ASPIRING PERFORMERS AND ASPIRING TEACHERS:
SOME ASPECTS OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF MUSIC STUDENTS

By:

Stephen Robert Couch

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In memory of my father,

Robert F. Couch
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CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with certain aspects of the socialization of aspiring professional musicians. Specifically, it deals with factors which influence a music student's self-appraisal of his skill and his choice of a specific profession within the music world.

The students under consideration are enrolled in the Oberlin Conservatory of Music, one of the top music conservatories in this country. They came to Oberlin in order to learn the skills necessary to carry out a career in music. Most are enrolled as performance majors and hope to make a career of musical performance.

However, the music world is such that very few musicians are able to earn their living through performance. The majority of music jobs available are in the area of music teaching. While a performance career is sought by most students, only those who have the highest level of performance skill can realistically hope to have a good chance of securing a full-time performance job once they leave the school.

Music students hold no illusions about the difficulty of securing a performance career. Besides attempting to improve their musical skill, music students must also evaluate their skill in relation to the skill of others, and thereby attempt to judge what their chances are of eventually being successful in their chosen career. It seems to be a reasonable assumption that people will not continue to attempt to accomplish something
when they do not feel they have what it takes to succeed. Only so long as a music student feels he is (or can become) adequately skillful in music will he continue to pursue a music career.

A student's evaluation of his musical skill, as part of his evaluation of his self, is by its nature social (Mead, 1970). It is especially influenced by what significant others think of his skill --- that is, those others whose opinions of a student's skill are especially important because of their relationship with the student or because of the reference group(s) they represent. The relationships a person forms with significant others have been found to strongly influence the development of that person's concept of himself (for example, see Kuhn, 1964; Denzin, 1966; Stryker, 1957).

In addition, the reference groups a person uses as comparison groups on which to base judgements of his own skill, as well as the reference groups to which a person aspires, are important in the development of a person's concept of his self (for example, see Davis, 1966; Werts and Watley, 1969; Kemper, 1968).

Through comparisons of his skill with reference groups and the feedback concerning his skill received from significant others, a student comes to form his own view of his skill, and assesses his skill as to whether it is or will be adequate to the career he hopes to pursue. The music school as an organization may influence the student's assessment through controlling the feedback he receives from significant others, encouraging the use of certain groups as reference groups, and formally and informally communicating its view to the student through various mechanisms. The school is involved not only in teaching the student musical
skills, but in teaching the student to adequately appraise the musical skill he has. As Charles Kadushin writes in his study of Juilliard and Manhattan music students:

"From the point of view of the students themselves, the meaning of music school lies in the acquisition of musical skills. To the field as a whole, the weeding out of the incompetent is an important function of conservatories. For if the standards of excellence are not imparted in school, then the more cruel world of commercial audition and audience reaction will enforce its standards. Better to promote an image of reality under the sympathetic aegis of teachers than the indifferent ear of contractors and impresarios." (1968: Chapter V, p. 10)

Moreover, the school as an organization must contend with constraints placed upon it by its environment (Thompson, 1967). The market for professional performing musicians is very small. Only those students with extremely fine skill in performance have a realistic chance of being successful in a performing career.

Given these considerations, it might logically be thought that students enter the school with a certain view of their skill and certain career plans. Through formal and informal mechanisms available to them, largely through the school, these students receive additional feedback concerning their skill and keep or change their own view of their skill. They are also gradually taught the reality of the performance world: very few will make it. If they view their performing skill as high, they will be inclined to attempt a performing career. If they view it as not so high, they learn that they may switch to another area of the music profession or drop out altogether. One would, then, expect to find what Kadushin found when considering similar questions in his study:

"What do students learn about their future careers while they are in music school? They learn to lower their
sights (or drop out altogether). The effect of a music school upon career choice is to push more students in the direction of teaching and to discourage many from attempting a career only as a performer." (1968: Chapter VII, p. 57)

However, this does not seem to be the case at Oberlin. The majority of those who graduate do so with a performance degree. As will be shown below, most students as a first choice plan to attempt a performance career.

This thesis attempts to discover why the anticipated switch away from performance as a planned career does not occur. The major questions to be confronted are:

1. What are the characteristics of the socialization process which takes place at the school in relation to a student developing a certain view of his own skill?

2. How does the student's view of his skill relate to his choice of a performance or a non-performance career plan?

3. How can the fact that there is little change of career plans in the direction of teaching be explained?

Chapter II attempts to outline in more detail the expectations which were very briefly discussed above. It discusses a theory of socialization by which a student would be expected to be socialized toward a realistic view of his skill. It also sets forth, on the basis of organization theory, reasons why the music school would be expected to influence the student's judgement of his own skill, and explicates the mechanisms by which the school can wield such influence.

