DOCTORAL THESIS

Patterns and consequences of gender interactions in instrumental music lessons

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PATTERNS AND CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER INTERACTIONS IN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC LESSONS

By

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ABSTRACT

This mixed methods study investigates an aspect of learning which is often overlooked: that of gender interaction in one-to-one instrumental music lessons. The gender of teacher and pupil may contribute to differences in behaviour and expectations, which could impact upon teaching and learning processes and outcomes. The study asks the following questions: ‘Do instrumental teachers and pupils hold gendered beliefs about each other and about their lessons, and if so, how do these beliefs affect their interactions, and what might be the consequences for learning?’

Three linked studies - a teachers’ and pupils’ questionnaire study, a lesson observation study, and an interview study - were conducted to offer different perspectives on these research questions. The questionnaire studies found that participants held several stereotypical expectations. Teachers believed that girls were more conscientious than boys; pupils believed that male teachers were more ‘likely to set challenges’ than female teachers, who were more likely to be characterised as ‘patient’. The observation study found many similarities in the ways men and women interacted with boys and girls. Some important variations were identified, however, including the findings that during lessons male teachers were likely to play their instruments more frequently than female teachers, and that boy pupils were less likely than girls to look at their teacher's face. In the interview study, teachers and pupils offered background information and opinions which helped to contextualise the earlier findings. A ‘good’ relationship
was seen by all participants as a key factor for successful teaching and learning, but this was defined in different ways. Men and boys were most concerned with the technicalities of playing the instrument well. Women and girls, while valuing skill, also maintained the importance of more affective issues, such as mood, personal likes and dislikes.

As well as contributing to educational psychology by exploring an under-researched area, the findings will be of practical use to instrumental teachers and to conservatoires, universities and teacher educators in general education. Awareness of gender issues, and particularly of the need to avoid stereotypical expectations, will help teachers to provide equity for pupils, in order that all can achieve their potential.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**ABRSM**: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. Originally set up by four of the UK’s leading conservatoires, this is the examining board responsible for the largest number of instrumental examinations worldwide. Their examinations range from Preparatory to Grade 8, together with a range of diplomas for teachers and performers.

**CE**: Common Entrance Examination. The 13+ examination which is set and marked by most independent (or ‘public’) boys’ and girls’ schools in the UK.

**CT ABRSM**: Instrumental teachers’ in-service training certificate of the above organisation.

**DES**: Department for Education and Skills. A British Government department.

**ISM**: The UK’s professional body for musicians, including performers, composers, musicians in education and private teachers. The Society’s aims are to promote the art of music and the interests of musicians, to raise standards in the profession and to offer high quality advice and services.

**LCM**: London College of Music. Conservatoire offering diplomas in music performing and teaching.

**MANA**: Music Advisor's National Association. In 1996 MANA amalgamated with the Association for the Advancement of Teacher Education in Music (AATEM) to form NAME, the National Association of Music Educators.

**TCM/Guildhall**: Trinity College of Music and the Guildhall School of Music and Drama have recently joined forces to produce a new examining body. The grading system and diplomas are of a similar level to that of ABRSM.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The personal interaction between teacher and student during the one-to-one instrumental music lesson is crucial to the development of a strong foundation on which the learning process can be built. This thesis will focus on one influential dimension of instrumental learning, which can operate implicitly, rather than explicitly: that of gender interaction between pupil and teacher.

Researchers in music psychology have looked extensively at instrumental learning, devoting attention to the subjects of practice (Hallam, 1998a, 1998b, 2001; O’Neill, 1997, 2002b), perception (Clark & Trafford, 1995), cognition (Dowling & Harwood, 1986), performance and memory (Sloboda et al., 1985). There have also been studies in the social psychology of music showing how music can influence social behaviour and can assist in the formation of adolescent group identity (e.g. MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell, 2002). Less attention has been devoted to the interaction between teacher and pupil which underpins the learning and teaching of music. For a child learner, the instrumental teacher may be the first adult outside the family with whom a long-term, one-to-one relationship is possible (Machover & Uszler, 1996), and the teacher’s influence as a role model should not be underestimated. The gender of the teacher and pupil may play a significant but unrecognised part in the way the relationship is formed. Teacher and pupil may also incorporate their musical activities in the construction of their gendered identities.
Since there has been very little research to date on the topic of gender issues in instrumental lessons, this study is of an exploratory nature, seeking to map out the field, establishing whether there are any generally held beliefs or patterns of behaviour, and looking in depth at the experiences and opinions of a small group of teachers and their pupils. Pitts (2001) noted that the voices of teachers and pupils are too rarely heard in the music education debate. Finney (2003) echoed the view expressed by Pitts, noting that very little is known about pupils’ opinions of what and how music is taught. By calling upon them in a consultant role in this research, I hope to give these teachers’ and pupils’ voices an opportunity to be heard, in a way which combines research and practice. It is hoped that future research will be able to use this study as a basis from which to make investigations on a larger scale.

1.1 Reflexivity

The impetus for this study originated in discussions with colleagues. Having been a piano teacher for many years and having taught several hundred pupils during that time, I believed that I could see differences between the behaviour and attitudes of boys and girls. It became clear that although some agreed with me that there were clear differences (holding popular beliefs about for example, girls being more conscientious than boys), others were convinced that any differences could be ascribed to the individual’s personality, rather than gender. Some expressed the belief that they treated boys and girls alike. Additionally, my own pupils and children expressed beliefs about differences between male and female teachers. Further investigation was indicated, to discover whether there really
were differences in the ways that boys and girls learn and men and women teach, and if so, what the consequences might be.

I was in some ways ideally placed for this research. Teaching in an independent school with large numbers of peripatetic teachers and private pupils gave me access to potential participants. Having taught for 30 years myself, I had a good knowledge of the field and an understanding of the processes of the instrumental lesson. As an adult learner on the double bass, I also had some insight into the experience of being a pupil. However, this insider knowledge made it more difficult to be an impartial observer, for my ‘teacher’ role to be suppressed and my ‘researcher’ role to predominate. Many of my participants were friends: again this was an advantage in that they felt able to speak frankly to me, but when interviewing them I had to try to remain professional and neutral, rather than responding to them as naturally as I would in everyday conversation. Interviewing the young pupils was also a challenge for me because I had to try to step out of my ‘teacher’ role so that they felt relaxed enough to talk informally.

This thesis is based on an account of a series of interlinked studies which were carried out over a period of five years. Some of the studies involved quantitative research methods; others employed qualitative, interpretational methods. Such a mixed methods approach afforded the advantage of a multi-faceted view of the data, by employing questionnaires, observations and interviews. However it carried with it the challenge of writing up each study in an appropriate style. Quantitative research leads to something tangible: ‘results’; qualitative research
produces ‘interpretations’ which are more personal, influenced in part by my own experiences, interests and opinions. In writing up this research, the style of writing is adapted to the level of reflexivity, from impersonal scientific reporting of factual data to more personal, impressionistic description.

1.2 Definition of Terms

1.2.1 ‘Gender’

Different academic disciplines define the term ‘gender’ in several ways. Some psychologists have used the term as synonymous with biological sex, distinguishing between men and women, or boys and girls. Sociologists would add to this the idea that the concept of gender is created and maintained by society, that there are packages of psychological, social and cultural aspects to being ‘male’ or ‘female’, which an individual learns through socialisation. More recently, writers on gender such as Wharton (2005) see gender not as a fixed state, but as a ‘process, being continually produced and reproduced’ (p.7). Gender is not just ‘something we are’ but ‘something we do’, and as West and Fenstermaker (1993) assert, ‘men and women do it differently’.

Wharton also points out that gender is not simply a matter for the individual, but it also has far-reaching effects on social processes and on social institutions. Christie (2004) describes how as people interact with their surroundings, other people, and situations, they ‘construct a social order as well as a personal meaning’. In line with the social constructionist perspective I define in section 1.5, Wharton’s and Christie’s is the definition adopted for this thesis. This theme of ‘doing’ gender runs through the thesis, and I shall return to discuss it specifically
in Chapter 8.4 when I discuss how participants appear to use music as part of their construction of a gendered identity.

1.2.2 ‘Instrumental Music Lessons’

The traditions of the Western instrumental music lesson have been built up over several hundred years. The present study focuses on individual instrumental lessons in the United Kingdom, and it is useful to define the format which these typically take. One-to-one lessons are normally an extra-curricular activity. They take place either in a teacher’s studio, in a school studio or at the pupil’s home. A parent or other responsible adult may observe the lessons. Because playing an instrument requires many physical skills, the first lessons are likely to begin with the teacher demonstrating some of these, usually by playing but sometimes also by modelling with the voice or gestures. The pupil then copies, to the best of his or her ability, and the teacher comments on the pupil’s efforts and gives instructions on ways to improve. This pattern, in which the teacher takes the role of Master and the pupil takes the role of Apprentice, is repeated many times, to form the basis of the lesson. The teacher may make comments while the pupil is playing, but unless the teacher invites the pupil’s comments or asks a direct question there is no obvious opportunity for the pupil to speak.

There is thus potential for the balance of power to be very much in the teacher’s favour, with little opportunity for the pupil to speak, let alone determine the direction the lesson will take (Hanken, 2000; Rostvall, 2003). Despite this potential imbalance, however, in most cases the pupil and teacher build up a secure
relationship based on trust and co-operation. This study seeks to focus on the impact that gender may have on this relationship.

1.2.3 ‘Instrumental Teachers’

Instrumental teachers are primarily expected to be expert players, although they may also have academic interests, and, if they have undertaken a teaching diploma, they will have some knowledge of pedagogical matters. However, it is important to note that many teachers, some of whom are respected performers, have no teaching diploma and no experience of music lessons other than the lessons they themselves received as children and students.

Alongside qualified teachers and great performers who also teach, there is another group, who might be described as ‘well-intentioned amateurs’, whose knowledge and skills are limited. In the United Kingdom, anyone can set up as an instrumental teacher; there is no watchdog or governing body to control their activities. This study will focus on qualified, professionally trained teachers.

In the present economic climate, instrumental lessons have, sadly, increasingly become a privilege of middle-class children, and this circumstance is reflected in the selection of the pupil participants in the study.

The focus of most modern training courses for instrumental teachers has been on technical matters: how to teach particular skills, choice of suitable repertoire for different ages and stages, what to expect from pupils at different developmental
levels and so on. Some advice is offered on pupil motivation and practising and, increasingly, on running the business side of a teaching practice. Recently, Local Education Authorities and professional bodies such as the Incorporated Society of Musicians have set out recommendations for correct ‘handling’ (or rather, not handling) of pupils in order to protect teachers from allegations of child abuse. The recently introduced Disclosure system has addressed this issue formally. This has served to highlight the fact that instrumental teachers work to a great extent alone and unsupervised with their pupils and are particularly vulnerable to such allegations. Professional teachers aim to avoid saying or doing anything which could be misconstrued, but they may be unaware of gender interactions that are taking place all through the lesson at a subconscious level.

1.2.4 ‘Pupils’

For ease of readability, I have chosen to describe the young participants in this study as ‘pupils’ rather than ‘students’. When I discuss other studies which investigated post-secondary age participants, this older group is referred to as ‘students’. I have also chosen to refer to the pupils as ‘boys and girls’ rather than the cumbersome, if more politically correct ‘young men and young women’. I hope that any of them who happens to read this work will understand that no disrespect is intended: indeed their opinions and experiences have been highly valued, on an equal footing with those of their teachers.
1.2.5 *Interaction*

The Oxford English Dictionary defines Interaction as: ‘Reciprocal action; action or influence of persons or things on each other.’ In an instrumental lesson, the teacher and pupil interact verbally, through what they say to each other but also in a variety of non-verbal ways. Playing the instrument is obviously one non-verbal form of interaction, but gesture, direction of gaze, and facial expressions also play a part. I have chosen to focus mainly on verbal interactions but I have also made some mention of non-verbal interactions where they seem to make an important contribution to the lesson. The dictionary definition also highlights another aspect of interactions: that they can be between a person and a ‘thing’. In the case of instrumental lessons, the instrument being played is clearly something which has great significance to both parties; something else which is less tangible, but still very important, is the music being played. I have referred to interactions with the instrument when they seem important to the lesson, but I have avoided much mention of the music played as this would have over-broadened the discussion. As a music teacher myself, I also believe that it would have been very difficult for me to maintain a detached ‘researcher’ perspective on something about which I have strong personal feelings. I also wanted my participants to know that I was not observing or assessing the quality of their playing, as this might have made them hypersensitive about mistakes.

1.3 Scope of Thesis

This thesis is based on investigations of the views and behaviour of professional instrumental teachers and their pupils, on the subject of gender interactions in
their lessons. In order to maintain the homogeneity of the necessarily small sample for this solo-researcher study, the respondents and participants in the study were drawn from my own white, middle class, Surrey neighbourhood in South East England.

The literature specific to instrumental lessons and gender is extremely limited, and so reference will also be made to studies in the wider fields of music education, sociology, music psychology and gender studies. In place of a single long literature review chapter covering all these diverse areas, the argument of each of the three parts of the thesis is supported with a review of the most relevant literature and a consideration of the most suitable methodology. This arrangement of the material reflects the recommendation of Wolcott (2001) to consider breaking with the traditional ‘Chapter 2 Literature Review’ in favour of drawing on the work of others on a ‘when-and-as-needed basis’ in order to lend immediacy to the reporting of the research and avoid simply ‘creating an obstacle that gets in the way, rather than paves the way’ to reporting (p.74).

1.4 Outline of Thesis

The argument of the thesis is presented in three parts, each of which describes a different but connected part of the investigation.

- In Part I (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) I take a general survey of the kinds of things people say about gender in the context of instrumental lessons, and describe a pair of questionnaire studies, together with an account of previous similar studies and my rationale for adopting this method.
Part II (Chapters 5 and 6) looks at how gender may be connected with what people do in instrumental lessons, and describes an observational study of 16 lessons. This part is also prefaced by a review of literature and methodology.

Part III (Chapters 7 and 8) is structured similarly to Part II. It considers what people may think about gender in instrumental lessons, and relates to an interview study with teachers and pupils. The Conclusion (Chapter 9) draws all the threads together, as well as describing limitations of the research, recommendations and implications for practitioners in the field of instrumental teaching and beyond.

Chapter 1, the present chapter, defines the main terms used and addresses the theoretical perspective from which I approached the topic, exploring social constructionist and pragmatist concepts and considering the arguments of feminist writers. I also discuss in general terms the types of methodology suitable for investigating the topic.

Chapter 2 considers the possibility that teachers may hold stereotypical beliefs about boy and girl pupils which may, consciously or unconsciously, influence the way in which they teach them. The method chosen to investigate this possibility was a questionnaire study of instrumental teachers. After explaining the rationale for choosing this method, I consider some comparable questionnaire studies and in Chapter 3 I describe the conduct and results of this study.

Chapter 4 is the counterpart of Chapter 3 in that it discusses the same concept of stereotypical beliefs, but from the perspective of instrumental pupils who
completed a similar questionnaire about male and female instrumental teachers. Considerable discrepancies can occur between what people say they do, what they believe they do, and what they actually do. Self-reporting questionnaires can only address the first two of these. In Chapter 5 my decision to employ qualitative methods is explained and some previous studies which use similar methods are compared. In Chapter 6 I describe an observational study of instrumental lessons. Topics which emerged from the questionnaire studies were further investigated, alongside new themes.

In Chapter 7 I introduce the literature and methodology for a third investigation: an interview study based on the video recordings from Part II. In Chapter 8 I describe how, in order to gain deeper understanding of the participants’ behaviours and beliefs and to involve them in a more consultative capacity, I used the recordings of the lessons to assist recall during semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 9 discusses the results and interpretations from all three studies and shows how many participants professed to ascribe to generally held, stereotypical discourses about gender as it relates to instrumental lessons. However I also demonstrate how they constructed or produced their gendered musical identities according to their own individual formulae, adapting and altering the stereotypical images to fit their own purposes. I also detail the limitations of this piece of work, suggest implications that the research may carry for the wider educational field, and offer recommendations for future research.
1.5 Theoretical Basis

This research is approached from a relativist, social constructionist perspective. My belief is that the realist doctrine that ‘the universal truth is out there’ does not reflect the multitude of beliefs, life experiences, thoughts, perceptions, values, meanings and desires out of which individuals build their own version of reality. In studying social sciences, there is value and meaning in things and actions only if they are situated in their historical, cultural and personal context. The topic of gender is particularly dependent on these factors: one of the first things we do on meeting someone for the first time is to categorise the person as male or female. To do this we use our cultural and social expectations, since we do not normally have access to biological sex information (Wharton, 2005). This labelling is just the beginning, however: what is expected of men and women, in terms of behaviour, emotional expression, types of work and family roles, will be affected to some extent by our cultural and historical perspectives.

Social constructionism has its roots in the ideas of pragmatist John Dewey. He proposed that human beings develop through ‘the interaction between elements of human nature and the environment, natural and social.’ (Biesta & Burbules, 2003; Dewey, 1922, p 9). In constructing identity and negotiating a place in the world, each person adopts and adapts to information gathered from their environment. Dewey believed that educational research should explore not only the means and techniques, but also the ends, aims and purposes, of education, not only what is possible, but also what is desirable, and these things are always changing. The present study of gender interactions between the instrumental teacher and pupil
in the one-to-one lesson provides opportunities for researcher and participants to co-operate in building theory and improving practice.

In our transactions with our surroundings, we develop habitual responses to many situations. Many of these responses go unquestioned, because they seem to have sufficed in the past, but they may need to be revised due to changing circumstances. The expectations based on a person’s gender have often fallen into this category but have in recent years undergone a re-evaluation. From babyhood onwards, a girl has different experiences from a boy. She may be handled gently, dressed in skirts and dresses which restrict movement, encouraged to play quietly and to be accepting of authority. A boy may be played with vigorously, encouraged to engage in more energetic play and to challenge authority and be independent. Parents and later, teachers, may unwittingly contribute to what Taylor (1995b) calls a ‘narrow construction of femininity and masculinity’ both through what they do and what they avoid doing.

Children very quickly absorb messages about appropriate behaviour for their gender and from the age of five have acquired strong and rigid views (Lloyd & Duveen, 1992, p.9). They learn to use gender to help to make sense of their experiences, and through this process they develop behaviour patterns that are consistent with their understanding of themselves as male or female (Wharton, 2005, p.34). In this way, gender is something which we learn to perform or enact: an active, not a passive state.
The feminist movement has raised awareness of gender relations in schools as an area for intervention and change. Taylor (1995b) proposes that changes are needed not only in the labour market, providing opportunities for girls and young women to challenge ‘masculine’ stereotyping of certain roles and occupations, but also that ‘prevailing notions of femininity and masculinity’ need to change at the individual level. She points out that the meanings we construct from our experiences are a key part of culture, social structure and power relations (p.5). In Western societies where the gender order is patriarchal, Connell contrasts ‘hegemonic’ masculinity, characterised by power, authority, aggression and technical competence with ‘emphasised’ femininity which is characterised by subordination, sociability, sexual passivity and acceptance of domesticity and motherhood (Connell, 1987, p.187).

Francis and Skelton (2005) extend Butler’s (1999) feminist argument, that gender is a performance and that gendered identity is maintained by our gendered acts, to assert that these acts become unconscious, and that we tend to view these behaviours as ‘natural expressions of our personalities, rather than as the product of our (gendered) discursive positioning’ (p.113). They also point out that teachers’ and parents’ expectations contribute to children’s processes of building a gendered identity: what is acceptable behaviour in a boy may not be acceptable in a girl.

These theories may seem very distant from the sheltered world of the instrumental music lesson. But I suggest that exactly the same expectations, assumptions and power relations exist here too, even though they are not acknowledged by either
party. The teacher, as the knowledgeable adult in the dyad, is likely to adopt a position of power in the lesson. If that teacher is male and the pupil is female, the balance of power between them may be even more in the teacher’s favour. Or if a female teacher is teaching an adolescent boy, for example, the boy may try to challenge the teacher’s authority, more than he would with a male teacher.

It is also possible that the pupils see their teachers as role models, as the relationship develops over many years. Maidlow (1998), who shares a similar constructionist perspective to my own, found evidence that of all significant adults, teachers were seen as offering the ‘strongest musical encouragement’ by students, and she also found that

‘each sex appears to have a strong tendency to look to people of their own sex… from whom to gain support, encouragement and models of ambition’.

(Maidlow 1998, p 43)

As an adult with whom a child has a one-to-one relationship, the instrumental teacher may become a significant influence in the child’s life. It is possible that the time in lessons spent ‘off-task’ may be significant in relationship building and that there may be more off-task talk between teachers and pupils of the same sex.

1.6 Mixed Methods Research

A detailed account of the methodology selected for each study will appear as an introduction to each Part of the thesis. At this point I summarise my reasons for using a variety of methods to carry out the investigation.
Strauss and Corbin (1998) summarise the strong opposition that can exist between quantitative and qualitative researchers, but stress that both approaches have processes in common (p.30). Both approaches involve data collection, analysis and interpretation: at each stage, choices about procedures have to be made. These authors encourage a flexible treatment of data, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods in a pragmatic way, creatively connecting various techniques. Such an interplay between qualitative and quantitative methods is a feature of the present mixed methods study.

My first requirement was to find out whether teachers and pupils in general held any particular views on the subject of gender in instrumental lessons. Quantitative methods, with their emphasis on statistical significance, offered a good starting point. Surveying the opinions of a large number of people through a questionnaire would help to build up a general picture of the field. I had access to qualified instrumental teachers through the Incorporated Society of Musicians and other colleagues, and to school age instrumental pupils through the school in which I work and through contacts at other schools. Any significant trends shown by this quantitative phase of the research could then be investigated in detail with a smaller sample using qualitative methods. The use of histograms and graphs to display the quantitative information gathered would help to illustrate and clarify the findings.

Creswell (2003) defines the characteristics of a quantitative approach, such as was employed for the questionnaire studies, as follows:
I now relate Creswell’s points to the present research.

Tests or verifies theories: In this investigative study, there was no actual theory being tested, but the possibility that gender could change the nature of interactions was under scrutiny.

The variables studied were the differing responses depending on whether respondents were male or female and whether their pupils/teachers were male or female. The responses were measured numerically.

Uses standards of validity and reliability: Various statistical tests would establish significance, validity and reliability and express these in numerical form. If significant differences were found these would indicate that gender might have an effect.

Uses unbiased approaches: This researcher has difficulty in accepting that any research initiative can use a completely unbiased approach, since it would appear that as soon as a human being sets out to ‘prove’ something, there must be some kind of agenda behind the desire to conduct the research. However, Creswell here refers to the various formal scientific control procedures of checks and balances which attempt to produce statistically robust data which are as far as possible uncontaminated by unwanted side effects, confounding variables and Type I and Type II errors.
In contrast, Creswell (2003) shows how qualitative analysis is an effective approach to the data yielded by an observational study. While it is possible to use some quantitative work, for example by counting the frequency of particular phenomena occurring during a time-sample, a different level of understanding about the participants’ world can be obtained through the more holistic, interactive and reflexive approach. Creswell’s criteria for qualitative research are as follows: Qualitative research:

- takes place in the natural setting.
- uses multiple methods that are interactive and humanistic.
- is emergent, rather than tightly prefigured.
- is fundamentally interpretive.

The researcher:

- views social phenomena holistically.
- systematically reflects on who he or she is and is sensitive to his or her own personal biography and how it shapes the study.
- uses complex reasoning that is multi-faceted, iterative, and simultaneous.’ (p.181)

These criteria have relevance to the present study in the following ways:

Setting: In order for the recorded lessons to be as close as possible to ‘typical’, the observations were made during individual instrumental lessons in the teachers’ normal working environments, at the times when the pupils usually had their weekly lesson.

Multiple Methods: As well as the video-recording and its transcript, field notes taken after each session were used to contribute to the analytical process. Independent assessors also viewed extracts, reviewed the researcher’s categorisations of data, carried out reliability studies and commented on the
findings. Some data were quantified by timings or counting, and some required qualitative interpretation.

Emergent, rather than tightly prefigured: there being very little literature on this topic, the researcher began the investigation with some ideas gained from colleagues and from her own teaching and learning experiences, but with no single strong hypothesis as to what would be uncovered during the course of the exploration. The focus of the investigation developed during the process of data-collection and analysis.

Interpretive: the work begins by describing individuals and their behaviour, then moves on to analyse data for emergent themes, leading to an interpretation of their meaning. I do not claim that my interpretation is the only one possible for these data. Other analysts might find different but equally valid interpretations. These data were collected at a specific point in time and are interpreted by the researcher in the light of her own situation.

Holistic view: the observation study used 16 case studies to build up a panoramic view of the field. In an interview study (described in chapter 7 and 8) I involved the same participants in the research process by collating their views, not only on their own recorded lessons, but also on the general topic of gender in instrumental lessons, thus providing a multi-faceted account of the phenomenon.

Reflexive research: As a piano teacher I have wide experience of the field under investigation. This familiarity proved helpful in terms of understanding the processes observed and in terms of shared background with the participant teachers. However, particularly in the present study of gender effects, I had
constantly to bear in mind the likelihood that my interpretations are rooted in my own femininity and life experiences. Care was taken to avoid making pedagogical judgments about methods of teaching or pupil response.

**Complex reasoning:** both inductive and deductive reasoning were used, with a circular process moving from the data collection, to the analysis, to the development of theory and back to the data again. As more data were collected, new themes emerged, which were then taken back and applied to earlier data.

### 1.7 Research Design

Fig. 1 shows a diagram of the research structure from which it can be seen how the various studies connect with each other. As the study took place over a period of some years, the analytical process developed and featured much cross referencing between the three studies.
Figure 1: Research design

I: Questionnaire Study:
on interaction in instrumental lessons to M and F
instrumental teachers and to m and f pupils

Aim: Discover gender-related topics, patterns of
behaviour and general beliefs for further
investigation in Parts II and III.

II: Observation Study:
Video recordings of M and F
teachers’ instrumental lessons
with m and f pupils

III: Interview Study:
Audio-recording of teachers’
and pupils’ individual
interviews

Aim: Analyse video
recording, coding
and categorising talk
and non-verbal
interactions

Aim: Analyse interview recordings
for emergent recordings,
compare with
observations

Synthesis:
Build theory by comparing data from
Parts I, II, and III

Re-examine earlier data
1.8 Research Questions

In order to carry out this exploration of gender interactions in instrumental lessons, I asked the following research questions and sub-questions:

1. Do patterns of gender interaction occur in instrumental lessons?
   a) Do instrumental teachers alter their teaching style for boys and for girls?
   b) Do pupils relate differently to male and female instrumental teachers?
   c) Do girls behave differently with a male teacher? Do they show more ‘helpless’ and less ‘mastery’ behaviour?
   d) Do boys behave differently with a female teacher? Do they find it easier to accept criticism from a man than from a woman?

2. What effect do gender differences have on instrumental teachers’ and pupils’ expectations of the learning process?
   a) Do boys and girls have different expectations for their instrumental lessons?
   b) Do girls work more patiently towards longer-term goals than boys do?
   c) Are girls more obliging? Are boys more argumentative?
   d) Do male and female teachers hold different expectations of their pupils?

There are many possible ways to find answers to these questions: many possible epistemological positions. In line with my relativist social constructionist stance, I do not make claims to find proof of ‘universally perceived objective realities’ (Mason, 2002), but I offer evidence from my interpretation of participants’ words, thoughts and actions in order to support my argument that gender is an important, if often unacknowledged ingredient in interactions, both in instrumental music lessons and also arguably in teaching in general.
PART I: QUESTIONNAIRE STUDIES

‘The sociologist should look upon surveys as one way, and a supremely useful one, of exploring the field, of collecting data around as well as directly on the subject of study, so that the problem is brought into focus and the points worth pursuing are suggested.’
(Moser & Kalton, 1971, p. 4)

CHAPTER 2: QUESTIONNAIRE STUDIES: Context, Methodology and Pilots

2.1 Context and Methodology

Overview
This chapter begins with a short survey of literature from the field of music psychology which relates to instrumental teaching. In order to show how some researchers have focused on teacher/pupil interaction and/or gender, I shall review work which has used quantitative methods, including questionnaires. This is followed by a discussion of the rationale and methodology for the present questionnaire studies. Having provided a context I then move on to a description of the design and piloting of two questionnaires for teachers and pupils to conclude this chapter. The main studies are individually described and discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.
2.1.1 Questionnaire Studies of Instrumental Teaching

The gendered choice of musical instruments has been investigated frequently. A study by Abeles and Porter (1978) found that children tended to associate genders with certain instruments and that as their age increased, boys in particular avoided instruments such as the flute, which they perceived as ‘feminine’. Several experiments have been carried out to discover whether the gender bias could be manipulated by presenting instruments in different ways: using live musicians, illustrations of instruments being played by both sexes, or recordings of instruments with no indication of the sex of the players (e.g. Delzell & Leppla, 1992). Bruce and Kemp (1993) found that boys and girls aged 5 – 7 already showed a strong identification with players of their own sex, overriding the gender associations of the instrument being played. O’Neill and Harrison have also investigated this topic extensively (Harrison & O’Neill, 2000; O’Neill et al., 1999) and found that gender associations can be changed to some extent, but that boys in particular could react against a ‘masculine’ instrument if they saw it being played by a woman. Girls expressed interest in a wider selection of instruments, including several that were stereo-typically masculine. The ‘gendering’ of musical instruments could have implications for instrumental teachers. As I shall explain in Chapter 3 (section 3.5a), this has traditionally been a feminised profession for various reasons and therefore boys searching for male role models in many instrumental disciplines may find them in short supply.

The ‘gendering’ of instruments is one symptom of a more general gender stereotyping which still pervades our social world. Baron-Cohen (2003), for example, makes a persuasive case for distinction between the ‘systematising male
brain’ and the ‘empathising female brain’. Bem’s research (1975, 1976, 1981), which led to the development of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) made it possible to measure people’s gender identity on two scales: for masculinity and femininity. The idea that masculinity and femininity are not simply at opposite poles on a single scale provides an attractive explanation for the wide variety of different responses available to people in situations in which gender might play a part. Bem defined four personality types:

- ‘Masculine’: high masculine and low feminine
- ‘Feminine’: low masculine and high feminine
- ‘Androgynous’: high masculine and high feminine
- ‘Undifferentiated’: low masculine and low feminine.

Bem’s gender schema theory postulates that the first two of these types will tend to avoid activities which they associate what Bem calls ‘cross-sex behaviour’. The androgynous types are likely to be the most flexible in their responses to ‘gendered’ situations, equally at home playing with a baby or confronting an intruder in their house. Undifferentiated types may respond in inappropriate ways to gendered situations. Bem later moved on to take a social constructionist standpoint: that gender schema are generated and maintained by society and that they are a product of the child’s upbringing and socialisation, not inbuilt.

Kemp (1996, p. 114) found the androgynous type to be common among musicians of both sexes. He believed that it would be a helpful characteristic: such people would be able to access the full range of cognitive and emotional responses which
playing and writing music can demand. He moved on to suggest that since androgyny was not apparent in musicians until they were at least 15, the pupils who drop out at around this age may belong to one of the more heavily sex-stereotyped groups. This is an interesting explanation, although it may be that gender identity and personality traits are not quite as fixed as some personality trait theorists maintain, but that they are continually being negotiated by the individual in response to changing circumstances. Furthermore, whilst sex-typing may provide one explanation, there may be a host of other social and educational reasons for children stopping lessons around the age of 15 (Rowe, 2001).

A view which opposes personality trait theory is maintained by Mischel (1968), who argues that it is situations and not personality traits that are responsible for behaviour. The social constructionist view is that personality attributions are constructed socially and that behaviours are attributed either to people or to the situations they find themselves in or to a combination of the two. Cooper (1998) believes that personality trait theory can co-exist with social constructionism (p.74).

Cramer, Millon and Perreault (2002) pursued the idea of gender stereotyping to discover the social consequences of musicians playing ‘cross-sex’ instruments. They surveyed 98 college students’ evaluations, on a semantic scale, of 4 fictitious male and female musicians. They were asked to assign various masculine, feminine and neutral qualities to each. The female musicians were perceived as ‘more dominant, active and better leaders’ than the male musicians, especially the
males who played feminine instruments. Furthermore, male and female players of ‘feminine’ instruments were perceived as ‘more caring, warm and sensitive’ but less dominant than players of ‘masculine’ instruments. Cramer et al. suggest that musicians who play ‘cross-sex’ instruments ‘may be perceived as deviant and ultimately face social reproach’ (p. 164). I shall discuss the matter of social stigmatisation in Chapter 8 (section 8.3.3), when I consider the gender identity work accomplished by the participants in my observational and interview studies.

Whereas some instruments have been perceived as feminine, the field of composition has tended to be a male-dominated area. A study by North, Colley and Hargreaves (2003) surveyed 153 16 – 19 year old students’ perceptions of the work of male and female composers. Six music excerpts from the fields of Classical, New Age and Jazz were attributed to either male or female composers by means of fictitious biographies. The students were played each excerpt and given a biography to read. They were then asked to evaluate various qualities on Likert scales. The qualities included forceful, individualistic, innovative, warm, gentle, and soothing. All were taken from Bem’s Sex Role Inventory, with the first three typed by Bem as masculine and the other three as feminine. Other categories allowed respondents to use their musical judgment to rate the music for technical and artistic value and personal likes.

After analysis of the results using a 2x2x3 ANOVA (sex of participant x extent for males or females x genre) it was found that gender stereotyping effects were confined to the works in the jazz genre. This is perhaps not surprising, given the overwhelming predominance of male composers and players in the jazz field.
However, classical music is also dominated by male composers, so similar results might have been expected. The authors suggest that because there are known to be more female players of classical music than of jazz, the effect might have been diluted.

Female participants gave higher ratings to jazz works which they believed to have been written by women, whereas male participants showed an anti-female bias. North et al also highlight the fact that stereotypes of different groups may generate different expectations of some attributes: for example ‘gentle’ for a man might be defined differently from ‘gentle’ for a woman. This ‘shifting standards’ problem illustrates one of the difficulties about research involving gender issues.

Instrumental teaching is a career which has been adopted by more women than men. Aside from the possible economic and social reasons for this, which I shall discuss in Chapter 3 (section 3.5a), it is possible that male and female students, at the beginning of their musical careers, may have differing beliefs and expectations about instrumental teaching, which might lead them to follow or avoid this path. Mills (2006) carried out a questionnaire study of music students at two conservatoires and a university, in order to compare their views. Although all the students expected to do some instrumental teaching at some point in their careers, two cohorts consisted of music education students, and two consisted of performers or composers. Sixty-one students completed the questionnaires and for the purpose of analysis the questions were grouped under several headings
(unseen by respondents). Those which are of most relevance to the present study were as follows:

- The relationship between my teaching and playing
- The pupils I would like to teach
- Why I would enjoy teaching
- My responsibility for pupils’ learning
- The status of instrumental teaching as an occupation

The opinions of the male students in this survey are of particular interest, in that they appear to show a preference for the high-profile life of the conservatoire teacher, rather than for the more mundane teacher of children and beginners. The male students wanted to teach in conservatoires, to teach advanced pupils and to teach pupils who find music easy. They showed evidence of a traditional approach: they expected repetitive practice from pupils and would blame themselves if pupils did not practise. They also expected to teach staff notation from the first lesson, rather than the ‘sound before symbol’ approach advocated by the Department of Education and Science (DES, 1985). The male students believed that the instrumental teacher had a higher status in the community than the female students did, and Mills suggests that this opinion may have been founded on the high regard in which they held their own teachers. This opinion may also have been linked to the type of instrumental teacher that they themselves wanted to become.

Mills interprets these findings as a desire among the male students to teach pupils who are essentially like themselves: keen, committed and able. She proposes that the male students were identifying more strongly with their own teachers than the
female students did, and points out that that this may be because a large majority of teachers in conservatories are themselves male. However, I suggest that given that the majority of instrumental teachers in the UK are female, it is unlikely that all these male students had been taught exclusively by male teachers during their early years of training. Male musician role models may therefore be seen as useful but not essential in the early stages of learning for boys to succeed in musical careers.

Female students in this survey appeared to derive more enjoyment than the male students from seeing their pupils develop as musicians and from working out how to improve their own teaching skills. They were also more interested in teaching younger pupils. There seems to be a difference here in the focus of the two groups of students: females showing more interest in process (i.e. on improving skills and understanding and on building a relationship), and the males preferring product (i.e. on producing expert and high achieving players). The males also seem more committed to preserving traditional teaching methods and the females are more open to innovation. A feminist theorist’s interpretation of this would be that the males have an inbuilt interest in preserving the male hegemony: traditional teaching has led to more male success than female, as evidenced by the higher proportion of male solo and orchestral performers and conservatoire teachers in the UK.

In this brief survey, I have examined the work of music psychologists which connects the fields of instrumental teaching and gender. The ‘gendering’ of
musical instruments has been a concern for music educators, and the studies I have reviewed showed that such biases do exist (e.g. Harrison & O’Neill, 2000) and that they can be counteracted to a limited extent by offering children role models. In recent years there has been some shift in the instrumental gender boundaries, due in part to the appearance of personalities like James Galway (male flautist), Evelyn Glennie (female percussionist) and Alison Balsom (female trumpeter). It is still likely, however, that children who play ‘cross-sex’ instruments will need to develop a range of strategies in order to succeed in the face of peer-criticism.

In discussing gender schema theory and personality trait theory, I cited the work of Kemp (1996) who applied Bem’s (1975) proposal that psychological androgyny should lead to a flexible approach to situations in which gender played a part. Kemp believed that high androgyny led to musicians’ success in dealing with the cognitive and emotional aspects of music, whether as composers or performers. Also connected with Bem’s theory was the study by North et al. (2003) which examined students’ perceptions of male and female composers and in which female students showed a bias towards female jazz composers, while male students showed an anti-female bias. This study again connects with the possibility that role models for both sexes are important in music education.

The final study I discussed was by Mills (2006). This took a more sociological approach to discover the expectations of music students on the subject of their own teaching. Her finding that male and female students differed in their opinions about the nature and status of instrumental teaching as a profession,
(male students hoping for high profile, traditional work with skilful pupils, and female teachers expecting to teach at more basic levels with a more experimental approach) may in part explain the predominance of male professors at conservatoire level. It may also suggest that the male and female students who go on to become teachers may differ in their teaching goals and in their expectations of their pupils.

2.1.2 Questionnaire Methodology

The quotation from Moser and Kalton (1971, p. 4) which heads Part I summarises the value of survey methods in sociological research: to provide context and background to the problem under investigation. Moser and Kalton go on to describe the many different types of subject matter which have been investigated by such means: demographic characteristics, social environment, behaviour or activities and opinions.

If a large number of responses is required, questionnaire methods present several advantages over, for example, interviews. As Robson (1993, p. 243) points out, they are ‘efficient in terms of researcher time and effort’, since a self-completion questionnaire can be filled in by 1000 people in about the same time as a single interview would occupy. Responses can also be quick to collate, especially if a computer is used, and there are also statistical packages which can be employed to analyse results.
Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p.171) summarise the value of survey methods in scanning a field in order to ‘measure or describe any generalised features.’ The material generated can provide numerical data, from which it may be possible to determine how widely held an opinion or experience may be in the sample population. The information gathered is standardised because the same questions are asked of all the participants. This kind of research therefore can usefully provide a broad picture of the field, through its ability to produce statements which are supported by a considerable data bank. Statistical tests show the level of confidence that can be placed in the findings, giving them a degree of positivistic authority: a ‘facts and figures’ approach on which to base further exploration of observed and quantified phenomena. Qualitative methods which rely on the researcher’s interpretation can in some disciplines seem to lack this objective robustness.

Drawbacks of the survey method exist: the data obtained by ticking boxes and rating items on scales are of their nature superficial: there is no way to probe respondents’ reasons for answering in a particular way, or even to discover whether they have understood the question in the way it was intended. The respondent may not have taken the questionnaire seriously, or may have had hidden reasons for answering in a certain way. The list of options may be too limited and the respondent’s preferred answer may not be among them. Cohen et al. (2000) point out that a survey is unlikely to be able to capture details which are context specific to a situation or a specific group of people. As they put it: ‘the individual instance is sacrificed to the aggregated response’ (p. 172). For these
reasons, Parts 2 and 3 will describe some qualitative research which was designed to complement this initial, scene-setting survey.

Robson (1993, p. 247) offers much practical advice on the construction of questionnaires, something he describes as an ‘art form, depending on informal knowledge and personal experience’. The types of questions asked will depend on the type of information being sought and the way in which it is to be analysed. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p. 172) offer three preliminary questions for a researcher setting up a survey:

- What is the purpose of the inquiry?
- On what population will it be targeted?
- What resources are available?

I shall consider each of these questions in relation to my investigation.

**Purpose:** the purpose of this study was to collect the views of instrumental teachers and pupils on topics which might be connected with gender in their lessons and to find out if there were any generally held beliefs or patterns of behaviour which might be attributed to gender interactions.

**Population:** The population to be consulted was a specific one: people who were currently teaching and children who were learning instruments. Present day experiences were sought, so people who were no longer teaching or learning would not be suitable respondents. Male and female qualified teachers from similar backgrounds to the participants in parts 2 and 3 would be most likely to
offer insights into the experiences of this group of people. The boy and girl pupils would be of the same target age (10 – 14) and come from similar social backgrounds to those who would participate in the studies in Part 2 and 3. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p. 93) recommend that a sample size of at least thirty is necessary if statistical analysis is to be carried out.

**Resources:** this survey was to be carried out by a single researcher with some experience of questionnaire research of a generally qualitative nature (Rowe, 2001). A PC with SPSS (a statistical analysis program) was available, as was training in statistical analysis. The researcher had several contacts amongst instrumental teachers and music educators, who might assist in piloting and in recruiting respondents. The design and piloting of the two questionnaires will be described below (sections 2.2 and 2.3). Other resource considerations, including sampling strategy, administration, method of preparing data and method of analysis will be described in Chapters 3 (Teachers’ questionnaire) and 4 (Pupils’ questionnaire.)

Visser, Krosnick, Marquette and Curtin (1996) compared postal and telephone questionnaires for accuracy in predicting the result of elections in Ohio over a 15 year period. They found that although there was a higher response rate to telephone surveys than to self-administered postal questionnaires, the postal surveys predicted outcomes much more accurately. It is possible that respondents to telephone surveys may not welcome such an intrusion and may therefore give unconsidered answers in order to end the conversation quickly. Postal
respondents in contrast have more autonomy about whether or not to respond and those who do so may be more committed to answering accurately. On considering in addition the amount of time that would be needed to conduct a survey of at least 50 people, and also the inadvisability of requiring children to talk on the telephone to a stranger, it was decided that the postal questionnaire method would be suitable for this research.

2.2 Pilot Study: Teachers’ Questionnaire: Design and Structure

Overview
The aim of the questionnaire design was to obtain data suitable for both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The results of the quantitative analysis were employed to find out whether there were any generally held views on gender in instrumental lessons. The results of the qualitative analysis would offer personal insights, in order to add richness and context to the findings. The data collected would help to provide a framework in which to assess the data from the observational and interview studies described in Parts II and III.

Biographic information was first sought, in order to ascertain the teachers’ gender, level of experience, number of pupils and instruments taught. This information would help to provide a general impression of the group being surveyed, and would also help to identify any outliers whose results could cause statistical anomalies. Questions were then asked about the kinds of interactions which might take place in lessons with boys and with girls, and about pupil motivation. These questions were answered by marking on Likert scales. The questions were influenced by the research of Rostvall and West (2003), which will be discussed in CH 2.2
detail in Chapter 5 (5.1.1). They categorised interactions in instrumental lessons under several headings:

- testing/inquiring
- instructional
- analytical
- accompanying
- expressive.

Although this study does not examine the interactions in the minute detail of Rostvall and West’s study, their headings provided a practical starting point for the investigation.

There were also open-ended questions which gave teachers the opportunity to mention their own particular concerns and experiences. This information, which lent itself to qualitative methods of analysis, would add richness and context to the statistical findings. Robson (1993) discourages the use of too many open questions because of the time required to analyse them. However, such questions help to give depth to responses and to show respect to respondents by including them in a more consultative role.

The questionnaire, a copy of which is to be found in Appendix I, was in five sections, as follows.

2.2.1 Demographic Data

Section 1 began with questions to establish the teacher’s gender, ‘professional age’ (number of years’ teaching experience), instrument(s), and number of pupils taught. The teacher’s age was not specifically requested, as some teachers could have been offended or alienated by such a question. Building on the work of
Abeles and Porter (1978) and O’Neill (1997), respondents’ views were sought on whether some instruments were particularly suited to boys or girls, in order to discover whether teachers held similar views to the general population, or whether their specialised knowledge made a difference to their opinion. There followed general questions about whether respondents had noticed any differences in the ways in which boys and girls approach their lessons. If the answer was affirmative, probe questions invited them to consider whether the differences were found in the pupil’s behaviour towards them, attitude to learning, playing style, choice of repertoire, or any other differences they wished to mention. The questions in this section would provide simple histograms to describe the nature of the sample.

2.2.2 Teacher Behaviour

Section 2 asked more specific questions to assess the likelihood of various kinds of teacher behaviour occurring during lessons with boys and with girls aged around 10 – 11. The teachers were asked to respond with Likert scale choices, ranging from 1 (least likely) to 5 (most likely). Each question offered separate lines for responses about boys and girls. This design facilitated analysis of men’s and women’s responses about boys and girls, using 2x2 ANOVAs (analysis of variance).

Adopting Rostvall and West’s headings, as mentioned above, the questions asked, for example, how likely the teacher would be to ‘tell the pupil what to practise’ (instructional) ‘ask questions about technique’ (testing/inquiring), ‘ask how the pupil feels about the music’ (expressive) and so on. The section ended with an
invitation to describe ‘any other things you do in your lessons, not listed here’.
The purpose of these questions was to discover whether male and female teachers
prioritised the same or different types of interactions in their teaching, and also
whether they believed that the interactions differed depending on the sex of the pupil.

2.2.3 Pupil Behaviour

In Section 3 the questions had a similar format, but asked about boys’ and girls’
behaviour in lessons. Questions included how likely the pupil was to ‘tell you if
they make a mistake’ (instructional) and ‘ask questions about technique’
(testing/inquiring). The section ended with an invitation to describe ‘any other
things boys or girls (or both) do in their lessons, not listed here’. These questions
aimed to discover in what ways, if any, the teachers believed that boys and girls
differed in their behaviour during lessons.

2.2.4 Motivation

Section 4 was a list of factors which might motivate boys and girls to practise and
again there were Likert scale choices for the answers. Motivating factors ranged
from the extrinsic: ‘sweets and other tangible rewards’ and ‘stars and stickers’
through ‘taking exams’, ‘wanting to please a parent’ to the intrinsic: ‘finally
mastering something they had found difficult’. The list of motivators had been
gathered during an informal teachers’ discussion with ten participants. A draw-
back of this method of generating the list was that 9 of the 10 discussion
participants were female, which might have produced a list of factors which
motivated females more strongly than males. However, the list was long and
varied and included several items which the participants had found useful in motivating boys. To counteract this feminine bias, three male colleagues of the researcher were asked informally to read the list and to suggest any other factors which they felt could be motivators. No extra ideas were forthcoming, indicating that a broad enough range of motivators had been produced. Respondents were also invited to offer their own ideas for motivating pupils. These questions were included to find out whether teachers believed that boys and girls were equally easy to motivate and whether they were inspired by the same or different things.

2.2.5 Open Questions

Section 5 was left blank for any further ‘comments about differences you have noticed in the ways in which boys and girls learn their instruments, or the different things you may do when teaching boys and girls.’ These open questions gave the respondent space to express their own opinions.

2.2.6 Method

The questionnaire was piloted by two male and two female teachers, all colleagues of the researcher. They filled in the questionnaire and also gave some verbal comments about small details of layout and wording which could be improved. One respondent suggested an improvement to wording; another suggested improvements to layout and readability. An extra motivating factor was suggested by a male respondent: ‘hearing a performer they would like to emulate’ and this suggestion was added to the list, making 13 motivators in all.
One of the respondents suggested two additional questions, which were considered. One suggestion: ‘Ask how they feel about the music’ was adopted, because talk about expression or emotion was an area in which gender differences might appear. The other suggestion: ‘Use touch to explain technique’ was also included. As a potentially sensitive topic, the question was positioned just after halfway through the section, to avoid the possibility of alienating respondents early on.

The respondents in the Pilot Study also rated the questionnaire for ease of response and comprehensibility. Three of the respondents had found it quite straightforward to complete: the fourth had gone into each question in minute detail, including telephoning the researcher for clarification on three of the questions. He reported some difficulties in completing the questionnaire. However, the depth of his responses was far greater than that of the other three respondents and much more detailed than one would expect for a questionnaire of this type, especially when administered by post to respondents who were not personally known to the researcher.

The suggestions of the respondents with regard to wording, the additional questions and the additional motivating factor having been incorporated, the questionnaire was ready for use in the main study. In Chapter 3, I describe the findings of the main study of 53 instrumental teachers.
2.3 Pilot Study: Pupils’ Questionnaire: Design and Structure

Overview

The purpose of this study was to complement the teachers’ questionnaire, by surveying instrumental pupils aged 10 - 14, to discover and compare their views on similar topics. As with the teachers’ questionnaire, the aim of the design was to acquire data suitable for both quantitative and qualitative investigation. These data would help to shape the observational and interview sections of this study. It was hoped that the respondents would take advantage of the anonymous nature of the questionnaire to provide forthright answers to questions about male and female teachers and about themselves, which might not have been accessible by other means such as interviews or focus groups. This age-group of children was selected because in the researcher’s experience they would be sufficiently mature to be able to express their views on gender in instrumental lessons. They were also at an age where they had not yet elected to study music at a higher level (GCSE, A Level or higher) and could be assumed to be pursuing their music as a hobby, alongside their school education. Knowledge of the currently held opinions of this age group could afford insight into the experiences of the pupils in the later studies.

Biographical information was first collected; followed by questions on beliefs about the ‘gendered’ nature of musical instruments, on the kinds of interactions that might take place in the pupils’ lessons, and on the pupils’ opinions about
practising. There were also open-ended questions in order to give pupils freedom to express their views.

A copy of the pupils’ questionnaire can be found in Appendix II. It consisted of five sections, each one investigating a different area of interest.

2.3.1 Pupils and Instruments

The pupils’ gender was established together with which instruments they played and which others they might like to play. They were then asked if they thought there were any instruments that were more suitable for boys, and if so which ones. They were also asked if there were some instruments more suitable for girls.

2.3.2 Pupils and Teachers

As some of the respondents had experienced learning an instrument with only one teacher, it was not considered fair to ask them to compare male and female teachers in the way that the previous questionnaire had asked teachers to compare male and female pupils. If the respondents were learning more than one instrument, they were asked to write about just one. The sex of the pupil’s teacher was established and then a series of questions sought to discover whether it made a difference to the pupils whether their teacher was male or female and which they would prefer if they could choose.

The characteristics of ‘a good music teacher’ were then considered, with respondents being invited to choose the most important characteristics from a list
of six. There was space for the respondents to add their own suggestions. They were then asked whether a man or a woman would be more likely to have each of the listed qualities. These hypothetical questions might have been difficult for some children to answer, so a ‘male and female equally likely’ option was provided.

