybridized [sic]’girlie-man’ is ever present for many boys. Boys learn that masculinity is a performance reliant on physical control, autonomy and independence. Being labelled a ‘girlie-man’ is life’s greatest fear. Therein lies mockery, derision and rejection.

A considerable body of research has been undertaken into the notion of the asymmetry that exists in the way males and females are treated when they display cross-gender behaviours. Males, it was found, were viewed more negatively than females for gender role transgressions (Jackson and Sullivan 1990; Martin 1990; Moller, Hymel and Rubin 1992). Parents, peers and teachers show more concern when males deviate from traditional role prescriptions (Antill 1987; Archer 1993; Langlois and Downs 1980). Males, it was found by Archer (1984, 1993) and Maccoby (1986), are more likely to be punished for acting like a “sissy.” O’Conor (1995, p.99) also gives examples of boys being beaten up because they are feminine or different. This includes name calling or joining in the laughter at “fag” or “dyke” jokes. This type of homophobic violence is also quite significant in the current research and will be discussed in more detail later.

McCreary (1994, p.517) states that there are two possible models for the avoidance of femininity:

The social status model predicts that males are punished because feminine behaviour is lower in status than masculine behaviour. The sexual orientation model predicts that, for males, there is a stronger perceived link between gender roles and sexuality and that a male acting in a feminine way is more likely to be considered a homosexual than a female acting a masculine way.

His research found strong support for the sexual orientation hypothesis, though he also suggests that theories may interact with each other: males who display cross-gender behaviours may be perceived as both homosexual and lower in social status. Arnot (1984) also examines the difference between compulsory male heterosexuality and the masculine processes of disassociation from femininity, in the process devaluing the female world.
Thorne (in Gilbert & Gilbert 1998, p.178) is more graphic in describing these behaviors: “Boys bond through … aggressing against other boys (called girls, fags or sissies) who are perceived to be weaker.” This homophobic violence can be related to the fear of the feminine. The consequences of not belonging to the correct group or belonging to the wrong group are frequently violent. Dominance performances and contests, say Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997, p.121) revolve around toughness, athletic ability, strength, popularity with girls, sexual achievements and risk taking. At the same time, dominance performances therefore distance boys from physical weakness, expressive skills, creativity, and co-operation. It also involves distancing from the feminine and considers the feminine less worthy. This notion of the avoidance of femininity is an underlying theme in this thesis and will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The performances to which Kenway and Fitz Clarence refer will sometimes include harassing teachers, girls and other boys particularly those identified as “gay.” Exaggerated hegemonic values contribute to this when status and identity are uncertain: It is likely to be more pronounced at puberty and when interest in sexual activity is high. Forsey (1990) concurs:

Males manifest their power through rivalry and ambition, the intimidation, dominance and exploitation of lesser beings – females, children and weaker males, disregard for intimacy and the self-knowledge and empathy that intimacy engenders, rejection of any personal qualities or accomplishments that may be considered feminine. These manifestations are generated and reinforced by family, education, religions, tradition, the media, peers and society at large.

Davies (1993) also concurs. Boys learn very early how to speak, walk, what to wear or what not to wear, how not to speak. One false move can lead to suspicion being cast on one’s maleness. Pallotta-Chiarolli (2001) gives a simple example of this: “even the way a boy holds his books can bring condemnation.”

The existence of male gender role rigidity: the restriction of their gender role development and expression, brought about through a lack of ability to experience femininity as much as females experience masculinity, is discussed by Archer (1993). Pollack (1999, p.184) refers to this as gender straightjacketing: boys are
ashamed to express signs of neediness, dependence, sadness or vulnerability. “Boys
know if they say anything sappy to each other they’ll be humiliated and called a
fag.” This fear of being labelled a fairy, a wuss or a fag, of being perceived as
feminine or homosexual prevents boys from expressing emotions that are
encouraged in girls.

Self-denial is an integral part of this process: as certain actions are unacceptable for
males, they guard themselves from experiencing vulnerable feelings and revealing
that vulnerability to others. Miller (1987b, p.88) says that the contempt for the
smaller and weaker is the best defence against a breakthrough of one’s own feelings
of helplessness.

‘OTHER’ MASCULINITIES

Subordinate masculinity is in direct opposition to hegemonic masculinity. It is
repressed and oppressed by it. It represents any forms of masculinity that draw their
identity from beyond the hegemonic. Any attachment to the feminine is likely to put
the owner in this category and subject him to various forms of violence. Gay
masculinities are perceived to be part of this form of masculinity.

Complitious masculinity applies to those who do not live up to or subscribe to
hegemonic masculinity but benefit from it without being, as Connell (1995, p.79) puts
it, “in the front line of troops of patriarchy.” Perhaps the greatest benefit of belonging
to this style of masculinity is in the gain achieved through the subordination of
women. Those who belong to this group are complitious with hegemonic masculinity
even though they fail to live up to it.

Marginal masculinity is inspired and legitimised by hegemonic masculinity. It is
marginal in the sense that it only has influence in one particular sphere of society,
usually a social class or race. Marginal masculinity is authorized by the dominant
class or race.

There is a strong argument that suggests that hegemonic masculinity in its purest
form does not exist. As intimated by Connell (1995) earlier, masculinity cannot be
defined as an object, but as processes and relationships. It is not, therefore, possible to find an individual who fulfils all the criteria outlined above, just as it is not possible to find an individual who demonstrates all the behaviours associated with males as defined in Chapter 1. Masculinities are fluid through time and context. Hegemonic masculinity exists in that it is the common, dominant and dominating set of beliefs or values, represented and shaped by societal forces: the family, media, schools etc.

**MASCULINITY POLITICS**

Lingard and Douglas (1999) focus on contemporary masculinity politics. This term has its origins in Connell (1995, p.205) and refers to “those mobilizations and struggles where the meaning of gender is at issue and with it, men’s position in gender relations. In such politics, masculinity is made a principal theme, not taken for granted in the background.” This means that, in masculinity politics, the place of men in the gender order is the main focus.

In *Men Engaging Feminisms*, Lingard and Douglas (1999) give a response to feminist-inspired reforms since the 1960s. In so doing they refer to and draw on the work of Connell (1995), Clatterbaugh (1997) and Messner (1992) and define the following responses to feminism: men’s rights, profeminism, masculinity therapy and conservatism. Like Connell, they acknowledge the interaction that takes place between and across each of these areas.

The first of these, men’s rights, takes a liberal humanist perspective and uses some elements of biological essentialism. It concerns itself with protecting male rights and denies that public structures give men power. Farrell (2001) is seen to be a leader in the field of men’s rights, as espoused in *The myth of male power: why men are the disposable sex*. Feminism, when viewed from a men’s rights perspective, is seen as being sexist and counterproductive. Feminism, it says, is concerned with perpetuating negative images of men and pursing the interests of women alone. It argues that men are subject to expectations that discriminate against them psychologically, socially and legally. This includes issues such as fathers’ rights, men’s health and opposition to feminist inspired legislation, including sexual
harassment and affirmative action. There is an emphasis on building a community of men and stating that much of men’s behaviour is hard-wired (biological). Ultimately Lingard and Douglas (1999) conclude that this response is a backlash against feminism.

The second response to feminism discussed by Lingard and Douglas (1999) is pro-feminism. As with men’s rights, profeminism has its origins in the men’s liberation movement of the 1970s. It works towards a gender-just society through a personal and political definition of masculinity. There is a tendency within this view that masculinity is seen as oppressive to women and that other models fail to adequately address patriarchy. Masculinity, in the view of the pro-feminists, is a two-edged sword: it brings both power and powerlessness.

McLean (1997), a subscriber to profeminism, helps to clarify this stating, “men have a desire for power while having a fear of powerlessness.” Profeminists are “gay affirmative” and campaign for an end to homophobia and any other forms of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, though most of their members are heterosexual. The movement is concerned with developing a theoretical framework and can, as such, be viewed a political force but not a personal one. It is tied strongly to the academic community and argues that the vast majority of males experience considerable privilege due to living in a sexist society. It has also experienced difficulty in aligning itself with a specific feminist theory.

Masculinity Therapy, according to Lingard and Douglas (1999), takes a more personal view and, in some ways, shuns the politicism of pro-feminism. It is, to a certain extent, atheoretical. It promotes the concept that therapy is the main prescription for righting male ills: glorification of the tribal ritual, returning to the bush, finding self and male bonding. Stoltenberg (1977) tells us that boys learn early of the need to bond: bonding is required so that men learn what they are entitled to under patriarchy and how to maintain it. It suggests that men need to separate from the feminine for a time in order to appreciate masculinity. Pallotta-Chiarolli (1992) suggests that this theory is limited because of its focus on father-son relationships. She further suggests that masculinity must be placed within the social structure considering power, social and cultural complexity and dynamics.
Steve Biddulph is seen as aligned with this view. Biddulph confounds his own attempts at championing the cause of boys by putting down both the feminist view and the social construction of gender. In the forward to *Boys in Schools* (1995), he terms the social construction of gender as an oversimplification and claims to know nothing of the subject. In his book *Manhood: A Book about Setting Men Free* (1994), feminist women are caricatured and the hegemonic masculine structures are further enshrined by referring to women as glowing, warm and relaxed, while men do the “hard” things around the house.

Gilbert (1998) criticizes Masculine Therapy for not being prepared to co-operate with other movements, saying that it is conservative and potentially divisive. It has, she says, rejected feminism and wanted boys’ work to be seen as separate from the broader project of the democratic reform of schooling. Lingard and Mills (1997, pp.4-6) concluded that this version of masculinity politics “seeks to reassert male dominance and traditional sex roles and in some manifestations is explicitly anti-feminist, even misogynist.”

The final categorization of Lingard and Douglas is Conservatism. This is based in biological determinism, underpinned by Old Testament biblical fundamentalism. The beginnings of this can be seen in the features of the spiritual male in Table 3. Conservatism has links to the religious right and supports a return to patriarchy, where men and women have clearly defined social roles. It is explicitly anti-feminist, although it agrees with early radical feminist theory in that it views men as innately aggressive, violent, destructive, competitive and demanding dominance. While radical feminists seek to dismantle these structures, the conservatives would like to see them enshrined and advocate the view that women are needed to civilize men. Without this civilization, conservatives claim, men are likely to lead lives of crime, vice and addiction.

Clatterbaugh had already identified this version of masculinity politics, while Connell (1995, pp.212 –16) includes the “gun lobby” within the ranks of the conservatives. The “gun lobby” is a type of politics that is a defence of hegemonic masculinity. While not explicitly part of masculinity politics, it promotes the right to
bear arms. This was supported, says Connell, through cultural production of sporting heroes, video games, action movies, children’s toys and literature. All these serve to reinforce bodily superiority of men. Marginalized men are also likely to adopt this type of masculinity politics.

The origins of the men’s movement(s) can be found in the consciousness raising groups of the 1970s. In the 1980s, the profeminists and the promasculinists were defined by Fiebert (1987). The promasculinists, largely populated by therapists and counsellors, stressed the mending of psychological pain. Of all the types of masculinity politics, the debate is usually between the mythopoets (who support masculinity therapy and men’s rights views) and the profeminists. Doyle (1995) doubts that there will ever be any truce reached between the two camps. Dash (1993) contends that the mythopoetic movement maintains a structure for developing a nurturing fellowship that provides support and ritual for personal growth and change while the profeminist provides a broad based social, historical and political analysis of men’s lives and a basis for social change. The profeminists accuse the mythopoets of new age patriarchy. Mythopoets are predominantly middle class, middle aged, white, heterosexual men. In the search of the mythopoets for “deep manhood”, there is also a suggestion of essentialism: the search is for an intrinsic (biologically hardwired) nature.

Kenway (1997) recommends that co-operation with the feminist movement is likely to assist in achieving results for men: using feminist scholarship may well be a way forward. Together with Fitzclarence (1997), she further warns that some femininities can, through compliance, service and the constant accommodation of male needs and desires, underwrite hegemonic masculinity. Brannock (2000) endorses this view in saying masculinity cannot be understood without understanding femininity. Head (1996, p.27) also recommends the use of feminist thought as being advantageous to boys and girls: “The value of feminist thought and methods in many fields has been to open up practice to a wider range of possibilities, yielding a more flexible and responsive system”. Pease (2000) claims

10 One of the prime reasons given for bearing arms is to protect “their” women.
11 Mythopoetic comes from mythopoesis which refers to re-mythologising: so the movement in effect seeks to revise masculinity.
there is much to be learnt from the methodological approaches in feminist research. He proposes a model of postmodern masculinity politics, which is firmly founded in the pro-feminist movement. Pease (2000) acknowledged that many men are antifeminist. Townsend (1994, p.271) provides some precise data on this: 15% of male Australians are antifeminist, 10% are profeminist and 75% support equality, but are critical of how feminism operates.

In embracing feminist methodologies to form his theoretical framework, Pease (2000) studied profeminist men and their experiences with a view to giving a voice to their ideas thereby helping to subvert dominant masculinities. Pease (2000) employed three participatory methodologies: anti-sexist consciousness-raising, collective memory work and dialogues with allies and opponents of profeminism. The first two of these dealt with the objectification of women. In the third, he found that in talking with men about the processes of objectification they engaged in, men were able to heighten their awareness of ways in which their approach to gender was constructed. This began the business of breaking down the processes that pressured them to conform to hegemonic masculinities. Further, by confronting the objectification of women and homophobia, both of which inform heterosexual dominance and misogyny, homophobia and patriarchy could become linked. This will be discussed a little later in this chapter, but it is significant to point out at this stage that Pease’s participatory methods were employed to some extent in the structure of this research.

Pease’s work in establishing a post-modern model, while based in profeminism points to a third position, somewhere between the feminists and the mythopoets. In post-feminist thought, a gender-just society is sought. Post-feminist men support the claims of women for social, political and economic equity. They also express similar concerns for men and boys. It is on this point that profeminists and post-feminists disagree. The post-feminist claims that the feminists (male and female) lack an understanding of the disproportionate ways in which males suffer, are disempowered and are at risk of abuse and neglect. There is a danger that male affirming voices can be seen as misogynist and repressed by feminists because they challenge feminist doctrines. Kipnis (1995, p.283) claims that a critique of feminism needs to be viewed
as “more than chauvinism, backlash or counter-social revolution and where proactive male perspectives are not paranoically dismissed as implicitly anti-feminist.”

The view of the feminists that men have all the power does not accurately reflect the oppression that men experience in race, class and sexual orientation. This, says Benjamin (1995), does not deny the privilege experienced by men but the need to view oppression and victimisation in ways that are not ideologically rigid. Horrocks (1995, p.175) maintains that men are both the subjects and the objects of oppression: they oppress women and are oppressed by patriarchal capitalism.

Any progress in this field must be achieved through the co-operation of all known information and approaches to this point. As many theories are incompatible, it is impossible and undesirable to embrace them all. A profeminist attitude has much to commend it and this research acknowledges that men have power in the macro sense. It also recognises the value of the profeminist movement in its political activity to ensure equality for males and females. Based on research of Clatterbaugh (1997), Kimmel and Messner (1995), Pease (2000), Benjamin (1995) and Kipnis (1995) this thesis recognises and seeks to address the needs of men who are disempowered and marginalized. A post-feminist view is seen as being able to embrace this throughout, while accepting that other viewpoints have contributed and continue to contribute to the field of study.

**MASculINITY IN AUSTRALIA**

Researchers into gender acknowledge the place of situational, historical and cultural factors in any discussion. This section seeks to briefly establish the place of masculinity in an Australian context. Williams (1982, p.146) suggests that researchers in different cultures examine the significance of gender in the context of their own cultures. His studies confirmed that in sex-trait stereotypes there are “important cross national similarities as well as some interesting differences in the psychological characteristics that are differentially associated with men and women in different countries.”

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12 Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997; Doyle 1995, p.27; Hall 1992; Basow 1994 and others’ work in this field has been acknowledged in the preceding sections.
Mahoney (1985) concurs: masculinity and femininity, he says are not just behaviours but should be looked at within social, cultural and political categories. Furthermore, he suggests that humans need to be studied across and within cultures. Louise (1997, p.62) also advocates this: “Any theory of gender related difference must therefore take into account the specific social and cultural context in which it appears.” Furthermore, she emphasizes that gender by constructionist argument is the result of social forces and not innate characteristics. Strategies of difference or feminist aesthetics cannot be said to remain constant over time or different cultures.

Colling’s research (1992) regarding masculinity in Australia was based on groups of men aged 27 to 58 who were not statistically representative. His findings are based on the belief that because Australia’s history was harsh and difficult, the first European men who came had to adapt. This led to what Colling describes as very Australian styles of behaviour, described as “mateship.”

Phillips (2001) comments on the difference between mates and friends: friendship is the affection between people that allows them to express emotions, feelings, fears, doubts and frailties and be accepted. Mateship often forbids signs of weakness or emotion and destroys relationships – mates goad or dare each other into risky or unhealthy behaviour. Mateship, constructed from early primary school, represents many of the behaviours described above as contributing to hegemonic masculinity.

Historically, Colling (1992) pinpoints the convict experiences, the gold rush of the 1850s, the two World Wars and the sexual revolution of the 1960s as playing a part in establishing male roles in Australian society. The convict, he says, was abandoned, robbed of skills, family and friends and, even as early as the transportation ship, began to realize that the only person he could trust was himself. The convict also needed to repress and divert any softer emotions that may make him vulnerable to exploitation. Colling reported that the proportion of men to women was approximately 4:1 in the cities and 20:1 in the country. Hughes (1987) highlights the social significance of this lack of gender proportion by suggesting that women moderate men’s behaviour. The early settler developed a “survival frontier mentality” which united against authority. Bushrangers became role models. In this...
respect, Australian settlement differed from America, where the Pilgrim Fathers had deep religious convictions. In South Africa, where the Dutch reformers were strict and hard working, it was different again. Early European settlers in Australia who took over Aboriginal land had to suppress feelings of pity, fear and compassion and value loyalty, reliability, ingenuity, courage, toughness and humour. “Mates” were male and lived their lives in the company of men.

Brisbane (1991) recorded that there were moments of music and drama in the early years of settlement. In the early theatres, unruly behaviour was common – conditions were hard and many performing artists turned to drink because of their itinerant lifestyle. Brisbane also comments that athletic achievement was highly regarded in popular entertainment from the early 19th century to the present day. The role of sport will be pursued in greater depth later in this chapter and in Chapter 3.

The gold rush of the 1850s reinforced competitiveness and distrust of authority. The Catholic Irish migrants who arrived at this time brought a culture of struggle against oppression that dated back hundreds of years. The Eureka Stockade, says Colling (1992), embodied egalitarianism, the idea that the working man is as good as his master.

The World Wars brought the opportunity to be a hero. Australian culture to this point meant that Australian men were suited to war with their suppression of tender emotions, dependence on external threat, perception of good and evil in “black and white” terms and their sense of loyalty to one another. The union movement further reinforced these attributes. The “pub” became a social centre where the topics of conversation included work, sport, politics and sex.

In the 1960s, the questioning of Australian male identity began in earnest. When television commenced transmission in 1956, Australia’s first steps towards globalisation began. The Vietnam War exposed the myth of heroics and at the same time embodied anti-authority. Men could grow their hair and women could take the pill and become more actively involved in the workforce, thus blurring traditionally established sex roles. Feminism initially began to attack men for their role in
establishing a patriarchal society (literally a society ruled “by the father”) and the male identity was subjected to scrutiny.

Across more than 200 years of European settlement, men adopted unusual role models and celebrated unusual events: Eureka Stockade, Ned Kelly, Gallipoli and Waltzing Matilda. The last of these embodies the cultural hero – fearlessness, contempt for authority and hardship. There was little room for uncertain, creative, loving and frightened men. Historical conditions were not conducive to displays of singing and dancing. Men are often portrayed as being unable to express themselves. “Mates” who are not friends do not allow creativity. Hegemonic masculinity in Australia has an historical basis that continues to be maintained through many avenues including the media and sporting institutions. In contemporary Australia the media continues to present two-dimensional roles thereby reinforcing the stereotypes by promoting actors, sports stars and businessmen. How this is achieved will be discussed in the following sections.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY

As gender is constructed, the question of exactly how masculinity is preserved needs to be addressed. Earlier references have mentioned, to varying degrees, the role of society through the media, sport, family, school and the workplace.

Each of these institutions interrelates with a complex system that creates masculinity. Some of the contributing factors were referred to by Doyle (1995) earlier. They include patriarchy, an emphasis on physical strength and courage and the subordination of women and homosexuals.

Of particular note in Doyle’s historical account in Table 3 are anti-femininity and the anti-homosexual bias present in the early Christian church. Some women were viewed as evil and the early church fathers portrayed women as the reason for men’s downfall and subsequent sinfulness. With regard to homosexuality, the early fathers emphasized the need for a true man to renounce his sexual desires - the only sexual outlet was to be found in heterosexual activity and then only for procreation. Sex beyond marriage and sex as a human expression of love and joy or for pleasure
seeking, was expressly banned by Pope Gregory the Great in the 6th century. As homosexuality could never be used for procreation and only for pleasurable reasons, it was vilified by the church fathers. In perspective, this was to provide a contrast with the homosexual practices of the Greeks and Romans.

An anti-homosexual bias precedes this in that there is evidence to suggest that Jewish leaders during the 5th century BC proclaimed homosexuality an abomination and defilement of the Bible’s injunction in Genesis 8 to increase and multiply. Other earlier references in this chapter pertain to the role the avoidance of femininity and male gender role rigidity play in constructing masculinity. The topic of aggression was also referred to in the last chapter as being significant. It is clear from the earlier discussion that the construction of masculinity is multifaceted. It is fluid across time, culture and even within a lifespan. The contributing factors referred to above are so intertwined that it is almost impossible to separate them. Mac An Ghaill (1994, p.109) claims there are three cultural elements that contribute to the construction of hegemonic masculinity: compulsory heterosexuality, misogyny and homophobia. Figure 1 attempts to provide a framework for some of these issues, placing heterosexuality and misogyny into the domain of hegemonic masculinity.

![Diagram of Factors Contributing to Construction of Masculinity]

**FIGURE 1:** Factors contributing to construction of masculinity

Source: Harrison, 2002
To provide further explanation of Figure 1: in its most recent usage, patriarchal power refers to the fact that men have historically and traditionally dominated culture and have been privileged by it. It serves to exclude or marginalise certain individuals or groups – women, the effeminate, and homosexuals: any that opposes the hegemonic. Patriarchy also ranks those within its ranks.

In some feminist writing, patriarchy signifies the power all men have over women. Not all men achieve power: a person’s masculinity, according to Buchbinder (1998, p.43) may even be defined by whether he has a place within patriarchy. Thus a man who is openly homosexual (or displays so-called “homosexual” characteristics, however they be defined) is marginalised because he has abdicated the privilege offered to him.

Patriarchy therefore affects men as much as women. Men are oppressed and isolated by the models to which they are expected to conform. Men struggle to prove themselves to be men and the penalties for failing to do so are considerable. They are teased, isolated and forced into constant competition in drinking, sport, womanising and risk-taking behaviours. Masculine identities often expect men to curtail their lifestyles in order to conform. This can include the choices men have made with regard to music. Gender studies have not always recognised the damage done to men under patriarchy. Unlike other forms of masculinity politics, post-feminism recognises this and seeks to address it, without denying the damage done to women by patriarchy.

The model offered by Buchbinder (1998) has much to offer this debate. He states that the masculine is defined negatively in modern western culture in two ways: once by sex and once by sexuality. In the first place the masculine is a gender category that is allocated to only one sex: the male. This definition by sex has been a way of policing men, via the threat of feminisation or the perception of effeminacy. A further cultural definition is by sexuality: the masculine = heterosexual. Hence, the homosexual is marginalised or excluded. The masculine then is definitely not
female and definitely not homosexual.\textsuperscript{13} These two factors are almost inextricably linked. Kaufman (1995) reflects on this further: a boy learns that the only thing as bad as being a girl is being a sissy, that is, being like a girl.

The feminine and the homosexual male are unthinkable and have no place in the heterosexual culture: they are the abject in patriarchy. Their expulsion from patriarchy helps to define patriarchy. Heterosexual males’ behaviour is therefore kept under scrutiny. Exhortations by parents for boys not to cry and name calling when boys do not measure up to physical tests (throwing etc) are clear warnings about what is acceptable behaviour.

\textbf{AVOIDANCE OF FEMININITY AND HOMOPHOBIA}

A body of research has been undertaken into how the avoidance of femininity and homophobia contribute to the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Pease (2000), Plummer (2000) and Jay (1991) agree that a binary exists. An individual belongs to the masculine group or the “other” group. Essentially, this is what Connell expounded. Most men (not all) subscribe to hegemonic masculinity, the rest are subordinate to this.

Plummer (1999, p.6) defines homophobia as “a broad range of situations and processes characterised, at least in part, by anti-homosexual bias.” This is somewhat removed from the original definition of “the dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals” (Weinberg 1972 in Plummer 1999, p. 4).

The New South Wales Department of Education (1998) describes four different forms of homophobia: personal or internalised homophobia, interpersonal homophobia, institutional homophobia and cultural homophobia.

Personal homophobia stems from a personal belief that homosexuality is unacceptable. This can result in low self-confidence and self-harming behaviours. Interpersonal homophobia may manifest itself as name-calling, discrimination or

\textsuperscript{13} The idea of masculinity being defined by what it “is not” has been an underlying theme throughout this thesis. See references to Craib 1987; Stronach 1996; Jay 1991 and McLean 1995 in Chapters 1 and 2.
verbal and physical harassment. Institutional homophobia refers to ways in which government, business, churches and other organisations discriminate against people on the basis of sexual orientation. Cultural homophobia is more hidden and refers to social standards and stereotypes that tend to portray only heterosexuality. The types of homophobic activity described below draw heavily on these definitions.

This concept of gender-incongruent behaviour is central to the construction of homophobia as a defining mechanism for masculinity. Fagot (1977) also found that boys who act in a stereotypically feminine way are likely to be teased and ultimately rejected from their peer groups. Boys who display cross-gender behaviours tend to play alone more than three times more frequently than those who act in a gender-congruent manner. Parents tend to punish boys more harshly than girls for gender-incongruent forms of play (Langlois and Downs 1980, Lytton and Romney 1991).

Along with other institutions, schools perpetuate systems that support hegemonic masculinity by which women and non-conforming males are disempowered and subordinated. This is done through the rewarding of success in sports and traditionally masculine academic areas such as maths and sciences while success in the arts is often marginalised (Colling 1992, Rofes 1995). Adler (1997, p.30) places the blame for this with society:

> Our students grow amidst a flood of messages from parents, school and the media about what is acceptable in terms of gender-appropriate behaviour. Individuals who possess inherent traits, which are ascribed as outside of their gender, are stigmatised. Behaviour that crosses established gender boundaries is ridiculed and punished.

A post-feminist perspective seeks to support males engaging in these so-called gender-inappropriate behaviours. Griffin and Genasci (1990) say that homophobic accusation is used to spread intolerance amongst young people of behaviours “perceived to be outside the boundaries of traditional gender role expectations.”

Behaviour that crosses established gender lines is ridiculed and punished. Jackson (1990, p.188) gives an account of his personal experience of this phenomenon: “We made constant jokes about browners and queers were always on the lookout for any unguarded hint of effeminacy in each others’ gestures and behaviours.”

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14 This notion also receives some support from Wood 1982; Walker 1988; Jackson 1990; Doyle 1995; Benyon 1989 and Adler 1999.
Heterosexual men who are careless in monitoring their behaviour may, according to Buchbinder (1998, p.138) and McLean (1995), incur the wrath usually reserved for homosexual men: hostility, marginalisation and persecution. The effeminate heterosexual man who signals non-correspondence between effeminacy and sexual orientation is particularly vulnerable. Epstein (1998, p.103) supports this view stating that homophobic abuse is levelled at boys who “dislike rough and tumble games…preferring gentler pursuits.” Pallotta-Chiarolli (2001) reported similar findings.

A man who labels another man as homosexual is perceived as more masculine, sociable and desirable. Men who were incorrectly labelled as homosexual become increasingly more masculine in their behaviour. Homophobia is then perceived as more to do with sex roles than to do with prejudices against homosexuals. It is used to devalue anyone who deviates from the traditional role. It is only incidentally directed at homosexuals – it is more common against the heterosexual male.

It has been found (Storms 1980) that homosexuals are less likely than heterosexuals to possess either a greater degree of cross gender traits or cross-gender identity. The terms “poof,” “gay,” “fag” and “queer” have been found to refer not to a person’s sexuality, but to their gender: the words being a generic form of “non-masculine” or “effeminate.”

Being unmasculine in this way is not necessarily being feminine, but rather being in opposition to the accepted view of masculinity. The issue here is not about homosexuality, though homosexuals are the definitive targets: it is more about characteristics and behaviours. Phillips (2001, p.201) comments on this: feminine characteristics in males do not necessarily indicate homosexuality: “there is no direct relationship between how “feminine” a man might appear to be and homosexuality.”

The stereotype of the feminised male homosexual persists, as does the expectation that female-oriented behaviour increases the likelihood of a man exhibiting such behaviours being (or becoming) homosexual. The concept that effeminacy and homosexuality are aligned is a popular stereotype, the truth of which is not supported
in research. Only 15% of male homosexuals appear effeminate (Saghir and Robins 1973) and effeminacy is often stigmatised in the homosexual subculture.

The characteristics of those likely to be accused of belonging to the “other”\textsuperscript{15} category are largely situational. Researchers including Plummer (2000) and Pease (2000) refer to such things as being dependent, physically immature, weak, gentle, soft, submissive, unconventional, emotional, tender, being too neat, studious, academic, privileged or not being sporty or part of the team. Anyone who breaks the team to support an accused “poofter” can also be considered suspect.

The inclusion of “academic” refers to being conscientious and to choice of school subjects. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter on schools. Working hard is considered unmasculine. Frosh (2001) comments on this, reflecting that teenagers who failed to conform to the macho stereotype risk being bullied or labelled as gay by their fellow students. So too is being artistic. Martino (1997a) gave an example of a student who was targeted as an “art boy” because he carried an art file and of how this harassment quickly escalated to “fag boy” and physical violence.

The Kinsey Institute report (Levitt and Klassen 1973) found that one of the beliefs American adults had was that only certain occupations were appropriate for homosexuals. These were subsequently dubbed “sissy work.” Levine (1995, p.219) provided an illustrative (but not exhaustive) example of the types of occupations that may be culturally approved in this category in Table 4 they are listed according to “feminine” behaviours. According to the data presented in Table 4, homophobia has the capacity to limit employment prospects or entrench stereotypes.

Plummer (1999, p.305) summarizes homophobia and its effects in these terms:

Homophobia is a mobile polymorphous prejudice that incorporates a range of meanings, many of which are nonsexual. Its true logic lies in its negative bias, its relationship with “otherness” and its antithesis to masculinity.

\textsuperscript{15} “other” is that which is defined as not belonging to hegemonic masculinity.
TABLE 4
Levine’s examples of “sissy work” according to feminine behaviours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nutrient Jobs:</th>
<th>Feminine Field</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helping Professions</td>
<td>Nurse, librarian, secretary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Work</td>
<td>Cook, counterman, airline steward, bellhop, bartender, waiter, orderly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative Jobs:</td>
<td>Commercial Arts</td>
<td>Graphic designer, window display</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home related</td>
<td>Interior decorator, florist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooming</td>
<td>Fashion designer, hairdresser, model</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive Jobs:</td>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>Actor, singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Dancer, musician, artist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Levine (1995, p.219)

It can also serve to limit areas of interest. (Lehne 1995, p.334) confirms this:

Homophobic men do not participate in sissy, womanly, homosexual activities or interests. Maintenance of the male sex role as a result of homophobia is as limiting for men as female sex roles are for women. An appreciation of many aspects of life, although felt by most men in different times of their lives, cannot be genuinely and openly enjoyed by men who must defend their masculinity through compulsively male-stereotyped pursuits. Fear of being thought to be a homosexual thus keeps some men from pursuing areas of interest, or occupations, considered more appropriate for women or homosexuals.

Hegemonic masculinity is constructed through the maintenance of rigid behaviours and the avoidance of any behaviours that may be perceived as gender-incongruent. These include conduct that may be associated with homosexuality or effeminacy. The erroneous connection of these two quite separate characteristics is perpetuated by hegemonic masculinity. One of the ways in which this is achieved is thorough homophobic bullying.

**BULLYING, DEPRESSION AND SUICIDE**

Homophobia is part of the larger social phenomenon of bullying. Rigby (1996, p.15) defines bullying as “the repeated oppression, psychological or physical, of a less powerful person by a more powerful person or group of persons.” He categorizes a number of forms: physical, verbal, gesture, extortion, exclusion and sexual harassment. Of these all are relevant to some extent, but verbal, exclusion and sexual
harassment are particularly important. Rigby (1998) also found that 17.9% of bullying in the 13 – 18 year old range occurred because boys believed other boys were wimps.

Ainley (1996, p.163) reported that over 80% of secondary students and over 90% of primary students reported sex-based name calling and that it was almost equally true of both sexes. Hillier et al. (1998) found that 70% of students in his study reported they were abused more at school than anywhere else. It is prevalent across all age groups, but is particularly problematic among boys at the transition from primary school to secondary school. This transitory stage has some implication for musical participation and will be discussed in Chapter 5. Frequency of bullying is also an issue. Victims report name calling as varying from a couple of times a day to twenty or thirty times a day. It peaked in the middle schooling years, and reduced in the final two years of school.

Boys outnumber girls in every instance and the number of reports decreases at junior secondary level (Olweus 1993). His data with regard to students reporting bullying may be best represented in Figure 2 below. This was from his sample of 42,390 boys and 40,940 girls.

![Graph showing incidence of reported bullying Grade 2 to Grade 9](image)

FIGURE 2: Incidence of reported bullying Grade 2 to Grade 9
Source: adapted from Olweus (1993)

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16 This does not necessarily mean that the incidence of bullying decreases, only the level of reporting.
In some cases, bullying occurred with the full knowledge of teachers and other school authorities (Treadway and Yoakam 1992; Hillier et al. 1998). O’Conor (1995) takes this further: she found that while teachers often punish students who make racist remarks, homophobic comments are typically unchallenged and sometimes even perpetrated by teachers themselves. Of the incidence of bullying that Hillier reported above, only 60% of the perpetrators were students. Teachers tend to deal more readily with physical bullying. The more subtle strategies of ridicule, shaming and making others feel inadequate have been developed by students and others. Griffiths (1995, p.17) reports that students believe as few as 25% of teachers deal effectively with bullying incidents in the classroom.

Olweus (1993) found that typical victims tend to be more anxious, insecure, cautious, sensitive and quiet. These characteristics bear some resemblance to the characteristics of those whose behaviour was opposed to the accepted view of masculinity as outlined by Pease and Plummer above. If victims are boys they are likely to be physically weaker than other boys. Physical strength is likely to play a part in determining the popularity of a boy. This is considered in the discussion that follows in relation to sport and is clearly indicated in Table 5 that describes elements of peer acceptance.

The word “poofter” is introduced in the middle years of primary school and is not sexual in connotation at this time. Plummer (1999, p.41) records these responses from his subjects: “When did people start calling me poofter?…Oh about the third grade” and “poof didn’t mean anything…it was just a derogatory term.” Plummer (1999, p.58) explains further “words such as poofter in their earliest use … were not used to signify homosexuality.”

The words in use some time ago to describe non-traditional boys were “sissy, pansy and nancy-boy.” These have been replaced by “gay, faggot and queer.” Teachers who challenge students on the use of these words are met with the response that the words have no connection to homosexuality but are used to brand an individual as odd, non-traditional or girlish.

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17 One could surmise that at least a proportion of the remaining 40% were staff.
The labels can gain sexual meaning in the secondary school, at the transition into Year 7 or 8 when older boys are responsible for inducting younger boys. Of all the terms used in verbal bulling and sexual harassment these are the most serious, damaging and long lasting, because of the stigma attached to them. It is applied to boys regardless of their sexual preference. Mac An Ghaill (1994, p.165) comments on the acquisition of homosexual meaning in this way:

The label “poof” had several meanings; sometimes it is used with explicit sexual connotation, while at other times it is a term of general abuse. The notoriety and frequency of the use of the label causes much distress.

In modern usage this is not necessarily the same as being called gay, a term that is applied to almost anything that causes disdain: even inanimate objects. Name calling of this nature takes place typically in secluded locations, on the way to and from school, on the sports field, between lessons or at any time when the direct view of the teacher is obscured (Parker 1996, p.145).

The bullying of rejection, isolation and verbal taunt can quickly lead to low self-esteem, poor mental health and depression (Rofes 1995; Pollack 1999; Critchley 2000). Depression affects not only academic performance, but also the capacity to cope with a wide range of life skills including relationships, transitions and attaining vocational goals. Critchley (2000, p.26) notes that it even affects the capacity to enjoy normal activities.

Depression can lead to suicide as the victim attempts to cope with managing these life skills. Specifically, sustained homophobic targeting is thought to contribute significantly to youth suicide. “Verbal taunts”, says Mac An Ghaill (1994, p.128) “often play a key part in a child’s decision to commit suicide.”

The notion that suicide is the result of masculine culture is supported by Patience (1992, p.58) who found that “hard culture” was developed through the harsh treatment of Aborigines, sadism inherent in the convict system and the oppression of other ethnic groups. Phillips (2001, p.127) gives some support to this:

…where the standard of masculinity involves not showing feelings for fear of seeming weak, not sharing your common masculine experiences for fear of being labelled gay… where the results are loneliness, lack of support and
affection, feeling undervalued and isolated, there is no avenue of escape for those whose judgement of themselves is severe.

Colling’s history of Australian masculinity outlined earlier gives further examples of the context of the development of these issues.

While it is difficult to determine the exact causes of suicide, there is an argument that the expectation of living up to the demands of hegemonic masculinity is one of the reasons. The data on suicides indicates that there are appreciably more males than females who are successful:

- Australia is reported as having the fourth highest rate of youth suicide (West 2000);
- There has been a reported increase in suicide rates (up to four times as many deaths) in the 15 – 24 age bracket for males since 1969 (Cantor et al. 1998);
- In 1986, 1531 males committed suicide, compared with 451 females in the same period (ABS 1987);
- In 1988, 388 males and 60 females in the 15 – 24 age bracket (ABS 1989);
- In 1999, 2002 males and 490 females committed suicide. 22.5% of the males were in the 15 – 24 age bracket, representing 450 deaths (ABS 2000).

Of greater significance, the ABS (2000) report offered data regarding the massacre at Columbine High School in Denver Colorado, when a dozen children were shot dead in 1999. As a result of this event, the United States Secret Service studied 37 American school shootings, and discovered that most of those responsible had two things in common: they had been bullied at school and were depressed.

Bullying of those who display gender incongruent behaviour is prevalent in society and, as a result, in schools. This bullying typically takes the form of verbal homophobic accusation. Other forms of bullying include physical violence and isolation. These forms of bullying have proven links with depression and suicide, particularly for males. The extent to which musicians are subjected to bullying of this nature will be discussed in subsequent chapters but an example can be found in the Australian Broadcasting Corporation’s 7:30 Report on April 8, 2002. The report began with this statement: “Conan Hall is a rare 13-year-old, prepared to play his
violin in front of a camera, a task most other children his age would shy away from.” It went on to describe a bullying program that assisted this student with issues of self-confidence brought about through bullying. The connection made between playing the violin, bullying, depression and suicide is clearly implied in this data.

THE ROLE OF SPORT IN CONSTRUCTING MASCULINITY

There have been a number of instances in this chapter that have linked the construction of masculinity to sport. These include aggression and bullying on the sports field (Parker 1996), an emphasis on physical strength or toughness (Pollack 1999; Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997), being part of a team (Plummer 2000; Pease 2000) and involvement or appreciation of sport in Australia (Colling 1992).

Colling (1992, p.134) refers to the male preoccupation with sport as having both advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side are the benefits of health, the setting it provides for non-destructive aggression, the development of a person’s reflexes and agility, the promotion of excellence, the development of teamwork, the sense of achievement, the mastery over weakness and structuring of leisure time. Hawkes (2001) also refers to the positive aspects of Australian sport that include physical, social, emotional, academic and moral benefits. Choosing the right amount of sport, the right type, the right coach and the right skills and attitudes are clearly very important.

The negative aspect is that it can promote intolerance and the idea that ethics can be supplanted by the need to win at any cost. Competitions can also stifle men’s co-operative and vulnerable side. Of significance in the current debate is men’s inability to play to enjoy themselves and to suspend self-consciousness.

The topic of the role of sport in schools recently came under scrutiny in Queensland when Hugh Rose, head of the GPS (Greater Public Schools) Headmasters Association commented that while sport can be positive, the drive for “winning at all costs” created a blinkered focus. In The Courier Mail on Saturday April 6, 2002 Rose’s comments sparked healthy debate about the value of such experiences. Rose
is the veteran of 13 rugby union tests for Australia and the contribution made by him to this debate is constructive.

The data indicating participation in competitive sport, which can reinforce hegemonic masculinity, is significant. A large body of research has been undertaken into establishing sport as a fundamental structured institution, representing a bastion of male domination.\textsuperscript{18} Messner (1990) describes sport as the single most important element of the peer status system of the U.S. adolescent male. Pronger (1990) links sport, masculinity, peer status and violence while Parker (1996) actually maps out the relationship between masculinity and boys’ physical education, focusing on issues of violence and aggression. Pollack (1999, p.273) acknowledges the advantages of sport as well as the disadvantages:

As much as they offer a break from the Boy Code, a chance for openness, expression and intimacy, sports can also push boys back to loneliness, shame and vicious competition…they cause some boys who are not involved in sport to feel left out, ashamed and unworthy.

In sport, boys learn to devalue actions that are perceived to reflect weakness and to suppress emotions that reflect softness. Athletics is one of the primary ways in which boys learn to differentiate themselves from girls and to distance themselves from the qualities they perceive to be feminine. This is achieved by bonding around their sense of superiority to and rejection of what they consider to be feminine. This is typically achieved, as with other behaviours considered to be feminine, through homophobic accusation.

Examples of this can be found in a number of sources, including Parker (1996), Plummer (1999) and Mackay (1991). One of Parker’s (1996) subjects refers to this phenomenon:

poofs can’t do anything can they… I mean, y’know.. …I mean, a person who is a sort of a poof is a sort of a woman… I mean girl trying to catch a rock hard ball, kind of thing, has got about the same chance as a poof catching it.. so that’s why you call them a poof…

\textsuperscript{18} Sabo and Runfola 1985; Hall 1988; Messner 1988 and 1990; Messner and Sabo 1990 and Hargreaves 1994 discuss this at length.
Plummer (1999) commented at length on this saying that sports provide a microcosm of peer dynamics. If a boy doesn’t play sports or avoids sports, he is considered a “poofter.” He also refers to the lack of involvement in a team as a cause for verbal harassment. One of Epstein’s (1998, p.101) subjects commented that:

Thinking back to when I was 13/14/15, if people weren’t strong enough to play rugby for the school then my biggest upset was that “oh you’re a pooftah [sic], you nancy-boy” you know. People who wanted to be in the school play, rather than play football would get a lashing.

This view finds support in Powys’ (1980) autobiography in which he states:

Oh! Those interminable hours when I stood fielding, never being allowed to bowl a single ‘over’ and finally when my innings came round, always out for nothing! …after I had missed a catch at ‘long-leg’ saying to myself in bitter degradation and complete misery: ‘O Lord take away my life, for I am not worthy to live!’

The capacity of the male student to gain the acceptance of his peers through his athletic ability and involvement in other school activities was investigated by Coleman (1961). Kelly (1979) quantised these ideas. Kelly’s findings are summarised in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Being an athlete</td>
<td>4.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing lots of girls</td>
<td>3.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being a leader of school activities</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing the right people</td>
<td>3.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting good grades</td>
<td>3.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coming from the right family</td>
<td>3.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having money</td>
<td>3.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being friends with teachers</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1 = looked down on, 3 = neutral, 5 = looked up to
Source: Summary of Kelly (1979): Eight Status items for peer acceptance

With regard to what boys talk about, Kelly also offers some suggestions: 24% talk about sport, 24% talk about girls, 8.5% talk about school activities, 7.7% talk about cars, 3.5% talk about classes. Martino (1997, p.39) insists that the first two of these are “prerequisites for displaying a particularly desirable heterosexual masculinity
which confers status on those boys who fulfil those requirements.” This data clearly indicates the dominant role sport plays in students’ peer relations.

Mackay (1991) commented on the role of the coach, echoing the sentiments of an earlier part of this chapter that suggests teachers assist in entrenching homophobic behaviour. He specifically mentions a coach who refers to a player’s inferior performance as being like a “shela” or a “poofter.” This comment and others like it also help to embed the erroneous assumption that the feminine and the homosexual are linked. Mackay and Plummer are both working from an Australian perspective.

Sport in Australian culture has special significance. As Colling (1992) pointed out earlier, most role models have been images of hegemonic masculinity. Nile (2001) agrees that our heroes have always been able-bodied men who are sometimes connected with sport. Great intellects have never been particularly romanticised the way the body has in Australia. This relates directly to the fact that academia is avoided as possibly being un-masculine.19

Historically, the male dominance of sport may be due to the sex imbalance in the convict population. Women were traditionally excluded from sport. Cashman (1995) comments that sport was used by men to extend their cultural hegemony as far back as 1913, when hockey was discouraged for women because it produces angularity, hardens sinews, abnormally develops certain parts of the body, causes abrasions and imparts disfigurement. Twopenny, quoted in Booth and Tatz (2000, p.10), depicted Australian women as, among other things, “bound to strum the piano.” They were also portrayed as the negation of the male type. This further entrenches the conflict that appears to exist between the arts and sport.

Cashman (1995, p.73) comments further that sport is a powerful influence on the formative ages of adolescence when boys are encouraged to participate by peers, school authorities, parents and the media and it is one of the chief means of socialisation. It is far less important for girls – sport is just “one of the areas of female socialisation, along with the arts, music, ballet and domestic activities.” This

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19 Frosh discussed this phenomenon earlier.
comment adds further weight to the belief that the arts and sport are diametrically opposed in Australian society. Additional evidence of this can be found in McKay (1991, p.170) who comments on this phenomenon in Australian sport in this way:

…males are also oppressed physically, emotionally and sexually by sport and those who reject its macho aura are often ostracised or stigmatised by males and females. Male dancers and figure skaters are frequently subjected to ridicule about their manliness from both males and females.

The role of the media has transformed sport by giving it even greater popularity. West (2000) gives examples as to how hegemonic masculinity is entrenched through sport and the media. A further message perpetrated by media coverage is that violent practices are more aligned to entertainment than to violence. This is particularly true of football, boxing and wrestling where the participants refer to entertainment value and in some cases, belong to the relevant entertainment union. As such, it removes real acts of violence from the realm of reality and into fantasy.

Across all cultures, football (rugby league, rugby union, Australian rules, soccer, gridiron) plays a distinct role. According to Sabo and Panepinto (1990, p.115), football sustains, through ritual, a hegemonic model of masculinity that prioritises competitiveness, success, aggression and superiority to women. Boys who are good at sport have profited from this, while other boys – small or awkward boys, “scholarly or artistic boys” (Whitson 1990, p.19), boys who are not interested in sports - have to come to terms with it and find other ways to stake their masculinity. Note again the emphasis on both the scholarly and the artistic as the antithesis of the sporting male.

In Australia, there is a hierarchy within sport, with football (rugby league, rugby union or Australian football) ranked the highest. Depending on situational factors, soccer could be either accepted or subject to ridicule. Sporting status was judged on participation, team nature and whether it was tough or not. Many of Plummer’s (1999, p.47) subjects commented on this. Two such comments were: “if you didn’t achieve at footy, you were a poofter” and “the ones who weren’t playing sport, more interested in reading, the ones who weren’t doing what everyone else was doing.” Messner and Sabo (1994, p.104) concur. One of their subjects commented: “if you played certain games, you were considered a sissy.”
White and Vagi (1990, pp. 67 - 71) discuss rugby union’s specific role in this. They claim that rugby is a mock-combat sport developed from medieval games designed to affirm masculine aggression and that many other modern combat sports, such as gridiron developed from rugby to sustain these purposes. In the late 19th century as women became an increasing threat to men, the game was developed as a male preserve to bolster masculinity and at the same time “mock, objectify and vilify women.”

White and Vagi give two possible reasons for this behaviour: the presence of homosexuality in the boarding school and the rejection of the mother figure, also brought about by formerly nurturing mothers sending their sons off to boarding school. This separation from the mother was referred to earlier as a key element in the avoidance of the feminine.

Steele (2001) reports that sport has learned to embrace the positive aspects of music. The Australian Institute of Sport has begun research with The Australian National Academy of Music to develop inspirational sporting music. Coaches are keen to find out more about the elements of music that have the capacity to enhance performance, particularly those related to rhythm and tempo. Musicians are also learning from sports psychologists about aspects of performance, preparation and recovery, biomechanics and physiology.

Sport can contribute substantially to the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Students who avoid sports are subjected to scrutiny and homophobic violence. This is more so if the sport is football. For a number of reasons, many music students are not involved in sport. The effect of this will be pursued in the forthcoming chapters.

Sport, then, in the words of Jackson (1990, p.207) is “one of the most significant sites where masculinity is constructed and confirmed.”

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20 The full significance of this point may not be clear until Chapters 6 and 7, as some of the individuals and schools to be discussed have a strong tradition of rugby union.
REFLECTION AND SUMMARY

This chapter has focussed on the investigation of masculinities in attempt to define their nature and constituent parts. The attempt to define masculinity found that there was no such object but rather, in the words of Connell (1995) it is “processes and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives.” The inability to define a single object as “masculinity” is both limiting and emancipating. It makes the research harder to focus at the same time giving an opportunity to explore the relationships to which Connell refers. In the process of his study Connell was able to establish the existence of a dominant and dominating form: hegemonic masculinity. Because masculinities are fluid through time and context, it is not possible to find an individual who fulfils all the criteria associated with hegemonic masculinity. It exists as a common and influential set of beliefs that are born out in practices and relationships. In Australia, hegemonic masculinity is manifested in a variety of ways, including the concept of “mateship.” This idea is not the same as a friendship, which is viewed as a supportive relationship. Mateship, according to Phillips (2001), limits emotions and can be a destructive relationship. There appears to be some support for the notion that mateship in Australia has been historically constructed.

In Chapter 1, Focault (1978) was found to refer to dominant and subordinate ideologies within the framework of a discourse. As hegemonic masculinity is associated with heterosexuality, power, authority and aggression, femininity must be erroneously defined by societal forces as “everything else” and therefore subordinate. Living outside this privileged position is considered a challenge to the dominant form and is dealt with through aggression in the form of bullying. In some cases, this leads to depression and suicide of boys. This is particularly so for those who engage in gender-incongruent behaviour who are likely to be the subject of homophobic bullying. Verbal taunts are perceived as the most common, damaging and long lasting types of bullying activities. This type of bullying is seen as contributing to a range of behaviours that devalue femininity including the avoidance of femininity and male gender role rigidity.
Hegemonic masculinity “limits emotional horizons” (Clatterbaugh 1997), shows contempt for sensitivity (McLean 1997) and does not allow room for creativity (Colling 1992). Epstein (1998) was found to support this view in reference to homophobic abuse that is levelled at boys who “dislike rough and tumble games…preferring gentler pursuits.” Being athletic or part of a team is also considered highly in hegemonic masculine culture. The role of sport was reviewed in this chapter, with positive and negative aspects of involvement presented. While this will be discussed further in later chapters, the status of sport with culture and its contribution to the construction of hegemonic masculinity are noted here along with its antagonistic relationship with gentler pursuits. The extent to which some musical activities would be considered “gentler pursuits” will be investigated in subsequent chapters.

Hegemonic masculinity limits opportunities for involvement in a wide range of activities as acknowledged by Levitt and Klassen (1973), Lehne (1995), and Levine (1995). The author’s post-feminist view acknowledges the disadvantages this brings to both men and women. The next chapter looks at these issues in the context of school before proceeding to a more detailed discussion in relation to boys’ participation in musical activities.
CHAPTER THREE
THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

The importance of the educational environment as a site for the experimentation with and establishment of a gendered identity has been discussed at length. All the stakeholders in a school are significant in this process, but teachers and students are a crucial element in the formal and informal means by which gender is negotiated.

This chapter deals with how boys and girls view school differently. The role of the arts in education, subject selection and academic achievement will be investigated within the context of gender and masculinity as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. Given that much music education takes place in the co-curricular environment, activities outside the structured learning environment will also be considered.

The findings of recent research on adolescent boys in secondary education suggest the construction of masculinity is indirectly brought about through streaming, the academic curriculum and the definitions of knowledge. Sport, authority and management patterns will be addressed in this chapter.

THE APPROACH OF TEACHERS

The role of teachers in perpetuating gender stereotypes by complacency or active means has been discussed briefly in Chapter 2 where the opinion of Hillier et al. (1998) with regard to the compliance of teachers was noted. Skelton (1996) stated that male authority (by teachers and students) is achieved through the reliance on aggressive, competitive and intimidating patterns. This can serve to perpetuate the stereotypical images of “good, quiet girls and tough, naughty boys” through assemblies, wall displays, stories and attitudes of teachers.

In approaching gender issues, teachers, according to Mac An Ghaill (1994) can be categorised into three broad areas: “The Professionals” who emphasize authority,
discipline and control; the “Old Collectivists” who engage to some extent in pro-feminist behaviours and have a student-centred approach and the “New Entrepreneurs” who are ambitious and market orientated. These attributes will be reflected upon in Chapters 6 and 7.

Teachers and parents are critical to the passing on of cultural mores and values. The balance of sexes in the teaching profession also sends messages to students: at primary level, 22.7% of teachers are male and at secondary level 42.7% of teachers are male (Adams-Jones and Vickers, 2001, p.10). In the preschool years, only 2.9% of teachers are male. This could give students the message that teaching and learning at school are feminine pursuits.

The extent to which teachers influence students in relation to musical choices will become clearer in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Of particular attention at this point are the types of teachers outlined and their attitudes towards students.

THE APPROACH OF STUDENTS

It would appear that boys and girls view academic endeavours in different ways and tend to exhibit differences in subject choice and achievement. Apart from the social and academic issues, involvement in the co-curricular life of the learning environment is of particular interest in this research, as much music education takes place in times other than scheduled classes.

Girls tend to have a broader view of school and see it as fulfilling a personal and enrichment role in their development. Some boys view it as a place that focuses academic achievement. This could be related to each sex’s view of intelligence: females appear to subscribe to the entity theory of intelligence that proposes that you either have it, or you don’t. Males are more likely to subscribe to the incremental theory that says that the harder you work, the more you learn, the smarter you get.23 Further, females’ self-concept tends to be relationally orientated, while males’ self-concept is individuated. This can mean that females define themselves in terms of

23 Support for this approach can be found in Dweck 1986.
social relationships and males in terms of their achievement. Girls are socialized to preserve their relationships with others.

Girls are seen to communicate and listen (Lever 1976) and have deeper, more intimate friendships. Boys base their friendships on mutual interest. Being part of a team was seen to be an important factor in the maintenance of masculinity. Boys learn to be team members through their large group, large motor preference. Within their friendship groups, there is pride, identity development, excitement and status. As suggested in the summary to Chapter 2, there is often a high price to pay for belonging in terms of individuality and the capacity to express emotion.

The behaviour of boys in schools could be classified into two areas, according to Forsey (1990): behaviour that results from the power imperative and behaviour that results from denial of self. The power imperative was responsible for such things as aggressive behaviour including domination of space and of others, fighting and competition. Denial of self resulted in poor social skills, a fear of exhibiting weakness (or in this context being “feminine”) and the predominance of boys in virtually all remedial and special classes for intellectual and social problems. Both areas were thought to be responsible for discipline and attitudes to females.

According to Mahoney (1998, p.48), teachers report that girls are increasingly acting in ways conventionally associated with particular forms of masculinity. In this situation girls see femininities and masculinities as fluid entities that are not biologically fixed. Gates (1989) also mentioned that girls appear to be adopting social values traditionally associated with males. The effect of this in music programs will be discussed later.

Given that boys and girls have different expectations of schooling and the differences in their experience seems to be great, the question of whether single sex schooling (by choice) or a co-educational learning environment is better for either sex has been the source of debate over the past decade.
THE CASE FOR SINGLE SEX ACTIVITIES

According to Kruse (1992), teachers refer to the establishment of single sex classes as positive, indicating a major advantage for the learning experience of girls. Boys in single sex classes are reported as being less distracted and more willing to contribute to classes and take risks (Sukhnandan et al. 2000).

Co-educational primary and secondary schools have piloted single sex classes. With regard to the study of the arts, Watterston (2000) found that males in single sex groups in elementary and high school levels were more likely to engage in singing, poetry, drama and language. The experience of Clarkson Primary School in Western Australia indicated that in literacy classes improvement in academic and social domains was apparent. Specialist teachers reported higher levels of satisfaction. For example, in musical instrument selection, gender lines were more likely to be crossed. Boys did not feel the need to live up to the stereotype and discipline referrals decreased significantly. However, there is a danger that the single sex environment can serve to reinforce stereotypes – that masculinity can continue to be viewed as the antithesis of femininity (Connell 1987).