Chapter III relates these general theories to Oberlin. After briefly describing the Oberlin Conservatory of Music, some contingencies on the general theory are discussed in light of factors peculiar to Oberlin. A set of hypotheses is presented which attempts to support the theory of socialization set forth.
Chapter IV explains the methods used in obtaining the data needed to test these hypotheses, as well as the methods of scaling used in data analysis.

Chapter V is devoted to presenting the results of the tests of the various hypotheses.

Chapter VI begins by focusing on some characteristics of the distribution of career changes. It then presents a causal model of factors influencing a student's view of his skill and his career choice, in hopes of further clarifying the expected socialization process.

Chapter VII summarizes the conclusions and discusses their possible causes and implications. Further areas for research are also outlined.
CHAPTER II:

THEORY

The music school is an organization. It is similar to, and different from, other organizations. It teaches students in one of the most esoteric, subjective disciplines man has yet invented, but it is a vocational, not liberal arts, education which is offered. Student musicians are brought into contact with the world's great musical traditions representing some of the most human and spiritual creativity Man has ever brought forth, yet they also come in contact with the fact that they are studying toward a career in one of the most competitive businesses in existence. The faculty consists of extremely talented professionals, but, in the sociological sense, they are full professionals only because of their status as faculty: as musicians, with the expert skills and training required of professionals, their precarious position with regard to economics and control over their work would allow them only semi-professional status at best.

What can be said specifically about the structure of the music conservatory? First, it employs what can be termed "intensive technology" (Thompson, 1967). Unlike an automobile factory, where part is added to part in a very predictable way, until the finished product rolls off the line, the music school must attempt to mold people. Its "product" is people, with certain particular skills and certain particular values and outlooks concerning the profession they are entering. The music school cannot merely combine parts, or feed information into its
future product as though onto a tape, expecting it to be read back at will. The school must attempt, given certain human talent which differs with each aspiring musician, to mold that talent into the best musical skill of which it is possible. It also must attempt, given certain human personalities, to give each student the values and disciplines necessary to use musical skill in the career to which the student aspires. These are far less certain, more perilous tasks than those confronting General Motors or Ford.

Following from this fact is the basic organizational structure of the music school. This may be termed "professional" rather than "bureaucratic" (Blau and Scott, 1962). A vertical line structure is not adequate for an organization employing intensive technology. Such a structure presumes that specific procedures can be formulated which, when applied to the object being worked on, will with a high degree of certainty yield a predictable finished product. If this is the case, the functions of bureaucratic rules (Gouldner, 1954) and the functions of vertical communications and status structures are very great. Workers do not need to operate a great deal of discretion in the performance of their jobs. They can, for the most part, just "follow the rules".

However, no one has yet designed a set of rules adequate to the training of a professional musician, or a doctor, or an English professor, or a lawyer. The teaching of human individuals necessarily embodies a great deal of uncertainty. There is not an industrial engineer in the world who would dare attempt to put specifications on a trained musician. Since evaluation of
the finished product cannot be specified in fairly universal terms, and since the means of training musicians cannot be set down specifically through a set of bureaucratic rules, a great deal of discretion must be given to the teachers as to how they will refine their students' musical raw material. They are the experts --- they must judge how it is do be done.

To this point, we could easily have been talking about the teaching of any subject in an undergraduate college. However, there are some major differences between a college and a conservatory. The most important of these differences is the conservatory's emphasis on vocational skills. The conservatory is a vocational school. It teaches students the skills necessary to make music a career. Its closest counterpart in a liberal arts college would be an education department, where teaching as a trade is taught as part of the curriculum. Except for the specialized nature of the subject matter, a music education department in a conservatory would do the same thing. However, in a conservatory, performance departments are solely concerned with teaching a trade, or, if you will, an art: that of musical performance. Those who enter a conservatory do so for two reasons: to develop their musical skill, and to prepare themselves for a career in music. The school's goals reflect these goals of its students.

Faculty, therefore, must be drawn from those trained in a trade, not only a subject. All are trained in music. Some are trained, like college professors, in broad specialized intellectual areas of music, such as music history, theory, or ethnomusicology, but the vast majority have specialized in a trade, be it a certain
instrument or music education. Those who teach instruments or voice very often are still performers, with many still earning their primary source of income from performance. An exception to this is Oberlin, where the faculty is primarily composed of full-time teachers. But even here, although there is much less current performing by faculty members than there is at, for example, Juilliard or Manhattan, most all, if not all, of the performance faculty has had very extensive performing experience.