2.3.3 Pupils and Lessons

This section looked at the kinds of interactions occurring in the lessons, and in many cases corresponded to questions in the teachers’ questionnaire. The level of proactive behaviour was investigated by asking:

In your lesson, do you: ☐ Ask/tell your teacher things or ☐ Wait to be asked?

There followed a list of activities, and respondents were asked to say how likely each was to occur in their lessons, on a Likert scale of 1 (least likely) to 5 (most likely). Examples of the activities included: ‘ask about how to play the instrument’ (categorised as testing/inquiring), ‘ask about how music is written’ (analytical), and ‘tell your teacher how you feel about the music’ (expressive).

2.3.4 Pupils’ Behaviour

This section presented the pupils with two imaginary scenarios and gave them a choice of ways in which they might choose to behave. The format was similar to that found in light-hearted personality quizzes in teenage magazines, and was chosen for its familiarity to this age group. The situations were as follows:
‘You go to your lesson and you haven’t done much practice’ and
‘Your teacher chooses a piece for you to learn and you really don’t
like it’.

The options offered to the respondents were all strategies that the researcher had observed in action in lessons. The aim of the questions was to discover more about the pupils’ interactions with their teachers and how much initiative they felt able to employ when in an awkward situation. There was space for them to add their own strategy if none of those offered seemed suitable.

There followed a list of statements made by children of the target age (10 – 14) about their feelings on practising. Respondents were reminded of the anonymity of their replies, and encouraged to be truthful. The statements had been offered informally by the researcher’s own pupils and were a mixture of positive:

‘It’s a good feeling when I finally get something right’,

negative: ‘I don’t like practising, it’s lonely’

and a few more equivocal: ‘It’s more fun than homework’

and ‘I quite like practising, but I’d never tell my friends!’

Respondents were asked to choose 4 statements which were ‘most like them’.

2.3.5 Likes and Dislikes

The last section invited the respondents in open-ended questions to list what they liked and disliked about their instrumental lessons.
The questionnaire was designed with consideration for the age of the respondents. In order to encourage their co-operation, the style was fairly informal and the questions short. Cartoon illustrations were used to enliven the pages and to motivate respondents to work through all the pages.

2.3.6 Method

Two boys and two girls, who were of the target age (10 – 14), piloted the questionnaire. As a result of their comments it was shortened, and on professional advice, some of the illustrations were replaced by less gender-specific ones lest the respondents should subconsciously pick up cues from them. There were no problems reported with the format or language of the questionnaire. A possibly negative effect of using a 5-point Likert scale when analysing the teachers’ questionnaire had been noted: there had been a tendency for some respondents to tick the middle choice for a majority of items. For the pupils’ questionnaire, it was decided to remove this ‘no opinion’ option and to offer the pupils a choice of only 4 points, (strongly agree, agree, disagree and strongly disagree). Robson (1993, p. 248) points out that this design may cause uncommitted respondents to ‘manufacture’ opinions for the purposes of the survey. However, the researcher’s previous experience was that children, even more than adults, find it difficult to make such choices, and that many would tend to choose the ‘lazy’ don’t know option if it were available to them, rather than making a thoughtful decision.

In Chapter 4, I describe the findings of the main study of 50 instrumental pupils.
2.4  Summary

In this chapter I have outlined the context of the two questionnaire studies which form the first part of this investigation. I noted that early research into music and gender focused on the choice of instruments and on personality trait and gender schema theories. Such topics lent themselves to quantitative research methods such as surveys. Following in this tradition, the present study initially surveys instrumental teachers and pupils in order to discover possible general patterns of belief and behaviour which could be connected with gender. More recently, researchers have been investigating instrumental teachers and pupils using a more sociological and interpretive approach, and Parts 2 and 3 will consider the value of this.
CHAPTER 3: TEACHERS’ QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

In this chapter, I describe a survey of instrumental teachers. The intention was to discover the nature of any beliefs connected with gender in instrumental lessons and to compare any reported differences in behaviour patterns of boys and girls and men and women. This initial phase of the research was designed to gather a general impression of the field and to highlight themes which could then be investigated in detail through observations (see Part II) and interviews (see Part III).

3.1 Method

PARTICIPANTS AND ADMINISTRATION

After the modifications suggested by the feedback from the Pilot Study had been incorporated, the questionnaire was posted to 113 private teachers who were members of the Incorporated Society of Musicians (ISM) in the county of Surrey. Many of the members were personally known to the researcher and it was hoped that they would feel encouraged to respond because of this.

Whilst it is possible for anyone in the UK to set up as a private instrumental teacher, with no training or qualifications, the criteria for registered membership of the ISM’s Private Teachers’ Section are stringent: teachers are required to hold recognised music-teaching qualifications and/or to be recommended by their
peers. ISM registered teachers are expected to abide by a code of good practice, encouraged to run their practices as efficient businesses and are kept informed of current trends in music education by means of their journal and by optional courses and conferences. The teachers in this survey therefore could be expected to hold considered and professional views about the nature of their work.

The teachers taught privately in their studios and some also taught individual lessons in schools. The questionnaire was anonymous, although some teachers enclosed signed covering letters with their responses.

### 3.2 Response

The initial mailing to 113 teachers attracted 49 responses. At 43%, this was well above the average response to mailed questionnaires which is around 20%: see, for example, Visser, Krosnick, Marquette and Curtin, (1996). Forty-five female teachers and only four male teachers completed responses to the initial mailing. However, there were far more women than men on the ISM mailing list, and some of the men wrote back to say that they did not have any pupils of the age-group under investigation.

In order to increase the size of the male group, the search was widened outside the local area by means of an appeal through the ISM’s nationally circulated *Music Journal*, which produced 5 more male volunteers. More male respondents were then sought by means of recommendation from ISM member colleagues. They were asked to suggest qualified male teachers whom they knew well and whose teaching they respected. In this way, although these additional male teachers
were not ISM members, similar selection criteria were applied, thus ensuring a similar degree of professionalism and responsibility.

Eleven questionnaires were too incomplete to use for the quantitative analysis. Four of these respondents wrote that they did not have pupils of the target age (10 – 11 years), or that they had nearly retired. Responses from two teachers who taught fewer than three pupils per week were not quantitatively analysed further, as they were not teaching a sufficient number of pupils to form comparisons. Some of their qualitative comments, however, which reflected their years of teaching experience, were valuable and will be referred to later. A response from one teacher, who was teaching over 120 pupils in groups, was discarded because this study was concerned only with individual lessons.

Four teachers had replied that they did not believe there were any differences between the way they taught boys and girls or the way boys and girls learned and therefore they did not wish to fill in the questionnaire. Their comments were set aside for use in the qualitative section of this analysis.

Four of the remaining respondents had left occasional questions blank, but sufficient information was offered to make them suitable for inclusion.

After the eleven incomplete questionnaires had been set aside, the sample included 19 men and 34 women. These proportions (36% male and 64% female) appeared to be a reflection of a profession chosen by far more women than men. As will be discussed in Chapter 3 below (section 3.5a), instrumental teaching has
traditionally been a ‘feminised’ area of work, particularly with school-age pupils, so this imbalance was accepted as symptomatic. Since many of the results would be analysed by Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests, the imbalance would not affect the robustness of the statistics.

A description and analysis of the quantitative data from the first four sections of the questionnaire will be presented first, followed by a description of the qualitative data from all five sections. A discussion and interpretation of the findings will conclude the chapter.

3.3 Results: Quantitative Analysis

3.3.1 Biographic Data

*QUESTIONNAIRE SECTION 1.2 Instruments taught*

The respondents taught a wide range of instruments, although a majority (33 of the 53) taught the piano, and most of the piano teachers were women. The other instruments were less frequently taught and in this sample seemed to follow stereotypical patterns: women teaching flute and singing, while men taught brass, percussion and guitar. Several of the teachers taught more than one instrument. Where more than one instrument was mentioned, the first listed was deemed to be the teacher’s main instrument.
The second instruments, where taught, also seemed to follow gender-stereotypical patterns, with female teachers offering flute, clarinet, recorder and singing, while male teachers offered saxophone and bassoon.
SECTION 1.3 Years of teaching experience

Fig. 3 shows the actual number of years’ teaching experience, or ‘professional age’ for everyone in the sample. The majority of the male teachers (in blue on the chart) had been teaching for less than 30 years, whereas the spread of the female teachers (in lilac) was across the whole sample, with a considerable number of the female teachers having taught for over 30 years.

Figure 3: Q.1.3: Years of teaching experience of all respondents
Table 1: Years of teaching experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher gender</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Mean no. of years’ teaching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows that the mean ‘professional’ age was considerably higher for the female (29.6) than for the male teachers (23.3). While it cannot be assumed that people who had been teaching for over 30 years were necessarily older than the teachers who had been teaching for less than 30 years, (since some older musicians might have made a second career in teaching), it is likely that the former group would have received their training many years ago. At that time the ‘Art of Teaching’ section of the teaching diplomas focused on teaching the technicalities of playing the instrument: no mention was made of teacher/pupil relationships, which have been explored in more depth in recent teaching qualifications such as the Cert. ABRSM. It is possible therefore that there was less awareness at that time of child protection issues which have affected the way in which teachers now guide their pupils’ hands and arms while playing. While it should be borne in mind that some of these teachers may have undertaken further training in recent years, it seems reasonable to suggest that people with a higher professional age could be less aware of gender interactions in teaching than those who had trained more recently. Arguably, teachers of more recent generations may have been brought up to be more aware of ‘relationships’ in general, through the increasing discussion of such topics in the media. The respondents in this study were of a similar background in terms of average years of teaching experience to the group of teachers who had been selected for the observational and interview studies which will be
described in Parts II and III, and therefore might be expected to offer a general impression of the views of this age group.

SECTION 1.4: Number of pupils

Teachers here specified the total number of male and female pupils they taught, including adults. As this study was looking at child pupils only, this question was only used to give an idea of the teachers’ level of professional activity.

SECTION 1.5: Gender of pupils

![Bar chart showing the total number of male and female pupils taught by respondents]

Figure 4: Q1.5: Total number of male and female pupils taught by respondents
The respondents were teaching a total of 1571 pupils: 588 male and 983 female. As can be seen from Fig. 4, more pupils were taught by the female teachers than by the male teachers: (unsurprisingly, since there were about twice as many female teachers as male in this sample). There were considerably more female than male pupils. A chi-square test on the numbers of females and males taught by the male and female teachers found that the differences were significant \( (X^2 = 130.63, \ p < .01, \ d.f.=2) \).

![Figure 5: Q1.5: Mean number of boys and girls taught by male and female respondents](image)

On examining the means of the number of male and female pupils for male and female teachers, as in Fig. 5, it can be seen that the male teachers taught proportionately more male than female pupils, while the female teachers taught proportionately more female pupils.
than male pupils. A further breakdown of the figures is shown in Table 2. The mean number of pupils per teacher across the whole group was 12 boys and 20 girls. (Note: only 49 of the 53 respondents answered this question)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>group of respondent</th>
<th>boys taught</th>
<th>girls taught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All teachers</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Question 1.5: Mean numbers of boys and girls taught

**SECTION 1.6: ‘Boys’ instruments and 1.7 ‘Girls’ instruments**

These questions sought to discover whether the respondents held stereotypical views about instruments for boys or for girls. Opinions were equally divided about whether or not any instruments were more suited to boys. Slightly more teachers did not believe that there were instruments which suited girls more than boys: see Figs 6 and 7.

![Figure 6: Q1.6: Do you think there are some instruments which suit boys more than girls?](image-url)
A chi-square test showed no significant associations between the opinions of men and women on suitability of instruments for boys or girls. However, in general, those teachers who taught instruments which have stereotypical gender associations such as brass or flute, believed that there were no instruments which were more suited to one particular sex.

A further chi-square test was carried out to find out if there was any association between the gender that might stereotypically be associated with the teacher’s main instrument and their opinion about whether some instruments were more suitable for boys or for girls. The instruments taught by this sample were categorised as:

- Masculine: saxophone, brass, guitar, drums and bass,
- Feminine: violin, flute and singing
- Neutral: piano, cello and clarinet,

following the example of previous studies (e.g. Abeles & Porter, 1978; Delzell & Leppla, 1992).
A chi-square test showed evidence to support the theory that teachers of differently ‘gendered’ instruments believed that some instruments were more suitable for boys than for girls, \( \chi^2 = 9.71 \ p = .046, \text{ d.f.} = 4 \). Teachers of ‘male-gendered’ instruments thought no instruments were more suitable for boys, whereas teachers of ‘neutral or female’ instruments thought that some instruments were more suitable for boys. This finding, however, should be treated with caution, since several cells in the chi-square contained values of less than 5.

A similar test to discover whether teachers of differently ‘gendered’ instruments believed that some instruments were more suitable for girls than for boys was less conclusive \( (\chi^2 = 7.98, \ p = .096, \text{ d.f.} = 4) \).

When asked which instruments would be most suited to boys or to girls, teachers’ suggestions frequently followed the gender stereotypes already mentioned. ‘Instruments more suited to boys’ included piano, cello, double bass, and brass: specifically trumpet and tuba. ‘Girls’ instruments included piano, violin/viola, flute, recorder, singing and harp. Fig. 8 shows that brass instruments were deemed to be the most suitable for boys, especially when tuba is included with the other brass instruments, while Fig. 9 shows that the flute was perceived as most suited to girls. This interesting result will be discussed further at the end of the chapter and will also be explored in Part III.
Figure 8: Section 1.6: Are there any instruments which are more suited to boys than girls?

Figure 9: Section 1.7: Are there any instruments which are more suited to girls than boys?
SECTION 1.8: Differences in the ways in which boys and girls approach their instrumental lessons

Of the 52 people who answered this question, 34 believed that they had noticed differences and 18 had not. The fact that 65% believed that they had noticed differences suggested that the topic was worthy of further investigation.

SECTION 1.9: If ‘yes’ are these differences in behaviour towards you, attitude to learning, playing style, choice of repertoire or other?

Space was left for comments. Since some people chose to tick boxes to indicate ‘yes’ and cross for ‘no’, while others simply left one or more sections blank, which could mean ‘no’ or just ‘don’t know’, it is not possible to carry out a meaningful quantitative analysis on these responses. However, the written comments were a rich source of qualitative data, and will be discussed in section 3.4 (below).

Moving on to the main body of quantitative data which derive from Section, 2, 3 and 4, the Likert Scale responses in Sections 2 3 and 4 were subjected to 2x2 ANOVAs, in order to compare the male and female teachers’ opinions about interactions with boys and with girls.

3.3.2 Teacher Behaviour

Table 3 shows a summary of the mean scores for Section 2 (on a scale of 1 – 5) together with the results of the ANOVA tests. These scores indicate how likely the teachers believed they would be to do certain things in lessons with boys and with girls.
In Section 2, the teachers most commonly gave identical answers for the way they taught boys and girls, indicating that they believed they made no difference in the way they taught, or perhaps indicating their wish to treat, or to be seen to treat, all their pupils in a similar way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quest no.</th>
<th>Mean scores from Likert scale responses* (5 = most likely, 1 = least likely)</th>
<th>Within subject contrasts</th>
<th>Between subjects effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M/b¹</td>
<td>F/b²</td>
<td>M/g³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Tell the pupil how to play the instrument (teach technique)</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Show the pupil by playing the instrument</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Tell them what to practice</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>4.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Tell them how to practise</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>4.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Show them what to practice by playing</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>4.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Play your instrument with them</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Sing along with them</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>4.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>Ask questions about technique</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>Ask questions about theory and structure</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>4.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>Ask about musical expression (dynamics, phrasing, tone quality)</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>Ask how they feel about the music</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>4.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>Use touch to explain technique (e.g. breathing, arm movements etc)</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>3.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>Ask about their musical preferences</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>4.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>Talk about music in general</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>4.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>Talk about other things, not to do with music</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>4.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Male teachers’ ratings for boy pupils
² Female teachers’ ratings for boy pupils
³ Male teachers’ ratings for girl pupils
⁴ Female teachers’ ratings for girl pupils

(p<0.05)

Table 3: Section 2: Teacher Behaviour: Summary of mean scores given for boys and girls
Only a few differences emerged, which are highlighted in Table 3. The following report comments on significant main effects and interactions. The results of the entire questionnaire will be considered in the Discussion section 3.5

(N.B.: in the following charts, the vertical axis shows the mean scores given on a Likert scale of 1 (least likely) to 5 (most likely), while the horizontal axis shows male and female teachers’ responses.)

**Q2.5: Show them how to practise by playing**

![Graph](image-url)  
**Figure 10: Q2.5: Show the pupil how to practise by playing**
In answer to Question 2.5: ‘Show the pupil how to practise by playing’, the male teachers wrote that they would be more likely to do this when teaching a boy, whereas the female teachers reported that they would be more likely to play when teaching a girl. This was a significant interaction (F=4.23, p=.045) between the gender of the respondent and their opinion about how they would behave with boys and with girls. Fig. 10 shows a graphic representation of this interaction. The red line shows that the mean score for girls was lower from male teachers and higher from female teachers. The blue line shows the reverse: the male teachers averaged a higher score for boys that for girls.

**Q2.10 Ask about musical expression (dynamics, phrasing, tone quality)**

![Figure 11: Ask about musical expression](image)
The response to Question 2.10 showed main effects for teacher gender: female teachers were more likely than male teachers to ask about musical expression \( (F=5.74, p=.021) \). The interaction between teacher gender and pupil gender was of some significance \( (F=3.62, p=.063) \). Fig. 11 shows a graphic representation: men were less likely than women to ask ‘expression’ questions, and would be slightly more likely to ask boys than girls, whereas women were more likely to ask ‘expression’ questions and would be more likely to ask them of girls.

**Q 2.12 Use touch to explain technique (e.g. breathing, arm movements etc.)**

![Graph showing the interaction between teacher gender and pupil gender.](image)
This sensitive subject elicited clearly different responses between the male and female teachers. Fig. 12 illustrates firstly a small main effect for teacher gender ($F= 2.86, p= .098$): male teachers said they would use touch less frequently than female teachers said they did, and secondly that there is an interaction between teacher and pupil gender ($F=4.12, p=.048$), with male teachers saying that they would use touch more with boys than with girls and female teachers saying that they use touch more with girls than with boys.

Since this was an area where the age of the teacher might have a bearing on the manner in which they taught, a histogram representing every response to this question, sorted by the ‘professional age’ of the teachers was prepared (see Fig. 13).

![Histogram](image_url)

Figure 13: Q2.12: Use touch to explain technique. 1 = least likely, 5 = most likely.
The results illustrated that there was a difference of opinion, depending on the years of teaching experience. The majority of the teachers with over thirty years’ experience indicated that they would use touch, whereas the response from the other teachers was mixed and included many who said they were unlikely to do so. Bearing in mind Fig. 3, which showed that the majority of teachers in the more experienced age group in this sample were female, these results suggest that older women teachers are more likely than other teachers to use touch in order to demonstrate technique.

GROUPING OF QUESTIONS INTO CATEGORIES

Finally, returning to the headings of Rostvall and West (2003) as described in Chapter 2 (2.2), the questions in Section 2 were categorised as testing, instructional, analytical, accompanying and expressive. The mean scores given by male and female teachers for boys and girls were then plotted on histograms to see if there were any noticeable differences between boys’ and girls’ scores. For example, it has been suggested that teachers can be more directional with girls than with boys. If this were so, girls’ mean scores for ‘instructional’ questions should be generally higher than boys’.
INSTRUCTIONAL

The following questions were classed as instructional:

- 2.1 ‘tell the pupil how to play’
- 2.2 ‘show the pupil by playing’
- 2.3 ‘tell them what to practise’
- 2.4 ‘tell them how to practise’
- 2.5 ‘show them how to practise by playing’

Because the basic nature of an instrumental lesson is instructional, this heading covered the largest number of questions. The teachers clearly believed that they would employ most of the activities listed and their responses are shown in Fig. 14 below. There was no obvious pattern of differences between the male and female teachers’ scores for boys and girls. Very slightly more ‘instructional’ interactions were reported in the female teachers’ lessons.
**ACCOMPANYING**

The following questions were classed as accompanying:

- 2.6 ‘Play your instrument with them’
- 2.7 ‘Sing along with them’

The scores here were very similar for male and female teachers of both boys and girls, the only notable feature being that male teachers were apparently less likely than the female teachers to sing (q2.7). Again there were no obvious patterns.
TESTING/INQUIRING

‘Testing and Inquiring’ questions were:

- 2.8 ‘Ask questions about technique’
- 2.13 ‘Ask about their musical preferences’

![Bar chart showing the mean scores for different teacher genders.](image)

Figure 16: ‘Testing’ interactions

Other than an indication that the men may have been more concerned with technique than the women, while the women may have asked more questions about musical preference than the men, the scores here are similar for teaching boys and girls.

ANALYTIC

Only one question (2.9: Ask questions about theory and structure) qualified for this heading. Female teachers seemed to be doing very slightly more of this activity than male teachers. This difference has already been analysed (See Table 3: 3.2.3 above) and found not to be significant.
**EXPRESSION**

The following questions were classed as expressive:

- 2.10 ‘Ask about musical expression’
- 2.11 ‘Ask how they feel about the music’
- 2.14 ‘Talk about music in general’

---

![Figure 17: 'Expressive' interactions](image)

The findings about expression (talking about musical expression and asking about how they feel about the music) have been discussed above (3.2: Q 2.10). This graph reiterates the earlier findings that the female teachers in this sample tend to talk about expression rather more than male teachers do, and they do so more with girls than with boys (see Q2.10, bars shown in blue and green in Fig. 17). The male teachers, when they discuss expression, tend to do this very slightly more with boys and the female teachers tend to do this more with girls. The female teachers are a little more likely to ask how pupils feel about the music (Q2.11, bars in brown and purple),
whereas the male teachers are rather more likely to talk about music in general (Q2.14, yellow and red).

Question 15 ‘Talk about other things, not to do with music’ did not fall into Rostvall and West’s categories, being an ‘off-task’ rather than an educational interaction. Question 12 ‘Use touch to explain technique’ also seemed not to fit, since it referred to a non-verbal interaction, which could conceivably be categorised under many of these headings.

Summary

The results from Section 2 can be summarised briefly as follows:

According to their own report:

- Male teachers were significantly more likely to demonstrate on their instruments to boys and female teachers were significantly more likely to demonstrate to girls.
- Women were more likely to talk about expression than men.
- Male teachers would be slightly more likely to talk about expression with boys than girls, whereas female teachers would be more likely to talk about expression with girls.
- Men were less likely to use touch than women.
- Men were more likely to use touch with boys than girls, and women were more likely to use touch with girls than with boys.
- Those who had been teaching for the longest time, many of whom were female in this sample, used touch the most, and used it equally with boys and girls.
A comparison of the results using Rostvall and West’s educational interaction headings showed that on balance, however, there were more similarities than differences between the opinions and the reported behaviour of the male and female teachers in this sample, particularly in relation to the instructional procedure of the lessons. Furthermore, results did not indicate that teachers were altering the nature of their teaching to any great extent for boys and girls. Any differences other than those noted here were too small to attain statistical significance, although they might indicate areas where more investigation with a larger sample could be fruitful.

3.3.3 Pupil Behaviour

In Section 3, the teachers were asked how likely their boy and girl pupils were to do certain things in the course of their lessons, and this shift of focus drew out a more varied response. Table 4 shows the complete set of results, which will be considered individually, summarised and finally discussed in Section 3.5, in conjunction with the results from the rest of the questionnaire.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question no.</th>
<th>Mean scores for boys</th>
<th>Mean scores for girls</th>
<th>Within subject contrasts</th>
<th>Between subjects effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boy/girl pupil</td>
<td>Male/female teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M/b(^1) F/b(^2)</td>
<td>M/g(^3) F/g(^4)</td>
<td>F Sig. F Sig. F Sig.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Tell you about technical difficulties</td>
<td>2.94 3.39 3.44 3.39</td>
<td>3.96 .053 3.96 .053 .29 .590</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Tell you if they make a mistake</td>
<td>2.75 3.34 3.25 3.72</td>
<td>7.59 .008 .12 .696 2.59 .114</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Correct their mistakes</td>
<td>3.31 3.42 3.50 3.74</td>
<td>4.549 .039 .32 .575 .30 .589</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Tell you what they have practised</td>
<td>2.75 3.38 3.50 3.78</td>
<td>15.36 .000 1.36 .250 1.54 .221</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Tell you how they practised</td>
<td>2.06 2.22 2.50 2.47</td>
<td>9.69 .003 .72 .400 .03 .873</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Ask questions about technique</td>
<td>2.38 2.34 2.69 2.53</td>
<td>4.66 .036 .29 .592 .06 .814</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7 Ask questions about theory and structure</td>
<td>1.63 2.21 1.75 2.39</td>
<td>1.79 .188 .06 .805 3.18 .081</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8 Talk about musical expression (dynamics, phrasing, tone quality)</td>
<td>1.81 2.55 1.93 2.88</td>
<td>4.61 .037 .95 .334 5.84 .020</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9 Tell you how they feel about the music</td>
<td>2.75 2.67 3.00 3.33</td>
<td>11.10 .002 2.29 .137 .10 .758</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10 Tell you their musical preferences</td>
<td>3.13 3.36 3.00 3.58</td>
<td>0.14 .709 2.11 .153 .86 .359</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11 Talk about music in general</td>
<td>2.88 2.75 2.94 2.78</td>
<td>0.17 .685 .02 .892 .13 .720</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.12 Talk about other things, not to do with music</td>
<td>3.50 3.59 3.313 3.85</td>
<td>0.03 .871 1.23 .261 .83 .366</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Male teachers’ ratings for boy pupils
\(^2\) Female teachers’ ratings for boy pupils
\(^3\) Male teachers’ ratings for girl pupils
\(^4\) Female teachers’ ratings for girl pupils

\((p<0.05)\)

Table 4: Section 3: Pupil behaviour: Summary of mean scores for boys and girls
Q3.1: *Tell you about technical difficulties*

There was a small main effect for pupil gender and also an interaction between teacher and pupil gender ($F= 3.96, p=.053$) with girls being perceived by male teachers, but not female teachers, as rather more likely to tell their teacher about technical difficulties than boys.

![Estimated Marginal Means](image-url)
**Q3.2: Tell you if they make a mistake**

There was a main effect for pupil gender: these teachers believed that girls were more likely than boys to tell them if they made a mistake ($F=7.59$, $p=.008$.)

![Figure 19: Q3.2: Tell you if they make a mistake](image-url)
Girls were also considered by male and female teachers to be more likely than boys ($F=4.54$, $p=.039$) to correct their mistakes (see Fig. 20).
**Q3.4: Tell you what they have practised**

Fig. 21 shows the strongest effect noted in this analysis, as male and female teachers believed that girls were considerably more likely than boys to tell their teacher what they had practised. (F=15.36, p<.001)

![Estimated Marginal Means](image)

Figure 21: Q3.4: Tell you what they have practised
Q3.5: *Tell you how they practised*

The analysis showed a main effect for pupil gender: girls were significantly more likely than boys ($F=9.69$, $p=.003$) to tell their teachers how they had practised (see Fig. 22).

![Estimated Marginal Means](image)

Figure 22: Q3.5: Tell you how they practised
Q3.6: Ask questions about technique

Girls were believed to be more likely than boys (F=4.66, p=.036) to ask questions about technique (see Fig. 23).

![Diagram showing estimated marginal means for teacher gender (male vs. female) and Q3.6 (girls vs. boys).](figure23.png)

Figure 23: Q3.6: Ask questions about technique
**Q3.8: Talk about musical expression (dynamics, phrasing, tone quality)**

Fig. 24 shows that teachers thought that girls were more likely than boys to talk about musical expression (F=4.61, p=.037). There was also a significant effect for teacher gender (F=5.84, p=.020), with the female teachers expecting pupils to talk about expression more than the male teachers. This finding echoes that of the previous section, in which female teachers were more likely than male teachers to say they would talk about expression.

![Figure 24: Q3.8: Talk about musical expression](image-url)
Q3.9: Tell you how they feel about the music

There was a strong main effect for pupil gender here: men and women believed that girls were more likely to tell them how they felt about the music than boys were (F=11.10, p=.002, see Fig. 25).

Figure 25: Q3.9: Tell you how they feel about the music
Summary
According to these teachers, their girl pupils were significantly more likely than their boy pupils to do the following:

- Tell you about technical difficulties
- Tell you if they make a mistake
- Correct their mistakes
- Tell you what they have practised
- Tell you how they practised
- Ask questions about technique
- Talk about musical expression.
- Tell you how they feel about the music.

3.3.4 Motivation
Section 4 was a list of ideas to help motivate children to practise. The responses showed that this group of teachers believed nearly everything on the list was more likely to motivate girls than boys.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q. no.</th>
<th>Mean scores from Likert scale responses(^1) corrected to 2 decimal places</th>
<th>Within subject contrasts</th>
<th>Between subjects effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean scores for boys</td>
<td>Mean scores for girls</td>
<td>Boy/girl pupil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M/b</td>
<td>M/g</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td><strong>Stars or stickers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stars or stickers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.00 3.42 3.09 3.09</td>
<td>2.14 .151 .54 .469 .88  .354</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td><strong>Sweets or other tangible rewards</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sweets or other tangible rewards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.45 2.92 2.36 2.70</td>
<td>1.43 .239 .17 .685 .44  .512</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td><strong>Competition with friends</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competition with friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.27 3.34 3.40 3.47</td>
<td>.20 .660 .08 .782 .06  .805</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td><strong>Playing in competitive music festivals</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Playing in competitive music festivals</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2.83 3.30 3.17 3.40</td>
<td>3.71 .061 1.08 .306 .74  .396</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td><strong>Playing in concerts</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Playing in concerts</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>4.13 4.20 4.33 4.38</td>
<td>4.00 .051 .02 .901 .06  .816</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td><strong>Taking exams</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Taking exams</td>
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<td>4.27 3.94 4.33 4.03</td>
<td>1.01 .321 .02 .890 .98  .328</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td><strong>Playing with friends (duets or ensembles)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Playing with friends (duets or ensembles)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.06 3.71 4.44 4.18</td>
<td>8.08 .007 .10 .749 1.28  .263</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td><strong>Playing to family group</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Playing to family group</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.80 3.13 2.87 3.81</td>
<td>4.99 .030 3.02 .089 4.22  .046</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td><strong>Playing in family group</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Playing in family group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.20 3.25 3.40 3.54</td>
<td>2.77 .104 .09 .770 .06  .812</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10</td>
<td><strong>Wanting to please their teacher</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wanting to please their teacher</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4.11</td>
<td><strong>Wanting to please a parent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wanting to please a parent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.07 3.55 3.50 3.85</td>
<td>8.97 .004 .26 .610 1.71  .198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12</td>
<td><strong>Hearing a piece they really want to learn</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hearing a piece they really want to learn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.40 4.38 4.27 4.50</td>
<td>.00 .969 1.44 .236 .20  .655</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13</td>
<td><strong>Hearing a performer they would like to emulate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hearing a performer they would like to emulate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.07 3.10 3.87 3.23</td>
<td>.09 .761 2.02 .163 4.28  .045</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14</td>
<td><strong>Finally mastering something they had found difficult</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finally mastering something they had found difficult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.00 3.89 4.07 4.00</td>
<td>1.17 .285 .11 .744 .14  .709</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{p}<0.05\)

Table 5: Section 4: Motivators: Summary of mean scores for boys and girls
**Q4.5: Playing in concerts**

There was a near-significant main effect for pupil gender (F=4.00, p=.051): teachers believed that girls would be more motivated by playing in concerts than boys would be.

**Q4.7: Playing with friends (duets or ensembles)**

Male and female teachers believed that girls would be more likely than boys to be motivated by playing in groups with friends (F=8.08, p=.007). There was also a main effect for teacher gender (F=4.22, p=.046), with the male teachers believing that this would be a stronger motivator than the female teachers did.
Q4.8: Playing to family group

This analysis showed a main effect (F=4.99, p=.030) for pupil gender, with girls being generally perceived to be more motivated by playing to the family than boys (see Fig. 27). There was also a near-significant interaction between pupil gender and teacher gender (F=3.015, p=.089). The male teachers thought that boys and girls would be fairly equally motivated by this factor, whereas the female teachers thought that girls would be much more motivated by this than boys. The gender difference in the teachers’ opinions was also significant (F=4.28, p=.046).
**Q4.10: Wanting to please their teacher**

This question elicited the strongest main effect in this section for pupil gender (\(F=13.84, p=.001\)). Girls were perceived as much more likely than boys to be motivated by wanting to please their teacher (see Fig. 28). This interesting result will be discussed below (3.5b).
Q4.11: Wanting to please a parent

The result again showed a strong main effect for pupil gender (F=8.97, p=.004), with girls being considered as more likely than boys to be motivated by wanting to please a parent (see Fig. 29).
Q4.13: hearing a performer they would like to emulate.

This was one of only two results which showed a main effect for teacher group (F=4.28, p=.045). Male teachers had a stronger belief than the female teachers did in the motivational value of hearing a performer whom pupils would like to emulate. Several of the male respondents made special mention in the open question section of listening to CDs and going to concerts as good motivators for their pupils. Only one woman suggested that such activities were part of her repertoire of teaching activities. This motivator had originally been recommended by one of the male respondents in the pilot study (see 2.2.6).
Summary

In each profile plot except one, the girls’ line was higher than the boys. In four cases the difference was significant and in two the difference was nearly significant. In the opinion of both male and female teachers, girls were more likely than boys to be motivated by:

- Playing in competitive music festivals
- Playing in concerts
- Playing with friends
- Playing to family group
- Wanting to please their teacher
- Wanting to please a parent

Some possible reasons for the differences noted here are discussed in section 3.5b. The male teachers had a stronger belief than the female teachers that pupils could be motivated by hearing a performer they would like to emulate.

3.4 Results: Qualitative Analysis

N.B.: comments from the teachers are printed in italics below and annotated as follows:
M= male respondent
F= female respondent

The remaining data yielded by the teachers’ questionnaire were based on the open-ended questions and were treated as qualitative data. Some of the respondents wrote a great deal, while others restricted themselves to ticking boxes. Several teachers stressed that each pupil had to be treated as an individual and were reluctant to make
generalisations. Of the 52 people who expressed an opinion, 34 had noticed differences between boys’ and girls’ behaviour and attitudes in music lessons, and 18 had not. Many people held strong opinions about the various differences they had noticed between boys and girls. Since several responses seemed to cover a number of topics, often crossing the boundaries between the four sections of the questionnaire, it was decided to re-organise the data into categories.

The responses were transcribed, printed out and subjected to line-by-line analysis in order to divide them into short segments, each of which expressed one idea. For example, the statement: ‘boys are more likely to question you about things, e.g. fingering etc. Some are willing to be more challenging and less acquiescent than girls’ was divided as follows:

‘boys are more likely to question you about things, e.g. fingering etc. | Some are willing to be more challenging | and less acquiescent than girls’ |

The segments were read several times and by a process of cross-comparison and deduction were gradually coded into six main categories. Four main interpretations of differences in behaviour and attitudes emerged. These were:

a) Influences from outside the lesson
b) Pupil-related
c) Teacher-related
d) Pupil/Teacher interaction during the lesson.

There were also numerous comments that stressed that teachers had not noticed any gender differences. These fell into two categories:

e) Pupil-related (teachers reporting no differences between boys’ and girls’ behaviour) and
f) Teacher-related (teachers reporting no differences in how they taught boys and girls).
Consideration was given to the question of whether male and female teachers made differing numbers of positive statements about boys and girls. There did not appear to be a difference in the numbers of positive and negative comments in each category (i.e. men on boys, men on girls, women on boys, women on girls).

RELIABILITY STUDY: in order to check the researcher’s codings of comments as positive or negative, a random sample of 25 comments from male teachers and 25 from female teachers was rated as positive or negative by two referees who were both music teachers. No observable difference was found between the scores for male and female teachers or for boys and girls. The test sheet for this reliability study is to be found in Appendix III. The same test sheet was also used to discover whether the comments contained gender stereotypical associations (see section 3.4.1b, below).

a) OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

The outside influences mentioned by the teachers included interaction with peers and school. Many teachers were sensitive to the effect that peer relationships and pressures, in particular, could have on children’s willingness to work at their instruments. One teacher commented:

‘Girls tend to learn because their friends do (peer pressure) but boys are torn between sport and music and tend to give up earlier’ (F)

And another similar response:

‘Boys don’t have a different attitude – but are more likely to give up as sport, or teasing by their fellows proves too much!’ (F)

Peer pressure thus can have a positive effect for girls but maybe a more negative one for boys. Especially as children reach early teenage years, the wish to conform and
belong to the ‘right’ social group may prove incompatible with the desire to learn music. Music is seen as a subject ‘for girls’: four of the female teachers pointed out that they had always had more girl pupils than boys, and this observation is supported by the numbers of girls (983) and boys (588) taught by the teachers in this study.

The influence of the school can be seen as an extension of peer influence. If music has a high profile in the school, pupils are more willing to become, and stay, involved. The value a school places on music can be seen in the resources it provides:

‘The school environment plays a part – practically, in terms of access to materials and equipment (books, discs, CD players) but also the atmosphere in a school – how staff and pupils relate to one another.’ (M)

A school’s recognition or reward for musical achievements can also give music kudos:

‘I think that if you teach in school and can link their musical success to the school’s credit, or house point system, this is very popular and it means a lot to them at secondary level.’ (F)

Unfortunately, many schools’ cultures do not encourage a positive attitude to music:

‘In co-educational secondary school, boys seem reluctant to participate in school music – its (sic) not ‘cool’ to be involved sadly.’ (F)

b) PUPIL-RELATED GENDER DIFFERENCES

Teachers frequently attributed boys’ and girls’ differing behaviours to personality traits. While it would be an over-simplification to label certain traits as male or female, nevertheless, the fact that the teachers made comments of this nature may be seen as a further indication of a tendency to use gender stereotyping.

RELIABILITY STUDY: A random selection of teachers’ comments about boys and girls, with gender information removed, was presented to an independent rater, in order to discover whether he could identify whether the comments had been made about boys or girls (see CH 3.4)
Appendix III. The object of this test was to discover whether the comments carried with them examples of gender stereotyping, recognisable to independent observers. The rater was correct in his judgment of 96% of the cases, suggesting that stereotyping could be observed in the comments.

**DATA CATEGORISATION**

In order to guide the interpretation of these qualitative data, it was decided to adopt some of the theoretically based personality traits constructed by Cattell and Kline (1977) as quoted by Kemp (1996, p. 6). These headings were employed because they already had carefully detailed definitions attached to them, which would be helpful in coding and in training assistants for the reliability study. It should be stressed that the headings are used as convenient labels, and do not carry with them the weight of Cattell and Kline’s rigorous personality testing on this occasion. Nor does this categorisation include every dimension of their scale, being restricted to those items which seemed to fit most appropriately with the comments being analysed here. The category headings adopted were as follows:

- a) Dominance / Submissiveness (Cattell’s E+/E- factor)
- b) Conscientiousness / Expediency (G+/G-)
- c) Adventurousness / Shyness (H+/H-)
- d) Guilt-proneness / Self-assured (O+/O-).

Some of the characteristics Cattell ascribed to each category are summarised below in Table 6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E+</td>
<td>Assertive, aggressive, stubborn, independent, stern, hostile, solemn, unconventional, rebellious, headstrong</td>
<td>Dominance</td>
<td></td>
<td>Submissiveness</td>
<td>Easily led, docile, accommodating, dependent, considerate, diplomatic, expressive, conventional, conforming, easily upset by authority</td>
<td>E-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G+</td>
<td>Disciplined, persevering, ordered, sense of duty, moral standards</td>
<td>Conscientiousness</td>
<td></td>
<td>Expediency</td>
<td>Disregards rules and obligations, quitting, fickle, self-indulgent</td>
<td>G-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H+</td>
<td>Thick-skinned, socially bold, likes meeting people, overt interest in opposite sex, responsive, genial, friendly, impulsive, emotional and artistic interests, carefree</td>
<td>Adventurousness</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shyness</td>
<td>Timid, restrained, withdrawn, retiring with opposite sex, emotionally cautious, rule-bound, restricted interests, careful, considerate</td>
<td>H-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O+</td>
<td>Worrying, apprehensive, insecure, anxious, sensitive to others’ approval/disapproval Scrupulous, fussy.</td>
<td>Guilt-proneness</td>
<td></td>
<td>Self-assuredness</td>
<td>Placid, complacent, secure, self-confident, cheerful, resilient, insensitive to others’ approval/disapproval. Does not care, no fears</td>
<td>O-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Summary of the traits described by Cattell as used in defining the pairs of categories of data for the teachers’ questionnaire.

Each comment was coded by the researcher according to her interpretation of Cattell’s definitions. Teachers’ comments about boys and girls commonly polarised to opposite sides of the categories in a way that echoed the findings in the quantitative section of the questionnaire. Because some of the teachers did not write any comments while others wrote a great many, sometimes repeating themselves, caution should be exercised when trying to interpret these data in a quantitative way. It should also be
borne in mind that there were approximately twice as many female respondents as there were male. However, the results of a simple count for each of the categories show some underlying patterns and provide some indication of teachers’ beliefs.

From their comments, it would appear that these teachers hold several stereotypical opinions about their boy and girl pupils’ characters. Girls scored higher than boys on:

- Guilt-proneness (9 comments about girls as contrasted with none about boys),
- Submissiveness (14 comments about girls as contrasted with only 1 about boys)
- Conscientiousness (31 about girls: 3 about boys).

Boys, in contrast, scored higher than girls on

- Dominance (19 comments about boys and only one about girls)
- Expediency (17 boys : 5 girls),
- Adventurousness (11 boys : 0 girls) and
- Self-assuredness (17 boys: 1 girl).

This coding was subjected to RELIABILITY TESTS with two teacher colleagues and unfortunately, despite stringent definitions and training, showed an unacceptable level of disagreement (60% and 63% respectively), due to the different interpretations and associations words can carry. A confusion matrix (Robson 1993, p 222) was therefore drawn up comparing each rater’s set of codings with those of the researcher, and it became clear that there was a confusion in interpretation between Adventurousness (Thick-skinned, socially bold, likes meeting people, overt interest in opposite sex, responsive, genial, friendly, impulsive, emotional and artistic interests, carefree) and Self-assuredness (Placid, complacent, secure, self-confident, cheerful, resilient, insensitive to others’ approval / disapproval. Does not care, no fears). Elements from these two categories, such as ‘thick-skinned’ and ‘does not care’ or ‘genial’ and ‘cheerful’ can come very close to coinciding in meaning. When these two categories were combined to produce a new one, entitled ‘Boldness’, the percentage of agreements rose to 78% and 83%, an acceptable level (Robson, 1993). Amalgamating these two categories helped to clarify the most salient characteristics that these teachers were
commonly assigning to girls and boys. Girls, as was mentioned above, scored most highly on Conscientiousness (31 comments), whereas boys now scored most highly (28 comments) on Boldness. Fig. 31 shows these results in histogram form and Table 7 further breaks down the results by the gender of the teachers who made the comments.

Figure 31: Comments about boys’ and girls’ personality characteristics from men and women in the chosen categories.
### Table 7: Number of comments about boys’ and girls’ personality characteristics from men and women in the chosen categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Boys: Number of comments made by teachers</th>
<th>Girls: Number of comments made by teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E-</td>
<td>Submissiveness</td>
<td>M 0 F 1 Total 1</td>
<td>M 2 F 12 Total 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E+</td>
<td>Dominance</td>
<td>M 6 F 13 Total 19</td>
<td>M 0 F 1 Total 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-</td>
<td>Expediency</td>
<td>M 6 F 11 Total 17</td>
<td>M 2 F 3 Total 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G+</td>
<td>Conscientiousness</td>
<td>M 2 F 1 Total 3</td>
<td>M 11 F 20 Total 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-</td>
<td>Shyness</td>
<td>M 0 F 1 Total 1</td>
<td>M 3 F 2 Total 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H+ and O-</td>
<td>Boldness</td>
<td>M 13 F 15 Total 28</td>
<td>M 0 F 1 Total 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O+</td>
<td>Guilt-proneness</td>
<td>M 0 F 0 Total 0</td>
<td>M 4 F 5 Total 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TEACHERS’ COMMENTS

**a) Submissiveness / Dominance**

Girls were perceived as more willing to please than boys. One female teacher wrote:

‘Girls are more amenable to the idea’ (F) and another:

‘Girls mind more about pleasing you’ (F)

while a third respondent found girls less likely to reject music they might not immediately find appealing:

‘[girls] will play what is presented to them.’(F)

Being too amenable was not necessarily a good thing: this writer implies a criticism:
‘Boys seem less inhibited and more experimental: girls seem to need more “leading”’ (F)

Boys, in contrast were seen as less acquiescent, and their use of initiative was generally reported with approval:

‘boys are more likely to question you about things... Some are willing to be more challenging than girls’ (F)

‘boys express opinions more readily’ (M)

‘boys like more independence’ (F).

‘boys tend to be more forthcoming, talk more, contest more’ (F).

b) Conscientiousness / Expediency

These teachers seemed certain that girls showed far more conscientiousness towards their instrumental studies than boys. Girls were frequently approved of, as hard-working and diligent, whereas boys were seen as doing only as much work as necessary to get by:

‘girls tend to be more conscientious and painstaking about their practice’ (F) was a typical comment. The following comment from another woman teacher was more outspoken:

‘I find boys so much lazier than girls and I have to keep behind them all the more – it’s exhausting!’ (F)

‘Girls will practise more carefully on the whole. Boys are more slapdash’ (F) is another expression of the same complaint. One teacher wrote approvingly of girls’ conscientiousness, but added a rider that:

‘[girls] don’t always have the “flair” that boys do.’ (F)
This type of comment, praising boys for flair and panache, is explored more fully under the next category heading.

c) Shyness / Boldness and d) Guilt-proneness

Whereas boys were seen in the previous section as displaying a lack of conscientiousness, their more adventurous approach to learning and playing was usually seen as a positive quality. One male teacher wrote:

‘Boys much more naturally keen to have a go’ (M)

whereas he described girls as

‘keener to be precise and less keen to have a go’ (M)

‘Boys can “bluff” their way more – give a reasonable impression, despite lack of preparation’ (M)

wrote another man, adding that they ‘tend to rise to the occasion’ (M)

This feeling that boys will try ‘rise above’ the awareness that they have not prepared well was reflected in a comment from a female teacher:

‘Boys suffer less pangs of guilt if they have not practised’. (F)

‘Boys sometimes seem bolder, less inhibited’ (M) was another comment.

And another teacher noted:

‘boys seem to like “showing off” when they have learnt something’ (F)

Boldness could be reflected in the pupils’ playing:
‘Younger boys are more prepared to blow to extremes of volume than younger girls’  
(M)

wrote a trumpet teacher. The teachers respected the ability and flair shown by some boys:

‘Boys with talent show projection, and have more conviction in their playing’ (F)

and they also noted that under the right circumstances and with the right kind of motivation, boys could play very well:

‘I have observed that a boy who is self-motivated (and there are a few!) is probably more committed than a girl’ (F)

‘Some of my most rewarding pupils are boys... and I think with piano they have to be rather “independant” (sic) characters to start with.’ (F)

‘Boys are more slapdash but sometimes have flair’ (F) was another comment.  

However, the bold approach sometimes had its drawbacks:

‘[boys] will keep going even if it sounds dreadful’ (M)

was one rueful comment, and another wrote:

‘some [boys] are over confident or cocky’ (M).

Girls were typically described as cautious and less outgoing:

‘Girls often lack confidence even if they are good’ (M)

and lacking in ambition:

‘Girls tend to choose pieces they feel aren’t too “difficult” ’ (F)

One male teacher found that
'Younger girls can be more giggly / shy when talking to me in their lesson’ (M), perhaps indicating young girls’ unease at dealing with a male teacher.

c) TEACHER-RELATED GENDER DIFFERENCES

It was perhaps inevitable that respondents would be more willing and able to report differences in the ways their pupils behaved than to perceive and describe differences in their own behaviour: observing oneself, particularly while teaching, is a difficult task. Some teachers, however, did mention differences in the ways they taught boys and girls. These comments, while contributing to the general picture, were too few and too varied to be rigorously sorted into categories and counted. They do however show how inviting opinions through open questions can reveal unforeseen issues of importance to the respondents. The comments are described below and will be considered in the discussion section which follows.

Boys were seen as needing a more robust approach, with ‘straight talk’, as opposed to a ‘less direct approach’ for girls, who might need ‘gentle talk and encouragement’ (F). The apparent reluctance to work, which many teachers associated with boys, led to remarks such as these:

‘I find that my approach needs to be more exaggerated for boys than for girls. I.e. the threats have to be more dire and the praise more lavish’ (F)

‘[boys need] “kicks up the backside” (metaphorically speaking of course!)’ (F)

‘I feel for boys we might need to have a more cheerful approach. I have tried always to say something positive about them’ (F)

Teachers adjusted their teaching goals in order to deal with boys’ unwillingness to ‘polish’ their pieces:
’Depending on the child, I may go on to new pieces sooner with boys, to keep their interest, whereas girls have more staying power (on the whole!) (F)

and one commented that boys’ competitive nature could be beneficial in motivating them:

’boys of similar ability and age respond to a competition between them to perform the same piece or (say) sight-reading exercise’ (M)

d) INTERACTION DIFFERENCES

As well as the differences mentioned above which stemmed either from the pupil or from the teacher, there were some comments about differing kinds of interaction between teacher and pupil during the lesson. Competition between boy pupils has already been mentioned above: competition between pupil and teacher was a factor mentioned only by men teaching boys, (not by men teaching girls or women teaching boys or girls):

‘There is sometimes more of an element of competition in my relationship with boys’ (M)
‘Slight male v. male competition’ (M)

As well as the comment about small girls being ‘giggly and shy’ with a male teacher, there is a suggestion of girls ‘distancing’ themselves slightly from male teachers:

‘I think – [girls are] slightly more deferential towards me, until they know me’. (M)

In contrast, the only comment about boys trying to please came from one of the women who had been teaching for the shortest time, and who might therefore be conjectured to be one of the youngest female teachers, closest in age to her pupils:

’Boys seem eager to please me, more than girls’ (F)

However both male and female teachers noted that girls would be likely to notice more about their teacher than boys:

’girls are more personal in relations, care more about how I feel’ (M)
‘girls see me more of a person. Boys, perhaps, see me as more of a “teacher” to banter with’ (F)

‘Girls will notice if you are wearing something different or you have had your hair cut and comment on it. Boys might notice, but rarely comment!’ (F)

Several teachers found boys to be more taciturn in general than girls who seemed to have more social skills, but one male teacher made the point that it could be worthwhile to work on building a relationship with a boy:

‘But if you can get to know a boy (far harder) then the reward is of a far more intense relationship than with the girls’ (M)

e, f) ‘NO DIFFERENCE’ COMMENTS

Many teachers stressed that they treated boys and girls alike, but tried to teach each pupil as an individual. This remark is representative of such comments:

‘I have made little difference between boys and girls in my answers and I suppose this reflects my general view that the personality of the pupil is more significant in learning than their sex’ (F)

and a male teacher echoed the views of social constructionists when he wrote in similar vein:

‘I don’t believe I treat boys any differently to girls except insofar as one’s social interactions, manner of speech etc. may differ for everyone’ (M)

One teacher raised an interesting issue about assumptions made about boys and girls:

‘Sometimes I wonder whether my reactions to them have been influenced by what I’ve expected rather than what I’ve noticed’. (F)

This awareness of the problems of holding stereotypical beliefs serves as a suitable link to the discussion section, which follows.
3.5 Discussion

The purposes of the Teachers’ Questionnaire were to establish a demographic picture of the instrumental teachers’ practice, to find out if they held any views about boys and girls learning instruments, to focus on their thoughts about their pupils, and to find out how they worked with them in lessons. The study thus looked at how gender might exert an influence on three different levels:

a) The institutional level
b) The interactional level
c) The individual level

This way of looking at gender as a multilevel system is recommended by Wharton (2005), who suggests that by using three different ‘lenses’, different kinds of questions can be addressed and different issues can be focused upon.