Leach (2000) intimates that at Buderim State School, where single sex classes were offered for the first time in 2000, boys reported being relieved at not having to compete with girls while girls appreciated the opportunity to get on with their work. Ainley (1996) indicates that some single sex schools don’t offer students as full a range of subjects. For example, subjects stereotypically associated with girls might not be offered in boys’ schools. A clearer indication of this trend can be seen in Table 6 and Figure 4.

There are economic considerations inherent in this decision. The offering of single sex classes within the co-educational school can alleviate this. Watterston, (2000, p.112) acknowledged the positive outcomes of the Western Australian experience of single sex classes. She also cautioned that the relationship between and amongst the genders needed to be developed positively, enhanced and transformed into co-educational settings. Situational factors are also significant, including the selection of
teachers to participate in such endeavours. The role of single sex activities with regard to music will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

ACHIEVEMENT AND SUBJECT CHOICE

Achievement

In recent years there has been considerable emphasis on the comparative achievement levels of boys and girls. In general, these have tended to focus on the improvement in achievement standards by females, particularly in Maths and Sciences. It has already been noted in Chapter 1 that boys commonly exhibit more interest and higher results in specific aspects of this area, while girls are typically more interested in humanities and achieve more highly in these pursuits. An examination of the data in Australian schools in recent years may reveal the basis for this trend.

In Queensland during 2000, female students outperformed male students in the Overall Position (OP) rankings for Year 12 students state-wide (Courier Mail: December 18 2000, p.3). Of the total of 599 students achieving an OP ranking of 1, 301 were males; however females dominated rankings 1 to 20 and males dominated rankings 20 to 25. It should also be noted that a slightly higher number of girls completed Year 12.

In New South Wales (NSW) in the same year, the Higher School Certificate results reflected a similar trend. As far back as 1994, boys were 17 points behind the girls in tertiary entrance scores in NSW, according to the video What about the boys (ABC 1994). The video also reports that 10% more girls stay in school for the senior years. West (2000) reports that the trend for boys to be over-represented in the lower ranks is a national one.

Queensland’s field positions also offer a perspective in this discussion. There are five positions and Phillips (2001, p.115) reports the relative proportion of each sex. Of

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24 The Overall Position rankings are the measure used to determine high school achievement in Queensland. Rankings rate from 1 to 25, with 1 being the highest.
particular interest here is the superiority of girls in Field E, where the arts are a major component.

- Field A: Extended written expression involving complex written analysis and synthesis of ideas – dominated by girls
- Field B: Short written communication involving reading, comprehension and expression – dominated by girls
- Field C: Basic numeracy – dominated by boys
- Field D: Solving complex problems involving mathematical symbols and abstractions – dominated by boys
- Field E: Substantial practical performance involving physical or creative arts or expressive skills – dominated by girls

Additionally, with regard to the study of English, the 1996 National School English Literacy survey indicated different performance for boys and girls: 34% of boys did not meet national standards, compared with 23% of girls in grade three. For writing, 35% of year 3 boys did not meet the standard, compared with 19% of girls. Year 5 results showed similar trends in reading, but were significantly worse for boys on writing tasks (Gilbert 1997, p.19).

This data points to boys underachieving at school in the key areas of literacy and numeracy. As discussed in the last chapter, there is evidence to suggest that working hard at school is unmasculine. Boys, according to Frosh (2001), admire other boys who are dominant, in control and swear a lot, even if those character traits lead to poor academic results.

**Subject Choice**

To give an historical perspective on the topic of subject choice, figures for enrolment in subjects in 1980 in the United Kingdom are given below in Table 6 (Mahoney 1985, p.17). This sample represents an enrolment of over 500,000 students of whom just over 11,000 elected to take music. Music was the subject taken by the smallest number of students by a large margin.
TABLE 6
Enrolment in School Subjects in 1980 in the United Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>% of males</th>
<th>% of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Needlework</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic subjects</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial subjects</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Knowledge</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Science</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Drawing</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalwork</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mahoney (1985, p.17)

Parry (1996, pp.2-3) pointed out that little has changed since Mahoney’s (1985) study: “Subject choices follow the traditional pattern with girls highly visible in the arts and boys in science.” In terms of achievement in the United Kingdom, girls outstripped boys in all subjects except physics (The trouble with boys 1998). Burr (1998, p.57) reports that while the sex anti-discrimination act was introduced in 1975, little has changed with regard to traditional subject choices in the United Kingdom. A larger proportion of United States school students taking visual and performing arts and intending to attend college are female, according to data in Figure 3.
Subject choices in Australian schools were the topic of a study by Fullerton and Ainley (2000, p.14). Some of the results of this study are presented in Figure 4. This was part of a longitudinal study in which data for 7500 students was collected. Gender was found to be one of the student characteristics accounting for the greatest proportion of variation in student enrolments. Males dominate the areas of mathematics, physical sciences, technical studies, computer studies and physical education. Females dominate in the areas of English, humanities, social sciences, biological sciences, the arts, languages other than English, home sciences and health studies. Of interest here is the enrolments in the arts. Around 30% of the total students enrolled in 1998 elected to take an arts subject, with almost twice the number of girls than boys opting for an arts subject. For the purposes of this study, Art, Music, Drama, Dance, Theatre Studies, Graphic Communication and Media Studies were included in the Arts Key Learning Area.
Allen and Bell (1996, p.5) report that in Queensland boys are under-represented in Speech and Drama, Music, Secretarial Studies, History and Languages. They suggest that the view of examining differences in participation and attainment by gender is itself a somewhat meaningless enterprise and that the most meaningful differences in outcomes are those produced by an analysis of the relationships of gender and socio-economic background or gender and region. Allen and Bell are correct to recommend an analysis these relationships, but as they have done, data on participation needs to be presented in order to form the foundation for the argument.

In his paper on the cost of hegemonic masculinity for boys and girls, Martino (1995, p. 354) found that one of his interviewees provided this response with regard to the study of English; “English is more suited to girls because it’s not the way guys think… I hope you aren’t offended by this, but most guys who study English are faggots.”
Gilbert and Gilbert (1998, p.181) also report that in studies of English, women and non-macho boys are often depicted as outcasts and victims in writing class. This will be the subject of discussion in later chapters. Teachers report that, in the opinion of many male students, the study of music or certain types of music may fit into the same category.

Specifically with regard to choosing music as an academic pursuit, Swanwick (1988) made it clear exactly what students think of music in the middle schooling years in the United Kingdom. For much of this period, music was rated the lowest in popularity of any subject. Swanwick and Lawson (1999) reviewed this data, finding that popularity continued to decline with age and that more girls than boys liked music. Ross and Kamba (1997) agreed, finding that, along with physics, music was the least popular school subject in England in the last 25 years.

Koza (1990, p.254) comments that music has been seen as an ornamental subject in the United States for more than 150 years. Ornamental or peripheral status has been given to all subjects taught at female academies in the 19th century and this trend has persisted. Swanwick (1988, p.37) also refers to this occurring in the United Kingdom at the turn of the 20th century. The baseline measures for taking courses in the United States as reported in Gender Gaps: Where schools still fail our children (1999) indicate that 45% of females and 27% of males had taken or were taking music courses.

Fullerton and Ainley (2000) reported that music was taken by 5% of the total student population in Australia. The gender breakdown for music was not available, though Figure 4 gives an indication of the gender balance across a sample of subject areas in Australia in 1998. Specifically with regard to the arts, participation had increased for females (from 7.8% in 1993 to 8.9% in 1998) and slightly decreased for males (from 5.9% in 1993 to 5.5% in 1998).

Teese, et al. (1995) also reported that music has been typically taken by a larger proportion of females than males in Australia. Though this has changed in Queensland (10% of secondary music classes were males in 1966 and 35% were males in 1992), the problem of perception continues to exist. Hanley (1998, p.52)
supports this with figures from British Columbia where “girls take music in greater numbers and tend to earn higher grades except in composition, strings and jazz.”

Wright (2001, p.289) sought to discover whether there was any correlation between gender and achievement in music education in Wales. She found that boys in the 11 – 14 year age group outperformed girls in performing and composing tasks, while girls outperformed boys in appraising tasks. In the 14 – 16 year age group girls consistently outperformed boys, but boys achieved higher grades in music than in other core subjects.

Clearly, in terms of participation and achievement, the data indicates that academic music is the domain of girls. One of the central hypotheses of this thesis is that this imbalance is the result of the construction of masculinity that excludes anything that may be perceived as feminine. In the next chapter, Koza (1994) puts forward the argument that musical involvement by boys is restricted because it is seen as a peripheral or decorative subject. The place of music within the curriculum is also discussed at the end of this chapter. Underlying Koza’s argument and the justification for music’s inclusion in the curriculum is the notion that it is feminine, and as such part of the undesirable “other”.

COCURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

The section above has been principally concerned with issues of achievement and participation in classroom practices. Schooling is about more than achievement. This debate has long been on the educational agenda, particularly when it is defined in terms of knowledge, literacy and numeracy. While the data above with regard to literacy is helpful, it needs to be recognized in the context of the current debate: schooling encompasses other domains. As McGraw et al. (1992, p.174) concluded:

School effectiveness is about a great deal more than maximizing academic achievement. Learning and love of learning; personal development and self esteem; life skills, problem solving and learning how to learn; the development of independent thinkers and well rounded confident individuals; all rank highly or more highly as the outcomes of effective schooling as success in a narrow range of academic disciplines.
In the United Kingdom, Reynolds (1994, p.23) adds further weight to this concept, stating that among other things, the world needs pupils with “skills to access information and to work collaboratively in groups.”

The case for studying activities beyond the normal academic environment is quite strong. These activities are variously referred to as non-academic or extra-curricular, though the current discussion should prove that co-curricular is a more desirable term. Such attitudes promote, according to Gender Gaps: Where schools still fail our children (1999, p.93):

- Teamwork, individual and group responsibility, physical strength and endurance, competition, diversity and a sense of culture and community.
- Students involved in extra curricular activities were three times more likely to perform in the top quartile on a composite math and reading assessment compared with non-participants.

This finds support with Kelly (1979, p.39) who says that schools should make available varied opportunities for success, for the acquisition of different skills and the provision of alternate opportunities for crystallizing identity. From the students’ point of view, this means the chance of getting involved in a wide variety of activities and to play different roles. Barker and Gump (1964), Wicker (1968) and Williems (1967) found that it is not the number of opportunities that are provided that is important, but the opportunities for active participation. Participation in the informal structure of the school is a central part of adolescent experience.

Many musical activities take place beyond the normal academic environment. Evidence cited earlier suggests that music activities may also enhance performance in other subject areas. In addition, data from 1997 in the United States indicates that in the nation’s leading aptitude test, the Scholastic Aptitude Test, students who had studied four years of music scored an average of 32 points higher on verbal exams and 23 points higher in mathematics (Shaw and Rauscher 2000).

Participation rates in co-curricular activities by gender deserve scrutiny. In Queensland, this will be examined to some extent in subsequent chapters, but the historical basis is provided here. In the United States in 1992, 25% of female Year 12
students participated in the school band or orchestra: only 15% of male Year 12 students participated.

In the Australian context overall, Ainley (1996, p.77) reports on involvement of students in the arts: 79.6% of all primary students reported some involvement in the arts and 54.8% of all secondary students reported involvement. The breakdown by sex for primary students’ involvement in non-academic activities can be seen in Figure 5. Ireland (1995) supports this reporting that in terms of participation in Australian schools debating is almost 100% female, choir is about 90% female and creative and performing arts are almost 70% female. While the data by gender was not available for competitive sport in the primary school, the overall figure for involvement by both genders was 87.9%. The secondary school data reveal this is the only area in which boys’ involvement exceeds that of the girls. It should be noted that involvement in all activities dropped off in the transition to secondary school. The fall in participation rates by males in the arts is appreciable.

FIGURE 5: Participation in non-academic activities for Primary students by sex
Source: Ainley (1996, p.77)

The data in Figure 6 presents information pertaining to how students spend their time outside school. These commitments that may serve to complement the information found in Figure 5. In addition to providing comparative figures with regard to sport in primary and secondary schools, the range of other activities is also worthy of

25 Defined for the purposes of Ainley’s study as choir, band, dance group or an art display
comment. Of particular interest here is the specific data for musical activity. Fewer boys than girls are involved. The role of sport and the media have already been referred to as major influences of gender identity. The extent to which this is the case is given considerable weight by Ainley’s material.

![Activities for out of school hours, by sex: percentage of Year 6 students spending more than four hours per week on activity.](attachment:image)

**FIGURE 6** Activities for out of school hours, by sex: percentage of Year 6 students spending more than four hours per week on activity.

Source: Ainley (1996)

Of those involved in sporting activities (which refers to activities taken outside school) and cultural pursuits (which included singing, dancing or learning a musical instrument), the data in Figure 7 tends to further emphasise the gender divide.
Girls clearly outstripped boys in cultural pursuits. The influence of television in Ainley’s study is noteworthy. Its role is more clearly represented by the 4% of students who do not watch television. Television preferences indicate male primary students watching mostly cartoons and sport. Secondary male students watched sport and comedy while girls watched mostly soaps and comedy. On a larger scale, Australian Bureau of Statistics (1992) figures show that watching television accounts for the single highest use of Australian leisure time. The average Australian spends 179 minutes per day watching television. 25% of the population indicated they watched arts on television, 64.4% watched sport.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) commissioned a survey of public attitudes to the arts and sport in 1997. This offers some revealing insights into Australian society. The data appears to reflect constructions of gender and interest in the arts in schools. 57% of Australians (made up of an equal number of males and females) believed they were informed about the arts, while 78% (made up of an almost equal number of males and females) showed they were informed about sport. By gender, the data for those who showed no interest in arts and sport shows some trends as indicated in Figure 8.
FIGURE 8 Public Attitudes to the Arts
Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (1997)

Females appear to be as disinterested in being informed about sport as males are in being informed about the arts. Higher percentages of both sexes are showing no interest in being informed about the arts. Given the evidence earlier regarding the value of the arts in society, this is an issue of concern. Sources of information about the arts show newspapers and television provide information to a high percentage of the population.

In broad terms, females are engaged in the arts through formal and informal experiences. This is true of the entire community and the school environment. Detailed data regarding participation in musical activities and analysis of the reasons for that involvement form the major part of the next chapter.

THE FUNCTION OF MUSIC IN EDUCATION

A footnote to this discussion is to observe the role music has played in the educational process. The purpose in doing so at this point relates to the data above that has given a strong indication that relatively few students take music and that fewer males than females are involved.

The study of the arts has been advocated for many centuries. The brief chronological summary below is not intended to be exhaustive. It serves as a reminder to educators
of the value of music for its own sake. It also indicates the way in which the arts can assist in other academic endeavours and in society at large.

Plato (trans. Jowett 1937) considered musical order to be analogous to moral order. He maintained that music could better the soul - a child exposed to the right modes would unconsciously develop discriminating habits and abilities which would allow him [sic] to distinguish between good and evil. A child who studied music would be emotionally stable enough to study philosophy. Some argue that in the history of aesthetics, all any aesthetician has done is to make minor changes to Platonic thought.

Augustine, acknowledged by many to be the founder of Christian philosophy, believed that music had the power to change the minds of the intellectually weak. Boethius (in McKeon 1929) placed music amongst the mathematical principles in the Quadrivium (four disciplines consisting of music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy). Essentially he espoused that mathematics, including music, should be used to prepare for the study of philosophy and that music could inspire men to higher learning and bring them closer to true reality.

Butler’s Principles of Music (1970, p.215) stated “music has great power over the affections of the mind.” Tolstoy (in Portney 1991) was a firm believer in the political power of music. In the 20th century, Diserens and others tested the effects of music on the body, specifically pulse rate and breath rate. The results indicated marked increases in both rates after listening to Wagner and Gounod. Swanwick (1988, p.50) devotes considerable space to the topic in Music, Mind and Education. In summary, he says the special function of the arts is to illuminate, to transform and ultimately “to make life worth living”.

Campbell (1997, 2000) in his works on the Mozart Effect, claims music can increase the I.Q., help to relieve pain and improve learning and development in young children. With regard to children, music is a tool to improving language, movement and emotional skills, as well as providing an opportunity for creativity, imagination and self-expression. Music, according to Campbell (1997), is also thought to have a role assisting students in coping with autism, attention deficit disorder, learning disabilities and sensory processing disorders. As males are more likely to suffer from
such disabilities and disorders, the therapeutic value of music should not be underestimated.

Colling (1992, p.56), whose work was referred to in some detail earlier, links the value of music to a broader and healthier view of masculinity. He commented that men might find inspiration in the universal vehicles of self-expression: music, dance, writing, painting, singing and other forms of arts. Songs and dance are living history through which men have expressed themselves for centuries.

Louise (1997) refers to the value of music to society: Music does not merely reflect social and cultural values; it plays a part in shaping those values. The effect of music on the listener appears to be direct and unmediated. Music plays a part in socializing people, transmitting ideologies and shaping patterns of thought and perception through epistemological constructs (1997, p.13).

Shaw and Rauscher (2000) from University of California conducted studies into how music can enhance “brain power.” They concluded that music helped to establish pathways within the brain that assisted with logic, order and abstract reasoning. Students who had taken the piano for six months also reported an improvement in spatial reasoning. Shaw and Rauscher also noted that creativity, verbal and social skills were improved by the study of music between the ages of 2 and 10. This is reinforced by Boston (2001) who suggested that the arts are able to assist students in creative thinking, motivation, relational skills and self-discipline.

Altenmuller et al. (2000, p.51) also concluded that: “it seems reasonable to assume that large networks tried and trained during music learning may be utilized for other tasks in daily life…” Philpott and Plummeridge (2001) summarise many of these arguments by claiming music is valuable for its spin-off effects.

While all these writers are undoubtedly correct, music education must have value of its own accord. Hoffer (2001, p. 7) puts it like this: “Music is important in people’s lives, therefore learning about music is important.” Hennessy (2001) also supports this view: Music education is needed for its own sake i.e. the intense pleasure it can
generate for listeners and makers; the centrality to all cultures in defining, refining, challenging and celebrating.

REFLECTION AND SUMMARY

Teachers are an important aspect of students’ developing understanding of gender. In many cases they provide strong and appropriate role models. They can also serve, through active means or by complicity, to enhance and entrench stereotypes. The role of the teacher in relation to musical choices will be discussed in the review of literature in the next chapter and will also form part of the discussions in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Together with parents and peers, they are regarded as a prime site for the gendering of activities.

Students as individuals have differing perspectives of schooling. Race, socio-economic factors and gender contribute to this view. The data presented in this chapter indicate that boys and girls view school differently and as a result, single sex activities within a coeducational environment were found to have merit. Girls appear to participate and achieve more successfully than boys, particularly in literary and creative domains. The preliminary data presented in this chapter in relation to music supports these broader trends. It was also found that girls are increasingly acting in ways traditionally associated with males, a notion that will be pursued in the coming chapters.

In Chapter 1 it was argued that an individual as a member of an effectively organized society would be able to examine his or her identity in relation to his or her potential for the development of socially valued talents and traits. These traits would be cultivated through formal and informal educational processes for the betterment of society and the well being of the individual. In this chapter, Kelly (1979) advocated a position where schools provide varied opportunities for success, for the acquisition of different skills and the provision of alternate opportunities for crystallizing identity. This is connected to the idea of identity as allocated within an ideology as mentioned in Chapter 1 and draws on the notion of identity capital (Adler 2001). This refers to an individual’s purposeful effort in activities that highlight socially desirable traits, and avoidance of activities that might highlight socially undesirable traits. The traits
that are potentially existent in the individual and those that are valued by society are not always in harmony. Williams (1982) purports that this is rarely the case and despite the worth of music as presented in the outline above, the arts are not valued in society and by extension in the school curriculum. Among those who take music as a class subject, the ratio of females to males is quite high. In addition, students view music in school poorly (Swanwick 1988; Swanwick and Lawson 1999).

In summary in terms of participation and achievement, the data indicate that schooling and academic music is the preferred domain of girls. Teaching is also perceived as a feminised occupation. One of the central hypotheses of this thesis is that this gender imbalance is the result of the construction of masculinity that excludes anything that may be perceived as feminine. As outlined in the summary and reflections of Chapters 1 and 2, the avoidance of femininity (defined as everything masculinity “is not”) is a key element in the construction of masculinity. If the dominant group, through bullying and other means, implies that learning is a feminine pursuit, then it is likely to be avoided by males. Furthermore, as there is an established hierarchy of accepted activities and music, as one of the “gentler pursuits” (Epstein 1998) is not highly regarded by males or females, participation in music at school is effected. The exact nature of types of involvement likely to be taboo can be found in the next chapter in which the instruments (including voice) taken by students and the attitudes to the selection of instruments will be discussed.

As Allen and Bell (1996) contend, the presentation of participation rates is irrelevant unless an investigation of the reasons for the difference in participation between the sexes takes place. This analysis will begin in Chapter 4 and continue through Chapters 5, 6 and 7.
CHAPTER FOUR

MUSIC, STEREOTYPING AND GENDER:
A BRIEF HISTORY

The role of gender in music education is succinctly summarised by Elizabeth Gould, chair of Gender Research in Music Education (GRIME):

Gender is inhered in all aspects of the music education profession: music instruments, professions, and preferences. Indeed, all music practices and discourses are gendered. Among musical instruments, gender is implicated in terms of the instrument selections of girls and boys, as well as in the timbres of the various instruments. Music education students’ choices of music to listen to, as well as activities in which to engage, divide by gender. (Gould 2003, n.p.)

This chapter aims to pursue this claim by providing a chronological account of research into the field of music and gender to date. By giving a history of significant research to this point, the research takes on a longitudinal perspective, at the same time placing it in a suitable context.

The study of gender in music extends back at least 100 years. At the end of the 19th century, the article “Is the musical idea masculine” (Brower 1894) appeared in the Atlantic Monthly. This article discusses the idea that musical composition was the domain of the male because of their capacity to express deep emotions more effectively. This is some proof that images of masculinity change over time, as emotions are associated with the feminine in current thinking. According to Wilkinson (1986, p.103) Charles Ives, in attempting to debunk “sissy” types of music at the beginning of the 20th century acknowledged that he used “tough guy” themes. Whellams (1973) surmised that a sex factor could lead to the development of different types of musicality.

The literature in the preceding chapters emphasizes the importance of history and context in relation to methodology. Layder’s (1993) research map, one of the methodological frameworks for the research, acknowledges the importance of situated activity, macrocontexts and historical dimensions. Situational factors are particularly significant in gender research. The chronological presentation provides the chapter with a structure, but this account is by no means comprehensive. The
emphasis has been to review literature as it applies to participation and instrument choice. The studies chosen for review were selected on the basis of the contribution they have made to the field, for the instruments that were studied, the type of case studies and (in some cases) the method of research. The last of these is important because some of the methods discussed will be employed in the fieldwork of the author in subsequent chapters.

**STEREOTYPING OF MUSICAL ACTIVITIES**

Kunst (1958) established that gender association with instruments was a common sociological phenomenon. Stereotyping in music, says Pucciani (1983) is two dimensional: it discriminates against boys and girls: boys are discouraged from playing the violin or pursuing elementary teaching careers, girls are discouraged from playing the trombone or pursuing careers in composing. This contrasts with the more single bias against girls in mathematics, science and physical education or the bias against boys in home economics or secretarial studies. This type of stereotyping (that which disadvantages males and females) is ideally viewed from the post-feminist perspective as adopted from Chapter 1.

In Australia, Bartle (1968, p.188) studied music in schools. He commented, “a case of some concern is the frequency in co-educational schools of choirs of girls only.” At least half of his sample of 474 schools were not using the voices of the senior boys to any significant extent. He further commented that many orchestras in girls’ schools lacked brass players.

Bartle also commented regarding the schools’ orchestral concerts offered by the State Orchestras, at that time managed by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. The conductors in these concerts, he said, had difficulty relating to the young audience and presented images (such as the supernatural fairies and elves and/or nursery associations) which boys might regard as “sissy,” thereby turning against music altogether. The use of the term “sissy” with regard to music, musical styles and instruments is quite common and will form part of the discussion in the coming chapters.
Early studies into the phenomenon of fewer boys in musical activities centred on stereotyping, particularly that of instruments. Pioneers in the study of instrument preference were Abeles and Porter (1978, p.65), who stated:

The association of gender with musical instruments can, as can stereotyping of any kind, serve to constrict the behaviour and thus the opportunities of individuals. Stereotyping is particularly irrelevant when applied to a group of objects such as the association of maleness with playing the drums and femaleness with playing the violin. The sex-stereotyping of musical instruments therefore tends to limit the range of musical experiences available to male and female musicians in several ways, including participation in instrumental ensembles and selection of vocations in instrumental music.

Abeles’ and Porter’s interest in the subject grew out of early observations about the predominance of males in band programs and females in orchestra programs. For example, Lyon (1973) reported that less than 10% of the membership of marching bands was female. They were also influenced by Mayer (1976), who studied the teaching of instruments in university in the USA. Mayer found that, in the period 1972 – 1974, women comprised 25% of string teachers, 3% of brass teachers and 6% of percussion teachers.

Abeles and Porter (1978) found clear evidence that sex-stereotyping occurred for children above the third grade in the USA. In the first of their series of four studies, adults’ musical instrument preferences for children were examined. Abeles and Porter asked 149 adults between the ages of 19 and 52 to select an instrument for their son or daughter from ‘cello, clarinet, flute, drums, saxophone, trombone, trumpet and violin. Participants were more likely to choose a clarinet, flute or violin for their daughter and drums, trombone or trumpet for their son.

In the second study, a paired comparison strategy was employed to place eight instruments on a masculine-feminine continuum. 32 music majors and 26 non-music majors were the subjects for this study. The results appear in Table 7 below. Using the eight most common instruments in band programs in the United States, trombone, trumpet and drums were looked upon as masculine while flute, clarinet and violin were seen to be feminine. No strong gender association was found to exist with ‘cello and saxophone at this time.
Abeles and Porter’s (1978) third study attempted to prove at which age sex-stereotyping began. This was achieved by studying children between the ages of 5 and 10. They concluded that boys’ choices remained relatively stable at the masculine end of the continuum from kindergarten through to their choice of instrument, usually at the age of 9 or 10. The girls’ selections moved towards the “feminine” instruments and the difference was most obvious by around the third and fourth grades. Girls also chose a wider variety of instruments, whereas boys chose from a small group of instruments at the masculine end of the scale. The consistency of this finding will be tested in the fieldwork in the coming chapters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Normalized Gender* Scale Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>1.518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>1.949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>2.643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>3.182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>3.261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>4.143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>4.195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *High score equals more masculine
Source: Abeles and Porter (1978)

The fourth study examined the procedures for presenting instruments to preschool children. The purpose of this was to ascertain the extent to which the role model could be a possible explanation for sex-stereotyping. The results were inconclusive.

Abeles and Porter also articulated that the association of gender with an instrument often took place prior to instrument selection and seemed to be a critical factor in instrument selection. This association was deemed to have taken place between the ages of 8 and 12.

In summary, Abeles and Porter set out through this comprehensive early study to indicate that sex-stereotyping of instruments existed in the general population (study
1) and that a masculine-feminine continuum could be established across the eight selected instruments (study 2). Boys’ choices (study 3) were consistently stable at the masculine end of the continuum from kindergarten through to their choice of instrument while girls’ choices gradually moved towards the feminine instruments. Perhaps of greater significance in the overall study of gender was the girls’ choice of a wider variety of instruments, and the boys’ narrower selection: boys chose from the “masculine” end of the scale. The fourth study attempted, inconclusively, to demonstrate that instrument choice may be affected by the method of presentation.

Griswold and Chroback (1981) surveyed 89 American college students, of whom 40 were music majors. The students were asked to rate each instrument as more masculine or feminine, using the 10-point Likert scale. In some respects this was similar to Abeles’ and Porter’s second study but the number of instruments was increased to include piccolo, flute, oboe, clarinet, saxophone, harp, trumpet, French horn, tuba, violin, string bass, ‘cello, guitar, glockenspiel, piano, bass drum, cymbal and two human additions - choral conductor and instrumental conductor. The most feminine instrument was harp, followed by flute, piccolo, glockenspiel, choral conductor, ‘cello, violin, clarinet, piano and French horn. The most masculine instrument was found to be tuba, followed by string bass, trumpet, bass drum, saxophone, instrumental conductor, cymbal and guitar. This continuum is presented in Appendix D.

In the Abeles and Porter study and the Griswold and Chroback study the flute, ‘cello, violin and clarinet which were perceived to have feminine connotations, while the saxophone, percussion and trumpet were perceived as having masculine connotations. The inclusion of the instrumental and the choral conductor as options may have given some early indication of the place of voice on feminine end of the continuum. Griswold and Chroback concluded that there was a difference between the response of music majors and that of non-music majors: music majors tended to be prone to sex-stereotyping in the masculine direction. They surmised that sex-stereotyping appeared to be related to exposure to the study of music, hence the disparity between music majors and non-music majors.
In looking at the four areas in which Maccoby and Jacklin (1994) claimed males and females were found to differ, Hassler, Birbaumer and Feil (1985) found a significant relationship between musical talent and spatial visualization by testing children at the beginning of puberty and at age 18. Boys were found to be more likely to preserve their ability to compose and/or improvise during puberty than girls were. Shuter-Dyson (1979 and 1981) had also referred in passing to the role of gender in musical personality and, in the 1979 study had reflected on women’s heightened perception of loudness and the effects of male superiority in spatial abilities. This was discussed briefly in Chapter 1 and will be followed up in Chapter 5 when a clearer indication of stereotypes is apparent.

The sex of the modeller of musical instruments was referred to by Killian (1988). Students in Killian’s study were shown a video of *We are the World* and asked to choose which solos they would choose to do. Sex of the modelled solo was a strong factor, especially among males. Very few males picked any solos by females, with girls choosing modellers of both sexes. The sex of the model affecting male choices is consistent with the research of Abeles and Porter (1978) and Bruce and Kemp (1993) who found that positive role models, particularly for boys, could help to eliminate feminine gender associations of certain instruments.

The research of Delzell and Leplla (1992) in the United States contained two main studies. The purpose of the first was to measure the possible changes in gender sex-stereotyping of musical instruments from earlier research. To ensure some correlation with Abeles and Porter, 222 college students were studied – 68 music majors and 154 non-music majors. The eight instruments of Abeles and Porter\(^{26}\) were again paired and respondents asked to indicate which instrument in each pair they considered to be more masculine. A comparison of the figures is presented in Table 8, with the higher score indicating a higher perception of masculinity.

---

\(^{26}\) These instruments were flute, violin, clarinet, ‘cello, saxophone, trumpet, trombone and drum.
TABLE 8
Transformations of instrument-gender: paired-comparison judgements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Normalized Gender* Scale Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>0.824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>0.775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cello</td>
<td>1.276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>2.260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>2.408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>2.679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drum</td>
<td>2.969</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * A higher number indicates a higher perception of masculinity.

Source: Delzell and Leppla (1992)

The bipolar nature of this type of research process seems to emphasize the stereotypical nature of instrument selection and leaves no option for instruments to be considered neutral. This is where a continuum or quadripolar model may have been more effective. In comparing Abeles and Porter with Delzell and Leppla, apart from clarinet and violin, which alternated between 2nd and 3rd place, other ratings reflected a high degree of correlation. The two instruments at opposite ends of the continuum (flute and drum) remained there. There was some evidence of a lessening of gender association in Delzell and Leppla’s study, as indicated by the lower numbers in the right hand column and the acceptance of the drums as the second choice of girls and flute as the fourth choice of boys. This could have been due to a number of factors, including the size of the sample and awareness of the problem brought about by the introduction of legislation in the United States in 1972 with regard to gender in education. Teachers’ knowledge of the work of Abeles and Porter (1978) and Griswold and Chroback (1981) may also have had an impact.

The purpose of Delzell and Leppla’s second study was threefold: to estimate current preferences of fourth grade students for selected instruments, to gain an understanding of the reasons for preferring certain instruments and to compare students’ perceptions of their peer’s choices to the actual choices made. In this study, the subjects were fourth grade students: 526 female students and 272 male students from 13 elementary schools in city, suburban and rural locations in the United States. Of significance for the current writer is the third section of this second study, where students were asked to indicate which of the eight instruments would be their first,
second and last choices to play. Students were also asked why they had directed their preferences in this manner. Table 9 shows students’ first choices by sex.

The preferences of boys were, as with Abeles and Porter, limited to a smaller number at the masculine end of the scale, with 51.7% of boys wishing to play drums and 31.5% saxophone. Girls’ preferences were broader – 30.4% wishing to play flute, 21.7% drums, 21.3% saxophone and 15.0%, clarinet. To make a comparison with the Abeles and Porter figures (which were based on college students’ placing instruments on a continuum) and these figures (which are actual choices) is not entirely reasonable. In spite of this difference in arriving at a ranking, the data may reveal some correlation between perception and reality.

**TABLE 9**

Percentage of 4th grade students indicating given instrument was 1st choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of females</th>
<th>% of males</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Delzell and Leppla (1992)

While students were able to explain why they allocated their preferences in response to open-ended questions, there was no clear indication of a gender bias from their replies. Delzell and Leppla found timbre to be a significant influence on instrument preference. This was later supported by Fortney et al. (1993). It is also fair to say that timbre (or the sound of the instrument) could be a euphemism for other reasons students were not able or prepared to articulate.

Delzell and Leppla (p.101) also asked students to indicate their last choice of instrument. This data was not available by sex, but overall ‘cello and violin were the last choice of over 60% of the sample. Reasons for the last choice were “it’s too difficult”, “it’s not fun”, “don’t like it”, “it’s too big” or “I don’t like the sound.”
These factors will be discussed further in the following chapter. Delzell and Leppla concluded that the effects of stereotyping had been reduced since the earlier studies and that this should continue to occur through teachers’ avoidance of reinforcing preconceived bias.

A sample consisting of 990 band students in sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth grade in the United States was taken by Fortney, Boyle and De Carbo (1993). The purpose of their study was to investigate what middle school band students reported to be their influences in choosing an instrument. While not their central aim, Fortney et al. also examined response differences according to gender and instrument. The data was gathered using a one page, 11-item survey. A copy of this survey can be found in Appendix C.

The survey included both closed and open response items. One of the questions on the survey asked for students’ current instrument, while another asked the student to choose an instrument they would like to play and an instrument they would least like to play. The students’ current instrument choices appear in Table 10 below.

**TABLE 10**

Current instrument played by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed that were Male</th>
<th>% of total surveyed that were Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet/Cornet</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baritone</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fortney et al. (1993)

Fortney et al. (1993) acknowledge the limitations of the self-reporting survey, but insist that it was the only practical way of gathering the desired data from such a large
sample. A pilot instrument was administered to ensure there were no difficulties in the questioning approach. The data showed that females mostly played woodwind instruments and males played mostly percussion or brass instruments. To give an example of the extremes of the continuum, 90% of flautists were female and over 85% of brass players were male.

With regard to the free-choice instrument preference, Table 11 indicates student response by gender. In this instance, students were given an open-ended question and were not restricted to band instruments: they could choose any instrument. The response generally correlated with response in Table 10 above: females generally chose to play the flute or clarinet while males preferred to play brass or percussion. With regard to strings, females were more interested in playing an orchestral stringed instrument and males were more interested in playing the guitar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed that were Male</th>
<th>% of total surveyed that were Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current Instrument</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strings</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baritone</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fortney et al. (1993)

Students’ least preferred instruments are indicated in Table 12.

\[27\] This study only included wind, brass and percussion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total that were male</th>
<th>% of total that were female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horn</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Instrument</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baritone</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strings</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fortney et al. (1993)

The significance of students choosing their least desirable instrument is important with regard to the element of masculinity that shuns or denies the feminine. A high proportion of males (80%) indicated that flute was not a suitable instrument. A very small percentage (3%) indicated gender associations as a reason for their least preferred instrument.

Fortney et al. (1993, p.38) concluded that their research supported the findings of Abeles and Porter (1978) and Delzell and Leppla (1992): “Females tend to play and indicate a preference for flute and clarinet, while males tend to play and indicate a preference for trumpet, percussion and low brass instruments.” In studying student reasons for choosing particular instruments and in spite of only 3% consciously acknowledging a gender associated reason for their choice, they concluded that “regardless of what students say in response to influence about various factors, males tend to play instruments that are considered masculine and females choose to play instruments that are considered feminine.” Finnas (1989) also attributes this reticence to overtly acknowledge gender as being connected to negative peer influence.
In 1996, O’Neill and Boulton conducted a study of 153 children in the North West of England. The purpose of the study was to ascertain whether the divide in terms of girls’ and boys’ preferences for particular instruments remained as strong as in previous studies or whether the trend appeared to be changing. Their main focus was girls’ preferences. This was to determine whether the rise of feminism and affirmative action had produced any effect. They, like Mackenzie and Fortney et al., wanted to examine the difference in the reasons for instrument preference.

The children were shown pictures of six instruments, without performers: flute, violin, drums, trumpet, piano and guitar. Students were then asked to rank the instruments from the one they would most like to play to the one they would least like to play. The answers to this question are tabulated in Table 13 below.

TABLE 13
Mean rank of female and male participants’ preferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Female participants</th>
<th>Male Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>3.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>2.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Possible range of score 1 – 6, Lower score indicates a stronger preference.
Source: O’Neill and Boulton (1996)

Girls showed a strong preference for flute, piano and violin and boys preferred drums, guitar and trumpet. Children who were learning an instrument did not differ significantly from those who were not.

Students were also asked to indicate which instruments girls should not play and which instruments boys should not play. The responses to this are found in Table 14 below. The results would appear to suggest that boys and girls had similar ideas about which instruments were appropriate to each sex. The notion of what not to
play is also noted in this research: boys should not play flute; girls should not play guitar and drums. The findings suggested that little had changed with regard to sex-stereotyping of instruments since the early studies of Abeles and Porter (1978).

TABLE 14

Percentage of students indicating gendered instrument preferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instruments</th>
<th>Female Participants</th>
<th>Male Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Should not be played by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: O’Neill and Bouton (1996)

GENDER RESEARCH IN MUSIC EDUCATION

Mackenzie (1991) pointed out that a surprisingly small amount of research had been conducted into why children decide to learn to play particular instruments and avoid others. Mackenzie’s study examined the motivation of 48 students in the United Kingdom to start learning a musical instrument. The students’ responses to the question “Why did you start to learn to play a musical instrument?” were classified into five sub-groupings – social, school, home, personal and other.

Strong gender differences were found to exist in the reasons given by students for selecting a particular instrument. Social factors were a stronger reason for girls (20.8% of females; 8.3% of males) and school factors (“my teacher wanted me to learn an instrument”) were more significant for boys (33.3% of boys; 20.8% of girls). There were no significant differences in the personal reasons or home influence and only one student gave “other” reasons. Boys gave a slightly wider range of reasons for taking up an instrument than girls.

From this evidence, it is possible to conclude that teachers have a substantial role to play in suggesting a student begin to study an instrument. After personal reasons (“I
like music” or “I was interested in learning an instrument”), this was clearly the most
important motivational factor. Mackenzie pointed out that educators occupy a
position of influence. As stated earlier, this thought was espoused in Plato’s Republic
and recognized across the centuries by Aristotle (Butcher 1898), Comenius (Sadler
1966) and Bandura (1971). Sang (1992) pointed out that music, prior to notation, was
passed on solely through the use of role models. Lamb (1993) concurred stating that
music has a long tradition of role models and mentors as the primary means of
transmitting culture and knowledge: the mentor/apprentice model occurs most
commonly in the applied lesson, but also in composition, conducting and teacher
education.

Bruce and Kemp (1993, p.213) concluded that gender associations influenced
instrumental preferences. These associations could be lessened by the provision of
positive role models. Lautzenheiser (1993, p.41) commented, “many of us are music
teachers because of our own music teachers.” Hanley (1998, p.52) also reflected at
length on the importance of role models, particularly with regard to musical styles.

The aspect of socialization in Mackenzie’s study is worthy of comment: only two
boys out of the 24 surveyed indicated a social reason. For girls it is significantly
higher. Mackenzie suggests that boys’ socialization may take place in other domains,
for example, sport. The evidence presented in the previous chapter shows that girls
view school as a place where social interaction takes place. It may also be that boys
deny the social nature of either music or the school environment.

By the early 1990s a shift in the style of research in this area became apparent. In
reflecting on this change, Falk (1998, p.16) suggested that prior to the 1980s, gender
(rather than sex-stereotyping) did not exist in the study of music. The focus moved
from empirical studies of sex-stereotyping of instrument choice into a more
philosophical debate. While studies of instrument choice continued, principles of
mainstream feminist research became increasingly evident in articles from this point
on. Music Educators Journal, Learning and Philosophy of Music Education Review,
British Journal of Music Education and Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching
The origins of the shift can be found in the work of LeFanu (1987), Herndon (1990) and McClary (1991). English composer Nicola LeFanu challenged the patriarchal hold on music through her compositions and academic comment. In *Master Musician: Impregnable Taboo*, she commented: “Patriarchy is bad for men...people who choose to live their lives, as creative artists tend to be androgynous. Rigid stereotypes will not allow us to develop...balanced culture.” (LeFanu 1987, p.7) LeFanu’s work in composition and academia drew heavily from the mainstream feminist movement.

Herndon provided a number of examples from non-western traditions where gender stereotypes did not exist. In echoing the constructionist theories outlined in the previous chapter, Herndon places them in the musical context. In doing so, she contributed to the field now known as feminist musicology. Herndon (1990, p.254) stated that

> All human groups take note of biological differences between men and women. Upon these facts, societies construct cultural “realities” or gender roles. Gender roles assign duties; define proper actions and a basic, if not arbitrary matrix for social interaction. Gender concepts limit and shape both men’s and women’s musical activities: it cannot be said that women’s voices, instruments or musical status is always subordinate to men.

In seeking to prove her theories, her work included examples from Southern Algeria, Slavonic Women, Cherokee, the Solomon Islands and Turkey. These examples were a crucial step in refuting the essentialist argument.

Susan McClary emerged as a leading figure in feminist musicology in 1991 with her work *Feminine Endings*. In this, McClary (1991, p.9) referred to the gendered discussion of music in texts. She cites as an example, the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* entry on the gendered cadence, which later editions have failed to satisfactorily rectify. The entry reads:

> A cadence or ending is called masculine if the final chord of a phrase or section occurs on a strong beat and feminine if it falls on a weak beat. The masculine one must be called the normal one, while the feminine is preferred in more romantic styles (Apel 1970, p.506).

McClary (1991, p.10) also suggested, “it is the fear of the presumably feminine qualities of music and our need to control these that keep it under patriarchal lock
and key”. As with the broader study of gender, feminist scholarship is essential for women’s music and the well being of music in general. “Equity in educational opportunity is essential if society is to tap all the possible resources in the shaping of its future and the arts are an integral and undeniable part of the development of this potential” (McClary in Macarthur 1992, p.9). Intolerance of difference and refusal to acknowledge the presence of women in the musical canon are forms of oppression. One of the central issues in McClary’s work has been to establish that feminist scholarship can be applied to music, as it had been to literary studies and art history for some time.

In 1991, the organisation Gender Research in Music Education (GRIME) was established. The purpose of the organisation has been to enable those interested in the field (including the author, who is a member) to network through bi-annual newsletters. An email network, added in 1995, has further enhanced this capacity for networking with conference notices, employment opportunities and research information about gender issues in music. It has 125 members in United States, Canada, Australia, Sweden, Germany, Finland, Japan and the United Kingdom. As discussed briefly in Chapter 1, its charter clearly states that scientific method alone in the study of gender assumes an approach that emphasises rationality, impersonal interactions and predictions and control over the events studied. Furthermore, it states:

It requires researchers to study interactions and therefore negotiate simultaneously with contextual, historical and culturally bound truths, a paradigm shift that makes anomalies disregarded by ratio-scientific research a central concern. (GRIME website research agenda)

In stating that production and construction of gender in music education is critically under-researched, the organisation provides a number of suggested areas for further research. As outlined in Chapter 1, these include many of interest in the current discussion, including:

- How the profession of music education constructs gender expectations for males and females.
- What it means to be male in a feminine discipline.
- A continued monitoring of sex-stereotyping of instruments.
- Sex equity issues concerning ensemble practices and policies.
• How schools support hierarchical gender systems.

While the main aims of GRIME underpin the author’s approach, there are many respects in which he differs from the views espoused by the organisation. The most significant of these is the lack of emphasis on the problem of males’ non-participation in music. The organisation appears to be closely aligned with the feminist movement and as a post-feminist, it is not surprising that this variance from the GRIME agenda by the author should occur. Support for this perceived feminist alignment of the organisation can be found in a paper presented at the Research in Music Education Conference in April 2003 by the chair of GRIME, Elizabeth Gould. The paper focussed on the application of feminist theory to music education. While Gould (2003) raises some very significant issues of relevance to the current debate she claims that

… feminist theory is a social phenomenon and a philosophical approach that has been accepted slowly in the profession, and is consequently poorly understood. Problematic definitions associated with feminism have contributed to suspicion, hostility, and general disregard for the questions generated and findings reported by feminist theorists (Gould 2003, n.p.)

One of the reasons for the slow acceptance, suspicion, hostility and disregard is in Gould’s definition:

Feminism is commonly understood as the search for equality between women and men. Understanding feminism as gender equity, however, necessarily dismisses factors of race and class (not to mention sexuality, and bodily abled-ness, as well as scores of other variables), reflecting at the very least race and class bias. Feminism, then, is a political and philosophical project to end systems of domination (Gould 2003, n.p.)

By this statement, Gould claims a middle ground that includes factors that are inextricably linked to gender, but not associated with the word “feminism.” “Feminism” implies the common understanding she first outlines. The author believes that to claim any more is to usurp ground from a philosophy that is not strictly feminist. The post-feminist view of this author acknowledges the influence of other factors, at the same time maintaining a view that is principally concerned with ending systems of domination associated with gender. The value of Gould’s contribution is in its stimulation of music educators to act on systems of domination, including gender. Gould (2003, n.p.) suggests that a counter-discourse is developed:
To be effective, however, a counter-discourse that is intelligible to both feminists and traditional theorists must be developed. It is imperative for those in power in music education to hear and understand the words of those who would question them, question their concepts, their language, their political agendas.

Here Gould embraces the GRIME agenda that encourages the monitoring of learner musicians including re-examination of expectations, modelling, language and the actions that make up musical life. This project supports these aims in challenging musicians, music educators and teacher educators, while maintaining that a post-feminist approach is more likely to bring about results through inclusive practices.

One of the pioneers in gender and music was Lucy Green. Her work began by addressing the compensatory nature of history in the arts concluding that the problem was partly historical and partly contemporaneous. She also examined the way boys and girls relate to music as a cultural and aesthetic object to discover how gender was perpetuated by schooling in the behaviour of students and the assumptions of teachers.

Green (1993, p.219) surveyed 78 music teachers across England. The purpose of this was to “tap into their common sense and often unspoken assumptions about gender, music and education.” The questions were open-ended and deliberately ambiguous. The first section asked: “In general throughout the school, which group is most successful at playing an instrument, singing, composing, listening and notation.” The second section of the survey asked: “Which group generally prefers to engage in popular music, classical music and other world music.”

Respondents were allowed to interpret what was meant by “success” and “prefer” and no prompting of answers was suggested by these questions. She deliberately avoided asking questions like “do more girls than boys sing in choir?”

Green (1993, p.225) experienced some adverse reaction to her study with responses like: “I can see no differences – academic ability and the ability to concentrate is more important than gender” and “I’ve never found that the sex of a person has dictated the way they feel about musical participation/taste in things.”
In most cases, boys and girls were seen to achieve equal success, though girls enjoyed greater success in the domains of singing and playing. In singing, 64 out of the 78 teachers surveyed indicated that girls were more successful than boys, with more girls taking part in extra-curricular activities, sometimes to the exclusion of boys. This appears to correlate with the data presented in Chapter 3 in relation to participation. In instrumental music, more girls participated, with a higher degree of success. One extreme example involved the flute: out of fifty flautists in one school, all were girls.

Green refers to the idea that women are disadvantaged in almost every musical experience at the same time acknowledging that boys could be disadvantaged in school music education, as a result of their inability to cross gender lines. Singing provides an exception to the norm: women can become successful singers and have done so for five centuries. She gives two main reasons for this:

i) the voice is completely lacking in technology

ii) the image of a woman performing perpetuates a madonna/whore dichotomy: the woman singer is either a singer of lullabies and picture of maternal care or the sexually available temptress.

Technology is perceived as a masculine pastime. This finds support in the work of Colley et al. (1993). The second proposition of Green focuses on the images of women across time, perpetuated by musical representation as investigated by Herndon (1990), McClary (1991) and Le Fanu (1987). Green (1993, pp.229 - 235) acknowledges that the additional comments from teachers gave the clearest insight into their perceptions. Comments of interest in the current debate included those that referred to acceptable styles of singing – in musicals and in rock or rap: “boys are willing to sing in stage production, because the stage provides a mask and an audience” and “In the top end of the school, boys sing in rock groups.”

Many comments centred on the image of music in schools as being sissy or un-macho (Green 1993, pp.229 – 235):

I suspect it’s a question of “image”- boys can get a considerable amount of mocking from their peer group.
There is much peer pressure amongst boys that music still has a “sissy” stigma. Boys that do have the character to resist the pressure tend to achieve highly.

The notion of perseverance raised here will be pursued in Chapter 6. There was considerable embarrassment about the voice: boys were said to be influenced by negative peer group pressure. Other comments referred to girls being involved in music and boys in sport:

Boys in general still feel more pulled to sports activities and some still suffer torments from other boys about music being “sissy.”

Green referred briefly to significance of the role model. Her respondents indicated male role models as music teachers have an important part to play. The role of the media is also mentioned briefly. Many teachers indicated that the media, particularly television, helped perpetuate popular discourses about gender. She points out that one of the central notions promoted by the media is that of equal relations between the sexes being the norm. In her conclusion Green (1993, p.248) stated:

both boys and girls tended to restrict themselves or find themselves restricted to certain musical activities for fear of intruding into the other sex’s territory, where they may have be accused of some sort of musical transvestism.

In this remark, Green alludes to the concept of gender role rigidity as discussed in Chapter 2. Elements of a post-feminist perspective can be seen in the fact that she contends that boys and girls are restricted by this phenomenon.

In 1996, Green pursued her earlier exploratory research with a chapter in *Music Education: Trends and Issues*. In this, she looks at the compensatory history of music and champions women’s role in music across five centuries. She also embraces the idea of gender and musical meaning, citing McClary (1991) and Citron (1993) as the main instigators of this discussion. This concept deals with the notion that music has a gender-related significance that lies beneath the surface of the music. In the search for gendered musical meaning, lyrics, opera plots and absolute music have been put under scrutiny.

Green (in Plummeridge 1996, p.43) refers to McClary’s and Citron’s argument that “music is experienced as a narrative in which the fundamental aspects of our
collective cultural and political assumptions are symbolically portrayed.” Sonata form analysis provides the perfect example of this: A masculine first theme is followed by a feminine second theme. In the development there is a struggle of some sort and in the recapitulation, the masculine overpowers the feminine, even if only in terms of key centre at point of re-transition. There is an analogy to female oppression inherent in this example.

Green also acknowledged, in line with her earlier research, that music is symbolic of gender through the gender conventions of instrument choice, styles and audiences. Music education, she claimed, is one arena through which a transformation in the gendered meaning of music may take place. She went on to discuss ways in which women’s music could take a higher profile in the curriculum, helping to redress the historical imbalance. This has been discussed briefly in Chapter 3 and will be pursued further in Chapters 6 and 7.

In 1997, Green published *Music Gender Education*. In this she brought together many elements of the earlier research in more detail. One comment in the chapter entitled “Affirming Femininity in the Classroom” drew attention to the role of girls’ attitudes in school music as being constructed as cooperative and conformist. She commented on boys’ attitudes in terms of boys preferring sport to music and reiterates the notions that boys succumb to heavy peer pressure against school music. Furthermore, she states that certain musical activities are avoided because they are seen to be “sissy” and “un-macho.” She added: “For a boy to engage in slow music, or music that is associated with the classical style in the school – to join a choir, to play a flute – involves a taking a risk with his symbolic masculinity” (Green 1997, p.185).

The role of the school came under scrutiny (Green 1997, p.192):

It takes part in the perpetuation of subtle definitions of femininity and masculinity as connotations of musical practices, linked to musical styles, in which pupils invest their desires to conform not necessarily to the school only, but to the wider field of gender and sexual politics.

Schools, she intimated, provide a context in which musical experiences contribute to the construction of the sense of self as a gendered being, a sense that takes on the
appearance of truth. She also acknowledged the work of Abeles and Porter (1978) and others who provide a body of empirical work that support the statements of her respondents. It also provides the empirical basis for the current work. In the area of single-sex verses mixed-sex teaching, she advocated a mixture of single-sex, crossed-over roles and mixed-sex groups as the ideal. This is not unlike the results found by Watterson and others in the experience of single-sex classes reported in Chapter 3.

Koza was also an important part of the movement in the early 1990s that began examining the historical nature of gendered musical knowledge. She was simultaneously conducting research into the same issues as Green, but using a different methodological base.

Her impetus was boys’ reluctance to participate in music education programs, particularly school singing groups. In seeking to find empirical data to support anecdotal evidence, she quoted J. Terry Gates (1989, p.37) who succinctly summed up sex ratios in musical participation in the United States:

**Instrumental and vocal music participation in American secondary schools show sharp sex related differences…although the sexes are divided equally in instrumental music involvement, the female percentage in choral activities surpasses the male percentage by greater than a 5:2 margin.**

Gates (1989) also warned that girls appear to be adopting social values traditionally associated with males. If this trend were to continue, vocal teachers would witness a gradual drop in participation by girls. In response, Koza (1993) noted that if reliance on rigid definitions of masculinity and femininity continue, along with a devaluation of things feminine, there might be dire consequences for choral programs. The notions of male gender role rigidity and avoidance of femininity have considerable importance here.

Koza conducted a study of the *Music Educators Journal* from the early part of the 20th century to ascertain whether the problem existed at that time and if so, what solutions were offered. Her study was prompted by articles in women’s magazines from the 19th century that indicated boys were less likely to study music than girls. Inherent in these discussions was the notion of sex-stereotyped instruments and
activities. Her findings indicate far more interest in the education of boys than of girls.

In Koza’s study, boys were found to be encouraged to take music, because “music and art may make him spiritual” (Winship 1914). This echoes the material on the justification of the place of music in the curriculum referred to in the previous chapter. Further, neighbourhood orchestras help keep children off the streets (Hill, 1918) and give boys the right kind of emotional reaction at the right age (Campbell, 1917). Participation rates were problematic in 1915 with Giddings (1915 in Koza 1993) observing a choir with 60 sopranos, 10 altos, 2 basses and no tenors. A further reference to encourage males by observing role models could be seen in this excerpt, from Smith (1918 in Koza 1993): “The men who are playing on the Concert Stage [sic] and in the Grand Opera have to be and are men of splendid physical and considerable intellectual attainment. They are the physical equals of the best football players and baseball players.” Koza comments that apparently football players and baseball players were deemed to be paragons of masculinity and to be compared favourably with them was considered high praise.

In this research, Koza sought to establish whether the subject of gender in music was broached and addressed, using a socialist feminist perspective. Socialist feminism, as noted earlier, deals with issues of oppression, stating that it occurs partly through the binary system of gender construction. As such, her definition of gender can be described as “the relational categories of femininity and masculinity at a particular historic juncture” (1994, p.49). This is closely aligned with the description of Horrocks (1995) adopted by the author.

In 1994 Koza undertook further analysis of her 1993 material, in which she discussed in more detail the contribution of socialist feminism to gender in music. She referred to the view that the popular image of males includes one who is heterosexual, red-blooded, omnipotent, irredeemably sexist and emotionally

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28 This correlates with research currently being undertaken by the author into membership of community choirs in which the data indicates that males account for less than 20% of total membership in choirs in South East Queensland.
illiterate. This relates directly to the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity as described in Chapter 2.

In her discussion regarding the place of singing in music education, one of the key points she raises is that singing is not considered an appropriately masculine activity. In articles from the early part of last century, one of the reasons given for boys not being involved in singing was that the breaking voice sidetracks boys. Green and Schmidt, almost 100 years later, found similar comments in their research. Green (1993, pp.239, 234) states that “Breaking voices discourage boys from singing” and refers to “the physical changes affecting boys” while Schmidt (1995, p.327) reports that “in vocal music instruction, gender differences in achievement, motivation, participation and issues such as boys changing voices have been areas of longstanding interest and research.”