As has been implied in setting forth some of the characteristics of the music school, it cannot be seen by any means as a "closed system". The music school is viewed instead as an "open system" (Thompson, 1967), one which must interact with its environment, and to a great degree. This puts certain constraints on its operation. In the first place, it must depend upon its environment for its "input", or students. It must attempt to find from its environment students it feels it can with relative certainty train to become good and successful professional musicians.

"An organization can control specific inputs . . . best when it can establish a standard above which it will accept inputs, and below which it will reject inputs" (Perlstadt, 1972, p. 81). The music school has a great problem in maximizing this potential. While, compared with medical or law students applying for entrance at their professional schools, music students apply with a high degree of expertise in their field before entering formal professional training, there are still two important constraints on the conservatory. One is the problem of judging the best talent that applies. It is not hard for a musician to judge
a poor musician from a good one, but it is extremely difficult
to judge a potentially good musician from a potentially fine one.
Any faculty member could cite scores of examples of students who,
entering as good freshmen, graduated four years later with very
little musical improvement, as well as scores who barely edged
their way into the freshman class, only to bloom, graduate with
honors, and become "stars" in the music world.

The second problem is that the competition among conserva­tories for the best talent is extremely fierce. As is the case
with most colleges and professional schools, the "status" of that
school is extremely important. There are five or six music
schools in this country which are generally regarded in the music
world as being the best. Each has distinct advantages and dis­
advantages in being able to attract students. Students may hope
to study with a certain teacher at one school. They may prefer
the location of another. The outside job opportunities may be
especially attractive at another. The financial aid offer may be
most inviting at yet another. This adds up to the fact that for
a school to send an acceptance letter to the best cellist it has
auditioned in decades is no certainty that they will obtain him
as input. He may simply get more money elsewhere, or not like
rainy plains.

Obtaining top input for a music school is extremely critical
if it is to maintain or improve its reputation. The better the
input, the better are the chances of molding it into top output.
And the better the output, the better are the chances that the
output will obtain excellent jobs in the music world. The exis­
tence of the music school as a top school is to a great extent
determined by the jobs its graduates receive. There is no other objective way for the environment to evaluate the worth of a music school but by its graduates. The faculty individually must rely on their students in order to build a reputation. It is the reputation of a school, built by its graduates, which prospective input uses to assess whether or not the school is worth attending.

The situation is made all the more critical when the employment situation in the music field is considered. As is the case with all creative arts in America today, very few musicians earn their living through their music (Wilson, 1964, p. 27). There are many more trained musicians than there are jobs for them. This is especially true in the performing field. Unlike the graduate of a medical school, who can be assured of making at least a decent living in his field, the employment prospects of even the best music school graduates are questionable. Therefore, it is critical for the organization that it train students who will be in a competitive position to obtain some of the limited job resources, as only through good feedback from the graduates in good jobs can the school itself in the long run be maintained.

Moreover, the job situation, as in other fields, is especially tough on those who aspire to the "top status" jobs. There is a definite hierarchy of status accorded to jobs in music (Sensman, 1972). In general, the performer is rated much higher than the teacher. Such a phenomenon is not unusual for a profession --- a surgeon is rated higher in status than a psychiatrist in the medical world. But this fact does not effect the medical school in that no firm decision has to be made by its students before
graduation as to what specialty they plan to go into. The music student must make a certain commitment when he enrolls. Should he be a performance major? A music education major? While changes in major are made, it entails abandoning a certain commitment toward a course of future action, and the making of another commitment, and all that that entails, both for the student and the school. In the context not under consideration, a student in performance is heading toward a higher status job which, if he makes it, will reflect extremely well upon the school. But the chances of his making it, even if his skill is exceptionally good, are slim. A student in education, music history, or music theory will eventually teach and/or do scholarly work, jobs which are somewhat easier to obtain, yet, while no less intrinsically valuable, do not carry the glory for either the school or the musician that a performing job holds.

Therein lies the dilemma. The music school is part of a "system": that of the professional music world. Its market is the orchestras, schools, chamber groups, opera companies, and music societies which employ musicians. Success of its graduates in the market is essential to the maintenance of the music school. Success for the school can best be assured by the placing of its graduates in high status "performing" positions. Yet that is where the market is most constrained. The music school as an organization can be expected to attempt to control the uncertainty of the market (Thompson, 1967), either externally if it can gain power over the market, or internally, by maintaining flexibility as to the areas of the market it can successfully serve. No conservatory maintains a monopoly on talent in any particular
area of music; therefore its power over the market is minimal. How, then, might it adjust internally to maximize its flexibility?

Were the training of musicians like the manufacture of cars, the solution might not be too difficult. It would seem logical for the organization to train only its very top input, the Cadillacs, as it were, to be professional performers, and concentrate on making excellent teachers out of the Chevrolets. This way, there would not be a great surplus of performers in a market which cannot support them and yet needs excellent teachers.