3.5.1 The Gendered Institution

The term ‘institution’ is here used in an all-encompassing sense, using the words of Wharton:

‘Institutions ... are those features of social life that seem so regular, so ongoing, so permanent that they are often accepted as just “the way things are”.’ (Wharton, 2005)

The teachers were operating within the general framework of education as an institution. They were asked to write about their 10 – 12-year-old pupils. Some of the first set of male respondents did not have any pupils of this age. Of the teachers who were teaching this age group, the majority were female. From a ‘gendered institutional’ perspective, there could be two explanations for this imbalance. Firstly, the teaching of younger children has traditionally been a female occupation. Looking at proportions of male and female teachers in UK school education as a whole,
according to government statistics (DES, 2002), nursery and kindergarten teachers are predominantly female; primary school teachers are more often women than men (although an unusually high proportion of male primary teachers are heads); secondary teachers are more evenly divided between men and women, and in higher education there are more men, particularly in the most senior posts. There is thus a gender hierarchy operating in education in general and furthermore, Roulston and Mills (2000) present evidence that women greatly outnumber men in school music programmes in the US, Australia and the UK.

The second reason for instrumental teaching being a female dominated profession is that it does not normally carry high status, financial rewards or the opportunity for career-enhancing promotion, and so is historically a less likely career choice for a man than a woman. On a practical level, it is moreover an occupation that can be carried out at home, and combined with the child-rearing activities that are more commonly expected of women than men.

Many of the respondents had been teaching for at least 30 years and some for as many as 50. There could be several different explanations for this length of service, apart from simple job satisfaction. Firstly, in practical terms, the job can be conveniently carried out at home and so an older or less mobile person can avoid travelling out to work. Secondly, although not well remunerated in comparison with other professionals, the instrumental teacher has considerable control over the number of pupils she or he teaches, thus enabling a very gradual retirement process to take place if desired. Thirdly, this type of work can be arranged to accommodate caring duties.
Turning now to the pupils taught by these teachers, the questionnaire found that there were far more female pupils than male. A slightly greater proportion of the male teachers’ pupils were male, while a greater proportion of the female teachers’ pupils were female. In order to find a reason for this imbalance in an activity which technically speaking holds no more difficulties for one sex than the other, one can return to the notion of the ‘gendered institution’ of education, which these pupils inhabit.

Despite attempts to increase the appeal of some subjects for boys and some for girls, there are still firm beliefs among pupils that certain subjects are more suited to one sex than the other. Mathematics (L. Jones & Smart, 1995), Physics (Guzzetti & Williams, 1996) and Information Technology (McCartney, 2002) are usually seen as boys’ subjects and English and Modern Languages (Millard, 1997) are commonly seen as ‘for girls’. Music has in the past been considered another ‘girls’ subject (Green, 1997), less valued by boys, although the arrival of music technology in the classroom has helped to make the subject more attractive to boys. Research by Kessels (2005) suggests that young adolescents may dissociate themselves from subjects that are deemed inappropriate for their gender as a means of ‘pursuing the goal of developing and demonstrating one’s identity of “woman to be” or “man to be”. A girl venturing into boys’ territory may earn respect for showing ambition: a boy crossing the boundary into ‘girls’ work’ can be laying himself open to criticism from his peers (Thorne, 1993).

There is also a belief among teachers and pupils that boys prefer to compose and to engage in ‘macho’ musical activities such as playing in a rock band (peer-taught, rather than teacher-led), while girls prefer to sing and play instruments in more formal
settings such as recitals or orchestras (Green, 1997). Thus, the social world outside school, whether in the rock band or learning an instrument as a hobby, also carries gendered expectations for the pupils.

Looking at the family as another gendered institution, parents hold certain expectations of suitable behaviour and activities for their boy and girl offspring. Fathers, in particular, prefer sons not to engage in activities which they perceive to be feminine: Fagot and Hagan (1991, cited in Wharton 2005, p126) reported that fathers of 18-month-old boys reacted less positively to sons playing with female-typed toys. A similar reaction may occur if a son expresses the desire to play an instrument later on, particularly if the instrument chosen is more commonly associated with girls.

The world of instrumental teaching and learning can be seen as a small organisation within the larger institution of education. Gender stereotyping of musical instruments has been described in many studies (e.g. Abeles & Porter, 1978; Delzell & Leppla, 1992), and can be noticed in the present survey. O’Neill (1997) has summarised the research in this area, including an account of her own study into children’s beliefs about social outcomes from playing instruments of what some regard as appropriate and inappropriate genders. Instruments such as the flute, violin and voice are often described as feminine instruments, whereas brass, drums, saxophone, double bass and electric guitar are described as masculine. These beliefs are held despite the fact that in the musical profession, players of both sexes are regularly seen playing every instrument.
The teachers in the study covered a wide variety of musical instruments: piano, strings, most orchestral woodwind, saxophone, recorder, brass, percussion, guitar and singing. While this small sample may not be representative of the general population of instrumental teachers, it nevertheless followed stereotypical patterns. Women teachers in this survey taught ‘feminine’ flute and singing, while men taught ‘masculine’ brass, saxophone, bass, drums and guitar. The only exception to the accepted pattern was that there were three male violin/viola teachers as well as three female ones. Other less ‘gendered’ instruments such as clarinet, cello and piano were taught by both men and women. The piano was the most common instrument and was taught by over half the teachers, mainly women.

While the teachers seemed to be evenly balanced in their opinions about whether some instruments were more suitable for boys or for girls, it was interesting to discover exactly which instrumentalists held the view that there were some instruments more suited to one sex than the other: in other words, whether some players held stereotypical beliefs while others did not. As described in the Results section above, all the teachers who taught ‘masculine’ instruments (who were, coincidentally, all men) tended to believe that there were no instruments more suited to boys or girls. All the teachers of the ‘feminine’ flute (4 women and one man) also held this belief. An explanation for this may be that they had taught their particular ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ instruments with equal success to both boys and girls and so had found by experience that there was no reason to make any discrimination. Those teachers who had not experienced teaching a ‘gendered’ instrument to a person of the ‘inappropriate’ gender seemed to follow the stereotypical views of the general population about suitability.
3.5.2 Gendered Interactions

There were several comments about aiming to teach boys and girls in exactly the same way, and others about a reluctance to make generalisations, since each individual is different. This second point must be borne in mind, when reading the teachers’ comments: they are not commenting that all boys or all girls have certain characteristics, but they are simply saying that a ‘typical’ boy or girl might behave in such ways in the context of the instrumental lesson.

The results of the questionnaire show that there are some important differences in how teachers expect girls and boys to act during their lessons and how male and female teachers typically teach them. To revisit the conclusions of Sections 2, 3 and 4 of the questionnaire, as listed earlier:

- Male teachers were more likely to play their instrument to boys, and females to girls
- Women were more likely to talk about expression than men
- Men were more likely to talk about expression with boys and women with girls
- Men were less likely to use touch than women
- Men were more likely to use touch with boys than girls and women were more likely to touch girls than boys
- Older women used touch the most, and equally with boys and girls

Girls were more likely than boys to:

- Tell the teacher about technical problems
- Tell the teacher if they make a mistake
- Correct their mistakes
- Tell you what they have practised
- Tell you how they practised
- Ask questions about technique
- Talk about musical expression
- Talk about how they felt about the music
And girls were more likely to be motivated by:

- Playing in competitive festivals
- Playing in concerts
- Playing with friends
- Playing to family group
- Wanting to please their teacher
- Wanting to please a parent.

The male teachers had a stronger belief than the female teachers that pupils could be motivated by hearing a performer whom they would like to emulate.

Added to these lists, the qualitative data contribute evidence that teachers perceive girls to be more conscientious, submissive and guilt-prone, and boys to show more boldness, dominance and expediency.

Looking first at the variations in behaviour between male and female teachers: it is perhaps surprising that men were less likely than women to discuss expression with their pupils (Q2.10), as music is above all an ‘expressive’ art, and musicians, as Kemp (1996, p 79) notes, show high degrees of sensitivity and imagination which as teachers they might be expected to wish to communicate to their pupils. The fact that women were more likely to discuss expression than men may be connected with Talcott Parsons’ theory that women are more suited to ‘expressive’ tasks associated with emotions, whereas men are more suited to ‘instrumental’ tasks associated with practical skill (Campbell & Muncer, 1987; Parsons, 1949).

It is possible that male teachers communicate expressive intentions and suggestions in non-verbal ways: by playing or gestures, rather than talking, for example. The female teachers, while talking about expression more than the men, were noticeably less likely to play to a boy pupil than a girl (Q2.5). There may therefore be a difference in the
preferred mode of communication on the subject of expression: women and girls may prefer to talk, whereas men and boys may prefer to ‘do’. It is also possible that the male teachers are wary of using words that might expose their inner feelings too intensely in front of pupils, particularly girls, for fear of misinterpretation or of showing vulnerability.

The girl pupils, too, were seen as more likely to tell their teachers about their practising and any difficulties they had encountered, and also to talk about how they felt about the music and about expression, suggesting that they were already incorporating a preference for verbal and emotional communication into their feminine identities. The fact that the teachers described their boy pupils as less likely to communicate with their teachers in this way, describing them as ‘taciturn’, but also as more ready to experiment and bolder in their playing suggests that the boys might be showing a preference for ‘doing’ rather than talking in their lessons. These aspects of male and female behaviour will be considered further in Part II, the observational study (see section 6.4).

The teachers also described their girl pupils as ‘wanting to please their teacher’ and also as showing ‘submissive’ behaviour. It is interesting that the majority of these comments came from women, as this may connect with research by Dweck and Bush (1976) which found that girls tend to show ‘learned helplessness’ responses when evaluated by adults, and particularly women, but not when evaluated by their peers. Dweck later followed up this research (2000) and showed that high-achieving girls were most vulnerable to helpless behaviour when they moved up to secondary school. This was because they tended to hold ‘entity’ theories, believing that achievement was
linked to innate ability rather than effort. Submissiveness and conscientiousness also connect with a long held belief amongst teachers: of ‘good girls and clever boys’ (Valerie Walkerdine, 1989). ‘Good girls’ achieve through hard, careful and neat work. ‘Clever boys’ in contrast achieve through natural ability, frequently despite a lack of application. These teachers noted the boys’ skill at ‘bluffing’ and rated them highly on ‘expediency’: doing enough work to get by, but no more. This concept, together with the idea that girls may be more prone to feelings of guilt and insecurity is explored by Painsi and Parncutt (2006) and is discussed further in Chapter 5 (5.1.1).

There seems to be a tendency for the teacher respondents to interpret the behaviour of their pupils in terms of stereotypically gendered roles. In the observational study (Part II) I investigate whether the behaviour of the teachers and pupils in lessons supports or refutes these stereotypes.

The topic of building a gendered identity that can incorporate musical skills and experiences will be explored further in Part III (see section 8.3.2).

The question about touch (Q2.12: use touch to explain technique, e.g. breathing, arm movements etc) elicited an interesting response. Men reported using touch the least, and more with boys than with girls; women used touch more than the men, and more with girls than boys; while the most experienced women teachers were most likely to employ touch, more or less equally with girls and boys.

These results may illustrate a change in teaching style over the years: as mentioned in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3), for the teachers who were trained over 30 years ago it was accepted practice to teach any physical skill, including playing an instrument, using
physical methods. In recent times, in reflection of a new awareness of child protection issues, male and female teachers have been advised in the strongest terms by local authorities, schools and professional organisations such as the I.S.M., *not* to touch a pupil unless absolutely necessary and then only with the pupil’s consent. It is possible that these older teachers have ignored this advice or naïvely assumed it is not aimed at them. It is perhaps more likely that these particular teachers have reached an age where touch is less likely to have sexual connotations and they therefore use touch unthinkingly, as they might with a grandchild, without considering the pupil’s reaction.

Several of the male teachers expressed anxiety about the difficulty of teaching without touching pupils. Some explained the elaborate ways they had devised to avoid touching, or the complex safeguards they had to arrange if touching was absolutely necessary. One was unclear about whether he was actually ‘allowed’ to rearrange a girl pupil’s hand-shape on the piano, and wondered whether it would be deemed ‘even worse’ to do this to a boy. Debates about the protection of instrumental teachers’ from accusations of impropriety have been ongoing in the I.S.M. Council and Private Teachers’ Section committees for several years. In an increasingly litigious age, it seems likely that teachers’ vulnerability to such accusations will increase in the future.

### 3.5.3 The Gendered Individual

Many of the differences mentioned suggest that teachers hold stereotypical opinions of their pupils by associating particular character traits with each sex. This should not devalue their views, for two reasons: firstly, just because a view is stereotypical does not mean that it is *never* true, and secondly, if the view is sincerely held, it represents
that person’s construction of the ‘truth’. From a social constructionist standpoint as defined in Chapter 1 (1.5), this researcher holds that there is not one single ‘truth’, but rather that individuals construct their own versions of reality, based on their past experiences, present situation and hopes for the future. The Thomas Theorem, cited by Wharton (2005p.123) - ‘Situations defined as real become real in their consequences’ (Thomas, 1966) - describes how individuals’ beliefs shape their lives. This theory was supported by words of the teacher who wrote that she wondered if the gender differences she had noted were what she had expected, rather than what she had noticed. Furthermore, the simple act of asking the respondents to compare boys and girls may also have the effect of prompting them to produce stereotypical comments, or to exaggerate differences, and for this the researcher must therefore take some responsibility.

Self-report questionnaires have some shortcomings. The researcher has only the evidence of the respondent’s writing to rely upon, and neither researcher nor respondent has any means of probing or following up ambiguities. It is possible that respondents might answer questions in a particular way in order to present themselves in the best possible light (although in view of the anonymity of this particular questionnaire that seems unlikely), or that they might be setting out to use their answers to prove a particular point, rather than responding with complete honesty. The format of a questionnaire can limit the respondent’s responses, by not asking the questions the respondent felt needed to be asked, although in this case the provision of open questions in each section of the questionnaire gave respondents a limited opportunity for self expression, rather than just ticking boxes.
Questionnaire methods are best used to elicit general opinions from large groups of people. The investigation of individuals’ opinions and experiences is likely to be more successful when done face to face, rather than through the medium of pen and paper, and this method was used in the final interview section of the study (Part III), as reported in Chapters 7 and 8.

Accepting all these reservations, and making some ‘generalisations about generalisations’, what emerges from this questionnaire is a picture of ‘average’ boy and girl pupils. There follows a summary of the findings of the questionnaire in the form of two ‘vignettes’ which describe the main characteristics of boy and girl pupils as they are portrayed by these participants. While the portraits are obviously exaggerations, I suggest that teachers would recognise, or expect to find many of the characteristics mentioned here amongst their young male and female pupils.

3.6 Summary: Two Vignettes

‘Typical’ Girl Pupil

The girl pupil is submissive and sometimes tentative about trying new music. She tries to please her teacher both during the lesson (by agreeing to learn her teacher’s choice of music, by engaging in conversations about expression and other aspects of music, and by being easy to motivate) and during the week (when she practises conscientiously, with commitment and attention to detail.) She feels guilty if she has not practised. Because she works hard, she makes steady progress. She is engaged in
the learning of the instrument as a ‘process’: she enjoys the lessons and likes to see the progress she is making. The teacher attributes the girl’s success to hard work.

‘Typical’ Boy Pupil

The boy pupil is dominant and challenging. He prefers to negotiate with, rather than to please his teacher. Not always easy to motivate and often taciturn, he prefers to play, rather than talk about playing. He is adventurous and is keen to try out new music. He practises enough to get by, but no more, and does not feel particularly guilty if he has not practised sufficiently. He has confidence in his ability and will hope to get through his lesson on sheer panache and a good overview of the music, rather than on meticulous attention to detail. The learning process is less important to him than the ‘product’: he wants to be able to play impressively well. If he becomes really engaged with the instrument, he will make very good progress, which the teacher will attribute to talent.

From these two vignettes of pupils, we begin to see that not only are teachers expecting different things of their boy and girl pupils, but also that boys and girls may have different agendas for their lessons. In the following chapter, a pupils’ questionnaire will be presented and discussed, in order to clarify the view from the other side of the teacher-pupil dyad.
CHAPTER 4: PUPILS’ QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

This chapter is the counterpart of the preceding one, in that it describes the administration and findings of a questionnaire completed by pupils who were learning musical instruments. As with the teachers’ questionnaire, the object of this study was to determine whether there were any generally held views relating to gender.

4.1 Participants and Administration

Adjustments were made to the questionnaire following the pilot study (see Chapter 2). Girls and boys from Years 7, 8 and 9 in two schools in which the researcher had contacts then completed the questionnaire for the main questionnaire study. Both schools were single-sex, independent day schools in the South-East of England. In the boys’ school, where the researcher’s contact was Head of instrumental teaching, 25 questionnaires were handed out by instrumental teachers to be taken away and completed. In the girls’ school, where the researcher had access to whole classes, the questionnaires were filled in during 3 class music lessons and, after eliminating those pupils who did not have individual lessons, a random sample of 25 responses was taken making 50 responses in total.

The purposive sampling of pupils could be criticised for lack of breadth (since all the children attended high-achieving fee-paying schools), but since the subsequent sections of the research were concerned with pupils from a very similar background, it
was deemed most useful to restrict this study to a small homogeneous group (see Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p. 103). This issue will be discussed further in Section 4.5.1. It would be interesting to rerun the questionnaire study at a future date with a group from an independent mixed school in order to discover whether being in mixed classes might have a polarising effect on pupils’ views about gender, and also with a group of state school pupils in order to elicit the opinions of pupils from more varied socio-economic and cultural backgrounds.

Pupils were made aware that the questionnaire was anonymous and were provided with envelopes in which to seal their replies. This was to give them confidence that their responses would not be seen by their instrumental teacher or class music teacher, and to encourage them to be as frank as they wished. As the boys took their questionnaires away to complete, there was no guarantee that they filled them in unaided, however, or that their parents were not involved in the process. On the whole, however, the responses were quite frank and appeared to have originated from young people rather than adults.

4.2 Response

The response was 100%, reflecting that the children were probably not given the option to refuse to do the task. There were several positive verbal comments from the pupils when the questionnaire was handed in, all indicating that completing it had been enjoyable.
4.3 Results: Quantitative Analysis

In general the responses were carefully completed with only an occasional blank space. As with the teachers’ questionnaire, some respondents had made extensive use of the ‘free’ spaces to write their own comments, whereas others had written as little as possible.

4.3.1 Pupils and Instruments

2 Do you play any musical instruments? Yes ☐ No ☐

3 If so, which instruments?

Pupils were asked to state which instrument or instruments they played. In the event of more than one being mentioned, as with the teachers’ questionnaire, the instrument...
listed first was treated as their first instrument. The frequencies of first instruments are shown in Fig. 32.

Second instruments, where offered, are shown in Fig. 33. As can be seen from the graphs, piano and violin were the instruments most frequently played, followed by saxophone for boys and drums for girls. A smaller number of pupils offered flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horn, trumpet, trombone, cello, double bass, guitar, recorder and voice.

Figure 33: Second instruments
4 Are there any instruments which you would like to play? If so, which ones?

When the pupils were asked which instruments they would like to play, however, a different selection appeared. Drums and guitar were the most popular with girls and boys, and on top of the usual orchestral range there were suggestions of steel pans, organ, keyboard and bagpipes (see Figs 34 & 35).
5 Do you think there are some instruments which are more suitable for boys than girls?

Yes [ ] No [ ] If so, which ones?

This question investigated whether this group of pupils held the kind of stereotypical views about ‘gendered’ instruments that have been observed in many studies, and which were to some extent noticeable in the responses to the teachers’ questionnaire. The responses were analysed with a chi-square test. Significantly more boys than girls thought that there were some instruments that were more suitable for boys than girls (see Table 8: \( \chi^2 = 4.37, \text{ d.f.} = 1, p=.037 \)). In other words, boys were laying claim to particular instruments as ‘their’ territory, whereas most girls did not see any boundary. Suggested instruments for boys were double bass and bass guitar (from boys) and guitar and bassoon (from girls).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys said</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls said</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Instruments for boys?

6 Do you think there are some instruments which are more suitable for girls than boys? Yes [ ] No [ ] If so, which ones?

However, when the question was reversed, opinions were not as clear-cut (see Table 9) and a chi-squared test showed no significant difference. The instruments suggested ‘for girls’ were the flute and the harp (from girls and boys.)
4.3.2 Pupils and Teachers

The pupils were asked to write about just one of their instruments and therefore to refer only to one teacher, in order to avoid confusion and multiple answers. They had been learning for a mean of 4 years (range 0.3 – 11 years, 5 responses missing). They all had individual lessons. Roughly half of the boys and more than half the girls were taught by women: see Table 10. Although these figures reflect national patterns, with more female than male teachers, the differences were not statistically significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male teacher</th>
<th>Female teacher</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Gender of teacher

5 Does it make a difference to you whether your teacher is male or female?
☐ Yes  ☐ No  ☐ Don’t know

Most of the girls and boys answered ‘no’ to this question, and the difference in the numbers of boys and girls answering ‘yes’ was not (quite) significant. (See Table 11: $\chi^2 = 5.37$, d.f. = 2, p = .068).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Difference if teacher is male or female?
6 If you could choose, would you prefer a man or a woman to teach you?

- Man
- Woman
- Don’t mind

Again, the majority of pupils did not mind whether their teacher was a man or a woman (see Table 12). No girls said they would prefer a man. More girls expressed a preference for a woman than boys expressed any preference at all. (A chi-square test is not reliable with such small expected values in some cells, but suggests that this topic could be worthy of further investigation with a larger sample (see Table 12: $\chi^2 = 8.87, d.f. = 2, p = .012$).)

The reasons given by the pupils for their preference, or for the absence of preference, will be discussed in detail with the rest of the qualitative data in Section 4, below, but the main reason offered by girls for choosing a woman teacher was that they would feel ‘more comfortable’ on their own with them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prefer man</th>
<th>Prefer woman</th>
<th>Don’t mind</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Which gender would you prefer?

8. What makes a good music teacher? (please tick one or two boxes)

- excellent player
- good at explaining things
- patient
- encouraging
- sets challenges
- understands me
- something else? (please say what)

The aim of this question was to find out if girls and boys valued different qualities in teachers. In the event, several respondents either misread, or chose to ignore, the
instruction to tick one or two boxes. Some ticked several and a few ticked all. The most frequent additional category offered by them was ‘kind’, particularly from boys.

Fig. 36 (below) shows the number of ticks for each category given by boys and girls. It illustrates that boys placed more value on the teacher being an ‘excellent player’ than the girls did, and that the girls valued the teacher being ‘encouraging’ somewhat more highly than the boys did. ‘Understands me’ showed boys placing more value on this quality than girls did. These findings are particularly interesting when studied alongside the responses to the following question, which investigated pupils’ attributions of the same list of qualities to male and female teachers.

![Bar chart showing the number of ticks for each category given by boys and girls. The chart is labeled: What makes a good music teacher?]

Figure 36: Number of ticks from boys and girls
Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient was employed to compare the differing priority rankings of these characteristics by the boys and girls in this survey (rho=.77, p=.072, two tailed). Table 11 shows the order of preference of each sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boys’ ratings</th>
<th>Girls’ ratings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 B Explaining</td>
<td>6 B Explaining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 C Patient</td>
<td>5 D Encouraging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 F Understanding</td>
<td>4 C Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 D Encouraging</td>
<td>3 F Understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 A Excellent player</td>
<td>2 E Sets challenges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 E Sets challenges</td>
<td>1 A Excellent player</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Boys' and girls' ratings of teacher qualities: ‘6’ is the highest rating

Girls and boys were in agreement that the most important characteristic of ‘good’ music teachers was to be good at explaining things: this is after all what teachers are expected to do. The more affective qualities of being patient, encouraging and understanding were the next priority, in slightly different orders for girls and boys, while the more formidable qualities of being an excellent player and setting challenges were the least valued by these pupils. (Figs. 37 and 38 show a graphic representation of these results).

9 Would a man or a woman instrumental teacher be more likely to have these qualities? *(If you think they’d be equal, tick both boxes)*

The scores from boys and from girls for men and for women can be compared in Figs. 37 and 38. The mean scores for each of the six qualities were subjected to a two-way ANOVA to investigate whether the pupils as a group held different beliefs about men
and women and whether boys’ and girls’ beliefs differed. The six ANOVAS thus compared results between boy and girl pupils, and also their opinions about male and female teachers. The full results have been summarised in Table 12.

![Figure 37: Beliefs about male teachers' qualities](image)

![Figure 38: Beliefs about female teachers' qualities](image)
There were no main effects for pupil gender: in other words, the pupils generally shared similar views about male and female teachers. Non-significant results can be observed in Table 12: they will not be mentioned further. The following report will comment only on significant main effects and interactions.

Men and women were seen by boys and by girls as equally likely to be ‘excellent players’.

In the category ‘good at explaining things’, there was a hint of interaction between pupil and teacher gender. Although women were in general seen as being better at...
explaining (F=7.45, p=.01), girls gave considerably more votes to women than to men (F=3.02, p=.09). Fig. 39 illustrates the interaction.

Figure 39: Good at explaining things
Pupils of both sexes thought that women were significantly more patient than men (F=30.45, p=.00, see Fig.40).

![Figure 40: Patient](image-url)
Category (d), ‘encouraging’, produced an interaction between pupil gender and teacher gender (see Fig. 41). Boys believed that men were more encouraging and girls believed that women were more encouraging (F=4.80, p=.03).

![Graph showing interaction between pupil gender and teacher gender on encouraging responses.]

Figure 41: Encouraging
The pupils, both boys and girls, felt that men were approximately twice as likely to ‘set challenges’ as women (F=28.47, p=.00, see Fig. 42).

Figure 42: Sets challenges
The final category, ‘understands me’ produced an interesting result: girls believed that women were very much more likely to understand them than men (see Fig. 43). Boys, on the other hand, believed that men and women would understand them equally well. The interaction between teacher gender and pupil gender was strongly significant: F=-13.84, p<.005. This result, when taken in conjunction with the finding above, that boys find it important to be understood, may be interpreted in several ways, and will be discussed in detail in Section 4.5.2.

Figure 43: Understands me
4.3.3 *Pupils and Lessons*

Section 3 sought information on the kinds of pupil behaviour that take place during lessons. The first question:

*In your lesson, do you: □ Ask/tell your teacher things or □ Wait to be asked?*

was intended to measure how proactive the pupils were in their lessons, since the balance of power in a one-to-one teaching situation can be greatly in the teacher’s favour. Nearly four times as many pupils reported that they ‘asked or told’ rather than waited to be asked (see Fig. 44):

![Figure 44: Do you ask/tell your teacher things or wait to be asked?](image)

The proportions of boys and girls in each category were similar.
The rest of this section was devoted to questions about the likelihood of the pupils carrying out certain activities in their lessons. Pupils were asked to score each activity from 1 (least likely) to 4 (most likely) on a Likert scale.

The mean scores for the various categories as given by boys and girls are illustrated in Fig. 45. From this histogram it can be seen that boys in particular reported themselves as taking an active part in the lesson process, asking about how to play and read, telling the teacher how they felt about music, talking about expression and music in general.
The scores from boys and girls were similar in most cases, although t-tests showed that the boys rated the first two activities as significantly more likely to occur than the girls did: ‘ask how to play’ (F=2.79, p=.013, d.f.=47, two-tailed) and ‘ask how to read’ (F=.01, p=.021). ‘Talk about musical expression’ also showed a significant difference (F=.76, p=.05), with boys again rating this behaviour as more likely. ‘Tell the teacher how you feel about the music’ and ‘Talk about music in general’ also showed that boys rated these activities as more likely to occur than girls did, with results approaching significance levels.

In order to look more closely at these data, the responses were subdivided by teacher gender. (In analysing the earlier sections of the questionnaire responses, few differences had been found when the pupils were subdivided in this way, but in these questions, there were some interesting variations.) In the histograms below (Figs. 46 - 49), the series of questions has also been subdivided for clarity, using the headings ‘Inquiring, Informing, Expressive and Accompanying’. In interpreting these histograms, it should be borne in mind that the numbers of pupils in each group were small (see Table 10, section 4.3.2, above). The Figures show that the girls taught by women in this survey were less likely to report ‘Inquiring’ and ‘Expressive’ behaviour. As before, the first two activities showed significant differences in a one-way ANOVA: F= 4.13, p=.011 and F=2.71 p=.056 respectively. ‘Informing’ behaviour scores were very similar between all four groups.
Mean likelihood of ‘inquiring’ behaviour

Mean likelihood of ‘informing’ behaviour

Figure 46: Likelihood of ‘Inquiring’ behaviour

Figure 47: Likelihood of ‘Informing’ behaviour
Fig. 48 shows the likelihood of occurrence of the various activities which could be defined as ‘Expressive’. Girls taught by men were the most likely to report that they ‘talk about other things, not to do with music’. Boys and girls were more likely to ‘tell the teacher how they feel about the music’ if the teacher was male, but boys were more likely to ‘talk about expression’ if the teacher was female.

![Figure 48: Likelihood of ‘Expressive’ behaviour](image)

Although the small numbers in the groups make it impossible to generalise from these Figures, the results in the ‘Accompanying’ histogram are interesting, showing that in this set of respondents at least, pupils taught by men were more likely than other groups to ‘play their instrument with their teacher’.
Looking at this collection of figures, it appears that girls taught by women tended to give lower scores to more topics than any other group (the exceptions being ‘tell the teacher what you practised’ and ‘show the teacher what you practised’). This rather passive response could echo findings in educational research (Dweck et al., 1978) that girls are most likely to exhibit ‘helpless’ behaviour with older women.

4.3.4 Pupils’ Behaviour

The idea of asking the questions in this section, couched in the style of the quizzes in popular teenage magazines, was to see which strategies were the most commonly used by boys and girls in potentially difficult situations. The various strategies had all been used by the researcher’s own pupils on various occasions. Pupils were first presented with a situation and then asked to choose their preferred way of dealing with it.
Situation 1 was as follows:

You go to your lesson and you haven’t done much practice. Do you:

a) ☐ say nothing and hope your teacher won’t notice?

b) ☐ try to keep a conversation going so you don’t have much time left to play?

c) ☐ admit that you haven’t practised and promise to do better next week?

d) ☐ say you’ve had too much homework and hope for sympathy?

e) ☐ None of these. Instead I’d: (Please write what you’d do)

The responses were grouped according to whether the boys and girls had male or female teachers.

![Graph showing Q4.1 strategies after not practising](chart.png)

Figure 50: Q4.1: Strategies after not practising
Option (a) represents a passive way of dealing with the situation. Girls were more likely to ‘say nothing and hope the teacher did not notice’ if their teacher was female. No girls taught by men chose this option.

Option (b), aiming to distract attention from the lack of practising by keeping the teacher talking, is a more active strategy. Interestingly, boys and girls in this survey who were taught by men appeared to believe that this strategy would work.

Option (c), a kind of ‘pre-emptive strike’ aiming to forestall criticism by admitting fault and apologising, was the most popular with both boys and girls, particularly if their teacher was of the opposite gender.

Option (d), offering justification for lack of practice as an excuse, was the least popular.

The responses to option (e) were mainly respondents’ re-wordings of the other options, for example ‘I’d only say if she asked’.

Although statistical analysis did not reveal significant differences between the four groups, possibly because the groups were too small for meaningful analysis, Fig. 52 provides a useful, if non-generalisable representation of the strategies used by this particular set of respondents.

The second situation was as follows:

Your teacher chooses a piece for you to learn and you really don’t like it. Do you:

- a) __ Tell your teacher you don’t really like it but you’ll learn it anyway?
- b) __ Tell your teacher you don’t like it and refuse to learn it?
- c) __ Say nothing and learn it anyway?
- d) __ Say nothing and just not practise it?
- e) __ Suggest a different piece and hope your teacher takes the hint?
- f) __ None of these. Instead I’d (Please write what you’d do)
Fig. 53 shows the collected responses of the four different groups of pupils.

Option (a) could indicate a fairly open and straightforward relationship between pupil and teacher. The pupil is not afraid to voice dislike of the piece, but has sufficient respect for the teacher’s authority and wisdom to agree to learn it. This strategy was the most popular overall, and girls were more likely to adopt it than boys, particularly with a male teacher.

Option (b) represents a confrontational approach and was only offered by a small number of boys. No girls chose this option.

Option (c) indicates a passive way of dealing with the problem. Boys and girls taught by women were slightly more likely to choose this than those taught by men.
None of the pupils chose the ‘silent mutiny’ represented by the option (d), a finding which may reflect the nature of the sample, and will be discussed in Section 4.5, below.

Option (e), attempting to talk the teacher into changing the piece, was significantly the most popular choice for boys taught by men ($F=3.87, p=.015$).

The responses to the open question (f) mainly appeared to be pupils’ own re-wordings of the other options on offer, but one pupil wrote that her teacher always chose music she liked.

### 4.3.5 Practising and Motivation

The final question in this section asked pupils to choose, out of a list of comments about practising, four statements which were ‘most like them’. Fig. 53 shows that there was considerable unanimity between the boys and girls on the subject of practising.
The attitude of this sample of pupils is reflected in the fact that the eight most popular choices were all statements indicating positive feelings about practising. As the results were so similar for boys and girls the total numbers of votes for each statement have simply been listed in ranked order, as shown in Table 13 below.

Exams and concerts seemed to provide a strong motivation for practising, as the high number of agreements with statement (d) illustrates. Many pupils also chose to agree with statements that expressed learning goals, such as (f) and (k). Satisfaction with the
music being learned was also an important factor with many pupils. Agreement with complaints about practising was much less common than agreement with positive statements. This result may again have been caused by characteristics of the particular group of children surveyed and will be discussed in Section 4.5, (below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>boys</th>
<th>girls</th>
<th>Total number of votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>d) I practise a lot more if I've got a concert or exam coming up</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>f) It’s a good feeling when I finally manage to play something right</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>l) I don’t mind practising as long as I’m playing music that I like</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>h) It’s more fun than homework</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>k) I don’t mind practising as long as my playing is improving</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>n) I practise more or less every day</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>o) I practise about 4 times a week</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>p) I practise just before my lesson</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>i) I don’t like practising on my own, it’s lonely</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>a) I only practise if someone makes me</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>g) I only practise if I haven’t got anything better to do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>m) I enjoy practising and I don’t care who knows it!</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>e) It’s boring</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>j) I quite like practising but I’d never tell my friends!</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>b) I only practise if someone pays me</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>c) I only practise if I’ve got an exam or concert coming up</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>q) I don’t practise</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Pupils’ attitudes to practising: order of preference

4.3.6 Summary of Quantitative Data Section

- Pupils were learning a wide range of orchestral instruments, but would also like to learn guitar and drums.
- Boys believed that some instruments were more suited to boys than to girls, but girls did not. Some gender-stereotypical suggestions of ‘suitable’ instruments were offered for boys and girls.

- Most pupils thought it did not make a difference if their teacher was male or female and would not mind which, if asked to choose, but some girls would prefer a female teacher.

- The most important quality for an instrumental teacher was ‘being good at explaining things’.

- Male teachers were perceived as being more likely to set challenges.

- Female teachers were seen as more likely to be patient.

- Girls believed that female teachers were more encouraging, and boys, that male teachers were. A similar interaction was also apparent to some extent in the pupils’ beliefs about ‘explaining things’.

- Girls believed that female teachers were much more likely to understand them than male teachers, but boys believed that male and female teachers would be equally able to understand them.

- Most boys and girls said they would ask or tell their teacher things, rather than wait to be asked.

- Girls taught by women reported less proactive behaviour in their lessons than girls taught by men, or boys taught by men or women.

- Pupils of male teachers reported a higher incidence of ‘playing their instrument with their teacher’ than did pupils of female teachers. They also believed that male teachers could be more easily distracted, and boys thought they would be able to negotiate with male teachers.

- Pupils were more likely to tell a male teacher how they felt about the music, but boys were more likely to talk about expression with a female teacher.

- A high proportion of pupils supported positive statements about practising rather than negative ones, the chief motivators for practising being working for an exam or concert, knowing that their playing was improving and learning music they liked.
4.4 Results: Qualitative Analysis

N.B.: In the following section, $M$ or $F$ indicates the gender of the pupil’s teacher and $b$ or $g$ indicates the gender of the pupil.

4.4.1 Open-ended questions
Many of the ‘free’ comments in the responses simply reinforced or reiterated answers to previous questions, using the pupils’ own words. However, some interesting insights were obtained. The first open-ended question was 2.7, which sought reasons for the respondents’ answers to the question:

‘If you could choose, would you prefer a man or a woman to teach you?’

Nearly half of the reasons offered supported the prevailing view that teacher gender was not a high priority for these pupils. The following comment is typical:

as long as they know how to teach the instrument, gender is unimportant [M/b]

In other words, this boy believed that it was more important that the teacher was good at his or her job. One of the girls phrased her answer slightly differently:

It doesn’t make a difference to their skill as a teacher [F/g]

perhaps viewing music teaching as a profession which men and women can carry out equally well. Interestingly, these pupils focus on the ‘skill’ aspect of teaching, rather than on any affective qualities that might or might not be present. Some of the pupils were able to write from personal experience of male and female teachers:
(don’t mind) because I have lessons on the tuba with a male teacher and I enjoy them just as much [F/b]

(don’t mind) I used to have a girl teacher and they are the same [M/b]

while two girls’ previous experiences had caused them to form a strong preference for a female teacher:

(female preferred) The male musical instrument teachers that I know are slightly strange [F/g]
(female preferred) because I used to have a male teacher and he couldn’t understand my feelings about his teaching. My present (female) teacher can understand me better [F/g]

The latter comment suggests that the pupil had expected more empathy with her male teacher than she had experienced. Nervousness about physical proximity to a male teacher might account for the fact that three of the girls said that they felt more comfortable with a female teacher, e.g.:

I would feel more comfortable if I was on my own with them [F/g], whereas none of the boys felt this way about male or female teachers. However, closely allied to this is the feeling that their teacher should understand and relate to them, and here the boys had more to say:

I find it easier to work and understand people of the same gender as myself. Also, we would find the same things easy and be able to have some fun / a laugh [M/b]
Boys and girls mentioned that it was important that the teacher was kind, and most thought a man and a woman could be equally kind.

The quantitative summary of data from Q2.8 can be found above in Section 3.1.2. Respondents were also invited to suggest other qualities for ‘what makes a good music teacher’ and while most seemed satisfied with the qualities on the list, the few other ideas offered are listed below:

- listens to your pace, doesn’t make you do too much, it’s only enjoyable [F/g]
- does not get angry if you do not do a lot of practise (sic) [F/g]
- recommends good pieces [F/g]
- fun - I would like to tick all of them [F/g]
- kind [F/b]
- always chooses the type of music I enjoy playing [F/b]

These responses echo the free comments from Q2.7, indicating that pupils are looking for kindness, patience, and an enjoyable musical experience.

### 4.4.2 Analysis of the Qualitative Data

The richest source of qualitative data was found in the responses to the final section of the questionnaire. Here, pupils were free to list the things they liked and disliked about their lessons. After repeated reading, broad categories emerged into which the responses were grouped. It should be stressed that these categories were my own interpretation of the data: another researcher might have grouped the responses in a different way.

- Pupil’s personal likes and dislikes, about practising or about the instrument
- Comments about the teacher
- Pupil/teacher relationship
- Lesson content: material or activities used
- School-based practical issues

Figs. 53 and 54 illustrate the distribution of the responses into these categories and Tables 12 - 16 show a comparison of the numbers in each category, for girls and boys.

![Bar chart showing the comparison of responses among boys and girls for different categories.](image)

Figure 53: What boys and girls liked about their lessons
One girl and three boys wrote that there was nothing they disliked about their lessons. The girls wrote more comments than the boys, 103 compared with 89, and the girls’ responses contained a slightly higher percentage of negative comments (34% of girls’ comments, 30% of boys’). Chi square tests did not reveal any statistically significant differences between the numbers of girls’ and boys’ comments, except in the number of negative comments about the teacher: the girls offered a significantly larger number of these than the boys.

A) PUPIL’S PERSONAL LIKES AND DISLIKES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>personal feeling</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>likes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislikes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Number of pupils’ likes and dislikes
This category included comments about the enjoyment and satisfaction pupils derived from their lessons (Table 14). These extracts illustrate that pupils’ value their learning experiences, in other words, the ‘process’, as well as the ‘product’ (i.e. concrete rewards such as exam certificates):

- gives me a sense of achievement (b)
- I improve and I can see my improvement (b)
- it helps me improve playing (g)
- doing something different and fun during the day (g)
- learning the violin has helped me to understand music (g)
- when I receive a good result in e.g. an exam (g)

Feelings of failure seem to be engendered by frustration at their own incompetence, by guilt at not having practised, and by simply not wanting to play at that moment:

- when I can’t get a technique and it’s very frustrating (g)
- I make bad sounds sometimes (b)
- I feel pressurised to get things right (g)
- I dislike it when I haven’t practised. I get embarrassed [sic] (g)
- sometimes I’m not in the mood to play (b)
- playing when I’m tired (g)
‘Dislike of practising’, a common problem, was included in this category, as it seemed to be more the responsibility of the pupil than of the teacher.

B) COMMENTS ABOUT THE TEACHER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>likes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislikes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Number of pupils’ comments about their teacher

Most of the pupils wrote a comment of some kind about their teacher, indicating the importance of the teacher’s role (Table 15). There were more positive than negative comments, and this difference was more noticeable among the boys (a chi square test showed that this difference was significant: $X^2 = 4.15$, $p<.05$, d.f.=1). Teachers were described as ‘fun’, ‘kind’ and more specifically, good at their job:

- **my teacher is clear and explains things** (F/g)
- **my teachers [sic] friendly and funny** (M/b)
- **I like the way my teacher teaches (laid back)** (M/b)
- **when I have done practice and she notices** (F/g)

Among the few complaints about teachers were: a perceived unfairness, often a sore point with this age group:

- **I do not like being told off, if I have practised** (F/g)
When I have done practice but happen to play badly and she notices (F/g)

a lack of understanding of the pupil’s point of view:

the way my teacher assumes I can play something when I can’t! (M/g)

a shortage of patience:

I don’t like when I ask my teacher something and she shouts at me for not knowing it (F/g)

When she gets cross with me (F/g)

and simply a lack of affection for the teacher:

I’m not that fond of my teacher (F/b)

C) PUPIL/TEACHER RELATIONSHIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>girls</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Likes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislikes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Number of pupils’ comments about relationship with their teacher

Closely associated with the first two categories was the third, ‘relationship between teacher and pupil’ (see Table 16). Comments that seemed to embrace both participants in some kind of mutual experience were included in this category. There was only one negative comment about the relationship, from a girl who wrote:

‘The teacher sometimes doesn’t understand me (M/f)

The other comments suggest that pupils valued the interaction with their teachers and welcomed the teachers’ ability to see their point of view:
getting on with my teacher (F/g)

it makes me feel better if I haven’t been pleased with my pieces but she is (F/g)

my teacher understands if something is hard to pick up or how I might feel about something (F/g)

She understands me (F/b)

they’re fun because I can talk about various subjects which I would not normally discuss with teachers (M/b)

D) LESSON CONTENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>girls</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Likes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislikes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Number of pupils’ comments about the content of lessons

Comments about the content of the lesson formed the largest group, as shown by the totals in Table 17. (A chi square test did not reveal any significant difference between the numbers of positive and negative comments from boys and girls). Learning the instrument is the main purpose of the lessons and it is not surprising that the pupils should focus on the activities that take place. Pupils were enthusiastic about the music that they were studying, the instrument itself and playing along with their teacher. The following comments are typical:

I like it when I learn a new piece (g)

we do good pieces (b)
playing the violin when my teacher plays the piano  

In contrast, some music was not enjoyed:

boring pieces

and neither was the repetition that often characterises instrumental lessons:

continually practising the same piece  
when I spend the whole lesson doing the same scale (study)

Scales, studies and exercises came in for the expected number of complaints, best summed up by one outspoken boy:

SCALES & all that other improving rubbish

Although his comment grudgingly seems to admit their value, as did one of the girls:

lots of progressive studies although it does help in the long run

The length of the lessons was also criticised by some pupils - they were either too long or too short:

they are boring and go on for ages

not long enough to get stuck into things

These comments indicate how involved or otherwise the pupils can be with their lessons, with the former comment suggesting considerable disaffection, whereas the latter is craving more time in order to delve deeper and learn more. At different points in their learning, pupils’ engagement may range from great enthusiasm to almost total lack of interest (which may be either genuine or studied, as in the case of some adolescents). This wide range of reactions illustrates the complexity of the data and the impossibility of making generalisations.
E) SCHOOL-BASED COMMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>girls</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>likes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislikes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Number of pupils’ comments about school related issues

The ‘school-based’ comments were related to the organisational problems which pupils experienced as a result of having their music lessons scheduled during the school day. This practice is very common since it means that more lessons can be made available than would be possible if only out-of-school hours were used. Pupils in general have to come out of academic classes in order to go to their instrumental lessons. Not only do they have to remember to go at the correct time, but also they have to catch up with any work missed during their absence, and remember to find out homework tasks. Some children find this a considerable burden; others actually mention that going to music lessons can be a way of escaping from school:

*get away from lessons like maths* (g)

*getting to miss boring lessons* (g)

The main bulk of comments on this topic, however, was negative, and came from boys more frequently than girls (Table 18). A chi square test could not be used with these data because several cells contained values of less than 5. Girls seemed mainly concerned about the immediate disadvantages of coming out of school lessons:

*have to sometimes miss good lessons like drama + art* (g)

*you have to catch up with work after the lesson* (g)
Boys mentioned these problems too, but their complaints covered a broader spectrum, as if they were looking at wider implications, including getting into trouble with other teachers and practicalities such as eating!

*I miss academic lessons/sport. I would get into trouble if I miss English* (b)

*sometimes I miss good lessons or break* (b)

*missing important lessons – it is a thorn in my side* (b)

*It sometimes means I don’t have time for other things* (b)

*sometimes I can’t get to them* (b)

These boys seemed to take a serious view of their school studies, reflecting perhaps the particular school and group to which they belonged.

### 4.4.3 Summary of the Qualitative Data

- Pupils most valued skilful teaching, and believed that men and women were equally capable of this.

- There were some girls who would feel more comfortable with a female teacher.

- The pupils valued kind teachers who made the lessons enjoyable.

- Lesson content was a high priority for these pupils, followed by personal likes and dislikes, opinions (mainly positive) about their teacher, the pupil/teacher relationship and lastly practical school-based concerns.

### 4.5 Discussion

The results of the questionnaire will be considered using the same three ‘lenses’ that were applied to the results of the teachers’ questionnaire (above: see Chapter 3, CH 4.5)
Section 5.) Firstly, the broad picture of ‘Instrumental Lessons’ as an institution will be considered, with the position of the pupil in relation to this. Gender is significant here in the pupils’ particular educational background and in the pupils’ choice of instrument. A discussion of the relationship between pupil and teacher as revealed by the answers to sections 2 and 3 will show how gender operates in interactions. The questions in section 4 looked at the individual level and in this survey revealed considerable unanimity, with few differences between the boys’ and the girls’ comments.

4.5.1 The Gendered Institution

A NOTE ON THE PARTICIPANTS

The aim of this survey was to investigate topics for later discussion with the pupil- and teacher- participants in the video/interview study. For this reason, the group of pupils selected for the survey came from backgrounds and schools similar to the pupils in the video/interview study. They were an articulate group of respondents, attending independent schools where high achievement is the norm and hailing from families where parental support can be considerable, at times escalating to parental pressure. The schools were single-sex. All these factors helped to bind the pupils into a homogeneous group, who seemed to concur on many issues. However they cannot be seen as representative of the general population of 11 – 14 year-olds. The relative affluence of the parents meant that learning an instrument was more common than in the general population. Effects of the high-achieving nature of their schools might be a) that they held an unusually good work ethic, and/or b) that they would want to
answer questions in a way that projected an image of keenness and active engagement with learning tasks.

GENDER AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

In particular, an effect of sex segregation might be that these boys and girls held less polarised views about, for example the ‘gendering’ of musical instruments than pupils in mixed schools where there might be more peer pressure to conform to expected gender roles. The pupils in this survey were learning a wide range of instruments, and their choices did not appear to follow stereotypical lines. There were similar numbers of boy and girl flute players, for example, and more female than male drummers. Single sex schools need every instrument in their orchestras and probably take some initiative in guiding prospective pupils towards less popular instruments.

When asked what they would like to play, the boys and girls chose instruments associated with pop music or jazz, indicating the young adolescent’s wish to be associated with ‘cool’ activities and social groups, and possibly to distance themselves from their parents’ generation. The use of music as a means of expressing affiliation with a desired group has been described as a facet of social identity theory (Tarrant et al., 2002). The large number of girls wanting to learn the drums (often seen as a ‘boys’ instrument) is an example of these girls’ willingness to cross boundaries.

There were differences between the opinions of the boys and girls about whether some instruments were more suitable for boys than girls. 12 of the 25 boys believed that this was so, whereas only 5 of the 25 girls did. This result could suggest that the boys were
laying claim to a piece of ‘territory’ in identifying certain instruments as more suitable for their own sex. Very few girls, in contrast, supported the idea of certain instruments being ‘more suitable for boys’. It has been noted in classroom and playground research that girls are more prepared to cross boundaries into boys’ territory than vice versa, and that it is more socially acceptable for girls to take part in ‘boyish’ activities than it is for boys to be involved in ‘girly’ things. Barrie Thorne has described this as ‘border work’ (Thorne, 1993). The instruments suggested by both boys and girls as being ‘more suitable for boys’ were mainly large and deep sounding. They included double bass, bass guitar, guitar and bassoon. These stereotypical suggestions support other findings in the field (Abeles & Porter, 1978; Harrison & O’Neill, 2000; O’Neill et al., 1999).

When the question was reworded to ask whether some instruments were more suited to girls than boys, 8 boys and 10 girls thought that this was the case, but the difference was not statistically significant. It is possible that boys had not given this matter much thought, coming as they did from a single sex school. The girls might have been less territorially minded on this subject, or they might be benefiting from a school culture that expects girls to involve themselves in many activities that have traditionally been more popular with boys. The instruments that were suggested as more suitable for girls were the soft and gentle flute and harp, again reflecting the results of earlier research (e.g. Abeles and Porter, 1978).
4.5.2 Gendered Interactions

THE ‘GOOD MUSIC TEACHER’

The pupil respondents in general believed that the gender of their teacher was less important than their ability to teach well. This view was also reflected in the responses to Questions 2.5 – 2.7 and supported by the fact that the most popular quality for ‘a good music teacher’ was ‘being good at explaining things.’ These results show that the pupils are expecting their teacher to be above all a good professional. They are attending lessons in order to learn. This is after all, what education is about, and they are positioning themselves within that framework, as are their teachers.