Koza looked on many of the “solutions” offered by educators at the beginning of the century as inadequate because they did not address the issues of what constructs the “undesirable other.” This is perhaps harsh judgement, given that the feminist movement to which she subscribes did not develop until the 1970s. In spite of this, the avoidance of female activities may be grounded in “gynophobia” and have it roots in activities that are not musical, as found by Askew and Ross (1988). The tags of “sissy”, “feminine” and “unmanly” quickly lead to accusations of homosexuality and subsequent problems with homophobia. The reticence to sing, Koza (1994b, p.50) concludes, is based on “discursive binaries that construct females, femininity and homosexuality in the undesirable other category. Homophobia actually helps to construct masculinity.” Plummer’s (1999) findings as reported in Chapter 2 support this view.

Koza suggested that the solutions offered were flawed because they can serve to reinforce misogyny by reducing boys’ access to the sensitive, gentle, delicate and tender. She encouraged the examination of alternative ways of thinking about gender, males, females, sexual orientation and homophobia.

Solie (1993) claims “music is gendered feminine, that is because of its difference.” By difference, we could assume Solie is referring to “otherness.” Solie also refers to
Kristeva’s psychoanalysis in which “the voice (that is song, music and sound in general) is identified with the maternal, with a state of being that is irrational, inarticulate and marked female.” Shepherd (1997) suggests an hypothesis where masculinity is associated with visual and femininity with the auditory. This material correlates with the findings from Chapter 2 and 3 in relation to men avoiding the feminine in broader terms and in education. It has its basis in physical differences reported in Chapter 2.

Part of Koza’s (1994b) reflection on her 1993 study is the use of euphemism. As referred to briefly earlier, the words “sissy”, etc are used because oppression operates in the realm of “unthinkability” and “unnameability.” Plummer (1999, p.64) also commented on this –“a pervasive background level of homophobia at school or at home easily renders such a silence noticeable and a refusal to contest it imparts a special status to homophobia.”

Mizener (1993) surveyed 78 American students from grade three to grade six, asking a number of questions, including “do you like to sing” and “do you want to sing in a choir?” In response to the first question, 87% of girls and 64% of boys gave a positive response. In response to the second question, 55% of girls and 33% of boys wanted to sing in a choir. Students indicated that family and the attitudes of friends and peers were not significant factors in influencing their decisions. While most students thought singing was suited to both sexes, boys were reluctant to say they liked it. Mizener suggested that this was because American males are not encouraged to be recreational singers. To overcome this, Mizener (1993, p.241) advocated the use of role models in singing and raising the awareness of men’s roles in social singing activities to contribute to more positive impressions of singing. The disparity between those who liked singing (64%) and those who were willing to sing in a choir (33%) is noted. Green (1993) and Gates (1989) found similar results that will be pursued in later chapters.

Zervoudakes and Tanur (1994) examined the issue of change in musical preference over a long time frame. The results indicated that there was a limited increase in the number of girls playing “masculine” instruments. While they conceded that further
research is required to conclude that girls are playing a wider range of instruments, there was evidence males are not able to cross gender lines as easily as females. As reported earlier, this correlates with Mahoney (1995, p.48) who commented that teachers report that girls are increasingly acting in way conventionally associated with particular forms of masculinity. Here femininities and masculinities are not regarded as biologically fixed but as fluid from the girls’ point of view. The notion that boys are more likely to be discouraged from engaging in feminine behaviours than girls for engaging in masculine behaviour will be central in discussing why particular instruments (including the study of voice) are chosen. Unger and Crawford (1992, p. 265) state, “people in general are unaware of how the culture mandates sex-based dichotomies and punishes those who deviate.” Green (1993, p.250) in her paper Music, Gender and Education concluded “the complex process of labelling and self-fulfilment which circulates around this hidden agenda (crossing of sexual/musical boundaries) cannot be easily overcome.”

Until 1995, “loss of interest” was the most cited reason for students dropping out of music programs. Duerksen’s (1972) data indicated that 55% of those surveyed stated “loss of interest” as their reason for giving up. McCarthy (1980) found that gender was the third highest reason for dropping out, behind reading grade and socio-economic status. Brown (1985) found that students reported the following reasons for dropping out:

1. It’s too time consuming
2. Conflicts with sports participation
3. Conflicts with other school activities
4. Fear of failure

Brown (1995) also investigated what ensemble directors reported as being major reasons for student attrition:

1. Lack of parental support
2. Class schedule conflicts
3. Conflicts with sport participation

4. Conflicts with after school jobs
5. Conflicts with other school activities

Boyle, De Carbo and Jordan (1995) conducted research into reasons for student dropouts in instrumental music by surveying band directors with the following results:

1. Lack of commitment to work
2. Loss of interest
3. Scheduling conflicts
4. Lack of parental support
5. Competing interest in sports
6. Lack of success on the instrument
7. Lack of musical ability
8. Lack of communication and encouragement from band directors
9. Too little time
10. Cost of instrument

To a much lesser extent, Boyle et al. found that the following reasons were given: lack of time for individual needs, student reactions to teacher, band classes too big, fear of failure, peer pressure, performance pressure, student dislike of band music, lack of recognition and after school jobs. Some of these will be investigated in Chapters 6 and 7. It is thought, as found by Fortney et al. (1993) that these reasons may mask unspoken gender-related motives for choices.

The role of popular music is dealt with extensively by Horrocks (1995). Through popular culture, Horrocks claims, young men have identified with and have dominated popular music since its inception and its association with subcultures (mods, punks, skinheads etc) provides some insight into masculinities. He further comments that women have always been seen as singers, while men are seen as instrumentalists, composers, engineers and producers. In dance records, he finds a further division: women sing and men (rappers) speak. He makes the connection between singing being more emotional and expressive, while speaking is more declarative. In so saying, he draws heavily on the work of Bradby (1993). Guitar is
seen as a phallic instrument, suited to males, though some change has taken place in this regard in the last 15 years.

O’Neill and Boulton (1995) conducted a study as to the social outcomes associated with playing particular instruments. Students commented that they were likely to be liked less and bullied more if they played an instrument that was viewed as gender inappropriate. Boys may have experienced higher levels of discouragement than girls. As demonstrated earlier, bullying and being low in popularity are two of the most significant issues in peer relationships in childhood and therefore some children will behave in such ways as to minimize such negative reaction from their peers. O’Neill and Boulton’s (1995) study concluded that girls showed a stronger preference for flute, piano and violin, while boys expressed a stronger preference for drums, guitar and trumpet.

O’Neill also refers to the avoidance of femininity, an aspect of gender relations discussed earlier in reference to the research of Archer (1984) and which Hargreaves, Comber and Colley (1995) also found. Hargreaves et al. reported that girls expressed more positive attitudes to music at all age levels than boys, but this was particularly true at the lower age levels. The attitude of both sexes became more positive with age as found by Green (1993).

This appears to contradict Swanwick’s (1988) findings. His research into attitudes to school shows a strong decline in positive attitude to music by both sexes. The gender balance of Swanwick’s sample is not known and while his data does not include the final two years of schooling, a slight increase in positive attitude at around age 15 was noted. Other studies have also found attitudes to school in general improved in these years. It should be noted that Swanwick’s data is based on the English system which is more classroom orientated than the ensemble based activities that dominate programs in the United States.

Hargreaves et al. (1995) also reported girls as having more training in music than boys. Crowther and Durkin (1982) found that girls in the United Kingdom are twice as likely to learn an instrument at school and to take music examinations. Dislike of
particular styles of music was also a feature of the study of Hargreaves et al. and the results are given in Table 15 below.

TABLE 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Style of Music</th>
<th>% of boys who disliked each style</th>
<th>% of girls who disliked each style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jazz</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hargreaves et al. (1995)

While the percentages for some styles are high, girls were generally more tolerant of styles than boys. Opera, which is principally associated with singing, was disliked by both sexes. Issues of management of opera for students were discussed at length in Harrison (1995).

Hargreaves et al. (1995) also found some evidence of peer group influence in musical preferences. Webster and Hamilton (1981) found this notion hard to support, insisting that parental influence may be of greater importance. Finnas (1987) reflected that students in the 11 –16 age range hide their musical interests in order to conform to peer group norms. Children who pursue classical music, because it is unusual, can receive negative feedback with comments such as “weird” and “sissy.” Howe and Slobada (1992) suggested that these comments might cause a student to give up. This is particularly so for students who play non-stereotypical instruments, who receive more negative reactions. Green (1997) reported similar findings. Since some classical instruments (e.g. flute) are seen as girls’ instruments (because they are high or soft), boys may experience higher levels of discouragement. Peers, parents and teachers have therefore been found to influence this impediment to participation.

Elliot (1995) sought to discover if gender and race affected the judgment of a musical performance. In his study, flute and trumpet were used, as earlier studies had shown them to project feminine and masculine associations respectively. Videotapes of performances by four performers on each instrument were presented with a dubbed soundtrack – in other words, the one aural performance was presented
with four different visual images. The visual images in each case were a black female, a white female, a black male and a white male. Eighty-eight music majors were asked to judge the performances and rate them from 1 – 9, with nine being the highest. Although he concluded that gender was not a main effect, Elliot found that masculine/feminine associations for certain musical instruments exist and that prior expectation could influence how experienced musicians hear and judge performances. He suggested that sensitivity to racial and gender bias become part of the training for musicians and educators.

In 1996, Stollak and Stollak investigated the notion that some music programs focussed on sport-like elements of competition, to the detriment of other factors. In particular, they investigated the notion of “team” versus “family” in choir and the emphasis in winning as a “team” in competition. They surmised that, at times, this short-term goal was chosen instead of giving students a life-long love of the art. Participants appreciated choirs in which the family element was employed more than those which had a team element. By family, Stollak and Stollak (1996) mean choir directors who are nurturing and willing to listen to the suggestions of choir members, exert firm control and communicate clearly in a non-manipulative way. Their results correlate with findings regarding the parental effect on child development. Parents who display the above attributes are more likely to rear children who are socialized, independent, self-controlled, assertive and exploratory (Baumrind 1989). The relationship of sport and music has been an ongoing theme in this thesis. The use of sporting analogy will be pursued further in Chapters 6 and 7.

Hanley (1998) took Green’s 1993 English study and applied it in Canada. She used a revised questionnaire to examine 112 teachers’ perceptions of gender issues. Her research, like Green’s, was interested in teachers’ perceptions and hoped to get at the common sense behind gendered musical relationships. As such it tapped into the wealth of combined and practised knowledge inherent in teachers.
She asked questions of music educators, based on Green’s questionnaire, but adding jazz to the list of musical styles. Teachers were asked to circle one of “girls”, “boys”, “both equally” and “no response” in answering.

Teachers were also encouraged to give written responses to supplement their answers. Like Green, some respondents in her study were antagonistic to the extent of denying the existence of gender issues in music. In response, Hanley suggested that music related to real human experiences. She gave the example of the emotions as a human experience that appears to have gender associations.

In analysing the responses to these questions, Hanley sought to find answers to

- teachers’ assumptions about gendered musical relationships;
- the level of gender awareness existent among secondary music educators;
- issues of musical achievement by gender;
- the extent to which educational patterns served to perpetuate stereotypes.

In general terms Hanley (1998, p.54) found that many teachers commented that girls and boys were equally successful: equal but different. Differences were attributed to social circumstances, music teacher, early exposure, the music program, the culture of the community, self-confidence, peer support, genetic predisposition or talent and parental support. One particular response reflects this “I think that self-confidence and peer influence are more relevant to success in music at my level.”

According to Hanley, boys and girls were said to share musical experiences, though girls were considerably more successful at singing than boys. She states – “singing is viewed a feminine activity - boys who engage in singing are feminine by implication” (Hanley 1998, p.58). There were exceptions – aggressive singing was valued. In some cases, singing in a jazz choir, rock band, bebop band or a musical was deemed acceptable. Green (1993) had reported a similar trend.

Twenty-two respondents presented a negative view of male participation in singing because male peers view singing as “girls’ stuff”, one respondent relating that

30 Green’s original questions can be found on p. 102.
“they’re hung up on the image that boys don’t sing and those who do are gay or sissies or whatever – weak anyway” (Hanley 1998, p.57). She also commented on the state of instrumental music, with teachers reporting an increased awareness of stereotypes. Some teacher comments belie this statement: “boys prefer guitars”, “girls are vocalists and boys are instrumentalists” (1998, p.59). Hanley also suggested that: “some girls want to be like boys. Boys, however don’t want to be like girls” (1998, p.62).

This assumption of masculine ideas by girls has support in Gates (1989) and Mahoney (1985). As an example, Hanley noted that “more girls are joining traditionally male ensembles like stage bands while boys are not flocking in great numbers to choir”. This reflects the idea of gender role rigidity in boys. She also found that teachers suggested girls play woodwind instruments because they are easy to carry home and boys select percussion and brass because they are loud. Classical music was found to be more feminine, because, according to one respondent, it is too slow and boring for boys.

In concluding, Hanley commented on the gender role of the artist in Canadian society – “masculine characteristics such as risk taking and assertiveness seem to be essential to successful musicians in western cultures, yet artists must also have a feminine side that displays artistic and aesthetic sensitivity” (1998, p.67). This field had earlier been addressed in Kemp’s study of androgyny. Further, she suggested that some people continue to see music as effete and its pursuit unmanly.

Maidlow and Bruce (1999) refute the biological argument as an explanation of sex difference in musical achievement. With regard to gender, they note that despite the numerous recommendations that abound in research, they have had little impact on music education, particularly in the field of the learning of instruments.

Parents, teachers and the media perpetuate sex-based stereotypes, according to Maidlow and Bruce. They challenge the reporting of information based purely on physical differences. Maidlow and Bruce urged researchers in the field to negotiate the “slippery” categories of masculinity and femininity, which affect how we define

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31 This may be because male rock singers are highly valued in our society.
the function of music. The use of the word “slippery” is interesting in that it echoes the work of Connell (1989), Tsou and Cook (1994) and others who described masculinities as changing within contexts.

Maidlow and Bruce acknowledged that Kemp (1985) was the only researcher to refer to personality traits, including issues of androgyny in musicians. In 1980, Kemp had found a bias towards extroversion and adjustment in connection with singers. In 1985 he found that according to Bem’s Sex Role Inventory\textsuperscript{32} musical women were more “masculine” and men more “feminine”. Androgyny seemed to increase with the length of time in the profession. Children who pursue music into and beyond adolescence were found to be in possession of the kind of personal androgyny, which enables them to disregard socio-cultural expectations. They also possessed the necessary high motivation towards music, which allows them to continue regardless of social and personal cost. Green (1993) reported a similar finding and this has significant implication for the fieldwork discussed in later chapters.

Garder (1955) had referred to this earlier when he stated that male musicians were less active than their non-musical counterparts, while females were lower in restraint and friendliness. Csikszentmihalyi and Getzels (1973) found similar results maintaining that creative people exhibit more of the characteristic traits of the opposite sex than is usually considered normal. Wubbenhorst (1994, p.73) supported this in his study that indicated 48% of music teachers and 38% of performers were androgynous. Male music teachers seem to retain some of their stereotypes, particularly those who played male-sex typed instruments. Despite an erroneous association in popular culture, androgyny does not imply the presence of homosexuality. Post’s study (1994) of 291 creative artists found only 3.8% of the 52 composers in the study were homosexual. This figure represents half the reported incidence of homosexuality in the general population.

Plummer’s (1999, 2001) work in the field of homophobia was discussed in general terms in Chapter 2. With regard to music, Plummer (1999, p.149) illustrated how different activities can attract homophobic criticism giving this example of the

\textsuperscript{32} As mentioned earlier, Bem classifies the androgynous individual as one who is able to move freely across sex-role behaviours when organizing and processing information.
experiences of a singer: “...I used to sing... and that was something that was wussy or pansy, poofter. I used to really like singing and so I was annoyed because everyone else used to persecute me because of it.” Many of Plummer’s subjects commented in similar ways about gender incongruent behaviour.

A study conducted by Harrison and O’Neill (2000) attempted to change 7 and 8-year-old children's instrument preferences by manipulating the gender of live adult musicians presenting instrument choices. In relation to the current discussion, their most relevant finding was that girls were less likely to choose the piano after seeing it played by a male. Boys showed less preference for the guitar after seeing a female play guitar. Other counter-examples had minimal impact on children's overall preferences. Repacholi and Pickering (2001) suggested that this might be due, in part, to methodological problems. For instance, children were exposed to the musicians and made both sets of instrument rankings within a group context. Thus, they were vulnerable to peer influence. Choice of music may also have affected children's instrument preferences.

A phenomenological investigation of gender and instrument choice was conducted by Conway (2000). In it, she explored factors for the existence of stereotyping in instrumental music. As stated in Chapter 1, she draws on Patton (1990) for her methodological base describing the connection gender and musical choice as a phenomenon.

Some of the comments Conway (2000, pp. 8-9) found in her interviews appear to show some agreement with those found by Green (1997) and Hanley (1998). In relation to flute, these include:

I probably would not have started on the flute even if I liked it ‘cause I knew it was really a girl thing.

... maybe little boys or something, they don’t want to be associated with the flute, like it’s not masculine or something.

I just can’t see a guy picking up the flute, it’s like such a feminine instrument. It sounds feminine, too.
At the other end of the masculine – feminine continuum, subjects commented on brass in this way:

I thought that low brass is sort of masculine, but it’s not really true at our school, we do have some girls.

Physical attributes related to each sex were investigated in Chapter 1. The physical features of the players were also mentioned in Conway’s (p.9) study:

All the trombone players tend to pretty big

... the female trombone player in my band is like 6 foot 4 inches.

When asked about the reason for the existence of stereotypes, some students commented that, while they were unwarranted, sound and physical characteristics of instruments were cited. Perhaps of most importance in relation to the current research was that all students who played a cross-gendered instrument talked about having to deal with some questioning about their choice. The issue of male gender role rigidity has been discussed in Chapter 2 and again earlier in this chapter in relation to the work of Abeles and Porter (1978), Hanley (1998) and Delzell and Leppla (1992). There is evidence to support the notion of females crossing gender lines more easily than males in Conway’s (2000, p.13) work:

All of the students who were asked whether or not they would allow a daughter of theirs in 20 years to play a low brass instrument responded that the child should play whatever she would like. When asked that same question in regards to a son playing the flute, many of the students expressed concern about the teasing that child might experience.

Furthermore, Conway (2000) concurs with Green (1997) in that the barriers for boys are more significant than those for girls and that vocal music is likely to be even more of a problem than instrumental music. She also makes the point that much research has focused on opportunities for girls and has come from a feminist perspective. As has been established the current research seeks to rectify this, using the post-feminist approach to concentrate on the needs of marginalised boys for the benefit of boys and girls.

Martino and Pallotta-Chiarolli (2001, p.9) also found subjects who were persecuted because of their voice. One subject commented:

...you have to have a deep voice because if you don’t you’ll get hassled. They used to hassle me because of my higher voice, calling me gay.
The relationship of pitch to instrument choice has been a constant throughout this chapter. This instance refers to specifically to singing. The data in relation to tenors’ non-participation (Bartle 1968; Gates 1989) is relevant to this material and will be pursued in the following chapters.

Further weight is added to this argument by White and White (2001, p. 40):

…though the young man may inwardly enjoy singing, when he sits with his buddies at school or at church, he will not sing if the group believes it is not masculine or “cool.”

Some of the most recent research into this field comes from Adler (1997 and 2001) who proposes that to make singing an experience that will have positive value for boys involves “examining the issues of school policy, departmental and classroom management, teacher-student relations, peer relations and student self-esteem and self-image”. He summarises the effects of peer disapproval and societal situation by referring to Social Construction and Identity Capital.

Social Construction describes the role of society and the individual in the construction of identity and gender (Bem, 1974). Some gender related traits are perceived as more desirable than others and are nurtured by society. Helgeson (1994) suggested that traits were only desirable when gender roles and gender were the same. From childhood through a process of socialisation, we select traits that we think are valued in order to construct our identity. As discussed earlier regarding methodology, Identity Capital is the term used to describe a person’s effort to highlight socially desirable traits and avoid activities that might highlight socially undesirable traits (Cote 1990; Evens and Eder 1993). Participation in gender incongruent activities is socially punished through bullying, loss of self-esteem, social exclusion, verbal and physical abuse.

This classification by Adler (2001) is extremely helpful in the current discussion as it provided recent data closely related to relevant issues. Specifically with regard to vocal music, Adler found that as singing does not construct or defend masculinity it carries with it gender incongruent and therefore homophobic labels. Plummer (1999, p.149) found that the pressure not to pursue artistic activities led to them being relinquished:
We had a very enthusiastic brother who was a music teacher. He worked so hard to get us little shits to play in his band and we did. And we disappointed him. We played for about a year and we were getting good, and then we just thought “Oh we’re just going to buggarise around and play sport.” And it broke his heart I’m sure, because it wasn’t the right thing to do. The culture to do other things was just too strong. It was too artistic.

In one of the few Australian studies in this field, Pickering and Repacholi (2001) found that children as young as five years of age displayed gender-typed preferences. The most popular choice among boys at this age was the drum and for girls it was the violin. These results indicate that children tended to prefer those at the extreme end of the masculine-feminine continuum. Influences in relation to instrument choice were found to include parental pressure, their music teacher's advice, or the instruments that are readily available at home/school.

Pickering and Repacholi (2001) also sampled fourth-grade students. About half the girls of this age sampled in their study were found to have selected a masculine instrument. This is consistent with previous research in relation girls’ capacity to engage in cross-gendered activities with greater ease than boys as found by Mahoney (1985) and Katz and Boswell (1986). Pickering also noted that this may be due to an increased awareness that males have greater status and power (Serbin, Powlishta, & Gulko, 1993). In relation to boys, Pickering and Repacholi found that boys were less receptive to the counterexamples than girls and showed significant preference for the masculine instruments. Such resistance is in line with research indicating that boys experience more negative outcomes than girls for engaging in cross-sex activities (Martin, 1990). Pickering and Repacholi (2001, p.642) concluded that:

The perceived risk associated with playing, or even just circling, a gender-inappropriate instrument was probably much greater for the boys than for the girls. Boys in particular could benefit from exposure to multiple examples of a counter-stereotyped behaviour.

A related longitudinal study has been taking place in England into the gendered voice in the cathedral choir. This research (Howard and Welch, forthcoming; Welch and Howard, 2002) has investigated the perception of difference in the sound between the male and the female unchanged voice. Through scientific data and perceptions of listeners, the initial findings of the study indicate that there is little physical or perceived difference in the voices until the age of ten but that “gender confusability decreases with ascending age” (Welch and Howard, 2002, p.117). The
researchers also noted that socialisation into gendered roles may also be a likely contributory factor to voice usage (Welch and Howard, 2002, p.117). In other words boys are less likely to sing with increasing age. These findings were confirmed in subsequent discussions with the author (personal interview April 3, 2003).

REFLECTION AND SUMMARY

The aim of this chapter was to provide a chronological account of research into the stereotyping of musical activities and the gendering of musical participation to date. In the studies conducted between 1978 and 2001, all indicate that there is little doubt that a stereotypical bias exists in music. As Golombok and Fivush (1994, p.36) put it “despite efforts to break down stereotypes, little has changed in the last 30 – 40 years.”

The data presented in Chapter 3 indicated that music is perceived as feminine and as such does not enjoy high status. Within music, as with sport, there is a hierarchy of acceptable activities. Soft, gentle music is shunned and males avoid the instruments on which such music is performed: flute, clarinet, violin and singing. These instruments were consistently placed at the feminine end of the continuum of instruments. A clearer picture of this can be seen in the comparison of instrument choices from this chapter and the next, found in Appendix D.

Males tended to restrict themselves to a relatively small group of instruments: drums and lower brass were popular choices. Females’ choices ranged more freely across a wider range of instruments and there was clear evidence that females were also assuming musical roles traditionally associated with males. This process was referred to in Chapter 3. Gates (1989), Koza (1993) and others established its existence in music in the studies reported in this chapter. A feature of this process is that, while females are pursuing “masculine” endeavours, they are still retaining their participation in traditional “feminine” activities. This gives women the broader base rightly demanded in feminist thought, while marginalizing male participation. The post-feminist approach seeks to address this disparity, while acknowledging the importance of the developments of female opportunity. Avoidance of femininity is clearly a key element in the restriction of choices of instruments and activities, as is

Other factors were found to effect the gendering of instrument choice. The role of teacher was reflected upon at the end of Chapter 3. A large number of researchers whose work was examined in this chapter found the role of the music teacher to be important. Teachers were found to be a major influence in the choice of instrument and in maintaining interest in music making. Perseverance, along with androgyny are typical personality traits found in performers and teachers of music. This is thought to contribute to some students’ successful participation in so-called gender-incongruent musical behaviours.

Role models were a significant factor in the choice of instrument. Teachers, parents, peers and the media presented role models, some of which served to enhance popular discourses about gender. Koza (1993) acknowledged the role sportspersons have played as role models for almost 100 years. The role of sport as contributing to the construction of masculinity has been discussed in earlier chapters. Koza (1993) and Stollack (1996) emphasise that sport can be harnessed as a motivational tool in music, but that this needs to be executed with caution so as to avoid entrenching stereotypes. Single-sex activities were also seen as a positive way of increasing engagement.

The first part of this thesis has aimed to provide the background, context and framework for the fieldwork to be presented in the next three chapters.

Chapter 1 considered the role of gender within society and the debate between essentialism and constructionism. An interdisciplinary approach has been employed, incorporating a number of methodologies and analytical frameworks. The foremost of these is post feminism. The second chapter focussed on the investigation of masculinities drawing on the work of Connell (1995). The idea of masculinity as processes and relationships was presented and the existence of a hegemonic masculinity discussed. This is seen as a common and influential set of beliefs that

are born out in practices and relationships. In Australia, hegemonic masculinity is manifested in a variety of ways, including the concept of “mateship.”

The importance of school as a place in which gendered identity is structured through formal and informal means was presented in the third chapter. Chapter 3 also focused on the approach of teachers and students to gender and reflected on subject choice, participation and achievement. The broad function of music education is also included in this general discussion. Chapter 4 examined existing data related to participation in music to provide a specific context for the research results presented in the second part of the thesis.

With this summary in mind, a reflection on the central question may be appropriate at this point, before the new data is presented. Some answers to the question “How do constructs of masculinity and femininity impact on boys’ musical education in Australia?” have begun to emerge. The question of what it is to be male in Australia has been addressed in Chapter 2 along with some of the factors contributing to the construction of masculinity and femininity. Femininity and its avoidance have transpired to be a major factor in musical participation. The current nature of participation has been a central part of this chapter. The central question and the related questions put forward in Chapter 1 can only be fully answered at the end of the thesis.

Other elements put forward in Chapter 1 as unifying frameworks for the thesis were Layder’s research map and the GRIME research agenda. The five levels of Layder (1993) (self, situated activity, social settings, macrocontexts and historical dimensions) have each been employed, with the exception of self. This aspect will be incorporated in Chapters 6 and 7. All five elements of the GRIME agenda have been addressed to varying degrees and will continue to provide a framework for the analysis of the fieldwork. The progress that has been made in this first section will be expanded and clarified through the data and analysis of the coming chapters.
CHAPTER FIVE
FIELDWORK: STEREOTYPING AND GENDER

Fieldwork was constructed to complement and extend the existent body of research outlined in the earlier chapters, particularly Chapter 4. This incorporated examining topics raised in general gender issues and in relation to music. One of the purposes of the research was to investigate the nature of stereotyping and gender in Australia and to place it within the context of pre-existing knowledge.

The importance of variables crucial to the study of gender is considered here. As stated in Chapter 1, this phase of the research is intended to provide a longitudinal perspective on gender issues in music by using elements of earlier studies. The fieldwork aimed to provide new perceptions of the issues related to boys’ and girls’ participation in musical activities.

Throughout this thesis, the framework for the research has drawn on the Gender Research in Music Education (GRIME) research. As pointed out in Chapter 1 and reiterated in Chapter 4, the five key issues raised by GRIME to be investigated in this phase include:

- A continued monitoring of sex-stereotyping of instruments;
- How the profession of music education constructs gender expectations for males and females;
- What it means to be male in a feminine discipline;
- Sex equity issues concerning ensemble practices and policies;
- How schools support hierarchical gender systems.

As Teese (1995) recommends, it is unwise to measure performance without measuring participation. He also emphasizes the need to examine which boys are engaged in particular activities. The fieldwork seeks to undertake this in some respects. To do this effectively, it draws on four of the research tools recommended by Layder (1993):
empirical data, observation, interviews, discussion and review of documents. With regard to Layder’s (1993) five levels of analysis, this phase looks at situated activity, social settings and macrocontexts. The post-feminist dimension of the research will underpin these studies.

Field studies took place in three phases:

Phase 1: The administration of surveys to establish the extent to which stereotypes exist through an inquiry into
- The choice of musical instruments of primary and secondary school students;
- Participation in ensembles;
- Common attitudes of secondary students in respect of instrument selection;
- Opinions of tertiary students in respect of masculine and feminine attributes associated with certain instruments.

Phase 2: Case studies of individuals who have engaged in stereotypical and non-stereotypical musical behaviours.

Phase 3: A review of best practice in the community, schools and by individuals to examine how the effects of musical choices were managed.

The results of Phase 1 will be tabulated in this Chapter. Phases 2 and 3 will be considered in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

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34 The five levels of Layder (1993) are self, situated activity, social settings, macrocontexts and historical dimensions.
PHASE 1

METHODOLOGY

A set of studies was designed to establish the extent to which sex-stereotyping of instruments existed in 21st century Australia. Some of the methodology of earlier studies could be retained providing, in part, a longitudinal study spanning over twenty years. Of particular interest were student instrument preferences and the reasons given for those preferences.

Elements of Abeles and Porter (1978, p.72) used by the author include the questions:

- Does the association of gender with musical instruments exist in the general population?
- Do musicians and non-musicians have similar gender associations with instruments?
- At what age does sex-stereotyping of instruments begin?

The use of a masculine feminine continuum by Abeles and Porter (1978) proved to be a practical tool in providing longitudinal data. The challenges of investigating other variables related to instrument choice (including literature, ensemble involvement and the association of music with traditional feminine characteristics) as proposed by Abeles and Porter (1978, p. 75) were significant in structuring the research method for all 6 studies in Phase 1.

The work of Griswold and Chroback (1981) provided three elements of the methods for Phase 1 studies:

- A further comparison of musicians and non-musicians;
- The use of the 10-point Likert-type scale as a discriminative instrument for data collection;
- The inclusion of a vocal element (the choral conductor) in a study of this nature.

The first two of these factors were included in study 2, where the Likert-type scale was used to analyse the perceptions of music and non-music tertiary students. The inclusion
of voice permeated all 5 studies in Phase 1, as well as number of the case studies in Phase 2.

The research of Delzell and Leppla (1992) compared tertiary musicians’ and non-musicians’ perceptions of stereotyping. The eight instruments chosen by Abeles and Porter were also used in Delzell and Leppla’s (1992) study, providing a link between Abeles and Porter and the current research in the longitudinal process.

The one page, 11-item survey used by Fortney, Boyle and De Carbo (1993) was replicated for use in the investigation of secondary school students in study 3. The purpose and the size of the sample of study 3 were similar to that of Fortney et al. (1993). The purpose of their study was to investigate what middle school music students reported to be their influences in choosing an instrument. The survey of Fortney et al. asked students to nominate their current instrument, to name an instrument they would like to play and an instrument they would least like to play. The last of these is of importance in discerning the instruments that may be avoided by one sex or the other. Perhaps most significantly, there is an opportunity in this type of study for students to express opinions about instrument choice in their own words. As such it provides a connection with the comments of subjects in the case studies of Phase 2. As Fortney et al. concluded, the author acknowledges the limitations of the self-reporting survey, but maintains that it was a practical way of gathering data from such a sample. It is important to note that the method in this instance is not used in isolation, but in conjunction with the other methods all phases.

Within Phase 1, Study 4 explores ensemble involvement. As such, it draws directly on the GRIME agenda and pursues one of the suggestions of Abeles and Porter (1978) for further research. It also draws on Delzell and Leppla (1992), Hanley (1998), Koza (1994) and Gates (1989). Each of these researchers commented on the impact of sex-stereotyping on ensembles. The justification for this type of study is that ensembles, which are integral to many school music programs, are often the first places where gender imbalances become apparent, even problematic. As Delzell and Leppla (1992, p.95) pointed out
Problems arise when the instruments rest at either end of the preference continuum. An orchestra program will cease to exist if there is insufficient interest in stringed instruments. A band program will be seriously unbalanced if all students want to play the same two or three instruments.

Hanley (1998, p.59) also indicated that “while teachers are aware of stereotypes, the stereotypes within ensembles had not vanished: girls prefer concert band and boys prefer jazz band.” It was anticipated that the concept of the “missing male” referred to by Koza (1994) and Gates (1989) could be addressed.

By way of clarifying the structure of this phase of the study, the following studies were implemented:

Study 1. This was a study of primary school age students’ preference for musical instruments. This study asked for primary school students’ first and second choices. This replicated the Delzell and Leppla (1992) study.

Study 2. This study asked music and non-music tertiary students to indicate whether musical instruments were perceived to have masculine or feminine attributes. This was an extension of one of Abeles and Porter’s (1978) studies that asked college students to place instruments on a masculine/feminine continuum. Delzell and Leppla (1992) also studied college students’ attitudes. While all previous studies of college (tertiary) students included a comparison of music students and non-music students, the Griswold and Chroback (1991) study provided the closest possible conditions for replication.

Study 3. This study comprised an 11-item survey asking students’ current instruments, the instruments students would least like to play and the instruments students would most like to play. In open and closed response items, secondary school students were asked to provide reasons for their choices. This was based on Fortney, Boyle and Carbo’s (1993) study. Delzell and Leppla also asked for students’ first, second and last choices and the reasons for these choices, so a comparison across all three studies could be achieved.
Study 4. Study 4 examined ensemble involvement according to sex. This was achieved in two ways:

a) Secondary music teachers were asked, in a questionnaire, to indicate the balance of each sex in ensembles within their schools.

b) Student participation in a music festival in South-East Queensland in October and November 2000 was observed.

Study 5. School aged students enrolled in a music program offered by a tertiary institution were surveyed in 2000, 2001 and 2002 with regard to the instruments they played. This provided a survey base of a large number of auditioned students who were enrolled at a single institution. As such, the data could provide a comparison with students in other studies who came from divergent learning environments.

**STUDY 1: PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS’ PREFERENCES**

During October and November 2000, a group of primary school students was asked to indicate their instrument preference. Students were sourced from 50 different primary schools south of Brisbane. Students were shown the instruments, without demonstration. The survey was accepted by 102 students. Of these, 11 females and 7 males declined to indicate their preference, leaving 44 male respondents and 40 female respondents who indicated their first and second preferences. The raw data was converted to a percentage of the total surveyed for comparison with other studies of a similar nature. These preferences are given in Table 16 below.

While Table 16 does not provide the raw data for each instrument, drums/percussion were clearly the first preference of all students, followed by guitar (students were shown acoustic, electric and bass guitars). For males the next preferences were for saxophone and trumpet, followed by piano, singing and violin. One male student chose each of flute, clarinet, trombone, French horn and double bass. Female preferences after drums and guitar were piano, singing, clarinet, violin and flute. One female student chose each of trumpet, viola and ‘cello. There are indications here of the move towards masculine
activity by females as evidenced by the percentage of girls selecting trombone, drums and guitar.

TABLE 16
Primary school students’ instrument preferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were male</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums/Percussion</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>82.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: A small number of students only indicated their first preference.
Source: Harrison (2000)

This study was repeated in November 2001. Again students in primary school were asked to indicate their instrument preference. Students were shown the instruments, without demonstration. In 2001, 194 students accepted the survey. Of these, 27 females and 48 males declined to indicate their preference, leaving 55 male respondents and 54 female respondents who indicated their first and second preferences. These preferences are given in Table 17 below. As Table 17 does not provide the raw data, drums/percussion were again the first preference of male students, followed by guitar (students were shown acoustic, electric and bass guitars). For males the next preferences were for piano and trumpet, followed by saxophone. Female students also selected drums as their first preference. Female preferences after drums were singing, piano,
clarinet, and flute. One female student chose each of trumpet, trombone, double bass and ‘cello.

**TABLE 17**  
Primary school students’ instrument preferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed that were male</th>
<th>% of total surveyed that were female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums/Percussion</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>86.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: A small number of students only indicated their first preference.  
Source: Harrison (2001)

There are still indications of the move towards masculine activity by females in the choice of drums, though the choice of “feminine” instruments by females (flute, clarinet and singing) was more pronounced in the 2001 cohort. A further comparison of the data from each year is represented in Table 18 below.

From the total of 345 subjects across 2000 and 2001, the clear choice of instrument for both sexes was drums, followed by guitar, piano, singing, clarinet, saxophone, flute, violin, trumpet and trombone. After drums, which were chosen by a higher proportion of boys, piano and singing were clearly dominated by girls. Clarinet, flute and violin were also nominated by a larger number of girls, while the ranking of saxophone, trumpet and
trombone was largely due to boys’ choices. A continuum of these choices is presented in Appendix D.

TABLE 18
Primary school students’ instrument preferences 2000 & 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed that were male</th>
<th>Average % of males</th>
<th>% of total surveyed that were female</th>
<th>Average % of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2000/1</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td><strong>86.1</strong></td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td><strong>83.3</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums/Percussion</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>62</td>
<td><strong>65.7</strong></td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td><strong>72.8</strong></td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td><strong>27.9</strong></td>
<td>82.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td><strong>15.9</strong></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2001)

There is a high level of correlation of the data between the two years, particularly in the extremes. While the raw data shows that drums were the most popular choice of both sexes, more males than females nominated drums. Boys generally avoided flute, clarinet, singing and to a lesser extent, piano. Girls consistently avoided trumpet. Both sexes had few respondents electing trombone, French horn, tuba, ‘cello and double bass. Saxophone was an anomaly with a marked increase in interest from girls in 2001. The fact that viola was not chosen could stem from a range of reasons, including lack of exposure and lack of positive association. Another relevant piece of data is the increase in the number of students choosing not to indicate an instrument and proportion of boys to girls in 2001, where many more boys declined to nominate. This could be reflective of boys’ tendency to choose activities other than music in which to engage. It may also
be related to Pickering and Repacholi’s (2001) comment that there is a risk in boys playing or even circling an instrument perceived as gender-incongruent.

It would be unwise to claim that gender is the only reason for the choices of instruments outlined in tables 16, 17 and 18 above. Other issues could include the status of the instrument or ensemble; the band versus orchestra versus choir tensions; director personality; establishment of a culture within the school that supports a range of experiences. Many of these issues will be discussed in later chapters. There is however, clear evidence in this data that stereotypes exist in the instrument choices of primary school students. Boys chose drums, brass, saxophone, double bass and guitar. Flute, strings (except double bass), piano and singing were chosen by girls.

Boys avoided flute, clarinet and singing, while girls avoided choosing French horn, tuba and double bass. This indicates some support for the notions of avoidance of femininity by boys and male gender role rigidity as outlined in the earlier chapters.

**STUDY 2: TERTIARY STUDENTS’ PERCEPTIONS**

Undergraduate music students and non-music students from a university in Southeast Queensland volunteered for the study. Music students were those students enrolled predominantly in music subjects, while the non-music students were from disciplines other than music. The study was administered during August and September of 2000. Of the 103 respondents, 5 were discarded as having misunderstood or defaced the questionnaire. Of the remaining 98, 71 were music students (32 males and 39 females) and 27 were non-music Students (9 males and 18 females), giving total 41 male subjects and 57 female subjects.

Candidates were also asked to indicate their age on the questionnaire. The age distribution is given in Figure 9. The test instrument was a 10-point Likert-type scale anchored on the words *masculine* and *feminine*, modelled on Griswold-Chroback
(1981), but with a reduced number of instruments and including singing for the first time in a study of this nature.

The number of instruments was reduced for two purposes. The first was to make the data more manageable. Too wide a range of instruments had the effect of reducing the impact of the data. The second purpose in reducing the number of instruments was to provide a clearer correlation with the majority of other studies in the field, including Abeles and Porter. In so doing, the longitudinal focus of the research could be more accurately pursued.

![Graph showing age distribution of candidates](image)

FIGURE 9 Age of candidates in tertiary sample - Harrison (2000)

In alphabetical order, the names of ten instruments were listed down the left-hand side of the page. These instruments were ‘cello, clarinet, drums, flute, guitar, saxophone, singing, trumpet, trombone and violin. Each subject was asked to read the alphabetical list and circle the number (1 – 10) that applied to their perception of whether the instrument was associated with masculine or feminine attributes.

As with Griswold and Chroback’s (1981) original questionnaire, the anchor objectives for half the items were assigned opposite pole. In other words students could not make judgments about the masculinity or femininity of an instrument based on numerical value. This was to avoid rating bias. Later, all suitable ratings were transformed to a common scale with one the most feminine and ten the most masculine. The scale

---

35 Half the questionnaires had 1 for feminine and 10 for masculine and the other half had 1 for masculine and 10 for feminine.
provides the opportunity for respondents to select numbers across the entire range. The effect of this was not to force an extreme masculine or feminine response and allow subjects the opportunity to select a neutral (or androgynous) answer. The raw figures were then converted to a percentage of the total surveyed. An overview of these figures can be found in Table 19. The instruments that are likely to be considered neutral, masculine and feminine in general terms and the degree to which this is so is more clearly indicated in Tables 20, 21 and 22 below. Percentages for the total surveyed along with the percentages of each subgroup (music, non-music, male and female) are indicated.

TABLE 19

Responses to questionnaire on gender attributes of musical instruments:
Percentage of respondents who selected each number on the scale for each instrument
(1 is most feminine, 10 is most masculine)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>’Cello</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sax</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

It is immediately clear that there are some instruments for which respondents chose the two numbers that shared the centre (5 and 6) of the scale. It was thought that respondents probably chose these numbers to indicate that they believed these instruments were not strongly associated with either or neither gender i.e. neutral. In Table 20 below, the percentage of respondents who chose 5 and 6 are totalled. Instruments that rated above 50% by any subgroup (i.e. music students, non-music students, males and females) are included.
Violin, singing and ‘cello were perceived by more than half the cohort to have neutral status according to this criteria. Of these, males rated singing and non-music students rated ‘cello less likely to be neutral. Female subjects and non-music subjects considered clarinet and guitar neutral respectively. While violin was considered neutral by more subjects overall, the highest percentage was for singing by non-music subjects.

TABLE 20

Percentage of respondents who considered some instruments neutral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Non Music</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

Having now discarded the middle two numbers, the total of the numbers in the upper end of the scale (7 to 10) were added for the purposes of determining whether an instrument was considered to have masculine attributes. The results of this can be seen in Table 21.

TABLE 21

Percentage of subjects who considered some instruments masculine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Total Surveyed</th>
<th>Music Students</th>
<th>Non Music Students</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>82.7</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>80.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>81.6</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>80.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

Drums and trombone were clearly gendered masculine by a large proportion of subjects. Only guitar rates below 50% for the non-music subjects, because as Table 20 shows, many of them believed it to be neutral.
To determine whether an instrument was perceived to have feminine attributes, the total of the numbers lower end (1 to 4) of the scale were added. The results of this can be seen in Table 22.

**TABLE 22**

Percentage of subjects who considered some instruments feminine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Non Music</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>61.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

The first trend that is apparent in observing this data is that the percentages are lower for feminine instruments than for masculine. This helps to confirm the central notion reported earlier that concepts of masculinity are further entrenched than those of femininity and correlates with the findings in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 that refer to males not being able to cross gender lines as easily as females.\(^{36}\) This is true of the total and the subgroups. The only instrument to be considered feminine by more than half the total cohort was flute. The next most feminine instrument (by a large margin) was clarinet. The only other instruments to be considered feminine by more than 50% of any subgroup were ‘cello by the non-music students and singing by the males.

This method of analysis is not infallible, as some instruments registered in the masculine or feminine end to varying degrees. For example, a high percentage of subjects indicated drums to have masculine attributes by choosing numbers 10 and 9 compared with a more even spread of subjects choosing the numbers 7 to 10 for the trumpet. Tables 20, 21 and 22 may be viewed in conjunction with Table 11 to give a closer reading of the data.

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Given the attention afforded the concept of the avoidance of femininity in establishing masculinity in the discussion thus far (Brannock 2000; McLean 1985; Plummer 2000; Gilbert 1998), it is also worth considering how instruments gendered masculine and feminine above were rated at the other end of the spectrum. The notion that a concept can be defined by what it “is not” was first discussed in Chapter 1 (Stronach 1996) and applied to masculinity in Chapter 2. In this instance, the author is attempting to apply this principle and the avoidance of femininity to instrument choice. In other words, if a male can avoid an instrument, the stereotypes can be more satisfactorily identified and the social position of the male confirmed. Failing to circle an instrument as masculine or circling the extreme end of the feminine scale are behaviours that may reflect this attitude of avoidance.

In response to this behaviour, subjects may have been trying to suggest that an instrument is definitely not one gender by not selecting the opposite end of the scale. In an analysis of the data, only 5% of the sample indicated that flute, singing and violin were possibly feminine while less than 5% chose drums, trombone, guitar and saxophone as possibly having masculine attributes.

These figures give another indication that certain instruments are avoided by one sex or the other.

With regard to the age of subjects, there was little difference in the responses of subjects from aged 16 to 44. The five subjects over the age of 44 tended towards more neutral responses than their younger counterparts, with very few responses at the extreme ends of the spectrum. Due to the size of the sample it is difficult to draw any further conclusions with regard to the relevance of age.

One of the significant features of earlier studies is that Abeles and Porter found there was little discernable difference in the responses of music majors and that of non-music majors. Griswold and Chroback (1981) concluded that music majors were more prone to stereotyping than non-music majors. In this study, the music majors produced stronger

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37 These figures were obtained by collating the number of respondents who selected numbers 1 – 4 on the continuum for each instrument for the feminine and 7 – 10 for each instrument for the masculine.
responses in the absolute extremes than the non-music majors did. In other words, drums were definitely associated with the masculine and flute with the feminine in music students’ responses. The trombone and trumpet were felt to be more masculine by non-music students, while the cello was thought to be more feminine. In defining neutral instruments, non-music students were more highly represented. This is particularly so with regard to the status of singing which stands out as being more obviously neutral according to non-music students than music students.

It is difficult therefore to find support for the Griswold and Chroback (1981) point of view with respect to music students being more prone to stereotyping. It is only true to say that drums and flute, which were thought by all respondents to be at opposite ends of the continuum, were thought to be slightly more so by music students. Non-music students were more likely to assign neutrality to an instrument than music students. Nor it is possible to fully support Abeles and Porter’s (1978) contention that there are some differences between the music majors and non-music majors. On the basis of the current data, these differences would not be considered significant.

For the purpose of comparison, a continuum may be useful. There is a complete set of continua from existing and current research presented in Appendix D. A continuum provides a convenient way of describing the relative perceived masculinity or femininity of instruments, without classifying them as one or the other. The instruments that were considered most feminine, through to those considered most masculine in this instance were: flute, clarinet, ‘cello, singing, violin, saxophone, guitar, trumpet, trombone, drums.

It is also helpful to compare this study with the Griswold and Chroback study on which it is based. Griswold and Chroback concluded that the most feminine instrument was harp, followed by flute, piccolo, glockenspiel, choral conductor, ‘cello, violin, clarinet, piano and French horn. The most masculine instrument was found to be tuba, followed by string bass, trumpet, bass drum, saxophone, instrumental conductor, cymbal and guitar.
If the instruments that were omitted from this study were also omitted from Griswold and Chroback’s data, a high degree of correlation is evident between the two studies. Using the same instruments as this study, Griswold and Chroback continuum would read (from most feminine to most masculine) flute, ‘cello, violin, clarinet, piano, French horn, guitar, saxophone, drums, trumpet. Perceptions about trombone and singing were not requested in Griswold and Chroback’s survey. Appendix D provides a clearer picture of this.

This data appear to indicate that flute and clarinet are considered to have feminine attributes, while brass instruments and drums have masculine attributes. Singing, violin, saxophone and guitar appear to be considered neutral by most of the respondents.

**STUDY 3: SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS’ PREFERENCES**

Secondary school students participating in instrumental and vocal tuition programs in south-east Queensland were surveyed, through music teachers, to ascertain which instrument they played as their first choice. Students’ instrument choice ranged across 19 instruments. Students were enrolled in state and private, co-educational and single-sex secondary schools. The questionnaire used is in Appendix C.

The first question asked of the students was to indicate their main instrument and the number of years they had been playing that instrument. The sample was taken in June 2000. Sixty-five schools across Queensland were given the surveys. 10 schools responded, representing 903 students: 343 males and 560 females.

The results have been converted to a percentage of the total number of students learning each instrument by gender. In analysing the responses by orchestral families, woodwind instruments are played by more females, the only exception being saxophone, which is strongly represented in both sexes. More males play brass instruments, particularly lower brass (tuba and trombone) though euphonium/horn were quite evenly balanced.
Strings are female dominated, with the exception of bass (due the structure of the question, this could include double bass and bass guitars). Percussion is quite strongly male dominated. Outside orchestral families, singing and piano are female dominated, guitar is male dominated. This concurs with earlier studies, particularly Hanley’s (1998, p.59) findings in which girls prefer woodwind and boys selected brass and percussion. The responses to the first question in this study (i.e. what is your main instrument) can be found in Table 23.

**TABLE 23**

Secondary students playing particular instruments: percentage of the total participants by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were Male</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>96.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baritone/Euphonium</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>74.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Cello</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion/Drums</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

The instruments played by a high percentage of females through to those played by a high percentage of males could be ranked in the following way: oboe, flute, singing, bassoon, piano, violin, clarinet, viola, 'cello, euphonium or baritone, French Horn, saxophone, trumpet, percussion, double bass, guitar, trombone, tuba.
Students were also asked to indicate the influences on their choice in the question “What influenced you to take this instrument?” This was a closed question with a number of options from which students could select. “Gender attributes” was not one of the specific options available to students. The aim was to ascertain whether the reasons given could indicate an underlying gender bias and prompting could adversely affect the responses. Of the 903 students surveyed, 318 responded to this question. The replies are given in Table 24 below.

**TABLE 24**

Influences on secondary students’ instrument choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influence</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents/Family</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>129</strong></td>
<td><strong>189</strong></td>
<td><strong>318</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

There is little difference between the genders with regard to responses. The only responses worth noting at this stage are that size was an issue for almost twice the number of boys than girls and that sound was considered more of an issue for girls. Other issues included personal development, social reasons (to join a band) or the ease of the instrument.

Mackenzie’s (1991) work in this area was discussed in Chapter 4. She pursued the reasons as to why children decide to learn to play particular instruments and avoid others. Mackenzie’s study examined the motivation of 48 students to start learning a musical instrument. The students’ responses to Mackenzie’s question ‘Why did you start to learn to play a musical instrument’ were classified into five sub-groupings – social,
school, home, personal and other. In the interests of comparability, the data from the two studies could be observed in this way:

TABLE 25
Comparison of influences instrument choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mackenzie’s term</th>
<th>Harrison’s term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Parent/family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Availability and other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Overall, “teachers/school” continued to be the second most significant influence. Parents also maintained the position of influence as that Mackenzie found. “Friends” were less inclined to be an articulated influence than in Mackenzie’s studies. The strongest shift from Mackenzie’s study to the current study is in relation to the concept of sound or timbre. This could be affected by the allocation of MacKenzie’s term “personal” to sound in the current study. Delzell and Leppla (1992) and Fortney et al. (1994) had found this to be a significant factor, but not to this extent. Fortney et al. referred to this response as masking a hidden response, so there may be other explanations behind the large numbers of students giving “sound” as a reason. This will be the basis for some further research.

Students were also asked whether anyone in their family had played an instrument. 65 indicated a brother, 65 indicated a sister, 13 indicated their mother, 9 their father and 3 said another member of the family. These family members who played an instrument had in many cases been the same people who were responsible for the choice of an instrument in the section on influences discussed above. The role of the peer and family influences has been discussed in earlier chapters in relation to the work of Abeles and Porter (1978) and Bruce and Kemp (1993). It will be a feature of the discussion in the Chapters 6 and 7.
While other family members may be significant, peer influence continues to be one of the most important influences in why instruments are chosen, not chosen or given up. The influence of family members, particularly parents and grandparents is more likely to be a feature in subtly reinforcing stereotypes.

Of the 903 surveyed, almost 200 of the respondents also answered the question “If you could choose another instrument to play, what would it be and why?” Their responses with regard to instrument choice are given in Table 26 below.

**TABLE 26**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Number of Males</th>
<th>Number of Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piccolo</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums/Percussion</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
<td><strong>122</strong></td>
<td><strong>198</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

The data in Table 26 represents a high degree of correlation with the earlier information presented in this study and in study 1. Drums, double bass and guitar are the clear choices of males, while flute, saxophone, drums and violin were the choices of females. Males avoided choosing the woodwind instruments, singing and harp, while females
avoided lower brass, piccolo, singing and harp. Study 1 responses also indicate a high level of interest from both sexes in drums and guitar. In response to an open-ended question as to why they had chosen the instruments in Table 26, 130 students gave the responses tabulated in Table 27:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sound</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Attributes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent/Family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy/Fun</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability/Demand</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
<td><strong>130</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

Over a third of respondents (68 students) did not give a reason for their choice. This was due to the design of the question. The survey asked for the name of the instrument and the reason to be given in one space.

In categorising the responses for free choice instruments in Table 27, “physical attributes”, “the size” and “look of the instrument” were considered while “style” referred, among other things, to the type of music in which a student may be able to participate as a result of learning that instrument. Other reasons included personal development and social. Sound and ease of instrument were found to be the most frequently given reasons for choice. The selection and implications of choosing sound will be discussed later in the chapter, as some gender attributes are inherent in the use of the term.

No student consciously acknowledged a gender-associated reason for his or her choice. It is possible that the phenomenon that Fortney et al. (1993) maintained may be applied
here. They concluded that “regardless of what students say in response to influence about various factors, males tend to play instruments that are considered masculine and females choose to play instruments that are considered feminine” (Fortney et al. 1993, p. 38). In addition, the comments participants made might be euphemisms for the underlying reasons including the lack of a good standard in the school ensemble.

Subjects were asked to answer the question “Which instrument would you least like to play and why.” One of aims was to find which instruments would be deliberately avoided. Their responses appear in Table 28 below.

### TABLE 28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piccolo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French horn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recorder</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
<td><strong>97</strong></td>
<td><strong>166</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

For many instruments there was little difference between the sexes. The sample for those and other instruments is not large enough to make broad judgements. The figures for trumpet and trombone indicate a resistance from females. In the case of the figures for flute the sample is large enough to make a valid assessment. Flute was high in both sexes, but more so in males. Prior to this, males had only rejected flute. The avoidance
of flute by both genders may be an indication of the trend noted by Gates (1989), Mahoney (1998) and others in which girls appear to be adopting more masculine values.

Of greater significance are the reasons given for choosing an instrument as the least preferred choice. Student responses to this part of the survey are given in Table 29:

TABLE 29
Secondary students’ reasons for choosing least likely instruments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sound</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Attributes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Interesting</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Four students who nominated an instrument (as indicated in Table 28) did not indicate a reason for their choice.

Source: Harrison (2000)

The responses again indicated few proportional variations with regard to gender. The only exception was “style” where significantly more males than females indicated this as a priority.

Flute, violin and recorder were the instruments that elicited the most detailed reasons within the broad bands of Table 29. With regard to recorder, most of the responses referred to the compulsory playing of recorder in the primary school as an off-putting influence. The violin was thought to be “too high” or “too scratchy”. The sound of the solo instrument, in this case, is thought to be less approachable than the sound of violin in ensemble. The physicality of the instrument also provided some useful insights. One male response referred to his choice of least likely instrument as one “they couldn’t hit,” therefore it was not a prospective instrument. A female respondent chose the drums as
her least likely instrument because “they make a lot of noise.” A small but significant group of male respondents spoke of their reason for choosing the flute as their least preferred instrument in these terms:

“Because it’s a girl’s instrument” (2 responses from different schools)
“It is gay”
“They have a pouncy [sic] sound”
“It is a pansy instrument”
“It’s weak and very girly.”

The use of descriptive language such as “girl’s instrument” and “weak and girly” to express the gendered nature of instrument choice is a confirmation that the earlier findings of Green (1997), Koza (1994) and Hanley (1998) continue to exist. They include males’ unwillingness to be associated with anything that may be considered feminine and therefore suspect. It correlates with the findings described above and in those in Chapter 2 with regard to males not being able to cross gender lines as easily as females.38

The use of this language and its effect on the subject has been discussed at length in Chapter 2. It will be pursued in more detail in the cases studies in the next chapter. It gives a strong indication of one of the main reasons for non-participation by boys in certain musical activities and helps to provide some perspective on the strong preferences indicated (or not indicated) by boys throughout this chapter and the earlier studies outlined in Chapter 4.