But the school is not concerned with making automobiles. A person's career is not merely a niche for which he is judged by society to be well fit, considering the state of the market. A person brings many things to the process of career choice over which the organization can wield limited, albeit powerful, control: his desires, personality, values, ideals. Nevertheless, the following questions can be asked: To what extent does the conservatory attempt to influence the career choices of the students? Does it do so, intentionally or unintentionally, in such a way as to move toward an equilibrium with its market environment? What mechanisms does it have at its disposal to attempt to effect these changes, and how are they used?

Kadushin, in his study of Juilliard and Manhattan Schools of Music students (1968), found that there was a general shift from students planning to go into a performance career to those students deciding to go into a teaching career.* He explains

* Kadushin's measures differ from those of this study to the extent that a systematic comparison of results would not be
this as an adjustment to reality by the students to the fact that many stand little or no chance of being successful in a performance career, and that they had better become trained in another field if they plan to earn their living.

beneficial. However, his Chapter V ("Subjectivity and Objectivity in the Judgement of Excellence: Talent, Skill, and Grades") and his Chapter VII ("Career Expectations") yield conclusions most relevant to the considerations of this study.

As mentioned in the Introduction, Kadushin found career expectations to change from performance to teaching. He found that the school experience tended to alter the student's short-range career plans, which in turn tended to become his long-range career plans. The Oberlin data do not allow a direct comparison, but it was the discrepancy of Kadushin's theoretically reasonable findings with the situation as viewed at Oberlin which led to a consideration of the questions presented in the Introduction.

Concerning the formation by the student of a view of his own skill, Kadushin found significant others played a most important role, which is entirely consistent with the findings being presented in this thesis. He also found that in order to develop an "accurate" view of his own skill, the student was greatly helped by having numerous opportunities for "testing" his skill through contact with other musicians and playing outside the confines of the school itself. Related to this is the great importance outside jobs and union membership have in developing a student's "professional self-concept" (Chapter VIII). On the basis of this finding, it is predicted in this study that, since the location of Oberlin does not allow such opportunities for "reality testing" as are available in New York City, the number of performances, outside or inside the school, in which a student engages would not be an important factor in the development of the student's view of his skill, thereby placing more importance on other factors. This is indeed found to be the case.

Finally, Kadushin found, as does this study, that students of lower skill tend to plan to teach, and those of higher skill tend to plan on a performance career.
Kadushin sees the schools as having four main "levers" which aid it in effecting changes in the career choices of students. These are (Introduction, pp. 5-6):

1. "... the official recognition of a student's excellence in music, or his relative lack of it."
   This operates at Juilliard and Manhattan through:
   a. auditions before a faculty jury each spring;
   b. scholarships; and
   c. contests and competitions within the school.

2. "... participation in school activities such as the various classes, performing groups, and most important, the individual lessons ... with the teacher of their major instrument."

3. "A third lever, informal relations with fellow students and with teachers, is not directly controlled by the school but mediates the recognition of excellence and the participation in school activities.

4. "The fourth lever is one over which the schools have little control ... : contact with the outside professional world of music."

This model will be brought up again later, modified somewhat, and considered in light of the Oberlin Conservatory of Music. For now, its exposition illustrates one vital point: the "levers" which effect a student's career choice have a great deal to do with that student's perception of his musical skills. All of the above factors serve to help the musician assess whether or not the musical skills he possesses are adequate for the career path ahead. Beyond this, feedback gained through performance or teaching experience gives the student an opportunity to see, regardless of his skill, whether he would find enjoyment and fulfillment from such activities.

All of which leads to the fact that, to understand the
attempts of the organization to influence a student's career choice in pursuit of certain organizational goals and needs, an understanding of the relationship of a student's career with other aspects of the student's plans, hopes, desires, and overall personality must be reached. This means confronting the process of socialization of the individual carried out or attempted by the organization, which occurs at the point where the individual and the organization meet. Some aspects of the organization have been considered --- it is now necessary to consider some aspects of the individual.

A person must depend on the judgements of others in assessing his particular skills, as well as in learning those skills, and in learning and performing various social roles. He constantly assesses feedback received from others in developing all aspects of his concept of himself. Without society, there can be no self (Mead, 1970). This concept of self is very important in a person's career decisions. His view of himself and of his skills (past, present, and future) place him in his own mind in a certain position in society. Why he decides to be a "professional musician", "performer", "music teacher", and all that they entail (or he thinks they entail) is to a great extent dependent on his view of himself. This view is not born in him, but is formed, within certain biological limits, by interaction between the person and his physical, cultural, and social environment.