The small number of girls who stated that they would prefer to have a woman teacher, while in a minority, represented a significant group who believed they would not feel as comfortable with a male teacher. Some of the boys thought they would have more in common with a male teacher, that they would like the same things. These comments suggest that a feeling of trust and mutual understanding is needed for learning to thrive: for some pupils this feeling will be stronger with a teacher of their own sex.

Next in line after ‘being good at explaining things’, three qualities clustered in second place. These were ‘patient’, ‘encouraging’, and ‘understands me’. Although the boys and girls ordered the three qualities slightly differently, the differences between their responses were too small to be significant, possibly because of the small sample size. All these qualities could be described as affective, impinging on emotional aspects of the teacher/pupil relationship. These choices indicate that the pupils value
reassurance in helping them to learn, and that while learning the instrument is the top priority, a teacher with a supportive attitude will greatly facilitate the learning process. The boys seemed to place more value on the teacher understanding them than the girls did.

The least popular teacher qualities were ‘sets challenges’ and ‘excellent player’, both of which could be seen as the more confrontational side of teaching: ‘throwing down the gauntlet’ either in words or by playing superbly. Interestingly, boys valued the teacher being an excellent player significantly higher than girls did. Boys have been described as more concerned than girls with the ‘product’ of lessons than with the ‘process’ - Christie (2004) has observed a similar phenomenon in children’s approach to IT - and the higher value boys place on a teacher’s excellent playing could be related to this. Girls may be more concerned with building a good relationship with their teacher than with listening to the teacher’s dazzling technique. Boys and girls may also respond differently to hearing their teacher play brilliantly: some boys may feel they are being challenged to emulate the teacher, (what Dweck calls a mastery response), whereas some girls, particularly if they have low self-esteem, may feel daunted and inadequate, a ‘helpless’ response (Dweck, 2000). Some of the male teachers in the teachers’ questionnaire mentioned that there could be an element of competition in their relationship with boys. This topic was pursued in individual interviews with pupils and teachers (see Part III).

When the pupils were asked to consider whether a man or woman instrumental teacher would be more likely to have each of the six qualities, the boys and girls were generally in agreement about their expectations. These expectations tended to follow
stereotypical lines in many cases. Women were seen as more patient than men. Men were seen as more likely to set challenges than women. Both boys and girls thought women would be more likely to be good explaining things, and the girls thought women would be significantly more likely. Since being good at explaining things was rated the most important quality for a ‘good music teacher’ this was another topic to be explored more fully in the interview study.

While the similarities between the boys’ and girls’ responses are interesting in that they show that these pupils share some stereotypical assumptions about gender, the differences found are also worthy of note. Girls believed that female teachers were more encouraging, and boys, that men were. It is possible that girls and boys need different kinds of encouragement, or that they see different kinds of behaviour as ‘encouraging’, and that they believe a teacher of their own gender will be more able to provide this.

A different kind of gender interaction was found in the pupils’ opinions on how likely a male or female teacher would be to ‘understand them’. It might have been expected that boys would believe a man was the more likely to understand them, whereas the girls would believe that a woman was the more likely. In fact the girls’ responses did support this hypothesis, but the boys’ responses did not. They thought that a man or a woman would be equally likely to understand them. There are several possible explanations for this. One is that the boys may view the teaching/learning transaction on a less personal level than the girls, and may expect ‘teacher understanding’ to be delivered as part of the transaction. Another view is that some boys are less likely than girls to depend on teacher feedback while learning, valuing their own
independence more highly than teacher understanding. A feminist interpretation would be that as boys in a man’s world, they are accustomed to expecting the system to operate in their favour, and this would include teachers making every effort to understand their point of view. Girls, in contrast, could be seen as having an interest in building up secure relationships as a support to their learning.

**PROACTIVE PUPIL BEHAVIOUR**

Having considered some of the expectations that pupils have of male and female teachers, I now turn to the way pupils described themselves as behaving during their lessons. The response to the question ‘do you ask/tell your teacher things or wait to be asked?’ produced a large majority (4:1) in favour of the more proactive ‘ask/tell’. The reason for asking this question was that other researchers have found that pupils tend to be very reticent in their lessons and leave the teacher to initiate most of the exchanges (e.g. Rostvall, 2003). As the evidence from the video study will show, this reticence is indeed very common. Possible explanations for the conflicting result in this survey could be:

- wishful thinking: the pupils would like to be more proactive than they really are;
- pupils would like to present themselves in a favourable light as active learners;
- pupils really believe that they are frequently interacting verbally with their teachers;
- the children in this sample are not typical of the general population of instrumental pupils, because of their educational and social advantages. This was noted as another topic for investigation during the interview study.
The responses to the questions about the likelihood of various activities taking place during the lessons were grouped into teacher/pupil-gendered categories to see whether certain kinds of activities were more common in one category than another. Although subdividing in this way led to small numbers within the categories, it was felt that this was an area where real differences could occur and could be pinpointed.

Pupils seemed to believe that they would be able to distract male teachers by getting them to talk. Girls taught by men were slightly more likely than boys to ‘talk about other things, not to do with music’. Boys believed that they would be able to negotiate with a male teacher if they did not want to learn a particular piece. This strategy represents a proactive approach to the teaching relationship, with the pupil hoping to have some input into lesson content. While not representing a direct challenge to the teachers’ authority, it indicates the pupils’ belief that they can negotiate changes.

Girls who were taught by women reported lower levels of proactive behaviour than did any of the other groups. They asked fewer questions about playing the instrument, reading music, and were less likely to tell the teacher how they felt about the music, talk about musical expression or talk about music in general. This finding is consistent with Dweck’s research, which showed that girls taught in school by older women, showed more helpless and less ‘mastery’ behaviour (Dweck et al., 1978). However, there is a strong contrast here with the responses to corresponding questions in the teachers’ questionnaire, which showed that teachers believed girls were more likely to do most of these activities than boys were. There is some difficulty in interpreting this anomaly. The problem lies partly in the way respondents may try to present themselves in a questionnaire. They may try to offer the response they believe
the researcher wants to read; they may want to present themselves in a favourable light; they may unconsciously hold stereo-typical beliefs that cause them to answer in certain ways; or they may erroneously believe that they do what they say they do. These are limitations of the survey method of research.

One of the strengths of the present study is the provision to look beyond participants’ self-reports, investigating further through video observation and interviews. Furthermore, men and women may ‘read’ their pupils’ behaviour in different ways. As I show in Chapter 6 (section 6.3.4), some of the ways in which pupils behaved, particularly in relation to how much they looked at their teachers, were differently interpreted by men and women.

4.5.3 Gendered Individuals

It should be remembered that the pupils are learning their instruments for enjoyment and are hoping for a pleasurable experience. Since this is a voluntary activity, it is likely that pupils will simply cease lessons if they do not enjoy them. While each child is an individual and has his or her own reasons for learning, several common themes emerged when pupils were consulted about practising and asked to list likes and dislikes. There was considerable unanimity between boys and girls at this personal level, reflecting the opinion expressed by some of the teachers: that their pupils were children first, and boys or girls second.

The pupils seemed to support mainly positive statements about instrumental practising, a finding which could reflect the special nature of the sample. These pupils were bright, interested and committed to learning, or else they were keen to give that
impression. They had been reminded that they could be truthful since the questionnaire was anonymous, but they might still have been wary of being too outspoken. There was a greater concern among the boys than the girls about missing school lessons, but this anxiety may have arisen from particular circumstances at the boys’ school, and so cannot be given too much weight here. Apart from this, the comments made by girls and boys were very similar and do not appear to indicate gender differences at this level. Given that the pupils’ main concern was practical: to learn to play the instrument from a teacher who was good at their job, regardless of gender, it was not surprising that many of these pupils’ likes and dislikes related to lesson content. However, they also valued the relationship with their teacher, looking for a kind teacher who made their lessons enjoyable.

4.6 Summary: Two Vignettes

From these pupils’ comments, the teachers are looked on for the most part with affection. However, various idiosyncrasies emerged and these are summarised here, as an indication of what boys and girls may be experiencing or expecting from their instrumental teachers.

‘Typical’ Female Teacher

The demographic information gathered from the teachers’ questionnaire (Chapter 3), shows that she has a large number of pupils, and teaching is likely to be her main source of income. The boy and girl respondents to the pupils’ questionnaire find that the average female teacher is understanding and patient, and not easily distracted from the job in hand. Girls find her encouraging. She talks with boys and girls about
expressive playing, but she is less likely than a male teacher to demonstrate on her instrument. The teachers’ questionnaire indicates that she will occasionally use touch to assist with developing technique, more with girls than boys, and if she has been teaching for more than 30 years, she uses touch frequently, with boys and girls. She has a reputation for being rather absent-minded.

‘Typical’ Male Teacher

The ‘typical’ male teacher has fewer pupils, and may teach as part of a portfolio career, combining performing, directing or composing. Boys and girls find that he may be more concerned with teaching the instrument than with teaching the individual child. Not noted for his patience, he adopts a challenging style, which boys may find encouraging. He will get pupils to talk about how they feel about the music. He frequently demonstrates and plays his instrument with the pupils. He believes that hearing a good player is a strong motivator for a pupil. The teachers’ questionnaire indicates that he uses touch very little, occasionally with boys and very rarely with girls. He has a reputation for talking too much in the lesson and boys believe that he can be negotiated with, while girls believe he can be distracted.

The two questionnaire studies raised many topics for further investigation in the video analysis and interview studies, which will be reported in Parts II and III of this thesis.
PART II : OBSERVATIONAL STUDY

‘Observation is a process we are all continuously engaged in, and in the eyes of the public, psychologists are notorious for spending their time watching (not to mention analysing) other people.’

(Peter Banister, 1994, p. 17)
CHAPTER 5: OBSERVATIONAL STUDY: Context, Methodology and Pilot

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I contextualise my observational study by providing a short survey of literature connected with instrumental teaching, reviewing work which has used similar methods and which shares a focus on teacher/pupil interaction. I then move on to a discussion of the rationale for my choice of method and consider the methodology for observational studies before describing in detail the procedure for the pilot study. The main study will be discussed in Chapter 6.

As I have already noted in Chapter 1 (section 1.3), there is very little literature on the subject of gender in connection with instrumental lessons. Therefore I have broadened my field of inquiry to look at more general observational studies of instrumental teaching and learning in order to explore the background and to see how my own study can build on the work of previous researchers.

Here I look at five studies which all contribute to the background to the present research: Gustafson (1986) used video in an action research project with instrumental teachers; Painsi and Parncutt (2006) looked at gender and performance anxiety in young instrumental pupils; Charles (2004) investigated the gendered assumptions of children and teachers in classroom composition; Rostvall and West (2003) carried out a detailed video analysis technique to study instrumental teaching activities and interactions; and Burwell (2003, 2005) used action research in higher education to
explore many facets of instrumental teaching and learning, including some gender comparisons.

5.1.1 Observational Studies of Interactions in Music Teaching

An early use of video recording in order to investigate student/teacher interpersonal dynamics was carried out by Gustafson (1986). Her analysis builds on the psychoanalytical theories of Sigmund and Anna Freud with an emphasis on pupils’ possible use of ‘defence mechanisms’ in order to ward off anxiety. The four violin-teacher participants made recordings of lessons which they brought to bi-weekly joint sessions for diagnostic help and remedial suggestions. The teachers sought and received practical help from their colleagues on technical problems and also were able to discuss any concerns they had about interactions with the pupils. The researcher appears to have acted as an instructor and advisor as well as observer at these group sessions: she introduced them to basic concepts of psychodynamic theory in order to help them recognise, formulate, and if necessary change, problematic patterns of interaction.

Eight months after the videotaping sessions ended, Gustafson carried out individual interviews and gave the participants personal, written feedback. The involvement of the participants in this action research project produced mixed results: all four teachers reported that their new awareness of the concept of psychological defences had alerted them to the possibility of hidden personal agendas in lessons. Two of the teachers had altered their approaches to the pupils, but two had attributed the problems they had experienced to external sources, such as pupils’ family background. Gustafson’s interpretation of the behaviours of the eight subjects is that ‘the manifest
The idea that such ‘unconscious aims’ affect human interaction has been accepted in the fields of psychology and psychoanalysis (Freud 1901, Klein 1955), but Gustafson’s study seems to have been one of the first to identify such subtexts in instrumental teaching. Although not referred to in her study, gender is likely to be another unstated but influential strand in the fabric of the lesson.

Psychodynamic theory does not inform the present research, which uses a social constructionist approach, as explained in Chapter 1 (section 1.5). However there is a common thread: Gustafson’s action research investigation set out to solve problems of interaction in instrumental teaching. By making teachers aware of a different way of understanding the interactions she raised their consciousness about one aspect of psychodynamic theory: defence mechanisms. In asking them to adopt a complex analytical stance towards their own teaching, Gustafson asked a great deal from her practitioners. She was asking them to delve into their pupils’ and their own unconscious at a deep level, something that a lay person would find very difficult, without the guidance of a trained psychiatrist. While the main aim of the present study is descriptive and investigative (as noted in Chapter 1), the hope is that it also will have a transformative effect on the 24 participants, by making them newly aware of something that may cause an undercurrent below the surface of the lesson, i.e. gender interactions. Gustafson also took the research process a stage further, by returning to the participants 8 months after the original sessions in order to discover
what, if any lasting effects had been experienced. The present study also follows up all
the participants with interviews after their recording sessions.

New research by Painsi and Parncutt (2006) in which gender is a key feature, considers
the problem of 19 young musicians developing anxieties about failure and lack of
ability. Girls were found to suffer from this more than boys did, and the authors
believe that teachers may tend to offer different kinds of feedback to boys and girls,
explaining the successes and failures of boys and girls in different ways. The
stereotypical construction of ‘good girls and clever boys’: that girls achieve through
hard work while boys achieve through ability, noted by Walkerdine (1989), has always
been common among school teachers, and might be held by instrumental teachers as
well. The authors identified some of the teachers as holding an ‘entity theory’ (that
achievement is governed by talent) and other teachers as holding an ‘incremental
theory’ (that achievement is linked to practice). Painsi and Parncutt designed an
intervention study to train teachers to offer feedback that fosters motivation and self
esteem, and simultaneously taught pupils strategies for reaching realistic goals and
coping with failures. They showed that pupils of the ‘incremental’ group of teachers
were more likely to develop learning goals over the course of the eight week
intervention than those whose teachers held entity theories. Learning goals, which are
linked to mastery behaviour, were considered more useful to the pupils’ development
than performance goals, which connect with helpless behaviour. Unfortunately no
mention is made of the distribution of teacher gender in the two groups.

The study by Painsi and Parncutt (2006) was small scale, but yielded promising results
and could usefully be extended to a larger group of pupils and teachers, with possible
application to the wider educational field. It is one of the very few investigations of gender interactions, in this case related to mastery-oriented achievement behaviour. Their findings: 1) that girls seem more likely to develop inappropriate and in some cases disabling performance anxiety about failure, and 2) that this may be due to teachers offering girls and boys different kinds of feedback, support the theory that there can be a difference in how teachers treat and maybe in how they need to treat, boys and girls. As with the Gustafson study, raising participants’ awareness of a possible problem might cause them to reconsider how they act, but Painsi and Parncutt take the process a stage further by attempting to re-educate the teachers and pupils in more constructive teaching and learning strategies.

Another study which investigated the extent and possible effects of gender stereotyping in music education was carried out by Charles (2004). In a primary classroom setting, she examined the ways in which 8 – 10 year old children voiced ideological assumptions about gendered musical practices in relation to composing music. Historically ‘the composer’ has been assumed to be male (Green, 1997 p.89). Most women who have composed have done so on a domestic scale, writing music for children, or for salon or home consumption (ibid. p.49). In the early 20th century, a few rare exceptions such as Ethel Smyth (1858 - 1944), Ruth Crawford Seeger (1901 - 1953), Elizabeth Maconchy (1907 - 94) and Ruth Gipps (1921 - 99) made incursions into this male preserve, writing pieces for large orchestra. In general, however, women were not deemed by the (male) musical establishment to have the necessary intellectual and logical capacities; neither did they receive the kind of tuition to encourage the writing of large-scale abstract compositions. Ethel Smyth deplored the fact that in 1933 there was ‘not one single middle-aged woman alive who has had the
musical education that has fallen to men as a matter of course, without any effort on their part, ever since music was!’ (Citron, 2000 p.60). Although there are now more women in this field, men still predominate.

Charles uses Green’s (1997) model of gendered musical meaning and experience to support her analysis. Green finds that there is a conflict between the technical aspects of composition and patriarchal constructions of femininity. This conflict is not only at the cerebral level, that knowledge and technique are male areas of expertise, but is also reinforced by history, (itself patriarchal,) to lead to the assumption that behind music is a mind that is masculine. A woman composer is therefore ‘challenging her possession of some of the characteristics of femininity itself’. (Green, 1997,p.88).

It is curious that composition is seen as a male preserve, whereas music as a subject is considered by many schoolchildren to be a ‘girls’ subject. Composition is a fairly new arrival in the music classroom: 30 years ago pupils listened to and wrote about classical music and some worked on harmony and counterpoint exercises but they were not expected to produce music. Perhaps this old-style method, with its emphasis on music history and on rudiments and rules and its possibly ‘effete’ associations with classical music is still responsible for the labelling of music as a girls’ subject, even though methods of teaching have now moved forward to encourage improvisation, free composition, performing, the study of a very wide range of musical styles, and the use of technology to produce, record and notate music, all features which might have been expected to redress the balance by appealing to boys.
Charles found that the children in her class held gendered expectations about men’s and women’s roles in music, which they expressed in group interviews. In the observed lessons, however, there were many contradictions between the children’s verbal discourse and their practical behaviour when composing. The girls made comments about girls working hard and concentrating, while they said boys ‘messed around’ but had innate ability: recalling the ‘good girls and clever boys’ discourse of Walkerdine (1989). In practice, there was evidence that some groups of girls behaved just as badly as any of the boys, and also that some of the boys did not ‘mess around,’ but applied themselves carefully to the task, producing detailed graphic scores, although they had claimed that they just ‘made it up as they went along’. Just as Painsi and Parncutt noted in relation to performance, Charles discovered that girls expressed lower degrees of confidence about the outcomes of their compositions than did the boys, who seemed certain that their work would be successful.

Teachers were asked to assess the resulting 8 compositions and to say whether they thought they had been written by groups of girls or boys. In their assessment, the assumed gender of the composers did not affect the teachers’ marks: they applied the marking criteria equally to girls and boys. However the teachers tended to base their gender decisions on stereotypical assumptions, for example believing that girls had written soft gentle music and boys had written loud and fast music. In fact girls wrote as much loud fast music as boys did. ‘Jazzy’ music was always attributed to boys, although some of it was written by girls.

Charles accounts for the discrepancies between the children’s gendered discourses about musical composition and their practical behaviour by suggesting that these
particular children, aged 8 – 10, are too young to have entirely adopted gendered roles. They have learnt the discourse about gender and music well enough to express it verbally, but their behaviour lags behind their words. The ideology has affected the way they think, but in the real classroom situation they sometimes still act freely, without recourse to ‘the rules.’ Charles predicts that if the same children are observed when they are two years older, the ideology will have become more powerful and their behaviour will increasingly conform to expected practice. The teachers in the study, as adults, had fully embraced the discourse.

Charles’ investigation (2004), while being composition based and set in a classroom rather than in an instrumental teacher’s studio, focused clearly on gender. Her finding that the children of the age group 8 – 10 had absorbed some of the ideology of gender in music, but were still flexible enough to act in ways that did not support their spoken opinions was relevant to the present investigation, and prompted this researcher to select the age range 10 – 15, as being potentially more mature in their views and behaviour. Charles’ findings also raise the question of whether in general the views that people express actually match their behaviour, or whether, particularly when interviewed in groups as these children were, they may sometimes try to put forward an accepted stereotypical view in order to identify closely with the rest of the group.

Taking an Institution Theory approach (Douglas, 1986; Fleck, 1935, translated 1981) Rostvall and West (2003) investigated the interaction between teacher and pupil during instrumental lessons. The ‘institution’ in this case is taken to mean the instrumental lesson tradition. The aim of the research was to study how music teaching can be understood from an institutional perspective: the actions of the
teachers and students were interpreted not as individual choices but as routine actions, through which participants acted out the roles laid down for them by the institution. Rostvall and West suggest that interactions in instrumental lessons have historically and routinely consisted of certain educational functions, including testing, instructing, analysing, accompanying and expressing; their analysis sought to identify these functions, in speech and music and gesture, for both teacher and pupil. While these educational interactions form the framework of the lesson, it is likely that there are other personal interactions which help construct the teacher/pupil relationship while not having a direct educational function. The idea of the Institution as a backdrop to interactions is an interesting one: Wharton (2005) uses a similar idea, but looks at gender at the institutional level to help to explain why people adopt certain gendered roles in society.

Rostvall and West’s study has particular bearing on the present research because of the method of recording and analysis. They made video recordings of 11 lessons and analysed them in fine detail in order to determine the educational nature of the interactions that took place. Video recording was chosen as a method of capturing as much information as possible in a format which it could be revisited as many times as necessary. The researchers did not stay in the room while the lessons were taking place, in order to minimise disruption to the participants, although they accept that the camera might have caused some distraction. The researchers gave the participants an opportunity to comment on the videos in separate rooms after the recording session. However, apart from a brief statement that

‘teachers as well as students reported that the lessons had followed their normal routine’,
no mention is made of any other comments they may have made. The authors’ approach is from an outsider’s perspective: their participants are subjects under observation rather than consultants sharing their knowledge and experience. The analytical method of coding every second of language, music and gesture, not only for educational intent, but also for focus of attention is a considerable undertaking, requiring a team of researchers. The writers describe the analysis process as

‘very time consuming, each minute of film taking between 3 and 5 hours to transcribe.’

Analysis in this great depth generated a vast body of data and helped Rostvall and West to come to conclusions about the nature of instrumental teaching in the music schools they visited. These can be summarised as follows:

- there was a very uneven balance of power in the lessons, with the teacher being very powerful and the pupil rarely speaking
- the teachers frequently ignored or ridiculed pupils’ verbal initiatives
- the quality of the teaching was poor in many cases, with the pupils being unclear about why they were asked to do certain things
- teachers did not provide their pupils with sufficient help to solve technical problems
- the teachers seldom played their instruments to demonstrate musical ideas or mentioned expressive aspects of playing
- much of the lesson was given over to playing individual notes with little or no awareness of musical rhythm or phrasing.

Rostvall and West’s (2003) work, while using a team of researchers to produce a more fine-grained analysis than that used in the present study, nevertheless encouraged this researcher to adopt a similar recording method and a similar design of spreadsheet on which to transcribe the events of the lessons. Their conclusions, about the very uneven balance of power between teacher and pupil, about the limited amount of teacher demonstration and the way in which teachers ignored or ridiculed pupils’ initiatives, also opened up avenues of investigation which will be discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3.3).
The investigation described above was built entirely on the researchers’ observations, with no enquiry into the participants’ interpretation of events. Burwell (2003) undertook a more broadly based investigation of instrumental lessons in Higher Education. Video recordings of lessons were central to her investigation, with supporting evidence gathered using a combination of questionnaires and interviews. Sixteen teachers (7 female, 9 male) and sixty-seven students (40 female and 27 male) took part in the study. While she acknowledges that nonverbal behaviours of the teacher contribute to the learning process Burwell’s focus in this study was the dialogue between teachers and pupils. The categories she employed to sort and evaluate her data were more specific to music than the general ‘testing, instructing, analysing, accompanying and expressing’ used by Rostvall and West (2003). Burwell’s categories originated from a 1995 MANA document, ‘Instrumental teaching and learning in context’. She extracted and categorised five types of educational interactions or ‘Areas of Study’. In descending order of usage, these were as follows: Technique, Critical Awareness, Interpretation, Aural Awareness and Communication. She analysed the data from both teachers and students.

The finding which could have relevance for the present study was, most importantly, that the teachers offered the youngest and the least proficient players the highest proportion of ‘Technique’ based dialogue. Burwell also found that each teacher had their own individual way of balancing the Areas of Study and speculates that the type of instrument being taught might have an effect: a drum-kit lesson, for example, might differ from a flute lesson in the proportion of time devoted to Interpretation. Burwell split the results by teacher gender and by pupil gender, and found that teachers offered female students more Interpretation dialogue than male students and that male
teachers devoted more time to Critical Awareness than female teachers did. The distribution of the various instruments could also have an effect here, although this is not discussed. Could there perhaps have been more female flautists and more male drummers?

The proportion of student verbal contributions compared with teacher contributions was small (17%), but increased slightly with age and expertise. The male students contributed more to lesson dialogue than the female students did, and male teachers elicited more talk from students than female teachers did. It would have been interesting to make a further subdivision in order to compare results for men teaching male and female students and women teaching male and female students, but gender was not the main focus of this project, which was originally set up as an action research investigation for the teachers: its declared aim was to develop a shared understanding, in order to improve practice.

Burwell’s investigation used teachers and pupils at a higher education establishment and in common with Gustafson (1986) and Painsi and Parncutt (2006), her aim was transformative. She hoped to provide teachers with information about how they taught, in order to offer them encouragement as well as information and consultation to support their rather solitary occupation. Her main focus was on the art of teaching rather than gender, but she did break down her data into gendered sets to some extent. The findings which have most significance to the present study are as follows: older pupils and male pupils in general took a more active role in dialogue; female students received more discussion about interpretation and male teachers devoted more time to critical awareness than female teachers did. With a younger age range there could be
even greater differences in the amount of student dialogue in the present study. Burwell’s gender related findings, like Painsi and Parncutt’s, are an indication that the field of gender may well influence teacher/pupil interactions.

Each of the studies described here has its relevance to the present piece of work, either because of methodological similarities, or because of the focus on gender difference or because of its transformative intentions. None of them, however, specifically sets out to discover the effects that gender can have in pupil/teacher interactions in instrumental lessons, and this topic appears not to have received attention until now.

5.1.2 Methodology: Rationale

The aim of this observational study was to discover whether the often stereotypical views uncovered by the questionnaire studies were supported by examples of behaviour in actual lessons. Action and interaction with others and with the environment are the chief means by which individuals construct their identities and schemata. Writing on gender and linguistics, Coates (2004) reinforces this idea of ‘performing’ identity as an active process when she points out that as children gain linguistic competence, they

‘learn how to ‘do’ masculinity or femininity in a particular speech community; conversely when children adopt particular linguistic behaviour as part of their performance of masculinity or femininity, they perpetuate the social order which creates gender distinctions’

(Coates, 2004, p148)

It was useful to see how people were acting and interacting in instrumental lessons and an in-depth investigation into the behaviour and experiences of a small group of teachers and pupils was therefore planned.
Whereas the questionnaire studies, processing information from over 100 participants, yielded data suitable for quantitative analysis, the Observational study set out to discover, describe and where possible interpret actual experiences of 24 participants in 16 case studies. Qualitative methods were most suitable for an investigation with such a focus, supported by simple quantitative analysis where appropriate.

The nature of the study was exploratory, rather than empirical: as there had been little research into the topic to date, there were no preconceptions about what would be discovered. As Strauss and Corbin (1998) emphasise, ‘concepts and design must be allowed to emerge from the data’, in order to build theory. Such a Grounded Theory approach seemed most appropriate to this study. The researcher attempts to start the investigation without any strong hypotheses about what will be found. It should be remembered, however, that my experiences in the field, the interest in the topic which I have developed over years of practice and the evidence I have gathered from reading in the subject have lead me to believe that gender does have some effect on the process of instrumental teaching and learning.

The participants were observed during instrumental lessons in as naturalistic a situation as possible. The reason for this was to see how participants normally behaved. Interventions such as taking them to a special studio with more advanced recording facilities, or experiments involving asking participants to change their behaviour in some way to take gender into account would not have suited this purpose.
The participants were only told in very general terms about the topic of the research. There were three reasons for this: firstly, it was not known exactly what themes would emerge from the analysis of the recordings and I did not want to pre-judge the case. Secondly, it was desirable that the participants should not be self-conscious about their behaviour during the recording session, constantly monitoring themselves for awareness of gender issues. Thirdly, as they were all close acquaintances of mine, I did not want them to make any unusual efforts to behave in certain ways in the belief that this might help me to prove a point. As a non-participant observer, I needed to maintain a certain distance from my participants at this stage: later, during the interviews, my close relationship with the teachers would be an advantage in putting them at their ease and sharing common experiences.

Since the themes were expected to arise from the data, a formal ‘time sampling’ approach would not have been appropriate: searching for and counting a list of predetermined behaviours would have been contrary to the Grounded Theory method as it would have imposed interpretations on the data, rather than allowing interpretations to arise from them. As the themes began to emerge from the data being collected it was then possible to begin to share my ideas with the teachers and pupils in order build up a picture of the field.

As an instrumental teacher myself, I could have adopted a different approach, by casting myself as an observer participant, and using video recordings of my own lessons with pupils. Professionally, I felt this was not desirable, as I believe that the need to reflect on my teaching in a formal analytical way would have changed the nature of the lessons I was teaching, possibly to the pupils’ educational disadvantage.
Practically as well there was the simple difficulty that I now teach 30 girls and no boys, so I would not have been able to carry out comparisons. I would also have needed to observe a male instrumental teacher and try to know him as well as I know myself: an impossible task, the two perceptions could not be compared.

The observation study was therefore designed as follows:
- Participants: male and female teachers, each teaching a boy and a girl
- Lessons: at normal time, venue and usual length, determined by teacher
- Video camera on a fixed tripod: recorded the whole lesson, no observer present
- Recordings: analysed by the researcher for emergent themes
- Emergent themes would be coded and linked to form theories, using a grounded theory method (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998)

5.1.3 Video Recording

Plowman and Stephen (forthcoming) suggest that video recording can be an attractive medium for recording data because of its potential to represent the complexities of social life and capture ‘the big picture’.

In recent years, video cameras have become more accessible both in price and ease of operation and these improvements have added an extra dimension to observational research. No longer does the observer have to remain in the room during a session, or to watch covertly: the camera can be set up in advance to record the whole event. No longer does the observer have to rely on taking hastily scribbled notes during the session, (perhaps distracting the participants, or missing some important event while doing so) but instead the recording can be taken away and played over as frequently as necessary, allowing time to concentrate on a different facet of the event on each viewing. As Plowman (1999) points out:

‘Because video can be viewed as many times as required, it is possible to delay making final decisions about analysis until the researcher is confident about the
appropriate approach and which aspects will be highlighted. This is not possible to the same extent if observational field notes are the only source of information because the situation they record is so fleeting; it is not possible retrospectively to decide to focus on some other aspect.’

The possibly distracting presence of the observer, watching and taking notes has been replaced with a small camera, situated at a distance from the participants. It is desirable for observers ‘to minimise the influence they are likely to have on the behaviour of their subjects’ (Shaffer, 1993).

As well as affording the opportunity to focus on a different kind of activity on each viewing, video recording also offers the possibility of focusing in detail on a short episode, as well as taking small time samples from various points in the complete recording. As Plowman (1999) says, by using video recording one does not need to make ‘instantaneous decisions about the importance of particular incidents or risk overlooking key features’ as one does if field notes are the only recording method.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the video camera is only another tool for representing some facets of an event. It may be less of a distraction than a human observer, but because of its fixed position it can only record what happens within its limited view. Small but important details which would be noted by an observer in the room can be missed. Participants may move off camera, or may look at something out of range; other people may enter the room unseen by the camera. Even more than to a human observer, some speech may be inaudible on a recording, and whereas a listener can try to ‘tune out’ unwanted sounds and focus on the interaction, the camera simply records indiscriminately. These reservations, however, are more than compensated for by the facility to replay and revisit the recording on demand. In this research, a single
camera with built-in microphone was the only recording device. This ‘low-tech’ approach had the advantage of simplicity and cost, as well as offering the smallest distraction to participants. Extra cameras and microphones could have provided a more complete record but might have made the recording session a more daunting experience for the participants.

5.1.4 Working with Children

Many aspects of children’s lives have been investigated by researchers in the fields of psychology, biology, education, health and sociology (see, for example Greig & Taylor, 1999, p. 2). Although much of this work was sensitively done, according to the beliefs of the time, some experiments and studies must have caused suffering and bewilderment to the young ‘subjects’ as they were called. There was a perception that ‘adults knew best’ in terms of what was good for the child: in the belief that since they had all been children themselves once, they saw themselves as experts.

Children’s wellbeing is now protected by several charters, such as the Universal Declaration of the Rights of the Child (UNICEF 1989), which are upheld in most western societies. Recent trends in research have changed the position of children: instead of being ‘subjects’, they are now positioned ‘as social and cultural actors’ (Woodhead & Faulkner, 2000). Children’s views and perspectives are now taken seriously as evidence and more highly valued than in the past. Woodhead and Faulkner stress, however, that ‘respect for children’s status as social actors does not diminish adult responsibilities’, but rather demands more help and guidance from the adult community to enable children’s social interactions.
In the field of music education, research by Finney (2003) explores the experiences and opinions of a class of Year 8s in their music lessons over a six month period. Finney’s method of involving the pupils in a consultative role, alongside a more traditional observational approach, reveals the pupils’ respect for their inspirational teacher. The creative power the pupils discover and the meaning they derive from their music is reflected in Finney’s conclusion: he values the ‘climate of mutuality and reciprocity’ that ‘is achieved between teacher and learner’ (p.15).

This new way of thinking about research with children has influenced the present study. The children were given equal opportunities with the adult participants to express their views about gender in instrumental lessons. The pupils’ questionnaires and interview scripts were made as child-friendly as possible in terms of language and format, while basically asking the same questions as for the adults. Every effort was made to ensure that the young participants understood what they were being asked to do in order to help with the research and that their opinions were respected equally with those of their teachers.

Ethical considerations are particularly important when making video recordings of children. As well as obtaining the consent of children, parents and teachers at the time of recording, researchers have a duty to ensure that all parties are aware of the use that will be made of the recordings in the future. One consideration is confidentiality: for example, if the recordings are made public in any way, for example at a conference or in a television broadcast at some point in the future, it is advisable to seek agreement from participants again at this later date, in case their attitudes have changed over the intervening time. Such a change is quite likely, as children mature and may wish to
make their own decisions, independently of their parents and teachers. In the past, video observational research into children’s behaviour frequently used concealed cameras. This ‘covert’ method was thought to provide an opportunity to study the child in near to natural circumstances. Ethical considerations, as well as the researcher’s respect for the participants as co-researchers, or consultants, meant that recording by such covert means was not acceptable.

Other ethical considerations which particularly affect research with children (Alderson, 1995) include the cost to the participants, in terms of time, inconvenience, embarrassment, intrusion of privacy, sense of failure or coercion and fear of admitting anxiety. The children in this study were given opportunities to stop the recording process if they wished. It is not possible to tell whether they felt in any way coerced into helping with the research: however, as will be seen in the following chapters, they appeared to be relaxed and enjoying their usual relationship with their teachers. Watching the videos for the first time was potentially an embarrassing experience for them, and as will be seen below (Part III), steps were taken after the pilot study to alter the procedure in order to minimise any such feelings. There was no likelihood of the pupils sustaining any physical harm by participating in the study. Care was taken over the mental wellbeing of all participants by treating them at all times with kindness and courtesy and every effort was made to leave the relationship between pupil and teacher undisturbed.
5.2  Pilot Study: Method

NB: All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms: the pupils chose their own. For clarity, teachers are referred to as ‘Mrs’ or ‘Mr’, and pupils by their first names. Consent forms had already been obtained from teachers, pupils and parents, which covered participation in both the observation study and the interview study. Participants were made aware that they were free to terminate the recording session at any time.

One teacher and two pupils were observed in a 30-minute individual lesson. The principal purpose of the pilot study was practical: to experiment with setting up the camera and to discover the participants’ reactions to it. The method of transcribing was tested in order to find out the practical implications of notating dialogue and actions together. In the main study emergent themes would be drawn from the large body of data assembled, but at this early stage consideration was simply given to some of the basic activities that seemed to shape the two lessons.

5.2.1. Participants

Mr Kingston, a local brass teacher, volunteered to take part in the pilot study. Since he was best qualified to select which of his pupils to record, he was asked to recruit a boy and a girl of similar playing standard, aged between 10 and 15. He nominated Clara, a horn player aged 11 and Simon, a trumpet player aged 12. Both had passed Grade 5 ABRSM examination. Parents, pupils and the teacher gave signed permission for the video-recording and interview to take place and they received an explanation of the procedure. (Appendix VIII shows copies of the consent forms.) All participants were told that they could terminate the recording whenever they wished and that they
would later be shown a copy of their recording to comment on. The researcher explained the importance of keeping the recordings in a secure place.

5.2.2 Procedure: Observation

The video camera was a Canon MV600i digital video camera, selected because it would easily transfer data to a PC. It was mounted on a tripod and once it had been set up, the researcher left the studio, so that the session could be as much like a typical lesson as possible. The camera was small and silent in operation. Although the sound quality of the recordings was not of high quality, it was decided not to use an extra microphone to record sound. Plowman (1999) found that the presence of a microphone seemed to be more distracting to participants than that of the camera. This might be because people are more familiar with being photographed and video-recorded than with having their voice recorded, or possibly because of the associations with performing and putting on an act that seem to belong with microphones. The decision not to have an extra microphone made transcribing technically less complex, with minimal loss of auditory clarity.

The recordings were transferred on to VHS cassettes. In order to help to navigate through the videos, and to study the lessons when a video player was not available, a written transcript was made. Teachers’ and pupils’ words and actions were noted on an Excel spreadsheet. (A sample page from a transcript can be found in Appendix IV. The entire body of data from this research is held in a database which can be made available for scrutiny if required.)
The main events of the lessons were coded in five columns, showing the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of both teacher and pupil:

- **Time in minutes**: as a quick guide to help locate transcribed words with their position on the recording. Stopwatch timings of specific events such as looking at the face, playing and speaking were taken later.
- **‘Pupil says’**: including words and small vocalisations where audible, singing.
- **‘Pupil does’**: everything else the pupil does apart from speaking: e.g. posture, playing, body movements and gaze.
- **‘Teacher says’**: words, vocalisations and singing.
- **‘Teacher does’**: everything else the teacher does apart from speaking: e.g. posture, playing, body movements and gaze.

This basic transcription provided a kind of ‘film script’ showing the main interactions between teacher and pupil. Notating the actual music played was not considered necessary since the investigation was not concerned with playing and teaching skills: it was the participants’ interactions which were important. The five column format enabled several events to be recorded in parallel, for example if the teacher was talking and moving while the pupil was playing, or the pupil was moving or looking elsewhere while the teacher was talking.

The pilot video study showed that camera positioning was crucial in trying to get both participants’ faces in the frame. Since the researcher was not in the room to make any necessary readjustments, allowance had to be made at setting-up for the participants moving around during the recording. A balance had to be achieved between being close enough to focus clearly on faces and far enough away to accommodate position changes without the participants moving out of shot.
As a result of the pilot study, which yielded many pages of transcription, computer software was adopted in order to help to navigate the data and to link the video footage to its transcription. Such links are very helpful when searching for particular scenes. Software programs also provide a facility for coding and making collections of video clips, both of which features are helpful in analysis. The package chosen, Transana™, will be described in the Method of the main study.

There were no other changes to the procedure of recording and transcribing. In the next chapter, I describe the main study and show how the coding system developed from the data collected.

5.2.3 Collection of Supporting Data

Field notes were made at the time of the recording. These consisted of impressions of the recording situations, the participants and any background information available to the researcher. As well as being a necessary aide-mémoire, in view of the length of time over which the data were collected, the field notes helped to produce a fuller and more personal record of the recording sessions.

The video recordings were shown to the participants and discussed during semi-structured interviews in order to gain a different, and deeper understanding of the events recorded. The interviews, by consulting with the participants, contributed to the validation process in the analysis of the data, by providing accounts from a
different perspective from that of the researcher. This phase of the research will be discussed in Part III.
CHAPTER 6: OBSERVATIONAL STUDY: Method, Coding and Analysis

NB: As in the previous chapter, all names used here are pseudonyms: the pupils chose their own. For clarity, teachers are referred to as ‘Mrs’ or ‘Mr’, and pupils by their first names. Consent forms had already been obtained from teachers, pupils and parents, which covered participation in both the observation study and the interview study. Participants were made aware that they were free to terminate the recording session at any time.

Having shown in Chapter 5 how observational studies have contributed to investigative and transformative research projects, and having considered the methodology and shown how the present study was designed and piloted, I now move on to a description of the method, coding and analysis of my own observational study.

It should be noted that since every recorded lesson had its own individual character and dynamics, the differences noted here are clearly likely to originate from more than one source, and not simply from the genders of the two participants. Teaching and learning style, personality of both teacher and pupil, the pupil’s level of playing skill, the participants’ past shared experiences – all contribute to this individuality.

6.1 Method

6.1.1 Participants: Teachers

It was decided to use a homogeneous group of instrumental teachers, living and working in a predominantly middle class area in South East England and all of approximately similar age and social group. The principal reason for this was that in a
small study, it is desirable to compare like with like, rather than to try to study a more
socially and ethnically diverse group. The secondary reason was that the nature of the
research project, involving as it did video recording and an in-depth interview,
required a certain level of trust between participants and researcher. The teachers
selected were already well known to the researcher and were prepared to allow her to
intrude on their lessons and time in this way. Table 19 shows a list of the participants’
pseudonyms, together with ages and instruments. The four male and four female
participants were all experienced teachers whose work was respected by their peers.
The age range was 40 – 55, with most of the teachers aged 45 or more. The instruments
taught were piano (3 f, 1 m), violin (1 m, 1 f), guitar (1 m) and brass (1 m).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher (approx age)</th>
<th>Pupil</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Approx. playing level (AB grade)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Albury (50)</td>
<td>Alex</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>Grade 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Violin/viola</td>
<td>Grade 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Bramley (55)</td>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Grade 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Grade 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Compton (55)</td>
<td>Cornelius</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Grade 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fiona</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Grade 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Deepdene (55)</td>
<td>Jock</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Grade 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miranda</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Grade 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Elstead (55)</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Grade 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>Grade 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Farncombe (40)</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>Grade 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veronica</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>Grade 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Grayshott (45)</td>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>Grade 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Claire</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>Grade 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Horsley (50)</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>Grade 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emily</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>Grade 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: List of participants in observation and interview studies

### 6.1.2 Participants: Pupils

As in the pilot study, the teachers were asked to recruit two pupils of a similar playing standard, aged between 10 and 15, one boy and one girl. Table 19 shows a summary of the participants. All parties gave signed permission, using the same consent forms as for the pilot study (see Appendix VIII). Parents and teachers were told that the study...
was on gender interactions in instrumental lessons; the pupils were told that the researcher was interested in how men and women teach and how boys and girls learn. All participants were made aware that playing or teaching skill was not the focus of the research, and that the lessons should be as near as possible to normal for them. They were also free to stop the recording at any point if they wished.

6.1.3 Procedure: Lesson Observations

The recordings took place in the teachers’ studios, which were mainly situated in their own homes. (Two of the teachers were recorded in their boarding-school teaching rooms, permission having been obtained from their Director of Music.) The same camera was used as in the pilot study. The camera was positioned in order to get both faces on the screen, within the limitations caused by the layouts of some studios and the positions of some of the pianos. Since the lessons were to be as typical as possible, no changes were made to the layout of the rooms or the lighting, even though such changes might have improved the final picture quality. As in the pilot study, the camera was set to record and the researcher left the room, returning at the end of the lesson.

6.1.4 Procedure: Data Analysis

The lesson recordings were transcribed on to spreadsheets to show verbal and non-verbal behaviour of teacher and pupil logged across time, as in the pilot study, (see Chapter 4). This method of transcription made it possible to analyse how these
behaviours were contingent upon each other and affected interactions. The definitions for each of the five columns are repeated here for convenience:

- **Time in minutes**: as a quick guide to help locate transcribed words with their position on the recording.
- **‘Pupil says’**: including words and small vocalisations where audible, singing.
- **‘Pupil does’**: everything else the pupil does apart from speaking: e.g. posture, playing, body movements and gaze.
- **‘Teacher says’**: words, vocalisations and singing.
- **‘Teacher does’**: everything else the teacher does apart from speaking: e.g. posture, playing, body movements and gaze.

These five items were selected for three reasons: firstly because they were all clearly defined activities which could be noted by a non-participant observer or assistant; secondly because they helped to define the basic structure of each lesson, in a way that could be quantified and compared; and thirdly because they provided a foundation of data which could then be combined in various ways to provide a basis for a deeper, more interpretative analysis. The way in which these activities were contingent upon each other - for example, the pupil attempting to carry out the teacher’s instructions, the teacher reacting to the pupil’s playing, or the teacher deciding to move onward to new material if the pupil gives some sign of stress or boredom – could all give clues to the way the two participants are constructing and interpreting the situation. Such actions as watching the teacher’s face or hands, yawning or looking at the clock, could all offer clues as to the pupil’s focus while the teacher was speaking. Equally, the teachers might make expressive movements while the pupils were playing, thus communicating musical ideas without words. In order to provide as much data as possible to help define the nature of the interactions taking place, attention was
therefore given to noting body movements and gaze as well as the words spoken and music played.

As each transcript was finished, a short field note was attached, which later contributed to a more formal summary of each lesson. (A sample of one such summary is to be found at Appendix V.) The field notes were included in the analysis of the observation study and also furnished a more personal reminder of the event, and proved helpful given the long duration of the data collection phase. In order to preserve confidentiality, these field notes were not included in the thesis but they were safely stored for future reference.

The data collection process took place over a period of two years. Silverman (2000) encourages an early commencement of the process of analysis (p.121), and the gradual development of lines of inquiry in response to the incoming data frequently occurs in qualitative studies. Tindall, in Banister et al. (1994), for example, describes such a cyclical pattern of research:

‘The theory that is developed from the material then guides... the subsequent collection of material, which in turn refines the ideas and develops the theory’ (p.145).

The transcriptions and field notes represented a large volume of text: a software program, atlas-ti™ was used for searching rapidly through the text. Transana 2™ was helpful for navigating through the video footage. Extracts from the text and clips from the videos were grouped according to themes in order to discover whether connections could be made between gender and speech or behaviour patterns.
6.2 Interpretation Process

The observational study of 16 half-hour instrumental lessons yielded a quantity of rich data which was subjected to various analytical procedures in order to discover and compare the behaviour of male and female teachers and boy and girls pupils, and to seek interpretive insights into these behaviours. When clear themes or patterns seemed to emerge from the inductive analysis of the data, an attempt was made to support findings with quantitative statistical tests. Such results, while providing useful confirmatory evidence to support theories, should be treated cautiously because of the small sample numbers.

After an account of the method used to analyse the data and some resultant descriptive statistics, this chapter therefore concludes with a qualitative interpretation of the various phenomena observed.

6.2.1 Analysing the Observational Data: Method

The transcription process, involving many repetitions of the recordings, provided familiarity with the data and also afforded opportunities to attend to different facets of the lesson: speech, movements, playing and gaze. Advice on the method of transcribing was sought from a Psychology graduate.

After making a short synopsis of the main events in each of the 16 lessons (for an example, see App. V), the first impression of the recorded lessons was that, unique though each one was, all shared a common structure. An independent observer, who
watched a random selection of six of the recordings, agreed that this was the case. They began with greetings, and then moved into a cyclical question and response process, which was repeated many times until the lessons concluded with administrative details and then farewells. The central sequence corresponds with the IRF, or Initiation-Response-Feedback cycle which has been identified as common practice in classrooms (Mercer, 1995, p.29; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). However, in the instrumental lesson, the pupil’s response is often expected to be played rather than spoken.

The traditional structure of instrumental lessons can be summarised as in Fig. 55):

Each section: introduction, central section and conclusion provided different opportunities to observe interactions between teacher and pupil. Since the introductions and conclusions were often complicated by the presence of extra people (a parent, a fellow teacher, or the previous or subsequent pupil), and since these sections were of very different durations in various lessons, it was decided to
concentrate attention for this study on the central section, the main teaching body of the lesson.

6.2.2 Selection of Samples for Analysis

Because they were recorded in naturalistic circumstances, the duration of the lessons was controlled by the teachers, not the researcher, and varied between 27 and 55 minutes. In order to reduce the data to a manageable size and make comparisons between the participants of, for example, the frequency of behaviour patterns or the use of certain styles of language, it was decided to take a representative sample from each recording. Silverman (2000) describes this kind of ‘theoretical or purposive sampling’ as being a valuable feature of qualitative research design, giving the opportunity to focus on a small part of the study (p.107-8). Miles and Huberman (1994, p.11) also recognise that data reduction can be a valuable part of analysis. The decision in this case to focus on the central section of the lessons was taken in order to analyse similar kinds of interaction across all the participants. A different study could, for example, consider the beginnings or endings of the lessons, which included more varied and perhaps spontaneous interactions, but also the presence of extra people, as mentioned above.

Robson (1993, p. 220) points out that consideration is needed in order to ensure that the type of time sampling used leads to ‘a representative picture of the phenomenon under observation’. Pilot time sampling used three separate 5-minute sections from near the beginning, middle and end of the recording, but this method was found to provide few opportunities for comparisons of similar interactions and behaviour. The
content of the samples collected in this way was too diverse. The main reason for this was that if a pupil happened to be playing a long section of music, this activity could occupy the whole of a 5-minute sample, and there was often little interaction between with the teacher to be seen while the pupil was thus engaged. In a longer continuous time sample, there was more likelihood of the typical question and response cycle being completed and even repeated.

A 15-minute time sample from the middle of each recording was therefore selected, starting ten minutes after the beginning of the lesson, by which time in every case the teacher and pupil had settled into the question and response pattern described in Fig. 55 (above, Section 6.1.4).

The selected samples were viewed many times and coded in order to discover emergent themes. Miles and Huberman (1994) describe coding as applying ‘tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study’ (p. 56). These themes were used to build analytic categories defining various patterns of behaviour. Consideration was given to the properties (or characteristics which delineate the meaning), and dimensions (the range along which the properties can vary) for each category. Comparisons were made between men’s and women’s and boys’ and girls’ behaviour. Further viewings of the recordings yielded more examples with which to populate the categories and to aid the comparisons. With time it was possible to move beyond simple descriptive codes, to more interpretive codes, and from these to a more inferential level where patterns began to emerge. This procedure follows Grounded Theory methods as described by Strauss and Corbin (1998, p.56). In order to provide graphic representations which
might clarify the presentation of the information, the qualitative data were complemented by some quantitative measurements as described below (2.3). At the same time, supporting data were sought from existing research.