38 See the work of Abeles and Porter 1978; Fagot 1978a; Langlois and Downs 1980; Davies 1993; Golombok and Fivush 1994; Delzell and Leppla 1992 and Mahoney 1998.
STUDY 4: GENDER BALANCE OF ENSEMBLES

There were two aspects to the study of gender balance in ensembles. In the first, the teachers of the students from Study 3 were asked to indicate, by gender, which students participated in ensembles in the school. Information was requested about stage bands, concert bands, vocal ensembles (referred to here as choirs), string ensembles and symphony orchestras. It is not surprising that these results correlated with the analysis of instruments by orchestral sections in other studies. Symphony orchestras and concert bands showed an even representation, though one school had three times more girls than boys in the concert band. String ensembles typically had twice the number of girls than boys. Again the sound of the group is thought to have less appeal for both sexes. Unless the group is outstanding and still not attracting boys, it is difficult to view this as a gender issue. Up to three-quarters of choirs were girls. In stage bands, with an average of 19 members, between 16 and 19 members were male. In one all boy’s school, this was the only ensemble offered to the students. This correlates with Ainley’s (1996) findings that the full range of offerings is not always available in single-sex schools.

It would appear that Delzell and Leppla’s predictions regarding the demise of ensembles if insufficient numbers elected to play instruments crucial to the success of those ensembles might have been proven to be correct in at least one school environment. It is possible that this is occurring in other learning environments. As these figures are from ten schools only, further study is required to verify this. The second part of this study may also offer further data in this regard.

In the second part of the study of ensembles, school and student participation in a music festival in southeast Queensland in October and November of 2000 was observed. This was not an empirical style of research but rather based on observations of levels of involvement to confirm or otherwise the self-reporting data provided by teachers above. This was done to help overcome some of the shortcomings of self-reporting data. Entries in sections for stage bands, concert bands, choirs, string ensembles and symphony orchestras were monitored.
A calculation of the entries in each of the events sought to ascertain whether schools were single-sex or co-educational. This has been tabulated according to the varying grades by which the ensembles entered. Across the state of Queensland, there are considerably more coeducational schools than single-sex schools and this is reflected proportionally in the figures below. In this instance, the interest is in the participation rates of the single-sex schools and the levels at which those schools are participating. Entries for Stage Bands are presented in Table 30.

### TABLE 30
Stage Band entries by grade and school type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entries</th>
<th>C Grade</th>
<th>B Grade</th>
<th>A Grade</th>
<th>Premier</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys’ Schools</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls’ Schools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ed schools</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

Of significance here were the small number of entries by girls’ schools (half the number of entries by boys’ schools) and the lack of representation by girls schools in the Premier Grade and A Grade sections. Entries for Concert Bands are presented in Table 31.

### TABLE 31
Concert Band entries by grade and school type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entries</th>
<th>C Grade</th>
<th>B Grade</th>
<th>A Grade</th>
<th>Premier</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys’ Schools</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls’ Schools</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ed Schools</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>109</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

This appears to confirm the reporting of teachers that concert bands appeared to have a relatively even distribution of genders. The lack of representation by single-sex schools
at the higher grades, which required a fuller (more complete) instrumentation, may be symptomatic of this. It indicates that it may not be possible to achieve high standards without the involvement of both sexes playing “gender appropriate” instruments. Based on earlier data, boys’ schools are not likely to have sufficient woodwind players. Girls’ schools may not have sufficient brass and percussion. This demonstrates the effect sex-stereotyping can have on music programs and supports Delzell and Leppla’s suggestion regarding the demise of ensembles where certain instruments are not represented.

Choirs provided the most significant challenge. The issue of missing males in choirs has been the source of concern for some time, but empirical data is scarce. The participation rates indicated earlier, along with those in Table 32 should provide some illumination.

**TABLE 32**  
Choral Entries by grade and school type  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entries</th>
<th>C Grade</th>
<th>B Grade</th>
<th>A Grade</th>
<th>Vocal Ensemble</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys’ Schools</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls’ Schools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ed schools</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: No Premier grade existed for Choral entries. The Vocal Ensemble is a small, select group of singers and was therefore considered to be compatible with Premier grade for the purposes of this study.

Source: Harrison (2000)

Again the levels of overall participation by ensembles seemed to reflect the individual membership levels reported by teachers above. Girls’ schools were more highly represented than the boys’ schools. In addition, the boys schools’ overall participation rate was quite low. This confirms the anecdotal evidence with regard to participation levels found in choral groups for at least 100 years by Koza and also commented on by Bartle (1968), Gates (1989), Green (1997) and Hanley (1998). This is almost certainly connected with the view of singing as being feminine.
For string ensemble participation, the results did not accurately reflect the reporting of teachers with regard to individual membership levels as presented in Table 33.

### TABLE 33

String Ensemble entries by grade and school type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entries</th>
<th>C Grade</th>
<th>B Grade</th>
<th>A Grade</th>
<th>Premier</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys’ Schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls’ Schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ed schools</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

In B grade there was sufficient difference between the boys’ schools and the girls’ schools (higher participation rate by girls schools) to warrant comment. Because B grade had the highest number of entries could have adversely skewed the total involvement figures. One possible explanation is that the ensembles were relatively small and that students may not learn string instruments through the school system but still play in school ensembles. The results from earlier studies showed that only upper strings were considered by some to be towards the neutral and feminine ends, while ‘cello was considered neutral and double bass masculine.

In some respects, a similar result could be found in the symphony orchestra section where a total of 22 schools entered. Broken down over the various grades, the sample indicated a slightly higher number of girls’ schools, but the sample was too small to be conclusive. In this case, the involvement correlated with teacher reporting where individual participation was distributed almost evenly between the sexes.

While the first part of this study of entries focussed on the entries by school type, with particular emphasis on the single-sex schools, the second part looked at the involvement by gender from the coeducational schools. It was not possible or necessary in the light of the earlier evidence to tabulate the exact numbers of students involved in each of the
ensembles by gender. The purpose of this observation was to confirm or otherwise, the surveys and reports of Studies 1, 2 and 3.

For each of the ensembles performing, the writer attempted to observe the approximate gender balance in the ensemble. Given the even nature of participation rates by individuals and by schools evidenced in the results for concert bands and symphony orchestras, these two types of ensemble were not observed closely.

In the stage bands of co-educational schools, most bands had more males than females. As these groups have prescribed instrumentation (5 saxophones, 4 trumpets, 4 trombones and rhythm section), the process of identifying gender associations with instruments was relatively straightforward. The rhythm sections (keyboard, bass guitar, guitar and drums) were almost exclusively a male domain though there were female representatives on each of the instruments – more so on keyboard than any of the others. Trumpets and, to a lesser extent trombones, were played mostly by males. Saxophones appeared to have almost equal representation from both sexes. In string ensembles, the upper strings appeared to favour females. Violas and ‘cellos were evenly represented while double basses were almost always played by males.

Choirs were almost exclusively female. Most had just enough males to cover the parts (usually between five and eight, regardless of the overall size of the group). The only exception to this were the A grade choirs where a closer balance was observed. In the vocal ensemble section, where a maximum of 12 members was permitted, no school had more than 4 males in the group and some schools had as few as two males.

These results demonstrate a high degree of correspondence with earlier studies. This is particularly so in relation to the rigidity of boys’ choices and girls’ avoidance, to some extent, of the guitar and lower brass.
STUDY 5: SECONDARY STUDENTS AT A TERTIARY INSTITUTION

Students participating in a school-age instrumental and vocal tuition program run by a tertiary institution in south-east Queensland were surveyed to ascertain which instrument they played as their first choice. Students’ instrument choice ranged across 19 instruments and composition. Students were enrolled in classical and jazz studies.

The survey was taken between 2000 and 2002. As this is the only longitudinal data within the scope of this project, data for each year (2000, 2001 and 2002) is included here. The relationship between the data of study 5 and that of studies 1 and 3 is also made clear through the comparative tables at the end of the section. This comparative process can appear repetitious, but in some respects it contributes to the argument by indicating areas of consistency and divergence. It also helps to provide a longitudinal aspect to the research.

The initial sample was taken in August 2000. 304 students were involved in the study: 119 males and 185 females. This comprised 75 woodwind players, 68 brass players, 73 string players and 18 percussionists. There were also 10 singers, 48 pianists, 5 guitarists, 1 harpist and 6 composition students. This sample was chosen because it provided a large number of subjects, many of whom are likely to take further study in their chosen instrument. The results have been converted to a percentage of the total number of students learning each instrument by gender and are given in Table 34. In broad terms, more boys than girls were involved in the learning of brass and percussion instruments, while more girls than boys learned strings and woodwind. In the woodwind, the exceptions to this broad conclusion are oboe and saxophone, though it must be noted that the oboe sample was quite small (two students – one of each gender). In the strings, the exception is the double bass, where slightly more male students than female took tuition. In the non-orchestral instruments singing, composition and piano are a female domain, though this is more the case with singing than with composition and piano. Guitar appeared to be a male domain.
The instruments that are learned equally or almost equally by both genders are: oboe, saxophone, French horn and percussion. Again it must be noted that there are small samples involved in some of these instruments, so it is difficult to draw conclusions.

TABLE 34

Percentage of students learning an instrument in 2000.
Instrument listed by sex of player

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were male</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>94.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>74.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphonium/Tuba</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>60.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2000)

For the purposes of comparison it is helpful to list the instruments in order from those learned mostly by females, through those learned equally to those learned mostly by males: harp/viola, flute, bassoon/violin, clarinet, cello/composition, piano, oboe/saxophone, percussion, French horn, double bass, trumpet, guitar, euphonium/tuba and trombone. This distribution can be viewed in Appendix D.
This study was replicated in June 2001. 260 students took part; many of whom may have been enrolled in 2000. The responses in Table 35 give some indication of the validity of the first sample:

TABLE 35

Percentage of students learning an instrument in 2001. Instrument listed by sex of player

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were male</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>56.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphonium/Tuba</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>76.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2001)

In broad terms, the 2001 figures indicate that more boys than girls were involved in the learning of brass and percussion instruments, while more girls than boys learned strings and woodwind. In the strings, the exception was the ‘cello. In the non-orchestral instruments singing, composition and piano are a female domain, though this is more the case with singing and composition than piano. As with the 2000 data in study 5, guitar still appears to be a male domain.
This study was administered a third time in April 2002. 386 students took part; some of whom may have been enrolled in 2000 and 2001. The 2002 sample included 148 males and 238 females. This comprised 92 woodwind players, 36 brass players, 60 string players and 15 percussionists. There were also 15 singers, 53 pianists, 7 guitarists, 2 harpists and 1 composition student.

The 2002 sample also included 98 students (74 females and 24 males) who participated in a choir and 11 students (6 females and 5 males) who undertook music studies. The 2002 responses are given in Table 36.

In broad terms, the 2002 figures are consistent with the two earlier studies in that more boys than girls were involved in the learning of brass and percussion instruments, while more girls than boys learned strings and woodwind. Exception could be found in the playing of the bassoon and the double bass, both of which it should be noted are lower pitched instruments. In the non-orchestral instruments singing and composition are a female domain, though this is more the case with the singing. The figures indicate a slight change of balance with at least some boys participating in singing lessons. Piano demonstrated a change from the earlier studies with slightly more boys taking it in the 2002 sample compared with the earlier samples.

The guitar figures suggest it remains a male domain, though the raw data indicates that all the males were undertaking studies in contemporary guitar while all the females undertook classical guitar studies. A similar trend was noted in percussion, where only males undertook studies in drum kit. This supports the findings of Green (1997) and Hanley (1998) who found that boys shunned classical music but were more inclined towards contemporary styles.

The choir figures indicated above also bear closer examination. Of the 24 male singers in choirs, 17 were of primary school age while of 74 girls, 39 were primary school age. The notion of boys abandoning choir in secondary school is apparent in this data. In the secondary schools section of this program there were therefore 7 males and 35 females.
TABLE 36

Percentage of students learning an instrument in 2002.
Instrument listed by sex of player

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were male</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>82.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphonium/Tuba</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Harrison (2002)

In comparison with the other studies, the saxophone (which was played almost equally by both genders) has shown a move towards the feminine in the 2002 study. Again it must be noted that there are small samples involved in some of these instruments, so it is difficult to draw conclusions. While the role of the media has been discussed in chapters 2 and 3, anecdotal evidence from music educators suggests that the cartoon character Lisa Simpson is partly responsible for this move to the saxophone.

A comparison of figures across the three years provides some results worthy of note and are provided in Table 37.


TABLE 37

Comparison of instrument selection by secondary students at a tertiary institution

Data for 2000, 2001 and 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were male</th>
<th>Average % of males</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were female</th>
<th>Average % of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euph/Tuba</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cello</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: For clarity of presentation, the decimal points have been rounded.

Source: Harrison (2002)

The polarization of instruments to the stereotypical choice is quite clear when viewed across the three years. Flute, viola, harp, voice and composition are very strongly represented by females. Percussion and lower brass are the domain of males.

A comparison of the results from study three, where students came from a variety of learning environments and the students from study five who learn at the tertiary institution may yield some valuable information. In addition, a comparison of the primary school students’ preferences (study 1) with the data from studies 3 and 5 should give some indication of the trends across primary and secondary schools. The purpose in
presenting this data in Table 38 is to gauge the extent to which the change from primary to secondary school affects instrument preferences. There is evidence that other behaviours change at this time, so the contrasting of data has some relevance.

**TABLE 38**

Percentage of total secondary students learning an instrument in study 3 and study 5
Students listed by sex compared with primary students’ preferences from study 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were male</th>
<th>% of total surveyed who were female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Study 1</td>
<td>Study 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphonium/Tuba</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Cello</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Study 1 and Study 5 figures are the total of 2000, 2001 and 2002 data. Subjects in study 1 are indicating instruments they would like to play; study 3 and 5 subjects are the instruments those students are currently playing. For clarity of presentation, the decimal points have been rounded.

Source: Harrison (2002)

In comparing study three with study five, a high degree of correlation is apparent, with the only exception being piano; where the number of males is significantly higher in study five than in study three. One explanation for this could be that many of the students in study five take the piano in a class environment. There is some disparity in the trombone, viola, bassoon and French horn. In the case of the viola, bassoon and
French horn, the sample is too small to make an accurate judgement. With regard to trombone, it should be noted that a higher number of students at the tertiary music institution were male. This could add some weight to the discussion earlier regarding music majors being more stereotypical in their choices than non-music majors.

Oboe, bassoon, harp and composition were not offered across all studies, so a comparison cannot be made. In general terms, the actual choices of instrument did not change between the studies. Flute, for example, was still chosen by many more females than males, as was voice, violin and clarinet. Percussion, double bass, guitar, and brass were still chosen by a higher proportion of males.

**REFLECTION AND SUMMARY**

The intention of this chapter was to examine the nature of stereotyping and gender associations with instruments within an Australian context, using the background data from the first part of the thesis as a starting point.

The methods of examining the nature of stereotyping are based on the GRIME agenda and on a number of earlier researchers. In relation to the GRIME agenda, this chapter has focussed on sex stereotyping of instruments and ensemble participation. The way in which schools support hierarchical gender systems and what it means to be male in a feminine discipline began to be explored through the replication of the work of earlier researchers.\(^{39}\)

Using elements of Abeles and Porter (1978, p.72) the author sought to discover whether the association of gender with musical instruments existed in the general population. The data from this chapter indicates that this is the case. It is clear that sex-stereotyping of instruments begins at an early age. This will be investigated further in the next chapter in which subjects are asked to reflect on their early experiences of music.

The use of a masculine feminine continuum by Abeles and Porter (1978) proved to be a practical tool in providing longitudinal data. The challenges of investigating other variables related to instrument choice including literature, ensemble involvement and the association of music with traditional feminine characteristics as proposed by Abeles and Porter (1978, p.75) were significant in structuring the research method for all 6 studies in this phase.

Abeles and Porter (1978); Griswold and Chroback (1981) and Delzell and Lepppla (1992) compared the perception of musicians and non-musicians in relation to gender. It is inconclusive as to whether non-musicians and musicians perceptions are greatly different. Differences appeared to be dependant on situational factors. Such factors can be manipulated to engage more students. The use of Griswold and Chroback’s 10-point Likert-type scale as a discriminative instrument assisted demonstrating which instruments were avoided on the basis of perceived gender. This tool brought into play the issues of avoidance of femininity as discussed in Chapter 2. It was found that males tend to restrict themselves to a smaller number of “masculine” instruments. Griswold and Chroback’s inclusion of a vocal element was a highly important feature pursued in this chapter. The voice is one of the major activities in which gender has been a factor, though little empirical research has taken place. The data collected here clearly indicates that the voice is strongly biased towards the feminine. Boys with changed voices rarely return to sing after the change and as a result, the gender bias remains into adulthood.

The replication of the self-reporting survey of Fortney et al. (1993) provided a practical way of gathering data. It is important to note that the method in this instance is not used in isolation, but in conjunction with other methods. Layder’s (1993) research map, which has been a reference point from Chapter 1, suggests that sources of data for research might include empirical data, observation, interviews, discussion and review of documents. The validity of this phase of the research is dependent on the interplay of each of these elements. The phenomenological investigation of gender and instrument choice conducted by Conway (2000) explores factors for the existence of stereotyping in
instrumental music. It has greater significance for the subsequent chapters, but the beginnings of reasons for choice can be seen in the gendered descriptions of musical participation found in this survey.

Study 4 explored ensemble involvement. As such, it drew directly on the GRIME agenda and pursued one of the suggestions of Abeles and Porter for further research.\(^4\) The data, gathered through surveys and observation, indicated that stage bands were predominantly male. Choirs and, to a lesser extent, string ensembles were largely female. Because concert bands and symphony orchestras tend to cross musical styles and include “masculine” and “feminine” instruments, the overall balance of these groups was generally more equitable.

Ensemble offerings of all types appeared to be problematic in single-sex settings, where a balance could not always be achieved. Boys schools, for example appeared to be stronger in jazz programs, while girls schools had stronger choral and string programs. An exception to this can be found in schools where a critical mass had been reached. In other words, cross-gendered activities could be possible if the principle of “safety in numbers” could be guaranteed. This is a central issues in the entire debate. Issues of ensemble involvement will be pursued in chapters 6 and 7.

The contribution of ensembles in co-curricular settings to the life experiences of students was discussed in Chapter 3. If both boys and girls are missing out on certain musical experiences, and therefore life experiences, a post-feminist view is well placed to manage this in terms of conceptual and practical change. Exactly how this can be achieved forms a major part of Chapter 7.

The data presented in Chapter 3 indicated that music is perceived as feminine and as such does not enjoy high status. The evidence of Chapter 4 indicated that soft, gentle music is not considered masculine and that males avoid the instruments on which such music is performed. The data from this chapter supports these findings in general terms.

\(^4\) It also draws on Delzell and Leppla (1992), Hanley (1998), Koza (1994) and Gates (1989) who investigated the impact of sex-stereotyping on ensembles.
A further conclusion is that the avoidance of certain instruments has stifled musical and other experiences available through ensemble involvement.

As a result of the work of earlier researchers and the current findings, a series of instrument listings from “feminine” through neutral to “masculine” appears in Appendix Part D. These instrument listings are not a completely accurate representation of the data, as the sources are quite varied: some are the opinions of tertiary students; others are lists of instruments students are currently playing or would like to play. The aim of providing the instrument listings is to assist in ascertaining the clear correlations between each study since Abeles and Porter (1978) and to identify and track each instrument across that period with regard to its stereotyping. In analysing this information, it is vital that the reader understands these continua combine actual instrument choices, preferences and opinions. In that sense they are not ideal for the purposes of comparison.

The profile of individual instruments that were prone to stereotyping can also be viewed through the following summary:

- Flute was on the feminine end of the scale in ten out of the eleven studies;
- Clarinet and violin were either second or third most feminine in eight out of eleven studies;
- Tuba was the most masculine in every study in which it was an option, while drums/percussion were the most masculine in five of the studies;
- Trumpet, trombone, drums and other lower brass were consistently deemed masculine;
- Saxophone was consistently neutral;
- Singing was towards the feminine end in all the studies in which it was an option.

In Chapter 1, physical and behavioural differences between the sexes were outlined. In the light of the data presented in this chapter, including the gendering of instrument choice and the perception of instruments as masculine or feminine, a revisiting of differences between the sexes is appropriate. This analysis is done with the knowledge
that stereotypes are born out of minor differences between the sexes. In the
interdisciplinary model of Horrocks (1995) being employed, biology is only one factor
that contributes to the construction of masculinity and femininity.

The fact that males generally possess larger limbs and bigger muscles may have some
influence on boys choosing larger instruments. The instance of greater tactile
sensitivity (Maccoby and Jacklin 1966) and sensitivity to higher tones may also
subconsciously influence girls to take smaller, more highly pitched instruments. The
predominance of men in displaying gross motor skills and physical aggression may
also lead them to playing louder and larger instruments. The fine motor skills of
women may lead them to play smaller, softer instruments. The relationship of males
perceived superiority in spatial tasks to musical involvement cannot be verified by
any of the data presented to date.

It must be noted that these differences are small and the author is not suggesting that
physical and behavioural differences of this magnitude make males or females better
suited to playing particular instruments. These differences, interacting with other
influences, such as parental or teacher guidance, may, in some cases, explain
differential instrument choice.

In general, little has changed across the 22 years since Abeles and Porter’s study:
flute clarinet, singing and violin occupy the feminine domain and drums/percussion,
tuba and trombone the masculine domain. There is some evidence to suggest that
percussion may be moving towards a neutral gender position.

Gender associations seem to be related to pitch, size and dynamic level. The “feminine”
instruments seem to be higher in pitch, smaller in size and capable of narrower dynamic
ranges. In Chapter 2, the characteristics of those individuals likely to be accused of
belonging to the “other” category were discussed.  

\footnote{This is the category that did not fit the hegemonic masculine stereotype, often referred to as the feminine.} Plummer (2000) and Pease (2000)
found these attributes to include such things as weak, gentle, and soft. It seems almost certain that, based on this data, there are strong gender-related reasons for the musical choices of boys. The playing of the weaker, softer, more gentle instruments at the higher end of the pitch range is perceived as being as un-masculine as similar activities in other disciplines.

A long-term attitudinal change is required to change the perception of the feminine as being inferior. Along with changing attitudes in the long term, ensemble directors need to look carefully at repertoire that reflects this image. Repertoire and the group that “sounds good” are key elements in creating a desirable image. In the interim, every possible avenue needs to be pursued to ensure that boys and girls are free to participate in whatever musical activity interactions they genuinely desire. Chapter Six examines the musical lives of selected individuals in relation to overcoming these stereotypes.

The fact that some male musicians continue to play “feminine” instruments can be explained in a number of ways. Kemp (1985) studied the personality traits of musicians and offers the suggestion that singers exhibited a bias towards extroversion and adjustment, traits that probably helped to overcome any adverse effects of engaging in non-stereotypical behaviour. Kemp also found that children who pursue music into and beyond adolescence were found to be in possession of a kind of personal androgyny. This allows them to disregard socio-cultural expectations and maintain the necessary high motivation required in music, regardless of social and personal cost. Green (1997) also found that perseverance was likely to be an attribute associated with successful musicians of either sex.

Another theory about boys continuing to engage in gender-incongruent musical behaviours concerns the impact of situation. Some boys will engage in singing and playing the flute and clarinet in all male schools. As in other all male environments (for example, prison) males take on the roles that would in other circumstances be taken by women. There is also the thought that, because there are no women in that particular situation, the need for males to demonstrate their masculinity is removed. Chapter Three
discussed the advantages of single-sex activities. The role of situation should not be underestimated and Chapter Seven investigates some situations in which change can take place in coeducational and single-sex environments to increase musical engagement.

The data in this chapter have proven conclusively that the stereotyping of musical instruments is a crucial issue in the musical behaviours of males and females in Australian schools. It indicates that there are sex equity issues in ensemble practices that need to be addressed in order for male and females to enjoy the fullest possible musical experience, as espoused by post-feminist theory. Chapters Six and Seven pursue the cause and effect of these behaviours and examine some strategies for short and long-term change.
CHAPTER SIX

INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES

The second phase of the fieldwork took the form of case studies. This aspect of the study seeks to investigate experiences of male musicians through their schooling. While this was not a pre-selection criterion, it transpired that some of the selected individuals had engaged in some gender incongruent musical behaviours. Most participants had some experience of music beyond school in the form of tertiary study and/or professional performance experience.

The aim of this phase of the study was to pursue in greater depth some of the gender-related reasons for participation in music revealed in Chapters 4 and 5. In addition, some of the general issues that were raised in Chapters 2 and 3 were taken up with these subjects. In particular, it was anticipated that subjects in the case studies might be in a position to provide illumination with regard to

- Their experience of the stereotyping of instruments.
- Bullying (specifically homophobic bullying) of music students.\(^{42}\)
- The situational factors that effected musical preferences including the role of teachers, parents, school and peers.
- Coping mechanisms.
- The relationship between music and sport.

METHODOLOGY

The methods used in this phase have been briefly outlined in Chapter 1. In relation to Layder’s (1993) research map, one of the theoretical references points for this study, this phase draws on the research interview as a form of data collection. With regard to Layder’s (1993) five levels of analysis, this phase looks at self and situated activity. The other methods employed are similar to those of Plummer (1999) and Green (1997). From Plummer, the use of Grounded Theory has been employed to some

\(^{42}\) This refers, in part to comments from Chapter 5 like “It is gay” and “It’s weak and very girly” made in relation to the playing of the flute.
extent. The process employed by Green to allow students and teachers to speak in commonsense ways about music and gender have applied. Aspects of Conway’s (2000) phenomenological method have also been incorporated. The approaches have been used to complement each other.

With knowledge of the literature and the fieldwork outlined in the preceding chapters, a more detailed explanation of the role of the interview in the research project is warranted here. The author has taken the view espoused by Baker and Johnson (1998, pp. 299 - 300) that the interview involves social-interactional matters that cannot be taken in isolation. At same time, it provides “telling evidence of how people make sense of each other and what resources they use to do this.” Like Baker and Johnson, it draws on Briggs’ (1986) notion of the respondent’s meanings becoming data. It also takes on much of Silverman’s (1993, p.108) suggestion that by analysing how people talk to one another, it is possible to gain “access to a cultural universe and its content of moral assumptions.”

The observations made to this point have focussed on the existence of gender issues in musical participation. The reasons for the presence of such issues as homophobia, avoidance of femininity and male gender role rigidity in musical choices of boys are the principal concern of this research. The ultimate aim of this study is to construct more satisfactory explanations and solutions so as to further enhance the musical experiences of males and females. From a post-feminist perspective, the provision of opportunity for males and females to engage in any musical activity is of importance.

The data collection for this aspect of the project was almost entirely undertaken via email. Using email provided the researcher with access to a wide variety of subjects across a broad geographical range. It was, in many respects, less confrontational than a face-to-face interview and allowed for transmission from one written form to another, without the need for transcription and interpretation on the part of researcher. It is also, in some ways, less personal and more open to interpretation, as the body language element has been removed. Apart from the author’s stimulus material, there was little opportunity for intrusion of the interviewer in the actual response period for the subjects. Baker and Johnson (1998, p.241) make the point that at times their interviewee was “making it up on the spot”. It is possible, yet
unlikely, that such an occurrence would take place in the current research process. Most respondents had time to consider their responses before replying to the request for data. It is not known whether participants “made it up on the spot”, in the process of writing responses, but it was hoped that the research design encouraged reflection. One of the disadvantages of email was that the author could not refocus the respondent if he wavered from the topic.

The constraints of time and venue were also removed and this expedited the data gathering process. As there was no fixed schedule of questions, the respondents were invited to talk in their own words about their experiences of music at school. There is no intention in the research to hold the responses as “truth” rather as “accounts.” Baker and Johnson (1998, p.231) contend that the examination of accounting practices is one way that the moral dimensions of social behaviours, settings and action (each of which are central to this research) can accessed (Silverman, 1987, 1993; Mercer and Longman, 1992; Baker and Keogh, 1995; and Baker 1997). These “accounts” are a product of the time and place in which they were made and, if asked the same question again at a different time in a different place, the answer could vary slightly.

**CHOICE OF SAMPLE**

One of the sampling techniques employed in grounded theory is theoretical sampling. This involves purposely selecting and revising the selection of the sample. The method is not blinded or unbiased. It is intentionally biased to specifically provide data to refute or refine certain hypotheses the researcher might have. It is therefore not statistically representative. Recruitment processes did not seek out subjects who had difficult experiences of school music. The purpose was to find, as Green (1997) puts it “everyday, commonsense” attitudes to and experiences of music. In this way, a variety of situations could be displayed, problems raised and, because many subjects were involved in professional music making, solutions offered.

Like Plummer’s (1999) study, an upper age limit of 40 was placed on the participants to ensure some kind of contemporary relevance. This was an arbitrary
figure: most candidates were in their twenties. A lower age limit of 18 years was chosen to avoid ethical issues of parental consent. The twenty-one subjects in the final sample were aged between 18 and 33 years. It was anticipated that the older subjects would be particularly adept at providing data with the benefit of hindsight. 43

Full details of each subject’s age, ethnicity, family background, religion and level of education can be found in Appendix F, which includes a general overview of all subjects, followed by details for each individual.

RESEARCH STRUCTURE

The subjects were given a broad framework of the purpose of the study and asked to participate by giving an account of their secondary school experiences in relation to music. The exact wording for this aspect of the study took the following format:

Purpose: This study aims to examine the relationship between gender and music education, in an effort to improve the quality of music education for males and females. The program is focussing on the boys’ experience of music

Participation: The research requires subjects to reflect on their experiences of music at school, particularly what your first experiences of music were, what kind of experiences you had in school and how you are still involved in music now.

Information was also provided to subjects regarding the benefits and risks of the research. The project details that were forwarded to prospective subjects can be found in Appendix E. In one instance, the responses were followed up for clarification.

A number of strategies have been used to ensure the analysis is well argued and draws appropriate conclusions. The use of email has meant that the subjects’ own words are used in the examples given below. One of the dangers of this type of research is that its process can be influenced by project design and technique. In addition to the transcripts in the appendix, any supplementary data have been retained. Wherever feasible, detailed quotes have been included to illustrate the argument. Using a technique employed by Plummer (1999) and Green (1997), more

43 Palotta-Chiarolli (2001) reports that she used the same technique in her research for Boys’ Stuff.
than one response (or quote) has been included in instances when different candidates have given almost identical responses to each issue. The meanings of these quotes are related to the existing literature as outlined in the proceeding chapters. One of the reasons for providing such a detailed account of the literature is to make clear and valid connections between the current findings and research to date.

Questions of validity have been addressed to some extent in Chapter 1. The validity of the sample and the capacity of the author to draw conclusions from a relatively small sample is also addressed in that the subjects commented on the experiences of others, increasing the amount of data available and providing valuable contextual information. In providing background information, the author was able to ascertain the social context in which each subject was operating. Most had some early experience in music making and almost all were from families with an interest in music. The accuracy of these early memories could be questioned. This is only a weakness if, as Plummer (1999, p.316) found, precise detail is required. It is also less of an issue given that the responses are considered as “accounts.” The process of asking subjects to reflect in on their past is similar to what Plummer (1999) calls taking a “history” in the clinical interview. Pease (2000) also advocated the use of memory work as a tool in gender studies

In relation to context, the candidates were brought up and educated in south-east Queensland, though one candidate lived in the New Guinea during his secondary schooling but attended boarding school in Brisbane. The subjects attended a cross-section of different schools: five attended state co-educational schools; eleven attended private single-sex schools (two as boarders, nine as day students); five attended co-educational private schools. The private schools comprised one ecumenical school, one non-denominational school, one systemic school and two independent religious schools.

Almost all subjects had completed or were completing tertiary studies in music. Of the remaining subjects, one was studying medicine, another was an engineer and another studied law. Of those who had completed their music studies, three were
professional singers, seven were involved in education, one was involved in music marketing and one was involved in film and media production.

**DATA CLASSIFICATION**

Most candidates gave a chronological account of their musical experiences via email as requested. Due to the researcher being unable to redirect the response towards the topic, some subjects gave replies that appeared unrelated to the topic. It was also found that some of the most enlightening information came from these excursions from the topic. Green (1997) also found that additional information not specifically requested provided data of great interest. The additional material presented a problem in interpretation and presentation of the data.

On completion of the data-gathering phase, the researcher collated the responses. In reading of the material, the aim was to find similar themes and trends. The researcher also looked for ways in which the responses differed radically from each other and the factors that may have contributed to those differences. The foundations for these themes and differences could be found in the existing literature, the fieldwork reported upon in the last chapter and the experience of the researcher as a music educator. Based on these foundations, the following categories emerged from the reading of the responses:

- Subjects’ early experience of music
- The emergence of stereotyping and gender issues in musical activities
- Harassment of musicians
- The function of the role model
- Individual coping mechanisms
- Music and Sport

Each of these categories was found to be significant in the shaping of musical experiences by many respondents. Of these, the researcher found differences in the details of the responses, but a certain amount of agreement in general terms. For example, subjects may have had vastly different early experiences of music in specific sense, but many reported a family member or teacher as having an influence.
In relation to stereotyping and gender issues, a few respondents were unaware of any gender issues associated with their musical experience. By studying their responses, conclusions could be drawn about solutions to the central question. In the same way, some reported personal harassment or knowledge of harassment of other musicians. Through studying the circumstances of the subject, suggestions can be made as to the cause and effect of such behaviours. The variety of responses in relation to role models (positive and negative) provided one of the main findings of the study in practical terms: music teachers are responsible for both encouragement and discouragement of students.

The area of coping mechanisms is reported upon in this chapter and in Chapter Seven. In this chapter the data is presented whether it was a productive or unproductive way of managing harassment. The following chapter takes the positive elements of these mechanisms for implementation. The final category of this chapter is music and sport. The importance of sport as a constructor of masculinity was investigated in Chapter Two. Music, and more specifically certain types of participation in music, is constructed as feminine. This paradox was pursued by a number of subjects in some detail, without cuing from the researcher. The role sport can play as competition to music and as complement to music was deemed to be worthy of examination based and the number and depth of responses received on the topic.

SUBJECTS’ EARLY EXPERIENCE OF MUSIC

Given that gender identity is established at an early age (Kohlerg 1966; Edelbrock and Sugawara 1978; Best et al. 1977) and that by the age of seven, children are as able as adults to label activities as stereotypically masculine or feminine (Urberg 1982), an investigation of early musical experience is warranted.

There was a wide range of responses ranging from those who had experience of music while quite young and those who came to music late in life. The function of the role model will be discussed in more detail later, but almost all candidates reported the influence of a close family member or music teacher as having fostered their interest and talent. While Whellams (1973) found that musicality was not
influenced by hereditary factors, Sloboda and Howe (1991) found that the role of parents and teachers in the early years was essential in terms of encouragement and support. This would appear to correlate with the findings of Mackenzie (1991), Lamb (1993), Lautzenheiser (1993) and Hanley (1998) who commented specifically on the role teachers’ play in shaping young musicians’ lives. Many subjects indicated parental influence as a factor in early music making, before contact with teachers through school. For Subject 1 it was a case of being surrounded by classical music in the preschool years:

Subject 1: My first experiences of music were probably as a little boy (3-6 yrs. old) with my parents playing popular Classical Music on the record player. This was the only music that was played.

For two other subjects, the role of music in the early years was a functional one: it was used as a calming device:

Subject 9: I’ve been told that from an early age I needed noise to help me settle. As a toddler, I was more likely to fall asleep with the music or the TV playing and I had also been given a child drum kit and a keyboard.

Subject 16: The only way I would calm down was if dad took me to the window and sang a song that he had made up about me.

In the case of Subject 10 and Subject 11, the parents took a more active role in the early musical education of their son, monitoring progress closely.

Subject 10: When I was 4 years old, they [my parents] enrolled me in the JMC (Junior Music Course) at Yamaha Music School. Very often, a parent would sit with their kid/kids (who were very young, generally speaking) to keep them on track.

Subject 11: From about 4 years of age I remember tinkering occasionally on the piano at home, trying to play small melodies that I knew. Mum noticed these attempts and organised piano lessons for me which I began around 5 years old.

For Subject 12, the influence of the parent was almost accidental, yet one moment was a defining one for this candidate.

Subject 12: I remember dad getting his hands on this video called “The complete Beatles”…There sitting at the back of the band on his little platform, playing away was Ringo. I remember just seeing him and being

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Delzell and Leppla 1992; Adler 2001; Sang 1992; Lamb 1993 and Green 1993 also mentioned the role of the teacher in general terms.
blown away and thinking, “wow what a great job”. You don’t have to sing or do anything like that, you just play.

The fact that the candidate had realized that singing was not part of having to be a good at music was a turning point and part of the reason he chose to develop his musical interests.

The accidental nature of discovering musical interest was not always in the presence of a parent. As found in Study 3 in Chapter 5, other family members also play a pivotal role, as was the case for Subject 11:

Subject 11: The following weekend we went to my grandmother’s and a family friend brought his old trumpet around. The first time I picked it up I produced a good solid tone so I found the instrument that was best suited. That weekend grandma and grandad bought me my first trumpet and I sat and blew for hours in their music room, excited that I was able to make a noise and therefore able to play in the band.

While it may be difficult to prove the biological precursors of musical ability the influence of families in providing early musical opportunities was noteworthy.

There has already been considerable discussion relating to the role teachers play as early influencers of musicians. Mackenzie (1991), Lamb (1993), Lautzenheiser (1993), Hanley (1998), and Sloboda and Howe (1991) found that warmth and enthusiasm were crucial in fostering a child’s love of music making. Yang (2002) commented at some length on this attribute. Subject 16 supports this view in describing his first teacher:

Subject 16: My first guitar teacher was a man who really instilled a love of music in me. He encouraged me to write my own songs and gave me many opportunities to perform these.

There were a disproportionate number of subjects for whom warmth and enthusiasm do not feature in their early recollections. Subject 2 and Subject 4 had strong, but unpleasant memories of their private music lessons:

Subject 2: In grade three, like my brother I began learning piano from a very old and scary teacher (privately – not involved with the school) who eventually began to suffer from incontinence making piano lessons a very aromatic experience.

Subject 4: When I started school I took up the piano but this was a very short-lived experience as my piano teacher was a particularly nasty woman who also had the most horrible bad breath. I quickly told my parents that I was no longer interested in playing the piano.

These comments serve as a reminder to those in the teaching profession about the long lasting impressions teachers make in the initial stages of learning. For both subjects, this first experience was twenty years before this investigation took place, yet the memory was quite vivid. These candidates are also those who persevered with music. The loss of students through the simplest of habits is incalculable.

Class music teachers were also subjected to scrutiny and found wanting. In the case of Subject 13, music in Year 8 was the last general music to which students were exposed before proceeding to elective classes. While it is generally agreed that music making is an enlightening, happy enterprise, this was not the experience of this subject.

Subject 13: Music was compulsory in Year 8, it was often the worst subject because the Music Director was the angriest teacher in the school.

Subject 11 could recognise that not all good musicians are necessarily good teachers.

Subject 11: My teacher was a high school student who apparently was an excellent musician but lousy teacher. The feedback I was given regarding my playing was less than satisfactory which affected my progress and enthusiasm.

These comments refer only to subjects’ early or first experiences of music educators. The proportion of negative remarks from subjects who became excellent musicians is a cause for concern and a topic for further research. The role of teachers in later musical experiences, chiefly in regard to the gendered nature of musical participation will be discussed later in the chapter.

STEREOTYPING AND GENDER ISSUES IN MUSICAL ACTIVITY

As one way of connecting the earlier field studies with the case studies, an investigation of subjects’ comments in relation to stereotyping was undertaken. Most subjects report some association with gender issues in relation to participation in music.
The association of certain instrument’s relationship to hegemonic masculinity was referred to by Green (1997) and Hanley (1998) and discussed in Chapter 4. There was also a brief reference to it with regard to the flute in the Study 3 within Chapter 5. The instruments of interest here are flute, clarinet and violin, all of which were found to have “feminine” associations in earlier studies, including those outlined in Chapter 5. Clearly for Subject 3, the issue of carrying an instrument to school was problematic:

Subject 3: maybe carrying a flute and past singing experience did alter people’s opinion of me.

Martino (1997a) was quoted earlier in reference to an art student who was victimised because he carried an art file. There is evidence in Subject 3’s comment that the carrying of certain instruments could be a concern for some boys. Subject 7 switched from clarinet to the lower pitched trombone, which was found in earlier studies to be associated with masculinity.

Subject 7: there must have been some harassment about playing the clarinet because I took up the trombone because I felt it was more manly. [sic]

Subject 20 recorded a similar response in respect of pitch being related to whether an instrument was masculine or not:

Subject 20: In high school about Grade 9 I gave the violin away and took up the Cello, the reason for this was that violin wasn’t seen as a very boy [sic] instrument and if I was going to play a stringed instrument it would be the cello as I saw it as more manly, I guess being deeper sounding or something (stupid I know!).

Subject 7 commented, in passing, on the role singing played in other peoples’ perception of him. Four other subjects also commented on singing. Subject 16 refers to it in relation to his guitar playing which was accepted and his singing in an “unchanged” voice, which was not. The guitar was found in the earlier studies to be slightly preferred by males as an instrument choice and as perceived to have masculine or neutral gender associations. Singing was consistently perceived as a feminine activity. Singing in a high or unchanged voice was certain to bring one’s masculinity into question to the point of attracting homophobic labels (Hanley 1998; Adler 2001; Koza 1993; Green 1993; and Schmidt 1995). Horrocks (1995) makes the connection between singing being emotional and expressive and guitar being seen as a phallic instrument, suited to males. This was the experience of Subject 16:
Subject 16: I feel if I had only played guitar, there would not have been so many people joking about what I did. In my first two years at the school whenever I performed in front of my peers I would be given a hard time mostly about my singing. When I arrived at the school my voice was not even beginning to ‘break’ and the fact that I was comfortable and willing to stand in front of a large group of students to sing and play my own compositions was too much for some people to handle; the more conviction one has the more open that person is leaving themselves to others’ victimising.

The fact that Subject 16 also performed his own compositions is important. Very few studies into stereotyping have included the study of composition. It is generally viewed by feminist musicians as a male domain, with some justification: the western history of music has been deficient in its recording of the work of female composers. Brauer (1894) also believed this to be in the case. Study 5 in Chapter 5 included a small number of composition students. The sample in Study 5 was small but favoured females by at least 2:1.

Situational factors have been discussed in some detail as being important components in constructing gender. The role of the school will be discussed in more detail later, but two other subjects referred to the place singing held in their school culture:

Subject 1: It [my school] wasn't really a place for singers because it wasn't considered 'normal' for a young man to sing.

Subject 21: Kind of being on the outside of things as a rather odd faggoty [sic] person at my school, singing did little to boost my social standing.

The broader cultural perspective of gender was raised earlier. In the same way as other aspects of gender vary; the role of singing can fluctuate according to the situation, even within Australia. The experience of Subject 15 echoes some the comments of Subject 16, but within a cultural dimension:

Subject 15: …people heard that I sang opera and they immediately assumed that I was gay. Again, this wasn't a problem, but it goes to show how narrow minded our culture is in Australia that we can't accept "real men" to be artists.

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46 This refers to the literature of Colling (1992), Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997), Doyle (1995), Hall (1992) and Basow (1994) discussed in Chapter 1 and 2.
Subject 15’s use of the term “real men” in relation to artists has some resonance with the idea of “sissy work” explored by Lehne (1995), Levitt and Klassen (1973) and Levine (1995) discussed earlier. They found that certain occupations were considered the domain of homosexuals. These were subsequently dubbed “sissy work.”

**HARRASSMENT OF MUSICIANS**

Subjects reported being given a “hard time” because of their association with music. The reporting was represented in a variety of ways. Some were quite personal, others responded in a more general way:

Subject 6: I think, from observation, that those who pursued music more heavily at school did receive quite a hard time about it.

Of those who gave a personal account, some were quite vivid and had no hesitation in labelling this as “bullying.” Subject 16 pointed out that there are many factors that contribute to students being a victim of bullying. This concurs with the research of Plummer (1999) and Palotta-Chiarolli (2001) who give indications that it is a combination of behaviours that give other students the opportunity to focus on a victim. One of the key issues found by these researchers is that being “different” is often enough. In the case of Subject 16, it is not just music that creates this opportunity; it is “the whole package.” In his case, his life revolved around music, so the connection was more obvious.

Subject 16: My life revolved around music, and when this is the case, it is only natural that you will have a different outlook on things than the vast majority of other people. It was the whole package that made me an excellent target for bullying, a package bound by my love and devotion to music.

Later, Subject 16 referred to the effect bullying had on his school existence and reinforces the view that other behaviours contributed to this situation.

Subject 16: My first years at the school were very tough, I was constantly bullied and victimised. I would sometimes come home from school and just start crying whilst trying to explain what happened. It was not so the fact that I was a musician that made me a target, more the type of musician/person. Music was a big thing at the school at that time and many boys were involved however, it was not because you were involved with music that made you a target for bullying, it was how much music meant to you.

Subject 16 raises several other issues in this comment including:

- The notion that the first few years at school were tougher than later years
Bullying behaviours occurred in spite of the high profile of music in the school.

- Participation in music along with other factors contributed to bullying.

These issues will be pursued in the following chapter.

While the relationship between sport and music as ascertained by these individuals will be considered in more detail later, Subject 2 commented that isolation was one of the key elements in which he found he was bullied as a musician. Rigby (1996) found that isolation was one of the prime ways in which bullying occurs. In Chapter 2, it was found that it is one of the types of bullying, along with rejection and verbal taunting that can quickly lead to low self-esteem, poor mental health and depression. In this instance, note that the instrument in question is the violin, which he played instead of going to sport:

Subject 2: In primary school, I didn't remember getting any crap for doing music, but I think it had a profound effect on how I related to the other boys as all of them were playing football while I was playing the violin. It created a real divide between me and the other guys that I think still remains with me now in terms of how I relate to other guys. I didn't really receive much crap from the others kids during high school because the pattern of isolation or the divide that had been formed in primary school continued.

Subject 2’s view of bullying appeared to include verbal and physical harassment, but he did not consciously see isolation as a form of bullying. Subject 2 and several other subjects (Subjects 1, 8, 16 and 18) go on to describe the depression they experienced later in life, partly as a result of this isolation. The contrast between football, considered to have high status in the school and violin, which had a lower status is noteworthy: the scheduling of violin lessons at the same time as football raises important issues of timetabling which will be dealt with in Chapter 7.

As discussed earlier in relation to Subject 16 and his experience of playing the guitar and singing, the high or unchanged voice appeared to be more likely to attract bullying. The comments discussed earlier were in relation to the gendered nature of instruments. In this instance, the interest focussed specifically on the high incidence of bullying and singing in a high voice. These comments appear to add further weight to the argument.
Subject 3: The ridicule was based mainly on the fact that my voice hadn't broken at that stage, and was particularly high.

Subject 3 goes on to explain that the long term effect of this was that performing in those situations deterred him from singing for many years. The role of the older boys in inducting the younger boys into ways of homophobic bullying at the transition into secondary school at Year 8 was discussed in Chapter 2. Subject 13 commented on this in relation to another boy at his school who was mocked by the older boys for his high voice:

Subject 13: I can remember a musician being hassled - it was the Italian singer. When he sang in front of the whole school in Year 8 he was mocked for his high voice and when in later years he moved to Elvis songs, they knocked him now and then...He copped a lot of flak, mostly about his voice, especially from the older kids whose voices had broken.

Cracking on a note could also bring ridicule, according to Higgins (1999). Subject 1 gives some specific examples of bullying in relation to his singing occurred. In his case it persisted through much of his high school experience, though the intensity was greater in the junior school years. In his situation, the bullying was verbal and physical abuse and it took place at lunchtime. This would appear to support the investigations of Parker (1996) who found that name calling of this nature takes place typically in secluded locations, on the sports field and between lessons:

Subject 1: All through most of my High School life I had to persevere with a lot of nasty comments and rumours from most of the mainstream students and for a while I was alienated purely because I enjoyed singing. The really sad stuff happened in my earlier years though, Years 9 & 10. I couldn't sit through a lunch-hour or recess without people screaming things at me and throwing pieces of food at me. For a while it was really terrible.

Most subjects refer to some type of verbal harassment. Subject 1 referred to the nasty comments he received for being a singer. Subject 16 and 18 reflected on the homophobic content of these comments. Like Subject 1, they found the worst times were in Years 9 and 10.

Subject 16 again: The fact that I was an artistic and sensitive person, proved something many boys (particularly in first three years) could not handle. I was teased with many slang homosexual names and questioned with regard to my sexuality. There was nothing to warrant this, I was clearly not homosexual but this was the way they dealt with me and the fact that I was a little different.

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47 This was discussed in relation to the work of Rofes 1995, Pollack 1999 and Critchley 2000.
Subject 18: Then came high school in 1988. It was no longer 'cool' to do music. From the moment I started high school in 1988 to the year I finished, came the taunting. The name calling started. Poofter, Faggot, Queer. You name it, I copped it. If it wasn’t for my passion to do music, I would not be where I am today. For 5 years I put up with this crap even having to change schools in year 10. Unfortunately, nothing changed and it was then I knew that if I wanted to continue music I would have learn to deal with the teasing that came along with it.

For some, the accusations didn’t commence until after school finished:

Subject 15: I never had any trouble at school - the trouble came outside of school. When I was in first year at the university, other musicians thought I was gay cause I used to wear a scarf and cords in the cold weather - I guess I dressed better than other guys there.

The notion that musicians bullied each other will be discussed later in the chapter.

The idea that changing the learning environment could alter the type of bullying will be pursued in Chapter 7. There is also the suggestion here of the types of complementary behaviours (in this case, dress) that can contribute to harassment. This has been referred to by Plummer (1999) Palotta-Chiarolli (2001) and others.

THE FUNCTION OF THE ROLE MODEL

Staff influence

The role of teachers has been discussed in reference to early musical experience. In this instance the discussion related to later experiences and the positive effect of role models. For many, this contributed to their perseverance with music:

Subject 6: Through singing I was able to get respect from both students and staff who had previously thought me worthless - it gave me pride in myself and a career to aim for...

Subject 4: Thanks mainly to the music teachers at that time, we were given the opportunity to do and see things that your average student would not…it was during this part of my life that I began thinking about continuing music as a full-time career.

Two subjects noted the importance of having strong relationships with the individual teacher, the class music teacher and/or the music director. Subject 1 notes that

48 In addition to the researchers discussed earlier, Abeles and Porter (1978), Bruce and Kemp (1993) Hanley (1998), Green (1997) and Koza (1994) investigated the place of the male role model. This is the subject of research currently being undertaken by Heather McWilliam at the University of Wisconsin. Findings are yet to be published.
competence as well as enthusiasm was relevant. It has already been recognised (Subject 11) that competence without enthusiasm is not adequate for teachers of music.

Subject 1: I loved my lessons with my singing teacher, she taught me about the fundamentals of good singing. The most important thing I got out of all of this was I had found something I was enjoying immensely. There’s another teacher I have a lot of respect for: he worked hard at encouraging young men to sing and took every opportunity to have us perform, as did my music teacher.

Subject 16: The director of music … encouraged me to compose more and gave me every performance opportunity he could. He constantly guided me whilst never making me be something I was not.

Several subjects commented that some staff actively discouraged involvement in music. This would appear to correlate with the earlier indications of Hillier et al. (1998), Skelton (1996) and Mac An Ghaill (1994) who indicated that staff could assist in entrenching stereotypical views of masculinity by complacency or more vigorous means. Subject 3 reflected on the role of staff and other musicians as having a long-term effect:

Subject 3: The hardest time I received about being a musician was from staff and other musicians. Staff told me I should ignore musical endeavours and concentrate on my academic pursuits. I followed this idea of not doing music straight out of school, which I really shouldn't have. So this staff pressure did influence my music career.

For Subjects 20 and 19, it was purely the teachers who were responsible for bullying:

Subject 20: …the problems arose from teachers rather than fellow students. I had really two problems [in relation to gender issues and the arts] throughout high school ...both times it was with teachers.

Subject 19: Overall I wasn't given a tough time about being a musician by anyone at school (except for the usual teacher digs about throwing my life away).

Subject 16 felt that a policy would have assisted staff in knowing how to manage bullying behaviours. This is part of a solution to bullying offered by Olweus (1993) and Rigby (1996). Subject 16 commented:

Subject 16: Although many individuals on staff (and also many students) supported me, it was the ones who sought to use me to gain stature through bullying me who influenced many of those who sat ‘on the fence.’ It is important to understand that, although many members of staff understood
what was going on and were concerned for me, there was certainly no official policy or system in place to cater for someone like myself.

Music teachers were seen to inadvertently discourage students in the early stages discussed above. An insensitive music teacher, it was found by Higgins (1999, p.20) could subject a boy to the “risk of humiliation” for a seemingly insignificant event, like cracking on a note when singing or squeaking on a clarinet. For some subjects, the process of discouragement continued in a more active form in secondary school:

Subject 16: The [next] director of music … went on to do his best to keep me down. He really gave you the impression he was worried about you becoming better than him and made sure that everyone knew how good he was.

The possibility of the student becoming better than the teacher is one some music teachers face in the execution of their duties. In music it is often apparent at a relatively young age. In this instance, it may only be Subject 16’s interpretation of the situation, but there is little doubt the problem exists and could conceivably be enabled through the abuse of power found in bullying.

Certain teachers were known in Mac An Ghaill’s (1994) study to have a problem with students who don’t participate in competitive sport. They preferred the “yobbo” footballers. They’d be tough with them, at the same time passing on the “boys will be boys” code. Hillier et al. (1998) referred to the compliance of teachers with this image and the contribution it makes to the construction of masculinity by commenting on the cases of homophobic abuse that occurred with the knowledge of teachers and other school authorities.

The point made by Subject 3 regarding the persecution by other music students is an intriguing one. Plummer (1999) and Messner (1995) referred to the hierarchy that existed within sport – some sports were more accepted than others. Exactly which sports were accepted was situational. It could be assumed that musicians would maintain solidarity and that the bullying would come from the population beyond the music students. In the light of Plummer and Messner’s research and the comments below, it is clear there is a hierarchy within the music students exists i.e. some musical activities have higher status than others:

Subject 15: Even musos [sic] are so quick to judge from a superficial level! It didn't bother me that they thought I was gay because I was always sure in my
heterosexuality, but being labelled as gay just because I dressed nicely and I liked opera, by other musicians (!) [subjects exclamation] was amusing to me.

Subject 3: Secondly, the environment amongst the musicians at school was a reasonably negative one for me. I never really got on that much with the musicians at school and in my life I have never really fitted into hierarchies (this bands better than that one, this musician better than the other etc.). My peers found this very important and I didn't really have much time for that.

Subject 7: We were occasionally teased not because we played music but because we were in the lesser groups.

These comments help to emphasize the accepted nature of some music-related activities and the non-acceptance of others. This is also clear in the studies of stereotyping reported in Chapters 4 and 5. In a positive sense they also provide an opportunity for building or rebuilding a music program: By embracing the positive aspects of the hierarchy the success of the program can be almost guaranteed in the initial stages.

Repertoire selection has also been mentioned as an important factor in students’ participation in certain activities. Soft, slow and classical music was reported earlier as being associated with femininity. Higgins (1999, p.21) suggested that the correct choice of music was not just a matter of “getting it right at the technical level.” She goes on to suggest that good repertoire does not have to be emotionally serious and philosophical. Up-tempo music, with a strong rhythmic pulse was perceived to be more masculine.49 Dress was found by Pallotta-Chiarolli (2001) to have an impact on whether an individual was considered different. Subject 14 refers to ensemble uniforms and (like Subject 7) the standard of the groups as substantial elements in causing bullying.

Subject 14: … the stage band had these really good uniforms they were black pants with a black shirt with multi-coloured sleeves. It was classy. The string orchestra went through a series of disgusting uniforms most of them revolting, most of them making you like an idiot. The most horrible one being black pants with a see through white top with puffy sleeves and huge multi-coloured cuffs. This probably provided the most of the bullying opportunities. The string orchestra to a certain extent copped some bullying from other people particularly brass players who were obviously all male. The strings were seen as nowhere near as good.

49 See the work of Green (1997) and Hanley as discussed in Chapter 4 in this respect.
It is worthy of note that Subject 14 pinpoints that the brass players were ‘obviously’ all male. For him, there was little doubt that the stereotypes found to exist in the earlier studies were a reality. Repertoire, standard, dress and the hierarchy of activities will be among issues discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

**Parental influence**

Parental influence, as outlined earlier, had a profound effect on some subject’s introduction to music. This was not true of all subjects some of whom found that this support did not continue at secondary school and beyond:

Subject 19: Worst critics of my choice were my parents. My father has only accepted that music can be more than a hobby in the past few years.

Subject 20: When I reached grade 7 for some reason I decided to give it all up and let it all slide, for reasons unknown to me. I stopped practicing [sic] and stopped lessons … I wanted a normal and enjoyable childhood. I think this came from the pressures my parent’s [sic] put on me as well as teachers, to succeed and be the best.