The view of people and groups of a person has a great influence on how he views himself. Certain groups have a greater effect on a person's self-concept than do others. A person comes to share the perspectives of certain groups, and turns to
those perspectives when making decisions. These groups are known as "reference groups" (Shibutani, 1955; Becker, et. al., 1961). The family is usually a most important reference group, especially during a person's early life (Won, et. al., 1969). Peer groups, intellectuals, musicians, "Americans" are other examples. Reference groups may be specific groups. They may, however, be fictional groups which have meaning in the mind of the actor. Or they may be groups to which the actor aspires, but which conjure in his mind images which are very distorted from reality. Because of these facts, the "reference group" is hard to pin down and use in empirical tests.

Related to the reference group, but more promising because of its more concrete, testable nature, is the concept of "significant others". They are people who for various reasons are especially important to an actor with regard to his self concept, world view, and role playing. The significant other often belongs to, represents, or reflects one or more reference groups. There are seen to be two related kinds of significant others: the "orientational other" and the "role-specific other".

According to Manford H. Kuhn (1964), the orientational other contains four major attributes:

1. They are others to whom the actor is most committed emotionally and psychologically.

2. They are others who have provided him with the most crucial vocabulary, hence categories.

3. They are others who provided and provide categories of self and other and meaningful roles to which they refer.

4. They are others in communication with whom his self-concept is basically structured and/or changed.
Role-specific others are those with whom the actor's relationship is not as basic, and is confined to relatively role-specific and/or short durational matters (Denzin, 1966).

When considering the musician, it is helpful to keep in mind the above considerations and relate them to ideas brought forth by Theodore D. Kemper (1968). He defined three different types of reference groups:

1. Normative: those which define roles for the individual.
2. Model: those which exemplify how roles are to be played.
3. Audience: those which provide anticipation or realization of rewards for outstanding role performance.

For the purposes of this discussion, the above types are considered as types of significant others rather than reference groups. Any significant other might fall into any one or more of the above groups.

Related to the above types are the four major functions of significant others (Yinger, et al., 1970):

1. Material supports: financial aid; food; shelter.
2. Moral and emotional supports: decision support; help in time of emotional crisis.
3. Instruction: teaching of skills; teaching of roles.
4. Advocacy: sponsorship into and through social networks.

At a particular time, for a particular individual, certain significant others fulfill (or fail to fulfill) the above functions for the aspiring individual. The exposure of a person to the three types of significant others, and how well significant others fulfill the four functions, often effects whether or not an individual will begin or continue to strive toward a career in professional music.
Throughout this paper, significant others whose role in relation to the student is primarily supportive will be called expressive others. Those whose role is primarily instructional will be called instrumental others.*

Significant others provide feedback to the student concerning his musical skill. It is predicted that the more encouragement a student receives from significant others concerning his musical skill, the higher will be the student's own view of his skill. Particularly important at the time the student spends at the conservatory will be those experts with whom he is most in contact: the teachers. As "instrumental" others and experts in the student's anticipated field, their feedback can be expected to greatly influence a student's view of his skill.

At the time of the student's entrance into music school, he is already planning to become a professional musician. Before proceeding to consider what changes in those plans occur while the student is at the school, a question must be asked: why did the student decide to be a musician in the first place? While this is a topic beyond the scope of this paper, the question must still be answered, at least in a very general sense. All of a person's experiences are to an extent cumulative --- supports a musician has received in the past are to an extent important regarding all his future decisions, whether he is conscious of that fact or not.

* This is not to suggest that, for example, a family member does not fulfill instructional functions, or a teacher supportive ones. For the student musician, however, the teacher will seldom provide financial support. More importantly, unless the student's family contains excellent musicians, the family can seldom give musical instructional or advocacy functions to the student by the time he enrolls in the Conservatory.
For a person to eventually choose to pursue the formal study of music, he must first of all be exposed to the musical symbols of a culture. By musical symbols are meant those sounds and combinations of sounds which are culturally considered to be music.

Once a person is exposed to musical symbols, he often begins manipulating them himself. When he does, he must receive social support from some quarter in order for him to reach the point of wanting to be a musician. He must also become aware of the possible rewards available for assuming certain roles through manipulation of musical symbols. "Normative" significant others teach him the roles; "model" others provide role models; "audience" others give him the awareness of available rewards. Often all three types of "others" are first combined into one major "orientational other", usually the family, although this is not necessarily the case. The important thing is that support for musical activities must come from somewhere. Without such support, the person would give up making music and turn to something else where some form of social support might be forthcoming. If the "looking-glass self" consistently gets a bad reflection when making music, there would be no further making of that music.