6.3 Results

6.3.1 Descriptive Statistics for Lessons: Overview

An overview of the basic elements of the lessons was prepared. The purpose of this was to provide a set of measurable items which could then be used to produce simple comparisons between the lessons, in order to provide a strong footing on which to construct some of the interpretations. Several time measures were taken from the 16 lesson segments, in order to build up a profile of the various ways in which the time was distributed. To compare teachers’ ways of distributing the time in their interactions with pupils and to see if there were noticeable differences between the men and the women and boys and girls, timings were taken for:

- Teacher looking at pupil’s face
- Pupil looking at teacher’s face
- Teacher playing instrument
- Pupil playing instrument

These timings were valuable as a possible indication of the focus of the participants’ attention: some pupils looked at their teachers’ faces for longer than others.

These timings helped to show the distribution of time in the lesson: some teachers and some pupils played for considerably more time than others. In their questionnaire, male teachers had described demonstrating as a high priority: would this priority be reflected in practice?

- Teacher talking
- Pupil talking

Some of the teachers spoke a great deal, some much less; some of the pupils spoke very little, if at all. Could this be a reflection of the balance of power in the lessons?

A summary of the male and female teachers’ timings for each activity is as follows:

![Graph showing mean timings (mm:ss) for lesson activities over 8 30-minute time samples.](image)

The graphs are shown in this section for their descriptive value. ANOVA tests were carried out on all these data, comparing timings for male and female teachers teaching boy and girl pupils, but owing to the small sample size, few of the results approached significance levels.
Fig. 56 shows that the most common activity across all 16 lessons was Teacher Talk, followed by Pupil Play. This finding reflects the popular conception of an instrumental lesson. Female teachers in this sample talked rather more than men, and their pupils played for less time. The activities, however, were not mutually exclusive: for example a teacher could be talking while the pupil was playing. As each teacher taught a boy and a girl for a 15 minute time sample, the timings in Fig. 56 are measured out of a possible total of 30 minutes. The figures were then broken down into three headings: Looking, Talking and Playing, and split to show the results for girls and boys being taught by men and women.
Fig. 57 shows that there was generally more ‘looking’ taking place in the men’s lessons than in those of the women. The men in the sample looked at their pupils’ faces for more time than the women did. Women looked at boys’ faces for slightly more time than they looked at girls’ faces and men looked at girls’ faces for considerably more time than they did at the faces of boys. The pupils looked at men’s faces more than women, and boys looked at teachers’ faces, particularly women’s, for less time than girls did. This interesting finding will be discussed below. (see 6.3.3b)
Fig. 58 shows that in all, teachers talked nearly four times as much as their pupils did. Women talked a little more than men, and teachers in general talked more to girls. Pupils, particularly boys, talked more to female teachers than to males. The implications of this finding will be discussed later. (see 6.4)
Fig. 59 shows that pupils played for more time if the teacher was male than female, and that girls played for more time than boys if the teacher was male. As had been found in the questionnaire responses, male teachers played more than females, in these cases particularly to girl pupils.

Having taken an overview of these main activities across all the teachers, the looking, talking and playing profiles of the 16 individual lessons were then charted, and these were compared (see Fig. 60). On examining these profiles, it was clear that some of the teachers distributed their time in similar ways whether they were teaching the boy or the girl. Mrs Bramley’s two lessons, for example, were very alike, the only difference
being in pupil talk, where the girl spoke more. Mr Elstead’s lessons also had similar profiles, except that the boy spoke more. Mr Farncombe’s lessons showed a difference in teacher and pupil looking times but in other respects the time was spent in similar proportions. Other teachers’ lessons seemed to vary much more noticeably, perhaps depending on the pupil: Mrs Deepdene’s pupil, Jock, was the most talkative of all the pupils, while Miranda spoke little but played for more of the time.

There was a wide variation in the length of time that pupils played during the lesson, from under three minutes to over ten. As might be expected, more advanced pupils played for longer, partly because the pieces they were playing were longer and partly because their higher expertise meant that they were able to play more continuously. The teachers of these more advanced pupils tended to wait to speak until the end of a section in the music was reached. In contrast, although Mrs Bramley’s pupils, who were among the youngest and least expert players, played for between seven and eight minutes, Mrs Bramley talked for much of the time they were playing, guiding every move.
Figure 60: Lesson profiles. Total time (mm:ss) spent on each activity.

Mrs A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Alex</th>
<th>Sarah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pupil talk</td>
<td>teacher look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pupil play</td>
<td>pupil talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teacher talk</td>
<td>pupil look</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mrs B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Sam</th>
<th>Jo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pupil talk</td>
<td>teacher look</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pupil play</td>
<td>pupil talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teacher talk</td>
<td>pupil look</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- teacher look
- pupil look
- teacher play
- pupil play
- teacher talk
- pupil talk
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Pupil Talk</th>
<th>Teacher Talk</th>
<th>Pupil Play</th>
<th>Teacher Play</th>
<th>Pupil Look</th>
<th>Teacher Look</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>09:00</td>
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<td>08:00</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr G

Claire

Mr H

Emily

Michael
6.3.2 Emergent Themes

A study of the literature on classroom interaction (Dweck, 2000; Dweck et al., 1978; Mercer, 1995) and interpersonal communication (Anderson, 1998; Argyle, 1988, 1994), together with data gathered from the questionnaire studies described in Chapters 2 and 3 led to the identification of several topics which merited investigation. While the literature opened up avenues for exploration, some categories arose directly from the viewings of the data. The motivation for investigating each category is described briefly below, together with a definition of each category, and then, in section 6.3.3, I move on to a detailed description of the findings. This is the list of preliminary topics that were considered in analysing the videos and to pursue in the interviews:

a) pupil-initiated interaction
b) gaze
c) teachers demonstrating on their instrument
d) pupils’ ‘helpless’ behaviour
e) use of gendered language
f) use of humour
g) touch

a) Pupil-initiated interaction

From the diagram of the basic lesson format (Fig. 55, above) it can be seen that if the pupil wishes to make a comment or ask a question, he or she will have to create an opportunity by interrupting the cycle. Anderson (1998) describes the difference in patterns of interruptions between same and mixed-gender dyads. She found that there were different kinds of interruption, ranging from the ‘intrusive’, which seems aimed at gaining conversational dominance: this was most common in males; to the ‘affiliative’ which encourages the speaker by affirming the listener’s attention and is more typical of females. Her conclusion was that in addition to gender, the context of the interaction, the type of task and the relative status of the participants would also...
affect the number and type of interruptions (Anderson, 1998). Studying interactions in the context of the lesson, with the teacher’s assumed authority over the pupil, could well produce interpretations of data which support Anderson’s view.

In the questionnaire survey, most pupils, both boys and girls, claimed that they would ‘ask or tell their teacher things’ rather than wait to be asked. However, in these video recordings, such pupil-initiated interaction was rare. These few instances, therefore, could be important moments. Not only does the pupil have to accomplish the interruption to the Initiation-Response-Feedback cycle, but also the teacher has to find a way of handling the interruption. Rostvall and West (2003) noted that the teachers in their recordings often ignored or ridiculed pupils’ verbal input. There might be gender differences in this behaviour.

For the purposes of this study, pupil initiated interaction is defined as an occasion when the pupil spontaneously volunteers either a question or information.

b) Gaze

Another early observation was that some pupils and teachers made more use of eye contact than others. Several of the boys seemed frequently to speak to their teacher while staring straight ahead at their music or the floor. The length of gaze and the area of the person’s body to which it is directed ‘affects the outcome of a negotiation’ (Pease, 1997). Although the layouts of the studios and the instruments being taught might be responsible for some variations in opportunity for participants to look at each other’s faces, the topic of gaze merited investigation. Due to the positioning of the camera, it was not always possible to see if there was actual eye-contact between the two participants, so the focus was on each individual.
Gaze is defined as an occasion when either participant looks at the face of the other.

c) Teachers demonstrating on their instrument

The questionnaire survey revealed a difference in the amount of demonstrating on their instrument which men and women did, men having been described by pupils as playing more than women. Rostvall and West (2003) found that the teachers in their study demonstrated very little to their pupils, but do not mention the gender of their four teachers. As with gaze (see (b) above), the layout of the teaching space, together with the difficulty of sharing a piano might be a cause of differences in some cases, but demonstrating seemed a promising line of inquiry, both for the video analysis and for the interviews which will be described in Chapter 8.

In one lesson, the teacher sometimes accompanied the violinists on the piano. This method of supporting the pupil’s learning by modelling rather than demonstrating was not included in the ‘demonstrating’ category.

Teacher demonstrating on instrument is defined as the teacher playing the target instrument, either alone or along with the pupil.

d) Pupils’ ‘helpless’ behaviour

In studies with children, Dweck (Dweck, 2000; Dweck & Bush, 1976; Dweck et al., 1978) described how some would adopt a helpless response to failure, as a result of attributing their failure in a test to lack of ability. Children who attributed their failure to lack of effort, however, were more likely to believe that they would be able to succeed in future tests. Girls were found to be more likely to show the helpless pattern and ability attribution than boys, and one explanation offered for this was that boys
were societally encouraged to be more self-reliant whereas girls were more affected by the judgment of others. However, some of Dweck’s studies (e.g. Dweck & Bush, 1976), showed that girls did not show the helpless behaviour when evaluated by their peers, only when evaluated by adults, and particularly female adults.

The ‘helpless’ behaviour which has been particularly associated with girls being taught by older women might be observable in the videos, so examples were sought from all the pupils’ recordings, to find out if it was indeed more common in girls than boys. Teachers’ ways of responding to helpless behaviour were observed to see if they differed. Dweck’s study tested pupils’ reactions to a challenge after they had failed at a task. In the naturalistic setting of the present study, such tests were not appropriate, but instances of pupils appearing to stop trying, or saying that they knew from experience that they would not be able to do something were considered as suggestive of helpless behaviour. Apparent examples of the opposite, ‘mastery’ behaviour were also sought. This is a more inferential category than some of those previously listed, and might be interpreted differently by another observer. Reliability studies were carried out to discover the robustness of these findings.

The kind of ‘learned helplessness’ identified by Dweck was not greatly in evidence in these recordings and possible reasons for this are considered below (see 6.3.3d).

*Pupils' helpless behaviour* is defined as a pupil appearing to give up on a problem. *Mastery behaviour* is defined as voluntarily facing up to a challenge, when there is no guarantee of success.
e) Use of gendered language

There is a considerable body of literature on the subject of language and gender (for examples, see Coates (2004) and Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003). Research has shown that particular speech styles and language usages have come to be associated with men’s and women’s speech. Francis, Robson and Read (2001) highlight recent disagreement about the theories of Lakoff (1975) on the ‘tentative’ qualities of women’s speech, so comparisons were made between the language styles of the men and women in this study to see if differences could be found.

In the pilot video, Mr Kingston used quasi-military expressions such as ‘smarten this up’ and ‘need to be fighting fit’ when talking to Simon, but did not do so with Clara. It is possible that he was adapting his language to the pupil’s gender. Teachers might also use different subject matter for illustrations or even different repertoire with boys and girls. Examples from the main study teachers were sought, to see if this was a common occurrence. This is another inferential category, for which a reliability study was carried out.

Gendered language usage is defined as particular choice of words or styles of speech that appear to be more typically used by, or towards, males or females.

f) Use of humour

While most of the teachers used humour in their lessons, they seemed to employ it many different ways: to illustrate, to build up empathy or affiliation, to dispel tension, or in a few cases to ridicule the pupil’s playing or ignorance. There might be gender
differences in the use of humour. This category again was highly inferential and the findings were reviewed by an independent observer.

*Humour is defined here as any comment or behaviour that appears to have the intention of making someone laugh.*

**g) Touch**
The difficult subject of touching a pupil in order to correct or demonstrate technique had been dwelt upon at some length by respondents to the teachers’ questionnaire. Examples would be sought in the recordings, to see whether touch occurred and if so how the participants approached it.

*Touch is defined as the teacher touching any area of the pupil’s body.*

Other topics were expected to arise as the analysis continued and connections began to appear between categories, and the software program, Transana™ was flexible in allowing extra categories to be added as necessary. I now move on to show examples of the various themes and analyse the lessons in detail.

### 6.3.3. Detailed Description of Themes

**a) Pupil-initiated interaction**

*Pupil initiated interaction is defined as an occasion when the pupil spontaneously volunteers either a question or information.*

This section first describes the ways in which pupils can initiate an interaction, and then looks at the ways in which teachers react to this interruption to the flow of the lesson. As was described earlier, the expected pattern of the instrumental lesson does
not easily afford opportunities for verbal comments or questions from the pupil. In the pupils’ questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they a) ask or tell their teacher things or b) wait to be asked. Although the majority of pupils selected a), the observation study produced only a small number of examples of such proactive behaviour. The ways in which pupils negotiate their speaking turn and how the teachers respond to the interruption could therefore be key points in the interaction.

Figure 61: Pupil-initiated interactions

a1. Pupils’ interruptions

Fig. 61 shows the pupil’s two main ways of interrupting the flow: they could either ASK, by presenting the teacher with a problem, or by requesting information or...
permission, or TELL, by asserting an opinion or offering information. In most cases, the teachers’ first response is to make sure they have understood the pupil’s meaning. After clarifying the pupil’s interjection, the teacher has two choices: whether to regain control of the conversation immediately, or to leave the pupil in control for a while longer. The available examples of pupil-initiated interactions were collated in order to ascertain whether boys and girls differed in the kinds of interruptions to the flow of the lesson (Table 20), and whether male and female teachers dealt with the interruptions differently. In an attempt to replicate the finding of Burwell (2005) that student input increased with age and expertise, the age of each pupil was considered alongside these figures, but no age related patterns were observed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Pupil</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>no. of times Pupil asks</th>
<th>no. of times Pupil tells or plays</th>
<th>Total no of pupil initiated interactions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Albury</td>
<td>Alex</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Bramley</td>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Compton</td>
<td>Cornelius</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fiona</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Deepdene</td>
<td>Jock</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miranda</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Elstead</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Farncombe</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veronica</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Grayshott</td>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Claire</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Horsley</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emily</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Individual pupil-initiated interactions

Table 21 summarises the types of interruptions by boys and girls to men and women. Examination of the means shows little difference between the boys and girls in the frequency of pupil-initiated interactions (boys 6.5 times, girls 6), although it can be
seen that both boys and girls initiated interactions with women very slightly more frequently than with men (5.88 in men’s lessons and 6.63 in women’s lessons).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of pupil interruptions</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of ‘asking’ interruptions</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of ‘telling’ interruptions</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean number of pupil interruptions</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of interruptions to men</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean number of interruptions to men</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of interruptions to women</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean number of interruptions to women</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: Summary of pupil-initiated interactions

RELIABILITY STUDY: The researcher’s coding of the different kinds of interruptions and the teachers’ responses were tested as follows: the definitions were explained to an independent observer; he was then shown a series of 25 video clips and asked to code the pupil’s input (as ‘Asks’ or ‘Tells’) and the teacher’s response (as ‘Regains initiative’ or ‘Leaves initiative with pupil’). His codings matched those of the researcher in 92% of the examples, an acceptable level of consistency (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.64).

In the following section, examples are given of the types of pupil-initiated interactions observed, and possible motivations are discussed.

**Asking**

An example of this problem talk comes from Cornelius:

>I would have had a look, but I've no idea how I'm even going to um attempt to play that bit, so I thought I'd I'd ask you how to do that… ‘Cos it... All these lines and things look very confusing; I've never seen that before.
Cornelius here is partly justifying the fact that he has not attempted to learn this music, but more importantly, he is asking Mrs Compton’s help to solve his problem with reading unfamiliar notation.

Alex also has found something he would like his teacher to clarify:

I know up to, um, there, I tried, there, *(points to score with bow)* but then I found it went into 3rd position or something.

Sometimes the interruption is a simple request for permission or approval:

ALEX: Ah yes. Um. Do you reckon Shostakovich is ready for an informal concert?

or an effort to clarify the teacher’s intentions:

FIONA: What..? Do you want me to play it louder?

And sometimes the pupil offers a solution and checks its viability with the teacher:

HENRY: Shall I sort of start this *(points to score)* maybe louder and then maybe I can do that?

This kind of questioning is usually directly related to the activity currently taking place in the lesson. There is something the pupil needs explained in order to learn. Both boys and girls in the study asked a similar number of these questions (boys’ total 31, mean 3.9, girls’ total 25, mean 3.1). The occasions when the pupil decides to tell the teacher something, which is not necessarily directly connected with the current activity are discussed next.

**Telling**

In this study pupils were observed telling their teachers things for a variety of reasons. A common theme was explaining why the playing had gone wrong:
MR HORSLEY: Now play me C major 2 octaves.  
*(Emily starts, goes wrong, looks upwards, smiles)*
EMILY: I haven't played scales for a while.

MRS ALBURY: Then B flat.  
*(Alex stops. Mrs A laughs)*
MRS ALBURY: OK, er...
ALEX: Lost my place.

Alex, and Emily have explained what has gone wrong; Cornelius goes a step further.

He starts by justifying the fact that he has not been counting while playing,

*See this is what I was wondering about this piece, I was just thinking it has... Like um... No rules really,*
CORNELIUS: *There's not really much -  
*(Mrs Compton frowns at him)*
*(CORNELIUS looks at Mrs C)*
CORNELIUS: - to go by; I'm just doing it perhaps a bit... Lazily

By talking it through, and picking up the non-verbal cue from the teacher he manages to diagnose the root of his problem. This was one of the few occasions when Cornelius actually looked at his teacher’s face, as will be discussed later.

Henry also finds explanations for his mistakes:

HENRY: *I must've been thinking of that one (points to score) where they're separate.*

Henry and Cornelius, who were among the older pupils in the sample group, show an analytical approach to their learning. Henry offers several constructive comments on ways he might improve the performance. At the time of the recording, he was about to take a piano examination, and he gives the impression of being highly engaged in the learning process.

Mrs Albury’s pupil, Sarah, also spoke frequently, but her interruptions were less focused on the task in hand: more conversational than operational. At the time of the recording she was a reluctant pupil: although she liked her teacher she was not very
interested in playing the violin. The subsequent interview revealed that as well as disliking memory playing, she was not enjoying the music she was learning. She may have been spending time talking, as Jock and Cornelius did, in order to avoid playing. The following exchange illustrates the easy relationship between teacher and pupil, but also the off-task nature of many of Sarah’s comments.

MRS A: *looking through her music case*... play it at the busking. Um, you haven't got the Simple Gifts, so I'll give you one.
SARAH: Where is the busking?
MRS A: *Turns to S* Smiths, in Blankton High Street.
SARAH: Oh my god! *Widens eyes*
MRS A: I know, that's what *I* feel.
SARAH: do you, like, book it or something?
MRS A: I didn't book it, somebody else did.

‘Affiliative’ interruptions were heard in many of the recordings, more from the girls and women than the boys and men. Such responses were most frequently small sounds of agreement (Jo, for example responded in this way to everything her teacher said), or what Anderson (1998) calls ‘back-channel’ listening: ‘mm’, ‘OK’ or ‘yes’ (in Veronica’s case, these were the only words she spoke throughout the 15 minute time-sample). These tiny sounds were not included in the count of pupil-initiated interactions, as the pupil was simply reacting to the teacher and not looking for a response.

More obvious supporting gestures seemed to come from girls than from boys. Mr Grayshott’s pupil, Claire offers an example:

MR G: Well done. I'm afraid unhelpfully there's no other option there but to just-
CLAIRES: It doesn't matter, it comes with practice.

In her mature response here, Claire appears to be consoling Mr G for not being able to find an instant solution to her problem. She is also presenting herself as a good and
patient student who accepts the need for practice. In the following extract, she again shows keenness:

MR G: Well done, well done. I think if you just take it in those sort of bits, yeah. Do you want to do the next bit?
CLAIRE: Yeah, oh yeah, I love this bit; I had some good fun with it the other day.

Self-presentation is also part of Sarah’s motivation in the following interchange, in which Mrs Albury does not appear to be listening:

SARAH: We’re doing a um junior concert and that’s what we’re singing.
MRS A: (looks through music bag)…Yeah, everybody knows it, don’t they?
SARAH: And I’m playing the triangle.
MRS A (continues to look through music bag)
SARAH: To sing and play at the right times, in the right places, that’s quite hard.
MRS A (continues to look through music bag, laughs)...Right, yes, you have to count when you play the triangle.

Sarah is hoping for a more encouraging reaction from Mrs Albury, rather than the dismissive ‘everybody knows it, don’t they?’ so she tries again, mentioning the triangle. This brings no response, so she emphasises the skill involved. Mrs Albury is still distracted and does not give Sarah the admiring response she appears to be looking for.

Amelia has a different way of using interruptions to promote her image of a keen pupil: she frequently carries on or restarts playing while her teacher, Mr Elstead is still talking. Her teacher would prefer her to listen more and play less, and her strategy seems unsuccessful in terms of improving her playing.
Although these efforts to please or impress the teacher were more common in girls than in boys, as had been noted in some questionnaire responses, one boy, Jock does something similar in this extract:

MRS D: There’s a LOT of fingering in there, is that you?
JOCK: Y-yeah, yeah, I did that on the first... day, { because I
MRS D: {Well done
JOCK: Because I know from experience with Bach that as long as you get the fingering sorted the first time (looks upwards) it makes it easier. (J looks at MRS D, eyebrows raised)

Many pupils would have responded to Mrs Deepdene’s question with a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’, as Mrs Deepdene’s premature reply, ‘Well done’ indicates. However Jock elaborates in order to present an image of himself as a careful and wise student, adopting an adult style (‘I know from experience with Bach’) which seems incongruous in a small 13-year-old. The way his eyes are looking upwards, as if trying to recall something, suggest that he is quoting something he has been told in the past either by his teacher or by his father, who is also a piano teacher. (In fact the reason for Mrs Deepdene’s question was to ascertain whether the boy’s father had been writing in fingering on Jock’s music.)

So far I have inferred that the pupils’ main reasons for initiating interactions are:

- Asking for help or information. (Boys and girls did this equally frequently.)
- Filling time that might otherwise have been spent playing. (Boys did this slightly more frequently.)
- Supporting the teacher’s talk. (Girls did this more frequently.)
- Presenting a positive image of themselves. (Girls did this slightly more frequently.)

The next section examines the teachers’ varying ways of reacting to the pupils’ initiatives.
a2. Teachers’ responses

In all the lessons observed, the Master-Apprentice relationship was implicit, and in most of them explicit. This relationship reflects what Read (forthcoming) calls a ‘traditional’ disciplinarian discourse, in contrast to a more ‘progressive’, liberal discourse. (Even when teachers adopt the latter more child-centred approach, Read points out that the unequal power relation between teacher and pupil is only muffled, and not actually minimised.) Teachers rarely consulted their pupils or expected them to make their own decisions, instead expecting to take the lead throughout the lesson. Any interruption from the pupil could therefore be interpreted as some kind of temporary challenge to the teacher’s authority, which would have to be addressed, in order for the lesson to return to its usual pattern. A teacher who was completely confident of his or her position as the dominant partner might feel able to allow the pupil to retain temporary ‘control’. Less secure teachers might feel the need to reassert power quickly. The collection of video-clips showing pupil-initiated interactions was investigated to find out whether there were any differences between men’s and women’s responses to the pupils’ challenges.

As shown in Fig. 61, ways of regaining the initiative which were observed in the recordings include the following strategies: changing the subject, playing down the importance of pupil’s input, joking or teasing, correcting, explaining, solving the problem or presenting the pupil with a coping strategy. Ways of leaving the initiative with the pupil include offering sympathy without solution and accepting the pupil’s opinion and encouraging their ideas to develop.
These categories represent only one interpretation of the events taking place in the lesson. Whether the teacher is actually in danger of ‘losing control’ of the lesson is unlikely: a better description might be ‘losing the conversational initiative’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Pupil</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total no of pupil initiated interactions</th>
<th>Teacher regains control</th>
<th>Pupil retains control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Albury</td>
<td>Alex</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Bramley</td>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Compton</td>
<td>Cornelius</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fiona</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Deepdene</td>
<td>Jock</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miranda</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Elstead</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Farncombe</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Grayshott</td>
<td>Veronica</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Horsley</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emily</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals for all lessons</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals for men</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals for women</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Teachers’ responses in pupil-initiated interactions

**Teachers regaining initiative**

As can be seen from Table 22, ‘teacher regaining control’, in other words a return to the status quo was the outcome in two thirds of the cases (66:34). Although the total number of pupil-initiated interactions was similar for men and women (47:53), the
women in this study were more likely to take steps to regain control than the men, as is shown in Fig.62.

A method which teachers frequently employed to regain the initiative was to play down or contradict the pupil’s idea, substituting their own view. In the following extract, Cornelius is trying to decide which of two Beethoven Sonatas to learn. Mrs Compton is letting him explore the possibilities of both, but, aware that he tends to avoid hard work, wants him to decide on musical, rather than on technical grounds:

CORNELIUS: And um see how it goes from there, but that one... I'm not too fond of all these little twiddly bits, so I might do the E minor.
MRS C: They're only quavers! I don't think there's anything too terrible there.

Mrs Bramley offers constant guidance to her two pupils, who were the youngest in the study. Her girl pupil, Jo, in particular, asks questions and makes comments throughout the recorded sample. Here, Mrs Bramley acknowledges Jo’s contribution (which was a correct but irrelevant observation), but immediately and firmly returns to her own agenda, of teaching B major scale.

JO: A#.
MRS B: Good, so it's all five black keys.
JO: And if it wasn't it'd be B...B flat.
MRS B: ...Flat, yes, that's right, yes. So, put your thumb on B to start with, and you're going to play all the black keys and the thumbs are going to go on B and E.

Mrs Albury is equally quick to regain the initiative when her boy pupil Alex presents her with a problem. Having corrected his misunderstanding, she refocuses on the music, tells him what to do next and adds extra instructions to show who is in charge (‘that’s a down bow’).

ALEX: I know up to, um, there, I tried, there, (points with bow) but then I found I went into 3rd position or something.
MRS A: Second position, it goes, here it goes into second position, doesn't it? Just go from letter C. Try it. That's a down bow.

Mrs Compton is similarly firm with Fiona, appearing to give her freedom to choose how to play, but in fact not welcoming the interruption and keeping her focused on the task:

FIONA: What..? Do you want me to play it louder?
MRS C: Of course it's your piece. Of course, you can play it however. All I'm here to do is say: have you thought of this, have you thought of that? It's another possibility (shrugs, points to music). So: first phrase, and then from here.

Mrs Compton’s reaction to Cornelius discovering a mistake which she has not spotted is mixed. She laughs (perhaps with embarrassment because she has not noticed the mistake), and then attempts to regain control by explaining why she thinks Cornelius made the mistake, simultaneously justifying why she had not spotted the error:

CORNELIUS: See it doesn't help that I'm an octave higher than I should be.
MRS C: Yes you are, aren't you? (laughs) That's a triplet sign, not an octave.
CORNELIUS: I had a jump. (plays)
MRS C: Actually I bet you were an octave higher because of that rallentando line (Leans forward to point at score).
CORNELIUS: Oh.
MRS C: If that hadn't been there you wouldn't have, would you?
CORNELIUS: Oh yeah. (Rubs neck, looks downwards at score).
MRS C: It's that dotted line that did it.
Contrast this with a similar event in Mrs Deepdene’s lesson with Jock, where the teacher’s response is more relaxed. She congratulates the pupil for noticing his mistake, before inviting him to return to the task:

JOCK: Um, well, I did have something wrong there; I think I was (frowns) I think I had second finger on the A somewhere on the way down.
MRS D: O-oh, I didn't spot it!
(JOCK giggles)
MRS D: But YOU did (points at him) which is more important. Would you like to have another go, then?

Mrs Albury’s response to Alex’s request for permission to perform one of his pieces in a school concert shows her once again reasserting her authority. First she clarifies the question (‘when?’) and then while giving permission, she points out the necessity of getting the piece ready for the exam, which is her priority:

ALEX: Ah yes. Um. Do you reckon Shostakovich is ready for an informal concert?
MRS A: When? (hand to chin, frowning)
ALEX: On the 17th of November.
MRS A: Oh it'll be ready by then. Yes. It’s got to be, if you're going to do it for the exam, hasn't it? (smiles)

Mr Elstead responds to Henry’s solution to a problem and reasserts his authority in two ways. First he plays down the size of the problem Henry is referring to:

HENRY: Shall I sort of start this (points at score) maybe louder and then maybe I can do that? (looks at Mr E)
MR E: It was, it was pretty good -

Then he issues a warning about Henry’s idea having possible undesirable side-effects. Henry immediately retreats:

MR E: - the only thing I'd say is, if you start louder just make sure you don't end up playing {so that every note ends up with a -
(plays first phrase accenting each note heavily)
HENRY: Yeah.

In the following extract, Mr Elstead allows Henry some time to clarify his ideas, before deciding to return to the task in hand:
Mr Elstead’s relaxed approach seems to encourage his pupils to interact on familiar terms with him and to allow them to develop their ideas to an extent before moving on. There was more teacher-talk in his lessons than any other teacher (see Fig. 62), but also a higher number of pupil-initiated interactions, mainly from Henry, although Amelia’s piano-playing interjections were also numerous.

**Leaving initiative with pupils**

Both Mr Elstead and Mr Grayshott frequently let the pupils develop their ideas and work out their own solutions to problems. The relationship with pupils seemed easy and relaxed. Here, Claire shows that she has understood the problem and works on it without further instruction. Mr Grayshott sympathises about the problem, but leaves her to solve it.

**MR G:** It’s sort of getting the slur, so you know, on top of the string.
**CLAIRE:** Yeah. You don’t want to miss it.
**MR G:** Yeah, I know, when you do, it’s spectacular isn’t it? *(smiles)*
*(CLAIRE plays same phrase three times)*
**MR G:** Nice. That’s it. And then…
*(CLAIRE plays end)*

Henry interrupts to offer a solution to a problem, which Mr Elstead accepts without argument:

**MR E:** I think in some ways-
**HENRY:** I can feel it’s more of a leaning than banging.
MR E: Yes, fine (nods) OK, go on then, feel a lean. Do it once more. (points to score) (HENRY plays)

Mrs Deepdene has a similarly relaxed approach, talking to her pupils as equals. The pupils are very different in their response: although both seem content, Jock spoke for long periods, and in fact often discouraged turn-taking by filling in any possible gaps with ‘filler’ sounds like ‘er’ or ‘um’. Miranda in contrast spoke very little, but she was occupied by playing for much longer than Jock (6 minutes as opposed to 3 minutes). The following lengthy negotiation, over what piece to play next, is typical of the way Jock’s lesson proceeds:

JOCK: Well the Bach’s a bit bad (hand to face, screws up eyes) well, I just can't play it very -
MRS D: Have we started a new one?
JOCK: Yes, we did no 13, A minor.
MRS D: Oh yes. You don't want to play that? (looks at J)
JOCK: (shrugs) Oh, yeah that's fine.
(MRS D puts hand out to pick up book)
JOCK: Well, it's not very good!
MRS D: (smiles) Well let's see how you're getting on with it, because I don't er, I haven't heard it for a while (gives him the book); are you enjoying it?
JOCK: (finds place) Um, not as much as the Haydn. (shrugs) probably because I um it's harder I think...this? (looks at MRS D)
MRS D: OK, well feel free to dump it if you don't want to continue with it.
JOCK: No, it's, I'll carry on with it, I mean I've got the, it's just putting the hands together and not making mistakes all the time. (looks ahead)
MRS D: OK, so how are you practising it?
JOCK: Well, hands separately most of the time. (looks at MRS D)
MRS D: Good, good plan. ... when you're ready?
JOCK: Er (frowns) do you want me to play it hands together? (tucks in shirt)
MRS D: Well, er, I should think hands separately to start with, don't you?

This conversation is typical of Mrs Deepdene’s exchanges with Jock: she gives him frequent opportunities to express his opinions, which she treats with respect. As noted earlier, it is possible that Jock is procrastinating because he does not feel he has practised enough (he raises the topic of the forthcoming CE examinations three times during the lesson). Mrs Deepdene allows him to set his own pace in the lesson, to stop learning the piece if he does not like it, and to play it with separate hands if that is
what he wants to do. These tactics, however, do not succeed with Miranda, who in contrast, does not like to make decisions: she seems to need to be told what to do.

Faced with a complete lack of initiative, Mrs Deepdene finally makes the decision for the pupil:

MRS D: What would you like to do next?
MIRANDA: One of the pieces I've been playing?
MRS D: Yes. here we are, Miranda. *(hands her a book)*
MIRANDA: Oh, I'm not playing anything from there. *(rubs chin)*
MRS D: You're NOT doing anything from there.
MIRANDA: Or there. *(grins, little laugh)* *(MRS D picks up a different book)*
MIRANDA: Or there.
MRS D: OK *(picks up another book, looks at Miranda)*
MRS D: Are you in a Hedges mood?
MIRANDA: OK. *(nods)*
MRS D: Now I think we did Contentment first last time, didn't we? *(MIRANDA fiddles with hair at back of neck)*
MRS D *(finds place in book)* So let's do Reflections first this time.

The way in which this teacher adapts her behaviour with her two pupils highlights the difficulty of comparing behaviour in interactions. Each interaction is unique, deriving from a particular set of circumstances and a particular pair of individuals at a particular time. It is quite possible that in a year’s time, Jock may have become more taciturn as he reaches adolescence, whereas Miranda may have grown in confidence and feel able to make her own decisions.

With this proviso in mind, it is difficult to make generalisations linking the teachers’ genders with ways of dealing with pupil-initiated interactions. It seemed in the interactions in this sample, that teachers in general would aim to regain the initiative in around two-thirds of cases, and that female teachers were more intent on doing so than male teachers were. Possible reasons for this finding will be discussed below. *(Section 6.4).*
b) **Gaze**

*Gaze* is defined as an occasion when either participant looks at the face of the other.

An aspect of teacher and pupil behaviour in the recorded lessons that appeared to show some gender differences was gaze. ‘Gaze’ in this case is taken to mean the direction of a participant’s eyes, whether at the other person’s face, body, instrument, the musical score or elsewhere. Early viewings of the recorded lessons suggested that girls looked at the teacher’s face more frequently than boys, who tended to look at their music, the floor or the teacher’s hands, even when talking in a relaxed way to their teacher. The number of seconds each pupil and teacher looked at the other’s face was timed for each 15-minute sample. In this sample, the girls looked at their teacher considerably more than did the boys.

**RELIABILITY STUDY:** An independent observer also timed the duration of gaze in a selection of 15 minute samples and her timings in all cases were within a 2 second margin of difference compared with those of the researcher, showing that the researcher’s timings gave an accurate measure of the phenomenon.

Fig. 63 shows the timings for each pupil (girls’ mean time 77.75 seconds, boys’ mean time 50.5 seconds). Examination of the graph showed that one of the boys, John, looked at his teacher far more than any of the other pupils did, thus raising the mean timing for the boys considerably. The unusual circumstances of John’s lesson with Mr Farncombe will be discussed later. A study of a larger sample might have shown an even greater difference between boys’ and girls’ timings.
Fig. 64 shows the length of time the teachers looked at their pupils. Although each teacher looked at his or her two pupils for a similar length of time, the men in this sample looked at their pupils more than the women. Again, there was one outlier: Mr Farncombe, who was John’s teacher, looked at both his pupils for a greater time than any other teacher. Fig. 65 superimposes the looking times of teachers and pupils to show that male teachers in this study looked for longer at female pupils and female teachers looked for longer at boys.
Figure 64: Length of time teachers looked at pupils’ faces (in minutes)

Figure 65: Teachers’ and pupils’ mean looking times in seconds
c) **Teachers Demonstrating on their Instrument**

*Teachers demonstrating on instrument* is defined as the teacher playing the target instrument, either alone or along with the pupil.

The questionnaire studies had revealed that pupils believed male teachers were more likely to demonstrate on their instruments than female teachers.

The time samples contained examples of the teachers demonstrating in all but two of the lessons. On average the male teachers played twice as much as the female teachers, as can be seen in Fig. 66. The mean time for women playing to pupils was 1 min 06 ss and for men 2 min 23 ss. Splitting the data further shows that the male teachers played more to girls (mean 1 min 36) than to boys (47 ss), but women played to boys and girls equally (31 ss to girls and 35 ss to boys). However, as in the observation of ‘looking times’, it is clear from Fig. 66 and 67 that two of the male teachers, namely Mr Grayshott and Mr Horsley, played far more than the rest of the teachers, male or female, and therefore caution should be employed in viewing these statistics as anything more than descriptive of this particular group of teachers.

Another factor to consider here is the type of music being played. Mrs Compton, for example, did not play the piano at all in the section of Cornelius’ lesson under scrutiny. The music he was playing was a late 20th Century work which used the whole keyboard and employed complex rhythmic notation. Mrs Compton would have needed to ask Cornelius to move out of the way to demonstrate. Instead, she frequently mimed the movements and vocalised the rhythms to help Cornelius understand what was required.
Figure 66: Teachers' time spent demonstrating

Figure 67: Time teachers spent demonstrating to girls and boys
d) Pupils’ ‘Helpless’ or ‘Mastery’ Behaviour

Pupils’ helpless behaviour is defined as a pupil appearing to give up on a problem. Mastery behaviour is defined as voluntarily facing up to a challenge, when there is no guarantee of success.

The recordings were searched for evidence of ‘helpless’ behaviour, and its opposite, ‘mastery’ behaviour from all pupils, in order to ascertain whether there were any gender differences. There was in fact very little behaviour that could be described as ‘helpless’, perhaps because in a one-to-one lesson, most teachers tend to ‘tailor-make’ tasks which the pupil should be able to accomplish. This is a very different situation from a class test, where all are expected to undertake the same piece of work, regardless of ability. Dweck included impossible tasks in her test, in order to find out how the children attributed their failure. In this naturalistic setting, no ‘impossible’ tasks were set, although Cornelius seemed to think they were:

CORNELIUS: I don’t really know how go back from… (points to score)  
(MRS C looks, leaning forward)  
CORNELIUS: The triplets back into there, I find it quite hard.  
MRS C: No, that’s a bit what it sounds like.  
CORNELIUS: Yeah, I know, but it’s… (shuffles in seat)  
CORNELIUS: The thing is though, I could never count it with no.. I mean, you know what I’m like with sight-reading, I find it hard enough to count in a time-signature, let alone without one.

He has decided from previous experience that he is not good at counting rhythms, and does not expect to able to work out this problem. His teacher is not prepared to let him admit defeat:

MRS C: So Cornelius, are you telling me that because this piece is written the way it is: (Right hand gestures at score), you think you’re going to get away without a sort of rhythmic grid underneath it? (pushes forwards, fingers splayed out, bares teeth, head to one side)  
CORNELIUS: (Nods, leans back) Yep. (MRS C makes disbelieving face)
CORNELIUS: That's the thick of it. *(smiles)*

And she then gives him some strategies with which he solves the problem. Cornelius has clearly convinced himself, however, that he is not able to solve rhythmic difficulties, and there are several other similar exchanges, all on the subject of reading rhythms, within the 15-minute time-sample from his lesson.

Another example of helpless behaviour comes from Mrs Albury’s lesson with Sarah. The lesson had begun with a disagreement between teacher and pupil about the value of playing from memory: Mrs A, as a Suzuki violin teacher, values it highly; Sarah does not enjoy it and cannot see any point in it, although she does agree to play part of her Vivaldi piece from memory for her teacher. Later, they move on to playing Christmas carols, which Sarah enjoys. Mrs Albury immediately asks Sarah which ones she can play and Sarah recites a list of four, saying that these are:

   SARAH: The best ones. *(sings a bit)*
   MRS A: And you're really really enjoying them. Do you read them? Or are you playing from memory?

At the return of this unwelcome issue, Sarah becomes vague:

   SARAH: I, I know at least one of them from memory.
   MRS A: Which one?

Sarah refuses to be drawn, in case she is put to the test:

   SARAH: Um, I don't know.

Despite her declared dislike of memorising, Sarah actually plucks out the tune of ‘Jingle Bells’, from memory uninvited, while Mrs Albury is searching for some music. This playing is ignored by the teacher.

Another possible example of ‘helpless’ behaviour does not involve speech, only gesture and general attitude during the lesson. Veronica’s lesson with Mr Farncombe
is in some ways a ‘tour de force’ on the teacher’s part. He shows energy and enthusiasm for what appears to be the unrewarding task of improving Veronica’s out of tune and unrhythmic violin playing. Veronica’s behaviour is submissive throughout, looking and smiling and agreeing with him frequently but also looking down at the floor when criticised. Her behaviour could be interpreted as ‘helpless’ for the following reasons: she does not appear to expect her playing to improve: never corrects her own mistakes, as many of the other pupils do, but instead waits to hear her teacher’s verdict on how she should proceed.

Veronica’s feelings about the lesson were explored further during the interview and can be summarised as follows: she realises that her playing is not very good but she wants her teacher to praise her. This particular pupil is of English and Japanese heritage, and some of her behaviour may stem from cultural mores. These could include deference or humility to teachers, agreeing with someone out of politeness, and not maintaining eye-contact (see Argyle (1988 pp57 - 61) for descriptions of ethnic differences, including the importance in Japanese culture of dominant and submissive behaviour displays). Compared with some of the other pupils, including Mr Farncombe’s boy pupil John, Veronica does show far greater deference to her teacher, but the fact that out of all the girls observed, she actually looked at her teacher’s face for the longest total time suggests that she has absorbed some Western habits.

In contrast, there are several examples of pupils showing ‘mastery’ behaviour. We have already read Claire’s comments about ‘It comes with practice’, showing that she expects to have to work at problems in order to succeed. Tom also shows a willingness to try again after failure:
Tom plays, gets stuck.
Mr G laughs.
Tom restarts, plays, gets stuck again.
TOM: Oh I'll have to do it again!

The youngest girl recorded, Jo (aged 10), deals with mistakes in a similar way after a sight-reading exercise, encouraged by her teacher’s positive feedback:

Jo plays and nods along with music, makes one small pitch error, but continues
MRS B: Right, and we'll just…
JO: I think I did that wrong. (points to score)
MRS B: (smiles) I think you did, have one more go from there (points to score) but you did well because you kept going Jo, well done.
(Jo plays)
MRS B: that's good, well done. Now (moves to close book)
JO: Can I just do one more?
MRS B: would you like to?
(Jo nods)

Jo’s enthusiasm for sight-reading is clear: even after a set-back, she is keen to try another test. The immediacy of the teacher’s feedback gives her confidence to try again. In a classroom situation, such individual feedback is not always possible due to pressure of circumstances, but in an instrumental lesson, the teacher is able to help the pupil to work positively to overcome feelings of failure and inadequacy. Perhaps because of this special teaching situation, most of the pupils observed in the study dealt with problems calmly and optimistically and, apart from the few cases mentioned above, did not tend to give up when faced with difficulties.

RELIABILITY STUDY: A collection of ten video clips from the sixteen which the researcher had identified as showing helpless or mastery oriented behaviour were shown to an independent observer. The possible causes and the definitions of the two kinds of behaviour were explained and he was asked to interpret the pupil’s behaviour in each case. His detailed commentary showed that he had understood the definitions and that his interpretations matched those of the researcher in every case.
e) Use of Gendered Language

Gendered language usage is defined as particular choice of words or styles of speech that appear to be more typically used by, or towards, males or females.

The samples were searched to find examples of language that might have been used particularly by men or by women or that might have been chosen to suit the gender of the pupil being taught. A collection of examples was gathered from the transcripts, some of which appeared to me to sound like men’s language, some women’s and some which seemed gender neutral. However it was difficult for me to assess whether the expressions being used were actually gender-specific, because I already knew the identities and genders of the participants.

A RELIABILITY STUDY was therefore conducted to find out if others ‘heard’ the examples similarly. Twenty-six short text extracts (see Appendix VI) were given to 5 male and 5 female instrumental teachers who had not taken part in the original video-recordings. They were asked to identify the genders of both teacher and pupil as ‘male’, ‘female’ or ‘either’. There was agreement of over 50% for 23 of the 26 texts, for teachers and pupils. However, many of these agreements were that examples were gender neutral. Table 23 (below) shows the seven strongest results for ‘gendered’ expressions, where agreement was obtained between at least 80% of male or female respondents. Column 3 shows the assumed gender of the teacher and column 5 shows the assumed gender of the pupil. The judgments, even when fairly unanimous, were not always correct, as will be seen in the detailed descriptions below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no.</th>
<th>Quote</th>
<th>Results: judgments on gender of teachers</th>
<th>Results: judgments on gender of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assumed gender, when there was a consensus</td>
<td>Total % agreement among 5 male and 5 female respondents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>TEACHER Those frogs: they had a bit of a, a drunken evening there (TEACHER points to score) (PUPIL giggles) TEACHER da deder da deder, yeah? (TEACHER sings uneven rhythm) PUPIL OK, yeah TEACHER (head on side) frogs... on Budweiser, no that was an advert</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>70% 3 women, 4 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PUPIL and then it's straight into that one (PUPIL points at score, floppy hand gesture) TEACHER It's knackering isn't it?</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>80% 5 women, 3 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>TEACHER what's the note that you cock up? PUPIL</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>90% 5 women, 4 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>TEACHER good, well done (encourages PUPIL while s/he plays) TEACHER pretty!</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>80% 5 women, 3 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>TEACHER cause here's the [PUPIL'S NAME] version (TEACHER plays) PUPIL giggles TEACHER beautiful and as ever, polite and I'm (TEACHER plays again vigorously) TEACHER I'm a bit more extreme PUPIL yeah TEACHER oh yes. Perhaps it comes with age</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>60% 4 women, 2 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>TEACHER you mustn't play the first bar too fast otherwise you'll be stuffed.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>70% 5 men 2 women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23: Reliability study on teachers' language
‘Women’s Language’

The use of words such as ‘pretty’ was deemed (correctly) to have been used between women and girls, e.g.:

TEACHER: Good, well done.  
(Encourages PUPIL while s/he plays)  
TEACHER: Pretty!

TEACHER: I think it’s time we chose another one. But keep working at this one if you like the sound of it? (looks at PUPIL)  
(PUPIL looks at TEACHER)  
TEACHER: Because it’s quite a pretty tune, isn’t it?  
(PUPIL nods)

The word ‘pretty’ in the aesthetic sense (as opposed to the comparative ‘it was pretty good’) seems to have feminine associations. However a quotation about beauty which was thought to have been spoken by a woman to a girl was in fact from a male teacher, who appears to make quite personal comments about the girl pupil. In fact the language might not be thought appropriate for a one-to-one lesson between a man and a girl:

TEACHER: Cause here’s the [PUPIL’S NAME] version. (TEACHER plays)  
PUPIL (giggles)  
TEACHER: Beautiful and as ever, polite… and I’m (TEACHER plays again vigorously) I’m a bit more extreme.  
PUPIL: Yeah.  
TEACHER: Oh yes. Perhaps it comes with age!

The pupil’s expression suggests that she may be taking the comments personally, rather than applying them to her playing. This particular teacher spoke in his interview about the way he would compliment girl pupils on their clothes as a way of ‘getting through’ to them, and also admitted that sometimes he could ‘get it wrong’ and misread a situation. If the words had been between a woman and a girl, as the respondents assumed, they would probably have passed as a joke.
There were some examples of a teacher apparently talking to, or treating the pupil as, a very young child, in the style of a nursery teacher, and these were correctly judged to have been from a female teacher. This type of language could be seen as a mild version of that referred to by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 180) as ‘motherese’ and always treated as feminine. The pupils, at 10, were among the youngest in the study, and do not appear to mind being spoken to in this way:

TEACHER: Ooh you slipped, lets get the glue out and glue your finger…
or
TEACHER: Right, now speak to your fingers as if it's the dog, and you say…: stay!

Sometimes teachers used imagery which might be more associated with one gender than the other, knitting and cooking for example being attributed to women:

PUPIL: I'm not very good at counting, the numbers. (PUPIL grins)
TEACHER: No, you're not. You dropped a stitch there. You can hear that you're not quite right there, then?
Or:
TEACHER: … to there, the dynamic had just gone slightly off the boil.

Both these examples were in fact spoken by a male teacher, the first one to a girl, perhaps using a metaphor he thought would appeal to her, and the second was the same man (Mr Horsley) talking to a boy. His use of a domestic metaphor with both the boy and the girl suggests that he, at least, does not alter his language for boys and girls.

‘Men’s Language’

A casual style of speech may have been used in order to help the pupils to feel at ease with their teacher. Women’s language has traditionally been seen as correct and conservative while men have been described as using vernacular forms of speech as a
kind of covert prestige (Coates, 2004, p.63). Some colloquialisms in these samples were assumed to have been used by men to boys:

TEACHER: What's the note that you cock up?
or
TEACHER: You mustn't play the first bar too fast otherwise you'll be stuffed.

although these two examples were both said by a male teacher (Mr Farncombe) to a girl.

Mention of cars or driving was also attributed to men:

TEACHER: We're fairly sort of motoring at this point here.
or
TEACHER: Tell me, have the cars got their head lights on yet?

although the second of these was in fact a woman teaching a boy, again perhaps choosing an idea which would appeal to his (assumed) interest in cars. In this she was successful, as a fleeting smile crossed the boy's habitually inexpressive face.

An entertaining macho image of frogs getting drunk (because the pupil was playing 'Hopping Song' unrhythmically) was thought correctly to have originated from a male teacher, but the pupil was a girl, not a boy, as most of the respondents believed:

TEACHER: Those frogs: they had a bit of a, a drunken evening there (TEACHER points to score) (PUPIL giggles)
TEACHER: Da deder da deder, yeah? (sings uneven rhythm)
PUPIL: OK, yeah.
TEACHER: (head on side) Frogs... on Budweiser... no that was an advert.

This teacher does not therefore appear to adjust his masculine language for girls, apart from some 'off-task' talking about appearance with girls: a subject that would probably not appeal to boys.
Mrs Deepdene, in contrast, uses a different tone of voice and teaching style with the girl and the boy, perhaps as much in response to their characters as their genders. Miranda is quiet, gentle and indecisive: Mrs D responds by using a soft tone of voice, encouraging her, but not consulting her about the lesson content. Jock, as we have seen, cultivates an adult style of speech and manner, and Mrs D responds by pitching her voice lower, consulting him and negotiating about what to play next. A former actress, she may be unusually quick to notice how people speak and act and she may also unconsciously mimic them.

Female teachers more frequently used the inclusive ‘we’ mode of address when talking to their pupils. Sometimes the usage genuinely included the two participants in a joint endeavour (e.g. ‘did we work on that last week?’). But on other occasions it seemed to connect with the ‘nursery school’ style (e.g. ‘Now, we’re going to have a crescendo’). Male teachers on the whole used ‘you’, instead (e.g. ‘you mustn’t play the first bar too fast’). The use of ‘you’ could have the effect of making pupils feel more responsible for their own playing, whereas ‘we’ might give the pupils a feeling of being safely encompassed but also possibly controlled.

Writers on language and gender, while noting that there may be some distinctions between male and female usage, also stress the commonality between the two (Coates, 2004,p.221). There are many other factors apart from gender that come into play when considering language: class, accent, dialect, ethnic background and status, to name a few. The reliability of these findings must be considered against this background. The way in which people assign gender to a list of quotations, as they were asked to do in this reliability study, will be affected by their own gender, usages, lexicon, experiences
and beliefs (Graddol & Swann, 1989, p.98). For example, one respondent who did not believe that one could possibly identify gender from reading quotations, simply ticked the ‘either’ boxes for every quotation. In general in this particular sample of respondents, the men were more likely than the women to tick the ‘either’ boxes, a phenomenon which might indicate either that the women enjoyed the task more, or found it easier to do, than the men did. Personal opinion could affect the ways in which they answered: a male teacher who would not have considered using a particular expression *himself* to a girl, but might have done to a boy, therefore assumed that the pupil was male. This category of Gendered Language is therefore inferential, but nevertheless has raised some interesting points about the ways in which teachers’ language can affect the relationship with their pupils.

f) Use of Humour

*Humour* is defined here as any comment or behaviour that appears to have the intention of making someone laugh.