This response would appear to further reinforce the views of Levine (1995) and Lehne (1995) with regard to those involved in arts (singer, dancer, musician, artist, actor) as being acceptably “feminine” occupations, described as sissy work. They included singing, acting and dancing:

Subject 2: I decided to become a Music Theatre performer - to rise above the other dickhead boys at school. I also secretly loved to dance - something which I think was evident when I was very little but my parents didn't encourage it because of its association with homosexuality.

Subject 2 raises the issue of dance and its connection with homosexuality. It is not within the scope of this study to explore participation in other art forms and the difficulties boys face in these art forms. It should be noted at this point that recent research has taken place in relation to addressing homophobic bullying as a result of participation in dance. There are opportunities for further research encompassing a cross-arts approach to such issues.

Only one subject spoke highly of his parental and school support:

Subject 7: You never felt uncool being a musician at school and I was only ever given 100% support from home.

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50 For a further discussion of this see Harrison 2002c, Gold 2001 and North et al. 2001.
School influence

The school context was discussed in some detail in Chapter 3. The comments of Subject 7 and Subject 16 earlier referred to this. Many subjects gave positive responses in respect of their experiences of school music. For some they commented on the role music played in the culture of the school: how it was honoured and respected. Subject 14’s comment is typical in this respect:

Subject 14: I think the way the school operated was also significant... In high school the music program was also pretty important. The stage band in particular was very well respected.

There is further evidence in this statement from Subject 14 of the hierarchy that exists among musical activities. Subject 13, 9 and 7 reflected on the opportunities provided for students and the element of competition. Subjects 13, 9 and 7 found this to be an affirming experience:

Subject 13: The school fostered many extra curricular activities and because of competition successes, interstate tours and supportive music staff music became one of the more higher profiled.

Subject 9: Music was considered fairly highly in the school community. With many wins in local competitions and the fact that music was such a part of life at school masses, concerts and ceremonies, that music was just another avenue for students to experience.

Subject 7: I believe that the school structure was conducive to allowing students to be able to pursue their own interests and provided ample opportunities to further learn and grow.

Two subjects register the opposite point of view; closer to Keith Swanwick’s (1988, 1997) data reported in Chapter 3:

Subject 16: The school I went to was definitely not set up with people like me in mind. The school was so big, so middling that it (it’s [sic] students) would attempt to pull anything different into that ‘normal’ area.

Subject 1: My school wasn’t a place for young male singers.
The relationship between music and sport was considered in some detail in Chapter 2 and again in the preceding section. This issue is one of the most crucial as it gives a strong indication of how schools and society perpetuate systems that support hegemonic masculinity, which in turn subordinates non-traditional males and/or those who engage in gender-incongruent behaviours.

The advantages and disadvantages of competition inherent in sport was the focus of a brief discussion in Chapter 2. Subject 12 reflected at some length on the relationship between sport and music, particularly in the perception of winning:

Subject 12: I think the difference between kids playing sport and music [is] something like this. When you play sport, (i.e.: take something like rugby), there is that controlled aggression or testosterone factor that is required to bring out the competitiveness in order to win a game. This is seen or perceived as a very “male” thing to do. Sport in its very nature is competitive, there is a winner and a loser and you need to have that drive to beat the opponent in order to win and thus receive the accolades and glory or recognition. Now when you play music, it’s not so much a competition thing. It’s more of an expression of the individual. To do this successfully, it requires the player to express emotion through his instrument. In the context of a school orchestra or stage band there’s no aggression or anger required (I mean you are playing ballads or at best a funk tune with a stage band, no death metal which may require some sort of aggression to get your point across). To try and draw a parallel between this and the desirable winning outcome of sport: in order to “win” with music, you draw deep on your emotions and express yourself. When you have made that statement with your instrument and it moves the audience or the audience can “relate” or understand what you are saying, then I guess you can say, “you’ve won”. Now with guy’s it’s [sic] not a very male thing to do i.e.: express emotion. I guess the only “acceptable” emotion that a guy can display and not be given a hard time [for] is anger or aggression. If a guy was to break down in front of another group of guys then he would be seen as a “wimp” or “a girl”. I just think that this does change as you get older but at school and even into late teens I guess this is still the perception.

Subject 12 also referred above to the expression of emotion as “not a very male thing to do.” This relates favourably with some of the data from Chapter 2 (as found by Plummer 2000, Pease 2000, Pollack 1999 and Colling 1992) and assists in building the argument as to why boys don’t engage in certain activities. The comments are

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more significant taking into account that Subject 12 is a drummer, as drumming is a musical activity shown to be associated with musical activity.

The rewarding of success in sports and academic areas to the detriment of the arts referred to earlier (Colling 1992, Rofes 1995, Eder and Kinney 1995) has also been discussed at length by Plummer (1999). Several subjects chose to refer to the relative status of music and sport in their educational setting. In these cases, music came second to sport.

Subject 2: I just never hung around people that I thought would give me crap - and that was just about everybody. Basically you either did sport (very accepted, supported and praised) or you did music (very uncool and nerdish).

Subject 17: Although music was an important part of the school in terms of the role it played in ceremonies at the school and the promotion of the school through outside performances, it always took second place to sport by a fair distance and was not looked upon favourably whenever it clashed with sport-related events.

For Subjects 3 and 4, music did not rate as highly as sport and academic work in their school setting:

Subject 3: I received more prestige for academic and sporting endeavours, both from the school and my peers.

Subject 4: At the age of nine I attended an all male school, this is where I was to stay until the end of grade 12. This school was your typical private school, only concerned about two things, sport and school work.

The importance scheduling of activities to maximise opportunities for student participation will be discussed in the next chapter. Of note here is that music usually took second or third place to something else in the opinion of these subjects, while only three subjects (7, 9 and 13) commented on the previous page that music enjoyed a high profile in their school.

Plummer (1999) suggested that being physical (being involved in sport or by aggressing against another male) was one way credit could be gained and homophobic accusations can be modified or managed. Subjects’ comments on the notion that participation in sport or including a sportsman in your music group could bring credibility included:
Subject 6: Another possible factor in the reduction of bullying at my school was a fact in year 8 a lot of “cool” kids who were in the great sport teams were also in the band.

Subject 21: Muso's [sic] were basically considered to be on the outside of cool but if you were able to combine sport then it was vaguely OK.

Football has the highest status of any sport and could be seen to bring credibility to musicians. Plummer (1999), Sabo and Panepinto (1990), Whitson (1990) White and Vagi (1990) referred to this in Chapter 2. Subject 2’s comments referred to this earlier. Subjects were also aware of the advantages of being involved in football:

Subject 5: I was good at cricket and rugby league so I had it all covered. I also knew how to look after myself if anyone gave me shit.

Subject 12: We had our band and no singer. ...so someone said “Hey I know who we can get [student’s name].” Now [student’s name] was a great guy, he was pretty funny, easy going, no attitude but also played second row for the 1st XV. I really do believe that he subconsciously made a statement when he sang that day.

Subject 13: There was a senior student who played 3rd clarinet in the concert band. He was selected in the 1st XV rugby team. He brought many of us in the band closer to rugby.

Subjects responded that some school environments had conscious strategies in place to facilitate this:

Subject 1: Even the jocks had to play an instrument, and it usually worked out that the people who were in any leadership position in the school were involved in the musical program as well as sporting.

In the case of Subject 1’s school, every student played an instrument. The idea of “safety in numbers” has merit and will be discussed in the next chapter. Subjects were clearly aware of the issues surrounding sport and its opposition to music in a basic sense. Some subjects noted that schools embraced the positive aspects of sport, while others had difficulty with the nexus.

INDIVIDUAL COPING MECHANISMS

Each subject was able to cope either through personal strategies or through some of the structures set up by the school as outlined above. Homophobic accusation has been found by other scholars to lessen in the final years of schooling. One of Plummer’s (1999, p. 181) subjects reported:
“from year 10 onwards the “faggot” name calling thing just seemed to disperse”

This reduction in homophobia correlates with findings that other types of bullying also reduce over time. Of all the coping mechanisms possible, it was the reported lessening of the bullying in the last two years of secondary school that enabled subjects pursue their interests:

Subject 14: I experienced bullying throughout school as many people do. It was most prevalent in my junior high school years. It tended to lessen as I got to senior.

Subject 1: It got better as I went through, and by the time I was in year 12, I was receiving quite the opposite from the other students. They started to have a lot of time for my voice.

Subject 2: In year 11 and 12 with school productions suddenly music, acting and singing were accepted by the majority of students. I really loved the productions because I had been so lonely.

Subject 16: By my senior years many things had changed. My classmates were beginning to grow up and started to appreciate what I did. There was also a real shift in the attitude toward bullies…the bullies who did not grow up and change became ostracised. It was much easier to be so involved with music now; people really respected me for it.

Another of the ways in which Plummer (1999) suggests that homophobic accusations can be modified or managed is through reaction to the jibe: knowing what to say or how to respond was critical. Some subjects report the use of verbal response as their best method of coping:

Subject 21 again: Luckily I was prepared to use a bit of acid tongue and they tended to leave me alone.

Subject 13: [referring to an Italian boy who copped flack for his singing] But he was a wog – with blonde hair and a big mouth and he turned any ridicule to his advantage quickly using his notoriety to become well known and popular with everyone else.

For some subjects, this was combined with a respect gained from other students because he was performing at a high level and earning money:

Subject 21: However the most interesting things that allowed me to have a life free of hassles were two fold. One was that I was good at what I did and I was earning money for doing it. Funnily enough you can be a total faggot

As found by Olweus 1991, Olweus 1993, Rigby and Slee 1991
singer at my school but if you are earning money from doing it, well that is ok.

The issue of performing at a high standard is one that has been referred to incidentally by some subjects above and employed by schools discussed in the next chapter. One subject gave this response, indicating some students engage in activities after school hours to overcome issues of harassment.

Subject 5: I didn't cop any shit at school because there was no music at school. All my music was done outside school environment. Certainly there were no structures in place to overcome such things.

**REFLECTION AND SUMMARY**

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the influence of the constructs masculinity and femininity on boys’ musical education in Australia. The data presented throughout this chapter indicate that the masculine constructs described in earlier chapters have, to some extent, shaped boys’ participation in music. In respect of the GRIME agenda, the responses of subjects have alluded to what it means to be male in a feminine discipline and how schools support hierarchical gender systems.

In relation to being male in a feminine discipline, Chapter 2 described the range of possible constructions of masculinities. The comments of these subjects within those masculinities are worthy of reflection. For example, the description of male role models espoused by Doyle (1995, p.27) included a portrayal of the Bourgeois in the 18th century social system in which success in business; status and worldly manners were valued. It is clear from the subjects comments in relation to adult behaviours that music is not perceived as being an option for males who wish to succeed in business. This view limits opportunities for males to participate.

References to contempt for sensitivity, delicacy and emotional intimacy by peers and teachers were a feature of some subject’s accounts. While not all subjects experience this treatment, many were aware of its existence and are affected by that awareness. The notions that boys are more likely to be discouraged from engaging in feminine behaviours than girls for engaging in masculine behaviour (Fagot 1978 and Langlois and Downs 1980) are part of the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Boys are determined at all costs not to be female (Kenway 1997, p.15). The notion
of avoidance of femininity has been a significant feature in the construction of masculinity. Kaufman (1995) reflects on this further: a boy learns that the only thing as bad as being a girl is being a sissy, that is, being like a girl. Comments from Chapters 4, 5 and 6 clearly show that these issues are a reality for many musicians and that they may affect musical choices.

In seeking, through a post-feminist perspective, to provide an opportunity for gender-just society, the comments of marginalised men are significant. Post-feminists support the claims of women for social, political and economic equity at the same time expressing similar concerns for men and boys (Kipnis 1995 and Benjamin 1995). The post-feminist claims that feminists (male and female) lack an understanding of the disproportionate ways in which males who do not share or enjoy membership of the dominant discourse of masculinity suffer. These males are disempowered and are at risk for abuse and neglect. Many of the subjects recounted details of their “at riskness” and recalled a sense of disempowerment.

This is particularly so in relation to issues of bullying and harassment. It was stated earlier that bullying is one of the ways in which gender role rigidity is maintained for boys. Boys are marginalised through this behaviour and the post-feminist view allows for this issue to be considered. Bullying behaviours present a real threat to the gender order in music education and have a direct negative impact on students of music. Schools and teachers were found to reinforce this marginalisation through active and complacent behaviours. This resulted in non-participation in specific activities such as singing and playing flute.

Conway’s (2000) phenomenological approach was embraced as part of the methodology of this phase of the research. She sought to focus on what the experience of high school instrumental music students was regarding gender and instrument choice and how they interpret the world as reflected in individual interviews. Adler (2001) and Conway (2000) also noted that research has focussed on opportunities for girls from a feminist perspective, as opposed to the post-feminist view employed here. In seeking to connect with the phenomenological approach espoused by Conway (2000), there is little doubt that the ultimate meaning of the experiences described in this chapter is that musical behaviours are limited by gender
constraints. The subjects’ interpretation of the world indicates that in many cases, musicians engaging in gender-incongruent behaviours are socially punished in the manner described in Chapter 2.

With regard to Layder’s (1993) levels of analysis, this phase of the research centred on self and situated activity. Each of the subjects spoke of their experiences in relation to their musical background and the place in which musical activities were enacted. The broader elements and understandings of masculinity were part of this situated activity, whether subjects were unaware of it or not. The discussion on sport in the latter part of the chapter has a strong resonance with the earlier references to the role of sport in constructing masculinity.

The notion of self and the process employed by Green (1997) to allow students and teachers to speak in commonsense ways about music and gender have been interconnected. Subjects were able to speak in commonsense language about their experience of music of school music and beyond. Within the discourse of masculinity outlined in Chapter 2 and the social settings outlined in Chapter 3, the comments clearly reinforce the existence of a stereotypical model of musical behaviours as found in Chapters 4 and 5.

Based on these case studies, it is possible to conclude that the role of parents, private teachers, schoolteachers and the school are critical in creating attitudes about involvement in music. The findings in this phase of the research can be summarized as follows:

- Stereotyping of musical activities exists
- Boys are restricted in their participation in music
- Some students are victimized because of their musical choices;
- Early experiences (through teachers and family) are vital contributors to individual’s identity in relation to masculine constructs and subsequently effect participation
- Schools as institutions have a major role in addressing issues of masculinity through establishing policy and practical guidelines and ensuring teachers are not guilty of complacency, discrimination and bullying
• The role of the music teacher is crucial in attitude and skill level. Teacher awareness of issues needs to be heightened
• A wide range of opportunities needs to be made available for student participation
• Flexible scheduling is important to allow students access to the maximum number of opportunities
• Sport and music activities need not be mutually exclusive. Sporting analogies can be effectively (but cautiously) used to motivate and engage students
• Performances should be of a high standard
• Repertoire and uniform selection effects participation
• There was safety in numbers. Subjects from schools in which a higher number of boys participated in music were not usually subjected to the same level of ridicule
• Status and hierarchy of music are important contributors in students’ musical choices

The application of these findings through best practice forms the basis of Chapter 7.
CHAPTER SEVEN
BEST PRACTICE

PREAMBLE

This, the 3rd phase of the fieldwork, examines examples of best practice as evidenced in the literature and through observations of communities, schools and individuals. Layder’s (1993) research map, which has been a constant reference point in the second part of this thesis, indicates that sources of data for research might include documents, interviews and observation. In this phase, all three sources have been utilized. In relation to documents, existing literature has been examined, along with school records including websites, prospectuses and policy papers. Informal interviews with staff have been combined with interview data from Chapter 6. Observation of school environments has also taken place. With regard to Layder’s (1993) five levels of analysis, this phase looks at situated activity, social settings and macrocontexts.

Any gender reform will need to involve macro change: there needs to be a consultative process involving the entire school community. The responsibility for change rests with the general community, teachers, parents and students. The Declaration of Education presented at the Australian Education Assembly in April 2001 calls for wider participation in policy making, involving parents, teachers, the community and wherever possible, students. Denborough (1996) supports this, stating that any approach to working with gender issues must be part of a layered pedagogy involving staff at all levels, students, parents and community members.

BEST PRACTICE BY THE COMMUNITY

In the broadest sense, Connell (1991) states the community needs to take responsibility for changing sexist attitudes and gives list of tangible ways in which this can occur:

- Share the care of babies and young children equally between men and women
• Work for equal opportunity, affirmotive action and the election of women
• Support women’s control over their own bodies; contest misogyny and homophobia in the media and popular culture; contest sexual harassment
• Work for pay equity and women’s employment rights
• Support the redistribution of wealth and the creation of a universal social security system
• Talk among men to make domestic violence, gay-bashing and sexual assault discreditable
• Organise political and economic support for women’s refuges, rape crisis centres and domestic violence prevention.\(^53\)

It is such broad yet concrete actions that can bring about macro change. They are largely born out of the feminist agenda and as such do not recognise, as post-feminists do, the need for disempowered males to be catered for. Sabo (1995) recognised this and has added:

- Work to make the lives of marginalised groups of men better
- Take steps to rethink and stop male violence against men
- Work to heal the victimisers

One of the ways in which men are marginalised is through male gender role rigidity. Forsey (1990) advocates the identification of the constraints placed on males by masculine ethos to gain an understanding of why boys behave the way they do. She also provides some guidelines for changing masculine ethos:

1. Target the denial of self, including
   - Identifying the limitations of sex-role expectations;
   - Develop skills in co-operation, sharing, intimacy and caring;
   - Devise strategies for dealing with conflict, peer pressure and aggression;
   - Encourage an acceptance and expression of feelings, thought and aspirations;
   - Establish a regard for females being equal to males.

\(^53\) Donaghy (1997, p.246) also recognises the need for a political agenda which focuses less on the economic and more on the community.
2. Work with “boys only” groups on the above issues, without the constraints of living up to a particular image in the sight of the girls.

3. Work with mixed sex groups – girls need to be involved in the process, so there is consensus across the sexes.

The second and third of these are of some significance. Coeducational schools, as evidenced in the case studies in the Chapter 3 and 6 and in the schools below, are not less homophobic than single-sex schools. The pressures to conform to rigid roles are more immediate in mixed schools. The case for single-sex activities within a coeducational environment received some support from Sukhnandan et al. (2000) who claim advantages for both sexes through this model: boys in single-sex classes are reported as being less distracted and more willing to contribute to classes and take risks. This was also found to be the case by Watterson (2000) and Leach (2000). The balanced view involving single-sex groupings and mixed sex groupings as advocated by Forsey (1990) is essential, providing it does not serve to reinforce stereotypes. Avoiding the notion that masculinity can be viewed as the antithesis of femininity as intimated by Connell (1987) is important.

Crawford, Mahoney and Spencer (2001) report on a specific way in which a community could embrace the issues facing boys and seek to enrich their lives. This project took place in a Queensland rural area with a population of approx 30,000. They sought to

- Promote and support initiatives that enhanced the potential of boys to participate and achieve
- Inform schools and the community of the impact of boys’ issues in their development and growth
- Network professional services.

These aims were achieved through media coverage, outreach, forums, father and son activities and family days. Activities focussed on family participation and encouragement of communication and relationships.

Hawkes (2001, p.299) makes the suggestion: “don’t emasculate boys – promote a more complete view of masculinity.” This, he suggests can be done through encouraging six virtues in boys: social, emotional, physical, intellectual, spiritual and
moral virtues. Music, it was suggested in Chapter 3, has the power to contribute to all six areas. This is one of the reasons that involvement of boys in music is so crucial.

**BEST PRACTICE BY THE FAMILY**

Forsey (1990) and Alloway (1993) point out the importance of starting early in the process of gender reform as gender roles are established early in life. The family is recognised as the first main influence on a child’s life in most cases. Those in the home, particularly parents, need to be challenged in their own lifestyle to look at prejudices, to challenge institutions in which their children may be involved (schools, churches, sporting clubs) to reduce assumptions and increase inclusiveness and support the agents of change.

The role of the family in providing connectedness needs to be investigated. Pollack (1999) reports that teenagers who felt connected to their families were less likely to engage in violence, attempt suicide or use harmful substances. Specifically, he cites examples of teens who ate dinner with their parents at least five nights a week were significantly better adjusted than those who dined alone. In addition, Donaghy’s (1997) research into suicide suggests a greater commitment by parents to their children, particularly in giving time, care and attention and in reducing marital conflict. Olweus (1993) also advocates the involvement of parents in reducing any type of bullying.

Subjects in the previous chapter commented on the role of their families in this regard. One subject commented specifically about the positive support he received from home, while others focussed on the significant role of the family in the early stages of their education. This is reflected in comments from subjects 7 and 11:

Subject 7: You never felt uncool being a musician at school and I was only ever given 100% support from home.

Subject 11: Mum noticed my attempts and organised piano lessons for me which I began around 5 years old.
The tangible support by families is the most important feature of this. Hawkes (2001) also gives a checklist of things families can do to enhance the lives of boys. As much of this is to do with managing depression, the detail is not included here, but the provision of opportunity is a key element in his suggestions.

**BEST PRACTICE BY STUDENTS**

Phillips (2001, pp.79 –93) provides a guide to help boys to manage masculinity, perhaps best summarized as the need to take control of the body, health, sexuality, life, finances and transport, find challenges, learn relationships, provide and protect and be happy. As discussed earlier, Phillips (a general practitioner) is an essentialist, though he is prepared to give some ground to the constructionist side of the gender debate. If he didn’t, he wouldn’t be giving suggestions as to how to improve the quality of life for men. Because the accepted view of masculinity has been criticised (and rightly so, Phillips concedes), boys are feeling that being male is defective, bad or inferior. He strongly advocates the reinforcement and celebration of “boys” qualities: power, autonomy and independence. Once the unchangeable is accepted, he suggests we should move to change the changeable. These qualities need to be considered in perspective to ensure that hegemonic masculinity is not inadvertently reinforced. The post-feminist view that advocates advantages for males and females needs to be consciously maintained. The ideas of “provide and protect” and the maintenance of power should not be considered unchangeable, as they are misogynistic and contrary to the achievement of equality.

Griffin (1995) encourages students to recognise, challenge and report inappropriate behaviour. In specific terms, he encourages students to befriend those who are marginalized. Plummer (1999) and Palotta-Chiarolli (2001) found that being associated with a boy who behaved in a gender-incongruent manner presented an element of risk. This strategy therefore requires caution in its execution. Subjects in the case studies of the previous chapter also offer some suggestions on management of these issues. Four subjects commented on the lessening of bullying in the final years of secondary schools. Subject 14’s response was representative:
Subject 14: I experienced bullying throughout school as many people do. It was most prevalent in my junior high school years. It tended to lessen as I got to senior.

Plummer (1999) found that the reaction to the verbal harassment was most important. Some subjects report the use of verbal response using clever language or quick wit to deter bullies as their best method of coping, as found in Subject 21’s observation:

Subject 21 again: Luckily I was prepared to use a bit of acid tongue and they tended to leave me alone.

This use of the verbal response finds support in Hawkes (2001) who speculated that non-offensive humour could help to diffuse a situation. Control of anger, review of behaviours, making good friends and avoiding high risk zones are other suggestions Hawkes makes to alleviate the problem of verbal abuse.

**BEST PRACTICE BY SCHOOLS**

Skelton (1996, p.187), in commenting on the role of the wider community and the school as a microcosm of that community, reports that the difficulties experienced by the local community were manifested in the school itself through a form of hegemonic masculinity which is characterised by competition, intimidation and physical aggression; in fact the same form of hegemonic masculinity evident in the community.

As one of the agents of change, schools have a responsibility to scrutinize their beliefs and practices. Donaghy (1997, p.246) suggests that schools need to be empowered so they can “encourage young people to believe that the future is theirs to shape and give them faith to tackle the task.

The examination of school practices is supported by a number of researchers. Rofes (1995, p.83) suggests ways to prevent “sissies” from being targets: Firstly he advocates interrupting, confronting and disciplining, for failure to do so is

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tantamount to complicity. Secondly he suggests that boys who do not enjoy or wish
to participate in activities focussed solely for boys should be given a range of 
alternative options. Schools, he says, must examine the overt and covert ways in 
which they honour certain kinds of achievement in boys and ignore other kinds of 
achievement.

A wide range of academic and extracurricular offerings is necessary in order for this 
to occur. This was implicit in suggestions in Chapter 3 that many schools that did not 
give the full range of academic offerings were not gender-just. It was also found in 
the case studies in Chapter 6 where Subject 7, 9 and 13 reflected on the range of 
opportunities provided for students as a positive element in their school experience. 
Subject 13’s comment is typical:

Subject 13: The school fostered many extra curricular activities and because 
of competition successes, interstate tours and supportive music staff music 
became one of the more higher profiled.

With regard to curriculum, Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997, p.131) critique efforts at 
gender reform in schools, advocating a negotiated curriculum in which students are 
the agents of reform. They further suggest that narrative therapy is a solution. This is 
not to be confused with the self-absorbed, ahistorical, decontextualised therapy 
described by Connell (1995, p.206) as “masculine therapy.” Narrative therapy 
involves students sharing experiences of violence and encourages them to identify 
some dominant narratives that have created such violence. It also asks students to 
provide some positive counter narratives to draw out alternative sources of strength 
and status.

The Declaration of Education referred to at the beginning of this chapter also calls for 
remodelled curricula; equity which gives opportunity to everyone regardless of their 
background; inclusiveness and disadvantage (schooling is expected to develop fully 
the talents and capacities of all students) and the provision of safe learning 
environments. Societies that develop talents and capacities of students have been 
focussed on as an ideal from Chapter 1. An application of such a strategy in schools 
seems straightforward but is difficult to implement without some of the other specific 
suggestions from this chapter also put into practice.
The provision of a safe learning environment is of great importance in this research. Murray (2001) suggests beginning each class with the message that classes will not be racist, sexist or homophobic. Shores (1995, p.109) also advocates the use of non-judgemental language and attitudes. Pallotta-Chiarolli (1995, p.76) further suggests that this type of work is achieved within a framework of social justice that deals with issues of marginality, prejudice and discrimination. As much of the damage is seen to be done outside the classroom, adequate supervision of an attractive playground can significantly reduce violence in “out of class” time (Olweus 1993, Rigby 1996).

The strongest agents of change within schools are the staff. While professional development in schools may increase awareness and provide the knowledge to establish policy (Griffin 1995), the role of teacher education is deserving of scrutiny. Selection of teacher trainees and appropriate pre-service programs addressing gender issues are small but significant steps in this process. Teacher educator awareness of the approaches outlined in the chapter summary would also assist. Wilson (2000) claims there is resistance to participate by members of the school community (teachers and students) which could be overcome through teachers who were continually enthusiastic, believed in students, assisted in providing them with skills, helped them to work through bureaucratic barriers and were not critical when student projects did not go according to plan. Some participants in his study stated that the job of students was to learn the prescribed content and that non-classroom activity distracted students from this. This is born out in the comments of some of the subjects in Chapter 6. Of the five examples offered there, two reflect this sentiment:

Subject 3: Staff told me I should ignore musical endeavours and concentrate on my academic pursuits.

Subject 19: Overall I wasn't given a tough time about being a musician by anyone at school (except for the usual teacher digs about throwing my life away).

The Declaration of Education (2001) charges teacher educators to produce skilled teachers who take account of change in education; who can understand the needs of a variety of learners, who are more than subject specialists, who are equipped to operate across different age levels and educational settings, who are expert in assessment and who understand the deeply valued dimensions of learning which are not easily measured (Education Review, June/July, 2001, p.10).
The emphasis on teachers who are more than subject specialists is of interest. The essence of what teachers engage in is perceived to be through curriculum – the activities of learning. There could be a temptation among teachers to restrict these learning experiences to the classroom; a process that is not conducive to producing well rounded life long learners. Boys’ non-participation in co-curricular activities was discussed in Chapter 3. Staff who do not assist students in achieving in this area of schooling could be considered negligent in their duty.

The remodelling of curricula must encompass all attempts to teach in schools. As stated earlier, any such remodelling needs to be a consultative process involving the entire learning community. The responsibility for change rests with the community, teachers, parents and the students themselves. They have the capacity to create safe learning environments, to ensure equity occurs in practice in their engagement with students and to develop the potential of all the students in their care. While higher education bears some of the responsibility for producing teachers with the characteristics outlined above, as mature and responsible adults, teachers themselves must embrace skills, attitudes and understandings outlined in the Declaration of Education.

Duty of Care is also relevant in this respect. Teachers are accountable for their actions morally and legally. Martino (1997) reflects that all the stakeholders in the school – administrators, teachers and counsellors have an ethical responsibility to effect change. There are numerous stories in the regarding teachers and school authorities that have not fulfilled this obligation. As Griffiths (1995, p.17) commented earlier, students believe that as few as 25% of teachers deal effectively with bullying incidents in the classroom. This is clearly well below an acceptable level.

There is some research underway into how this change can take place. In a specific way, the NSW Department of Education (1998) challenges teachers to manage their classroom in such a way that students are aware of non-violent alternatives to conflict and have opportunities to develop skills in communication, decision-making and developing positive relationships. Griffin and Genasci (1990) encourage teachers to
be alert to different forms of oppression. Rofes (1995) concurs, suggesting that
teachers need to confront and interrupt homophobia. So too does O’Conor (1995, p.
95) who says “silence on the part of teachers and administrators makes schools
unsafe.” Mills (1995, p.63) also suggests that all levels of the school are involved,
including the examination of co-curricular offerings. Browne (1995, p.231)
acknowledges the role expressive arts can play in reducing violence, also citing a
reduction in student movement and vertical classes as ways of managing violence in
schools. Positive role models for boys who are subjected to bullying are rare. Forsey
(1990) reflected that male teachers need to be involved in the process. Griffith
University researcher John O’Toole has also established a program of addressing
bullying through drama. This program has been implemented in a number of
Queensland schools to achieve sound results.

The extent to which schools have embraced these ideas will be discussed later in this
chapter. The case studies from the last chapter echo the role of both school (as an
institution) and teacher (as an individual within that institution) as a significant factor.
For example:

Subject 6: My school was extremely successful in creating at atmosphere
where to be really good at something wasn’t considered bad or nerdy, but
almost cool and respectable. It didn’t matter whether you were good at
schoolwork or music or sport.

Subject 7: I believe that the school structure was conducive to allowing
students to be able to pursue their own interests and provided ample
opportunities to further learn and grow.

Four subjects commented about the positive role model teachers played in their lives.
Many more commented that teachers were complacent or antagonistic with comments
like:

Subject 20: …the problems arose from teachers rather then fellow students. I
had really two problems [in relation to gender issues and the arts] throughout
high school …both times it was with teachers

Perhaps these initiatives were best summed up by Yaman (2001, p.21) who claimed
that, according to a study conducted by the Australian newspaper, a good school is
made up of:

55 Vertical classes as those in which students are placed according to standard rather than age.
- A curriculum that is relevant to the students
- Highly motivated staff
- Good relationship and open communication between principal and staff
- Parental involvement
- An understanding of student profile and background
- Strategies to help students at risk
- Programs that cater for all levels of ability

**BEST PRACTICE IN THE MUSICAL EDUCATION OF BOYS**

There are a multitude of documents detailing how a “good” music program can be achieved. Of these, few talk specifically of the role of boys. Much of the research into boys’ involvement in music has been dedicated to the negative aspects of boys’ non-involvement. This has been reviewed thoroughly in earlier chapters. The purpose of this section is to examine some suggestions for involving students and particularly boys. Dunaway (1987) proposed that successful music programs were more likely to have a higher percentage of boys participating than average music programs. One of the strategies for getting boys involved is to show that the music program is of the highest quality. Higgins (1999, p.21) cautions teachers to ensure that “any public performance [by a boy] is well rehearsed and not above his level of competence.” This correlates with the suggestion above that music be honoured along with other kinds of achievement in the school. Many subjects in the previous chapter reflected on this with comments such as:

Subject 14: In high school the music program was also pretty important… music was considered fairly highly in the school community

Subject 13: The school fostered many extra curricular activities and because of competition successes, interstate tours and supportive music staff music became one of the more higher profiled.

The tension between sport as a constructor of hegemonic masculinity and music as its opposite have been discussed at length earlier. In summary Pollack (1999) and Colling (1992) acknowledge the advantages and disadvantages of sport: On the positive side are the benefits of health, the setting it provides for non-destructive aggression, the development of a person’s reflexes and agility, the promotion of excellence, the development of teamwork, the sense of achievement and the mastery
over weakness and structuring of leisure time. The negative side is that it can promote intolerance and the idea that ethics can be supplanted by the need to win at any cost. Competition can also stifle men’s co-operative and vulnerable side, bringing with it an inability for men to play, to enjoy themselves, to suspend self-consciousness and to let go. It can also stifle self-expression.

In some schools, Phillips (1992) states that sport so dominates male attention that music suffers. He recommends music teachers cultivate good relationships with athletic coaches to help bridge the gap between music and sport. He advocates open discussion with students about vocal change and single-sex classes for music in the middle schooling years. Phillips advocates a physiological approach to singing, rather than a song-based approach to keep boys engaged. In this way, singing can be viewed as a more physical activity, with emphasis on the co-ordination aspects. Phillips also outlines a number of contemporary approaches to the voice change, among which Herman (1988) recommends the use of the single-sex choir as a way of maintaining the interests of boys. Killian (1988) echoes these remarks suggesting that boys need to be featured to encourage future male singers. Like Phillips (1992) she offers caution with regard to choice of appropriate repertoire. She also advocates the inclusion of staff members: the more high profile, the better. This, she says, encourages young men who feel “it might not be quite masculine to sing” (Killian 1988, p.25).

White and White (2001, p.43) are also strong advocates for the use of the role models to engage boys:

Through the use of roles models, gender-specific ensembles and creative performing opportunities, young men can experience singing in a choir as a rewarding, masculine activity.

This use of the role model has been in existence for at least 100 years, as Koza’s (1993) work on *Music Supervisors Journal* 1914 to 1924 found: getting role models, including getting athletes and student leaders into the choral program was advocated in the journals of that time. Koza looked on many of the “solutions” offered by educators at the beginning of last century as inadequate because they did not address the issues of what constructs the “undesirable other.” This being so, it may be a necessary evil worth pursuing until macro change can take effect. Such policies can
stand in the way of macro change if those implementing them do not have a long-
term goal in mind.

Subjects in the previous chapter commented with respect to role models and this has
been reiterated in the section on schools above. They also commented at some length
on the role of sport, reinforcing many of the thoughts expounded here with comments
such as:

    Subject 2: Basically you either did sport (very accepted, supported and
    praised) or you did music (very uncool and nerdish)

    Subject 3: I received more prestige for academic and sporting endeavours,
    both from the school and my peers.

Stollak and Stollak (1996), whose work was discussed earlier, investigated the notion
that some music programs focussed on sport-like elements of competition, to the
detriment of other factors. In particular, they investigated the notion of “team” versus
“family” in choir and the emphasis in winning as a “team” in competition. They
surmised that, at times, this short-term goal was chosen instead of giving students a
life-long love of the art. Choirs that used the “family” approach were more
appreciated by participants than those that had a “team” approach.

By “family”, Stollak and Stollak (1996) referred to choir directors who are nurturing
and willing to listen to the suggestions of choir members, exert firm control and
communicate clearly in a non-manipulative way. To borrow from the suggestions
made by Hawkes (2001) in relation to sport in Chapter 2, the right amount of music,
the right type, the right teacher and the right skills and attitudes are clearly very
important.

This is an area deserving of further research. Some of the schools discussed below
employed a team tactic and individuals in Chapter 6 refer to the successful
employment of it in their experiences. Of note is the emphasis on competition
success:

    Subject 13: The school fostered many extra curricular activities and because
    of competition successes, interstate tours and supportive music staff music
    became one of the more higher [sic] profiled.
Subject 9: With many wins in local competitions and the fact that music was such a part of life at school masses, concerts and ceremonies, that music was just another avenue for students to experience.

The problem of clashes in the school timetable between music and sport was raised in Chapter 6. Flexible scheduling\(^{56}\) was a concept that allowed students the opportunity to engage in large groups, small group and individualised modes of learning. It never reached full implementation, partly because communities indicated schools using flexible scheduling were not fulfilling their socialization and custody-control function. This notion is enjoying renewed support in recent times through on-line learning, particularly in universities, but also in some of the case study schools below, where the specifics will be discussed in more detail.

Some of the most specific best practice ideas in this field come from Willis (1999) who advocates a sensory approach to learning. He argues that boys are less opposed to education that excites their senses to the level they require. He says that the sensory aspects of teaching are put on the backburner in order to maintain discipline, control and to make the task of educating more manageable, measurable and politically understandable. This makes learning for boys too passive, more sedate, bookish and less noisy. He claims that the arts are critical to developing this sensory approach because the arts provide openness to experience, internal evaluation and the ability to deal with elements and concepts (Shouksmith, p.135). The arts, Willis (1999, p.6) claims can bring about:

1. Physical involvement in learning
2. Sensual stimulation, tactile learning
3. Allowing connections between the logical and the creative sides of the brain
4. Expression of sensitivity in an acceptable fashion
5. Allowing for the creation of different stereotypes and the moderation of old stereotypes
6. Group and team expression of creativity and solidarity
7. Risk taking in non physical ways
8. ‘Acceptable’ showing off
9. Connections between girls and boys around an intellectual and creative activity
10. Communication in non verbal ways
11. One on one learning
12. Practical expressions of intellect
13. Cultural appreciation, not mass culture
14. Expression of heroic thoughts, warmth, emotion and flights of fancy
15. Ritual through drama, dance and music in particular

\(^{56}\) This term has its origins in the 1960s.
With regard to singing, Welch (2001) referred to the possibility that a class of thirteen-year-old boys could have at least four different stages of vocal development present. The works of Cooksey (2001) and Gackle (2002) have provided positive steps in managing this change. Welch advocates the avoidance of negative feelings about the voice and recommends singing in two or three parts to enable boys to find the part that best suits them at their particular mutational stage.

Morton (2001, p.3) provides a number of suggestions about boys singing in choirs that are relevant. He suggested that boys will be more comfortable singing in an all male group because of “the nasty and sexually explicit” comments that are associated with boys singing. He further promotes a team system, variety in repertoire and “action-packed” rehearsals. Many of the ideas above have been employed by schools featured in the second part of this chapter as well as being referred to be individuals in the previous chapter.

**BEST PRACTICE IN MUSIC EDUCATION IN ACTION**

This part of the chapter addresses the extent to which schools embraced some of the best practice issues outlined in the literature. The extent to which these schools have something additional to offer that extends the knowledge in the field is also recorded. The examination of a cross section of schools helped to determine the extent to which gender reform was taking place. Ten schools were invited to be part of the study. Six schools responded: four of the schools are in Queensland, one is in Victoria and one is in New South Wales. The schools are a diverse collection of religious, independent, state, co-educational, single-sex, boarding and day learning environments. All the Queensland schools offer Music Extension as a Queensland Studies Authority subject. Most are secondary schools, though schools B and F have a primary department.

In most cases, the mode of operation was through self-reporting, combined with information from the schools’ websites and prospectuses. This was supplemented by discussion with staff members. In most cases the author also observed the school in operation to verify the validity of other information. A more complete representation
of each school can be found in the Appendices. The brief outline here is designed to provide a context for the remarks that follow with regard to best practice.

School A is a catholic systemic school in Brisbane. The school is the result of an amalgamation of a girls’ school and a boys’ school who shared adjacent sites until 1990. The school has a strong tradition of sporting prowess in the field of Rugby League, though this has waned in recent years. Soccer is the predominant sporting code for boys, netball for girls. Despite being the largest coeducational catholic college in Queensland, the budget is limited. The music program is in its earliest stages of development.

School B is an ecumenical, co-educational P-12 school located in south east Queensland. It was established 21 years ago. There are over 2000 students enrolled at the school, of which approximately 20% take an active role in the performing arts, particularly music. Music has a very high profile in and outside the school.

School C is an independent catholic college for boys located in south east Queensland, catering for boarding and day students from Years 5 to 12. There are approximately 330 students in the primary school and 1200 students in the secondary school, of whom 300 are boarders. The college was established in 1940 and has been an order-owned and operated school ever since. The college has a strong tradition of academic and sporting excellence that has existed since its beginnings. It is particularly in strong in the sport of Rugby Union, having provided many students to state and national representation. Music, particularly singing, has been a feature of the liturgical life of the college for some years. The boarding community has a particular responsibility for the maintenance of singing. Individual tuition has been available since the early 1970s.

School D is an independent Catholic school for boys in south east Queensland. As a Christian Brothers school, it has a long tradition of excellence in sport, particularly Rugby Union. Music has enjoyed a higher profile in recent years, particularly with regard to singing and this will be a special focus of the study with regard to this school. Since 1998, there has been a steady increase in the engagement of boys in singing as soloists, choristers and as a college community.
School E is a selective entry boys' school of 1300 students from Years 9 to 12 in Melbourne. Almost 300 boys out of 1350 learn a musical instrument. The main emphasis is on classical music and jazz. There are about 20 different ensembles offered to the students.

School F is an independent co-educational non-denominational primary and secondary day and boarding school in Sydney. The school is registered and accredited to offer courses for the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate. An extension program of special studies with a core culture of performing arts is available to students within the school day, and is also offered after school hours to school students and the broader community. The school is unique in providing this special studies program alongside a rigorous academic program.

A number of common elements were found across the study of these schools. In most cases, these elements were found in the literature discussed earlier in the chapter. They include the profile and standard of music, the role of sport, the significance of human resources and flexibility of offerings and programming.

High Profile and Standard of Music

In most of the schools in the study, music was afforded a high profile in school. This was evident in two ways:
1. It was honoured as an important part of the day-to-day curriculum;
2. It was given a high profile in the broader context of the school, rating alongside sport in most cases as a significant co-curricular offering.

In school A, this could be evidenced in the generous time allocated for particular musical activities within the school day. A vertical timetabling structure assists this. In school B musical groups are recognised by a high proportion of the general public and their high profile within the school is reflected in a variety of ways: The Principal personally produces the school musical productions; students in choirs and bands feature prominently in the leadership roles voted by staff and students. School C demonstrated this through the investment of funds into human resources and capital...
projects. As a result, the standard of music grew and brought kudos to the school and to the individuals involved. A program of tours, recordings and competitions further enhanced this reputation.

At School E, there has been an overt concentration on the role of the arts including the allowing of a great deal of freedom to express, play, organise, perform, lead and follow. Music is revered by students: the last three School Captains have been musicians and the school consciously honours music: there is a musical item each week at formal assembly. Also music and massed singing are a major part of school life. House colours are awarded in sport, music and public speaking. School F is a specialist high school for the performing arts and naturally music was afforded a high profile.

In each school, music was of a high standard. This clearly assisted in helping to gain and maintain a high profile.

The Complementary Roles of Sport and Music

The role of the interaction between sport and music has been one of the key features of this research. Several of the schools explored ways in which sport and music could complement each other. For some schools, this meant involving sportspersons in musical activities. In School C some of the music teachers also coached rugby union. As football has the highest profile of any sport, the advantages of having a music teacher coach rugby union were appreciable. Another significant human resource allocation at School C was to make an art teacher the Head of Sport. This individual lessened the effect of having a “sporty” person in charge of sport. His replacement, some 4 years after the establishment of the music program, was a rugby union coach, whose son played the flute and the oboe at the school. Both examples contributed to putting to rest many of the dominating views of hegemonic masculinity present in that environment. At Schools D and E, strong analogies were made between sport and singing – from the use of training muscle groups through to the use of team strategies for choirs.
Human Resources

Human resources issues fell into two categories:

a. School Leadership

b. Staff selection and role modelling

All schools in the study reported on the active role of school leadership in the process of promoting music as a worthwhile pursuit for males and females. The role of the principal at School B in producing the school musical has already been noted. An example of the support given in this regard at School C is that the Headmaster would organise the choir and drive the bus to collect students from the neighbouring girls’ school to ensure a balanced ensemble could be formed. The social aspect of this group was also an integral part of the plan.

Schools A, B and C note the decisions of the administration in funding capital and human resource aspects of the music program. At School E, the Headmaster has published on the importance of the arts in the curriculum (Willis 1999) while at School F, the principal is one of a few principals in New South Wales with a performing arts background.

In some circumstances, schools suggested that staff were crucial in overcoming stereotypes associated with music. In relation to School C, the role of music’s association with sport was noted above. At School D, the development of vocal music has been due to the employment of a person who has believed in the importance of working with boys to get them to sing and who, in his words, has “worked his arse off” to make it happen. At School A, there is only one person in the school who can teach music, so the responsibility falls to him to ensure gender equity ideals are maintained.

Staff at School B report a period in the early 1990s where a small number of their colleagues engaged in bullying of music students. At the end of the 1990s, there was talk amongst academic staff of the cost of being involved in music to the students’ more “academic” pursuits, though this was not expressed this sentiment in a public forum. At School C, staff attitude attitudes were perhaps the hardest to change. Many staff members had been employed for some time by the college and the “old ways”
were set. Some staff verbally harassed students as they left class to attend music lessons. This changed as natural attrition lessened the power base of the “old guard.”

Another significant human resource component at School C was the employment of a “multi” teacher: a male saxophonist, who could also play flute and teach clarinet, oboe and bassoon. As the one staff member was responsible for teaching instruments that crossed stereotypes, the stereotypes themselves were gradually broken down.

**Flexibility and Diversity**

It was noted earlier that a range of offerings was an important feature of schools in order to allow for freedom of expression. All schools reported an extensive range of curricular and co-curricular offerings. The only exception to this is School F, which is a specialist school for performing arts. School E was typical of the other schools in the study: at School E, sport is compulsory. Every student participates in an afternoon per week in organised sport. Sports include sailing, snow skiing, rugby, fencing, rowing, water polo hockey, Australian football, basketball, cricket and volleyball. In addition, schools offered a range of musical activities. Again School E is typical: almost 300 boys out of 1350 learn a musical instrument. The main emphasis is on classical music or jazz and there about 20 different ensembles including stage bands, string orchestras, chamber singers, flute choir and percussion ensembles. Classroom music is compulsory at Years 9 and 10. All students participate in massed singing.

Such a wide range of activities allows boys to find their strengths and pursue them. It also presents schools with issues of scheduling. The notion of flexible timetabling was discussed earlier. In School F, a flexible program allowed individual development of performance skills to take place. At Schools A and C, a vertical timetable was in place. This structure allows students to progress on the basis of ability and interest, regardless of age.

In the co-curricular environment, schools report a variety of solutions. All favour priority times for certain activities. At School B, two days were given priority for
student sporting commitments and two days for performing arts commitments. At School C, music rehearsals moved exclusively to morning times to overcome this difficulty, leaving the afternoons free for sports training. The result was that students did not have to make a choice between the opportunities available to them.

REFLECTION AND SUMMARY

This chapter has aimed to focus on the ways in which some of the problems raised in earlier chapters can be overcome. The wider community, schools, teachers and the students themselves are seen as sharing responsibility for raising awareness of gender issues, particularly those related to homophobic violence. All parties need to be aware of the political agenda that essentially aims at a gender just society as espoused in post-feminism. For schools and teachers, there are also significant policy issues, including professional development, awareness and taking responsibility for the actions of teachers. One of the most significant features for students is in knowing how to manage the situation effectively.

Conway’s (2000) phenomenological approach was embraced as part of the methodology of this phase of the research. She sought to focus on what the experience of high school instrumental music students was regarding gender and instrument choice and how they interpret the world as reflected in individual interviews. In this chapter, the data has related to the interpretation of the world through best practices of individuals and schools. In respect of the GRIME agenda, this chapter has focused on how schools support hierarchical gender systems and how these systems can be challenged.

The interpretation of the world in relation to sport has been a significant factor in the construction and maintenance of masculinity. It proved to be a further influence in terms of analogy in the best practice issues discussed above. The next part of the chapter focussed specifically on music education. The initial aspects of this were to do with how boys can be engaged in music, particularly in relation to role models and sport.
With regard to Layder’s (1993) levels of analysis, this phase of the research centred on situated activity, social settings and macrocontexts. The broader elements of masculinity that were brought into play were part of situated activity, as found in Chapter 6. Community, family and school are the macrocontexts in which music education takes place. Each of the best practice initiatives given below acknowledges the social settings of engagement in musical practices. In relation to Green’s (1997) commonsense approaches, each of the mechanisms below is commonsense in that music educators practise them.

The schools involved in the case studies offered a variety of mechanisms through which this engagement could take place. In keeping with the post-feminist approach, all these strategies, while conceived as ideas to engage boys, are designed to assist students of both sexes. There is some repetition of strategies from Chapter 6. They have been reiterated here because they have been arrived at through independent means of data collection and analysis.

Griffiths (1995, p.18) suggests that in order to bring about change in the gender order, the following steps should be employed:

- Awareness raising
- Involvement
- Policy development
- Strategies
- Review

The approaches offered below are based on the research conducted throughout this thesis and employ Griffith’s steps. Some approaches cover several steps, so the list has not been categorised to reflect exactly which steps apply to each approach.

- Human resource investment was critical: Positive role modelling among staff and students was integral to the success of work with boys
- Strong leadership from the administration, particularly the principal, was a significant factor
- Flexible scheduling was employed to allow students the maximum number of opportunities. Sport and music activities need not be mutually exclusive
- Zero tolerance to bullying of any kind by staff or students
- Music was of a high standard, afforded a high profile in the school community and publicly honoured as an important part of the curriculum
- Sporting analogies were used to motivate and engage students
- An approach to singing that is based in research and is not repertoire based
- The incorporation of single sex activities where appropriate
- The provision of a wide variety of opportunities
- A developmental program that starts large numbers of boys at a young age and keeps them involved
- The use of media to increase awareness
- Promotion of an understanding of a more complete view of masculinity
- Employment of single sex and co-educational groupings as appropriate
- Provision of professional development opportunities for teachers
- A continual challenge to prejudice and complacency

Underpinning all these suggestions is the need to find alternate ways of thinking about masculinity, femininity, sexuality and homophobia, that is, thinking that is (re)situated within and across new discursive frames.
CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis has sought to examine the nature of boys’ involvement in musical activities focussing on the question: how do constructs of masculinity and femininity impact on boys’ musical education in Australia? To assist in answering the central question, aspects of the research agenda of Gender Research in Music Education (GRIME) were employed, specifically adopting the approaches to:

- Sex-stereotyping of instruments
- How the profession of music education constructs gender expectations for males and females
- What it means to be male in a feminine discipline
- Sex equity issues concerning ensembles
- How schools support hierarchical gender systems

The research process demanded a framework that focused on gender as a series of interrelated processes and interactions. The interdisciplinary model of Horrocks (1995) allows for a constructionist view of gender to which many factors contribute. In relation to music, and particularly singing, biology is one of those factors.

Layder’s (1993) research map has been an analytical tool employed throughout the fieldwork. Elements of Conway’s (2000) use of phenomenology, Plummer’s (1999) deployment of Grounded Theory and Green’s (1997) commonsense approach have been applied to the research. The utilisation of these varied approaches has given validity to the findings as explained in the reflections and summaries of each chapter and summed up here. A post-feminist framework has underpinned the entire project, as it seeks to investigate ways in which men and women can engage freely and productively in musical activities.

Factors contributing to the construction of masculinity and femininity have been investigated, with an emphasis on the Australian context. Connell’s (1989) model of
masculinities was considered and existence of hegemonic masculinity, along with other less dominant forms, acknowledged. While defining the exact nature of masculinity proved difficult, the idea that femininity is perceived as everything masculinity “is not” was espoused. A number of attributes of hegemonic masculinity were presented, finding that it exists as a common and influential set of beliefs that are born out in practices and relationships. In Australia, hegemonic masculinity is manifested in a variety of ways, including the concept of “mateship.”

Factors contributing to the construction of hegemonic masculinity that are particularly pertinent to musical participation are the interrelated practices of

- Patriarchy, where femininity being perceived as inferior to masculinity
- Avoidance of femininity
- Male gender role rigidity
- Homophobic bullying

Verbal bullying, exclusion and sexual harassment were noted as being the most serious and damaging of bullying techniques because of the long-term effects and the stigma attached to them. Verbal bullying in the form of homophobic name-calling was found to apply to boys regardless of their sexual preference and based on behaviours including avoiding sport and not being part of a team. Australian culture’s obsession with sport and the adoption of unusual role models have assisted in making music a less attractive option for males.

The role of the school was examined and some teachers were found to enhance and entrench stereotypes, often through complacency. The way in which boys and girls view school was also investigated. Through analysing data on participation and achievement, it was observed that music is only taken by a relatively small number of students and that more girls than boys enrol in music both as an academic pursuit and an out of school activity.

An extensive review of the literature in relation to boys’ and girls’ involvement in music was taken to provide an historical basis for this research and to give a longitudinal perspective on its findings. Although almost all the existing literature
was from the United States and the United Kingdom, it indicated that a gender stereotypical bias exists in music: participation in activities that are soft, gentle, small and high-pitched is not considered the domain of males. This includes singing, playing the flute, violin and clarinet and participation in associated ensembles. While this finding is situational, the evidence suggests this bias is prevalent enough to warrant scrutiny through systematic research.

Bearing in mind the importance of situational factors, the existence of similar trends in stereotyping in schools in Australia was extensively researched through a battery of studies. The findings of this study must be considered within its contextual boundaries. The samples, in some cases, were quite small. The researcher acknowledges that observations made based on both quantitative and qualitative research cannot be projected on to the entire population. A variety of methods were employed to ensure the validity of the data and the results of this study were consistent with the literature in the field. These procedures help to ensure that the events described in this thesis might not be confined to the sample being studied.

In general, a high degree of correlation was found between the current research and existing literature: flute clarinet, singing and violin occupy the feminine domain. Drums and percussion, tuba and trombone were considered masculine. Ensembles that used instruments from either group suffered gender-balanced membership because of these associations. Choirs were particularly problematic because of the association of the voice with the feminine. Gender associations seem to be related to pitch, size and dynamic level. The “feminine” instruments or “feminine” ensembles seem to higher in pitch, smaller in size and capable of narrower dynamic ranges.

The reasons for the existence of stereotyping and the social effects on those who choose to engage in gender-incongruent musical activities were examined in Chapter Six. Parents, teachers and the school were found to be important in creating attitudes about involvement in music. The responses of case studies found further evidence of stereotyping and confirmed that some music students are bullied and that their musical choices contributed to their becoming victims. Subjects reported the need for a wide range of opportunities to be made available for students and performances
should be of a high standard. Repertoire was also cited as a having gendered connotations.

It would appear, based on the existing literature and the current research that a principle reason for boys’ non-involvement is that music is deemed to be a feminine activity. Avoidance of femininity is clearly a key element in the choices of instruments and activities. Male gender role rigidity prevents boys from undertaking musical studies to the same extent as girls. Those who do undertake music studies acknowledge that there is a hierarchy within music that some instruments are more feminine or more masculine than others. Boys, in general, are restricted to instruments and participation at the masculine end of the spectrum. Soft, gentle music is not acceptable and the instruments that have the capacity to perform such music are avoided: flute, clarinet, violin and singing.

One way in which the avoidance of certain musical behaviours is maintained is through bullying, particularly homophobic bullying. As mentioned above, this was found to construct masculinity in other disciplines and it appears to be prevalent in preventing boys from engaging freely in the musical behaviours of their choice. This research has sought to provide some solution to the problems of students who engage in so-called gender incongruent musical behaviours and who are subsequently punished. It has also endeavoured to provide ways to engage the many students (male and female) who do not participate in music because of the fear of social punishment, at the same time addressing the high attrition rate in music students at the onset of puberty and at the transition from primary school to secondary school.

The case studies of Chapter Six, in addition to providing insights into the nature of musical participation by boys, offered some suggestions as to how these gender issues can be addressed. Long-term attitudinal change is required to alter the perception of the feminine as being inferior. Any “solutions” must bear in mind the need to avoid further entrenching of stereotypes. Along with changing attitudes in the long term, every possible avenue needs to be pursued to ensure that boys are free to participate in whatever musical activities they genuinely desire.
As discussed in the last chapter, the wider community, schools, teachers and the students themselves are seen as sharing responsibility for raising awareness of gender issues and particularly issues of homophobic violence. For schools, teachers and teacher educators, there are also significant policy issues. These could include professional development, consciousness raising and taking responsibility for the actions of teachers. Case study responses indicated the important role school leaders and school authorities have in this process. Allowing students the freedom to be different, to engage in whatever musical behaviours they desire is central to establishing their identities and realising their full potential.

The individuals and schools involved in the case studies suggested that positive role models were crucial. A variety of activities being available and accessible through flexible programming were also significant features. Many in the study saw a high quality developmental music program that accumulates and maintains a critical mass of students as being vital. The application of the “safety in numbers” theory means that students are no longer a marginalised minority. A music program that is acknowledged by the school, careful selection of repertoire and the use of sporting analogies can help this to become a reality. The last of these suggestions needs to be adopted with considerable caution. There is a danger that the sporting stereotype with all the negative aspects of competition and aggression can be further entrenched, albeit subconsciously. Sporting analogies have many positive aspects as referred to in Chapter 2. The adoption of the positive aspects of sport for musical purposes is worthy of further research. For example, the notion of team-work could be explored in ensembles to a greater extent.