The family usually provides the musician with his first major encouragement in the field of music (Kadushin, 1968; Cambor, 1962). As a person grows up and has more and more contact outside the home, his family usually becomes less important as significant others, and other people take their place (Denzin, 1966; Stryker, 1957; McDill and Coleman, 1965;
Pugh, et. al., 1971). This is particularly true of the young musician. Most study an instrument or voice at an early age, coming in contact with a type of person not usually encountered by any other young person: the private teacher. Here is a person outside the family with specialized knowledge in the young person's area of interest; a person who takes a personal, private interest in helping the young person develop his talents. The private teacher provides a very special form of encouragement to the music student. If that student is talented, he may be encouraged "by one who knows what it takes" to pursue a music career. The Master - Disciple relationship which often develops between teacher and student lends emotional impact to the encouragement. The teacher becomes much more than a role-specific other, but provides moral and emotional supports, instruction, advocacy, and in many cases certain material supports to the student. In the music world, the teacher is also a normative, model, and audience significant other to the student. His importance and, usually, influence cannot theoretically be overemphasized.

But the private teacher is not infallible in judgement. Neither are the other significant others who encourage the young musician to pursue a music career. Many are not acquainted with the difficulty of making a living through music. Many have no real way of judging how talented a student really is compared with others outside the local geographical area. So many musicians with great differential ability are given great encouragement to apply to a music conservatory. Some are rejected by the music school, and call it quits at that point.
But the music school's screening at time of entrance is not adequate to coming close to eliminate those who probably will not make it in a music career --- particularly in a performance career. The jobs for graduates, especially in performance, simply do not exist.

At which point discussion has returned again to the point at which the organization and the individual meet. The music school is a complex organization operating to achieve certain goals under a number of constraints placed upon it by its environment and its structure. The music student is an individual who contracts with the organization for diffuse services which will hopefully raise his skills above a certain standard of excellence, which will in turn hopefully qualify him for a position in performance, teaching, or scholarship in the music profession. During the course of his career at the conservatory, the student receives and perceives cues from significant others as to their judgement of his skill, and in turn he forms an opinion of his own skill and a judgement of his chances for being successful in his chosen career.

The following chapter considers the above general discussion in the context of a specific school: The Oberlin Conservatory of Music.
CHAPTER III.:

THE CONSERVATORY

The Oberlin Conservatory of Music is one of the major music conservatories in the country --- for that matter, in the world. In its 106-year-old history, Oberlin has gained a world-wide reputation as a producer of fine musicians in every career line of the music profession.

There are 503 full-time degree students attending the Conservatory.* The faculty consists of 61 full-time teachers, plus 13 part-time faculty members comprising 4½ full-time equivalent positions. All have exceptional credentials in the music field. The high ratio of full-time to part-time teachers is a major difference between Oberlin and most other major conservatories, where most faculty members are at the school on a part-time basis because of performing obligations.

The location of the Conservatory is also an important difference compared with other major conservatories. It is located in a small town 35 miles southwest of Cleveland. Students have very little opportunity to visit or work in Cleveland --- the opportunity for most to get outside music jobs in the area is very small. This contrasts greatly with most other conservatories, which are located in large cities. The fact that many fine musicians and musical groups visit Oberlin, providing Oberlin students with some contact with the outside music world, does not alter the fact that Oberlin students have less of an opportunity to hear professional musicians perform.

* The figures are as of October 1972.
than do those at most other conservatories.

Another important aspect of the Oberlin Conservatory is its unique relation with Oberlin College. They are two divisions of the same school, giving Conservatory students the opportunity to take excellent liberal arts courses and to carry on a social life with students of very different interests.

The overwhelming majority of Conservatory students, 404 (78%), are performance majors.* Music education comes next with 73 majors. Other music majors in the Conservatory number 14, with double degree programs, consisting of a degree in both the Conservatory and the College, or of two Conservatory degrees, accounting for 26 of the students.

The sex distribution in the Conservatory is slightly skewed in the direction of women, who number 267, compared with 236 men. Due to drop-outs, the senior class is smaller than the freshman class, as is the usual case for colleges and conservatories. There are 145 freshmen, 136 sophomores, 104 juniors, and 101 seniors enrolled. The Conservatory is predominantly White, with 40 Black students enrolled.

With these as basic background facts about the Oberlin Conservatory, the questions which were raised concerning the school and its influence on student career choice may again be examined. As an organization, The Oberlin Conservatory pursues goals. In order to attempt to answer the questions which were raised, it must be determined what the major goals of the Conservatory are. In light of the difficult position performers are in when they enter the job market, and if the musical profession, including

* The major figures include changes made after the other enrollment figures were tabulated. This is the reason why the total number of majors here does not sum to 503.
the training grounds for professionals, is considered a system (for the moment the unit of analysis), then might a shift be seen in the goals of the Conservatory away from performance and toward teaching and other musical disciplines in order to encourage students to apply their musical skills where they will be needed most in the market?