There were many moments of humour in the samples under scrutiny. Most of the teachers seemed to be relaxed and were encouraging the pupils to feel the same way. After several viewings of a collection of over 80 examples, four types of humorous interactions emerged, which were categorised as follows:

- Laughing with the pupil: Teachers would frequently play down small errors in the pupils’ playing, make jokes, or make fun of themselves. Pupils also sometimes did this.
- Laughing at the pupil: Teachers might tease pupils if they misunderstood, played badly or forgot something they might have been expected to know. This teasing could range from mild ridicule to quite strong sarcasm.
- Telling amusing anecdotes to illustrate a point.
• Using gestures and facial expressions with humorous intent.

**RELIABILITY STUDY:** The robustness of these categories was tested in a reliability study, involving two independent teachers, both of whom had experience of one-to-one teaching. The first teacher’s codings produced a 79% agreement with those of the researcher, after which the definitions of each code were clarified to read as in the list above, and coded examples of each were provided for the second teacher. The agreement with the researcher this time was 85%, indicating that the categories were robust enough to be recognised by other observers.

**Laughing with the pupil**

One-to-one lessons can be a stressful experience for a pupil. In a classroom situation, although public humiliation is always possible, a pupil who makes a mistake may be able to conceal it, or other pupils may have made errors as well, so the pupil may not feel too vulnerable. However in the instrumental lesson, as the only pupil, he or she has to take responsibility for mistakes. If in addition the pupil has worked very hard to perfect something and then still makes a mistake, they can get very upset by this. Most teachers are aware of this and will often do their best to reduce the impact of mistakes by using humorous comments:

*(MIRANDA has made a mistake caused by wrong fingering: Mrs D writes on the score)*

MRS DEEPDENE: Always such a fusspot aren’t I, Miranda? That OK?
Mm, let's see how you go? OK?

Mr Grayshott sympathises with Claire about a passage in which she has made a mistake and then makes a joke about the guitar:

MR G: That's it, that's horrid that bit.
CLAIREE: It never can. *(helpless gesture with hand, smiles)*
MR G: *(laughs)* It's a beast that bit! it will, remember, you're on a strange guitar
CLAIREE: Yeah.
MR G: Remember the frets always move on a strange guitar!
Of course, the frets don’t really move, but he is attributing her mistake to unfamiliarity with the guitar she is playing on, (an external attribution) rather than to a lack of skill on her part (which would be an internal attribution).

Pupils too can laugh at their mistakes, if they are feeling sufficiently relaxed and confident. Jo has misread a note in her new piece, but laughs it off cheerfully when Mrs Bramley explains:

MRS B: Good. And then we move clefs. We change into the treble clef, so that's a D, you were right, but it's right up here.
JO: (laughs, hand over mouth) Hmm! I thought it was down there!

In all these cases, the teacher and pupil seem to be laughing together. Sometimes, however the teacher teases the pupil, perhaps over something they ought to know, or something they have said.

Laughing at the pupil

Here Fiona, who has already passed Grade 8 on another instrument, has forgotten a technical term:

MRS COMPTON: What do you call an end piece? To finish the piece. (head forward, raised eyebrows)
FIONA (makes little moue with mouth)
MRS C: This is FAR easier than Grade 8!
FIONA (shakes head)
MRS C (smiles, shrugs) Coda?
FIONA: Mm (looks down, grins)
MRS C: Yes?
FIONA (scratches head)

Miranda’s literal translation of an Italian term causes Mrs Deepdene some amusement:

MRD DEEPDENE: MOLTO CANTABILE! what does THAT mean?
MIRANDA: Very singingly?
MRS D: Mm, very singingly, can we have it *(uses funny voice)* very singingly?
MIRANDA: If you can have singingly! *(giggles)*
MRS D: Yeah, of course you can!

Teachers sometimes imitate a pupil’s playing in order to show them what to improve, and this may be done in a mocking style. In an exploration of the function of the left (soft) pedal on the piano, Mr Elstead gently makes fun of Henry’s confusion over left and right:

MR E: What happens when you put the pedal down? Do it and let's see.
HENRY: Oh they move.
MR E: Not that one, the left one.
*(Henry looks under piano and moves foot)*
MR E: Left is the other side, hahahaha! *(laughs)*

Mr Farncombe frequently makes use of a sarcastic tone in order to make a point:

JOHN: Sounded horrible.
MR F: Er yes! Why did it sound horrible?
JOHN: I don't know.
MR F: Cause it was about as convincing -
JOHN: Mm.
MR F: - as me playing the piano! *(holds hand out for J's violin)*
John giggles, hands it over, smiling
MR F: Oh yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah! your chord dribbled, *(plays feebly)* it went psssst. *(blows raspberry)*

The teacher softens his criticism, first by mocking his own piano-playing skills, but then goes on to produce a caricature of John’s playing, exaggerating in order to make his point. The pupil takes this teasing in good part, but there are some occasions when teachers use sarcasm more strongly and pupils feel the need to defend themselves. Mr Farncombe and John again:

MR F: *(holds up hand to stop him)* John, I'm obviously going deaf, cause I can't hear any accent.
JOHN: Well I put a bit of an accent on them. *(defensive? chin up, smiling)*
MR F: A BIT! *(loudly)*
*(JOHN giggles)*
MR F: A BIT! *(even louder)* Do you think they pay me to hear you put a BIT of an accent on?
And sometimes the sarcasm seems to be primarily for the teacher’s amusement, as in this extract where John is trying to deal with some difficult chords:

MR F: The sound’s not very good, it’s gotta: *(repeats final notes. Fast down-bow in the air, looks at J)* *(JOHN plays chord three times)*
MR F: Good! a bit more confidence. *(JOHN plays chord again)*
MR F: Good, one day you’ll play it in tune. *(chuckles)*

Extreme in this way as in many others, Mr Farncombe used more sarcasm than any of the other teachers. These two pupils seemed to take it well, but others might have been upset by this kind of teaching.

*Using humorous anecdotes*

Many of the teachers employed humorous anecdotes or analogies in order to illustrate music ideas. The stories they told emerged spontaneously from the musical context or point they were illustrating. Their purpose seemed to be to lighten the mood of the lesson, at the same using an anecdote from the teacher’s experience as a way of bringing the subject to life. No strong gender differences were apparent here. One example of this type of story comes from Mrs Compton, who offered many stories and analogies in her lessons.

MRS COMPTON: Um.. I went to a dinner party once *(taps pencil against face)* and there was a man who asked a question, every, every subject that came up, he would say something like.. "It's getting mysterious here, DISCUSS!"
*(MRS C points pencil accusingly at Fiona)* *(FIONA laughs)*
MRS C: And everybody round the table *(hugs arms round herself)* *(FIONA smiles)*
MRS C: Had to immediately get thinking: ‘what does the man mean? What have we got to say NOW?’ *(head on hand)* *(FIONA giggles)*
MRS C: But, um, he sort of saw a question, perhaps a philosophical discussion in every subject. *(points in time with her speech)* But now and again it doesn't do any harm to sort of point the finger, have someone saying 'what do you mean by that?' ‘What's he saying here?’ *(MRS C points pencil at Fiona)*
and yes, yes it is getting mysterious here, so how are you going to express it? How, how are you going to make us feel about it?

The first part of the story makes the pupil laugh, and the second part helps her to think about her playing in a more critical way.

**Using humorous gestures and facial expressions**

Some of the teachers were prepared to do a little play-acting in order to illustrate a point in a humorous way. Here Mrs Compton is asking Cornelius to choose some rhythmic syllables to help him to count:

MRS C: Whatever's going to help you... Get there. *(Smiles, head on side)*
CORNELIUS: Coca-cola coca-cola? *(Turns head towards her, on one side)*
MRS C: Yeah coca-cola you- *(Makes strangled noises, pretends to choke)*
(CORNELIUS laughs)
MRS C: End up with a paralysed tongue probably! *(laughs)*

Mr Grayshott often used quizzical expressions to accompany instructions or comments about musical expression, as in this extract, where words are of secondary importance to playing, gesture and facial expressions:

MR GRAYSHOTT: ...how it develops, now it goes down er, a bit more intense *(plays)* and eventually it sort of... *(plays)* see what I mean? It has that sort of meatiness, it starts the phrase sort of...nice - *(eyebrows raised, wobbles hand, smiles)*
- then you think...*(frowns)* no I'm not so nice, no I'm not nice at all, I'm down-right horrible *(laughs)*

My impression was that each of the teachers in this sample had his or her particular style, when using humour. Some, like Mr Horsley, Mrs Bramley and Mrs Albury used very little at all, adopting a straightforward direct manner and wasting few words. Mrs Albury laughed when pupils made a persistent mistake, but whether this was to lighten the pupil’s mood or her own was not clear. Mrs Deepdene used a light teasing style, with occasional comic voices which made the pupil laugh and relax. Mr Elstead also made occasional light teasing remarks, as did Mr Grayshott, while Mrs Compton’s style was more sarcastic, although not as strongly so as Mr Farncombe’s. The wide
variety of types of humour among these eight teachers showed no obvious gender patterns, suggesting that this is a matter of personal style. It could be said, however, that Mr Farncombe’s ‘macho’ style resembles the archetypal ‘eccentric master’ in a boys’ public school, which is rapidly vanishing from the modern, politically correct educational scene. Veronica, his girl pupil, might have been less accustomed to this style than John.

g) Touch

*Touch* is defined as the teacher touching any area of the pupil’s body.

All the teachers in this study were conscious of the difficulties inherent in touching pupils in order to correct or demonstrate technique. The one-to-one lesson is built on trust between the two parties, but there have been occasions in the recent past where this trust has been abused, sometimes with very serious consequences. As a result, schools, local authorities and professional bodies such as the Incorporated Society of Musicians have all issued Child Protection guide-lines to help to ensure that pupils should be kept safe and teachers’ reputations should not be jeopardised. Perhaps as a consequence of this new sensitivity to child protection issues, there were very few instances of teachers touching their pupils in this set of recorded observations.

The teachers’ and pupils’ questionnaires had found that female teachers with more than 30 years’ teaching experience used touch more other teachers. All the female teachers in the observation study fitted in to this ‘more experienced’ category, and so might have been expected to use a more, literally, ‘hands on’ approach than the male
teachers, but in the recordings there was in fact very little physical contact between any teacher and pupil. The topic of touch was raised with all the teachers in their interviews, and will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Apart from one female piano teacher adjusting a girl’s wrist action, the only examples found came from the male and female violin teachers working with their boy pupils. Teaching the violin involves adjusting bow angle and speed, bow hold, finger position and the angle of the left hand supporting the violin. Even feet may be in the wrong position, leading to problems with posture. Both violin teachers moved their pupils’ arms and fingers frequently. Interestingly they both also tapped on the pupils’ shoulders to help to establish a steady pulse. Mrs Albury’s pupil, Alex, seemed to accept the re-adjustments very naturally, as if they were an expected part of the lesson, and Mrs Albury seemed to do the adjustments without thinking about it. She used touch in teaching her girl pupil, Sarah, but also in a different way, touching her arm during conversation, as she also does with adult friends. The tone of Sarah’s lesson was more conversational than Alex’s, which stayed close to the job in hand.

Mr Farncombe’s excitable, and exciting, teaching style caused him to use touch in a less orthodox way, at one point, using a finger to prod the pupil, John, who retreated off camera:

MR F: You’ve got all the ability in the world, but you’ve got to connect that (prods top of J’s head)
MR F: With that (prods J’s chest) (JOHN fends him off, giggling)
MR F: Which then connects with that. (prods John’s arm) (JOHN fends him off, giggling)
MR F: (joking) You’ll get out with bruises if you’re lucky! Now, what am I putting down here? (picks up notebook, looks round inquiringly)
JOHN (who has moved backwards, off camera) Um.. I dunno.
MR F: What have we just been talking about? What did you..
JOHN: More pressure and near the bridge?

This unusually physical way of teaching seems momentarily to distract John from the task in hand: it takes him a moment to recover and answer the teacher’s question. Mr Farncombe’s behaviour is even more unexpected in view of the fact that, as it later transpired, John is not one of Mr Farncombe’s pupils after all, but instead has been ‘borrowed’ from another teacher for the purposes of the recording session. It is hardly surprising that John watches the teacher’s face so much more than the other boys in the recordings does (see 3.2.4, above): he has no idea what this unpredictable adult will do next. The fact that Mr Farncombe has consented to, and is aware of, the video-recording suggests that he sees nothing untoward in his behaviour: in fact he may be overacting to some extent for the benefit of the camera. Mr Farncombe’s motivation in choosing to record this pupil will be considered at the end of the Discussion (6.4), below.

6.4 Discussion

This section begins with a consideration of the lessons’ structure, and an attempt to account for the similarities and differences found. It then moves on to discuss the emergent themes listed above.

One of the reasons for carrying out an observational study was to discover whether things people had reported in the questionnaires actually happened in lessons. Men
had been described by their pupils as demonstrating on the instrument more frequently than women. This was therefore a key area to study in a realistic situation.

Looking at the broad picture first, the evidence suggests that during these 15-minute time-samples female teachers spent more time talking and their pupils spent less time playing. The male teachers talked less; they demonstrated more and their pupils played more. Four possible explanations emerge:

1. The men may have preferred to instruct the pupil in a practical way by playing, rather than by using words. (This was discussed in Chapter 3: Section 3.5b).

2. Some of the instruments which the men taught could more easily be picked up and demonstrated without disturbing the flow of the lesson. For example, violin, guitar and trumpet could be more quickly accessible than piano. In order to demonstrate on a piano, the teacher has either to move the pupil away from the keyboard, or to play on the very top notes of the piano or to reach across in front of the pupil and play at an awkward angle. Of the eight teachers, four were pianists (three female and one male).

3. In the questionnaire study, men stressed the motivational value of having a good player as a role model. They might see themselves fulfilling that role and therefore wish to offer the pupil plenty of good playing examples to emulate.

4. The female teachers might have prioritised the building of a good relationship with the pupil by talking with them, whereas the men might have placed more value on the practical, skill-acquisition aspects of the lessons. This idea connects with Talcott Parsons’ idea that women take an ‘expressive’ role in family life and elsewhere, being responsible for emotional welfare, whereas men have an ‘instrumental’ role, being responsible for ensuring physical well-being (Parsons, 1949, pp189 - 192).

Looking further into the matter of talk, the large difference between the quantity of teacher-talk and pupil-talk was interesting. Consciousness of the camera might have made some pupils more subdued than normal, although in their interviews most of them claimed to have forgotten about the camera. In a one-to-one lesson, the pupil
might have been expected to have the confidence to converse freely with the teacher. However these pupils on the whole spoke very little, an average of 1 – 2 minutes (out of the 15 in the samples) with female teachers and less than one minute with male teachers. One reason for this may be that in an instrumental lesson, in contrast to a classroom teaching interaction or a typical one-to-one conversation, the pupil’s response is frequently expected to be musical, rather than verbal. ‘Work’ is normally accomplished in an instrumental lesson by performing, rather than by answering verbally. These pupils played their responses to their teacher and in fact played for approximately the same number of minutes as the teachers spoke.

Boys spoke more with women teachers than with men, and on studying the videos, it was apparent that the two boys who spoke the most might have had a motive for talking: Cornelius (who spoke for nearly three minutes) and Jock, (over four minutes) were both about to take public academic examinations, and had been practising their instruments less than usual. Thus they might have been intentionally extending conversation in order to reduce the time available for playing. Cornelius played for just over four minutes out of 15, and Jock for less than three.

The balance of power in most lessons, however, was wholly on the teacher’s side. The long-established format of instrumental lessons places the teacher as Master, an adept player who has the skills and knowledge to impart to the pupil or Apprentice, when he or she is deemed to be ready to receive them. It was the teachers who decided what should be played, what improvements were needed, how much time should be spent working on each item and in most cases, the goals for the next lesson. The pupils seemed to accept this perhaps autocratic and old-fashioned style, which in many cases
must have differed from the more collaborative style they would be experiencing in school lessons. The fact that they had been taught in this way by instrumental teachers from an early age may have accustomed them to the style, and their middle-class backgrounds may possibly have instilled in them some idea of culturally appropriate submissive behaviour with adult authority figures, although this may not be so much the case as in the past. The average age of this group of teachers, who in terms of these pupils were nearer to grandparent status than parent status may also have increased the level of respect. For the purposes of the recording, the teachers were likely to have selected well-behaved pupils who could be expected to be co-operative and who could help them to present their concept of a ‘typical’ lesson. In this context, the few ‘pupil-initiated’ interactions are significant, and will be discussed next.

In the recorded sections of lessons, as was shown above (6.3.3a) there was a small difference in the number of interruptions to men and to women, with women being interrupted slightly more frequently. Since women teachers in general talked more in lessons than did men, this raises questions about the nature of the talk: were the women more likely to provide opportunities for ‘turn-taking’ – tiny breaks where the pupil could get a word in? And could the men have managed to retain the conversational initiative by not providing such opportunities? Men have been noted as making more ‘filled pauses’: putting in sounds such as ‘er’ in order to fill gaps and retain the initiative. (e.g. Laljee & Cooke, 1973). Mrs Deepdene’s pupil Jock has already mastered this skill, often retaining the initiative for over 30 seconds at a time. However Mr Elstead’s pupils took frequent opportunities to interject their own ideas, despite that fact that he was one of the most talkative of the teachers. Interestingly
though, these pupils’ interruptions were very short: their actual ‘talking’ time was minimal.

Having looked at the quantity of pupil-initiated interactions, I then considered the type of interruption: Asking or Telling. On the whole, pupils’ ‘Asking’ interruptions tended to be directly associated with the work in hand, clarifying what the teacher has asked them to do, or asking for permission to do something. This type of question also occurs frequently in classroom situations. In the less public situation of the one-to-one instrumental a different type of interruption is common: pupils may feel freer to make contributions without an audience of their peers. ‘Telling’ interruptions were more varied and could be completely off-task or only loosely connected with the task. Sometimes the pupils seemed to be taking the opportunity to present themselves in a particular way, usually as keen and dedicated pupils, and girls did this slightly more frequently than boys.

It is possible that girls are more interested in self-presentation than boys because of differences in social upbringing: boys are encouraged to be independent from an early age, whereas girls can become dependent on approval from adults. Girls may thus be more concerned with forming relationships with their teachers than boys, who may be more concerned with actions. Talcott Parsons’ (1949) theory about female ‘expressive’ behaviour and male ‘instrumental’ behaviour has already been mentioned in connection with teachers and could equally apply to the young people in this study.
The ways in which the teachers responded to the pupils’ interactions varied, depending on the circumstances and on the personality of the teacher. There was a broad spectrum of responses to these interruptions to the flow of the lesson. As was mentioned above (under 6.3.3a) the interruptions could be seen as a challenge to the teacher’s authority. Responses ranged from the teacher making an immediate bid to regain control of the conversation, to a more ‘laissez faire’ response in which the teacher encouraged the pupil to pursue his or her idea. Female teachers chose the first style of answer more often than male teachers, by responding to the pupil in a way which re-established their authority. Some of the male teachers seemed more willing to allow the pupil leeway. It is possible that the male teachers felt secure in the dominant status generally accorded to and accepted by men, and were therefore more relaxed about allowing the pupils some licence, whereas the female teachers felt less secure and more easily threatened, and therefore needed to reassert their authority quickly.

The differing use of eye contact of the boys and girls in this study supports the theory that boys and girls may place a different priority on good communication and relationship with their teacher. The girls looked at their teacher for considerably longer than the boys did. The difference in the time boys and girls spent looking at their teachers may be accounted for in several ways. Many parents notice that adolescent boys from around age 13 to 17 develop the habit of avoiding looking at people’s faces. This may be because of shyness, or because of trying not to reveal their feelings. Looking someone directly in the eye could also be interpreted as a challenge in some circumstances and could therefore lead to trouble. Boys may also be more interested in the mechanics of making the instrument play, and might therefore focus
attention on the teacher’s hands or the instrument, rather than the face. Girls, having been socialised from an early age to give attention and value to emotions and relationships, become adept at picking up cues from the face of an interlocutor.

In a reversal of the findings for male and female pupils, the four male teachers in this study looked at their pupils’ faces for slightly more time than did the four women. This result may be accounted for by the fact that three of the four women in this sample were piano teachers and were therefore sitting parallel with the pupils, making it difficult for participants to see each other’s faces. Piano teachers had to make an effort to turn through a right angle in order to see the pupil’s face. With other instruments, such as the violin, the teacher can be positioned opposite the pupil, and may move freely around the studio to watch the pupil from different angles, as did both the male and female violin teachers in these recordings. The male guitar teacher positioned himself at an angle to the pupils, so that he could easily look at their faces. The male trumpet teacher sat nearly parallel with the pupil, but eye contact was still possible. In fact he may have felt the need to watch the face more than teachers of other instruments because of the importance of embouchure: the correct position of the lips on the mouthpiece is vital in trumpet playing.

A study of the language used by men and women in the lessons revealed small differences: women used ‘pretty’ when talking about music to girl pupils, and not to boys. Some women adopted a ‘nanny’ or ‘nursery school’ style with their pupils. ‘Male’ language could be cynically summed up as using references to ‘cars, drinking and sex’, but as most of the examples of this came from one extreme case, and as the
interpretation and assignment of language to gender seems to be a matter of personal experience and usage, no strong argument can be made for gendered language here.

The special circumstances of the instrumental lesson, tailored as it is to each individual, meant that ‘helpless’ behaviour was fairly unusual. Boys and girls alike showed more examples of ‘mastery’ behaviour. Most teachers would not ask pupils to undertake ‘impossible’ tasks, and would be flexible enough to break a difficult task down into achievable steps, so that ‘helpless’ responses were avoided. There did not seem to be evidence in this study to support Dweck’s (1976) finding that girls taught by older women showed more helpless behaviour.

The use of touch, once an integral part of instrumental teaching, has now become rare. The only two teachers to use it were the male and female violin teachers, and the female teacher used it with both her pupils. This echoes the finding of the teachers’ and pupils’ questionnaires: that female teachers who had been teaching for over thirty years used touch more than other groups, and equally with boys and girls. The male violin teacher used touch only with the boy pupil, often to support his teaching, by tapping on his shoulder or altering finger positions, but also in a form of horseplay which would have been even less appropriate had he used it with the girl.

The use of humour amongst the eight teachers varied considerably, but not in ways that can be directly attributed to gender: personality seemed to be the controlling factor here. Most of the teachers laughed with the pupils to reduce tension caused by mistakes, some used gentle teasing and two - one female and one male - used sarcasm.
A Note on Mr Farncombe

Mr Farncombe’s lessons produced results which showed strong divergences from the rest of the teachers. A short explanation may clarify some of the reasons for this. As well as teaching violin, Mr Farncombe has a ‘portfolio’ career as a performer, conductor and Associated Board Examiner. He is therefore accustomed to performing. He has recorded videos for the AB as exemplars for trainee examiners, and so is accustomed to being filmed. His comment after the recording session was to the effect that he hoped he had provided two ‘entertaining’ lessons. It was not until the pupils were interviewed that it emerged that the boy John was not actually one of his pupils but had been ‘borrowed’ for the occasion from another teacher. Mr Farncombe had been given the same instructions as the other teachers: i.e. to nominate two of their pupils of a similar age and playing standard. Neither was John’s playing ‘of a similar standard’ to Veronica’s: he was much more advanced (Grade 7 versus Grade 3). Mr Farncombe’s motivation in making this choice is hard to discern. It is possible that, based on his experience of recording for the ABRSM, he assumed that a strong contrast between the two pupils, and therefore between the types of lesson he recorded, would be useful. One also has to wonder whether he consciously or unconsciously offered two pupils who were the epitome of the stereotypical ‘average’ hard-working but ungifted girl and effortlessly ‘able’ boy.

Whatever his motives may have been, the results were not helpful to this piece of research, which was seeking to study ‘typical’ lessons, not extremes. The fact that both pupils watched him far more than any of the other pupils watched their teachers must
be due in part to his exuberant style and extreme behaviour. He frequently jumped up from the piano, paced around the room, danced about and spoke in funny voices. John, who had not been taught by him before, must have been amazed by this behaviour. All these activities did indeed make for an ‘entertaining’ lesson, but not a ‘typical’ one. There was no doubt however, that the pupils were inspired by Mr Farncombe’s teaching while at the same time being transfixed by his behaviour. The interview which he recorded some time later was full of thoughtful insights, however, and these valuable data more than compensated for the extreme behaviour in the video-recording. There was also value in discovering similarities between a male and a female violin teacher.

6.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to determine whether any of the ‘typical’ male and female behaviour reported in the questionnaires and the literature could be observed in real life teaching interactions. In order to do this, the possible effect of gender on various types of behaviour was examined:

- verbal behaviour: including talking, interrupting, ‘helpless’ behaviour and language use
- non-verbal behaviour such as gaze, touch and playing the instrument.

While it should be remembered that any of these behaviours can be accounted for and interpreted in several ways, and that gender is only one facet affecting interactions, I suggest that there are some interesting contrasts between these particular male and female teachers and pupils.
My interpretation of the findings is firstly: that many of the verbal behaviours can be traced back to the levels of control with which teachers felt comfortable in their lessons and secondly: that the women in general seemed to seek higher levels of control. For example, some of the female teachers adopted a ‘nursery teacher’ style, with emphasis on the inclusive ‘we’ form of address, which might have the effect of making pupils feel safe and protected but also controlled. Other women and all the men preferred to use ‘you’, which could give the pupil more of a feeling of autonomy.

Pupils initiated interactions more frequently with women than with men, perhaps because women allow more opportunities for turn taking than men (Laljee & Cooke, 1973). However, in a possible reaction against the pupil’s bid for temporary control, the female teachers were quicker to take back the initiative, either by ignoring the pupil, playing down what they had said or issuing new instructions. I have suggested that the male teachers may have been drawing on discourses of hegemonic masculinity (Taylor, 1995a,p.7): as men they assume a position of power and so do not need to assert themselves. Women may feel the need to assert themselves more because they are culturally less accustomed to positions of power.

Another interpretation could be connected with the way they constructed their identity as musicians: the women’s need to feel in control could relate to the fact that they were all career teachers, whereas teaching was only a part of the men’s portfolio of musical activities. Three of the women defined themselves as ‘instrumental music teachers’ and as teachers they might have seen their role as a controlling one, whereas the men might have placed less importance on the teaching part of their role as musicians, and therefore felt less need to assert their authority in the lessons. As
discussed in Chapter 2, social factors often govern the reasons why more women musicians derive their living from teaching while more men work in performing. The way in which these participants use music in constructing their identity will be considered in Chapter 8. MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell (2002) discuss the various complex ways in which music and identity can be woven together.

Turning to possible non-verbal gender differences: there was evidence that the girl pupils looked at their teachers’ faces for considerably longer than the boys did. In Chapter 8 I discuss possible reasons for this with the pupils and teachers and I also seek the teachers’ reactions to what might appear to be a lack of interest on the boys’ part.

The theory that male teachers demonstrate more frequently than female teachers was supported by this study, although it must be remembered that this was a very small group of participants. Again, there may be cultural reasons behind this: remembering that the male teachers in this study were all also professional performers, they would have been more accustomed than the female teachers to playing to an audience, even an audience of just one pupil. A corollary to this is that perhaps the women who become career instrumental teachers do not have as strong a desire to perform. Girls and women are also seen as having good verbal skills (Joan Swann, 1992) and might simply feel more at ease with verbal explanation. This is another topic which I discuss with participants in Chapter 8.

The influence of the video camera should be remembered when considering the non-verbal evidence. Even though the camera was small and silent, it was still a ‘third
actor’ on the stage for these lessons. Some of the teacher participants felt inhibited by it, moving around far less than they would normally have done. It is possible that, with the heightened awareness of child protection laws, they might also have reduced the amount of physical contact they had with the pupils in front of the camera. There was certainly very little touch in any of the recordings, although some teachers sat very close to pupils and sometimes leant across in front of them to play. Apart from Mr Farncombe’s light horseplay with John, which did not seem welcomed by the pupil, all the pupils appeared to be comfortable with the teachers’ proximity.

The value of the findings reported in this study is that the observations took place in near-naturalistic circumstances: eight teachers and sixteen pupils doing what they normally do in lessons. They, and I, knew only in the most general terms what I would be looking for in my research, and so the interpretations arose from what could be observed. As a non-participant observer, the comparisons made in this chapter are made from my own, outsider perspective. In the next two chapters I introduce the interview study and show how the data and interpretations were taken back to the participants so that they could add their contributions. I also show how they were consulted about their experiences and views on gender in instrumental lessons (see Chapter 8).
When carrying out an inquiry involving humans, why not take advantage of the fact that they can tell you things about themselves? ’

(Robson, 1993, p227)
CHAPTER 7: INTERVIEW STUDY: Context, Methodology and Pilot

7.1 Introduction

One of the benefits of teaching an instrument in a school setting for me has been the opportunity for frequent social contact with colleagues in the profession. I have also administered the day-to-day running of the department, which has afforded yet more contact with the teachers. When I started this research I was therefore already aware that instrumental teachers as a group hold strong and varied opinions on most subjects, including gender in teaching. The fact that the occupation is typically fairly solitary - self-employed, working from home, and teaching one-to-one - tends to mean that we think for ourselves, act autonomously and, as many of us would agree, can be quite eccentric in our outlook. Interviewing was a way of consulting my colleagues and letting their various voices be heard. Questionnaires, even if they employ some open questions, tend to be limited by space and by the amount people are prepared to write, whereas interviewing can elicit a broader and deeper quality of data (Smith, 1995, p.9). Added to this, as Gilham (2000, p.15) points out, people are paradoxically more willing to devote considerable time to being interviewed than to spend even a short time filling in a questionnaire. Asking questions about gender in connection with teaching could potentially raise sensitive issues, which people might prefer to discuss face to face rather than to commit themselves in writing about them.

I knew that I would be able to gather plenty of data from the teachers I knew. But I also wanted to involve the pupils, to hear how gender issues were understood by the
young people receiving the instrumental instruction. In getting them to talk about their lessons, their teachers and their thoughts on gender, I wanted to avoid doing anything that would disturb the balance of trust that existed between them and their teachers, and therefore there were questions which I avoided because they might make pupils self-conscious about their relationship with the teacher or cause them to criticise their teacher in some way. Framing the questions correctly was also essential in order not to betray the trust of the teacher colleagues who had agreed to give me their time to help with the research. I discuss the choices I made, below in describing the design of the interview schedule (Section 7.2.2).

7.1.1 Interview Studies with Instrumental Teachers and Pupils

In this section, the interview study is put in the context of previous research. Several researchers have employed interviews to gain insights into aspects of instrumental teaching and learning. Burwell’s work (2003; Burwell, 2005) has most in common, in terms of method, with the present study. She used a combination of video-recorded lesson observations and follow-up interviews with participants. This investigation however, together with another by Hanken, (2000) focused on students at undergraduate level. Interviewing children under 18, as in the present study, presents different challenges and ethical considerations, and these are discussed with reference to two other studies (Davidson & Scutt, 1999; de Vries, 2003; Pitts & McPherson, 2000) which involved children aged 7 – 17, along with parents and teachers. A questionnaire study by Mackenzie (1991) is also considered, because it throws some light on possible differences in motivation between boys and girls learning instruments.
Burwell’s (2003) work set in a university college has already been mentioned in Chapter 4. This longitudinal action research project aimed to investigate a wide range of instrumental teaching and learning processes and used a combination of questionnaires, video-recorded observations and interviews. In a further paper (2005), Burwell focused on the use of questions by the teachers, as a means to help students become independent learners. Burwell analysed the types of questions being used in the recorded lessons and then discussed them in interviews with the individual teachers and students. She noted how the quantity of student contributions to the lessons increased on average over the three years. She attributed this to the students’ increase in expertise and musicianship, in part due to the teachers’ way of working with them and the types of questions the teachers employed. I would suggest that the students were maturing in many other ways at this stage in their lives, becoming socially more competent, and also probably becoming on increasingly familiar terms with their teachers as time went by; these factors could also contribute to students offering more verbal participation.

More relevant to the present study is Burwell’s description of situations in which the teacher asks rhetorical questions or else takes the student’s silence as a cue to answer the question him/herself. She points out that this kind of teaching only serves to teach the ‘apprentice’ pupil that the ‘master’ knows best. If this kind of relationship is in evidence with older students, on the brink of entering the musical profession, it is likely to be even more prevalent in the lessons of the younger pupils in the present study. While gender is not under consideration in Burwell’s study, the portrayal of the teacher as master is important in considering how power is distributed in lessons.
Hanken (2000) looked at the way in which student evaluation of instrumental teachers can impact on the relationship between student and teacher. As in Burwell’s study, the students were undergraduates, and thus were expected to take responsibility for their own learning. Hanken found that students in some cases felt unwilling to make frank evaluations because of an uneven power distribution: the teachers were in many cases influential in finding work for the students, and therefore they did not want to lose the teacher’s goodwill by making unfavourable comments about their teaching. The teachers also felt threatened by the whole concept of student evaluation: on a professional level, as an attack on their competence and on a personal level, as they enjoy a close relationship with their students and feel betrayed by criticism. Two of the female students implied that girls in particular might be afraid of hurting their teacher, because they felt that girls ‘cared more about people’. Another student compared the relationship between instrumental teacher and student with that of parent and child, from which, as in Burwell’s account, we might infer the dependent position in which the students may place themselves with regard to the knowledgeable, problem-solving teacher. Hanken’s study serves to illustrate the fragility of the relationship between teacher and pupil and to remind researchers of the difficulties inherent in investigating this relationship. It also shows how women may see themselves as caring people who disguise their true feelings in order to avoid causing offence.

Using a younger student age-group (7-17), a different approach to the pupil/ teacher relationship is shown by Davidson & Scutt (1999), who undertook a case study of 4 teachers and 18 of their violin and piano pupils over the course of 6 months while they were preparing for graded music examinations. Features of this study include the use
of in-depth interviews and the triangulation of data, by consulting teacher, pupil and parent. Davidson & Scutt discuss the use of graded examinations to motivate children to practise and conclude that while the exams do not cover every aspect of musical development, they can provide a useful framework, particularly if harnessed constructively to learning goals. Teachers, parents and pupils spoke frankly about the anxieties and self-doubts they had all experienced in the build-up to the examinations.

A slight drawback about the reporting of this study is that, although the writers interviewed teachers, parents and pupils, they include only a small number of examples of pupils’ responses compared with a much larger volume of adult comments. Although some of the younger children might not have been able to articulate their views about their experiences, the age range of the pupils (7 – 17) suggests that more of the pupils’ opinions would have been worthy of inclusion. If pupils’ voices are not heard in equal proportion with teachers’, the imbalance of power discussed in Rostvall and West (2003) is reinforced. In fact, two of the key conclusions of Davidson and Scutt are that the learning experience is entirely structured by the teacher and that the parents and pupils rely on the teacher as the expert. Teachers may be unaware of the extent of their influence, for the example in presenting examinations as either learning or performance goals.

Whilst Davidson and Scutt could have given more of a voice to the young pupils in their study, the next studies set out specifically to discover the views of younger children just starting out on formal musical training. Pitts and McPherson (2000) investigated the ‘thoughts and ambitions’ of 156 novice brass and woodwind players.
aged around eight, and their parents, in Sydney, Australia, just before instrumental lessons began. The premise was that children as young as eight were able to consider their interest in learning, the value to them of being good at music and also to evaluate the cost of participation in terms of the effort they would need to invest. The authors found that the level of commitment the children initially expressed had an even stronger bearing on their achievement than the amount of practice in the early stages. Their findings support the evidence of Wigfield, Eccles et al. (1997) that expectancy beliefs are effective predictors of achievement.

This was a longitudinal study over three years: the paper discussed here (Pitts & McPherson, 2000) reports on the very first interviews, before the children started lessons. The authors found that the children’s main priorities for learning were to have fun and be with friends in the band, whereas the parents took a more long-term view of the commitments and educational value of learning an instrument. It would be interesting to compare their motivations with those of the pupils in the present study, who were older and more experienced players. Pitts’ and McPherson’s sample of pupils was balanced for gender, socio-economic status and school background and there is no breakdown of the findings by gender, as this was not the focus of the investigation. However the premise that children of this age are well able to express and assess their views about several other aspects of music learning is one which my own experience leads me to support, and indicates that they are also likely to be able to form and express opinions about gender in instrumental lessons.
Focusing on the gender of his participants, Mackenzie (1991) carried out an analysis of differences in 48 seven- to eleven-year-old boys’ and girls’ motivations for starting to learn. He found that, after reasons of personal choice (19.5% of pupils, evenly spread between boys and girls) the motivations of girls and boys were different. Girls more often said they had chosen to learn because friends or siblings were playing and boys more often offered reasons to do with a teacher or parent wanting them to learn. This study is mentioned here because it may reflect the fact that more girls than boys learn instruments: playing classical instruments is seen by many as a girls’ activity, more than as a boys’ one. The desire to identify with a social group is strong in this age group and can be a motivation for learning, or not learning.

7.1.2 Methodology: Rationale

Maidlow (1998) puts forward a strong case for situating educational research in a context and for involving the participants as co-researchers, rather than subjects, in order that they, as well as the researcher, should gain something from the experience. Her research method was based on the work of Kelly (1966) who developed a repertory grid system for showing how individuals construct their notion of reality by comparing their experiences and beliefs about themselves with others. This method is attractive as an approach to getting people to talk about themselves and to think about how they see themselves in their world. It also has the advantage of showing trends within the sample by means of Q-factor analysis. However, Kelly stressed that use of the grids was only one of the available techniques for exploring people’s constructs and he advocated using the grids as a starting point for individual interviews.
(Circumstances prevented Maidlow from adopting this option.) My reservation about using Kelly’s grids for this research was the difficulty of setting them up and using them with the pupil participants. The basic concept of identifying and comparing various ‘elements’: ideas, people, objects, or experiences, with themselves and then finding similarities and opposites among them might have been too abstract a concept for the younger pupils to deal with, although the teenagers and adults might have found it stimulating. The process of explaining this unfamiliar task is also time-consuming and may still require an interview to clarify their grid responses.

A more practical way of finding out what my participants felt about gender interactions in their lesson was to record them and then to use the events in the recordings as a stimulus to help them to recall and develop their ideas about the lesson. Reitano (2005) confirms that this ‘video-stimulated recall’ method has gained popularity in educational research and professional development of teachers, as it provides an opportunity for teachers to recall reasons for the decisions they have made while teaching: this cannot realistically be done while they are actually doing the teaching. An advantage of this method, in Reitano’s view, is that it allows the teacher time to reflect and revisit the recorded scenes at any time. Other advantages include the possibility of building up a collection of recordings, both for further research and for the consideration of others, and the freedom for the participants to decide what they would like to focus on and to control playback of scenes.

Lyle (2003) has written on the various uses of stimulated recall methods and also about the possible drawbacks to be addressed. In his view, a limitation of the method is that
participants may ‘re-order their accounts in response to deeper memory structures’ (p.861), rather than using just the recording as stimulus. Since Lyle’s aim was to study non-deliberative decision-making by sports coaches, he would have required immediate responses, without prior consideration from his participants. The primary purpose here was to discover participants’ views and beliefs about gender interactions, using the recordings as a way to stimulate discussion, and not just recall. Therefore Lyle’s advice that the recordings should be viewed by the participants immediately after they were completed was not applicable: following Reitano’s lead, I wanted my participants to have the opportunity to watch and consider before discussion. Giving them control over the playback of the video should also give them some degree of choice on the topics under discussion. Calderhead (1981) noted the possible problem of subjects’ anxiety on watching themselves on video: during the running of the pilot study which I report below (7.2), this effect was clear, and as a result of this the method was modified (see 7.2.3, below).

Stimulated recall techniques are of recent origin, having been made possible by the accessibility of video cameras. In contrast, the semi-structured interview has been used in many research contexts for at least a hundred years. Keats (2000, p. 1) defines an interview in its simplest form as ‘a controlled situation in which one person, the interviewer, asks a series of questions of another person, the respondent.’ The degree of control varies according to the circumstances and the purpose of the interview. A difference between interviewing and administering tests or questionnaires is the opportunity for the interviewer to investigate the reasons for a respondent’s answers. The interviewer can also help the respondent to understand difficult questions, by
rephrasing, and can offer encouragement to nervous or shy respondents. In these ways, an interview can be closer to a conversation, albeit a conversation with an agenda. Rapport between interviewer and interviewee is clearly of great importance. In a semi-structured interview, as Robson (1993, p. 227) describes it, ‘the interviewer has clearly defined purposes, but seeks to achieve them through some flexibility in wording and in the order of presentation of questions.’ In these respects, the researcher has more freedom to modify a line of questioning or to follow up unexpected lines of enquiry than would be possible in a questionnaire or rigidly structured interview. Robson (p.229) points out the potential of interviewing for gathering rich and highly illuminating material, but also warns of the dangers of interviewer bias and the concerns about reliability which need to be addressed when using this method.

7.1.3 Research with Children

Interviewing children brings its own set of extra methodological and ethical questions, which will be considered next. A primary consideration is the extent to which a researcher can rely on a young child’s answers to questions. Researchers have found that provided children are asked about things they know about, they are able to give sophisticated and informed responses (Alderson, 2000, p. 243). The main obstacle to accessing children’s real opinions comes from inappropriate interviewing methods, including over-simplifying questions, treating them as incompetent and ‘talking down’ to them. Experienced interviewers advise that one should avoid asking children hypothetical questions as they are not able to deal with such concepts. However this advice should be treated with caution: some children are well able to make the
necessary empathetic or imaginary leaps. More helpful is Keats’ (2000, p. 92) practical advice about arranging the physical conditions for the interview, considering the use of some task or activity as part of the interviewing process and using clear and plain language.

In setting up interviews, as has already been mentioned, a good rapport needs to be established between the interviewer and interviewee. As a fellow instrumental teacher, I had many experiences in common with the teacher participants in my study, and they were also all known to me personally, in some cases over many years. This facilitated the interview process, but also meant that I had to try to keep my personal teaching judgments hidden, as I did not wish my colleagues to feel that I could be criticising them. Likewise with the pupils, I did not wish to disturb the secure relationships which they all seemed to enjoy with their teachers, as mentioned in Section 7.1.

As in the observational study, it was important to ensure that all the participants’ rights were protected, including physical and mental wellbeing, dignity and confidentiality. As Alderson (2000, p.342) explains, the rights of children are now more formally defined than in the past and children now have the right to have their views consulted about anything which affects their lives.
7.2 Pilot Study

NB: All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms: the pupils chose their own. For clarity, teachers are referred to as ‘Mrs’ or ‘Mr’, and pupils by their first names. Consent forms had already been obtained from teacher, pupils and parents, which covered participation in both the observation study and the interview study. Participants were made aware that they were free to terminate the interview at any time.

The interviews took place at the teacher’s house and were recorded using the same video camera as for the observation study. Each interview lasted about 40 minutes, including the playback of the recording. The purpose of this pilot study was to assess the effect of the stimulated recall technique on the interviewees, to discover how the young participants managed to answer the questions, some of which were hypothetical, and to assess the recording and transcribing method. Analysis of the transcriptions was not carried out at this early stage in the research process although they were considered at a later date alongside the transcripts of the main study.

7.2.1 Participants

The participants, as in the observation pilot study, were Mr Kingston, Clara (11) and Simon (12).

7.2.2 Procedure

Each participant was played the video recording of their lesson, to help to stimulate recall during the interview. Each participant was filmed individually watching the entire recording with the researcher and talking about events in the recording. The purpose of using the video was to help to stimulate discussion about the lessons and about the ways in which the participants interacted with each other. It was valuable to add their insights to my ‘outsider’ perception of what was taking place.
participant was seated in such a way as to be able to see and control the playback of the recording, and the camera was beside the interviewer, centred on the participant’s face. As I shall explain later, this arrangement was not satisfactory as the camera distracted the interviewee.

Interview Content
As in all semi-structured interviews, questions were centred around various themes, but participants were encouraged to follow their individual trains of thought. The pupils’ interviews consisted of many short questions, in view of their young age, whereas the teacher’s interview had fewer headings, but left the topics to develop along individual lines.

Pupils were asked about:

a) the pseudonym they would like to be used in place of their real name. This question helped to put the participant at ease and also gave them some feeling of control and consultation.

b) the history of their instrumental lessons: whether they had always learned with this teacher, how long they had been learning. These questions were also useful for getting the participant to talk in a relaxed way.

The video recording was then played in its entirety and questions were asked while it was running. Participants and researcher were able to stop the playback if they wanted to comment.

c) the effect of the video camera on the course of the lesson and the behaviour of the participants. This could lead on to discussion of what the participants thought about their playing.

d) questions about their own video recording. Questions about their own recording included requests for general impressions of the recording, and clarification of small extracts, where the motivation behind some behaviour or speech was not immediately obvious.

After the recording had been played the following questions were discussed:

e) whether they thought their lessons might be different if the teacher was the opposite sex to the one they had. This hypothetical question might be difficult for some younger pupils to answer, but could reveal some interesting feelings about gender if the pupils engaged their imaginations.
This question led on to another about whether teachers might understand pupils of the same sex better than those of the opposite sex.

f) questions about what they got out of their lessons and what they did not like about their lessons.

g) whether they knew that more girls than boys learned instruments and why they thought that might be. This could lead on to a discussion of the different ways boys and girls like to spend their free time.

h) anything else the pupil wanted to mention.

The teacher was asked about

a) awareness and effect of the video camera.

The video recording was then played in its entirety and questions were asked while it was running. Participants and researcher were able to stop the playback if they wanted to comment.

b) particular questions about the recorded lessons, using the recording as stimulus and for reference.

After the recording had been played the following questions were discussed:

c) whether there were differences in boys’ and girls’ behaviour in lessons, and whether he ascribed the differences to gender or to individual idiosyncrasies.

d) which of the two recorded pupils he found easier to teach and why. This question led on to a discussion of whether some girls might feel happier with a female teacher, why that might be and whether he thought there were differences in the way he taught the two pupils.

e) anything else he wanted to mention

7.2.3 Revisions to Procedure

After filming the pilot interviews, three revisions were made to the procedure: firstly, instead of participants being interviewed as they watched their video for the very first time, a potentially uncomfortable experience for them, they were given their
recordings to watch at home, before coming back to discuss them at interview. This change afforded four advantages:

- an opportunity to accustom themselves to how they appeared on the recording
- some time to reflect on what they saw and heard, before the interview
- freedom to choose any episodes from the recordings which they would like to discuss
- a feeling of being a co-researcher, with some control over the interview situation, rather than a ‘subject’ under investigation

In common with Calderhead (1981), Pirie (1996) also found that participants were initially distracted by their own appearance on the recordings and suggested allowing for ‘previewing’ time for the participants before being asked to comment on their recordings.

The second procedural change was again taken with participants’ well-being in mind: during the recordings of the lessons, the teachers’ and pupils’ attention had been focused on the task of playing, teaching or learning, and they had therefore managed to ignore the camera. However the filming of the interviews had been more intimidating for them, as it involved speaking directly to the camera. Video-recording the interviews had also added an unnecessary layer of complexity to the data collection and transcription process. It was decided that a small, simple audio device like a micro-cassette recorder would be less intrusive and would provide sufficient record of the interviews.

The third change was designed to encourage the young pupils to talk a little more freely, by asking them to choose, from a list of possible qualities, what would make a good teacher. Giving them a concrete task as suggested by Keats (2000, p.92) might make it easier for them to focus on this abstract concept and would be a familiar and
enjoyable activity for them. Re-using a section from the pupils’ questionnaire could possibly illuminate whether these participants’ views matched the prevailing stereotypical ideas which had been expressed by the questionnaire respondents and could also afford a deeper understanding of the reasons behind their views than the questionnaire could provide. I also hoped that their choices would reflect qualities they valued in their own teacher.

There were no more changes to the procedure for the interview study, although as themes began to emerge from the observation study which was running concurrently, it was expected that it might become necessary to adapt the interview questions in order to investigate the background to these new ideas. Some of the earliest recorded participants might need to be revisited in order to ask them new questions.
CHAPTER 8: INTERVIEW STUDY: Method, Coding and Analysis

Having used questionnaires to explore what instrumental teachers and pupils say about gender interactions, and an observational study to investigate what they do in practice, this final study uses interviews in order to attempt to discover what they think. It will be noticed that each layer of this study has involved an increasing amount of interpretive analysis, and the researcher is aware that there may be several other, equally valid interpretations of the data presented here. In some cases, it was possible to return to the participants and verify interpretations and analysis.

8.1 Method

*NB: All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms: the pupils chose their own. For clarity, teachers are referred to as ‘Mrs’ or ‘Mr’, and pupils by their first names.*

*Consent forms had already been obtained from teachers, pupils and parents, which covered participation in both the observation study and the interview study. Participants were made aware that they were free to terminate the interview at any time.*

8.1.1 Participants: Teachers and Pupils

The 24 participants were the same group of teachers and pupils who had taken part in the Observation Study (see Ch 6): they are listed again here for quick reference:
8.1.2 Procedure

As soon as possible after the recording sessions, the participants were provided with a VHS or DVD recording to watch at home. The aim was to present the participants with a copy of their recording within two weeks of the lesson, while it was still fresh in their memory. In the interests of transparency and trust between researcher and the young participants, parents were encouraged to watch with their children if they wished. Since they were giving their permission for the use of the recordings, they should have the opportunity to know what they contained. Promoting this trust took priority over the possible risk that parents’ comments could change the pupils’ view of the lesson. Because of the likelihood of parents watching with the children, the pupils were not asked to consider any special points while watching the recordings, in case that might lead them to consult and relay their parents’ views rather than their own.

The teachers were asked to consider, while watching, whether they thought there were any differences in the ways that boys and girls behaved in their lessons and whether
they thought that they taught them differently. These general questions would give them a focus, though without being too prescriptive, and would present an opportunity for them to consider the topic before their interview.

The semi-structured interviews took place after the participants had watched their videos, normally within a month of the video-recording session. Each teacher and pupil was interviewed individually in the teacher’s home or workplace. The interviews lasted around 30 minutes, rather shorter for the younger pupils and longer for the teachers. They were recorded on a Sony M-100MC micro cassette recorder, chosen for its small size and clear recording quality.

During the interviews, the video camera was available to play back parts of the recording whenever either party thought it helpful. Each semi-structured interview had the same format as described for the pilot study, exploring some of the topics which had arisen in the questionnaire studies, modified with a list of particular questions for each participant, based on their individual video recording. (A sample interview script can be seen in Appendix VII.)