Other aspects of this study that provide opportunities for further research include an extensive review of music teaching materials used in primary and secondary schools (classroom, instrumental and vocal) to ascertain the extent to which gender bias is present. The role of the music teachers and family in the process of gendering music education was part of this study, but is worthy of a more detailed examination. An investigation into repertoire choice as a deterrent in musical participation is warranted. Single sex activities, which have enjoyed some success in other disciplines, could also be investigated more thoroughly in relation to music education. As intimated in Chapter Six, music is not the only art form that suffers because of
images of masculinity and femininity. A cross-arts approach to resolution of some of the issues raised may be beneficial.

In conclusion, this thesis has found that sex stereotypes in musical instrument choices, including singing, continue to exist. The analyses have shown how stereotypes are based on influential beliefs about masculinity and femininity that restrict males’ participation in music. Suggestions offered above are designed to treat the cause and the symptoms of males’ non-involvement in certain musical activities as reported throughout this thesis. Constructs of masculinity and femininity impact significantly on boys’ musical education in Australia in the limitations they place on boys. Music has the capacity to contribute to social, emotional, intellectual, spiritual and moral values of all members of the community. As such, it plays an important role in the educational process. The ultimate aim is for a gender-just society where men and women can engage freely and productively in activities of their choice.
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GLOSSARY AND APPENDICIES
This glossary seeks to identify and define some of the terms commonly used throughout this thesis.

Determinism: a style of thinking in which all human action or experience is assumed to be directly caused.

Essentialism: the view that objects (including people) have an essential, inherent nature which can be discovered. The idea that human beings have an essence or fixed nature is expressed in their behaviour.

Femininity: the social and cultural expectations in terms of behaviours and traits attached to being a woman.

Feminism: a social movement that seeks equality between males and females. Theories and forms of action aimed at eradicating gender and sometimes other inequities include liberal feminism, marxist feminism, radical feminism, socialist feminism and black feminism.

Gender: the social significance of biological sex.

Gender role or sex role: the set of behaviours, duties and expectations attached to the status of being a man or a woman.

Homophobia: a broad range of situations and processes characterised, at least in part by anti-homosexual bias (Plummer 1999, p. 6). Four forms were identified by The NSW Department of Education (1998):

**Personal or internalised homophobia** stems from a personal belief that homosexuality is unacceptable. This belief may be held by the young gay and
lesbian people themselves, which can result in low self-confidence and self-harming behaviours.

**Interpersonal homophobia** may manifest itself as name-calling, discrimination or verbal and physical harassment, and is a useful focus for school initiatives to reduce homophobia.

**Institutional homophobia** refers to ways in which government, business, churches and other organisations discriminate against people on the basis of sexual orientation.

**Cultural homophobia** is more hidden and refers to social standards and stereotypes which tend to portray only heterosexuality. Young gay and lesbian people can be adversely affected when they lack positive role models or information about homosexuality. This can leave them feeling isolated from their friends, families and community.

Masculinity: the social and cultural expectations in terms of behaviours and traits attached to being a man.

Modelling: learning by imitation, copying a model.

Patriarchy: a society of system of social structures dominated by men.

Qualitative methods: research methods, such as interviewing, where the data gathered in semantic, i.e. in the form of meanings or descriptions rather than numerical form.

Sex: the biological term that describes the presence of XX chromosomes for females and XY chromosomes for males.

Sex discrimination: the treatment of someone less favourably on the basis of sex.

Sex differences: this refers to research that assesses the nature and extent of psychological differences between the sexes.

Sex roles: this refers to the ways in which we expect women and men to behave. These roles must be interactional and imply reciprocity.
Sexual harassment: While there are many definitions of this, it typically refers to the unwanted sexual advances by a man towards a woman. In the context of this research it has included harassment of a sexual nature directed by males and females at males and females.

Social constructionism: the view that people are not determined by biological or environmental influences, but they are constructed through the processes of interpersonal interaction and through language.

Socialisation: the process through which an individual comes to adopt the norms of appropriate behaviour in their society.

Stereotype: an over simplified, prejudicial belief which tends to persist despite evidence to the contrary.
## APPENDIX A

### Adjectives associated with men and women as found by Williams (1992)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives associated with men</th>
<th>Adjectives associated with women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adventurous</td>
<td>Affected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>Affectionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>Appreciative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertive</td>
<td>Attractive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autocratic</td>
<td>Charming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boastful</td>
<td>Complaining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td>Dependent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confident</td>
<td>Dreamy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courageous</td>
<td>Emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruel</td>
<td>Excitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daring</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorderly</td>
<td>Fickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant</td>
<td>Flirtatious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enterprising</td>
<td>Frivolous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forceful</td>
<td>Fussy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handsome</td>
<td>Gentle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>High Strung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jolly</td>
<td>Meek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logical</td>
<td>Mild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loud</td>
<td>Nagging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Prudish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rational</td>
<td>Rattlebrained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realistic</td>
<td>Sensitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robust</td>
<td>Sentimental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-confident</td>
<td>Soft-hearted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe</td>
<td>Sophisticated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable</td>
<td>Submissive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steady</td>
<td>Talkative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stern</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Whiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemotional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unexcitable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

Summary of Differences and similarities found by Basow (1992). This serves to supplement those offered in Table 2 in Chapter 1.

Physical:

Anatomical differences: Males tend to be bigger and more muscular.
Processes: Females mature faster and have slower metabolism. Females are more sensitive to taste, smell and touch and high tones; males have better visual acuity. Hormone production is cyclic in females and continuous in males.
Brain Organisation: Males tend to be more hemispherically specialized for verbal and spatial abilities. Differences are small and variable.
Vulnerability: Males are more vulnerable to disease, physical disorders and early death.
Activity level: Boys tend to be more physically active during childhood, if activity is defined as large muscle movements.

Cognitive:

Intellectual aptitude: No difference.
Memory: No difference.
Verbal skills: Essentially no difference, although girls show a slight edge on some tasks.
Quantitative skills: No difference before high school; males show an edge in problem solving tasks and in the incidence of math genius.
Visual-Spatial abilities: Males perform somewhat better, especially is the tasks involve rapid mental rotation of images.
Cognitive styles: No difference in analytic or computer abilities. Possible difference in style preference, with males preferring an autonomous and females a connected style.
Creativity: Unclear. Females sometimes have an edge.
Personality and Temperament:

*Personality:* Girls describe themselves as more people oriented, males as more instrumental and power orientated.

*Temperament:* Unclear. Females may be more timid.

Communication patterns:

*Verbal:* Males dominate conversations, females listen, qualify and self disclose more. Situation and sex typing factors are important.

*Nonverbal:* Males dominate after childhood; females are more expressive and more sensitive to non-verbal cues. Situational, cultural and sex-typing factors are important.

Prosocial Behaviours:

*Affiliation:* Females show greater interest by adolescence.

*Empathy:* Unclear. Females express more interest in others’ feelings. Situational and sex-typing factors important.

*Nurturance:* Unclear. Females more likely to be in nurturant roles.

*Altruism:* Unclear. Females express more concern, but males are more likely to help strangers. Situational factors important.

*Morality:* Unclear. Females more concerned about the feelings of others.

Power-Related behaviours:

*Aggressiveness:* Males tend to be more physically aggressive.

*Assertiveness:* Unclear. Sex-typing and situational factors important.

*Dominance:* Dominance appears more important to males. Definitional, sex-typing and situational factors important.
*Competitiveness:* Males tend to be more competitive. Sex-typing and situational factors important.

*Achievement:* No difference in motivation. Definitional, sex-typing and situational factors important.

*Noncompliance-nonconformity:* Males tend to be less compliant and conforming. Situational factors important.
## APPENDIX C

Data Collection Materials for Stereotyping and Gender Fieldwork reported in Chapter Five.

**Study 1 Material issued to primary school students to ascertain instrument preferences.**

**Instrument Selection**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name ____________________________</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you play a musical instrument?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If yes, what instrument?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like to start playing an instrument?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If yes, indicate your first two choices only by placing 1 and 2 next to the instruments on the list below:

- Flute
- Clarinet
- Saxophone
- Trumpet
- Trombone
- French Horn
- Tuba
- Violin
- 'cello
- double bass
- Drums /Percussion
- Guitar
- Piano
- Singing
Study 2 Material issued to tertiary students for data collection in relation to feminine and masculine attributes of instruments.

This survey is being conducted to ascertain the perception of tertiary students with regard to the association of musical instruments with masculine or feminine attributes.

Age _____________   Sex (circle one)  Male/Female

The following instruments are listed alphabetically. Circle the number that applies to your perception of whether the instrument is associated with feminine or masculine attributes. 1 is considered most feminine and 10 most masculine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cello</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drums</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Information Sheet for Tertiary Students
Gender and Music Education

Researcher: Scott Harrison
Queensland Conservatorium of Music
Griffith University
16 Russell Street
South Bank

Supervisor: Dr Peter Roennfeldt
Queensland Conservatorium of Music
Griffith University
16 Russell Street
South Bank

Purpose: This study aims to examine the relationship between gender and music education, in an effort to improve the quality of music education for males and females. The program is focusing on the boys’ experience of music.

Participation: In order to provide some longitudinal data, the research seeks to find out the perceptions of 2nd year tertiary students in relation to musical instruments. All participation is entirely voluntary and all responses will be treated in the strictest confidence. All responses will be treated as anonymous and you may obtain feedback on the results of the study at its completion. You would not be mentioned by name in the write up, nor would anything that could identify you. All responses will be destroyed at the completion of the study.

Benefits: The aim of the study is to improve music education opportunities for males and females.

Risks: Students may experience difficulty in relation to the concept of gender issues in relation to music. All participants have the right to debrief with the researcher involved if required and may withdraw from the study at any time without explanation.

Griffith University requires that all participants be informed and that if they have any complaints concerning the manner in which a research project is conducted, it may be given to the researcher or if an independent person is preferred, either: the University’s Research Ethics Officer, Office for Research, Bray Centre, Griffith University, Kessels Rd, Nathan, Qld 4111, 07 38756618 or alternatively the Pro-Vice Chancellor (Administration), Bray Centre, Griffith University, Kessels Rd, Nathan, Qld 4111, 07 3875 7343.

You may contact me at any time for further information if required. Thanks for your assistance with this project.
Study 3

i) Cover letter requested assistance from music teachers. Full details of the project were supplied to principals as detailed in Appendix H.

May 10, 2000

Dear Music Co-ordinator,

I am conducting research at Griffith University in the area of gender and music.

I would be very grateful if you would complete the enclosed survey. Your headmaster has further details of the project if required.

When the surveys are completed, please place them in the reply paid envelope enclosed and return it by Friday June 9.

Many thanks

Scott Harrison
### Study 3

**ii) Music Teachers’ Survey regarding instrument choices**

**Type A Coeducational Schools**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Number of Boys</th>
<th>Number of Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphonium/Baritone</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cello</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>_____</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Please indicate the number of students learning each instrument:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassoon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Horn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphonium/Baritone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cello</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percussion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Study 3

iii) Questionnaire of Fortney et al (1993, p. 31) on which the survey in iv) below is based.

Instrument Survey

The purpose of this survey is to discover why you chose the instrument that you are currently playing in band. Consider each question and answer it as honestly as you possibly can. Please respond by checking the appropriate box and/or fill in the blanks when asked.

1. Gender □ Male □ Female

2. Year Level □ 6th □ 7th □ 8th □ 9th

3. Which band instrument do you currently play?
________________________

4. In what grade did you begin playing a band or orchestra instrument?
□ 4th □ 5th □ 6th □ 7th □ 8th □ 9th

5. Have you ever taken lessons on any instrument outside school?
□ Yes □ No

6. If you answered yes to question 5, on which instrument did you take lessons?
______________________________

7. Other than yourself, has anyone in your family ever participated in a school band or orchestra?
□ Yes □ No

If yes, who? ________________________________

8. Do you watch MTV? □ Yes □ No
9. How much did each of the following influence your instrument choice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influence</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>A Lot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary music teacher</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle School music teacher</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other teacher’s advice</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I liked the sound</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I saw it on TV</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of the instrument</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of the instrument</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of instrument</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reason not listed</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please list other reason __________________________________________

10. If you could choose another instrument to play, what would you choose?
_________________________________________________________________
Why?
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________

11. Which instrument would you least like to play? ____________________

Why?
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
iv) Material Presented to Secondary Students regarding instrument choices

**Instrument Survey**

The purpose of this survey is to discover why you chose the instrument that you are currently playing. Consider each question and answer it as honestly as you can. Please respond by ticking the appropriate box and/or fill in the blanks.

1. Gender
   - Male
   - Female

2. Year Level
   - Year 9
   - Year 10

3. Which instrument do you currently play?
   _______________________

4. In what grade did you start playing this instrument
   _______________________

5. Have you ever taken lessons on any instrument outside school?
   - Yes
   - No

6. If you answered yes to question 5, on which instrument did you take lessons?
   ____________________________________________________________

7. Other than yourself, has anyone in your family ever participated in a musical group at school?
   - Yes
   - No

   If yes, who? ____________________________________________

Please turn over - Questions 8, 9 and 10 are on the back
8. How much did each of the following influence your instrument choice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>A Lot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary music teacher</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary music teacher</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other teacher’s advice</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I liked the sound</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I saw it on TV</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of the instrument</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of the instrument</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of instrument</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reason</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please state other reason
____________________________________________________________

9. If you could choose another instrument to play, what would you choose?

Why?
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________

10. Which instrument would you least like to play?

________________________

Why?
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________

Thank you. Please return this to your music teacher
Study 4 Survey of Music Teachers regarding ensemble participation. This data was requested at the same time as the data in Study 3.

Type A Coeducational Schools

This survey is being conducted to ascertain the gender balance in school music ensembles and instrument choices.

For the ensembles listed below, please indicate the number of boys and the number of girls in each ensemble. If there is more than one of each type of ensemble in the school, please provide the data for the ensemble of the highest standard.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of boys</th>
<th>Number of girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concert Band</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage Band</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>String Orchestra</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choir</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symphony Orchestra</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>______</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This survey is being conducted to ascertain the gender balance in school music ensembles and instrument choices. As a single sex school, the interest is in how many students learn particular instruments and the numbers of students involved in various ensembles.

For the ensembles listed below, please indicate the students in each ensemble. If there is more than one of each type of ensemble in the school, please provide the data for the ensemble of the highest standard.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concert Band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage Band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>String Orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symphony Orchestra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX D**

**Lists Comparing stereotypes and gender associations with instruments from Chapters 4 and 5**

**Instrument Listing I: All studies, inclusive of all instruments. Feminine is left, neutral is centre, masculine is right**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Instrument Listing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abeles and Porter (1978)</td>
<td>Parental choices for their children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flt  vln  clt  cello  saxo  tpt  tbn  drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delzell and Leppla (1992)</td>
<td>(1) Tertiary students’ opinion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flt  clt  vln  cello  sax  tpt  tbn  drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delzell and Leppla (1992)</td>
<td>(2) Elementary students’ preferences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cello  vln  clt  tbn  FH  tpt  sax  drums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortney et al (1993)</td>
<td>(1) Students’ current instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flt  ob  clt  FH  bsn  sax  perc  tpt  euph  tba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortney et al (1993)</td>
<td>(2) Free choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flt  clt  strings  sax  FH  db/gtr  tpt  perc  tbn  tba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Neill and Boulton (1996)</td>
<td>Secondary students’ choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flt  pno  vln  tpt  gtr  drums/perc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison (1)</td>
<td>Primary students choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘cello  clt  flt  singing  vln  pno  tbn  perc  gtr  sax  db  tpt  FH  euph/tba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison (2)</td>
<td>Tertiary students opinions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flt  clt  cello  singing  vln  sax  gtr  tpt  tbn  drums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison (3)</td>
<td>School students current instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ob  Flt  singing  bsn  pno  vln  clt  vla  cello  euph  FH  sax  tpt  perc  db  gtr  tbn  tba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison (5)</td>
<td>School students at tertiary institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harp  vla  singing  Flt  Bsn  vln  clt  cello  comp  pno  ob  sax  perc  FH  db  tpt  gtr  euph/tba  tbn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abbreviations: Flute (flt), Oboe (ob), Clarinet (clt), Bassoon (bsn), Saxophone (sax), Trumpet (tpt), Trombone (tbn), French horn (FH), Tuba (tba), Euphonium or baritone (euph), Violin (vln), Viola (vla), Cello (cello), Double Bass (db), Bass (bass), Guitar (gtr), Piano (pno), Singing (singing), Percussion (perc), Drums (drums), Strings (strings), composition (comp).
Instrument Listing 2: All studies, excludes piccolo, oboe, bassoon, viola, harp, glockenspiel, instrumental conductor, choral conductor, cymbal, strings and composition. Feminine is left, neutral is centre, masculine is right

Exclusions are on the basis of either
a) the instrument only being included in one or two studies
b) the data for that instrument being unreliable because of the size of the sample for that instrument

Abeles and Porter (1978) Parental choices for their children
Flt vln clt cello sax tpt tbn drum

Griswold and Chroback (1981)
Flt cello vln clt pno FH gtr sax drum tpt bass tba

Delzell and Leplla (1992) (1) Tertiary students’ opinion
Flt clt vln cello sax tpt tbn drum

Delzell and Leplla (1992) (2) Elementary students’ preferences
Cello vln clt tbn FH tpt sax drums

Fortney et al (1993) (1) Students’ current instruments
Flt clt FH sax perc tpt euph tba

Fortney et al (1993) (2) Free choice
Flt clt sax FH db/gtr tpt perc tbn tba

O’Neill and Boulton (1996) Secondary students’ choices
Flt pno vln tpt gtr drums/perc

Harrison (1) Primary students choices
‘cello clt flt singing vln pno tbn perc gtr sax db tpt FH euph/tba

Harrison (2) Tertiary students opinions
Flt clt cello singing vln sax gtr tpt tbn drums

Harrison (3) School students current instruments
Flt pno singing vln clt cello euph FH sax tpt perc db gtr tbn tba

Harrison (5) School students at tertiary institution
Singing Flt vln clt cello pno sax perc FH db tpt gtr euph/tba tbn

Abbreviations: Flute (flt), Oboe (ob), Clarinet (clt), Bassoon (bsn), Saxophone (sax), Trumpet (tpt), Trombone (tbn), French horn (FH), Tuba (tba), Euphonium or baritone (euph), Violin (vln), Viola (vla), Cello (cello), Double Bass (db), Bass (bass), Guitar (gtr), Piano (pno), Singing (singing), Percussion (perc), Drums (drums), Strings (strings), composition (comp).
APPENDIX E
Data Collection Materials for Individual Case Studies reported in Chapter 6
Letter and information sheet given to case study subjects:

To whom it may concern

Re: Research into gender associations with musical participation

As discussed, I am currently undertaking research in the area of boys' participation in music. This is in order to improve boys' engagement in musical styles currently being avoided. Your input would be to reflect on your own experience of music and to return this via email, post or leave it in my box in the Young Conservatorium office. Information relating to the study and informed consent are also included. Please note the all responses are voluntary, confidential and anonymous.

You are more than welcome to obtain any feedback on the study.

Your input here is very valuable - the experiences of future musicians will be affected by your honest and sincere feedback and information.

For further information, please do not hesitate to contact me. I look forward to your input.

Kind Regards

Scott Harrison
Information Sheet for Case Studies
Gender and Music Education

Researcher: Scott Harrison
Queensland Conservatorium of Music
Griffith University
16 Russell Street
South Bank

Supervisor: Dr Peter Roennfeldt
Queensland Conservatorium of Music
Griffith University
16 Russell Street
South Bank

Purpose: This study aims to examine the relationship between gender and music education, in an effort to improve the quality of music education for males and females. The program is focusing on the boys’ experience of music.

Participation: The research requires subjects to reflect on their experiences of music at school, particularly what your first experiences of music were, what kind of experiences you had in school and how you are still involved in music now. All participation is entirely voluntary and all responses will be treated in the strictest confidence. All responses will be treated as anonymous and you may obtain feedback on the results of the study at its completion. You would not be mentioned by name in the write up, nor would anything that could identify you. All responses will be destroyed at the completion of the study.

Benefits: The aim of the study is to improve music education opportunities for males and females.

Risks: Subjects may find it uncomfortable reflecting on their experiences of music. All participants have the right to debrief with the researcher involved if required and may withdraw from the study at any time without explanation.

Griffith University requires that all participants be informed and that if they have any complaints concerning the manner in which a research project is conducted, it may be given to the researcher or if an independent person is preferred, either: the University’s Research Ethics Officer, Office for Research, Bray Centre, Griffith University, Kessels Rd, Nathan, Qld 4111, 07 38756618 or alternatively the Pro-Vice Chancellor (Administration), Bray Centre, Griffith University, Kessels Rd, Nathan, Qld 4111, 07 3875 7343.

You may contact me at any time for further information if required. Thanks for your assistance with this project.
APPENDIX F

Profiles of Individual subjects reported in Chapter 6

i) Subject Profiles - General

Twenty-one subjects participated in this study. The average age was twenty-six years and the age range was from nineteen to thirty-four.

For confidentiality reasons, states are mentioned in general terms. Nineteen subjects had parents who were born in Australia. Fifteen subjects have parents who are still living together. The mother of two candidates is deceased and the father of one candidate is deceased. The parents of the remaining three candidates are separated or divorced.

Twelve subjects are from Catholic families. Four subjects were from Anglican families, one was from a Uniting Church family and one from a Lutheran family. Three subjects indicated that their families did not have any religious or denominational affiliation.

Two subjects are from families of four or more siblings. The remainder were from families with two or three siblings. None of the subjects was an only child.

All subjects had completed secondary education. Ten subjects had completed at least one university degree. Six subjects were completing their first university degree. Six were had completed or were completing a second degree. Twelve candidates completed school in a metropolitan area. Seven completed school in a rural or provincial area. One completed his education in a variety of environments, including international schooling. One was almost entirely schooled in another country. All candidates attended at mixed school until age Ten. Ten candidates were schooled entirely in a mixed school. Eleven subjects attended all boys’ schools from either Year 5 or Year 8. Fourteen attended a Catholic secondary school, one attended a grammar school, another an Anglican school. Four attended a state school. One attended an ecumenical school that comprised mostly Catholics, Anglicans and Uniting Church students. Six held positions of leadership at school: two were school captains, the remainder were senior leaders or prefects.

Fourteen were working full or part-time. Nine were undertaking study of some description. Eight lived at home with their parents. Five lived alone. Five lived with their partners, Five lived in halls of residence.
(ii) Subject Profiles - Individual

Subject 1 is 19 years old. He was born in Brisbane. He was brought up Catholic. He is the eldest of two boys in his family. He attended one primary school and one secondary school. He is currently undertaking tertiary studies in music.

Subject 2 is twenty-two years old. He was born in rural Queensland. He was brought up Catholic. He is the eldest in his family, having a younger sister. He attended one primary school and one secondary school. After completing undergraduate studies in music, he undertook studies in education and now works in this field.

Subject 3 is twenty-two years old. He was born in Brisbane. He was brought up Catholic and is the youngest of three in his family, with an older brother and an older sister. He attended one primary school and one secondary school. After completing undergraduate studies in business, he is currently undertaking studies in music.

Subject 4 is twenty-four years old. He was born in Brisbane. He was brought up Catholic and is the youngest of three in his family, with an older brother and an older sister. He attended one primary school and one secondary school. After completing undergraduate studies in business, he undertook studies in music. He is currently employed as a musician.
Subject 5 is thirty-three years old. He was born in rural Queensland. He was brought up Catholic. He is the youngest in his family, with one brother. He attended one primary school and one secondary school. After completing undergraduate and post-graduate studies in music, he pursued fulltime work as a singer.

Subject 6 is twenty-seven years old. He was born in South East Queensland. He was brought up Anglican. He has an older brother and a younger sister. He attended one primary school and one secondary school. After completing a degree in music, he has pursued a variety of interests in stage, film and education.

Subject 7 is 19 years old. He was born in New Zealand. He was brought up Catholic. He is the eldest of two boys in his family. He attended one primary school and one secondary school. He is currently undertaking tertiary studies in music.

Subject 8 is twenty-five years old. He was born in Brisbane. He was brought up Anglican, but attended a state primary school and a Catholic secondary school. He has one younger brother. After completing tertiary studies in music, he participated in a number of projects and now works in the area of marketing music.

Subject 9 is twenty-four years old. He was born in Brisbane. He was brought up Catholic. He attended a state primary school and a Catholic secondary school. He is the youngest of three children, with an older brother and an older sister. After completing studies in music, he completed a degree in education and English literature and now works as a music educator.
Subject 10 is twenty years old. He was born in Singapore. He attended school there until Year 10, when he migrated with his family to Australia. He completed his secondary schooling at a mixed Catholic school. He has one younger brother. He is currently undertaking studies in music education.

Subject 11 is twenty-five years old. He was born in New South Wales. He attended state primary and secondary schools. He is the eldest in his family and has a younger brother. He has completed a music degree and is now studying music education.

Subject 12 is twenty-five years old. He was born in Brisbane. He was brought up Catholic. He attended a number of schools in Australia and Papua New Guinea, before completing his secondary education at a Catholic school for boys. He is the eldest in his family. He completed a degree in marketing and is currently a freelance musician and teacher in England.

Subject 13 is twenty-four years old. He was born in rural Queensland. He was brought up Catholic. He attended catholic primary and secondary schools. He is the elder of two boys in his family. He completed a traineeship in engineering and now work in this field in aviation.

Subject 14 is twenty years old. He was born in Brisbane. He was brought up Uniting Church. He attended a number of state primary and secondary schools. He has a younger brother and a younger sister. He is currently completing a degree in Science and Law.

Subject 15 is twenty-five years old. He was born in South Australia. He has a younger sister. He completed undergraduate studies in music and postgraduate studies in education and now works as a teacher.
Subject 16 is nineteen years old. He was born in Brisbane. He was brought up Catholic and attended Catholic primary and secondary schools. He is the eldest in his family and has a younger brother and a younger sister. He is currently undertaking studies in music.

Subject 17 is twenty-four years old. He was born in New South Wales. He attended state primary schools and two secondary schools – one Anglican and one Catholic. He has two older sisters and a younger sister. He completed a degree in Science and now works as a music educator.

Subject 18 is twenty-seven years old. He was born in rural Queensland. He was brought up Catholic. He attended state primary schools and Catholic secondary schools. He is the eldest in his family. He undertook some studies in music before working in the financial sector. He currently works as a fulltime musician.

Subject 19 is thirty-four years old. He was born in rural Queensland. He attended state primary and secondary schools. He is the eldest of five children, with two younger brothers and two younger sisters. After completing tertiary studies in music, he has worked as a performer and music educator.

Subject 20 is twenty-two years old. He was born in rural Queensland. He attended state primary schools and a Catholic secondary school. He is the younger of two boys in his family. He competed undergraduate studies in media and now works in that sector.

Subject 21 is twenty-nine years old. He was born in Brisbane and as brought up Anglican. He attended a state primary school and a secondary grammar school. He is the youngest in his family. He completed undergraduate studies in social work and is now completing a degree in Health Sciences.
APPENDIX G

Complete Subject Responses for material reported in Chapters 6 and 7.
Transcripts have been edited to maintain the confidentiality of subjects. The author apologizes for any oversight which inadvertently identifies a subject.

Subject 1

I was born in Brisbane, the mid-wife (Dad's words) said 'you have a beautiful baby boy'. Might I add that I'm still rather doubtful as to whether the Nurse was being truthful in what she said.

Anyway, I attended the local state Primary School, from the years 1988 through to 1995. The School had quite a large Music program, and so in 1992 when I was in year 4 I started learning the Alto Saxophone. And not too long after I was playing in the school's Concert Band.

It wasn't until year 9 when I had really started to pursue singing. The School Counsellor told me about a vocal teacher. Not long after that I contacted her and we arranged lessons. I loved my lessons, she taught me about the fundamentals of good singing. The Correct way in which to breathe and so on. The most important thing I got out of all of this was I had found something in which I was enjoying immensely. All through most of my High School life I had to persevere with a lot of nasty comments and rumours from most of the mainstream students and for a while I was alienated purely because I enjoyed singing. So having said that my school wasn’t a place for young male singers. We didn’t really have a place. So I suppose you could very well say I was rather thick skinned. It got better as I went though, and by the time I was in year 12 I was receiving quite the opposite from the other students, They started to have a lot of time for my voice.
I'll now try to be as specific as possible. My school wasn't really a place for singers because it wasn't considered 'normal' for a young man to sing. The accepted pursuits for young men were sports. And because I enjoyed singing, the large majority of the students thought I was a homosexual and because of that I didn't have a lot of friends. Only because I was an individual. This was not the same for girls though, I know for fact that they didn't have any problems at all during their schooling. This really sad stuff happened in my earlier years though, years 9 & 10. I couldn't sit through a lunch-hour or recess without people screaming things at me and throwing pieces of food at me. For a while it was really terrible.

The situation did get better as I went though and like I said before I felt I had quite a happy Senior Year. I suppose you could say that my parents were very good at filling social stereotypes. They were always very supportive of my musical pursuits and are now very proud that their son made it into the Queensland Conservatorium. What kept me going over my High School years was I suppose my strong character and my sense of ambition, my general determination to do well. I knew what I wanted to do with my life and no one was going to take that away from me. But for a while I was alienated and because of that I became a little selfish, I didn't have much time for others. Having said that it wasn't intentional and I soon grew out of it.

In 1998 my school had a new music teacher I found her to be a fantastic teacher. She taught us a lot of new things about music. In styles varying from early times to classical and then on to Modern/Jazz music. We all knew that she was only on under a temporary contract and so by the end of 1999 we were told that we were getting yet another music teacher as of the beginning of next year. To tell you the truth I honestly didn't like that. And I have to say that I was extremely sceptical. We met on the second day of school, at this point in time he didn’t know who I was. We actually met by him expressing to me his dislike of a curse word I had used. My first impression of him was that he was a very old fashioned type of character, not that I’m saying that’s a bad thing because to me I feel it’s a good thing. Me met yet again on the third day of school for music class; I felt from his facial expressions that he was surprised to see me again. He told my classmates and I about his musical background and made a big
point of saying how he has a real passion for studying. In the meantime he sent a piece of paper around the room asking us to write down our names and what instrument(s) we play. Once the list had gone around the room he took a good 10 seconds to scan over it. He wanted to know a little about our backgrounds and coincidently enough he chose myself. I told him briefly what I had done musically and he just seemed to listen with no great interest. Not that I took any offence to that by any means. I didn’t feel he was being off-putting that’s just the way I felt he came across.

It wasn’t until the next week that the Choir met for rehearsal; he gave me the Music for ‘When You Believe’ a piece from Dreamworks animated motion picture ‘The Prince of Egypt’. Coincidently this was a song I actually wanted sing myself. I was asked if wanted to sing the solo sections and I said yes. I took the song to my vocal teacher the next day, we went through it in a bit of detail, and not as much as I was used to I might also add. The rest of the work was then left up to me and in just under a week to learn the material I had to work pretty fast.

The big day came. The school choir, readers and just general others involved made our way up to the Church. I have to say I snuck on to the first bus with all the leaders because I wanted to be the first singer there. I then utilised that time to venture around the huge auditorium and really try to gain an insight as to what I really had to do that night. It was the largest venue I had yet taken on (not that I’d performed very many by any means) and for a minute I felt a little out of league or comfort zone. We had basically rehearsed the piece in no time flat, we rehearsed it twice through with our various accompanists at the Church and it really wasn’t long before it came time to go home and prepare for the big event. We got to the Church at about 7pm that night, half an hour before the mass started. I sat at the back of the choir’s seats and gazed at the people who just kept on coming in. Soon enough the church was filled with all members of the school community and I think it was a crowd of about 3 thousand people. Going over what I said before, It wasn’t an accepted thing to have young men singing and I must admit I was rather concerned as to what other school students were going to say to
me on our next day of school. He made a big point of saying at rehearsal that ‘your not going to get payed out’ as he so put it. We were scheduled to perform ‘When You Believe’ at the end of communion, and I felt that it came a little fast! I mean I thought the priest’s homily and all that kind of stuff would have bought me some more time. Anyway, communion was finishing and so the choir started to organise themselves. I took position and before I actually even realised I was singing. And for a minute I think I could actually hear my audience listening. It was an incredible feeling, we finished the song and the audience gave a tremendous applause.

Various people saw me at the end of the evening to tell me they thought I had done well. I went to school the next day feeling very cautious, and I have to say I was very surprised. For once in my high school life people had nothing but positive things to say to me. It even made me feel accepted to groups I had never really had any part of before. It was the start of what I like calling an enjoyable senior year. Not only for me but for the choir as well, we went on to win a silver award at the ‘Catholic Colleges Music Competition’ and a bronze award at the ‘Queensland Academy of Music Festival’. Friends and myself were also encouraged to sing at various year-level liturgies coordinated by another teacher. He is another teacher I have a lot of respect for; he worked hard at encouraging young men to sing. And took every opportunity to have us perform

I had an audition for a tertiary institution. Straight after the audition I was accepted. I was so happy with what I had achieved. And I could see that this was the start of a very strong friendship between teacher and myself. I spent my time there receiving vocal lessons and towards September we prepared for my audition for tertiary entrance. I was accepted into their preparatory program and at first I was a little disappointed. It wasn’t as bad as I was anticipating. And I did find about a month into the course that what I was doing was extremely beneficial. Along with all of that I am now receiving my vocal lessons from a fine teacher, who is the head of voice and the head of opera. And who
knows where his training will take me. I plan to continue studying at the Conservatorium for many years to come. It is also my greatest ambition to be a performer as well.

I never could have anticipated everything that has been done for me. The first biggest thing I learned from him was to open up my mind a lot more, because it is very funny how situations often turn out. The second biggest thing I learned from him is summed up here; Love like you want nothing in return, Work like you don’t need the money and Dance like no one is watching.
Subject 2

I grew up in Rockhampton in a very stable, conservative family who were perhaps more into culture (arts, music etc.) than sports. My Dad never went to the pub or had a barbecue - so in that respect he wasn't atypical Aussie bloke.

My first experiences of music were probably as a little boy (3-6 yrs.old) with my parents playing popular Classical Music on the record player. This was the only music that was played. In grade three, like my brother I began learning piano from a very old and scary teacher (privately - not involved with the school) who eventually began to suffer from incontinence making piano lessons a very aromatic experience. I learnt piano till year 8, when the pressure of school work became a little too much.

In year 4 I also began to learn the violin from a nun through the instrumental music programme at school. I also began to see the nun privately for lessons. She was pretty scary too! So I guess, music during those years was always attached to the feeling of fear. In primary school, I didn't remember getting any crap for doing music, BUT I think it had a profound effect on how I related to the other boys as ALL of them were playing football while I was playing the violin. It created a real divide between me and the other guys which I think still remains with me now in terms of how I relate to other guys. In high school I remember being embarrassed about being seen carrying around my violin, having to excuse myself from class to attend a lesson and performing in front of the whole school. I didn't really receive much crap from the others kids during high school because the pattern of isolation or the divide that had been formed in primary school continued. I just never hung around people that I thought would give me crap - and that was just about everybody. Basically you either did sport (very accepted, supported and praised) or you did music (very uncool and nerdish) - it was and I suppose still is the attitude of Central Queensland folk. In year 10 I took drama and began to get interested in theatre. I gave up the violin and thought I'd get involved in singing – of course you didn't let on to this with anybody else. The search to find a singing teacher was
exhausting, disappointing and hardly encouraging – it wasn't easy! In year eleven and twelve with school productions suddenly music, acting and singing were accepted by the majority of students. These last two years at school were probably the best in terms of support for involving yourself in the Arts. I really loved the productions and because I had been so lonely I developed an "I'll show you" attitude and decided to become a Music Theatre performer - to rise above the other dickhead boys at school. I also secretly loved to dance - something which I think was evident when I was very little but my parents didn't encourage it because of it's association with homosexuality. So I went to the study at a tertiary institution. Although I will say I really felt comfortable, accepted and not isolated during my time there. Since leaving the there I had Depression for a year trying to give up the "I'll show you" complex and work out where I was going with my life. I've nearly finished my teaching course. One of my methods was Music although I don't want to teach it, probably because of my earlier experiences. I don't want to be a teacher for the rest of my life and I'm hoping to do something with Dance Therapy. I guess looking back now I see doing Music really affected how I related with other guys. I'm just not comfortable even now. I hope sometime in the future this issue will work out.
Subject 3

Born in Brisbane and lived here my whole life in a stable family of five (I'm the youngest of the three kids.) Neither parents are musicians by profession. My mother was quite competent at piano and my father at singing, so they encouraged me in musical endeavours. My brother plays guitar in a band, but is a graphic designer by trade and my sister has removed musical performance from her life entirely. Therefore, I'm the only one that has pursued a music career. My parents are very supportive, but without industry knowledge, they aren't particularly helpful in a practical way.

Although a distant memory, I had piano lessons when I was in early primary school (Only for about one year). I don't really remember being "into" any types of music back then. My first experience of performing was doing "Cindy Pauper" (I'm still not over that-kidding), a mix between Cindy Lauper and Cindarella, in the grade six musical. Also, I did a role as a teacher, which I can't remember, in grade seven. During primary school I was greatly ridiculed for these, (even though I was forced into doing them!). The ridicule was based mainly on the fact that my voice hadn't broken at that stage, and was particularly high. Speaking honestly, none of this paying out ever really affected me in primary school, although the actual performing in those situations did turn me off singing for many years. I received more prestige for academic and sporting endeavours, both from the school and my peers.

This continued into high-school. My major focuses were academic and sporting. I kept up music as a subject, and started flute in grade nine, and did two musicals, but I was not a particularly confident musician and the musicals were more a social endeavour, as I didn't really have any major responsibilities in them. My passions lay elsewhere. I never really understood much about music history and I didn't really follow the pop culture. So music wasn't a large part of my life and I was never really encouraged by my family or school to make it a bigger focus. I did receive a hard time at school due to other aspects of my life. But, ridicule from my peers wasn't particularly because of music (at least I think. maybe carrying a flute and past singing experienced did alter
peoples opinion of me?). The hardest time I received about being a musician was from staff and other musicians.

Firstly, some staff were always annoyed at me for leaving class for lessons or some other musical reason. And other staff told me I should ignore musical endeavours and concentrate on my academic pursuits. I followed this idea of not doing music straight out of school, which I really shouldn't have. So this staff pressure, did influence my music career.

Secondly, the environment amongst the musicians at school was a reasonably negative one for me. I never really got on that much with the musicians at school and in my life I have never really fitted into hierarchies (this bands better than that one, this musician better than the other etc.). My peers found this very important and I didn't really have much time for that.

Just a quick note about singing, seeing as though that is now my profession. I never really had any major solo opportunities in high school until the end of Grade twelve, at the graduation and closing music concert. Receiving a lot of positive feedback, I began to really enjoy the concept of a singer. First year out of school I did an amateur musical and fell in love with performing. I have pursued singing privately since then until last year when I decided to follow it full time. Just a final note about pressure in school. I think, from observation, that those who pursued music more heavily at school did receive quite a hard time about it. But I can't really speak for all of those others.

I just wanted to pass a quick observation about tertiary study and gender. It seems to me that the singing females new a lot earlier about their desire to do music and are, therefore, more educated and slightly more advanced musicians. Many of the males have started singing a lot later after some other pursuit. In my case public relations. In my year, of the males, only one came straight from school, the others were a political scientist, an engineer, a pop singer etc.... I've always thought this was interesting. It is quite a disadvantage for the guys [but we'll get over it! :) ]
It is hard to pinpoint my first musical experience but let me start by saying that I have always been surrounded by music in my life. Being the youngest of four children it was very hard not to follow in the footsteps of my brother and sisters. My parents always encouraged us to take up music and to be involved in cultural activities.

My father was a bank manager and in the early part of my life our family moved around a lot from country town to country town. At this point of my life I suppose music did not really take a front seat and was perhaps not as important to me then as what it would be in the years to come. I will never forget though the countless mornings I spent lying in bed listening to my sister play scales on the piano or my brother practicing his violin. I guess when it came my turn to take up music I took on the "if they can do it I can to" approach.

When I started school I took up the piano but this was a very short lived experience as my piano teacher was a particularly nasty woman who also had the most horrible bad breath. I quickly told my parents that I was no longer interested in playing the piano. Can I say at this point that at no time were my parents ever forceful in their approach about getting us involved in music. They were not your typical hysterical parent screaming at you from the sideline to get up and bash the crap out of the opposition. If we were not interested that was fine by them, we would just find something else to do. The first years of school I spent most of my time playing sport and being an annoying little brat(has anything changed???). I did however discover that I could sing pretty well and at the age of 6 had my first starring role as an angel in the school musical. I remember being scared and wondering how my mates would react but to my surprise the knocking and paying out did not last too long. This I suppose was my introduction to the world of music as an Australian male, a country which of course is predominantly concerned about sport.(more about that later).
At the age of nine I attended an all male school, this is were I was to stay until the end of grade 12. This school was your typical private school, only concerned about two things, sport and school work. When I first arrived the music department barely existed, but that was to change dramatically over the next 8 years. I decided to take up a musical instrument, ever since I was very young I wanted to play the trombone so the trombone it was. I joined the concert band and when I hit highschool I also played in the bigband. In these years singing was always encouraged and I can never remember a time that I was not a part of a choir or a school musical. During this time I can never really remember being picked upon because I was a musician, this is not to say it didn't happen to other people. I always had a great cross-section of mates who were involved heavily in other aspects of school life and I guess I looked upon my involvment in music as being my way of being involved in the life of the school. I also played sport but was never as good as some of my mates. I always found, and still do, that if you encourage your friends in what ever they do then they will encourage you in what ever you choose to do with your life. This is a sure way of finding out who your real friends are.

During my time in highschool I developed a great love of music and it soon became my greatest concern in life. I probably didn't practice as much as I should have, but helping to develop a part of that school still to this day gives me much pride and satisfaction. Thanks mainly to the music teachers at that time, we were given the opportunity to do and see things that your average student wuould not. We were taken all over australia performing in compititions and concerts, we were taken to watch concerts and had nights at the opera and it was during this part of my life that I began thinking about continuing music as a full-time career, but this was not to happen right away( I did try but was rejected by the conservatorium).

After leaving school I studied bussiness majoring in accounting but I soon discoveredthat this was not for me. During the first year out of school I discovered a whole new world of music. I joined a concert band which contained some of the finest young musicians in QLD and took part in my first international tour. Suddenly you all become sort of ambassadors for Australia and I remember being told that we were on
display and that how we performed on and off the stage was very important, the bar rises at this point in my life and I experienced what life as a musician is all about.

Now comes the moment in my life which sealed my fate (so to speak). I joined an amateur musical society and yet again a whole new world opened up. It was from here that I discovered the excitement of singing, acting and performing on stage in general. After two years of treading the boards I began my studies at the conservatorium majoring in voice. I discovered a whole new group of friends who were actually interested in what I was. This is an important part of life, if you can't find people who have the same interests as you then you will not get as far in life. If you don't have somebody who understands you and encourages you then the bar does not raise the extra step it should or could. I guess its all about challenging yourself to be the best you can be at what ever you choose to do and friends and mates are an important part of this. You must have some sort of support structure set up in your life. This idea has helped me to achieve my goals in life.

As for being a male in the world of music in a country that loves sport more than anything else, I really have never had any major problems. Sure you have your occasional yobbo idiot who gives you a hard time but its people like that that drives me harder to convince people that music should be an important part of life.

There is one thing that you never realise about being a musician while you are at school, girls love it!!!!!!!!!
Subject 5

family background - musical family, all siblings played an instrument. mum sang in amateur choirs etc. dad sang in the shower - actually no, have never heard him in nearly 32 years sing in the shower. he loves jazz and that is about it, opera occasionally i.e. nessun dorma and the opera top ten etc.

early experience of music as a kid - listening to dads jazz records (33's and 78's) on the old turntable is the big one. had piano and singing lessons in primary and high school but hated that.

didn't cop any shit at school because there was no music at school (or very little). all my music was done outside school environment. certainly there were no structures in place to overcome such things - you're kidding right! also i was good at cricket and rugby league so i had it all covered. i also knew how to look after myself if anyone gave me shit - hit them really hard when they weren't looking!

progress from school into uni - will forward my biog to you
Subject 6

Family background. Father Psychiatrist, mother assistant to father & raiser of kids. 1 sister 2 years younger. born in melb. moved to adelaide, then to queensland after about 3 years in each. stable family environment, lots of parental support, large push for kids to go to uni, but that's about as far as any 'pushing' went - was all up to us in what we wanted to do, without any pressure from the parents.

First experiences of music that i can remember are playing air guitar along to the beatles and listening to sky (bach tocatta & fugue) on the ABC. parents are very intelligent people with a high appreciation if not a great understanding of music in many forms.

How i got into music - it was compulsory at my high school, and i only played the flute because all of the schools sax's were taken by the cool kids :-( and the flute was the only instrument that i could see in the room that i was in. I was pretty good at it apparently, but i lacked the commitment and let's face it the pratice to keep up with it - i just wasn't improving. getting into high school, and i just was stagnating, so i gave up the flute entirely, then didn't have any involvement with the school musical program for years. in my final year of school i participated in the musical, and got the lead singing role - this was the start of my singing career. After that i sang with the school choir & the school big band, and won the voice prize - just about the first prize i had won at school. It was an all boys school too, so there were no real gender issues, especially as it was compulsory, so even the jocks had to play an instrument, and it usually worked out that the ppl who were in any executiver position in the school were involved in the musical program as well as sporting. I guess though that one gender issue was that in playing musci we often had either competitions or colaborations with other (female) schools, which was a rare & exciting thing for adolescent boys. Through singing I was able to get respect from both students and staff who had previously though me worthless - it gave me pride in myself and a career to aim for once my chosen career of the military had fallen through.
Then i went to uni - first studying at the con in brissie - where my experiences weren't all that great. I was drinking too much & partying even more & that slackened what little semblance of discipline i had. That and the fact that at least one teacher took a great disliking too my, prompted me to leave and go somewhere else - where i met the love of my life & the best damn director of studies ever! I was basically at the top of the tree vocally so that was a pretty large ego boost for me, and the amount of work that a) i was given and b) i was putting in were very gratifying.

At the moment my involvement in music is pretty limited, but i am moving to England to attempt to further my career in musical theatre especially.
Subject 7

I was born in Auckland. I learned no music in New Zealand. My family moved to Brisbane in 1989. I attended a school had no formal music program until I was in Grade 5. That was when the Academy of Music started a program and had teachers come out to the school to show us all the instruments in the Concert Band.

At this stage I had no idea what I wanted to play (everyone wanted to play saxophone) Dad suggested the clarinet because he said it could play anything from classical to jazz. (Keep in mind my parents had absolutely no knowledge of music and no training) So the clarinet it was. I joined the music program and found that the school wasn’t teaching as fast as I wanted to learn. I used ot love the movie Star Wars and especially the music in it and anted to know how to play it so I worked it out for myself. The teaching at the school was still pretty slow (we didn’t have individual lessons available) so I just went ahead by myself.

It was about that time that the school decided to form a choir. So I thought why not? I joined the choir and sang with them until I left as school captain in 1994.

In the time in between my interest in the clarinet began to fade as there was nowhere to go within the school music program and in the learning process as a whole. On a trip to Sydney I bought a miniature keyboard that came with little stickers with the note names on it. So I stuck the note names on the keys and slowly taught myself piano. Some time in year 7 I decided that I’d rather paly piano than clarinet so I quite the clarinet and took up piano. But it didn’t take long to realize that I enjoyed mucking around on the keyboard rather than doing any serious work (about 4 weeks) so I left piano and went back to clarinet.

When I started at secondary in 1995, I was put in Concert Band B. I joined the Year 8 choir. I also joined the 2nd marching band.
Being a singer and clarinet player did enable me to get a fair bit of attention from the bullies. My school didn’t really have any physical bullies – they were mainly the verbal ones and they were few and far between. Perhaps the reason for this was that there were so many kids in the music program; it wasn’t a minority – you know the rare loser with braces and a tuba. There were plenty of us and we were mostly proud to be a part of the music program because of how and cool the Marching Band and the Stage Band and to a lesser extent the Choir was. We were occasionally teased not because we played music but because we were in the lesser groups.

Another possible factor in the reduction of bullying at my school was a fact in year 8 a lot of “cool” kids who were in the great sport teams were also in the marching band. In 1995 if you insulted the Marching Band too loudly you’d probably get the shit beaten out of you by the bass drum line. They were big, big guys.

My school also didn’t really tolerate bullies - if you were caught bullying ten you were suspended and if you kept going you were expelled, no ifs no buts.

I think the Marching Band did a lot for the regard in which the other kids held the music program. The Marching Band was like a top sports team at any school. We worked very hard and it was tough to get in. WE were also very good and the rest of the kids knew it.

Despite this there was harassment but everyone seemed to grow out of it after year 10. IT was really amazing.

Anyway there must have been some harassment about playing the clarinet because I took up the trombone because I felt it was more manly.

I continued to sing in the choirs and played in all the bands. But at the same time I played soccer for the 1st XI and another student (high profile and very talented saxophonist) played cricket for the 1st XI. That was another thing my school encouraged. Getting involved in everything – don’t just be a bookworm or a musician or a
sportsman; diversify. It was extremely successful in creating at atmosphere where to be really good at something wasn’t considered bad or nerdy, but almost cool and respectable. It didn’t matter whether you were good at schoolwork or music or sport. This could be seen in the Marching Band performance at Open Night where the gym was absolutely packed with our peers trying to get a look or the big audiences we had at Concerts or Musicals or the huge turnout at Stage Bands lunch time performance at the end of the year.

So I guess the reason for the lack of teasing at my school was the atmosphere they created. It was a very positive atmosphere and I’m not even sure how they did it. But you never felt uncool being a musician- And I was only ever given 100% support from home.

From school I went to the Conservatorium thanks to the help and guidance of my music teacher. Suprisingly there is no teasing at Uni for being a musician – funny.

Probably, no matter how good your learning atmosphere is, or how good the bands are or how tough the musos are there will always be jerks because no system is foolproof. So there are always people trying to take you down but if it’s the afore mentioned system that gives you the self confidence to ignore the crap.
Subject 8

I was born in 1977 and grew up in the Brisbane suburb of The Gap. My first ‘experience’ of music came when my preschool class went on an excursion to the local high school to hear their orchestra, which would have been in 1982. Apparently I was so excited by what I heard and saw that my parents decided to send me to a piano teacher that had just moved into our street – I was their first student. I started learning piano at the age of four by the Suzuki method – I think it was ‘the thing’ at the time – and took to it really quickly. Based on the concept of learning by ear I was able to progress quickly and reached a relatively high standard in the first few years. This aural training had meant that my sight-reading skills were not as developed as they should have been, so the focus shifted when I started to head down the AMEB track.

As I neared the end of primary school my parents were undecided as to where I would attend high school. As a matter of course my primary school teachers pushed quite a few of us into the many scholarship exams that were on offer. At around this time I also auditioned for a music scholarship and was successful. It was only at this time that I started to consider that music might be worthwhile pursuing seriously, as up until now it had really only been for the fun of it. I firmly believe that the musical training in the early years of my life shaped and enhanced my ability and approach to learning new skills.

When I started in 1990 there were a lot of overwhelming factors which I had to deal with. I had come from a small co-ed state primary school into a single-sex Catholic day and boarding high school. The first few months were difficult. Not knowing anyone was to be expected, but adapting to the Catholic ways and the associated expectations was a little strange and took a lot of getting used to. It was at this time that I was given the opportunity to learn the pipe organ and the cello. Both of these instruments presented their own unique challenges. The organ was very technically challenging and really took a lot of dedication to master, whereas the cello, whilst still a challenge to master technically, opened up a whole new musical world as it was an ensemble
instrument. I managed to get into the Youth Orchestra scene and met a lot of other like-minded people which was good, and I believe this was a very important stage of my development.

In terms of my experiences at high school I don’t really I was ever hassled because I was a musician. In a lot of ways I think I got a lot of respect, especially from people who didn’t understand exactly what it was that enabled someone to play an instrument. Being a member of the school ensembles and performing as a soloist, especially at mass, meant that a lot of people knew me as ‘the guy that played the organ’. I was given more grief because I did well academically and chose not to participate in sport. But overall, I would rate my high school experience as a positive one. I believe that the school structure was conducive to allowing students to be able to pursue their own interests and provided ample opportunities to further learn and grow.

I was lucky enough to be there at a time when the music department was at a high point and of a standard that enabled it to enjoy its success. Due to the religious aspect of the school and the upbringing of the majority of the students, people in the school environment were used to attending mass on a regular basis, and where therefore used to music being an important aspect of their faith. Because of this I also believe that musicians were encouraged and given adequate opportunity to pursue their interests.

During high school I continued to study and sit for the AMEB exams in piano, cello, pipe organ and musicianship. By the time I was sixteen I had completed and passed the Associate level of piano. It was around this time that I had a piano and organ teacher whose passion was baroque and classical music and this influenced my studies greatly. I developed a great appreciation for this particular genre and it certainly shaped my direction for the next few years.

As the end of my schooling approached I was undecided as to which direction I was taking when applying for university. Naturally, music was an option and seemed like the most logical path for me to follow, so I auditioned for the usual places – the
Conservatorium and University of Queensland. I was offered a place at both institutions, ahead of the announcement of final school results and university offers. This offered a certain amount of security in a time of great insecurity, so I accepted the UQ offer for the Bachelor of Music degree. I only completed three semesters of a four year degree before deferring for 12 months and moving to Sydney. I was intensely unhappy whilst studying this degree and five years down the track I think I can look at it objectively and say that a performing and teaching life was not for me. During the first couple of semesters is became apparent that the education component was to become the focal point of the degree. Basically, it was a nice education and a great time of learning but I was searching for something that was going to be a career. In hindsight, the degree as it was back then, left a lot to be desired and was very uninspiring, and I don’t regret not having completed it. I think that a 12-month break after finishing school would have helped me immensely in deciding what direction I should have taken. It was not an easy decision to leave the course, as I really felt a strong obligation to be there and to do well, but there were a number of contributing factors that lead me to my decision. After working fulltime for six months in Sydney I enrolled in the Arts and Entertainment Management course at the Australian Institute of Music, Sydney. This was a two year fulltime course and I found the marketing and management components particularly interesting. At the end of the course I landed a job at SOCOG for the Sydney 2000 Olympic Arts Festival. The contract was for two years and was an amazing experience and one which I probably won’t find again. It was particularly beneficial to me as I was employed by an advertising agency and seconded to SOCOG, so I was able to gain agency experience and make industry contacts whilst being part of Australia’s largest and most frantic event.

I am currently working for an orchestra specialising in the historical performance of Baroque and Classical music on period instruments (my preferred genre of ‘classical’ music). The company is experiencing a huge period of growth and has provided a lot of exciting challenges. I hope to continue down this career path for the next few year with
the eventual aim of becoming General Manager of an arts company – but the again that
will most probably change. But for now it is a good place to be.

Music has remained an integral part of my life and it is certainly more fulfilling because
of it. I play the cello in a couple of concerts per year with the Balmain Sinfonia
Orchestra and still play the piano regularly. My only regret is that I am not of the same
standard as I was when I left University, but the knowledge and ability to appreciate
music and its associated fields more than compensates for this. It has certainly shaped
my life and will always continue to do so.
Subject 9

You wouldn’t be able to say that my family was heavily involved in music. We hardly had the radio on or played LPs even though everyone was kind of interested in music. However, I’ve been told that from an early age I needed noise to help me settle. As a toddler, I was more likely to fall asleep with the music or the TV playing and I had also been given a child drum kit and a keyboard. It appears to me that I was something of a novelty in my family. My mother was taught piano when she was a teenager and she felt that us three kids should have the same opportunities that music offered. My sister was quite good, but she stopped after several years. My brother wasn’t that talented for want of trying (he had tried several instruments – piano, violin, drums). My father had very little exposure to music and was not that way inclined.

Therefore my first real tactile experience in music was learning the piano at age nine or ten. By the time I was in Grade 5, I had developed an above average concept of music notation and other concepts. In grade 5, I was offered a saxophone to play at the school and thus began my first lessons on a wind instrument. I was certainly not the best musician. I found it very hard to practice but I seemed to be able to pick up certain concepts quickly. I think the best thing I learned was also, ironically, the laziest thing I could have done – that is the art of sight-reading. My sight-reading developed extremely quickly so that I could cover up everything that I hadn’t practiced during the week between lessons. It was certainly the most useful tool I could have learned.