Determining what the Conservatory's goals are is not an easy matter. There is a definite problem when one comes to define what can be considered organizational goals. The organization is not a person --- it is a group of people. It is a structure. It is a set of norms. Its goals are not as easily determined as are the goals of a person. Moreover, as with the goals of a person, the "stated" goals may not be the actual goals, but justifications or ideologies for the actual goals. These problems have been cogently dealt with in the literature (Etzioni, 1960; Perrow, 1961).

Perrow's approach (1970), which presents a typology of organizational goals, allows the possibility of operationalizing one type of goal, while at the same time acknowledging the existence of other types. He states that there are five types of organizational goals: societal, output, systems, product, and derived goals. Since the concern of this paper is how the organization influences the student's view of his skill and his career choice, the focus here is on what Perrow considers "product" goals: goals concerning characteristics of goods and services produced by an organization. In this case, the music student (that is, the "graduate-to-be") is the product.

As with most organizations, a fair idea of the music school's
"product" goals can be found in its statement of purpose (convincing precedent for this in the use of medical school bulletins is found in Perlstadt, 1972). While these statements do not give a full range of precisely stated goals, they cannot run too far afield, as it is through these statements that an organization presents itself directly to the public. It would not take long for that public to discover statements that are truly erroneous regarding the "product" the organization is producing.

Concerning the statement of purpose of the Oberlin Conservatory, the Oberlin College Bulletin (1972) states:

"The Conservatory student, while enthusiastically partaking of (an) atmosphere of innovation, continues, as he has always done, to approach the study of music through advanced study in his principal performing area. The prevailing environment is of the highest performance standards, and the student is encouraged to seek a level of professional competence in his area, whether he decides to continue his emphasis on applied study throughout his four years or permit his musical interests to radiate from that central core into the associated areas of music history, music theory, composition, or music education." (p. 73)

Clearly, the emphasis of this stated purpose of the Conservatory is on professional performance --- the area where the fewest jobs are available for those who graduate. Further evidence to support this view is found in the number of faculty members employed in applied study in comparison with those employed in other areas. Certainly one of the most crucial areas in which decision-makers make decisions to implement goals is the area of priority given to the technical areas of competence held by those faculty members hired. The figures from the 1972 Oberlin College Bulletin are shown in Table 2.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applied Music (Performance)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Theory</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Education</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music History</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conducting</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-American Music</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnomusicology</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurythmics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Theater</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Double appointments have been counted twice. The Conservatory does not break the positions into full-time equivalents by department.

Further examination of the course catalogue indicates that the Conservatory has indeed expanded its offerings in recent years to include courses in ethnomusicology, jazz, Afro-American music, computer-generated music, and so on. While these clearly show an interest in expanding the musical interests of Conservatory students, the course changes have not led to a change in overall career emphasis.

How well does the Conservatory fulfill the goal of producing professional performing musicians? It no doubt produces excellent performers. However, a study of Conservatory graduates of the classes of 1960-1969 found that in 1971, very few graduates were making their living in performance (Belcheff, 1971). The summary statistics are given in Table 2.2.

As Belcheff concludes, it seems that "the major occupational field Oberlin Conservatory graduates enter is in the area of teaching" (p. 23). There is, then, a contradiction between at least the official statement of purpose of the school and the
results of graduate placement in the job market.

TABLE 2.2: Total number and percent of graduates for the listed occupations, controlling for sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public-Private School Music Teachers</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife---Private Lessons</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Students</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Music Profession</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Performer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Teacher</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Music Teacher</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Professional Orchestra</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Organist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Accompanist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>N=136</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Music Teachers</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public-Private School Music Teachers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Students</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Music Profession</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Performer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Teacher</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Music</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Accompanist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister of Music</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>N=100</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These findings imply that there is indeed not the market to absorb nearly all those who graduate from the Conservatory as performance majors. Not only is the overall ratio of performance majors to other music majors high for all attending the school, but the attrition rate does not greatly alter this situation.
In 1972, of 76 members of the graduating class, 58 were performance majors. This implies that the socialization of students to a realistic appraisal of their chances of success in a performance career does not operate in a way which would approach an equilibrium between the plans of its graduates and the needs of the market. In order to investigate this further, consideration again must be given to the point at which the organization and the individual meet.

Of particular interest is the case of the school confronting a student performance major who wants to perform as a career, but who has a very low probability on the basis of his skill of being successful in such a career. To examine this case, a negative view of Kadushin's "levers" will be taken, considering that for the school to lack a lever would lessen its power with which to influence a student to change career plans --- that is, it would lessen the school's power to perform a "cooling-out" function on those who do not stand a good chance of success in a performance career.