If an interesting avenue of conversation opened up at any point, it was pursued to see if it raised unanticipated topics which had relevance to that person’s experiences or views. The transcription and analysis processes were carried out alongside the collection of new data over a total of two years. In later interviews it was possible to adapt the flexible semi-structured interview format to include extra questions to encourage participants to focus on some of the themes that were beginning to emerge from the analysis. At the start of an investigation, it is not always possible to predict
what the most salient themes may be. If new data emerged from later observations and interviews, the earlier participants were re-approached and their views were sought on the new topics. Three topics - gaze, touch and demonstrating - were followed up in this way as they began to seem increasingly important during data collection and analysis. This iterative process was possible as contact was maintained with all the teachers, and through them, the pupils, for the duration of the study.

The interviews were transcribed and saved as rich text format files in a program called atlas-ti®. This program is designed to assist qualitative research by offering such features as ease of coding, searching and sorting through large quantities of text and a facility to make groupings and connections between coded data.

8.2 Coding and Interpretation

8.2.1 Analysing the Interview Data: Method

The 24 interviews (8 teachers and 16 pupils) yielded a large volume of data. In order to gain a broad idea of the material, these data were first coded at a simple descriptive level, using such headings, for example, as boys talking about men, boys about women etc, as well as some of the categories developed during the observation study, such as ‘demonstrating’, ‘looking at teacher’. This process produced a bank of around 1,000 short ‘quotations’ from the interviews, together with extracts from field notes. Atlas-ti® also offered a facility to attach ‘comments’ to quotations during coding and ‘memos’ noting more general points of interest.
The codes, with their attached quotations, were then gradually gathered into larger categories or ‘families’ (e.g. ‘on men’, ‘on women’), and other topics were identified which seemed to be connected with these. Sometimes the connections were made in statements made by the interviewees (an ‘emic’ or insider perspective) and sometimes I made the connections myself (an ‘etic’ or outsider perspective). The program atlasti® helped to keep records of how the links were forged and how the categories were populated with quotations, comments and memos. The program enabled fast access to all areas of the data and helped to search out co-occurring codes which could assist in developing themes. It also made it possible to relocate the quotations in their context in the interviews, thus facilitating the circular process from data to theory-building and back to data again, which is one of the features of a grounded theory approach (e.g. Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

By calling up a quotation it is possible to see which codes occur alongside it and to call up the other quotations associated with these codes. By considering the connections between these quotations, it was possible to construct ‘networks’ which could show how various categories were built out of codes. The links between codes could be classified in various ways such as ‘is part of’, ‘contradicts’, ‘is associated with’. For example, both girls and boys said that boys would prefer sport to music. ‘Boys playing more sport’, therefore, is part of the set of quotations ‘what girls say about boys’ and also part of the set ‘what boys say about boys’. At a more interpretive level ‘Boys playing more sport’ could also be seen as a reason why music is seen as a girls' subject. Therefore I decided that ‘Boys playing more sport’ is a cause of music being a ‘Girls subject’. Girls believe that boys want to do ‘cool things’, and that learning a musical instrument may not be ‘cool’ for them, so ‘Cool things for boys’ is also a cause
of music being seen as a girls’ subject. Fig. 69 shows an example of a simple network which illustrates the above relationships. This network will be discussed in detail later.

![Diagram of network]

Figure 69: Example of network created using atlas-ti

The facility to show the data in pictorial form is an asset of this program, as it can help the researcher to see connections which might have been missed by trawling through the data by other methods. The program is also able to count the links to show the level of ‘groundedness’ for each code and can therefore indicate where the strongest connections have been made. The strongest themes to emerge were the ones which were well ‘grounded’ in the data, showing many points of connection with other data. However the actual analysis of the data, the coding, and linking of quotations remains the responsibility of the researcher: the program is simply a facilitating tool. A list of the basic codes allocated to the quotations is as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender: of speaker</th>
<th>Behaviour: described</th>
<th>Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boys on boys</td>
<td>bluffing</td>
<td>ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boys on girls</td>
<td>boys playing more sport</td>
<td>appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boys on men</td>
<td>camera</td>
<td>challenges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boys on women</td>
<td>cool things for boys</td>
<td>co-ordinated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls on boys</td>
<td>demonstrating</td>
<td>conscientious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls on girls</td>
<td>father/mother</td>
<td>expressive/instrumental</td>
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These codes were gradually combined to build descriptions of how these participants seemed to expect male and female teachers and boy and girl pupils to behave, and what kind of attitudes and attributes they might have. Topics which had arisen from the observation study, such as teachers demonstrating, touch, pupils’ gaze and pupil initiated interactions were studied specifically, alongside more general comments about different expectations.
8.3 Results

8.3.1 Overview

The participants contributed explanations and background information to support some of the findings of the questionnaire and observation studies. These explanations will be discussed first.

A likely result of asking interviewees to compare men with women, and boys with girls, is that they will provide stereotypical descriptions and emphasise the differences between them. As Coates concludes in her book, ‘Women, Men and Language’, we have a

‘continuing fascination with gender and with sexuality. We understand that women and men are similar in many ways, but it is difference which fascinates us’

(Coates, 2004, p. 221)

A dualistic way of looking at gender, however, provides an incomplete picture of how individuals use gender to help construct their identity (Wharton, 2005, p.36). In this section, I illustrate the ways in which the participants identify what they see as ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ characteristics and show how the general pattern of attributions closely mirrored the findings of the questionnaire studies (see Chapters 3 and 4).

The interviews began with general talk about the participant’s impression of the video they had watched. Since my aim had been to collect the observational data in as naturalistic a setting as possible, it was important to ascertain how great an effect the camera might have had on the lessons. Most participants thought that their lesson had been fairly typical, although one female teacher noticed from the video that her body
language appeared atypically defensive, with folded arms. Another had felt constrained to remain in her seat rather than moving across the room as she would have liked to have done. The pupils thought the lessons had followed their normal pattern, although some of them said they had taken a short while to get accustomed to the camera. Some of the pupils had been disappointed by the sound of their playing on the recording, but it was explained to them that with such a small camcorder, sound quality was inevitably imperfect.

8.3.2 Descriptive Analysis: Teachers’ and Pupils’ views on Teachers

a) Behaviour of Male and Female Teachers

**Demonstrating**

A topic which arose in the questionnaire and observation studies was that of demonstrating, with male teachers described as more likely to do this than female teachers. The four male teachers agreed that demonstrating was an important part of their lessons. Playing the instrument seemed to be an integral part of the lesson, as Mr Farncombe, who is also a professional player, pointed out:

MR FARNCOMBE: I can't imagine teaching without a violin. I mean I *could do* it, but I can't imagine why I should want to.

Mr Horsley sees himself as a role model for his pupils to emulate. He has earned respect for his playing and will pass on this skill, if they follow his example:

MR HORSLEY: Um, that I believe one thing that teachers should lead by demonstration... And I make a point of saying, I haven't always had an embouchure, I've worked very hard to make my physical set-up right, and I'm confident enough to say that what I'm doing is right, it works.

Mr Horsley’s pupil, Michael values the way he teaches by example:

INT: So perhaps that thing about demonstrating is quite important to you?
MICHAEL: Yeah. And even if he hasn’t brought his trumpet, he still gets out his mouthpiece and shows you.

Mr Horsley believes that women might find it difficult to present the same confident stance that he adopts.

MR HORSLEY:.. Maybe again, women tend to be, they tend to defer more, and have problems, I know in today’s world you can go on courses for self-assertiveness. Now I don’t know, perhaps some women would find it hard to be like that.

Mr Grayshott, in contrast, suggests that women may find it easier to express themselves verbally and therefore have less need for demonstration:

MR GRAYSHOTT:.. perhaps women are more verbally skilled, they have better descriptive powers…they’re probably perfectly capable of demonstrating, but if the verbal skills are so much more readily available to hand, then it’s quicker than getting the person off the stool, getting there, doing it. You know?

Amelia shares Mr Grayshott’s opinion that women are more skilled than men with words:

AMELIA: I think men will kind of.. demonstrate a lot, and if you can pick up their demonstration, then it makes a lot of sense, but I think women are better at saying, 'look I can do this because I do that, whatever, because of the shape of my hand', rather than 'watch what I'm doing with my hand'.

The practicalities of demonstrating when the piano pupil is seated at the only piano in the room were highlighted by Mr Elstead, the only male piano teacher in the group:

MR ELSTEAD: I tend not to a lot, in terms of displacing them... so now what I do tend to do, which I think most teachers would do, is if they’re starting a new piece or trying to select pieces, I often sit and have a play through so they can hear it.

Piano teachers often demonstrate from their seat at the top end of the piano, but playing on the top notes has its drawbacks, in terms of sound quality:

MR ELSTEAD: I play quite a lot at the top of the piano, which sounds hideous in here actually… and obviously you can't do it properly, and when you want to make a specific sound, obviously it has to be in the right place.

The female teachers interviewed had their own ideas about demonstrating. Mrs Bramley recalled her own male teacher who did not demonstrate:
MRS BRAMLEY: The only experience I have of a male teacher is Dr. A. B. who just used to lie back looking half asleep!

Mrs Bramley herself demonstrated when the occasion demanded, much as Mr Elstead did, for example when pupils needed to choose new pieces. Other female teachers believed that male teachers liked to show the pupils their skill as performers:

MRS DEEPDENE: Perhaps because they see their role as "teacher" and/or "musician" as generally needing that component more than women do. I suppose I tend to feel that men are more concerned with themselves, and with their own image, meaning the continuing development of their skills and with other people's perceptions of their skills, than women who are, generally perhaps, more concerned with the caring/pastoral side of teaching.

and this seems to support Mr Horsley’s and Mr Farncombe’s belief that being able to demonstrate well is of paramount importance in showing the pupil what to do.

Another belief was that more male than female teachers are performing at a professional level, thus having the confidence to pick up the instrument and play:

MRS COMPTON: I think the ones who would demonstrate most would be the most confident performers, and a lot of men who teach are really career performers, teaching as a sideline.

Mrs Albury was the only woman teacher who raised a note of caution on the subject of demonstrating. Referring back to her belief that boy pupils manage to bluff their way through, she says:

MRS ALBURY: There may also be a case for saying that most males are good bluffers and perhaps rush in where angels fear to tread... whereas I think the female species is perhaps more cautious...

Male teachers believed that women were just as capable of demonstrating as men were, and Mr Elstead described a woman teacher of ‘the old school, rather a prima donna type’ who, in the course of a demonstration lesson as part of a job interview, played far more than the pupil did:

MR ELSTEAD: and I think the child wondered at the end of it what it was all about!

He said that the teacher in the studio next to his also demonstrated a great deal:
MR ELSTEAD: …the lady who’s teaching next door, does demonstrate quite a lot, very well I have to say…in her defence.

However it is not clear why he phrased his comment in this way, almost as if he was surprised that she plays well.

**Touch**

The subject of using touch during teaching was raised with the teachers, who were all aware of the child protection issues inherent in one-to-one teaching. In the questionnaire studies, the most experienced female teachers had described themselves as most likely to touch pupils. In the Observational and Interview studies, very nearly all the teachers fell into this ‘more experienced’ category having been teaching for around thirty years. Some of them believed that making adjustments to posture and hand position were integral to their teaching process.

MRS ALBURY: With very very young children, like my beginners, three year olds and four year olds… I will adjust their feet…but by the time they are Sarah’s and Alex’s age, I’m not touching feet or... Obviously nowhere below the waist!

Mrs Compton suggests another reason for touching a pupil, which is to take the sting out of a potentially hurtful comment:

MRS COMPTON: …but it’s also quite likely probably that I would have touched the pupil if I were making a bit of a mean comment, so I try to say you know, I love you, but this has got to be done. *(laughs)*

This teacher’s style was sometimes sarcastic, but her comment shows that she is aware of the possible effects of her type of humour and does her best to temper her words with a kind gesture, such as a pat on the arm.
The pupils were not asked about touch as a direct question, because I did not want to make them self-conscious about what could be a sensitive topic. However, they were asked: ‘how do you know if your teacher wants you to stop playing?’ The reason behind this question was that teachers in the video recordings often used touch for this purpose, particularly if the pupil is not looking in their direction.

Mrs Compton’s pupils, Cornelius and Fiona, both mentioned that she would sometimes take their hands off the piano:

FIONA: Yuh and like ...And if I'm doing something particularly wrong she sort of lifts my hands up.

CORNELIUS: Um. If I'm doing something really wrong, she'll whip my hands away.

They used very similar words to describe the circumstances and the teacher’s reaction, which seems to have been a last resort when the playing had gone badly wrong.

**Talk**

Although the questionnaire had shown that pupils believed male teachers talked more than female teachers in lessons, this finding had not been borne out by the Observational study, in which the female teachers talked for longer. Only one of the pupils interviewed, Emily, commented on her teacher talking too much:

EMILY: Is he going to listen to this?
INT: No, he’s not. *(laughs)*
EMILY: It’s not really a problem, but we have a lot of talking?
INT: Yeah?
EMILY: I often learn a lot, but sometimes... If I play something, he'll often go off the point a bit, and talk about it and it’s still musical, but he’ll be talking about the background.
Notice how Emily’s initial question reflects the fact that she does not wish her teacher to hear her criticism of him. Hanken (2000) found that girls were particularly unwilling to offer direct criticism of their teachers.

Mr Elstead cheerfully admits to wandering from the point in his lessons, for musical reasons:

**MR ELSTEAD:** I have to say I occasionally talk about orchestral music... partly to see what they know, sometimes... see if they know anything... and often talk with the more advanced ones in terms of... well not just advanced ones either, 'if you had to orchestrate that'.

And the female teachers described how they would sometimes chat with their pupils, particularly if there was some problem that they felt the pupil needed to discuss:

**MRS COMPTON:** But I might... I might as a woman um... talk, I mean I had a pupil today actually, she's got problems at home... so I did try to talk to her about the situation because I thought it was time we discussed whether she actually wanted to carry on with the piano... but I probably ... was sort of able to... ask the sort of things...that a mother asks.

There is a difference here in the subject matter under discussion: the male teacher wants to find out ‘what they know’ whereas the female teacher wants to help with a personal problem. In fact some of the male teachers said that they did talk about more personal topics with their pupils, particularly if pupils felt isolated from their parents in boarding school: one pupil mentioned that she would not hesitate to go and talk to either of her instrumental teachers if she was upset about something. However there was little of this kind of talk in the recorded lessons. Such talk could have been too sensitive or confidential to be recorded and watched by a third party. This research method, with its emphasis on producing a permanent record of the lessons, by means of video-recording and transcription, might have caused participants to avoid this kind of sensitive talk, in case of future embarrassment.
b) Qualities of Male and Female Teachers: the pupils’ view

In order to gain more background information about pupils’ views on male and female teachers, the interviews included a section from the pupils’ questionnaire, in which they were first asked which of a list of qualities would make a ‘good music teacher’ and secondly whether a male or a female teacher would be more likely to possess any of these qualities. In common with the questionnaire respondents, these pupils believed that female teachers were more likely than men to be patient and understanding. Patience might be considered to be a female attribute, perhaps associated with mothering skills, but ‘understanding’ is more puzzling. It might have been expected that boys would have had more experiences and interests in common with male teachers, and girls with female teachers, leading to a greater understanding between teachers and pupils of the same sex. In fact, one boy did suggest that a man would be more likely to understand him because he had ‘been through the same things’, but several other boys believed that women were simply better at what they saw as ‘emotional stuff’.

CORNELIUS: Um...and I think um, possibly women are more likely to understand you, that's just how women are...men just want to teach you the instrument, they don't want, probably don't want to know so much about you.

Jock compares the female teacher’s role with that of the woman he knows best: his mother. Notice the hesitations of both Cornelius (above) and Jock (below) as these young adolescents try to explain the unfamiliar female mind.

JOCK: ...but er Mum, she sort of understa--she kind of- I usually talk with her about sort of how I should cope with people at school, things like that... I think women in general do.
INT: Do you think they... they take more trouble to try and understand people? Is that something they do?
JOCK: Yes they're sort of more emotional and that kind of thing.
This interpretation of a woman’s role as more ‘expressive’, and a man’s role as more ‘instrumental’ relates once again to the ideas of Talcott Parsons (1949, see Chapter 3, Section 3.5b).

Most of the pupils interviewed agreed with those in the questionnaire study that a male teacher would set more challenges than a female one. There was one exception who had found his female teacher had successfully challenged him:

**CORNELIUS:** I found out at the beginning I was always being pushed a lot. Lots of people started piano lessons at the same time as me, but I seemed to be shooting ahead and I reckon that was because she was always giving me stuff that was difficult…and then making me work at it till I got it, so I suppose that's good.

Cornelius and Amelia both warn against teachers who are too patient or too easily satisfied, something they see as a female characteristic: both pupils are ambitious and like to be pushed forwards:

**CORNELIUS:** My friends tell me: ‘I made my way through the piece making loads of mistakes and my teacher said "oh, that's very good, you...you're definitely improving" when obviously you haven't... Here's a chocolate, off you go!'"

*****

**AMELIA:** but with a woman, you just do one very simple thing and... yeah, she'll say 'oh well done for the beginning bit' when of course the beginning bit was OK, it wasn't going to be wrong.

There was a feeling that male teachers set targets for pupils to aim towards, whereas some female teachers tended to be over-cautious, perhaps in order to protect their pupils from failure.
c) ‘Typical’ Female and Male Teachers

To summarise: there was an impression that female teachers tended to be strong in characteristics which are associated with a maternal role as it is often socially constructed: kind, patient, encouraging and interested in the pupil’s feelings, but also cautious and maybe over-protective. Characteristics of male teachers were seen as more dynamic: challenging, playing more, interested in the technicalities of playing the instrument and how it worked, but also being less sympathetic, patient and encouraging.

8.3.3 Descriptive Analysis: Teacher’s and Pupils’ Views on Pupils

Some teachers were keen to point out that each pupil was an individual and thus were reluctant to generalise about boys or girls. Gender is of course only one factor in the complex mix: ethnicity, cultural differences, family background and personal interests all contribute to the way each person constructs his or her identity. However, even those teachers who were quite convinced that any differences were at the individual level and not caused by gender did occasionally volunteer that a characteristic was ‘typical’ of boys or girls.

a) Behaviour of Boy and Girl Pupils

Gaze

A topic which arose early in the recording sessions was that of gaze, as was discussed in Chapter 6. It was apparent that most boys looked at their teachers’ faces for less time than most girls did, although male and female teachers’ looking times were fairly similar. The subject was raised with teachers and pupils to find out their reactions to
this phenomenon. Boys were not surprised at the finding and accounted for it as a habit they had acquired, often connected with school. Tom offers this opinion:

**TOM:** I think it started when I first, when I was first having lessons, which was at school, and when I’m at school I normally look at the ground.

but he also suggests a practical reason: his attention is elsewhere:

**TOM:** ...because I was trying to focus on what his hands were doing, to see if I could copy it.

This focus on the practical aspect of the lesson as more important than the relationship with the teacher was typical of many of the boys’ responses. Claire, in contrast, looks at her teacher’s face frequently and accounts for this as follows:

**CLAIRE:** Um I think when he's talking to me I probably take in better what he's saying if I'm looking at him, probably because we have a good relationship, we talk face to face, I'm not going to sort of shy away and also it's probably quite rude not to look at someone when they're talking to you!

She values the relationship with her teacher, reinforces it by looking at him, and behaves according to the cultural expectation that girls and women in friendly situations look at interlocutors’ faces frequently (Argyle, 1988 p.284). Tom and Claire’s teacher, Mr Grayshott, interprets their differing behaviour as follows:

**MR GRAYSHOTT:** Yes... I mean what's the motivation behind looking at someone's face, what do you get out of it? I think girls pick up emotional cues more, probably ... by looking at the face... If I look pleased or, or sceptical or whatever *(raises eyebrows quizzically)*... Claire would then pick that up and use it, whereas Tom is maybe looking for more... tactile things. ‘How do we do that? We do it like this.’

Mr Grayshott is attributing to Claire the ‘expressive’ and to Tom the ‘instrumental’ qualities first described nearly sixty years ago by Talcott Parsons (Parsons, 1949), and still often associated with female and male roles in society. The pupils themselves made similar attributions. Interestingly, Mr Grayshott had not noticed the widely different looking times of his two pupils, and when it was pointed out to him, he was
untroubled by it. In contrast, Mrs Bramley had already picked up the fact that Sam was not looking at her and was concerned about it:

MRS BRAMLEY: ... it's quite shocking to find that he isn't sort of, that he's just looking straight ahead, he's not interacting with me at all ...no. I don't like to see that, actually ...he's absolutely blank there.

This female teacher expects the boy to engage with her by looking at her face and is concerned when this does not happen. This would appear to be a difference between the expectations of male and female teachers: male teachers tend not to notice if boys do not look at them and do not mind if they do not, whereas female teachers do notice and do mind. Female teachers may go on to attribute the boy’s behaviour to a lack of interest, rather than to a focus on the practical or technical aspects of learning. It should be pointed out that the researcher, as a female teacher herself, may have been more aware of the pupils’ gaze than a male researcher would have been.

As with the descriptions of teachers, there were several comments which supported the findings of the questionnaire study. Girls were seen by teachers as more diligent and conscientious, as in this example:

MR ELSTEAD: And I think just in general terms, what you encounter ...on the whole the girls that I teach, perhaps tend to apply themselves slightly better.

But also sometimes less self-confident than boys:

MRS COMPTON: Mm, but HE... He will tell me he's played something very well. I would never hear that from Fiona.
INT: No. And er... Are there any girls who would say that to you?
MRS COMPTON: ah, well. There's a good point. and why not? ... I would say that was a male thing, actually.

Boys in contrast are seen as able to bluff their way through lessons, when they have not practised enough:

MR ELSTEAD: I mean, quite a lot of the boys, will try and bluster their way through things, without realising we can read between the lines very easily.
One of the female teachers believed that bluffing was a life skill for boys:

MRS ALBURY: ...whereas boys, as they become men, they bluff their way through life. Yes.

Pupil initiated interaction

From the Observation study, it emerged that pupils would initiate interactions for various apparent purposes including:

- Filling time that might otherwise have been spent playing (the boys did this slightly more frequently)
- Supporting the teacher’s talk (the girls did this more frequently)
- Presenting a positive image of themselves (the girls did this slightly more frequently).

Some of these topics were investigated during the interviews in order to discover more about the motivation behind the interruptions. As one of the two pupils with imminent public exams to sit, Jock had spoken a great deal during his lesson and his teacher, Mrs Deepdene, was asked if this was usual or if there might have been some special reason for the amount of talk:

MRS DEEPDENE: But perhaps Jock did talk a little more, in fact... but having watched the video as a family, Amy [Jock's little sister] did say ..."you do talk a lot in your lessons" (this was addressed to Jock) she said "we get a lot more done in ours".
...so far as Jock is concerned I always bear in mind that he comes from a very musical family and his father's influence is very important to him
... therefore, in terms of structuring a lesson, I very much allow him to lead it because of that influence and I know that he will go home and discuss it with his father,
...so I don't, I very rarely would say do so-and -so, I would leave him to make up his own mind.

Mrs Deepdene allows Jock to take the initiative for three reasons: she feels that is the way he wants the lesson to progress; she feels his music-teacher father’s influence and she believes that Jock is identifying with his father’s attitudes as he grows up. Mrs Compton had similar pragmatic reasons for allowing Cornelius a fair amount of licence:

CH 8.3
MRS COMPTON: There's possibly a difference in that Michael was almost choosing his own repertoire and his own pace, which is a sort of um... It's because his mother wanted him to stop learning altogether this term *because of GCSEs*, but I said, 'well, too bad. If you want lessons next term, he's got to come this term as well; I've got to earn my living! .. So for that reason, I'm probably being more lenient, letting him have his way.

So these two boys may have been more talkative in order to play for less of the lesson, but their teachers were complicit in allowing the talking to continue.

Even teachers like Mrs Compton and Mr Horsley, who set out expecting to find no differences, discovered that there were differences in self-confidence and self presentation, with girls being less confident than boys but also more interested in presenting themselves as keen and dedicated pupils. Several of the interviewed teachers reinforced the views expressed by many in the questionnaire study, that girls tend to apply themselves more diligently to practising and are more organised in their approach to lessons than boys. Boys are once again portrayed as expert at bluffing and working just enough to get by. This was the expectation for ‘average’ pupils in the first years of learning: later on the differences were less marked and the more advanced boy and girl pupils were seen as being equally motivated and hard-working. Some of the older boys seemed able to take some part in the direction of the lesson, with their female teachers’ acceptance.

Some boys believed that girls are interested in music as a part of a traditionally conceived indoor ‘domestic’ female role, whereas boys *and* girls expected boys to be more interested in outdoor physical activity, particularly football.
Music v. Sport

The boys and girls in the study were in agreement that boys were more likely to choose sport than music. Cornelius summed it up as follows:

CORNELIUS: I think, when boys are young they want to go out and play football and get muddy. That's I suppose what I did as well.

And Jock, at thirteen about to move from a boys’ prep school to boys’ public school, and therefore conceivably with limited experience of girls, shows a firm grasp of traditional gender roles:

JOCK: Um, girls, tend to prefer to sort of um stay at home, it's the old story you know, back in the Stone Age, women you know stayed and cooked the dinner whereas men went off hunting and that kind of thing.

Girls found that music was in some ways a fitting activity for them:

AMELIA: Whereas, I don't know, it's probably just me but I kind of imagine a couple and they've got their little girl taking singing lessons or trying to find an instrument they like, kind of girls and music they kind of link more, just like most girls when they're little they go and do ballet.

It was one of the most reticent of the girls, Veronica, who voiced the theory that music is not ‘macho’ enough for boys and claimed music as girls’ territory:

VERONICA: Maybe because for boys it might be a kind of feminine thing and they might think it was a bit gay or something? and girls, I don't know, I think it might be a more good attribute, somehow, being able to play an instrument is a girls' thing.

If learning instruments is construed by children as an activity ‘for girls’, boys who wish to learn may have to find a way of doing so without compromising their masculine identity: this is illustrated by Michael, aged 14, who plays the trumpet to a high standard:

INT: So boys are more into sport?
MICHAEL: Yeah.
INT: But you manage to do both?
MICHAEL: Yeah.
INT: So what’s your sport?
MICHAEL: Tennis.
INT: Oh yes, your mum said you might be playing later today. So it’s possible to do both?
MICHAEL: Yeah.
INT: Is it difficult at your school to do both? Do you get like funny comments about being a musician?
MICHAEL: Sometimes, but... (shrugs)
INT: It doesn’t bother you?
MICHAEL: No.

Michael was a good tennis player as well as trumpeter. Sometimes, in order to save face, music has to be seen to concede to sporting commitments:

ALEX: At school we have a orchestra and a string group.
INT: Uhuh... and are you in those?
ALEX: Um, I can’t do orchestra because I’ve got football.
INT: Uh uh
ALEX: Yeah, but, erm, I can do string group.

Another stratagem to deflect peer criticism to play a ‘cool’ instrument, such as the electric guitar, alongside the classical instrument. Green (1997, p181) found that boys were depicted by teachers and pupils as wanting to play pop music, while girls were seen as passive listeners to it. Thus playing pop music can bring a boy kudos in his social group:

CORNELIUS: Quite a lot of the time, I go to parties and there’s a guitar and people always get me to play eventually...

and also a feeling of independence, freedom of choice, possibly rebellion:

CORNELIUS: After doing piano for so long, I get to the point where it just seems like it’s just another subject of homework, ’ah, now I’ve got to do homework’ when after I’ve done the work... I can always think, ’ahh, I’ll just crank up my guitar loud and just play in my room.’ which is fun, playing guitar solos and things.

Another answer to the conundrum of being a musician and also a social success is to be extremely good at what you do, in order to earn respect:

CORNELIUS: I know quite a lot of girls in my year listen to classical music, but really only one boy -
INT: Really, right?
CORNELIUS: - that’s Johnny Hope and he’s a musical legend, right?
INT: OK, so he’s something else!
CORNELIUS: Something else!
Aged twelve and already a Grade 7 violinist, John has no problem fitting in his practising with his other activities, although none of his friends shares his passion for music:

INT: And what about your mates, do any of them play instruments?
JOHN: Yeah, but not properly
INT: And so does that make it more difficult for you to go off and do practice?
JOHN: Not really.

John believes strongly in his ability, (he plays ‘properly’, reckoning that his prowess confers status with his peers,) and is happy to stand out from the crowd because of his excellence. He also plays his violin in a pop group, thus proving his ‘cool’ credentials to his peers.

As well as taking part in sports, the boys interviewed also placed high value on other ‘manly’ pursuits. One of the boys, Jock, identifies strongly with his father, who is a piano teacher. He values the male-bonding outdoor activities they share: mountain climbing and working on a steam railway. He does not mention his father’s musical activities at all: it is his teacher who refers to them both in the lesson and in the interview. Thus Jock constructs his masculine identity from macho elements, and plays down the ‘effete’ musical aspects. He contrasts the active things he does with his father with the kind of emotional help his mother gives him with relationships with friends.

Interestingly, Mr Horsley and Michael shared a similar male-bonding closeness when taking Michael’s trumpet to pieces for maintenance. Michael, who was normally quiet and distant in the lesson, became animated and asked questions while they were
discussing the mechanism of the instrument. Mr Horsley attributed this change in attitude to the fact that he and Michael’s father share an interest in fixing old cars:

MR HORSLEY: I know his dad very well.
INT: Yeah?
MR HORSLEY: And we’ve got... we share a lot of common interests. He’s got an old car; I’m interested in old cars. And we’ve spent many hours talking about taking engines apart, in some ways, I don’t know if that’s rubbed off on Michael.

When his teacher talks to him in this ‘man-to-man’ way, Michael responds on more equal terms. In contrast, when Mr Horsley showed Emily how to clean her trumpet, however, although she expressed interest at the time, she enlisted male assistance with the task:

MR H: So I gave her a pot of Brasso, and apparently her grandfather cleaned it up for her! *(Laughs)*
INT: She didn’t do it?
MR H: No I told her to do it, but her grandfather did it. And I think she felt a lot happier about that. I think if her trumpet looks, what to me looks perfectly all right but to her looks um...
INT: A bit scruffy?
MR H: - Scruffy, then she doesn't like it...And I think that might be something that girls would mind about.

**Relationships with Teachers**

Some of the pupils seem to value learning with a teacher of the same sex. Tom, for example, values the camaraderie of learning with a male teacher:

TOM: I think that man to man -
INT: Yes?
TOM: - or woman to woman, they may er share a joke, that they may not normally do with the other...
INT: Yes, and jokes are important, aren't they?
TOM: Oh yes.

and Miranda, even though she is reticent in her recorded lesson and in her interview, seems nevertheless to value being able to talk to her female teacher in a way she does not do with her male guitar teacher:

MIRANDA: I think it matters a lot.
INT: Mm?
MIRANDA: I can have conversations with her
INT: Yes. Do you find you talk about things other than music?
MIRANDA: Yes.

But Tom seems to view his relationship with his teacher as intertwined with his performance goals, rather than for its own sake.

TOM: Yeah, I think it's quite important. If you didn't get on, I don't really think you'd perform up to scratch.
INT: Do you think you perhaps wouldn't be as motivated either?
TOM: Yeah, cause if you didn't like them, you'd dread coming to the lessons.

b) ‘Typical’ Boy and Girl Pupils

As with the descriptions of teachers, there were several comments which supported the findings of the questionnaire study. Girls were seen by teachers as more diligent and conscientious; boys in contrast are seen as able to bluff their way through lessons, when they have not practised enough. This was the expectation for ‘average’ pupils in the first years of learning: later on the differences were less marked and the more advanced boy and girl pupils were seen as being equally motivated and hard-working. Some of the older boys seemed able to take some part in the direction of the lesson, with their female teachers’ acceptance.

8.4 Discussion: Gender, Music and Identity

In the following section I will suggest that these participants appear to construct their own gendered identities as music teachers and learners in ways which contrast with the more stereotypical assumptions they present about other people.

A topic which was mentioned by many of the teachers in the questionnaire study was that for boys, music as a hobby has to compete with sport, particularly football.
Although girls also did sporting activities, there did not seem to be the same conflict. There could be several reasons for this difference, and so it was discussed with the pupils in their interviews.

Some of the teachers, both in questionnaires and in interviews, expressed the belief that girls were simply more organised and better at fitting music lessons and practice into their schedules. However, there is another possibility: sociologists have noted that young people have become economically dependent on their parents for longer than has been the case in the past (e.g. C. Jones & Wallace, 1992). At the same time, ‘the street’ is seen as an unsafe place for play (James, 1993). Thus the culture of childhood is increasingly controlled by parents, and more activities are taking place in organised and supervised spaces (McNamee, 1998). It is possible that the girls in this study, who, it should be remembered, were from sheltered, middle class backgrounds, may have been more amenable than the boys to allowing their parents to organise their time to include music, a home-based and teacher-supervised activity. There is also no one ‘women’s’ sport that carries with it the kind of mass support and kudos that is accorded to football.

There could be a more social reason, however, for boys involving themselves wholeheartedly in sport. It seems very important for young adolescents to establish themselves as members of a group, in order to help to construct and maintain social identity. Belonging to a group can involve adopting many behaviours in order to fit in: clothing (Massey, 1998), ways of speaking (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003), preferred music (Tarrant et al., 2002), preference for particular school subjects (L. Jones & Smart, 1995), attitudes to school (Eckert, 1989; C. Jackson, 2003), and so on. Boys and
girls have different priorities in the way they build their social groups, with girls preferring a co-operative style and emphasis on personal relationships, while boys like to establish their place in a competitive hierarchy (Goodwin, 1998). Playing and talking about sport can fulfil such needs for boys and men. Coates (2004) describes how in talk, men can ‘align themselves with hegemonic masculinity through ... emphasis on achievement in fighting or sport’ (p.141). Playing a classical musical instrument does not easily fit with this version of masculinity, and can cause problems to boys who want to be accepted into a group culture. Green (1997, p.184) points out that it is not important whether these stereotypical ideas are ‘true’ within the psychology of pupils, but it is the fact that such representations are continually being put into discourse that forms ‘a salient part of teachers’ and pupils’ understanding and depiction of girls and boys’ musical proclivities’.

Turning now to the data from the interviews, and studying the categories that were associated with ‘Boys doing more sport’, various links appeared as illustrated in the Network diagram in Fig. 69 (8.2.1 above): ‘Music as a girls’ subject’ and ‘Boys doing ‘cool’ things’ seemed important. Another smaller, but important theme was that of ‘outstanding ability’, which was more frequently used in reference to boys and men than to girls and women. Teachers in the questionnaire study had expressed the stereotypical view that more boys succeeded through outstanding ability whereas more girls succeeded through diligent work: the ‘good girls and clever boys’ theory found in general education, described by Walkerdine (1989) and discussed in Section 3.5b.
The sporty, ‘macho’ construction of masculinity leaves boys in something of a quandary if they wish to learn musical instruments but to avoid peer pressure. Green (1997, p 25) discusses how the labelling of classical musical performance as a ‘feminine pastime’ has historically had a negative effect ‘on the availability of instrumental and vocal music education for boys, compared to girls’ and she goes on to describe the ‘ideological conflation of effeminacy with homosexuality’, which is in essence what the pupil Veronica said (8.3 above). Finding a social group in which playing classical music is valued may be very difficult unless the pupil attends a specialist music school. In less rarefied surroundings, boys may need either to play down or to deny their musical involvement in order to avoid teasing or exclusion from their chosen group. But there are other strategies which these boys used in order to retain the respect of their peers. These musical boys have managed to negotiate a gendered identity in which their musical interests do not conflict with predominant schemas of masculinity, by using some or all of these techniques:

1) taking part in sport as well as doing music
2) playing ‘cool’ music as well as classical music
3) being expert and therefore respected performers

The girls in this study, we have seen, easily adopted instrumental lessons as ‘girls’ territory, with their responses ranging from that of 11 year-old Sarah, who, when asked if she knew why more girls than boys learned instruments, replied:

SARAH: Cause girls are cleverer!

to the indications of more mature attitudes we have seen in Amelia and Veronica. For them, learning music does not present a conflict with the feminine identity they are constructing. Many girls of their age are having lessons: it is therefore not an unusual or ‘unfeminine’ activity. Interestingly, Emily, the trumpeter, was happy enough to
play a stereotypically boys’ instrument, but did not extend this interest to the mechanical procedures that had interested Michael so much, preferring to resort to an ‘emphasised feminine’ helpless response (Connell, 1987, p.187). Thorne (1993) notes that it is easier for a girl to cross gender boundaries into boys’ territory than for a boy to cross in the opposite direction: Emily traverses the boundary, but remains on the edge of the territory.

The girls seem also to value the relationship with their teacher as part of the reason for learning. The boys also valued the relationship with their teacher, but in a different way: seeing a good relationship as a means to their goal, which is to play well. I have already noted in Chapter 6 the easy familiarity with which Sarah and her teacher chatted off-task, sharing feelings about a forthcoming busking session. For these girls, the process of the lessons - being able to talk with their teacher - is of equal importance to the product - learning to play well. Teachers commented on the way girls would try to please them, but boys would try to impress them or at least to bluff.

The teachers, too, have constructed their identities using music as one of the defining parts. All four of the men in the study and one of the four women, (Mrs Compton) had performing careers running parallel with their teaching. I suggested earlier that the balance of work between performing and teaching might cause different attitudes to teaching (Chapter. 6.5). The balance between male and female professional performers and teachers in this study is fairly typical of musical life in the United Kingdom: men predominate in the performing arena, and women in the teaching world, especially of young children. Music teaching could be thought of as ‘feminine’
work: it characteristically involves one-to-one, patient work with children. This concept is rooted in the traditional picture, common from Victorian times, of the governess imparting the ‘feminine skills’ of music, art, French and needlework to young girls (while their brothers were sent away to school and studied a more ‘rigorous’ curriculum). Perhaps more today than at any time in the past, a degree of gentleness in approach in instrumental teaching is expected, since the child must feel secure when alone with this powerful adult. Putting emotions connected with music into words for a pupil might also be construed as something women are more at home with than men. Some of the women in this study made comments about being able to take a mother’s role with the pupils, or understanding their pupils because they had had children of their own.

The teaching role here seems to have been conflated with the discourse that sees women as caring and nurturing. How then did the male teachers in the study construct their identities in the context of this discourse? We have seen that they all also performed in public: if asked, they would have defined themselves as ‘a violinist’, for example, rather than as ‘a violin teacher’. For most of them, playing is the high status part of their career; teaching is the part that guarantees them a small but reliable income. In their teaching, performing is highly important to them; they play with assurance and expect their pupils to emulate them. The lesson is in some ways an extension of their performing role: whether they are playing or talking, the pupil is expected to listen and to be impressed. Mr Farncombe represents an extreme example of this attitude.
Instrumental teachers may attempt to build a relationship with their pupils for many reasons, the most basic of which is in order that within a good relationship they will be more likely to improve the pupil’s playing skills. Other aspects might include bestowing and seeking affection, understanding how music fits in with the pupil’s life and priorities, an interest in children’s psychology and development and a desire to find common ground on which to share musical ideas. The belief of the female teachers in this study is that most male teachers’ priority is to impart skill, while female teachers may see imparting skill as just one of several goals, many of which are affect-oriented. Clearly individuals have their own priorities, and this is a generalisation: some male teachers are more inclined than others to involve themselves in emotional aspects, and some female teachers are firmly focused on performance goals, but it is interesting that the women see themselves as caring for the whole child in this way. Mr Grayshott was in fact an exception to the rule: in the past he had worked with his guitar in a school for children with severe behavioural disorders and his approach was to try to empathise with the pupil and work with their moods and feelings. His way of describing how he did this, however was offhand and apologetic, as if he felt it was unusual, or as he put it, ‘totally off the wall’.

8.5 Conclusion
From the evidence presented here, it would seem that the female teachers have incorporated the ‘caring and nurturing female’ schema into the way they build their identity as women musician teachers. Music teaching, as a feminised profession, provides no conflict for them. The female pupils, too, have no difficulty in assimilating the learning of a musical instrument into their feminine identity: certainly within the middle class social group to which they belong, it is extremely popular and common
for girls to take music lessons. They value and work at the relationship with their teacher and may try to please them. It is possible therefore that many girls are learning instruments for social reasons, much as they might go to ballet or riding lessons: as a hobby activity which they may expect to outgrow in their teens.

Male teachers may have to deal with a conflict between a version of masculinity which portrays them as confident, even flamboyant, professional performers and the feminised role of instrumental teacher. In order to do this, they demonstrate their expertise in lessons. They may also spend more time than women on technical matters in the lessons - thus enhancing their ‘instrumental’ attributes - and less time than women on the ‘relationship work’ which might detract from the practical, action-based masculine identity they are creating. The male pupils have perhaps the hardest task when they attempt to build the learning of a musical instrument into their masculine identity. Faced with pressure from peers who do not see classical playing as a ‘macho’ activity, they need to compensate by using one or more of the strategies discussed above. Using these strategies demands will-power, skill and some sacrifices at an age when young adolescents are trying to find a way of negotiating and constructing their versions of masculinity. It is possible that having had to prove themselves in this way helps to build a strong musical identity and commitment to music that could in part explain why there are more men than women at the very top of the profession.
CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

Overview

This thesis has focused on an influential dimension of instrumental learning: that of gender interaction between pupil and teacher. The research questions asked firstly whether patterns of gender interaction occurred between instrumental teacher and pupil, and secondly what effect gender differences might have on teachers’ and pupils’ expectations of the learning process. The genders of the teacher and pupil have been shown to play a significant but largely unacknowledged part in the way their working and personal relationship is formed. Teacher and pupil may also incorporate their musical activities in the construction of their gendered identities.

In Part I of this mixed methods study I surveyed instrumental teachers and pupils in order to discover whether there were any statistically significant general patterns of belief and behaviour which could be connected with gender. I then employed an interpretive approach in order to investigate the behaviour, experiences and beliefs of individual teachers and pupils by means of lesson observations in Part II and interviews in Part III.

In this concluding chapter I compare and contrast the key findings of Parts I, II and III in order to show how gendered interactions can take place in instrumental lessons, how they can shape the relationship between teacher and pupil, and how both parties incorporate music and gender in the day to day work of identity construction. The implications of these findings for practitioners and researchers are then discussed.
This study will increase understanding not only in the field of instrumental teaching and learning, but also about the effects of gender on teaching and learning relationships in general. The findings also illustrate some of the ways in which stereotypical beliefs can affect expectations and show some of the ways in which people negotiate their way around stereotyping in order to achieve their personal goals.

The results of my investigation indicate that the participants held several stereotypical beliefs and expectations about male and female teachers and boy and girl pupils. At the same time, some participants expressed the opinion that any differences observed should be attributed to individuals’ personalities and not to their gender. It would clearly be misguided to attribute all the differences noted here to gender and to nothing else: in the socially constructed world, each of us negotiates our path through life by constructing a set of meanings based on past experience, present situation and future expectations of the people, objects, emotions and events we encounter, read or hear about. However, gender could metaphorically be described as the mortar running between all the building blocks in our construction: no-one pays it much attention in the completed edifice, but its presence is important throughout. Gender is part of who we are, although its implications may differ, depending on whether we are ‘gender-schematic’ or ‘gender aschematic’, to use the terms as described in Bem’s Gender Schema Theory (1981). Gender construction plays a formative role in childhood and early adolescence and therefore these are the years I have targeted in this study of children aged 10 – 15 and their teachers. By highlighting this topic and asking my participants to concentrate on it, I have attempted to make it more visible, more open to scrutiny, while acknowledging that there are many other factors, and
countless personal experiences which contribute to the rich variety of their beliefs and expectations.

At the same time as noting the many gender differences which the participants have reported, it should be remembered that some people did not believe that there were differences between male and female pupils or male and female teachers. My belief is that the similarities between male and female people in most cases outweigh the differences. As one questionnaire respondent put it:

‘They are, after all, children first and foremost, and boys or girls second’

The way boy and girl pupils shared views about male and female teachers reflects this view: for them the teachers’ gender is less salient than the fact that they are teachers, a different ‘species’, so to speak, from themselves. Asking people to consider differences and the effects of differences may even in a way create an artificial ‘dimension of difference’, as respondents and researchers seek something which is barely discernible. However the enthusiasm with which the participants undertook the quest reinforces the point that an interest in gender is common to most human beings.

9.1 Pupils’ Expectations

I shall begin by collecting together the evidence from the survey, observations and interviews in order to show how the expectations and preferences of pupils may, or may not, be realised in their interactions with their teachers. Interesting comparisons were found in the following areas, which I shall discuss in turn: choice of instrument, gender of teacher, understanding, encouragement, demonstrating and talking.
9.1.1 Choice of Instrument

The pupil respondents to the present questionnaire played a wide variety of instruments, and many had made choices that ran counter to stereotype. For example, several girls played drums (normally seen as a ‘male’ choice), and several more said they would like to do so. It may be that this venturing across the gender boundary was made possible because the girls were learning in a single sex school, and therefore were removed from any taunting by boys in their classes. (The boys in this survey certainly believed that there were some instruments which were more suited to boys than girls, while the girls did not.) This is one area which merits wider investigation in a larger scale survey of mixed schools.

9.1.2 Gender of Teacher

A surprising discovery arising from the analysis of the survey data was the great degree of unanimity between the boys and girls in their views on male and female teachers. Apart from a small number of girls who would prefer a female teacher, the majority of pupils wrote that they did not mind whether their teacher was male or female, provided they did a good job. Responses to several items on the questionnaire revealed that girls and boys shared specific and stereotypical opinions about male and female teachers. They seemed able to accept the differences they reported, even though some of these might impinge on their learning experience. Pupils in general have little control over the choice of teachers, and tend to be pragmatic in their acceptance of them.
It seems likely that young people position themselves within their own subculture in society, with which they identify (Valentine et al., 1998), accepting the myths and stereotypical images of adulthood to which the group as a whole subscribes. They may be prepared to override individual beliefs based on experience in favour of identifying with this sub-cultural group. Adulthood is a different world from theirs: as Mr Farncombe put it:

You know, in their lives, you don't really exist: you're sort of a shadow on the horizon.

This ‘them and us’ division may also explain to some extent why children have positioned music, and particularly the playing of classical instruments, as a ‘girls’ subject at school, a belief which contradicts the evidence that men predominate in many areas of adult music making: the ‘adult’ world was not particularly relevant to these young people.

9.1.3 Teachers’ Understanding and Encouragement

Amongst the pupils’ generally stereotypical impressions of male and female teachers, a few areas showed differences of opinion between the boys and girls. One such difference appeared over the question of how important it was for a teacher to possess the empathetic skills needed to understand them and to encourage them. The boys rated ‘understanding’ more highly than the girls did. When the pupils were asked whether a male or female teacher would be more likely to understand them, most of the girls voted for a female teacher, whereas the boys thought teachers of both sexes would be equally good at understanding them. Possible explanations for this have been explored in Chapter 4 (section 4.5.2), centring around boys’ expectations of the nature of the teaching/learning transaction, girls’ prioritising of relationship-building
as a key part of the learning process and boys’ possible assumption that education as an institution has traditionally ensured male success.

Another difference of opinion between boys and girls was revealed in the finding that girls thought a woman would be more encouraging, while boys thought a man would be. Recalling the work of Painsi and Parncutt (2006) on teacher/pupil feedback (see Chapter 5, section 5.1.1), this result may suggest that some girls and boys seek different sources of encouragement: it is possible that some boys respond better to the ‘challenging male’ style of teaching, whereas some girls may prefer the ‘patient female’ style. Again, it should be stressed that this was a small scale study, which might usefully be extended at a later date. It should also be noted that these definitions are of course stereotypical: some female teachers may adopt a ‘challenging’ style (see, for example, Cornelius’ appreciative comments on Mrs Compton’s teaching in section 8.3.2b); some girls may prefer to be challenged (see Amelia’s remark in the same section); and some male teachers can show great patience. Neither does the possession of one quality automatically negate the possession of the other: human beings are flexible in adapting to the circumstances in which they find themselves, and teachers may be patient or challenging, or both, as necessary.

9.1.4 Teachers Demonstrating

Pupils were unanimous in reporting that male teachers played their instruments more frequently than female teachers, whether demonstrating or playing along with the pupil. This result was supported by the findings of the observational and interview studies. This is an illustration of the way in which the three parts of this project complemented each other: a general belief was identified by analysis of the survey data, the topic was followed up by observation in a naturalistic setting and shown to
have some foundation, and the motivation behind it was then explored in interviews with the participants.

Possible reasons for male teachers being more likely to demonstrate have been explored in Chapter 8 (section 8.3.2a). Bearing in mind that the male teachers in the observational study were all also professional performers, they might have been more accustomed than the female teachers to ‘speaking through their instrument’. Other possible reasons include practicalities such as the varying degrees of ease of access to the instrument being taught (with piano being potentially the most inaccessible to one male and three female teachers in this study); a greater verbal fluency attributed to female teachers than to male teachers; and a possible preference amongst the male teachers for showing by example, rather than by verbal description. This latter point connects with the evidence from the surveys that women were more likely to talk about expression than men. Clearly the pupils of male teachers do learn to play expressively, but they may learn to do so more by observation and example, than by being given verbal instructions.

9.1.5 Teachers Talking

The popular press periodically runs stories that claim that women talk more than men: a recent author (Brizendine, 2007) claimed that they use up to three times as many words in a day as men do, although she did not offer robust research evidence to support this claim (Moss, 2006). The most pragmatic reason for the greater amount of female teacher talk in this study is the wide personal variation between the eight teachers in this small sample, which was magnified by the fact that two of the male teachers were teaching advanced (grade 6 upwards) pupils who played for long...
uninterrupted stretches during the time samples under scrutiny. In contrast, two of the four women were teaching less advanced pupils (grade 3 downwards), who played shorter sections and needed more teacher input. Nevertheless, it is possible that as Brizendine suggests, women actually enjoy talking more and find it easier to express themselves verbally than men.

While the women in the observational study talked more than the men, their pupils tended to initiate conversational interactions more often than was the case with male teachers. This may be because women in general allow more opportunities for turn-taking than men, who like to ‘hold the floor’ (Laljee & Cooke, 1973), or because more of these particular female teachers encouraged a more co-operative style in their lessons, consulting the pupils and accepting their input rather than leading them by example, as a master would lead an apprentice. However, in a possible reaction against the pupil’s bid for temporary control, the women were quicker than the men to take back the initiative, either by ignoring the pupil, or by playing down what they had said or by issuing new instructions.

There was an apparent contradiction between results from the pupils’ questionnaire and the observational study: respondents to the former believed that male teachers talked more than female teachers, whereas in the latter study it was found that the female teachers in general talked for a greater part of their lessons than the male teachers did. It is possible that there was a difference in the kind of ‘talk’ to which the former pupils were referring, or to the differing degrees of ‘interruptibility’ of male and female teachers. Certainly two of the male teachers in the recorded lessons embarked on lengthy ‘diversions’: stories which were only barely connected with the
point they were illustrating, and in both cases the pupil sat silently, waiting for the end of the story. Emily’s comment (section 8.3.2a) about her teacher’s habit of wandering from the point is an illustration of this.

An analysis was also made of the types of talk to see if there were clear differences between the content or style of the language that men and women used with boys and with girls, and a few instances of ‘masculine’ casual colloquialisms and ‘feminine’ nursery-school style were identified (see Section 6.3.3a). However, an investigation into different kinds of humour revealed little evidence of different usage between the male and female teachers, with the exception of one male teacher, Mr Farncombe, who used strong sarcasm with both pupils. Humour proved particularly difficult to evaluate, as its interpretation seemed to depend on how it was received by the pupils as well as on how it was offered by the teachers. It was not always easy to tell how the pupils ‘took’ the teachers’ attempts at humour.