All of my music experiences at school were positive. It was at school where I was most exposed to music, though classroom music, instrumental lessons and the band program. It was at school that I learned more about all types of music and listened to many excerpts that I wouldn’t have come across at home or even in private instrumental lessons. I don’t know why I became so involved in music, I guess probably because I was just good at it. Since school, I have completed a Bachelor of Music. The Conservatorium was an excellent place for developing my understanding of the jazz idiom and also for further improving my skills in aural and written work. I have been
involved in teaching music since 1998, my second year at university. To me, I always think I’ve fallen into music rather than had a goal to be a musician. This could be seen in the fact that I’m continuing my studies in English and history at UQ, a degree that does not encompass any music studies. However, I enjoy listening to music and understanding it, but I’ve grown a bit tired of playing music. Perhaps it is due to the whole “big fish, small pond” syndrome at school and then discovering outside of school a whole range of better musicians. Instead of trying to improve my skills, I’ve rather out them on hold while my self-confidence tries to coax me back.

Now to the nitty-gritty. I was never given a hard time at school about being a musician. I’d like to think it was because of my ability to get on pretty well with all my peers, be they the sporting crowd, other musicians or other fringe groups. It’s probably due to the fact that music was considered fairly highly in the school community. With many wins in local competitions and the fact that music was such a part of life at school masses, concerts and ceremonies, that music was just another avenue for students to experience. It was particularly satisfying to see many staff members who promoted and supported music as well as other types of student talents. Music was included in the community as well as being a classroom subject, that it was there was not to be questioned. But school music certainly exposed me to more and more types and also fostered in me a desire to be involved in extra-curricular activities such as Qld Youth Orchestra or the Young Conservatorium School. Music at school wasn’t an area of ostracisation but rather it was just another choice for students to be involved in.
Subject 10

I come from a Singaporean background, and was born in Singapore, where humanities subjects like Music, Art, or Drama are less highly-regarded than the ‘tough’ subjects like the Sciences, Law, or Medicine.

Parents would be extremely proud of their kids if they were surgeons or lawyers (or any high-profile job for that matter), and the social structure is such that actors and musicians (ie. “Arts”-type of people) are regarded not to be as intelligent as the ‘scientists’ or ‘doctors’ *per se*.

I guess it’s the whole ‘Asian’ mentality (a weird combination of family pride and social standing/stigma) in action here, where parents want the best for their kids, to the extent of dictating what career paths their children choose – Very often this would be contradictory to the child’s talents and interests.

No doubt doctors and lawyers are potentially financially-profitable professions, but personally I don’t see why an actor or musician couldn’t be far off the mark. Fortunately though, my parents were not of this mould, and nurtured my development in music from a young age.

My family is not particularly ‘musical. Dad plays around on the guitar – well, he thinks he can play. He actually took some lessons too, but I guess every young fellow growing up in the late ‘60’s and ‘70’s would have been influenced to pick up a guitar and strum along to the basic chords and structures of the Top 40 hits of the day. Dad was in a typical ‘high school rock band’ and they had the odd jam session, but nothing ‘serious’. He also played guitar for his church youth group (which is how he met my mother, incidentally, more on this later in this section).

In fact, now when I pore over all those well-known hymns in Dad’s hymnals, I do notice that his knowledge of music was fairly basic in nature – His chords were restricted to the primary I, IV, and V chords of the simpler keys, with the occasional V7 or vi thrown in. There were no ‘sus4’ chords, or augmented or diminished chords. However, this was
fine for his purpose (ie. Hymns) ; As we all know, liturgical music seldom affords itself to complex musical chord progressions.

Dad wasn’t much of a singer but he could sing at pitch and he also sang in the church choir for a time.

Mum never had any musical training although she can sing at pitch ; She was a high school English/Literature/Art/SOSE teacher by profession, but her musical exposure was greatly reinforced, when she worked at RCS (Radio Corporation of Singapore, today called TCS {Television Corporation of Singapore}) as a DJ/radio announcer. In those days, radio broadcasts were much more generic, and radio programmes would play a broad range of music in any one programme……There weren’t specific ‘Top 40’ or ‘Oldies’ programmes ; Everything was a mix. So Mum, in her 10 years of part-time RCS work, would have played many Classical, Top 40 and 1940’s/’50’s songs.

I should mention, though, my maternal grandmother and her mother (ie. My great-grandmother), who were musical. Great-grandma was a piano teacher in Malaysia, and consequently, grandma learnt from her, although she can’t remember much anymore nowadays. But for me, neither of them every offered me any musical teaching.

We lived in Singapore until 1995, where Dad’s work commitments at Quantum Asia-Pacific, a computer company, necessitated our move to Brisbane.

In Singapore, we were one of the majority : As land is scarce in Singapore, 80% of the population live in units, and we were one of them.

When I was 5 years old, we bought a Yamaha Electone Organ, with 2 manuals, and the usual foot pedals. This was because I was learning at Yamaha Music School (refer Section 3 for the full details). When I finished the 2 years at Yamaha, I (well, Mum and Dad really) decided that I should continue learning music, but on the piano, not the organ.

Hence, in August 1987 we bought a 1983 Yamaha U1A upright piano, upon recommendation from my piano teacher. We brought this piano with us when we migrated to Brisbane, and we still have it today.

In the past 2 or 3 years, when I have started appreciating pianos (and music in general), I realise I am extremely fortunate that my parents made the decision to purchase this
piano. Based on our circumstances and knowledge 15 years ago, I think we made a really good choice.

Just a small sideline – In 1986, Mum & Dad bought me a drum set (yes, don’t laugh). It wasn’t a real set, it was more of a toy, really, and consisted of a kick, snare, 3 toms and crash cymbal. There was no ride cymbal or hi-hat, so I guess the crash cymbal had 3 purposes! I’m not sure if drumming had any effect on my sense of rhythm and coordination, but we eventually ended up giving the drums away a number of years later. Anyhow we moved to Brisbane in December 1995.

When I was 4 years old, they enrolled me in the JMC (Junior Music Course) at Yamaha Music School – This course was done in groups of 15 – 20, in classrooms, and each student sat at an organ for the hour-long lesson. Very often, a parent would sit with their kid/kids (who were very young, generally speaking) to keep them on track. The normal lesson went for an hour – It would start with about 15 minutes of basic Theory, and then we would get on the organs and play through our ‘Song of the Week’ over and over again for the remaining half-hour. These songs were well-known nursery rhymes like ‘Mary Had a Little Lamb’, but playing them repeatedly for 40 minutes often resulted in the melody being embedded in the students’ memories (well, for me, anyway!)

Although this repetitiveness may sound mundane, it really trained me aurally, especially in the area of Solfa. I think that Movable Solfa is one very useful tool, where, if you know the melody and chord structure of the song, you can use these preset ‘positions’ or ‘numbers’ (aka degrees of the scale) and mentally transpose songs pretty much on-the-spot. Of course, there are many limitations to this – For example I wouldn’t be able to do a transposition mentally if I wasn’t completely sure of the scale of the new key, and/or if I didn’t know the melody well enough.

As mentioned earlier in Section 2, I continued learning piano privately in Singapore, where we used London’s ABRSM (Associated Board of Royal Schools of Music) exams. I did my Grades 1 to 6 in Singapore from 1989 through 1995. Mostly, my grades were Credits, although I think there were 2 Passes and 1 Distinction.
All this while, I was dreading the piano, especially from 1992 – 1994, because during this period (4th Grade to 5th Grade), I had outgrown all the ‘kids stuff’ and was finding the repertoire terribly boring, and yet, I was unable to play any contemporary or more advanced stuff, which was what I wanted to play. I seriously considered giving up the piano during this time because I couldn’t see any point in it. It was just leading nowhere and I wasn’t using my musical ability (which I highly doubted at the time) anywhere. I begged Mum to let me stop, but she refused, and I am very thankful to her for her tenacity.

In continuation from the previous section, I was dreading my weekly piano lesson, and I’m quite sure my piano teacher was dreading them too! While I could perform all the sight-reading and aural tests with reasonable accuracy and ease, I dread practicing scales (I still do) and exam pieces.

It wasn’t until November 1994 when a family friend lent me his book of Richard Clayderman songs, which, while fairly simple, sounded good – For once I could play something which sounded pretty good and that I could be proud of! From there, I gradually (slowly) rebuilt my interest in music, but the turning point was to come in March 1995. This Richard Clayderman book kept me occupied through the end-of-year holidays in 1994, and well into 1995. I was finally starting to enjoy playing the piano, something which I had never felt before.

And in December 1994, Mum & Dad bought me a little Casio electric keyboard, not anything ‘professional’, but something just for me to ‘muck around with drum beats’, seeing as I was showing some sort of interest in music.

In 1995 I was in the equivalent of Grade 9, and I should mention that music was not offered as a subject in most Singapore schools; Rather, every class would have one 45-minute music class each week, and of course this was kept pretty simple because everyone had to be able to do it.

N.B. This next bit sounds a bit religious, so please excuse me – I do not mean this to be a religious testimony, but it’s a central part of the story.

Anyway, one day, I was feeling rather bored in class, and I began contemplating my standing in music at the time. So, I just said a quick prayer, telling God that I did not
have an outlet for my music, and that now, as I was gradually beginning to enjoy
playing music, I would like to have an opportunity to play something, somewhere.
Anything……Anywhere!

It just so happened that our weekly music class was the next period, so I thought ‘Yeah
right…what a coincidence, as if anything could happen.’
But, the music teacher said, out of the blue, ‘Our Annual Speech Day is on 22\textsuperscript{nd} April,
and we need a pianist for our Choir. Is anyone interested?’ Of course I was!! I quickly
raised my hand.

Needless to say, I nearly doubled over in astonishment when I heard that!! And for a
good number of reasons too : 

1. God had answered my prayer, within 30 minutes……quicker than E-Mail!
   (This was to be a turning point in my faith too, but I shall not go into that here)
2. There were about 45 classes in the school, so why did the music teacher have to
   ask for a pianist in \textit{my} class???
3. The music teacher did not know me personally because I had never involved
   myself in any extra-curricular music activities around the school, but she saw
   me raise my hand and just said, ‘Yes, you’re playing for Speech Day’

I ‘got the job’ without any audition, which was even more shocking!!

It was a day I will always remember.

The pieces for Speech Day were a medley from ‘The Sound of Music’ by Rodgers &
Hammerstein, and a Russian Folk Song called ‘The Spinning Girl’. When I look back at
these scores today, I feel that they’re not difficult (they’re not easy though), but the days
leading up to Speech Day ’95 probably saw me doing more practice than I had ever
done in the past 5 years combined. I wanted to make sure I would get it ‘right’……

As things turned out, the Speech Day performance went reasonably well, no major
disasters, although, I wouldn’t have been able to tell, as it was my first performance and
I had nothing to compare it to or against!

I was really pleased with myself after that, because I finally realised that I was able to
use my musical skills satisfactorily – Perhaps I \textit{did} have some musical skills.

For the rest of 1995, I tried to get hold of sheet music of contemporary songs which I
wanted to play, and just have a whirl at them. Often I wouldn’t get things quite right,
and I found out that some commercial scores were not true to the recording; when this happened, I would listen to the recording and do it that way, ignoring the score. I guess this had a positive impact on my listening skills.

All this while, I was enjoying music more and more with each passing week.

Then we moved to Brisbane, and being a total newcomer, knowing absolutely nobody, meant that once again, I had no outlet for my music.

However, my parents and myself were very pleased to note that Music was offered as a ‘real’ classroom subject at school. I signed up for it, and gradually, after a term or two at, I was beginning to find my feet and volunteered my services to play the piano for school liturgies, assemblies and the like.

There was another pianist in my grade, and we became very good friends. I must mention that this was mutually good for both of us – Having each other there meant that we could not slacken off, because our mistakes would be picked up! Not that we tried to outdo each other or anything; Rather, it was a very good system, because alternating the accompanying load meant that both of us could still have plenty of time left for our studies.

I was put into contact with a piano teacher at Sunnybank, with whom I studied till 1998 (7th Grade), after which I stopped learning piano formally.

Throughout Grade 10, after my first few times playing at liturgies and assemblies, I received the odd compliment (nothing to over-the-top) but nobody suggested that I stop playing, so I deduced that I couldn’t be that bad.

In September 1996, we traded the Casio keyboard for a Technics KN2000, as I was beginning to be interested in MIDI, backing tracks, sequencing, and just ‘Music Technology’ in general.

I longed to have a piece of equipment that could do any form of multitracking, and the KN2000 fulfilled this desire. I spent hours figuring out various ‘what works’ and ‘what doesn’t work’ procedures – because I couldn’t be bothered reading the owner’s manuals – and after a couple of months grasped a basic knowledge of sequencing and MIDI concepts, the ‘hard way’.

By the end of 1996, I was happily making up backing tracks of songs that I liked, and while the musical quality of these was far from perfect (I did not know how to do any
editing, drop-ins, sectional overdubs etc.), so everything was “live” and my level of
musicianship at the time often meant that I made do with less than perfect results.
1997 (Grade 11) was more of the same – Playing at assemblies, school liturgies, and
going for my weekly piano lessons.
Gradually, my backing tapes were becoming of a higher quality (musically-speaking),
and in 1998, the school was to stage a theatre restaurant, which was a tribute show to
Broadway, and had excerpts from many different musicals (mainly the hit tunes).
Nobody knew I could do backing tapes, so I believe the staff in charge of ‘Salute to
Broadway’ wrote to a company in Sydney to make up the backing tapes for them.
However, the opening number of the show was to be ‘This is the Moment’, as sung by
Anthony Warlow on the Jekyll & Hyde soundtrack, and initially, the plan was that I
would accompany the soloist ‘live’ on piano. The guy who was to sing it, and he was a
baritone, so we had to transpose the song 5 semitones lower. So, instead of re-scoring
the whole song, I decided to play it on keyboard, in the new key. No mean feat; Simply
press the ‘Transpose’ button on the keyboard! However, the keyboard only had 61 keys,
which I felt was insufficient (as compared to the piano), so I played around with the idea
of making up a really good backing track for ‘This is the Moment’.
I got hold of the Anthony Warlow recording and listened to it repeatedly, and after
about a week, I had a go at creating the backing track, and after about 8 hours’ work
over a couple of days, the backing track was complete. However, upon listening to it, I
wasn’t happy with it, as it just didn’t sound polished enough. So I decided to start from
scratch and do it again; However, this was a lot easier than the first time, because by
this time I knew the song pretty well, and I knew which instruments went on which
tracks etc. etc. Over the next couple of days, I worked on this, and when complete, I was
satisfied. At the risk of sounding pompous, I thought it sounded pretty good for a non-
professional effort.
I played it to the singer and he was quite impressed (and I was relieved!). Gradually,
the teachers heard it during rehearsals and they seemed to like it too. As things turned
out, the master cassette with the backing tracks from Sydney broke, 2 days before the
show, and I was asked if I would be able to make up backing tapes for ‘Getting to Know
You’ (from The King & I), ‘Wouldn’t It be Loverly” (from My Fair Lady), and ‘The Laughing Song’.
I remember staying up through Thursday night, and until 3:30am on the Friday morning (the day of the first performance!) playing through the above 3 songs and eventually putting them onto tape. No CD burners back then. Fortunately, I was able to pull it off, and the cast were able to adapt to the new tapes. It went down very well with the audience.
We subsequently used the backing track for ‘This is the Moment’ a couple more times – At the Cultural Evening in 1998, and in 2000, when another guy had to sing it for Grade 11 Music assessment. Until today, I personally feel that it is one of the best backing tracks that I have done.
The Cultural Evening for 1998 saw me accompanying various singers and a couple of instrumentalists, although I did not make any new backing tracks.

By the second half of Grade 12, I was seriously considering a career in Music Technology, seeing as my backing tapes went down favourably with ‘Salute to Broadway’, and I was developing a keen interest in the area too. So I applied for the Bachelor of Music – Music Technology course. My other tertiary choices were the Bachelor of Music – Piano, and thirdly, the Bachelor of Music/Bachelor of Education. In September 1998 I went for the auditions. Almost instantly I felt that I didn’t stand a good chance for the Bachelor of Music (the panel said I didn’t have enough repertoire), although I thought I might get into the B.Mus/B.Ed, but I didn’t. I did, however, think that I did quite well for the B.Mus – Music Tech audition. It differed from the B.Mus and B.Mus/B.Ed auditions in that you did not have to play anything, but rather, I played them a few of the backing tapes that I had done. Of course, I had to provide a resume and other relevant data for them to peruse.
I was accepted into the Music Technology course, and it was with eager anticipation that I started my tertiary study, with high hopes of becoming a famous producer. How wrong I was……
University life was quite different from school life. I can definitely say that the more flexible hours are a definite bonus, but the downside is that there isn’t that feeling of
‘community’ and ‘fellowship’ at Uni, because you just don’t get to know the people that well. In school, the whole group would sit together at lunch, and in our various classes, we would have friends to sit and work with, whereas at Uni – well, my batch anyway – everyone was an individual, and for me, I found making friends quite difficult.
In March 1999, I was asked if I would come back to accompany the choir (which I had been doing for the past 2+ years anyway), which I happily agreed to, and as it turned out, this became paid work, which was even better. And I enjoyed it too, and it was a nice change from Uni. The school was planning to perform for their musical for 1999, but were having difficulties assembling a band, so the alternative was that I make up backing tracks for the entire musical. Over a period of 3 months (March – June 1999), I slowly worked through the scores of Little Shop and eventually had the backing tracks complete. In hindsight, when I listen to the Little Shop tapes today, I think that some of the songs are quite good, but some others are quite ordinary, especially the ones that were done towards the end of the 3-month period when time was running out and I was getting impatient to just finish the job. Having said that, though, doing the music for Little Shop was definitely a great opportunity for musical development, and it was the first time I could see how a musical was run. (from an ‘outsider’, not a student’s point-of-view)

On the academic side, however, the Music Technology time-table (4 subjects per semester) was as follows: 2 subjects of Music Tech, and 2 Music Theory/Musicianship subjects. Personally, I found Music Theory extremely boring and irrelevant. What was worse, though, was that I was becoming increasingly lost in my Music Technology subjects as the year wore on.

Initially, I thought I would simply breeze through the Music Tech, seeing as I had played around with backing tapes and done simple MIDI manipulation tasks, but I was wrong; My batch of Music Tech students was probably one of the more advanced batches, quite a few of them being older students with prior studio experience; For someone straight out of school, like myself, it was quite difficult to catch up to their level of knowledge.
I decided to hang in there for the moment, because the Theory subjects were still quite OK. But Music Technology became more and more mathematical towards the end of the 1st year, and I just couldn’t grasp it.

2000 was my 2nd year of Uni, and I really had trouble with Music Technology; I spent most of the Music Tech lectures asleep! So, by March 2000, I had decided to make a change to the Bachelor of Education.

Also, I was still accompanying the choir, and the more I spent time at the school, the more I felt that I would ultimately be more comfortable in a school situation, instead of a studio situation, and this was a major factor in my decision to switch to the Bachelor of Education.

In July 2000, I began the B.Ed at Griffith Uni, Mt. Gravatt, and immediately I felt that ‘this was really my niche’, because the aural work was all tonal (and much easier!!) and done in movable system, unlike the Con, which worked almost totally on the fixed system which I found incredibly difficult.

Currently, I am still completing my B.Ed, and am looking forward to graduating in the middle of 2003.

My musical development in my post-school years have mainly been in the area of choral and vocal accompaniment.

In 1999, most of the work I did was for the Choir, and in 2000, this expanded a bit; I have also been teaching Music Theory privately to a few people, up to 5th Grade standard.

A major challenge this year was doing the backing tapes for 2 weddings. We did try to make them as similar as possible though! Having a CD-copier has also allowed me to record my backing tapes onto CD, which makes them sound a lot better.

I also sung in the mass chorus for the Opening Ceremony of the Goodwill Games this year, and it was definitely an eye-opener for me, being able to see how a professional show is run, with a small insight into the behind-the-scenes action. No brushes with fame though!
No, not really, because the group of friends that I sat with at lunchtimes (and generally hung around with) mostly had some sort of musical inkling too! So we kind-of had something common, and I don’t remember even being teased for being a musician once. Of course, there were the adverse comments from peers, like ‘Where did you get that hymn from?’ and ‘Can’t we sing something newer for assembly processions?’, but I won’t take these remarks personally, as they were directed at the choice of music, and not the musicians.

Of course, there were the ‘footy-players’ and ‘soccer boys’, but they didn’t bother us and vice versa. We were just all ‘different’ and co-existed.

Was I thick-skinned? Well, no, because there was no need to be, as I have just mentioned. I don’t think the student body of normally teases its musical students much. Although, I must say that if the other students did give me trouble for being a musician, I could have possibly stopped playing in school. It’s just one of those things that most 15 or 16-year-olds would have done.

Peer-pressure is paramount in their lives at this time – I’m definitely speaking for myself here – and for a large proportion of adolescents too – We would have done almost anything to win the favour of our peers. I know I’ve done some pretty silly things before, but fortunately my ego was never hurt on the musical front.

Did the school set up structures to ‘protect’ its musical students from criticism? No. The music room was locked up during lunch times, and we couldn’t hang out there unless we had stuff to do, or have a practice.

Currently, though, I’m glad I chose the Bachelor of Education (Music) course, because the more I do this course, the more I feel that I am suited to it. Now all I have to do is keep plodding away until my graduation.
Subject 11

As far as I know, my father’s side has no musical background aside from singing in the church they attended. Most of my inclination toward music comes from my mother’s side if this sort of thing is hereditary.

I’ve spoken to mum and we think we can at least trace ‘musical talent’ back to her grandparents on both sides (my great-grandparents). My grandmother’s family was musical but due to their circumstances they were mainly singers. They were poor miners from the North of England and migrated here when Grandma was about 2 years old. Great-grandad was a lay Methodist preacher so the family were regular attendees at the local church every week. Somewhere along the line, Nanna (Grandma’s mum) acquired a piano and Grandma and her sister were given the opportunity to take lessons.

My Grandfather’s family history displays a strong brass tradition from his mother’s siblings. His mother’s brothers were all brass players and had strong links to the Salvation Army. I think it was Grandad’s Uncle who was Bandmaster at Congress City Hall in Sydney during the 1920’s, at the time one of the best bands in the country (could be family nostalgia or brass player ego here!). That particular branch of the family has produced several Australian and NSW cornet champions.

As stated previously, Grandma and her sister were given the opportunity to take piano lessons when Nanna acquired a piano. I do not know if they ever sat AMEB exams or the like but I am sure they were drilled as far as practice was concerned. That is a definite tradition that has been passed down through the family!

I’m pretty sure Grandad never took a music lesson in his life. He enjoys singing at church every Sunday and I can remember him asking me every time we went, when I was a toddler, whether I was “going to sing loudly today”. If anything, what Grandad lacks in pitch he more than makes up for in enthusiasm.
When considering my parents’ musical history, again it is strongest in my mother’s side. I think this may have something to do also with socioeconomic background: mum’s family owned a large cake manufacturing business; dad’s father was a bus driver (died when dad was 14) and his mother was an assembly line worker and homemaker.

Mum and her siblings all took piano lessons and sat AMEB exams. Apparently practice was very regimented: the day started at 6am with the two oldest practicing while the two youngest got ready for school, then they would swap over before leaving for school. This system was ‘inflicted’ on my sisters and myself, I’m sure much to the satisfaction of mum’s sadistic side or thirst for revenge! My Uncle completed his letters through the AMEB and was also a competent trumpeter. Mum completed eigth grade flute and piano. The youngest sister studied music and education at UNE in Armidale and taught music at the High School before starting a family.

I guess my music history begins much the same as all toddlers, singing nursery rhymes and such for relatives etc. My sisters and I watched Playschool as youngsters and were encouraged to sing along and do the actions.

From about 4 years of age I remember tinkering occasionally on the piano at home, trying to play small melodies that I knew. Mum noticed these attempts and organised piano lessons for me which I began around 5 years old. My teacher was a high school student who apparently was an excellent musician but lousy teacher. The feedback I was given regarding my playing was less than satisfactory which affected my progress and enthusiasm. After persevering for a year and realising that I wasn’t prepared to sit my first exam, I quit piano lessons.

Around this time the primary school I was attending in western Sydney was beginning a band program. This reminded mum of the experiences she had in the school orchestra and how she felt this was beneficial for her playing and enjoyment of music. I felt that it would be good to continue music and saw this as an ideal opportunity. I can remember sitting in the lounge room one night for several hours trying desperately to
get a sound out of mum’s flute, and being thoroughly discouraged, went to bed sure that I would never play in the band. The following weekend we went to my grandmother’s and a family friend brought his old trumpet around. The first time I picked it up I produced a good solid tone so I found the instrument that was best suited. That weekend grandma and grandad bought me my first trumpet (a Lisner for $125) and I sat and blew for hours in their music room, excited that I was able to make a noise and therefore able to play in the band.

I was in year 3 and you had to be in year 4 or higher to be considered for the band. The music teacher took into account the fact I had already taken lessons, was able to read music, and was singing in the junior primary choir with my mates. He let me sit in and I was placed in first chair along with my best friend’s older brother. I was with the band and taking group trumpet lessons for about a year and a half before my parents split up and my sisters and I moved out with mum.

Our stepfather encouraged our musical pursuits and both he and mum organised for me to take lessons with in Lismore. My teacher was a renowned brass band leader from Tasmania, a fine cornet player, and a lecturer in music theory at what is now Southern Cross University in Lismore. I took lessons for about 8 years in which I completed up to AMEB sixth grade trumpet and competed in several Lismore Eisteddfods as both a soloist and part of a duet. For about 2 years I also played in the Lismore City Junior Concert Band which competed in the local eisteddfods and performed at various places as a concert or marching band. This was one of the few opportunities for me to play in a band at the time as there was no program in the primary school I was attending. The music teacher at the high school heard about me, and at the time he was desperately trying to start a Stage Band and was looking for a trumpet. I was in year 6 at the time (final year in primary) and began rehearsing at the high school one afternoon a week as well. This lasted for a few months I think before either the band faltered or I lost interest.
Throughout early high school, I didn’t really fit in due to the fact I was not a member of the Surf Lifesaving Club, or a ‘clubbie’ as the locals so eloquently put it. I enjoy surfing and tried nippers but found that it wasn’t for me. Another reason I didn’t fit in was the fact that I was still seen as the ‘city kid’ even though we had lived in the area for just over two years already. This attitude can be traced back to my first day at school in Primary, where minutes after walking into the classroom I received my pen license, something a majority of the class had been trying to achieve for months and still hadn’t attained. In hind-sight it definitely wasn’t the way for a new kid to win friends and influence people.

Music didn’t make life any easier at the start of high school as the program at the school was basically non-existent as far as bands and choir went. One big event in year 7 did not help my cause at all. There was a local boy 2 years older who was a brilliant singer and part time trumpeter, part time in the sense that he only played the Last Post once or twice a year for the local RSL. The Navy Band had performed at the Services Club a month or two before Anzac Day and two of the trumpeters had played the last post, one outside the building, as though calling between posts on the frontline. His mother adopted the idea as her own and approached my mother suggesting we prepare this for the local service. I agreed, and after word had gotten out, we were playing for the local primary and catholic primary services as well as the high school. Everything went without a hitch until performing in front of our peers. I must have made the biggest clanger in the history of bugle playing and did not live it down for a very long time. Up until I was in year 9 or 10 I’m certain everyone listened intently to see how many mistakes they could here. One of the Mathematics staff even asked the class I was in after I had performed once ‘how many mistakes did he make this time?’ All of this wasn’t conducive to fostering a musical environment but I did come out the other side.

The North Coast Regional Music Camp was one aspect of school life that made music all worth while. I attended my first during my first year of high school. Here I met several people with similar interests and formed many friendships that lasted throughout
high school. It was an avenue for me to play in a decent band, something school didn’t have at the time, and jam with people of similar ability. It was also where I came into contact with a teacher who has influenced me in both my interest in jazz and I hope the way I teach.

Around the time I was in year 9 the school started up a fledgling band program which didn’t really get off the ground but did well considering the lack of support from administration. We had a principal who was an ex-PE teacher and sporting champion so music wasn’t really high on his agenda until the parents formed a committee and did all the ‘shoving’ themselves. You could say one thing about the man though, he was excellent at accepting praise for work he didn’t do.

The first group to start was the stage band, which was well accepted by the school and community when we performed. This was the ensemble that really started to make music acceptable to be involved in at the school, in the eyes of both staff and students. Performances at school assemblies and functions created a small groundswell in numbers for the choir and concert bands. I personally think this had a lot to do with repertoire.

At my second Regional Music Camp, we were all told about a new concept that was to be introduced. It was called ‘IMPACT’ and the best way to define it is to say it is similar to the ‘MOST’ program in Queensland State Schools. Students were to be selected to form a touring party- singers, dancers and basically a concert band- from all the state schools on the North Coast Region. This group would perform at five or six regional centres over a two week period. The whole concept was based on the idea that the touring would perform large production numbers that would include a combined choir from surrounding schools at each performance, and the surrounding schools would each be given the opportunity to perform as well. It was basically one huge touring variety night. I was lucky to be involved in this as a member of the band in each of the three years it ran (’92, ’93, ’94). Along with music camp, this was one of the things that made music at school enjoyable.
It was around the end of year 10 that I had completed my 6th grade AMEB exam. ‘Classical’ music was beginning to grate on me and I was losing enthusiasm for playing the Trumpet. Mum had received a Miles Davis album for her birthday which I’m sure I played more than her. I went out and purchased another and after listening to it over and over felt this is what I’d like to do with music.

When I began year eleven, the music teacher at school retired and a ‘supergrad’ from Lismore was appointed to the school. He was a brilliant musician and brought a fresh approach to music in the school. This was the teacher that taught me about the wonders of chords and modes and helped me form the very first School Jazz Ensemble. Music had begun to rise in levels of acceptance at school.

I had badly wanted to do music as an elective in senior school but there were insufficient numbers to form a class. I had considered enrolling at the Catholic College in Lismore because of the music program and had been offered a place but turned it down. This had a little to do with the two hour round trip on the bus each day and also curiosity as to how music would go at the school with a new teacher. I ended up doing music via Open High School during years eleven and twelve. With the opportunity to do my HSC again (not that anyone wants to go through that twice) I’m sure I’d still do music this way.

Toward the end of year twelve I had decided that the Sonology course at the Con was going to be where I was headed as it utilised all of my strengths: Maths, Physics and Music. To make up the spaces on my QTAC and UAC forms I filled in various music and engineering courses offered in NSW and Queensland. I will always remember my first audition, it was at the Con in Sydney for the B.Mus in Jazz. I remember walking into the room and saw who were the rhythm section for the audition. I was so nervous and star-struck that I asked if they needed the music to play ‘All The Things You Are’!

Everything went well at in Brisbane and I was one of the 8 selected out of 2000 applicants after auditions and interviews, so I felt confident in the fact I knew where I
was headed. I had done an audition which I was quite relaxed for because I had already been offered the place at the Con. As I was walking out the door, I knew John Hoffman taught jazz trumpet and suggested that I change my preferences to put this place first. I remember assuring him that I would seriously consider this, knowing fully that I was not interested in the slightest.

Around the time early offers were being made in Queensland, I was down in Canberra auditioning for the Jazz School associated with ANU. I remember getting an urgent message from my stepfather to call home. It wasn’t until playing a gig at the Beach Hotel in Byron that I realised that I really didn’t want to be involved in recording and playing was still my main interest. The next day I rang QUT and the rest is history.

During my final year at uni I ended up joining a local band. Here I had the opportunity to tour and perform almost every weekend. If we weren’t in SE QLD we were down in Sydney or Melbourne or somewhere in between. This was something that I enjoyed immensely as the style was different to what I was studying, we were always performing in front of large crowds that were dancing, and I had the opportunity to record on a couple albums. It was an experience that I’m glad I was a part of.

After mostly completing my course, I spent two years working as an instrumental music instructor for Musicorp. This was something that could be only described as an experience.

The actual job itself, teaching beginners and bands, was something that I found enjoyable. The challenge of starting 20-30 beginners, most of whom had never read music before, and getting them to play as a band was nothing short of rewarding. The most problems I had were those generated by my employer: toward parents of students, schools I was working at, and myself. Events in my private life led me to reconsider my options and I decided to go back to university to study a Graduate Bachelor of Education, which I am currently completing at QUT.
I’ve played the odd jazz gig here and there and the occasional cabaret show, where time and family permit. This is something that I wouldn’t mind doing a little more of but presently my goal is to survive the next year and a half at uni.
Subject 12

I was born in the November of 1974 in Brisbane. At that stage we were living in Sunnybank on the south side of town. When I was about 4 or 5 we moved to PNG. This was a pretty major move for a five year old. I don’t have too many memories other than the kindergarten and the first year of school. I can remember that music wasn’t really part of any school activities. Although it was an international school, the budget wasn’t quite tailored towards kids being able to have extra curricular activities. It was just school and possibly a few soccer teams to give the kids something to do. In short it was just basically school and that was it.

My first musical memory was when my father purchased this some-what spaceship like Sansui stereo system. I just remember playing all his Vinyl and some of his tapes. Although I had no idea what it was all about or who was who it was I guess the start of my introduction to music.

After spending sometime in Port Moresby we then moved to Mackay. I was in grade 2 when we moved back. It was around this time that I remember my first “music lesson”, the recorder. Not exactly what you would call a fair introduction to the world of music. I mean I guess it’s a cost effective way to get kids into learning the whole music process with the theory and everything but the last thing you want to do at that age is come home, pull out your book of recorder tunes and start learning Mary Had a little Lamb (biggest mistake made by every music teacher is getting kids to learn this song. When you think of a lamb, you get the impression of it being a very tranquil and peaceful creature. When this song is played by an adult, you get that feeling. Now when you give a 7 or 8 yr old kid a recorder and the sheet music for Mary had a little lamb, you sort of get the feeling after the kid has finished playing the song that Mary traded her little lamb in for a snake!!). If you want to get kids into music I guess it has to be interesting enough to hold their attention span. For me, recorder didn’t do that.
I do remember in Grade 3 we went back to Brisbane on the x-mas holidays to see all the relatives. We stayed with my mothers’ parents. My uncle who was a musician before I was born was moving house at the time and stored some of his stuff at my grandparents place. I vividly remember one of these things being a Keyboard. I had no idea what you actually did with this thing but I asked if we could hook it up and see what it did. My grandfather after deliberating on whether we could actually use it finally plugged it in, gave me his headphones and bought up some of Steven’s music books from under the house. I remember being blown away by this keyboard, being able to hit a button and have drums play with you and then being able to hit another button and hear a different sound. I don’t think it was until a few holidays later (we visited our relations in Brisbane every x-mas for many years after that) that I actually realised that you could actually make music with this thing. At that stage I think I still saw the keyboard as a “cool toy” rather than a musical instrument. I think I was in grade 5 when I realised you could make music with this keyboard thing. I had changed schools to attend the Mackay Christian Brothers school in town and this is where I really got my first taste for music.

We were still learning recorder in class (By that stage Mary had a half lamb half snake pet, it was slowly evolving into a lamb. I guess it was a snake body with a lamb’s head) but outside our music class we actually did a, well, I guess you could call it a music history class. The class was taken by one of the brothers who would come in each week and teach us about the various instruments in the orchestra, how they were classified (i.e.: wood wind, percussion) and how they were used in the orchestra to create various moods. We would get hand outs each week on the instruments and then our homework was to write 10 lines (which at that age seemed like a thesis!) on the instrument we learned about. I do remember having an interest in this cause we actually listened to the music and then he would point out which instruments were making the “noise”. I didn’t have any interest at this stage of learning an instrument but I was getting interested in dad’s music. It was like all of a sudden this “stereo thing” of his made sense. He was basically a product, like most people of that time, of the British rock invasion. He would always have the Beatles, E.L.O. or Elton John playing. I think my first memory of actually remembering a song was E.L.O’s “sweet talkin’ woman”. There was something
about that band of blending a string section with a rock song. Although I had no idea on
what they were actually “doing”, I do remember the sound being different to the other
stuff dad used to play. Dad always had the stereo on and on the weekends we would
have our little boy /dad bonding sessions when mum used to go out and do the grocery
shopping. We would take a Beatles record and then turn up the stereo really loud. I
remember really enjoying this. The system boasted 4x 250amp 6 way speakers (which
he still has today) so when it was loud it was loud. It was a lot of fun and this, combined
with my realisation that the keyboard was more than just some “cool toy” of your
uncle’s, is where I guess my musical curiosity started.

My Interest in Drums developed some years later when we moved from Mackay to
Tabubil, a small mining town with a population of 5000 in the highlands of PNG. I was
in grade 6. The TV factor in the town was non-existent so it was videos all the way. I
remember dad getting his hands on this video called “The complete Beatles”. We used
to sit and watch it and this is where the seed was planted about being a drummer. After
only “hearing” Beatles records in Mackay, it was a totally different thing to actually
“see” what these guys did. It was a great 2hr flick on the whole history of the Beatles. It
had all the old footage from everything form the Ed Sullivan Show to the royal variety
performance to some of the mega open-air concerts in the states. There was one
particular scene that I remember grabbed me, it was an open-air concert at Yankee
Stadium. No one could hear the band (the band included) from the thousands of
screaming fans. The shot panned all around the stadium and showed all the guys on
stage. There sitting at the back of the band on his little platform, playing away was
Ringo. Although he was doing nothing technically amazing by today’s standard of
players, I remember just seeing him and being blown away and thinking, “wow what a
great job”. You don’t have to sing or do anything like that, you just play. I don’t know
what exactly made Ringo stand out or why I was more interested in the drums than say
being the front man with a guitar but it was just what grabbed me at the time.

Everyone asks you what you want to be when you grow up and at that age it’s a pilot, or
a doctor or what ever. None of my friends actually said musician (and neither did I until
later that year). I just remember being blown away by Ringo and going that’s what I want to do. It was later that same year that one of dad’s friends that he met through was around and I discovered that he actually played the drums. The band’s rehearsal room was literally a 60 second walk from our house. When Dad told him that I was a little Ringo crazy Graeme asked if I would be interested in coming down to the practise room the following Sunday and having a bash on his drums. I remember being over come with this almost goose bump feeling of excitement and just saying yes. Once that Sunday came I was hooked. Graeme played this standard rock beat which again I just thought was the greatest musical statement made in the history of the world. I was mesmerised. He then gave me the sticks and told me to have a go. I had never even contemplated “learning” drums but after about 2 min into my “bash” which sounded like the percussive accompaniment to Mary had a little snake, I was hooked. (If you want a laugh Scott check out the bio page on the website, there is a photo on it taken that very Sunday afternoon).

The following year I went south to Brisbane to boarding school and this is where my real musical education started. When we were filling out the various application forms, Mum pointed out that I could actually learn drums at this new school. I remember being just so excited that I could actually learn drums at this school. Mum and Dad gave me the OK to be able to learn an instrument. Mum’s proviso was that I could only learn drums if I learned the Piano. I was gutted as I only want to learn the drums but then found these conditions being placed on me. She told me that if I learned the piano I could play anything else as it would be a very good learning tool to get a grounding in music. Dad was a little more on my side but Mum had the last word there, well that’s what she thought anyway. I did say yes to her but when the forms came round in the first week of year 7 I said yes to drums and no to everything else. When I saw mum the first weekend we were allowed out (she stayed down for a few weeks after I started school just to settle me in), I remember telling her that the piano classes were full so I could only take drums. She didn’t question it but I don’t think she really believed it either, I think she just gave in. This is where my musical interest really started and developed.
I guess you could call my family “traditional” in almost every sense of the word. We would have a pretty tight family “unit” despite being all of us being spread half way around the world. I would definitely say that the family unit as such is an important factor in the whole thing.

I guess if you were to stick a class structure on us, we would be middle class with a working class work ethic if that makes any sense. Mum used to work as a legal secretary until I came into the world. She then became a fulltime mum, or as today’s subscribers of the Germaine Greer school would call it, “a full time home making engineer.” Dad originally came from England and I guess his was a working class background. I don’t know whether it’s a product of the class system or just that generation but they subscribe to the “go to school, get good grade’s, go to uni, get a good job, be a loyal employee and you will be rewarded. You work for the company, retire and then enjoy retirement and the $$$ you made during working life. I mean that theory has worked fantastic for them, and I guess that’s why they see it that way, causes it’s a proven system. I am a believer though in the saying that “there is more than 1 way to skin a cat”.

I guess I got into music when I got my first drum lesson. My teacher was very enthusiastic and we had a good chemistry together. He would show me stuff, and I would bring I a tape or in later years a cd and ask him to show me what the guys were doing. I remember for x-mas in grade 7 (after learning drums for 1 yr) my grandparents got me this tape called Drumming up a storm. It was basically this compilation tape of tunes like star was theme, little caravan, running bear but arranged in such a way that every tune had a drum solo. Again, looking back, these were nothing that were anything great by today’s standards but I just remember acquiring a taste in this cause it was music but the drums actually got to feature. Never mind the rest of the music, for all I cared at that stage it could have been Mary had a little lamb but as long am there was a drum solo then it was all O.K. I took the tape to this other kids place who was a few years older than me in Tabubil and who was also a drummer. He went to school in Melbourne and had been learning longer than what I had. When I took him this tape he could play some of the solo’s and he said if I really wanted to check out music and
hear good music I should get into this stuff called “Jazz” and listen to a drummer called “Buddy Rich”. He gave me some tapes to listen to. I remember this being somewhat of a painful experience as I had no idea what was going on, I couldn’t “sing” back any of the melodies but when buddy played his drum solo’s it was like “wow what the hell did he just do”. I did persevere with the Jazz thing, as they say it’s an acquired taste and I think had I not been into drums the way I was then I probably would not have stuck with Jazz cause at 11 yrs of age it’s a very complex genre of music to understand.

The following year at school I had got to a level where I could actually play drums in a band setting. It sort of happened by accident, our grade 8 music class was taken by this female teacher. I remember hating this class as it was all theory and classical music based. We had swapped the recorders for a xylophone and the class was seen as more of a joke than a class. You didn’t care what you got for a music exam but you did care what you got for a Maths or English exam. I remember the whole class being absolutely screamed at because the average mark for the end of term exam was 10 out of 65.!!! Most of the guys were getting marks like 5 or 8 out of 60. We just didn’t care. The class was horrible. In grade 8 you didn’t give a hoot about Bach or Beethoven or their contributions to music, all you wanted to learn about was who the Hoodoo Guru’s were, how to play a drum beat or chord of a particular song or lean a lick from some tape you had. The funny thing was although we didn’t care about the mark for music, I was very, very diligent with my drum practise and did care a great deal if I could or could not do what Neil had set me to learn for the week before my next lesson.

Anyway we were in a music class one day when we were doing choir rehearsal for some school mass. One of the “cool kids” in our class was a drummer and was always boasting how good he was what he could play and what he had learned in HIS lesson and how he was so far ahead. I guess I was a little more reserved than this guy and just did my own thing. I had never actually heard him play but tended to believe what he said. He would have been a great used car salesman, the gift of the gab as they say. We were singing some hymn which I think was like this rock version of the our father and my teacher said it would sound great with drums and asked if anyone played drums. All the kid’s including XXX said “this kid miss, get him he’s really good”. So she went to
the cupboard, pulled out some sticks and had this conversation that went something like this:

MQ: Michael can you *actually play drums* or are you just playing the class clown again.

M: No miss I can.

MQ: Are you sure Michael cause if you just go over there and mess around I am going to give you detention

M: No Miss Honest, I do play, I have been leaning off sir since grade 5.

MQ: Ok Then go over, there and play with me (she was playing the piano)

She counted off the tune “1,2,3,4” and then started and he just froze, we thought he was waiting to come in but after a few bars she stopped, asked if he had missed the count off. He replied “no”, and then she asked him again, “you do play drums don’t you XXX?”. He again said “yeah” and she said “Ok, This is in 4/4, just play a basic 4/4 pattern”. Again she counted off the tune, again he froze with that blank look on his face. After the third time of this happening she got a little cranky and got him off the kit. She said “I thought you played drums”, to which again he answered he did. She just rolled her eyes and said “really, you could have fooled me”. It was at this point a kid standing next to me said “miss, he can play the drums!” I can’t remember the guys name but I do remember wanting to kill him. I was a pretty shy kid and although loved drums, I didn’t really like the idea of being stuck in front of 30 kids to play. She asked me the same “you can play” to which I said “yes Miss”. She asked me if I knew what a 4/4 pattern was to which I answered yes and she handed me the sticks. I sat down on the Silver Yamaha Kit in front of 30 of my fellow class mates and was nervous as all hell. I was a fairly quiet kid and still relatively new after only being at the school for 12 months and most of these kids had grown up together for years before hand. If I goofed here I would have had copped it, it would have been alright for the other kid was he was “a cool kid”, well more of a motor mouth really but had everyone believe what he said. Miss counted off, and then I nailed it, right on 1. I remember the whole class of 30 giving me this funny look when I was playing like “hey that new kid *can* play drums”. Even the Miss turned after the first 4 bars and gave me this big smile of approval. At the end of the
tune she said in front of the class, “you keep beautiful time, how long have you been learning for”, to which I replied 12 months. She then said I should keep it up. I guess that’s where I got “accepted” for being a music kid and the new kid. No one was mean or anything like that to me before hand but its like they were just a bit friendlier after that. The other kid explained his “momentary memory loss” as he didn’t know what a 4/4 beat was, if she had said a rock beat he could have played the same as what I had. He never bothered or boasted to me about his drum thing again after that.

After class miss pulled me aside and told me I should come into this “concert band” thing that played every week. I turned up to the rehearsal the following week. There was only 1 other kid in my grade there and he was a red headed drummer. He played drums on one tune and then cymbal and stuff on the other tunes. The grade 10 drummer was the man in the driver seat. The band played tunes the theme from Spies like us, Take the pressure down, I’m on fire and other “soft rock” classics form the 80′s. I was playing cymbal until a new “jazz tune” was given to us that none of the others wanted to play, Bass n street blues. That was my first kit piece in concert band, I was later given more pieces but it was very much like doing your apprenticeship cause we were the younger kids the older drummer got to take first byte of the cherry.

Once I had been in the concert band for 2 years I was playing most of the kit pieces with the other drummer. I will always remember one of my last concert band performances, it was at a school rehearsal for the annual school mass. We rehearsed all the tunes with the school in the stands on number one oval with the whole school of 1200 kids being led by the school principal over the P.A. system through all the hymns that were going to be sung that night. I had been given the drum seat for “all people on earth who do dwell”. It was a standard hymn, straight ahead almost rock tune. The band was playing, the whole school was there belting out the hymn and I guess I just got caught up in the moment. Half way through the second verse the principal stopped the hymn and over the P.A. system asked “could the drums just keep it down a bit they are a little loud, it’s a hymn not a rock tune”. It was a very daunting experience, 1200 pairs of eye’s plus the whole concert band and the choir turned and just gave me one of the most piercing stares I have ever received in my life. To top things off, my drum teacher was in the stands and
proceeded to reprimand me after the rehearsal. It was definitely one of those musical
learning experiences.

From concert band, the stage band formed when the new music teacher arrived to
replace Miss, and that was my get out of Jail free card. I did enjoy concert band but at
that time it was a blend between a rock/orchestra come jazz big band and from what I
remember we weren’t particularly that great at any of it. I really did like the whole thing
of playing with other kids but the music was a little off putting at times. It wasn’t until
the stage band formed in late grade 8 /early grade 9 and this new music teacher took
over that we started getting into Jazz. Another new teacher came on board who really
opened us up to what Jazz was all about. He was a phenomenal Sax player and got us
into some great tunes. One that I will always remember is Herbie Hancock’s
Chameleon. I utterly loved that tune to death. It just sat nicely, had a great catchy head
and allowed you to play as well. The stage band was a real growing time where you did
get to practise things like improvisation and start to get a taste of what playing as
opposed to just reading music. We had some great gigs over the years, everything from
School fates, to tour of Sydney and then playing in festivals and competitions. It was
just a fantastic musical outlet to have. To really play and learn about all these great Jazz
giants and how each one made their own contribution to Jazz. I really feel it was at this
time that I really **started** to grasp the whole concept of what music was and how you
actually played in different settings be they ballad’s swing or what ever. I did have a
genuine interest in Jazz because that’s what you would listen to it to hear all the great
players and all the great drummers. But also like most kids of that age, I was into the
whole 80’s glam American metal. Although many of them need to be arrested by the
fashion police most of them (unlike the generation of pop stars of today) were
musicians, they could read, they could write AND they could really play (even if it was
only a heap of blazing 32\textsuperscript{nd} notes up a fret board or around a drum kit). Some of this
stuff did, well lets just say accidentally try to come out in stage band rehearsals to which
you got the whole “um, no that’s not what I had in mind for that fill Joe, try playing
what is written on the chart”.
Most of the American Metal guys had studied at one music school (and possibly a school of make up artistry as well) or another and were I guess the cross over from stuff you could listen too, remember the tune in your head but also learn some great licks and stuff from.

It was something that I could never really understand about music, when we had to take a mandatory music class it was taken, but to no serious level like you took other classes. At the same time as this, most kids by the age of grade 8 had bands and music they were listening to. By the time we hit grade 9 almost everyone was into music (i.e.: listening to bands and radio and buying tapes and stuff) but only a few took music as a subject. I think that one reason for this is that, well, for one everyone remember Grade 8 “music class” but secondly, they saw listening to music as good and enjoyable but learning about it as either dull or boring. I think this also has a lot to do with what is actually taught. I am grateful that I did learn all the stuff about the Jazz greats and the theory part of it but at the same time I think for the majority of kids they can’t quite see how all the stuff relates to the stuff they are listening to on the radio. And not just kids either, when people think of Jazz they just say “oh that noisy stuff with a saxophone” and don’t see how rock or what ever actually came from that. I think that is the same with kids learning music, if they did learn about their rock stuff or what ever they were into I think it would be more appealing to learn. It has to have it’s traditional grass root history but at the same time be able to have a modern day appeal to a young kid who may have heard the latest wheezer tune or what ever on the radio and for that kid to be able to learn about what wheezer is doing, how they have made their contribution to rock, where their music fits into the whole big picture and where it actually came from. I think the approach most schools have is that they teach all about the where music started but never quite finish the circle or evolution process. They stop and don’t bring it up to modern day times to what the kids are listening to these days.
I can honestly say if it was I didn’t know about it. I definitely wasn’t one of the “cool kids” and I never took up the drums to be cool. I don’t know whether cool is the right word but I think why people find drums appealing is that it is one of the very few instruments that almost seems natural to play. By this I mean, most people can sit there and tap to a tune, it’s almost instinctive, rhythm just has that effect on people, they can tap to it or dance to it or even sing a drum rhythm back to you (you have no idea how many times over the years I have been asked if I can play that drum fill from Jack and Dianne at a pub gig by some drunk and faceless puntah. They need to ban this tune from the radio) I think what makes drums appealing or acceptable to people is that they can be given a set of drum sticks, sit down behind a kit and hit a few different drums and cymbals and get an instant sound. It’s a little harder to do that with a trumpet or a violin or a sax, guitar or what ever. I think that is one of the major reasons why kids are more accepting of drums, its easy to get that first sound, the difficulty comes when you try to get these sounds to make a coherent musical statement and then get it to groove and the list goes on. This is an endless process of skill refinement that will occur on any instrument.

Well, everyone at school got called names, whether you were a musician or not. It was just one of those things of boarding school. EVERYBODY had a nickname, some were funny, some were cruel and some stupid but you couldn’t escape it. It was just one of those things.

I never got bullied or payed-out on for being a musician. I think part of this had something to do with the fact that as well as music I also enjoyed playing sport. I was nothing that set any particular sport on fire but none the less I had a crack at rugby and swimming and enjoyed them, particularly swimming. I think you get to mix with a whole different bunch of kids with sport and they do see that you don’t have 2 heads and walk around listening to Mozart. You are just one of them who also happens to play the drums or guitar or sax or what ever. I would say that probably about 40% of the kids in stage band also played sport so you did get to mix with the other kids. It’s really
strange. If you’re a rugby player, you go to training, go to the gym so you can improve to be a better player. Now if you’re a musician, you’re training is band rehearsal and your gym work is your practise BUT it’s perceived as a nerdy thing to do. Why that is I don’t know cause essentially, in both scenarios, you are doing the same thing. I think it is human nature to be fearful of the unknown or to bag something that you are not particularly good at or understand. It’s almost like the human coping mechanism, if someone is good at something or is doing something that someone doesn’t understand, rather than try and spend some time to try and understand what the person is doing, they just bag it because it is the easy option. They don’t have to do any real work on trying to understand what music or practise is about (but they do go to lengths to understand that going to a gym will get you bigger and stronger for rugby or any sport for that matter).

One of the greatest “coming out of the closet moments” at school was in my final yr battle of the bands at the school fate. We had our band and no singer. There was one guy were going to ask but he joined another band before that so the other guy said “Hey I know who we can get, XXX”. Now XXX was a great guy, he was pretty funny, easy going, no attitude but also………………SECOND ROW FOR THE FIRST XV. I really do believe that he subconsciously made a statement when he sang that day. It was like wow, here’s this guy plays for the first XV and can also sing in a band. I am not sure whether he would have got the same reception had he been playing flute for the concert band, I think that playing in a rock band had something to do with it. I do think the fact that this combined with the fact that he had proven himself on the sporting field had something to do with him being able to do that and “not loose face”. He could also hold a pretty good tune too!

I can’t remember kids ever getting a hard time purely because of music. I do think that the guys who did play music and did get involved in a sporting team did not really get a hard time. As I said before I think the kids who did play sport even if it was at a very basic level, and did music did not get a hard time. I think this was because they did mix with a whole different circle of kids when they did play sport and got to know a whole different click of kids. IT wasn’t like if you only played music you got given a hard time because there were kids who did play sport, even at very high levels who got given a
hard time. I just think it comes down to the individual kid as to whether he got given a hard time or not. I think if a kid is a little reserved and he does play music then it just gives the other kids some extra ammo to use on him. I think the difference between kids playing sport and music something like this. When you play sport, (i.e.: take something like rugby), there is that controlled aggression or testosterone factor that is required to bring out the competitiveness in order to win a game. This is seen or perceived as a very “male” thing to do. Sport in its very nature is competitive, there is a winner and a loser and you need to have that drive to beat the opponent in order to win and thus receive the accolades and glory or recognition.

Now when you play music, it’s not so much a competition thing. It’s more of an expression of the individual. To do this successfully, it requires the player to express emotion through his instrument. In the context of a school orchestra or stage band there’s no aggression or anger required (I mean you are playing ballads or at best a funk tune with a stage band, no death metal which may require some sort of aggression to get your point across). To try and draw a parallel between this and the desirable winning outcome of sport, In order to “win” with music, you draw deep on your emotions and express yourself. When you have made that statement with your instrument and it moves the audience or the audience can “relate” or understand what you are saying, then I guess you can say, “you’ve won”. Now with guy’s it’s not a very male thing to do i.e.: express emotion. I guess the only “acceptable” emotion that a guy can display and not be given a hard time is anger or aggression. If a guy was to break down in front of another group of guys then he would be seen as a “whimp” or “a girl”. I just think that this does change as you get older but at school and even into late teens I guess this is still the perception.

As I said earlier, ever since I got interested in music, I knew that this is what I wanted to do with my life. The problem being though is that at 16 or 17 when you tell someone that you want to be a musician the first thing that pop into their head is “this kid wants to be a rock star”. They then tell you to stop dreaming or better still go and get a qualification and play music as a hobby. For whatever reason it is not really seen as a
career option. If you teach music that is OK, but if you just want to play or perform then you are seen as a bum who just wants to sleep all day, live on the dole and not have any real direction in life.

One of the things I found frustrating with this is that when I did finish school music was something that I did want to do with my life and it was more discouraged rather than encouraged in the same way that you would be if you said you wanted to be a doctor or even dedicate your life to playing sport at a top level. At school music was always encouraged as an extra curricular activity that you spend a lot of time on, but, when you came to actually making a career choice then music was not even given a mention (except in a teaching context). I mean you spent years of learning and trying to develop your instrument but then you were expected to forget all that and just get a profession. When I finished school I wanted to continue learning and refining my instrument and become a session musician. I said session musician because I thought and still do think that you should always strive to be a great player, not just some thrasher. Session musicians have this attribute to their playing. They are musical chameleons. I didn’t have the melodic theory that most kids have when they apply to a con but rhythmically I think I could match them. When I actually told my drum teacher that I wanted to be a session musician he said I should go and be an accountant or a lawyer and play drums as a hobby. Not really the answer I was looking for, so I told my parents the same thing. They were halfway in between this when they said, “good, but go and get a degree first”. I think had there been a little more of a push towards making a career out of being a musician then I would have been ahead of where I am at present.

So, after all this “great advice” I got I applied to university to get a “respectable profession” as an accountant. I did manage to join up with some guys from school who were all in the same boat as I was (2 were 990 students doing law & commerce law, the third was doing psychology and the fourth commerce). It was predominantly a guitar pop band but the songs were good and the singers talented. In a guitar pop context we were good at what we did. Songs were catchy enough, vocals were strong and everyone was into the music. Even though the music didn’t require it, I did still want to improve
my playing and get to be a better musician where the others were more content to just play as they were. I still held onto my jazz interests and listened to all the great players and other amazing drummers so I guess this is what drove me to want to improve. So after a yr of accounting I deferred with high hopes of being able to ditch the accounting degree at the end of that year because I would be studying at the con. I took an early morning job as an office cleaner so I could pay rent, eat, and take extra drum and theory lessons. My day would start at 3.50 am, I would walk to work, start at 4.15 and then finish at 7.30. I would get home by eight, have breakfast, a 2 hr sleep and then practise from 11-6, Mon to Friday. It was a simple existence but I was extremely happy cause I could spend my days practising and learning. As well as the cleaning job, I would work in a paper/souvenir shop in the city of a Saturday and do a few covers gigs during the week to bring in some extra cash. I was also doing gigs with the guitar pop band with the other guys as well. It was often a huge battle of will when the alarm went off at 3.50am after you had got home at one that morning after doing a gig at some smokey pub. I think this was where I acquired my taste of strong coffee.

After doing this for about 10months, it was time to go to the audition. I was hopeful that I would get in because I had genuinely busted my hump for that time to get in. I did my audition and got a B+. They described this mark as “you will more than likely be offered a place in the course”. I was on cloud 9 as I saw this as my ticket out of that hell otherwise known as accounting. Unfortunately my plans failed to materialize. They took 30 kids that year. Out of those 30 they had space for 1 drummer. There was a guy who auditioned that got an A for his audition attempt so he got the gig. So not knowing where to go from there I went back and did accounting. The whole time whilst I was studying I was still playing in everything from regular covers trios, originals bands as well as recording for these guys and some others on what I guess was more of a freelance basis. During this time in the various groups we did support for some of the major Aussie acts (such as the Sharp and gang-ga-jang) and also had some record co interest (that never really came to anything) and had some songs played on the radio. It was a good overall experience.
My playing actually allowed me to have an income at uni. I guess I was fortunate enough not to have to work in a coffee shop or go back to cleaning offices and toilets. Not that there is anything wrong with these jobs but it’s just more a time leverage thing. I made more $$ playing 3 covers gigs a week than my mates who had finished uni before me and were working full time as an accountant or whatever. This was strange concept that didn’t quite add up in my head.

After I did finish my uni thing and getting sick of just doing covers I thought that I should really do something with this degree. I had been playing in a covers & trio, which later developed into an original band with a guy who had also done commerce, law and was in the same predicament as me. He did his degree, didn’t want to be a lawyer or accountant and just wanted to play music. We decided to had overseas to London and do the post uni and postponement of “the real world job scene” and travel. My girlfriend (now wife) also came and we had a great time seeing all these great countries and stuff. Once the money was out, I thought maybe I might be able to use this accounting thing, combine the music thing with it and then be happy doing that. I got a job with a record company, which was good but when it came down to it whether you are working in a record company, an accounting firm or whatever, numbers are numbers. So after spending 2 years in London doing this I discovered that it wasn’t really cutting it and it was time to get back to playing as that was what I was truly happy at doing, even if the money wasn’t the same, it was just being totally into what you did.

As someone once told me if you find something you love doing for a living you will never work a day in your life.

We headed back to Brisbane for 2 reasons:

1) Was to get married
2) Was to have a crack with a band that consisted of the guy we travelled with and some other ring in’s to try and pursue a career playing original music.
The plan was to spend 6 months in Australia and then all of us come back to London and continue the pursuit in a somewhat more rewarding environment. WE recorded our demo and took it to Sydney to shop to a couple of the major Labels and also did a heap of gigs. It ended up being 12 months in Brisbane which was devoted utterly to playing and practising and recording. After people started to pull out of coming back to London to continue our quest then I knew that I had to do something else if I wanted to make music a career. Probably the greatest lesson I learnt during this time is that you can’t rely on people cause when it comes down to it, even if people have the best intentions, they will ultimately put themselves first. We decided that if you were going to be a session musician that London, although tough, is a good place to try, as there seems to be more opportunity there as there are a heap of studios and bands are always touring through town. With this in mind, we took out a loan of almost 5 figures and I recorded a demo with the view to come back to London and use this for getting work and to be able to work as a session musician. The CD came up Ok and we headed back armed with 500 cd’s and a list of cold contacts.

I did think I would be able to get into the session stuff a little quicker than has turned out; it just seems like when you think you have turned a corner another appears. I do think overall the move back to London to pursue this was a good thing. I have played with Ronan Keating, MJ Cole, Donnie Osmond and some other touring American guys. Although this stuff is only short term in the sense that they are one off gig’s or mini promo tours, it is good when you do get the call as you feel you are moving in the right direction and making some head way in all this. I am having to keep down a day job (of all things, accounting) to pay rent and live but it has also allowed me to study with one of the masters of the art so to speak. HE has taught some of the greats in the drum world and played with everyone from Jaco Pastorius and Steve Vai.

I still practise except it’s the reverse time schedule from my office cleaning days, finish work then come home and practise from 8 till about 1.30-2 am and all weekend. If I were able to paint my pipe dream music career, it would be being a session musician in a recording or tour context or preferably both. This usually allows you to make a living.
out of music but in addition to this have my own Jazz quartet. Having painted this
dream though, the paramount factor in all this is to be an exceptional player. I don’t
mind if I don’t get all the recognition, as this is not why I am doing it. I just want to be a
great player and be able to spend my life being able play and be able to continually
evolve and reform my craft. Most people don’t understand this and think time would be
better spent getting a “proper career” and making a heap of money to retire on. It is
hard to try and explain to someone that this is something you want to spend your life
doing because I think society is pretty commercially minded. Sure you have to be able
to make a living out of music but at the same time your life is not a failure if you don’t
own a Mercedes Benz and a mansion on a beach. There’s more to life than this.

I would prefer to be an unknown great player than a “famous” person who can’t play.
Most see this the other way but I guess each to their own. As to whether all this actually
happens, I don’t know. I guess it’s early days yet but hopefully it will come together as
planned. The only definite thing in the whole pursuit of this music career or “dream” as
others call it, is that I am not going to die wondering whether or not I could have been a
musician. I will find out either way.
Subject 13

Family – Father, not musical, deceased prior to beginning of my musical education, Mother – Piano/organ and singer –played at local church every couple of weeks through primary and secondary school

I began school in Bundaberg in Year 2. In Year 3, I began violin tuition because only stringed instruments were offered below year 5. We already owned a ¼ sized violin, continued with violin lessons for about 12 months. Lessons were for a group of four. I did very little practice and made very little progress. I did not enjoy playing the violin and hated lessons especially being told to sit up straight.

I do not recall anybody at school saying anything about the violin. There was a Japanese girl in my year who was a very proficient violinist and because she was bigger and meaner than most of the boys, musicians and violinists were rarely a conversation topic. In year 5 many others began woodwind and brass. I stuck with music class singing and recorder lessons. Halfway through Year 6 I convinced my mother to let me begin playing the clarinet by promising to stick with it and practise. One of my uncles bought a second hand clarinet in Brisbane through the trading post for $200. As I missed the group lesson beginnings, I began private tuition out of school to catch up. Because of my interest and lots of practice, I rapidly caught the others and I was in the school band to play the national anthem and some marches at school assemblies.

I left Bundaberg to attend boarding school for my high school years. My mother organised lessons at the school. Upon arriving at school I was told to audition for the concert band – I do not recall auditioning, only my clarinet teacher telling me to be at rehearsals. The rehearsals were interesting for the first 2 weeks, after which only fear of the music directors yelling at me kept me going –and then only sometimes. Music seemed to be pretty big at that school. We went on tour to Sydney in the second half of that year. Tours were usually kept for the 1st XV rugby side.
Being in Year 8 and a Boarder, we were all new. Nobody knew me without playing an instrument so noone said anything. My clarinet teacher was my homeroom teacher, so noone of the day students were especially judgemental – although music was compulsory in Year 8, it was often the worst subject because the Music Director was the angriest teacher in the school. Or so it seemed in year 8. 3 things smoothed the way in year 8:

1. There was a special class made up of kids who could sing called the the choir class. We all had to sing this song over and over and the music director picked all the kids. The choir class got the prettiest teacher in the school for the homeroom teacher. I remember being a little disappointed at not being picked because I fancied myself as a bit of a singer from singing at church with Mum. There was a swag of rumours that the choir class was a mix of really smart kids and good singers. But in the end I only remember them singing as a group once or twice and then one kid fell of a stand, broke his arm and got three months off

2. Our homeroom teacher made our class record a song. The rap. I played clarinet on the instrumental track wit another kid on the trumpet and the teacher on the saxophone. All the kids wrote the lyrics and we each said a line. The teacher mixed it and we all got a copy

3. There was a boarder in Year 8 who played the violin, was in the choir class and later sang in front of the whole school at inaugural mass. He copped a lot of flak, mostly about his voice, especially from the older kids whose voices had broken. But he was a wog – with blonde hair and a big mouth and he turned any ridicule to his advantage quickly using his notoriety to become well known and popular with everyone else.

In Year 9 I swapped to bass clarinet to fill the gap left by a departing senior. It was one of my favourite years in the concert band I had a part all to myself. In Year 10 to move to principal 2nd clarinet ahead of the two who had been there the previous year. But the concert band was really not that flash. By Year 10 I has a burning desire to be in the stage band. A big band which played mixture of Jazz and Rock. Always our last
performer at every concert. A series of successful competitions had made performance at school assemblies common and the concert band usually provided music for big ceremonial masses.

Over the Christmas break of year 10, I persuaded the music director (he didn’t seem to yell as much by then) to allow me to take a saxophone home. Hoping I could teach myself and get into the stage band the following year. I did a lot of practice and auditioned for the stage band. I was never sure that I played better than the guy who played second alto the year before or if he decided to give up. Not that it mattered because I got to swallow around and look down my nose at the others in the clarinet section of the concert band because I had made the stage band. I was also 1st clarinet in the Concert Band. I did feel quite cheated because the stage band director left the school at the end of 93. It didn’t take too long to get over that though. The excitement of being in the stage band, playing that high energy music and now the interest of having the melody in the Concert band made it an exciting year. I had also taken music as an elective subject. I found it really interesting and my level of involvement began to increase. Around Easter, the Music Director approached me about playing clarinet in the Qld Conservatorium of Music Wind Ensemble – an opportunity I jumped at. Somehow I ended up playing 1st clarinet. Way out of my depth. I had to fake most of the parts. I did little or no clarinet practice. I could just about sightread my concert band parts and was more interested in playing the saxophone so the only time I played the Con Music school parts was in rehearsal.

In my senior year, I reauditioned for the Con Music School for Sax and Composition. I was accepted for both into their tuition program. I was made 1st Alto in the Stage Band and Principle 1st Clarinet in the Concert Band. I joined the Choir, and played 1st clarinet in the Full Orchestra. I played in so many ensembles that by May, I wanted out of all of them except stage band. I voluntarily moved back to 3rd clarinet in Concert Band. Due to a clash of personality with my composition teacher at the Con I was told perhaps it would be better if I did not continue lessons
The year passed quickly, I planned to audition for the Conservatorium at the end of the year. But as it approached I realized that a lack of practice would probably prevent my acceptance.

During my secondary schooling I cannot recall any incidences in which I was hassled for being a musician. The school fostered many extra curricular activities and because of competition successes, interstate tours and supportive music staff music became one of the more higher profiled.

The Italian boy violinist/singer with his early popularity became part of the right peer groups and so many other music students were considered like him. Other students in other years must have had a similar effect but this combined with the supportive school tended to rank music only just one rung on the ladder below sport.

I recall in Year 10 (1993) there was a senior student who played 3rd clarinet in the concert band. He was selected in the 1st XV rugby team. He brought many of us in the band closer to rugby and I would like to think that his team teammates listened a bit more closely when that band played at assemblies. The only time I can remember any musician being hassled was the Italian singer. When he dang in front of the whole school in Year 8 he was mocked for his high voice and when in later years he moved to elvis songs, they knocked him now and then.

Unfortunately during my year off practice, I did very little. I gave my clarinet to one of my cousins when her father picked up the sax I bought after leaving school. It now spends most of its time in the cupboard. I hardly play it at all. Fro a while I sang in the church choir and private vocal group but I gave these away when I began a job that involved nightshift. I never returned to studying music.

Six months ago I bought a violin and began lessons. Now I really enjoy playing it. I don’t practice it as much as I would like but I am improving at a much greater rate than the 1st time. I don’t play in any groups and I don’t really want to.
Subject 14

I began my first formal music in Grade 3 when I started playing the cello. I had a piano in the house from an early age and my first memories of music were play do a deer from the sound of music on the piano. I took up piano lessons in grade five and played both the piano and cello for the whole of my school years. I enjoyed my years in school music. I not only played at school but in many a varied community orchestras both in Gladstone and Rockhampton. My immediate family did play music at school but have not continued it since and I hear my extended family is very musical on both sides. Some I hear have even pursued it as a career.

The story of how I chose the cello was an interesting one. From as early as I can remember I wanted to play something. I went through a faze of wanting to play the flute but that was short-lived and was really only because I wanted to play the same instrument as a grade six girl who was supposed to mentor grade ones when they first arrived at school. I then took an interest in the cello because a friend in my grade had a brother who played the cello. He was in about grade six when I started to play that. They ad a great cello section of four all in the same grade. I then tried out when the end of grade two came. The teacher tried me out on a cello for size and then tried me out on a violin. I went home crying and told my parents I wasn't playing the violin because it sound squeaky and horrible so really I was destined to play the cello. I really only decided I wanted to learn the piano so I could learn treble clef. 10 years and 7 exams latter I can think of easier ways to learn the treble clef

This has continued to a lesser extent in the year since high school but is beginning to pick up and probably has to do with a move to Brisbane and a non-music related university course. I experienced bullying throughout school as many people do. It was most prevalent in my junior high school years. It tended to lessen as I got to senior I believe partly because people matured and partly because I made good friends with people who were incidentally part of the music scene at school. I believe that my music playing may have been a factor in the bullying but hardly a significant one. There were
many other more obvious reason to bully me that playing the cello really was not an issue. I believe also the friends I made were all heavily involved in music I really did cut my self off from other people in high school who could have seen it is something to pick on. I also loved my music so any level of bullying probably would no have made a difference. I was also relatively successful and I consumed a large part of my life which was another reason that bullying would have had little effect. Comparing my self to other people, particularly boys, who played music, particularly string instruments, it appeared the less involved you were in things the more you got a hard time because your circle of friends were not part of the music circle. I think the way the school operated was also significant. In primary school as far as I can recall music was pretty important particularly as I got older. In high school the music program was also pretty important. The stage band in particular was very well respected and would often play at school functions. While the strings program was nowhere near as good they received some reflected glory from the stage band and I was seen as being connected socially with the stage band group of people. I can't think of any major incidents of bullying that occurred in relation to music but there was in junior high general niggle stuff smart comments and the like but nowhere near as much as in other areas.

Something else which I found interesting was the stage band had these really good uniforms they were black pants with a black shirt with multi-coloured sleeves. It was classy and the shirts were dubbed "magic shirts" because they were thought to give some magic that made the stage band play better. While the string orchestra went through a series of disgusting uniforms most of them revolting most of them making you like and idiot. The most horrible one being black pants with a see through white top with puffy sleeves and huge multi-coloured cuffs. It was worse than the puffy shirt Sienfeld wore in that now famous episode. This probably provided the most of the bullying opportunities. The string orchestra to a certain extent copped some bullying from other people particularly brass players who were obviously all male. The strings were seen as nowhere near as good and there was a certain amount of truth in that. I was mostly immune from that because I was really seen as merely a martyr trying to make the group sound better and I made friends with a lot of the other people. It's hard to say
but it may have had something to do with me playing cello because a previous cellist had played piano in the stage band and I was really put in with him. Also the bass players didn't cop it as much because all of them played in the stage band at one time or another.

So while I was bullied at school most of it had to do with things other than music. The factors that meant that bullying didn't effect me was my love of music, my circle of friends and the prestige put on music at the school.
Subject 15

My parents are both musical, but only my mother was given the opportunity to learn instruments (piano/guitar) and she taught these instruments until I was born, the first of three children. My father sang as a young boy, as a solist in the churches of Adelaide, but received no formal music education. Both my parents were born, raised, and educated in Adelaide and my father has taught English and Drama for 30 years. I was born in Lameroo, a small rural town in the mallee country in SA, 4 hours drive from Adelaide. Dad had his first country teaching post out there. When I was 3, we moved to a rented house in 45 minutes drive south of Adelaide, beyond the Adelaide Hills, while waiting for our house to be built in that same town. I spent my primary school years at Primary School, which had a virtually non-existent music program. There was some semblance of a choir in Year 5 which petered out very quickly, however we did stage a musical that year, a Christmas thing in which I played the sandman, accidentally sending Father Christmas to sleep when he was supposed to be delivering presents!

My music education came from my weekly piano lessons, which I began at 7 years of age. Sunday School musicals were a good outlet too - I had the lead in Year 7. My stage experience though, began at age 5 - my Dad used to direct amateur plays and melodramas such as "The furtive fortunes of fickle fate" and "The belle of Balarat" and I was involved in these productions, along with "Jack and the Beanstalk" and "Wind in the Willows". I have always been involved in the theatre and have never known life without it.

So, not having received any quality of music education at primary school, my parents sent me to a Lutheran College in the city of Adelaide and I commuted each day on the bus. This school was only small, about 420 kids from Years 8-12. There was a strong tradition of musicals there - when I was in Year 7 we had gone to see their production of "Fiddler on the Roof" and enjoyed it immensely. Year 8 I sang in the Junior Choir, which had dwindling popularity, but from Year 10 onwards I was in the Senior Choir which was what everybody wanted to be in. I took up bass guitar that year to play in rock bands with my friends, though still continuing to have piano lessons. I was accepted I
guess, from a musical perspective, cause I was just as happy to jam with irvana and Metallica in friends' bands as singing Rutter in the choir. But, as I said, the school musical was a huge thing at my school and the standard was always exemplary. When I was in Year 10 we put on West Side Story, Year 11 I had the lead in "Anything Goes" (Billy Crocker) which won me huge popularity (I was school captain in Year 12) and Year 12 I played Henry Higgins in "My Fair Lady". So, for me, the music made me popular rather than an outcast. I guess if I was just an instrumentalist things would have been different. Although I played bass in the concert band and chapel services which gave me access to lots of people.

After my performance in "Anything Goes" I sang for the new voice teacher, and he insisted that I take lessons. I did so and took voice as my instrument in Year 12 music (classroom music was dreadful by the way) and got a 19/20. I then auditioned for the ElderCon (University of Adelaide). While studying at the con i had principal roles in their productions as well as leads in amateur productions of musicals outside the conservatorium. I emerged from the con 4 years later with First Class Honours in Voice Performance in 1998.

That same year I met someone who heard me sing at the National Academy of Music in Melbourne and suggested that I learn voice so in March '99 I packed my bags and settled in Brisbane, which has been a happy time for me, with wonderful lessons and opportunities

I recently completed a B.Ed. from UQ to be able to teach music, considerably better than I was taught at primary and high school. The lack of aural training and development of skills was poor and I was not an improved musician as a result of attending 3 and a half out of 5 years of classroom music in high school.

Scott, I know that your thesis is partly on gayness and how that may inhibit or label male musicians. I never had any trouble at school - the trouble came outside of school. When I was in first year at the con, other musos thought I was gay cause I used to wear a scarf and cords in the cold weather - I guess I dressed better than other guys there. But
even musos are so quick to judge from a superficial level! It didn't bother me that they thought I was gay because I was always sure of my heterosexuality, but being labeled as gay just because I dressed nicely and I liked opera, by other musicians (!) was amusing to me.

But not just musicians thought I was gay - when I moved up to Queensland, people heard that I sang opera and they immediately assumed that I was gay. Again, this wasn't a problem, but it goes to show how narrow minded our culture is in Australia that we can't accept "real men" to be artists. Mind you, I always took my girlfriend everywhere with me to let everyone know my sexual orientation.
Right from the moment I entered the world it seemed I had a special connection with music. I was quite a troubled child and it became clear to my parents that singing to me while ‘drumming’ rhythm on my back was the most effective way of calming me when I became angry/upset. My father recalls to me now the many nights I would wake up disturbed in the middle of the night. The only way I would calm down was if dad took me to the window and sang a song that he had made up about me as we watched the cars drive up a hill in the distance. From these early experiences it seemed music had a place in my life that satisfied something nothing else would.

I seemed to latch on to anything musical. At around 3-5 years of age I discovered an old folk guitar in a cupboard in our house. It only had two (very out of tune!) strings on it but to me it was great. I proceeded to busk in our living room with all passing family members expected to donate! It was also around this time that my cousins were beginning to learn violin. They had small-scale violins and when I saw these I desperately wanted to learn. I begged my parents for lessons and became passionate about wanting to play the violin, however finances were very tight and there was no way my parents could afford either a violin or lessons. They produced a John Williams cassette of classical guitar music that was lying around to take my mind off the violin. I listened to this constantly.

At seven years of age, my Mother had me taught piano for a period. It was not entirely for me however during this time I composed my first piece written for piano and voice. When I was nine years of age the classroom music teacher advertised guitar lessons at the school. I begged my parents to let me learn. They did and also brought me a ¾ size guitar. This was the beginning of a love affair that has only grown stronger and stronger to the present day. Up until I began learning guitar I had been struggling with a learning disorder and not doing well at school. It was only when I started learning guitar that I really began to read properly. My teachers were amazed at the difference in my schoolwork.

My first guitar teacher was a man who really instilled a love of music in me. He encouraged me to write my own songs and gave me many opportunities to perform
these. He also encouraged me when I auditioned for a music scholarship at a private, all male high school. I was granted a part scholarship, which covered instrumental tuition costs.

During my time at high school there were two music directors with two very different approaches to music education. High school was very much a formation period for me as a musician, along with all areas of life however it was music at high school that gave me a focus for everything else. Therefore it was very important that, as an extremely enthusiastic and also quite sensitive 13 year old, the music staff gave the right support. The first director of music was excellent in this regard. He encouraged me to compose more and gave me every performance opportunity he could. He constantly guided me whilst never making me be something I was not.

It was the support of people like this at my school that really helped me survive at high school. The school I went to was definitely not set up with people like me in mind. My first years at the school were very tough, I was constantly bullied and victimised. I would sometimes come home from school and just start crying whilst trying to explain what happened. It was not so the fact that I was a musician that made me a target, more the type of musician/person. Music was a big thing at the school at that time and many boys were involved however, it was not because you were involved with music that made you a target for bullying, it was how much music meant to you. My Life revolved around music, and when this is the case, it is only natural that you will have a different outlook on things than the vast majority of other people. It was the whole package that made me an excellent target for bullying, a package bound by my love and devotion to music. This ‘package’ combined many things:

The school was so big, so middling that it (it’s students) would attempt to pull anything different into that ‘normal’ area
2. Many boys found it impossible to accept someone who had a passion for something that was not sport related. The was the only type of passion that most of the students were comfortable with, was that which was expressed on a football field.

3. The fact that I was an artistic and sensitive person, proved something many boys (particularly in first three years) could not handle. I was teased with many slang homosexual names and questioned with regard to my sexuality. There was nothing to warrant this, I was clearly not homosexual but this was the way they dealt with me and the fact that I was a little different.

All these things were compounded with other factors. My total commitment to music meant that I had little time to involve myself in sport. I did try out for sporting teams and very much appreciated sport but I felt I was in my first years at the school, looked down upon because it was not what I spent my weekends doing. It was the constant support of many of the staff, both music and otherwise who made it easier for me to cut my own path. I make particular mention once again to the then director of music and the head master at that time.

An interesting point to note is that I feel if I had only played guitar, there would not have been so many people joking about what I did. In my first two years at the school whenever I performed in front of my peers I would be given a hard time mostly about my singing. When I arrived at the school my voice was not even beginning to ‘break’ and the fact that I was comfortable and willing to stand in front of a large group of students to sing and play my own compositions was too much for some people to handle; the more conviction one has the more open that person is leaving themselves to others’ victimising.

Although many individuals on staff, and also many students supported me, it was the ones who sought to use me to gain stature through bullying me who influenced many of those who sat ‘on the fence.’ It is important to understand that, although many members
of staff understood what was going on and were concerned for me, there was certainly no official policy or system in place to cater for someone like myself. The problem was not being caused by a large number of students but rather a very small number. The school really should have done better in dealing with such bullies who did not only give me a hard time but many others also.

By my senior years many things had changed. My classmates were begging to grow up and started to appreciate what I did. There was also a real shift in the attitude toward bullies. The boys who were bullies or still saw someone like me as an object of ridicule were generally looked down upon by the rest of the class. The bullies who did not grow up and change became ostracised. It was much easier to be so involved with music now; people really respected me for it. Paradoxically, by this stage a new director of music had arrived who went on to do his best to keep me down. He really gave you the impression he was worried about you becoming better than him and made sure that everyone knew how good he was. I think I was very lucky that I encountered this man for the final two years of my schooling when, by this stage I was quite assured of my own ability and directions. (It must also be said that the big band one director at that time, whom I had much to do with, gave me nothing but friendship and support which really made the erratic actions of the music director easier to bear) If something positive can be said about the way I was bullied in my first years of high school, it was that to survive I had to become assured of who I was and where I was going.

After leaving school I went to the study and I am currently in the final year of my BMUS specialising in Classical guitar performance. I have had many wonderful opportunities and doors opened for me, and have been fortunate enough to perform with some of the best musicians around. I now plan to do an honours year specialising in performance and on completion of this am planning to continue further studies in both jazz and classical guitar in America.
As to my background: I was born in a small town near the Snowy Mountains, and lived there for 2 years before moving to Coffs Harbour. My first experiences of music were listening to recordings Mum & Dad would play at home, and listening to my sisters sing & practise. I did a little bit of music in class at primary school - choirs and recorders etc. I took piano lessons for a couple of years, and started the trombone in Grade 5 (I chose the trombone in particular because it was the last instrument left in the cupboard). I didn't practise much at all, but enjoyed playing in the primary school band. Halfway through Grade 6 I moved to Armidale, where I became involved in bands, orchestras and choirs, and this enthused me to improve as a musician and make music a focus of my life. I resumed piano lessons and began guitar lessons, and was introduced to jazz improvisation and music theory. Through trombone lessons I started on a program of AMEB exams. I attended music camps and, with my sisters studying at the Qld Con, became aware of great opportunities for musical education in Brisbane. At the end of Grade 10 my family moved to Brisbane largely so that I and my younger sister could take advantage of those opportunities.

In Brisbane I became heavily involved in music both inside and outside of school, playing in community bands like the QYO groups and attending what is now the Young Con. I continued trombone and guitar lessons, and began to study composition. At school I participated in big bands, concert bands, choirs, brass ensembles and musicals. Such participation involved performances in concerts, festivals and competitions, in front of sizeable crowds, and afforded me the opportunity of being involved in recording sessions. Overall I gained a wide experience of music and developed an appreciation for a number of musical styles, notably jazz.

After graduating from high school in 1995, I joined a community concert band put together for the purpose of touring Hong Kong & Singapore for 10 days in the middle of the year. Apart from that, I did barely any practise or other playing, but began to listen to a more diverse range of music in terms of styles and artists. Such an 'outside-looking-
in' kind of perspective helped me to realise those styles and aspects of music which I
most enjoy and the ways in which certain styles influence my mood and energy. In 1996
and following years I played in jazz/rock bands and took a keener interest in practising
trombone and guitar and writing songs. Halfway through 1997 I was fortunate enough to
be offered an instrumental teaching position. Teaching music has been a challenge and
has made me think about learners' perspectives. I plan to continue teaching until the end
of this year and then move to Sydney or Melbourne to find work playing and writing
music, possibly with the Air Force band.

I was not personally given a tough time because of my involvement in music. At my
school in Armidale, the music department in general took a slight beating as although
music was an important part of the school in terms of the role it played in ceremonies at
the school and the promotion of the school through outside performances, it always took
second place to sport by a fair distance and was not looked upon favourably whenever it
clashèd with sport-related events. The same could be said of my school in Brisbane, but
in that case the music department was growing rapidly and the involvement of greater
proportions of students in school music meant that it became more or less an equally
important part of the school. My involvement in music was never criticised by other
students as being un-manly or wimpish – neither was my choice to play soccer instead
of rugby (the main sport of the school) so I think that that is a testament to the good
nature of my fellow students. I tended to get on well with most people at school so no-
one really gave me a hard time about much. The only tough time I had with being
involved in music at high school was finding time to fit everything in – it was
challenging but forced the development of my organisational skills and discipline.
Overall, I enjoyed my experiences of music in school and appreciate the opportunities it
gave me to develop as a musician and as a person and to build good friendships with
students and teachers.
Subject 18

I grew up in town in North Queensland. I have one older sister. My parents divorced when I was about 6 years old. My mother re-married about 3 or 4 years later. This relationship then dissolved about 13 years after that. My biological father was a country and western singer for many years and I guess that was my first real exposure to music even though today I am not fan of that style of music.

All throughout my primary school years I began to get involved in all the school productions and really enjoyed the experience. I also tried my hand at piano lessons in my younger years but didn't really have any natural flair for it. It wasn't until I was 12 that I got my first 'big' role with as 'Kurt' in the Sound of Music. This was in 1987 and it was then that I realised that no matter what I did in my life that music would always be apart of it.

Then came high school in 1988. I continued to be involved in all the school production and started to learn the trumpet. Something was different though. It was no longer 'cool' to do music. From the moment I started high school in 1988 to the year I finished, came the taunting. The name calling started. Poofter, Faggot, Queer. You name it, I copped it. If it wasn't for my passion to do music, I would not be where I am today. For 5 years I put up with this crap even having to change schools in year 10. Unfortunately, nothing changed and it was then I knew that if I wanted to continue music I would have learn to deal with the teasing that came along with it.

Suddenly, in 1992 high school was over and it was graduation time. I was confronted with real life and hadn't even thought about what I wanted to do with my life. I was not very academic at school and choices were limited. Throughout my high school years, I was involved in every local production put on. Playing lead roles in Show Boat, Hello Dolly, God Spell, Les Miserables and Jesus Christ Superstar. Even doing all these productions, I still really hadn't considered a serious career in music.
I decided to take a year of after school to just work and try to sort my life out. In that 
same year, 1993, I was playing the part of Barnaby Tucker in Hello Dolly. After one of 
the performances, I was approached a lovely lady. She just happened to be the singing 
teacher. She offered to give sing lessons, to which I replied: "I don't think that I can 
afford them, but thanks anyway". On that very spot she then offered me a half 
scholarship which I accepted. So my first sing lessons began when I was the ripe old 
age of 17. Somewhat of a late starter, but this woman saw potential.

I started studying the next year in 1994. Finally I was doing something with my life and 
I knew I wanted it to be music. I completed and associate diploma of music in 1995 and 
then started the bachelor of music theatre in 1996. This was were my true passion was. 
However, my personal life was not going all that well and halfway through a 3 year 
course I quit and abruptly moved to Brisbane. I had just told my mother and my 
stepfather that I was gay. I had met a man 11 years my senior. Things were fine for a 
while, I had no problems with my parents, but my relationship was a disaster. My life 
was a mess and uni studies suffered. All I wanted to do was remove myself from this 
situation. I moved to Brisbane. I had nothing, no job and no money.

I found work with the Commonwealth Bank doing debt collection for credit cards. I 
was not happy but it was work. I did not give up on my singing and had organised 
auditions for some professional musicals. My very first audition in 1997 for Les 
Miserables was a success in my eyes. I made it through to the final rounds of auditions 
but did not win a spot. I knew then that I was maybe talented enough to next time get a 
part. That day I also realised that there were a lot of talented people trying to get that 
part too. It was going to be very difficult but I never gave up.

To pass the time I auditioned for an amateur musical and got the lead role. It was there I 
met up with a friend I had known from the Con. He was telling me about a project he 
had going call 'The Ten Tenors'. He asked if a place became available in this ensemble 
if I would be interested in auditioning. Of course I said yes. Three months later he 
called and the rest is history. I have been performing with the group for 3 years and
I have toured all over Australia and overseas. I consider myself to be lucky though. There are plenty of people with degrees that are working at McDonalds. (No offence) I am now a full time singer doing what I love. Performing and getting paid to do so.

I did mention briefly before that I was gay. I have very strong opinions on this matter. Most people have this theory that if you're male and participate in such activities as music theatre or ballet, you must be gay. My opinion is that this could not be further from the truth. I've known from a very early age that I was gay, I did not know until I was 18 that I wanted to make a career out of singing. Yes there are a lot of gay people involved in theatre, but I think we just have this creative flair, and not just for theatre but in many art forms. Remember that this is just my opinion.

I have to thank one person in my life and that is my mother. She has been my number one fan and has supported me 100%. She has always believed in my ability as performer and has been there for me through all the highs and lows. I believe I am where I am today because of her.
Subject 19

Family
Father - 5 boys, 5 PhDs in Chemistry (Dad) Maths, Geology, Meteorology & Engineering. 4/5 lecture at uni. All with musical upbringing and all still play. Very sporty family British Open, NSW Cricket, South Africa squash etc 3/5 ambidextrous. Music is a hobby not a career - need a stable job!! Both my Grandparents were school teachers, Grandfather principal.

Mother - her mother died when mum was very young. father wealthy but couldn't cope, sent to school at age 5. Did the usual piano lessons - even studied at. NSW uni scholarship to UNE. State sprint representative. B Ed. Schoolteacher

Me - Violin at age 5 changed to cello at 11 after a QSO concert. Parents divorced when 11 - changed primary schools (only by 1 suburb) at 12 voted vice captain within 3 weeks probably due to balanced academic/sport/music. Love/hate relationship with school - cruised along. Left home most days at 6am arrived home 6pm. Music rehearsals/sports training, socializing at school and in town with private school girls took up most of the time. Studied minimally but was assumed to do medicine by family as cousins (paternal) were all achieving very high scholastic results. QCM Music school at 14 and QYO 1 at 15. Won Qld div. of Westpac Maths competition and really only then realized the pressured childhood that Dad had been brought up in. Same year Cousin won NSW div and both parents got into a 1-up-manship game. UQ Trio Scholarship.Fell in love/lust. Spent much time during yr 12 at QCM. Broke left arm mid year in grade 12 - whoops - now had to really assess what I wanted to do. Went to UQ majoring in Hons level maths/physics. Social life still in music. Decided to go back and do BMus (now in same year as sister). Taught at schools (as well as packing shelves at Woolworths). Not model student achieved well in practical subjects and didn't attend academic lectures much. Graduated - worked at QCM teaching cello to 2nd study.
Overall I wasn't given a tough time about being a musician by anyone at school (except for the usual teacher digs about throwing my life away) peers OK. Musicians at school generally also academically bright.

Worst critics of my choice were my parents. My father has only accepted that music can be more than a hobby in the past few years. I am now at the same level within uni structure (level C) so he had to reassess. Found out that my educational habits at school and uni were genetic - he too was a lazy shit. He now is very positive about the fact that someone can make a career out of what they love and live. This has paved the way for my 2 younger siblings to be able to do anything their heart desires.

Mum still reminds me of what a first year intern medico makes. Up until a few years ago was still offering to support me through med school but thankfully one of my younger brothers quit engineering to do JC undergrad Med - pressure off.
My family and I had moved 7 times by the time I was 11 years old, where we finally settled at Everton Hills in Brisbane. I had traveled Queensland extensively as both my parents whilst I was still young worked as a teacher and a principal of a State High School.

My father’s side is of English origin where as my mother’s side is unknown but stands at Australian I guess. My father was musical at a young age and his main instrument growing up was the drums and he also performed on stage a lot as he was a scout and took part in Gang Show. This was their annual show/revue they put on.

My first memory of music as a child is at age three getting up in front of a bunch of people at a party and playing twinkle twinkle little star quite out of the blue.

Since then I played the flute and piano for starters throughout primary school where I then took up the violin. By grade 6 (10 years old) I had reached 4th grade violin, 5th Grade theory, 6th Grade piano and 3rd Grade Flute. All I seemed to do, as a child was practice and go to school play hockey, tennis and swim.

When I reached grade 7 for some reason I decided to give it all up and let it all slide, for reasons unknown to me. I stopped practicing and stopped lessons for some of them and all In all gave up. I think it had something to do with me never finishing anything I start or being afraid of being good at something. Plus the fact that I wanted a normal and enjoyable childhood. I think this came from the pressers my parent’s put on me as well as teachers, to succeed and be the best.

In high school about Grade 9 I gave the violin away and took up the Cello, the reason for this was that violin wasn’t seen as a very boy instrument and if I was going to play a stringed instrument it would be the cello as I saw it as more manly, I guess being deeper sounding or something (stupid I know!). I really didn’t have any problems throughout
my schooling at all until I got to high school but even then it was no big deal, a pain and
chore more then anything else as the problems arose from teachers rather then fellow
students. I got the occasional student making fun of me in Drama but they would make
fun of the people that where very good at the subject, I guess due to there own
insecurities and lack of talent in that area. Going to an all boys’ school, you would
assume that one would be ridiculed but I had a lot of friends that I kept all through my
schooling from grade 6 to year 12. None of them cared weather it was blokier to play
sport rather then do music or drama. I acted and performed all throughout high school
even danced (ballet, Tap etc) all my friends would come along, they actually really
seemed to enjoy themselves. Along the way I gained ones that you wouldn’t even
expect to like this type of entertainment. I would sing in the choir with members from
the first 15-football team and hang out with them on the sidelines of the football fields.

I had really two problems throughout High school and I guess it came from lack of
understanding, immaturity or even the people in question scared or insecure with
themselves, who knows. Both times it was with teachers, the problem being that at
school you are told to respect and obey, but when you realize what life really is about
you learn that respect is earnt and orders are aloud to be questioned especially if
unjustifiable or harmful. People associate being theatrical or talented in the area of arts
when you are male, must be gay. It is quite humorous to realize your friends and peers
never worry about stuff like that but in fact it is people in authority who bring about
ridiculous pressures and problems such as this.

I guess I survived for a better word my high school years because I new from a young
age that people in general find it easier to ridicule then to praise and take out there own
insecurities on others in order to feel better about themselves. I guess I learned how to
deal with difficult people from a young age as I began working professionally quite
young and so learned how to act and respond to situations such as this.

School wise, there wasn’t really anything in place to stop bulling as such, but when kids
are young they find it difficult to seek help with situations like this because it is more
often then not a problem within itself. It causes even more trouble then it is worth. It probably did help the fact that I was thick skinned but also because I was more understanding and could see where the people were coming from and realize hey that’s them, and hopefully they will grow out of it. If I took everything to heart I probably wouldn’t have had as good a time as I did at school despite its usual ups and downs.
My first experiences in music were in choir from about grade 3 onwards. From about grade 5 there was a hiatus till I hit music in year 8 at school. Year 8 music was basically considered a joke, no one really gave a shit. Musio's were basically considered to be on the outside of cool but if you were able to combine sport then it was vaguely ok. I took up music in year 9 and 10 because I was failing history and it was a better choice than failing history. About 15 people took up the option either giving up geography or history, there was no other way of doing music as a subject. At that stage another teacher came on the scene and I was given a jazz assignment that was basically write a 12 bar blues piece and sing it to her. Well that was the start of my singing career again. Kind of being on the outside of things as a rather odd faggoty person at school, singing did little to boost my social standing. Luckily I was prepared to use a bit of acid tongue and they tended to leave me alone. However the most interesting thing that allowed me to have a life free of hassles were two fold. One was that I was good at what I did and I was earning money for doing it. Funnily enough you can be a total faggot singer at school but if you are earning money from doing it, well that is ok. The other part was that I was doing Sherwoodstock at the time and that seemed to give me a bit of street cred as well, not many of the sports people had "performed" on a state level like I had been doing. So my school is a bit of a funny school like that, money talks!
APPENDIX H

i) Letter and information sheet sent to schools requesting assistance for data reported in Chapter 7

The Headmaster
XXX School

June 25, 2001

Dear

I write regarding some research I am undertaking as part of a PhD at Griffith University. Essentially the research is examining notions of masculinity in relation to the musical choices of boys (and to a lesser extent, girls). I have completed a literature survey and some preliminary quantitative research into stereotypical instrument choice. I am now at the point where I am commenting on the role of the learning environment and its relationship to issues of bullying, particularly homophobic bullying, as a result of the musical choices of boys.

Based on my knowledge of the work of the Music Department and observations of the musical life of the school, it appears that the school is addressing many of the issues and challenges in this field. I seek your consent and support to include the school as one of a number of case studies I would like to incorporate into the research.

I have enclosed an information sheet on the project and some items for your music staff to complete in order to ensure the schools in the project are statistically representative. I have also enclosed some stimulus material in relation to this issue in schools. All participation is entirely voluntary and all responses will be treated in the strictest confidence. All responses will be treated as anonymous and you may obtain feedback on the results of the study at its completion. You would not be mentioned by name in the write up, nor would anything that could identify you, your staff or students. All responses will be destroyed at the completion of the study.

I welcome the opportunity to discuss the research with you at your convenience and look forward to your input and comments. Ideally, I would like to make a time to discuss these issues and to collect the statistical data. You may prefer to respond in writing and a reply paid envelope has been enclosed for this purpose.

Best wishes

Scott Harrison
Information Sheet for Schools
Gender and Music Education

Researcher: Scott Harrison
Queensland Conservatorium of Music
Griffith University
16 Russell Street
South Bank

Supervisor: Dr Peter Roennfeldt
Queensland Conservatorium of Music
Griffith University
16 Russell Street
South Bank

Purpose: This study aims to examine the relationship between gender and music education, in an effort to improve the quality of music education for males and females. The program is focusing on the boys’ experience of music.

Participation: The research requires schools to reflect on how they manage issues of stereotyping of instruments and gender-related issues in connection with musical involvement. In addition, some statistical information is required to ensure the data is contextualised and representative. All participation is entirely voluntary and all responses will be treated in the strictest confidence. All responses will be treated as anonymous and you may obtain feedback on the results of the study at its completion. You would not be mentioned by name in the write up, nor would anything that could identify you. All responses will be destroyed at the completion of the study.

Benefits: The aim of the study is to improve music education opportunities for males and females

Risks: Schools may be uncomfortable reflecting on their management of gender issues in relation to music. All participants have the right to debrief with the researcher involved if required and may withdraw from the study at any time without explanation.

Griffith University requires that all participants be informed and that if they have any complaints concerning the manner in which a research project is conducted, it may be given to the researcher or if an independent person is preferred, either: the University’s Research Ethics Officer, Office for Research, Bray Centre, Griffith University, Kessels Rd, Nathan, Qld 4111, 07 38756618 or alternatively the Pro-Vice Chancellor (Administration), Bray Centre, Griffith University, Kessels Rd, Nathan, Qld 4111, 07 3875 7343.

You may contact me at any time for further information if required. Thanks for your assistance with this project.
To what extent do the profiles of student experiences fit the stereotypical norms?

Do you see girls acting in increasingly masculine ways in musical activities?

What policies and procedures (stated or implied) are in place or have been in place to assist boys in overcoming stereotypes?

Have there been any instances of homophobic bullying as a result of musical choices of boys and how have these been managed?

Is there any evidence to suggest the presence of androgyny in successful secondary school musicians?

Musicians tend to achieve well in other endeavours. True or False?

What kinds of gains are there for students participating in co-curricular activities?

How important are student and staff role models?

What changes are evident in the transition to high school?

Comment on the role of leadership in this field.

Any other comments
APPENDIX I

Profiles of Case study schools presented in Chapter 7

School A

School A is a catholic systemic school. The school is the result of an amalgamation of a girls’ school and a boys’ school who shared adjacent sites until 1990. The school has a strong tradition of sporting prowess in the field of Rugby League and Soccer is the predominant sporting code for boys, netball for girls.

The history of each school records that there were strong singing traditions in both schools until the amalgamation. Since then, the singing of the school has been in decline, as has the participation in music overall.

The trend toward the marginalizing of “masculine” instruments is very much apparent: No students in the school play trombone, euphonium or French horn. There are two boys who play clarinet and the rest are girls. There are no male flute players. Few boys sing in the school choir.

Students involved in music report being bullied – mostly verbal bullying, though some isolation and physical bullying has taken place. Students who participated in musical productions until 2000 were also bullied, though in 2001, the casting was structured in such a way as to include high profile students with prowess in a number of areas, including sport. This has flowed on to have students participate in other activities in music.

The administration of the school is supportive of music. Significant portions of the budget have been allocated to musical activities and the employment of the “right” personnel has been a priority. The nature of this support has also been quite hands on – with generous time allocated for particular musical activities within the school day. A vertical timetabling structure assists this.
The principal is aware of some of the issues in the education of boys. He calls single sex assemblies and, with the boys, focussed on issues of confidence, potential, integrity and character.

The culture of the school remains openly antagonistic towards music. Music students are publicly laughed at and bullied. Students feel threatened being involved in music. The culture is changing, as views of masculinity change, but progress is slow. The 2001 musical was a large step forward in this respect.

**School B**

School B is an ecumenical, co-educational P-12 school located in south east Queensland. There are over 2000 students enrolled at the school, of whom approximately 20% take an active role in the performing arts, particularly music.

Music has a very high profile in and outside the school. Musicians have toured extensively throughout Australia and internationally. In competition, bands and choirs have achieved good results. The school’s musical groups are recognised by a high proportion of the general public. The profile within the school is reflected in a variety of ways: The Principal personally produces the school musical productions; students in choirs and bands feature prominently in the leadership roles voted by staff and students. A large number of fulltime staff are employed to ensure the efficient running of curricular and co-curricular music programs. Budget figures indicate a relatively high proportion allocated to capital purchases in the arts.

The school is almost 20 years old. The principal’s vision to establish a high profile, high quality school in the area influenced his decision to invest heavily in music. This hands-on and philosophical leadership have caused the musical community to be relatively free of the stereotypes and consequences of those stereotypes found in the earlier data.
The balance in choral groups essentially favoured the females by about 2:1. Within the male voice types there were more tenors than basses. In both respects, this is atypical.\textsuperscript{1} One of the directors in the choral activities was a member of the senior administration. Staff responsible for the program emphasized the importance of role models and this was one case in point. Competence and passion were highly valued by staff and students alike in the leadership of musical activities.

In bands and orchestras, the gender balance was closer to the norm. There were no male flautists. Lower brass appeared to be male dominated at the time of the sample. Percussion students were evenly divided. Staff commented that the “female percussionists were either very good or very bad.” Trumpet players tended to be male, string players were quite evenly divided, though slightly more girls played upper strings and slightly more boys, lower strings. The school employed only female flute and string teachers. The brass and percussion teachers were male. The only other member of fulltime staff was a male who taught modern voice and saxophone.

Students and staff report very little bullying of music students. Occasional examples of students bullying were reported. One of these resulted in serious physical violence and was dealt with severely by the administration. Episodes of name-calling were not reported by staff or students. An occasional suggestion alluded to the high pitch of the tenor voice as “not being quite right.”

**School C**

School C is an independent Catholic College for boys located in south east Queensland, catering for boarding and day students from Years 5 to 12. There are approximately 330 students in the primary school and 1200 students in the secondary school, of whom 300 are boarders. The college was established in 1940 and has been an order-owned and operated school ever since.

\textsuperscript{1} The usual ratio of females to males is around 5:1 and there are typically more basses than tenors in secondary school choir. (Bartle, 1956)
The college has a strong tradition of academic and sporting excellence that has existed since its beginnings. It is particularly strong in the sport of Rugby Union, having provided many students to state and national representation. Music, particularly singing, has been a feature of the liturgical life of the college for some years, a feature sustained by the boarders. Individual tuition has been available since the early 1970s, but it was not until 1987 that a Director of Music was appointed. This event changed the culture of the college. There have been a total of three directors since, serving with three Headmasters. The decision to appoint a person to guide the musical life of the college has resulted in much success for music in the college and for individuals within the program. More importantly, the music staff, together with other staff and the administration has worked hard at changing the accepted view of masculinity in the college. Staff and student role models have again proven to be important. The technique of including students with high profiles in other activities was employed here. This was crucial to the building of a choir in the school.

The investment of funds into human resources and capital projects was also significant. As a result, the standard of music grew and brought kudos to the college and to the individuals involved. A program of tours, recordings and competitions further enhanced this reputation. The choice of staff was a vital ingredient in this mix. A balance of genders within the music staff was aimed for and stereotypes were rarely discussed. Over time, the typically “feminine” instruments were accepted. Singing was also readily accepted by the general school population and was led by the example of boarding students and staff. Strangely, in the earlier years of the development of the music program, the lower instruments were difficult to recruit students for. Only when the bands began to be successful and a structured recruitment program put in place, did this significantly decline.

Given that many of the problems associated with gender arise at the change into secondary school, the need for greater integration between primary and secondary departments was addressed. The two schools essentially operated as different entities on
the one campus. Liturgies and assemblies were the few occasions on which integration occurred. Slowly, with change of personnel, more integration could take place. In music, this began with choirs and gradually came to include bands and strings. This was an extremely slow process, hampered by personalities and lack of funds applied in the appropriate direction.

A vertical timetable was also in use at this school.

**School D**

School D is an independent Catholic school for boys in south east Queensland. It has a long tradition of excellence in sport, particularly Rugby Union. Music has enjoyed a higher profile, particularly with regard to singing and this will be a special focus of the study with regard to this school. Since 1998, there has been a steady increase in the engagement of boys in singing as soloists, choristers and as a college community.

Boys at the school have engaged in singing in classes through a Kodaly-based program. The Kodaly association has been an extremely useful resource in making this happen. The choral teacher used the Kodaly association resources and the resources of the choral association, along with texts like Phillips (1992). Boys begin singing in Year 5 and by Year 8 it is an accepted part of their curriculum. There are over 100 boys involved in singing in choirs in the school and the whole school sings strongly each week at assembly.

The most difficult area of engagement is the Year 8s and 9s and finding repertoire for this group has been crucial. The boys in this group bring CDs along of what they would like to sing and make the best of the situation – but they keep singing. This maintenance of singing through the change of voice has been regarded as crucial by researchers in the field including Welch (2001) and Phillips (1992). By Year 10, the voices have begun to settle and there is no stigma attached to singing. There is almost no attrition rate from singing in the school.
The staff have taken a combined approach to singing, where technique and the mechanism of the voice has been important. This, according to the teachers involved, seems to appeal to the mechanistic side of boys’ thinking. The boys are keen to know how it works. The individual vocal teacher is an integral part of this process – numbers have been steadily increasing in this area for about 12 months. The focus in lessons is not on teaching songs but on teaching singing. Boys are allowed to feel comfortable with their voices.

The choral teacher also engages boys in singing through attendance at rugby camps where “the singing is strong, but not always accurate, with diphthongs and spread vowels and the like.” But at least they are singing. Boys are often brought into choir by coming to ask for assistance in singing a song by their favourite pop star. A few technical hints and the boy begins to be confident and the singing continues from there - in choir or in solo lessons.

Choral repertoire is the key. There are some unusual liturgical choices which assist boys to sing in community for masses. They do not generally sing soft or slow music. The music typically has pulse and a fast tempo in its favour.

The single sex environment is thought to help. Boys are more comfortable when they are not proving their masculinity to girls. The teacher here says that, were he to return to a co-educational school, he would certainly take the singing sessions in single sex groupings thorough the middle schooling years.

**School E**

School E is a selective entry boys' school of 1300 students from Years 9 to 12 in Melbourne. Almost 300 boys out of 1350 learn a musical instrument. The main emphasis is on classical music or jazz and there about 20 different ensembles.
The music program involves all students who learn a musical instrument at the School. Groups include: Junior Stage Band, String Orchestra and Junior String Ensemble, Chamber Singers, Flute Choir, Percussion. Classroom Music is compulsory at Years 9 and 10. Lessons are taught in the computer Keyboard Laboratory. All students participate in massed singing. Year 9 and 10 students participate in singing lessons three times a month. Junior and Senior assemblies begin and end with song, and include solo performances by students. Massed singing is a major feature of the annual Speech Night. Concerts throughout the year are a showcase for large and small groups as well as for individual performances. The boys participate in many community concerts and activities in addition to school performances. The Opera, School Play and Winter Concert, in conjunction with the local girls high school are musical highlights of the year.

**School F**

School F is an independent co-educational non-denominational primary and secondary day and boarding school in Sydney. The school is registered and accredited to offer courses for the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate. An extension program of special studies with a core culture of performing arts is available to students within the school day, and is also offered after school hours to school students as well as the broader community. The school is unique in providing this special studies program alongside a rigorous academic program.

The school offers a breadth in cross training for all students, encouraging them to “strive for excellence” in a caring and tolerant environment. Creativity, self-discipline, passion, self-esteem and academic, artistic and performance achievements overall are valued outcomes by the entire community.

A pastoral care program contributes to the personal development of each student, provides a system of support which enables each student to gain maximum benefit from all areas of the curriculum, and encourages the development of mature, responsible, flexible and responsive people who are well equipped to deal with the demands of the world.
The school facilities include large air-conditioned classrooms, science and computer laboratories, art studios and exhibition space, nine dance studios, acting studios and performance space, library, canteen, extensive grounds with covered walkways and adjoining facilities for Primary students.

The Primary Department caters for students from Year 3 to Year 6. The academic curriculum is taught by core classroom teachers who are assisted by specialist teachers in both academic and the Special Studies programs. Each day in the Primary Department begins with 90 minutes of creative or performing arts, which helps focus the energy, creativity and imagination of each child, in a diverse range of activities. This introduction enables each child to look forward to the start of each school day with anticipation and excitement. This program, specially constructed by the school, encourages motivation and engagement within the academic classroom.

Students are encouraged to support, respect and learn from one another, as each student begins to identify and articulate his or her own dreams. All staff support the social and emotional needs of students in environment The Primary academic and performing arts staff work closely together, to support the students in all their endeavours.

In Years 7 to 12, the students start and finish their day with two hours or more of academic study. Captured within the day is a diverse and challenging Special Studies Program, offering a greater choice and focus than within the primary school. This vertically streamed program recognizes the creativity and spirit of young adolescents. These flexible structures allow students to engage in group work and independent learning with opportunities for extension and enrichment activities are available for students.

The Special Studies Program provides a good extension to the Board of Studies academic curriculum and supports much of the study in the elective courses. Students have a vertically streamed special studies program for two hours each day.

Two hours of special studies each day is set aside for creative/performing arts and sporting pursuits. It is this Special Studies Program that makes School F a unique educational establishment. The philosophy, and accompanying values and ethics that
drives the performing arts curriculum at the school, centres on a belief in the imaginative and creative potential of each individual student. Learning environments are created to facilitate safety and trust. This in turn facilitates the process of learning that is needed to unlock creativity and imagination.

Every lesson is designed to equip students with new or improved skills and increase their appreciation of how a rigorous and comprehensive technique free of gender bias, empowers a performer to communicate to an audience more effectively.

Innovation, initiative, self-reliance and self-discipline are encouraged through the programs with learning outcomes designed to promote student self-confidence, optimism, high self esteem, respect for others and the achievement of personal excellence.

All students have the opportunity to choose any combination of subjects in the Creative and Performing Arts for HSC study. This arts-rich curriculum is also strong in the humanities, technology and science. This case study differed from the others in that, as a specialist performing arts school the dynamics were quite different.

In music, students are encouraged in pursue a standard of excellence on their chosen instrument and are given the opportunity to go beyond what is familiar and safe and create their own style. Depending on several factors, not the least of which is level of maturity, many students explore their creativity beyond the stereotypical norms. Students have more freedom to express themselves in secondary school and perhaps gender stereotypes are broken down through this transition.

In the contemporary music course gender status is not given to any particular activity. When a girl learns to play the bass she does not see the necessity to posture as a boy because she has not been taught to see this as a male activity. Boys still see the guitar as their territory, however increasingly the girls are becoming more proficient – perhaps because of a greater ability to pay attention to the finer details of technique. Equally as many girls play instruments as boys and this balance helps to create a mostly harmonious working environment. Girls do not feel the need to underachieve in order to impress the boys. Repertoire is seen as being of considerable significance.
There have been no reported instances of homophobic bullying. Students are aware that this will not be tolerated. Strong male role models who are professional musicians within the school are given as a reason for this. Role models are seen to be of vital importance in artistic development just as they are in personal development. Students also respect those of their peers who show outstanding ability in their given field. Also in the area of anti homophobic behaviour, positive role models amongst staff and students in helping gay and lesbian students to develop feelings of self worth and confidence.
APPENDIX J

Publications, presentations and media coverage based on the thesis

Publications and Presentations:


Media coverage of research discussed in this thesis:

Print Media:
The Australian 23/12/2002, p. 4 (Attached)
Sunday Mail 29/12/2002, p.19 (Attached)
The Age 23/12/2002, p. 3
Sunday Telegraph 29/12/2002, p. 17
Australian Music Teacher March 2003

Electronic Media:
ABC Adelaide interview 3:30pm (local time) 23/12/2002
6PR Perth interview 2pm (local time) 24/12/2002
ABC Rockhampton interview 23/12/2002
ABC NSW interview 9:55am 30/12/2002
ABC Brisbane interview 10:30am 3/3/2003