**9.2 Teachers’ Expectations**

I now move on to consider the expectations and beliefs of the teachers represented in these studies. Analysis of the questionnaire responses revealed that teachers held several stereotypical beliefs about the different nature and attitudes of boy and girl pupils.

According to these teachers, their girl pupils were significantly more likely than their boy pupils to tell the teacher about a variety of topics: technical difficulties and mistakes, what and how they had practised, and to talk about expression and how
they felt about the music. They were also more likely to correct their mistakes and to ask about technique. In other words, these teachers seemed to expect more verbal communication from girls than from boys. The reasons for this were not clear from the questionnaire responses, so the quantity and types of verbal communication were measured in the observational study. There were no major differences between the boys and the girls in these measurements. Certainly some girls talked freely with their teachers, but so did two boys, Cornelius and Jock.

Describing problems and asking for advice and sympathy (so-called ‘troubles talk’) has been found to be a more popular type of conversation between women than men, and the girl pupils may have been enacting a feminine role in engaging the teacher in this kind of talk. (The stereotypical masculine response to this kind of talk is to draw back from it, thereby reducing rather than increasing interpersonal intimacy.) However, Basow and Rubenfeld (2003) found that the likelihood of a person engaging in sympathetic interactions of this kind was more closely linked to their level of expressive/nurturing traits rather than simply to their gender. Thus Emily engaged in a great deal of this kind of talk with her male teacher, but Cornelius also had similar conversations with his female teacher.

9.2.1 ‘Good Girls and Clever Boys’

As has been discussed in Chapter 3, the traditional ‘teachers’ belief’ in good girls, working painstakingly in order to achieve quite good results, and clever boys, showing natural effortless aptitude, was in evidence here, as was the connected expectation, expressed in several questionnaire responses and interviews, that girls would work conscientiously while boys would try to bluff their way through, doing as little work
as was necessary. This expectation was not always borne out in the observed lessons: while there were some cases of girls appearing to be keen and even over-diligent (for example Amelia’s insistent but unproductive repetitions of short musical phrases while her teacher tried to speak to her), there were also instances of boys working with meticulous attention to detail (for example Jock’s carefully written in fingering in his Bach piece). Perhaps John, the able young violinist, came closest to the stereotype of the ‘clever but careless’ boy: he had great potential, but in the interview, his teacher expressed the belief that he lacked the application needed to become a really good player.

9.2.2 Pupils’ self-confidence

Closely linked with the idea of the ‘boys who bluff’ is the belief which many of the questionnaire respondents and some of the interviewees expressed: that girls can show lower self confidence than boys. As with all generalisations, there are many contradictory examples, but there seemed to be some truth in this idea, at least as far as the participants in the lesson observations were concerned. Self-confidence is difficult to measure without some form of objective instrument, such as, for example, the Offer Self-Image Questionnaire (Offer et al., 1992), which would not have been appropriate in this particular context, so the following observations are a subjective interpretation of what appeared in the recordings.

One indication of pupils’ level of self-confidence might be the way they stood or sat during the lesson. One of the girls seemed particularly lacking in confidence: Veronica spoke very little and her demeanour (eyes cast down or anxiously raised to
teacher’s face, shoulders slumped, voice pitched low) may have been indicative of low confidence. In contrast, Alex, who also spoke very little, stood upright, head erect and played his violin with confidence. Michael was also taciturn, but the few comments he made seemed to suggest a confidence in his ability as a trumpet player and again his stance was upright and assured. Although the other trumpet pupil, Emily, spoke for longer than average, she spent much of the time apologising for mistakes and relating the troubles she was experiencing with her preparation for an assessment. Her teacher felt she was particularly unconfident, but he believed that this was a personal and not a gender-related characteristic. Sarah and Fiona also seemed to lack confidence in their playing ability.

Shavelson (1976) envisages self-concept as subdivided into academic and non-academic self-concept, with non-academic self-concept being further subdivided into areas of social, emotional and physical self-concept. It is difficult on the evidence available to come to firm conclusions on the level of self-confidence shown in the recordings, but my impression is that in many cases, the girl pupils were less confident musically (i.e. about their playing) than the boys, but not necessarily less confident socially or emotionally than the boys. The girls seemed well able to express themselves confidently in the interviews, often giving fuller and more detailed responses than the boys in this situation. The teachers’ questionnaire respondents tended not to make this distinction, simply saying that girls were ‘less confident’ than boys, so it is possible that they were referring to confidence in playing rather than to self-confidence in general. The implication of this for teachers is that some girls may need to be taught in a different way from boys, in order to bolster their confidence in their playing, whereas
some boys may need more critical feedback in order to encourage them to take more care and to listen more acutely to their playing.

9.2.3 Gaze

Turning to other non-verbal gender differences: there was evidence from the observational study that the girl pupils looked at their teachers’ faces for considerably longer than the boys did. When this matter was probed in the interviews, male and female teachers seemed to interpret it differently, with some female teachers expressing concern that the boy pupils were not really engaged in the lesson. The male teachers had not noticed that the boys did not look at them, and were not concerned when this was pointed out to them. It is possible that some of the female teachers’ questionnaire responses about boys being difficult to motivate could be linked to the way in which the female teachers conflate ‘not looking’ with ‘not being interested’. In fact, the boys often showed a lively interest in their teachers’ hands or their instruments rather than at their faces. Their fascination with the mechanism of the instrument was frequently evident, and their focusing on the musical score could be attributed to prioritising the work in hand. In contrast, the girls and women may have been more concerned about spending time on the separate issue of relationship-building work and would therefore look at faces in order to gauge the reaction to what they were saying.
9.2.4 Touch

Touch was a key issue on which evidence of gender differences might appear, and so as many views as possible, including those of the questionnaire participants, were sought on this subject.

As has already been discussed (section 1.2.3), instrumental teachers have been made increasingly aware of the vulnerable position they occupy when teaching in the one-to-one situation. Many teachers in the questionnaire responses wrote of the difficulties of teaching a physical skill without touching the pupils, although some more senior female teachers seemed less concerned and continued to use touch to demonstrate technique. In the observational study, Mrs Albury typified the ‘hands-on’ approach of this group, saying that on the video recording she had noticed herself touching ten-year-old Alex’s shoulder, but noted that she reduced the amount of touch she used as the pupils’ age increased.

yeah, that’s right. I think probably I’m, probably I’m quite naturally a bit more careful if I’ve got an older boy, I mean I have had … sixteen year old boys and then I probably …don’t touch them at all. I don’t know, they get to a point when it wouldn’t feel right at all.

Male teachers were the least likely to report using touch. In the observational study, there were a few examples of teachers touching a pupil’s shoulder, as Mrs Albury did, either to stop them playing or to tap out a rhythm, and both she and the male violin teacher re-arranged hands and fingers of their boy and girl pupils. Apart from Mr Farncombe’s horseplay with John, which did not seem welcome, the pupils appeared to be unconcerned with the physical contacts I observed, and direct questions about touch were not put to pupils, in order to avoid making them self-conscious about what
their teachers were doing. Direct questions might have provided richer data on this subject, but I believed that these would have been too invasive in this context.

9.3 Music and gender in identity work

Dibben (2001) points out that the way in which music is used in relation to gender identity cannot be investigated without also taking into consideration other factors such as age, social status and ethnicity, as well as the particular socio-historical context of the cases under investigation. The following observations are therefore made with acknowledgement of these restrictions. Dibben believes that

‘it is possible to identify general processes through which music is involved in the construction of gender identity: ...through the musical activities people participate in, through their musical preferences and through their beliefs about what constitutes gender-appropriate behaviour’. (p.130)

The participants in this study were limited to two fairly homogeneous groups: eight white middle class private instrumental teachers of similar ages, and their sixteen white middle class pupils aged 10 - 15, most of whom attended fee-paying single-sex schools. They shared common ground: the lessons they undertook together. These features ensured that the socio-historical context was as similar as possible for each group of participants. (The musical preferences mentioned by Dibben are beyond the remit of this thesis.)

9.3.1 Boys, Girls and Music Lessons

A distinction which many teachers’ questionnaire respondents noted between girls and boys was the way in which boys’ instrumental practice had to compete with their
preoccupation with sporting activities, particularly football. Although a few teachers mentioned that girls also had sporting commitments, they commented that girls seemed more able or willing to fit these in alongside, rather than at the expense of their music. Boys’ prioritising of sport over music seems to stem from a need to identify and bond with their peer group (Repacholi & Schwartz, 2002), rather than from a simple inability to juggle competing interests.

In chapter 8 (8.3.3a) I discussed the way in which some girls claimed that playing musical instruments was a ‘girls’ activity, maintaining either that it was more fitting, or that girls were more patient and careful, or that it was something more traditionally associated with girls than boys. This finding reflected that of Green (1997), who argued that girls can ‘symbolically re-affirm their femininity’ through singing and playing classical music in school (p.183). Green found that teachers, as well as pupils, maintained the distinction between the roles adopted by girls and boys in music. For these girls therefore, playing an instrument reinforced their femininity. They were aligning themselves with other girls in their peer group, thus increasing feelings of belonging and behaving in a culturally acceptable way. Even playing an instrument more commonly associated with boys was acceptable, because girls seem to attract less censure than boys for crossing the ‘gender-line’ (Thorne, 2004). Girls may aspire to cross the gender line in order to access the greater power and status which men hold in society.

It is possible that the way in which the girl pupils in this study had been socialised led them to prioritise building up a good relationship with their teachers, watching their faces more and making more affiliative comments and noises while their teachers were
talking. The boys may have been encouraged from an early age to be independent and to stand up for themselves, rather than to rely on the opinion of others to validate their actions. Girls’ concern with relationship work is linked with Talcott Parsons’ (1949) view that women’s role is to ensure the ‘emotional security’ of the family, whereas men’s role is to secure ‘physical and financial security’. Parsons’ contrast between feminine ‘expressive’ and masculine ‘instrumental’ characteristics was a theme which I explored in Chapter 8 (Section 8.4).

Interestingly, in the interviews, while six of the eight girls said that they knew that more girls than boys learn instruments in the UK, only two of the boys claimed to have heard this. The pupils’ response to this question in itself may be indicative of their wish to fit in: the girls accepted and endorsed the statement because it reinforced the idea of music as a feminine activity, whereas the boys dissociated themselves from it because it may have threatened their idea of masculinity.

Ten of the sixteen pupils interviewed mentioned sport as something boys would do in preference to music lessons. Boys who did play instruments were expected to prefer ‘cool’ instruments that make a lot of noise, like drums or electric guitars, which are more often taught by peers than in formal lessons. The boys in this study who played classical instruments found ways to include their musical activities in their lives without jeopardising their masculine identities. Some of the boys played down the amount of time and effort they devoted to their instrumental practice (in a possible reference to the ‘clever, effortless boys’ discourse mentioned above) emphasising that they also managed to fit in plenty of sport: others played pop music alongside their classical studies (pop music, electric instruments and other technology being fields in
which Green (1997) found boys to dominate). Other ‘masculine’ activities to which the boys laid claim included outdoor pursuits, and working on a steam railway, as well as showing a general interest in their lessons in the working of their instruments.

9.3.2 Gender and Instrumental Teachers

Instrumental teaching, particularly of the young, has traditionally been a feminised profession. I have discussed several social, psychological and historical reasons for this (see sections 3.5.1 and 8.4). From the evidence presented here, it would seem that the female teacher participants in this study have to some extent adopted a ‘caring and nurturing’ feminine role in the way they teach. The ‘feminine’ profession of music teaching is one that fits easily with this caring role. Male teachers may have more of a contradiction to deal with: they are likely to be confident professional performers, a stereotypically ‘masculine’ role, and yet may choose or need to adopt the feminised role of instrumental teacher. They may do this by turning their lessons into a form of performance: playing a great deal, aiming to lead their pupils by example, or even by telling anecdotes in such a way that the pupils are unlikely to interrupt. They may also work to build allegiances with their boy pupils by talking about the mechanisms of the instrument (Henry and Michael both responded to this kind of talk with interest). Boy pupils mentioned that they enjoyed ‘having a laugh’ with their male teachers, and this kind of bonding through jokes has been noted by teachers as being common among men and boys.

The world of music performance has historically been dominated by male players, composers and conductors. This is despite the ‘feminine’ associations which seem
common in school-age music making. O’Neill (2002a) asserts that women have been ‘marginalised and subordinated through the dominance of patriarchal practices and the ideology of femininity in music’ (p. 133). In a study of three adolescent girls who were perceived by those who knew them to be talented musicians (O’Neill et al., 2002), three main examples of gendered discourses were discovered in the way the girls constructed their identity as musicians. Firstly, they attributed their success to effort rather than to the natural ability which they perceived their brothers to possess. This finding reflects Dweck’s (2000) point about girls’ entity attributions as discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.5.2). Secondly, these girls did not seem to envisage a role model as someone with whom they could compete, but merely as someone to be admired and thirdly, they believed that women have restricted opportunities to achieve high success in musical careers. This finding is echoed by Walkerdine who suggests that girls internalise the perception of themselves as diligent, not talented, and this causes them to have less confidence in their abilities than boys, even feeling inadequate when they are in fact achieving highly (V Walkerdine et al., 2001).

I would suggest that the boys who decide to follow music as a career path have to work very hard, in a way that girls do not, in order to negotiate their way through opposition from their peers and possibly also their parents. As I have shown, they develop various social and physical strategies for doing this, including the key point that they work hard to become superlatively skilful, knowing that their peers respect skill. It is possible that they develop a strong sense of self-belief as they persist in their musical career, and this may eventually contribute to their becoming successful performers.
9.4 Research Questions Revisited

I now return to the research questions I posed in Chapter 1, and use the interpretations I have made of my research as a basis for some answers. Based on the evidence of this exploratory study, which was a small-scale investigation focused on a group of Surrey music teachers and their pupils and therefore of only limited generalisability, my general conclusions are as follows:

1 Do patterns of gender interaction occur in instrumental lessons?

The answer to this question, on the basis of this research, is that there are some areas in which gender interactions do occur: notably the way in which boy pupils tend not to engage in eye contact with their teachers, and the way in which female teachers can interpret this as a lack of engagement, whereas male teachers do not. Another important finding is that male teachers value demonstrating highly and do it more frequently than female teachers.

1a) Do instrumental teachers alter their teaching styles for boys and for girls?

In the observational study, the gender of the pupil did not appear to cause teachers to alter their teaching style greatly, although other differences between pupils, such as the amount of pupil talk, did have an effect. Some said they might alter the subject matter of their illustrations to suit the pupil, but not necessarily in a gender-
specific way, and there was evidence of this flexible approach in the results of the reliability study on teacher talk, in which it proved very difficult for independent judges to assess whether printed extracts had been addressed to a boy or to a girl. Some teachers suggested that a ‘softer’ approach was necessary with girls, and that they were not able to handle robust criticism of their playing.

1b) Do pupils relate differently to male and female instrumental teachers?

Girls and boys did relate differently to male and female teachers, in that some girls said they would prefer a female teacher and they also thought a female teacher would understand them better. Boys thought male and female teachers would understand them equally well, but believed they would be more likely to ‘have a laugh’ with a male teacher.

1c) Do girls behave differently with a male teacher? Do they show more ‘helpless’ and less ‘mastery’ behaviour?

There was a similar amount of ‘helpless’ and ‘mastery’ behaviour observed from both boys and girls, regardless of whether they were taught by men or women.

1d) Do boys behave differently with a female teacher? Do they find it easier to accept criticism from a man than from a woman?

Boys did not report feeling differently towards a male or female teacher, and girls and boys said they would respect a teacher of either gender equally, so long as they were good at their job.
What effect do gender differences have on instrumental teachers’ and pupils’ expectations of the learning process?

Teachers and pupils held many stereotypical expectations about each other, but only a few were borne out in practice. Girls were frequently described as ‘conscientious’, but in the observation study, some boys equalled the girls in their careful approach to their work. Boys were described as ‘bluffing’ more than girls, but only one boy showed this kind of behaviour. Male teachers were expected to ‘set challenges’, whereas female teachers were expected to be more ‘patient’ than male teachers.

2a) Do boys and girls have different expectations about their instrumental lessons?

Boys were interested in the product of their lessons. Becoming skilled players was their main goal: they believed that a good relationship with their teacher would help them to achieve that goal. Girls also wanted to learn to play well, but seemed to want to work to build a good relationship with their teachers as well, maybe needing their teacher’s approval to validate their work, or maybe positioning themselves in the ‘feminine’ role of relationship building.

2b) Do girls work more patiently towards longer-term goals than boys do?

When asked, boys and girls expressed similar long-term goals: of being able to play well. The nature of the data collected could not provide evidence of long-term commitment, as this was not a longitudinal study. From subsequent conversations with many of the teacher participants in the observational study, however, it appears that the majority of the pupils, both boys and girls, continued their studies.
with the same teachers for at least two years following the recordings, indicating considerable and continuing dedication.

2c) Are boys more pro-active? Are girls more passive?

Apart from the fact that boys seemed more likely to initiate conversation with their teachers, and particularly with female teachers, the levels of pro-active and passive behaviour of boys and girls observed were very similar.

2d) Do male and female teachers hold different expectations of their pupils?

Notwithstanding the stereotypical beliefs already listed earlier and also the beliefs expressed in the interviews, the teachers recorded in the observational study showed little evidence of holding different expectations of boy and girl pupils. For the most part they appeared to suit the lesson to the pupil’s needs and to allow full rein to their individuality.
9.5 Recommendations for Future Research

The findings reported in Part I, being largely based on numerical data from questionnaires, can be generalised to a wider population of similar teachers and pupils. Additionally, this exploratory study could be extended in several ways in order to broaden knowledge of the influence of gender interactions in instrumental teaching and beyond, in the wider field of education. The teachers’ questionnaire could usefully be circulated to a larger number of instrumental teachers, perhaps through County Music Services, in order to obtain a wider picture than has been offered here. The pupils’ questionnaire also could be circulated to a wider variety of pupils, from mixed schools as well as single sex, and from state schools as well as independent. The results of such a study might show a greater degree of polarisation between girls’ views and boys’ views, as pupils in mixed classes might feel the need to exaggerate gender differences.

The findings reported in Parts II and III, being of a more interpretive nature and involving a small group of participants, are not in themselves generalisable to a wider population but are intended to open up for further investigation the field of gender in instrumental teaching and learning. The observational study yielded a rich seam of data, which offers opportunities for further in-depth study of issues such as body language, which I have only visited briefly here. Another investigation could consider different, or longer time samples from the recordings than has been possible here. The ways in which teacher and pupil interact as the lessons begin or end could also be explored.
This study has been of an exploratory nature, and did not set out with a checklist of possible behaviour patterns or features to study and analyse. Patterns were allowed to emerge from the data. Having completed this investigation, it would now be informative to collect a much larger data bank of recorded lessons in order to discover whether the patterns noted here are also to be found in a larger and less homogeneous group of participants. Event-sampling, searching recordings for examples of different behaviour or types of interactions, could complement the time-sampling approach I have used in this study.

Other ways of investigating gender in instrumental lessons could include studies with focus groups of pupils and teachers, possibly leading to some action research projects in order to raise awareness of gender issues and to help participants to find and share solutions to some of the problems. The question of group instrumental lessons has not been considered here, but such lessons would undoubtedly reveal other, even more multifaceted interactions between teachers and pupils.

9.6 Implications for Researchers, Practitioners and Teacher Trainers

Looking towards the wider field of gender interactions in other educational settings, the picture becomes more complex. In the classroom, group dynamics will inevitably alter the balance: a group of boys may command a powerful position in the class, with girls being marginalised (J Swann & Graddol, 1995). While group dynamics occupy centre stage, there is still scope for the findings of this research to inform practitioners as they deal with their pupils on an individual basis. Teachers
of physical skills such as gymnastics and dance may be especially concerned with the gender implications of working with individual pupils. Being aware of, and trying to avoid holding gendered expectations of pupils will help teachers to encourage pupils to achieve their true rather than their expected, potential.

Despite the differences in expectations discussed above, a feature of this study has been the frequent unanimity of male and female teachers and of boy and girl pupils. The participants in the questionnaires and interviews focused primarily on the practicalities of teaching or learning their instruments. Many of them had not considered whether gender differences might exist. Some people who had noticed differences preferred to ascribe them to individual personality, rather than gender, and in a small scale study such as the present one, individuality is likely to be a significant factor to be acknowledged in the interpretation of the findings.

The research methods used in this mixed methods study combined to give a rounded picture of the subject of gender interactions in instrumental lessons. Whilst the questionnaires were designed on fairly traditional lines and offered access to a general view of the field, the linked video observation and interview study was a more innovative format, which could be useful in other research settings. By watching a recording of the events of the lesson, participants could gain a new perspective on them, and their perceptions and comments added insight into the experiences in a way in which an observer could not achieve. The role of the participants as ‘consultants’ helped to give them a sense of ‘owning’ their data. Allowing the children to choose their own pseudonyms was a simple way of extending this feeling of ‘ownership’. Another important point was that the pupils’
contributions were valued on equal terms with those of the teachers. Children are the experts on their experiences: as Greig and Taylor (1999) point out:

‘Children are not mere recipients of their environment, but they influence what goes on within their worlds and are active in making the environment what it is’

(p. 160)

Interviewing both partners in the instrumental teaching dyad also afforded more than one perspective on the events of the lesson, as teachers commented on pupils and pupils on their teachers. The inevitable self consciousness experienced on watching themselves on the recordings seemed to be overcome fairly quickly, possibly because of the decision to allow the participants to take the recordings home to view on their own before the interview session.

Research on gender in education has moved with the tides of political opinion. Jackson (1998, p.78) describes how the discourse shifted from one of girls’ disadvantage in the mid 1970s to that of boys’ disadvantage in the mid 1990s. Issues of school effectiveness and performance standards have now been added to and have perhaps obscured this discussion. Some feminists believe that the shift towards a concern over boys’ underachievement is caused by an anti-feminist backlash. Jackson (1998) acknowledges that there is some truth in this, but points out that ‘crises of men and masculinities are not new’. Historically there have been many occasions when such concerns have been raised.

In the context of instrumental lessons, it would appear that there are considerably fewer boys than girls learning instruments (ABRSM, 2000). I have suggested that this imbalance may be due to social pressures on boys to take part in more clearly
'masculine' activities such as sport. Another possible reason for the imbalance at the present time is that since state funding and support for instrumental lessons has been drastically reduced, the take-up rate for some instruments has decreased to the point where they have been labelled ‘endangered’. Large and costly instruments such as the tuba and the double bass, both traditionally seen by pupils as ‘boys’ instruments’, are on this endangered list. Other instruments such as flute and clarinet (‘girls’ instruments’) continue to thrive. There is a possibility that parents (who, like their children, may also hold gender stereotypical views about boys learning instruments), are less likely to want to invest their money in lessons for a boy than for a girl. While the musical activities were being organised and supported by schools, lack of parental support may not have been such a barrier to starting lessons, although it might have contributed to the rate of attrition (Rowe, 2001).

Teachers who taught some of the ‘gendered’ instruments were convinced that both boys and girls could learn them successfully. Experiments offering young children the opportunity to see instruments being played by stereotypical and non-stereotypical gender players suggest that they could be persuaded to take an interest in instruments counter-stereotypical to their gender. The question then arises of whether more ‘gendered role model’ teachers are needed in order to help to redress the imbalances, and in particular to encourage boys to play instruments. Offering counter-stereotypes might offer an incentive to boys to take up more instruments, but care should be taken not simply to create new stereotypes by this means: there are still far fewer women professional players in orchestras than there are men, and to discourage girls from taking up some instruments could exacerbate this situation.
There is, however, a need for more instrumental teachers who are excellent players and can inspire pupils by their example. At present many performer/teachers have not set out to follow a teaching career. On leaving music college, they have often expected to be successful and highly-paid performers but have not achieved this aim, and thus may see teaching as coming a poor second to their preferred activity. Conversely, they may start to do some teaching alongside their playing work and then become successful performers, leaving pupils’ lessons in disarray, re-scheduled or cancelled, and thus decreasing their pupils’ motivation. Thus the value of having a teacher who is a superb player and professional performer can be offset by a lack of continuity for the pupils, which may be interpreted by them as a lack of commitment.

What is needed, then, is a larger number of instrumental career teachers of both sexes, who are excellent musicians and who are strongly motivated to teach their skills to others. They need to be aware that gender differences and expectations exist and to make sure that they are not unconsciously reinforcing unhelpful patterns of behaviour. My recommendations are summarised as follows:

- Expect every pupil to be different and teach the child, not just the instrument. Pupils value a teacher who does a good job and understands them, and this matters more to them than gender.

- Demonstrate the instrument to give the pupil something positive to aim for.

- Role models do not have to be the same sex as the pupil in order to be effective. Pupils, particularly boys, respect good playing skills.

- Try to encourage more dialogue in lessons: consult the pupil about feelings and preferences. Pupils don’t like it when teachers talk too much.
• Aim to engage their attention, but do not be disconcerted if they don’t make eye contact. This is something which adolescents, particularly boys, find difficult, but it does not necessarily mean they are not engaged.

• Be aware that any pupils (but particularly girls) may have low levels of confidence in their playing: work to foster confidence by breaking tasks into achievable units.

• Treat pupils according to their needs: equity, rather than equality, should be the aim, if pupils are to get a ‘fair deal’ from their teachers.

After many years of being a ‘Cinderella subject’, the training of instrumental teachers is now beginning to receive more attention from conservatoires. Most now offer elective modules on instrumental teaching and learning skills and on the professional skills needed to run a teaching practice. These initiatives are welcome, as are the number of schemes that encourage undergraduates to experience teaching. These schemes should be given a higher status, as it is valuable for students to find out more about teaching and whether or not they are suited to it, before they leave college. The many different teaching diplomas now offered by conservatoires, the ABRSM, Trinity Guildhall, LCM and other organisations, also help to ensure that students are more thoroughly prepared for a teaching career than in the past (DES, 2005).

New graduates are now fairly well provided for, in terms of preparation for the profession of instrumental teaching: more attention should be given to the continuing professional development of those who have been working in the field for some time and who may not have had the benefit of such preparation. (A survey carried out by ABRSM (2000) showed that the majority of instrumental teachers are female and middle-aged.) Funding is a serious problem here, since many self-
employed instrumental teachers find it difficult to commit the money and time needed in order to undertake in-service training. (The respected CT ABRSM course - one year part-time - for example, currently costs £2150, equivalent to the income earned from teaching around 150 half-hour lessons. Similar fees apply to the Postgraduate Diploma in Music Teaching in Private Practice, run jointly by the University of Reading and the ISM.) However, this is an area in which teachers should be encouraged to invest: doctors and lawyers are, after all, expected to attend courses in order to keep their skills up to date, and if instrumental teachers would aspire to a similar level of professionalism, they should do likewise. Raising the profile of the profession in the following ways would have benefits for teachers and pupils alike:

- by encouraging music students and teachers themselves to respect instrumental teaching equally with performing as a career path
- by ensuring that teachers are equipped to play to their pupils to the best possible standard
- by training teachers in best educational practices
- by including a greater emphasis on the psychology of teaching and gender awareness to increase teachers’ understanding of their pupils
- by providing support for continuing professional development through affordable courses

This investigation has given me the opportunity to look deeply into a world which I thought I knew well. It has shown me that there are indeed patterns of gender interactions to be found in instrumental lessons, but also that there is no end to the individuality, originality and inspiration which my participants, both teachers and pupils, brought to their lessons. As a tribute to them I append, unedited, as a
Postscript some of the feedback they offered after having read Chapter 9. This has in many ways been as much their project as mine and I hope that they have enjoyed contributing to it.
POSTSCRIPT: Participant feedback

- I thoroughly enjoyed reading it and am glad that you uphold the needs of the individual. You will be amused to hear that the twins I teach, (girl and boy) are both to have interviews in Oxford next week (different colleges) to do music degrees!

- It was particularly interesting to me that you talked of the need of equity as opposed to equality – as parents of twins, we know how often the subject comes up and in my case the different needs of the two [boy / girl] are perhaps intensified by their marriages. I know that the husband of one feels that everything should be exactly equal but they are so different and what they each give and take from me is inevitably different, too!

- It has been a spur to my teaching too, though to consider these things and your final bullet points of advice were spot on.

- One last thing – I think sport is just as much a tension at [Blankton High School for Girls] as it is purported to be at Boys schools.

- I was very interested in your findings that girls tend to work at relationship in the teaching process, and talk more. And that boys want to learn a skill.

- Not surprised that they don't mind re gender of teacher, this has been my experience----although I find teenage boys enjoy moving onto a male teacher. I think all good teachers are motherly/fatherly and nurturing.

- Of course the vast majority of primary school teachers are female---pity really. I have come across 2 excellent male ones though.
• I agree that we need to be good players—so easy to let standards drop, and then we lose self-confidence and with that our best pupils (esp. boys, who I think particularly need the role models).

• you mention courses and continuing development: British Suzuki Institute has v. well attended courses and loads of young v. good players learning to be teachers.

• Re ‘caring and nurturing’ feminine role in the way they teach: Is that because they feel it is expected of them or because it is the way they are?

• whilst my comments might not be as erudite as those you may receive from other quarters, I note with interest that my responses now have been given in exactly the same way as the first ones—two years ago?—instinctive in other words! Just goes to show—I am the same person, female or not, and two years on, still exploring my chosen paths. Lucky me to be able to chose eh? Hope the teaching I do helps to widen my pupils’ choices too!
APPENDIX I: TEACHERS’ QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions about instrumental teaching and learning. It would be helpful if you could answer all the questions, but please feel free to leave out any that you don’t like. No evaluation or criticism of anyone’s teaching will take place: the questionnaire is anonymous and the responses will be used solely for research purposes.

Section 1
1. Are you □ male or □ female?
2. Which instrument(s) do you teach?
3. How long have you been teaching?
4. How many pupils a week do you teach?
5. How many boys? and how many girls?
6. Do you think there are some instruments which suit boys more than girls? □ Yes □ No. If so, which ones?
7. Do you think there are some instruments which suit girls more than boys? □ Yes □ No. If so, which ones?
8. Have you noticed any differences in the ways in which boys and girls approach their instrumental lessons? □ Yes □ No
9. If ‘Yes’, are these differences in:
   - □ behaviour towards you? If so, what?
   - □ attitude to learning? If so, how do boys and girls differ?
   - □ playing style? If so, how do boys and girls differ?
• [ ] choice of repertoire. If so, what kinds of preferences do boys and girls have?

• [ ] other things: please describe particular characteristics of girls

of boys
Section 2
Please indicate on a scale of one to five, by ticking the appropriate boxes, how likely you are to do the following, in your lessons with boys and girls aged around ten or eleven.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely</th>
<th>least likely</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>most</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tell the pupil how to play the instrument (teach technique)</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GIRL</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Show the pupil by playing the instrument</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tell them what to practise</td>
<td>BOY</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tell them how to practise</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Show them how to practise by playing</td>
<td>BOY</td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Play your instrument with them</td>
<td>BOY</td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Sing along with them</td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Ask questions about technique</td>
<td>BOY</td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ask questions about theory and structure</td>
<td>BOY</td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ask about musical expression (dynamics, phrasing, tone quality)</td>
<td>BOY</td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ask how they feel about the music</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Use touch to explain technique (e.g. breathing, arm movements etc.)</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ask about their musical preferences</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td></td>
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<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Talk about music in general</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Talk about other things, not to do with music</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GIRL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Are there any other things you do in lessons, not listed here? If so please describe:

Section 3

Please indicate, by ticking the appropriate boxes, how likely *10 –11-year-old pupils* are to do the following during their lessons with you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>least likely</th>
<th>most likely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tell you about technical difficulties</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tell you if they make a mistake</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Correct their mistakes</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Tell you what they have practised</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Tell you how they practised</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ask questions about technique</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Ask questions about theory and structure</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Talk about musical expression (dynamics, phrasing, tone quality)</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Tell you how they feel about the music</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Tell you about their musical preferences</td>
<td>BOY ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ GIRL ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. Talk about music in general

12. Talk about other things, not to do with music

Are there any other things boys or girls, (or both) do in lessons, not listed here? If so please describe:

boys

girls

both
Section 4

Still thinking about pupils aged around 10 or 11, which of these ideas might help motivate pupils to practise?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>least likely</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. stars or stickers</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sweets or other tangible rewards</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. competition with friends</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. playing in competitive music festivals</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. playing in concerts</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. taking exams</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>least likely</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>playing with friends (duets or ensembles)</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>playing to family group</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>playing <em>in</em> family group</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>wanting to please their teacher</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>wanting to please a parent</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>hearing a piece they really want to learn</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>hearing a performer they would like to emulate</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>finally mastering something they had found difficult</td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOY</td>
<td>GIRL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Are there any other things which you have found to be good motivators for boys, girls or both?
boys


girls

both

Section 5
Please use this space if you would like to add any comments about differences you have noticed in the ways in which boys and girls learn their instruments, or the different things you may do when teaching boys and girls.

Many thanks for your help. Please return the questionnaire in the envelope provided by December 23rd 2003
APPENDIX II：PUPILS’ QUESTIONNAIRE

Learning Musical Instruments

Please answer the following questions about instrumental music lessons. Be as honest as you like, because the questionnaire is anonymous, no-one’s feelings can be hurt and no-one will know who you are! (If you don’t have lessons, please just answer the questions in the first section.)

SECTION 1：FOR EVERYBODY TO COMPLETE:

1. Are you ☐ a boy or ☐ a girl?
2. Do you play any musical instruments? Yes ☐ No ☐
3. If so, which instruments?
4. Are there any instruments which you would like to play? If so, which ones?
5. Do you think there are some instruments which are more suitable for boys than girls? Yes ☐ No ☐
6. If so, which ones?
7. Do you think there are some instruments which are more suitable for girls than boys? Yes ☐ No ☐
8. If so, which ones?
9. Do you have lessons on your instrument? Yes ☐ No ☐

SECTION 2：FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE HAVING INSTRUMENTAL / SINGING LESSONS:

about you
1. Which instrument do you learn? (if you learn more than one, just write about your favourite one)

2. How long have you been playing your instrument?

3. Is your lesson: □ in a group or □ individual?

4. Is your teacher: □ male or □ female?

5. Does it make a difference to you whether your teacher is male or female? □ Yes □ No □ Don’t know

6. If you could choose, would you prefer a man or a woman to teach you? □ Man □ Woman □ Don’t mind

7. Reason:

8. What makes a good music teacher? (please tick one or two boxes)

□ excellent player □ good at explaining things □ patient

□ encouraging □ sets challenges □ understands me

something else? (please say what)
9. Would a man or a woman instrumental teacher be more likely to have these qualities? *(If you think they'd be equal, tick both boxes)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Woman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐ excellent player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐ good at explaining things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐ patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐ encouraging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐ sets challenges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐ understands me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**SECTION 3: about what YOU do in your music lessons**

**In your lesson, do you:**  
- [ ] Ask/tell your teacher things or  
- [ ] Wait to be asked?

**Some of the following things may happen in your lessons. Please tick ONE box for each question, to show how often they happen.**

**In your lesson, do you:**

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>least likely</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>most likely</th>
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<td>a)</td>
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<td>k)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

a) Ask about how to play the instrument  
b) Ask about how to read the music  
c) Tell your teacher what you have practised  
d) Show your teacher what you practised  
e) Play your instrument with your teacher  
f) Tell your teacher what music you’d like to play  
g) Ask about how music is written (theory and structure)  
h) Tell your teacher how you feel about the music  
i) Talk about musical expression  
j) Talk about music in general  
k) Talk about other things, not to do with music
SECTION 4: Supposing:

1. You go to your lesson and you haven’t done much practice. Do you:
   b)  ☐ say nothing and hope your teacher won’t notice?
   c)  ☐ try to keep a conversation going so you don’t have much time left to play?
   d)  ☐ admit that you haven’t practised and promise to do better next week?
   e)  ☐ say you’ve had too much homework and hope for sympathy?
   f)  ☐ None of these. Instead I’d: (Please write what you’d do)

2. Your teacher chooses a piece for you to learn and you really don’t like it. Do you:
   a)  ☐ Tell your teacher you don’t really like it but you’ll learn it anyway?
   b)  ☐ Tell your teacher you don’t like it and refuse to learn it?
   c)  ☐ Say nothing and learn it anyway?
   d)  ☐ Say nothing and just not practise it?
   e)  ☐ Suggest a different piece and hope your teacher takes the hint?
   f)  ☐ None of these. Instead I’d (Please write what you’d do)

3. How do you feel about practising?: Remember the questionnaire is anonymous, so you can be truthful!
(please tick 4 that are most like you)
   a)  ☐ I only practise if someone makes me
   b)  ☐ I only practise if someone pays me
   c)  ☐ I only practise if I’ve got an exam or a concert coming up
   d)  ☐ I practise a lot more if I’ve got an exam or a concert coming up
   e)  ☐ It’s boring
   f)  ☐ It’s a good feeling when I finally manage to play something right
   g)  ☐ I only practise if I haven’t got anything better to do
   h)  ☐ It’s more fun than homework
   i)  ☐ I don’t like practising on my own, it’s lonely
   j)  ☐ I quite like practising, but I’d never tell my friends!
   k)  ☐ I don’t mind practising as long my playing is improving
   l)  ☐ I don’t mind practising as long as I’m playing music I like
   m)  ☐ I enjoy practising and I don’t care who knows it!
   n)  ☐ I practise more or less every day
   o)  ☐ I practise about 4 times a week
   p)  ☐ I practise just before my lesson
   q)  ☐ I don’t practise
Please use the space below to write down what you like AND dislike about your instrumental lessons:

What I LIKE about my lessons | What I DISLIKE about my lessons

Thank you very much for your help with this questionnaire, which is contributing to research for a PhD with the University of Surrey, Roehampton. If you have any questions, please contact Victoria Rowe on 01483 715474 or email vrowe@tiscali.co.uk.
APPENDIX III: RELIABILITY STUDY FOR ‘GENDERED’ COMMENTS IN TEACHERS’ QUESTIONNAIRE

1 - are more amenable to the idea but are inclined to give up when it ‘gets hard’, but they manage their time better and are less inclined to want to be ‘on the move’
2 more lazy in practise (sic): even those that practise regularly tend to approach their practise in a more haphazard way.
3 - are endlessly inventive of excuses and very strong in resistance!
4 - respond earlier to use of imagination – but this is a horrible generalisation.
5 Older - seem to be prepared to put in more musical expression once they loose (sic) their inhibitions / shyness
6 Younger - are more prepared to blow to extremes of volume
7 not always, but - seem to need more ‘vigorous’ music – any opportunity for noise
8 - tend to need more ‘leading’.
9 Many –s will practise with less thought.
10 - seem less inhibited and more experimental.
11 - tend to take on board more of what is taught
12 - who really want to learn are more determined but fewer are interested in the first place.
13 More difficult to inspire/inspire to work consistently
14 - generally less committed.
15 - frequently are less persistent
16 Need tons of encouragement to feel good about themselves.
17 - more prepared to persuaded , to be patient
18 Take criticism personally.
19 - are often(though not always) chattier
20 - tend to be more co-operative, but if they decide to ‘dig their heels in’ more difficult to coax along.
21 - can show more attention to detail
22 - display more character and are less introverted
23 - like more independance (sic), they wish to do it for themselves earlier
24 -express opinions more readily
25 - with talent show projection, and have more conviction in their playing.
26 Some - like to achieve results quickly - so they may not want to have a piece which will take them too long to learn and which needs a great deal of perserverance (sic).
27 - can ‘bluff’ their way more – give a reasonable impression, despite lack of preparation
28 more fitful work patterns, but tend to ’rise to the occasion’
29 In general I think that - tend to be more conscientious and painstaking
about their music practice.
30 - more conscientious
31 sometimes - are more naturally sensitive in their musical interpretation (but not always so!)
32 at certain ages some - seem to be more patient in perservering (*sic*), over difficulties
33 - much more naturally keen to have a go
34 - are more likely to question you about things. E.g. fingering etc.
35 Some are willing to be more challenging and less acquiescent than -
36 - are more enquiring e.g. mechanics of the instrument, composition of chords
37 - much more concerned with the overview and effect
38 - are more inclined to try and ‘copy’ what I play to avoid having to read the score, I think it’s a kind of laziness. They want to run before they can walk, get on to the next piece.
39 I think - are more likely to work from the score i.e. read and observe markings, (either printed or written by me) be more painstaking.
40 - keener to be precise and less keen to have a go
41 more likely to range from high-flying to abysmally lazy! Give up sooner if they don’t ‘click’ straight away
42 - are more personal in relations – care more about how I feel
43 - tend to ‘plod on’ more. Therefore those of average to good ability may get further in the long run.
44 seem to like ‘showing off’ more once they have learnt something, and more confident in public, less self-conscious
45 -often lack confidence even if they are good.
46 - can be more extreme in likes and dislikes of particular pieces, need cajolling (*sic*), more to work at technical things like scales, exercises
47 - tend to be more positive, to the extent that some are over-confident or cocky
48 - tend to be more forthcoming, talk more, contest more
49 - generally work harder.
50 - tend to have better social skills at an earlier age, so it is easier to communicate with them
APPENDIX IV: SAMPLE LESSON TRANSCRIPT PAGE

PILOT STUDY:

Clara

Mr Kingston

yes, remember at the top, just a little of this to get *makes letterbox shape with hands in front of mouth*
yourself up and back

OK

*plays*

Right. Oh, brain, on the low F, fingers off. Can you get that revised for next time please.

*sits*

and I shall probably ask you for a chromatic.

you can ask me one now

*giggles*

Right then, I will - the most recent one you had was G

*yuh*

can you stand up?

*stands, plays, hesitates, continues ♫G sharp♫*

*nods*

gets very stuck on last note

Are you taking your thumb off?

Hm...no!

What do you think that gesture meant? *repeats gesture*

I didn't know!

*rolls eyes*

I wasn't making a rude gesture at you. I was trying to psych you into taking your thumb off.

I didn’t know what *copies gesture* that meant
APPENDIX V: SAMPLE LESSON SUMMARY

NB: the lesson was divided into 5 minute ‘Chapters’ for convenience of reference to the full transcription. This is a summary of a complete lesson lasting 35 minutes. The detailed analysis was of ‘chapters’ 3, 4 and 5.

Mr Grayshott and Claire (Guitar) Summary

Recorded in Mr Grayshott’s basement studio in his house. The need to get both faces on camera meant that we had to move the music stand to a different position from normal. Mr Grayshott said later that he seemed more relaxed in Tom’s lesson than in Claire’s, possibly just because Tom’s recording was the second one. Mr G has a very laid back style, which his pupils mirror. He encourages constantly, but enough correction seems to get through for the playing to improve. He plays/sings/conducts in order to convey expression, more than using words. Very expressive eyebrows! Claire, 15, seems friendly and settles to become quite chatty after a nervous start.

Ch 1 Claire is playing on Mr Grayshott’s guitar, which is bigger than hers. Mr Grayshott encourages her to produce a bigger sound. She doesn’t say much, but watches Mr G constantly and copies his movements.

Ch 2 Mr G stops C to get her to play softer, she agrees. He points out that the thumb can be very powerful, or delicate and demonstrates. They joke about the shape of his thumb and hers. Work on vibrato.

Ch 3 Mr G embarks on a story to illustrate how quality of vibrato can be like a guitarist’s signature. He won’t say whom he is talking about, because of the camera. C plays, with numerous mistakes. Mr G finds encouraging things to say.

Ch 4 C plays, Mr G keeps up a commentary. He sympathises over the difficult octave ending, especially on a strange guitar. He demonstrates the difficulty and she works to improve the octaves.

Ch 5 They start on a second piece, which she has only just started learning. She shows him how much she has been working on and he is pleased. He gives her a break to rest her hand, and there is some joke about ‘no sporting injuries’. They start to play again, but Mr G is in a different place from C, so he stops and she tells him where she is playing from. C is really enthusiastic about the next section, says she had some fun with it.

Ch 6 She talks more than at the start of the lesson. Some technical and note-reading discussions. He tells her she is doing well with this gr 8 piece and she jokes’ Oh, well, you know, the best players’. She comes up with an interpretation of a passage ‘a bit shady’ that Mr G likes. He apologises for difficulties, she says it will come with practice.

Ch 7 Playing together, C engineers a big rit and pause before recap, and makes a joke about it. Mr G laughs. She repeats that she likes feeling the benefit of practising and improving, and she likes to put in lots of expression. They leave the room, Mr G humming the tune of C’s piece.
APPENDIX VI: TEACHERS’ GENDERED LANGUAGE RELIABILITY STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Pupil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PUPIL I'm not very good at counting, the numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>TEACHER Ok let me hear you do the opening couple of lines again and let me hear you really strike the valves on those ornaments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>TEACHER Those frogs: they had a bit of a, a drunken evening there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>TEACHER Good! smashing, it's.. it's come on a lot in a week, hasn't it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>TEACHER we're fairly sort of motoring at this point here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>TEACHER now it's got stodgy, you can go back to being light on this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PUPIL and then it's straight into that one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>TEACHER to there, the dynamic had just gone slightly off the boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>TEACHER what's the note that you cock up?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TEACHER good, well done
(encourages PUPIL while s/he plays)
TEACHER pretty!

TEACHER ooh you slipped, lets get the glue out & glue your finger…

TEACHER I went to a dinner party once
(TEACHER taps pencil against face)
TEACHER and there was a man who asked a question, every, every subject that came up, he would say something like.. ‘It's getting mysterious here, DISCUSS!’
(TEACHER points pencil accusingly at PUPIL)

TEACHER B flat
TEACHER Hang on, you've got in a muddle
PUPIL pauses
TEACHER go from the A

TEACHER cause here's the [PUPIL’S NAME] version
(TEACHER plays)
PUPIL giggles
TEACHER beautiful and as ever, polite and I'm
(TEACHER plays again vigorously)
TEACHER I'm a bit more extreme
PUPIL yeah
TEACHER oh yes. Perhaps it comes with age

TEACHER OK. It had a feeling round here as if you were racing to catch a train

TEACHER there's a change of gear at this point

TEACHER Tell me, have the cars got their head lights on yet?

TEACHER you mustn't play the first bar too fast otherwise you'll be stuffed.

TEACHER so, let's go from here, and if you hesitate there, there'll be hell to play
PUPIL OK (giggles, gets ready to play)

PUPIL I think they found it quite hard to play.
TEACHER Sabotaging you though, isn't it?
APPENDIX VII: SAMPLE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Questions for Mrs Compton
Did you feel aware of the camera?
Did you think the pupils were aware of it?
Was it just like a normal lesson, or were there differences?

Do you think that there are differences between the way boys and girls behave in their lessons, or just between individuals?

Which of the pupils do you find easier to teach? And why might that be?

Do you think there might be some girls who would be happier with a female teacher? And if so why might that be?

Do you think there are any differences in the way you teach these two pupils? And if so, why?

If you want the pupil to stop playing, what do you do? With Fiona you tended to say ‘stop’, but Cornelius seemed often to decide for himself when to stop?

In fact, was Cornelius taking the initiative more than Fiona in general? There was an occasion when you made a suggestion and he more or less tried it out and then gave it his approval. Is that something he often does?

He had rather decided how he thought the piece should go and you had to persuade him to change his ideas. Does that often happen with him? And with Fiona?

He told me that he had chosen that Cashian piece because he thought it was very free and he would just be able to play the notes when ready. But then he discovered he was going to have to count even harder than usual, so he went off it. Do you think it was the hard work aspect that put him off, did he think the piece was going to be too difficult for him?

Has he reacted like that to any other pieces?

Did you notice that Fiona looks at you rather more frequently than Cornelius?

You have told me that Fiona was much more forthcoming when she was younger. Why do you think she has changed?

She tended to say negative things about her playing; e.g. ‘do you like the Chopin? Yes, but I can’t play it.’ And ‘it’s just rubbish’.

Cornelius expressed his insecurity in a different way: ‘I have no idea how I’m going to approach this bit, so I thought I’d ask you.’ What do you think these differences show about the two of them?

Is there anything else you’d like to say about the two lessons?
APPENDIX VIII: CONSENT FORMS

RESEARCH DEGREES BOARD
RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (TEACHERS)

Title and brief description of Research Project:

PATTERNS AND CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER IN PUPIL-TEACHER INTERACTION IN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC LESSONS

Looking at Instrumental Music Lessons in order to find out more about how men and women teach and how boys and girls learn. This project involves the video-taping of some instrumental lessons and an interview, during which parts of the recorded lessons will be played back for further discussion. The video-recordings will be kept securely and not made accessible on the Internet.

Name and status of Investigator: Victoria C Rowe, Research Student

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the researcher and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

Name …………………………………

Signature …………………………………………………

Date …………………………………

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation, please raise this with the investigator, or with the Head of School (or equivalent), who is

Professor David Hargreaves (Director of Studies) Southlands College, USR, Roehampton Lane, London, SW15 5PU. Telephone 020 8392 3755. Email: D.J.Hargreaves@roehampton.ac.uk
RESEARCH DEGREES BOARD
RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (PARENTS OF PUPILS)
Title and brief description of Research Project:
PATTERNS AND CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER IN PUPIL-TEACHER INTERACTION IN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC LESSONS

Looking at Instrumental Music Lessons in order to find out more about how men and women teach and how boys and girls learn.
I shall be videoing some of your child’s music lessons, for him or her to look at later and talk about. You will also be able to look at the video if you wish. The instrumental teacher will also be viewing the videos on a separate occasion. The video-recordings will be kept in a safe place and will not be accessible from the Internet.

Name and status of Investigator: Victoria C Rowe, M.A, G.R.S.M., Research Student

Consent Statement:
I agree that my child may take part in this research, and am aware that he or she is free to withdraw at any point. I understand that the information provided will be treated in confidence by the researcher and that his or her identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.
Name of child..............................................................

Name of parent...........................................................

Signature of parent....................................................

Date ....................................................

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your child’s participation, please raise this with the investigator, or with the Head of School (or equivalent), who is

Professor David Hargreaves (Director of Studies) Southlands College, USR, Roehampton Lane, London, SW15 5PU. Telephone 020 8392 3755. Email: D.J.Hargreaves@roehampton.ac.uk
RESEARCH DEGREES BOARD
RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (PUPILS)

Brief description of Research Project:
Looking at Instrumental Music Lessons in order to find out more about how men and women teach and how boys and girls learn.
I shall be videoing some of your music lessons, for you to look at about a week later and talk about with me.

Name and status of Investigator: Victoria C Rowe, Research Student

Consent Statement:
I agree to take part in this research, and understand that I can stop at any time if I am not happy about anything. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the researcher and that my name will be kept secret in the publication of any findings.

Name .....................................

Signature ..................................

Date ......................................

Please note: If you have any questions or worries about your part in this research, please raise this with the investigator, or with the Head of School (or equivalent), who is

Professor David Hargreaves (Director of Studies) Southlands College, USR, Roehampton Lane, London, SW15 5PU. Telephone 020 8392 3755. Email: D.J.Hargreaves@roehampton.ac.uk
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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