First, what of official recognition by the school of the students' excellence, or lack of it? As at Juilliard and Manhattan, there are auditions during the spring at which students may receive official positive or negative cues toward their performance. Unlike Juilliard and Manhattan, these "committee" auditions, held before the teachers of one's major department, are held only for freshmen and sophomores. They are part of the formal requirements for performance majors, and may be seen as minor "rites of passage" within the organization.

The potential for this mechanism is great, but its use indi-
cates that the potential goes largely undeveloped. In the area of negative sanction, it is used very little. Precise data on the number of people who are forced to change their major due to failing their sophomore committee are not available, but the Conservatory Administration estimates the yearly number to be five students at most. If a student fails the freshman committee, the Conservatory may advise, though not force, the student to change majors. The number who fail the freshman committee is estimated to be, at most, eight students a year.*

Given the nature of the negative sanctions, what positive sanctions does the committee offer? The major one is the rite of passage itself. Once a person is through the sophomore committee, whether he scraped by it or whizzed through it, he is that much closer to fulfilling the requirements of his degree. The committee does not, however, offer substantial rewards for the best-skilled students in relation to the rest. Indeed, the comments the committee makes are recorded and available for the student to find out what they are, but few students go through the procedures necessary for them to read those results. He usually only finds out whether he passed or failed. The committee, as it turns out, has a relatively weak effect in influencing students to consider career plan changes.

The official recognition the organization can make of exceptional talent through awarding scholarships is totally lacking at Oberlin. Scholarships are awarded strictly on the basis of need, with no talent scholarships available.

* This is not to imply that the Conservatory has no standards of excellence by which it judges its students. The standard is high. However, there are many more excellent performers than there are performance jobs for them, which is the point.
The only school-sponsored contest the students may enter is the concerto competition, where seniors audition for an opportunity to perform a concerto with the Oberlin Orchestra. This is indeed a powerful positive sanction for the people who win, usually numbering about six. Again, however, it has no way of functioning as a negative sanction, and can function as a positive sanction for only a very few seniors. It must be concluded that the school officially uses little power through official mechanisms in giving negative sanctions, and has little power outside of regular participation in classes and groups of giving positive sanctions.

The other three items mentioned by Kadushin can all be combined into a socialization model which can be tested by the information gathered through the present survey. While the official mode of sanction (that is, forcing one to change plans) is independent of a student's desires, the other methods of influencing change must rely on a voluntary change in plans by the student. Either he must come to see the life of a professional musician as one he does not want, or he must see his skill as not adequate, or probabilistically small, to carry out the plans he has. Or, in the case of a non-performance career student, he would see his skill as probably adequate to achieving a performance career, and accordingly change his plans to performance.

What variables, then, are critical to the analysis of the questions raised in the Introduction? First, there is the student's view of his own skill. Only so long as the student views his skill as probably adequate to his career plans will he continue to hold those career plans, regardless of how good he
actually is. Besides this measure, a measure of "objective" skill is also needed: how good is the student judged to be by "experts" independent of the student's judgement of his own skill? The student, though, is an expert also, and his judgement of his skill, regardless of the views of others concerning his skill, but gained through "objective" musical assessment of his performance, certainly will have influence on his view of his skill.

Significant others must also be examined. The feedback a student receives from significant others, regardless of his objective skill, should independently effect the student's view of his skill. Also, the number of performances one engages in, since it reflects recognition of others in being given opportunity to perform, as well as opportunities to receive feedback from others and from "objective" skill through the actual performance, must be considered.

With the above discussions in mind, and with special consideration paid to what are the critical variables in the socialization process, a number of propositions and hypotheses will be made. They will be tested in the following chapters. Finally, on the basis of those tests, a causal model will be set up and tested in an attempt to explicate the process of socialization regarding a student's view of his skill and his choice of career plans.

The general thesis to be developed is that at the Oberlin Conservatory, there are various structural factors which influence students not to change career plans, regardless of their musical skill. Specifically, the major factors are:

1. A very strong value-status orientation of both students and faculty which views performance as the highest ideal
one can reach in the music world, and which views music teaching as a secondary endeavor, to be engaged in on a full-time basis by those who lack the talent or skill to be successful in a performance career. (Bensman, 1972)

This status differential is important in that those who come to view their talent as above average will be encouraged to put it to "full use" by becoming a performer, since performing is seen as the apex of musical expression which can be achieved as a full-time career. The fact that both students and faculty hold this view gives the faculty the power, whether they consciously recognize it or not, to reinforce the students' view of the music world. It is felt that the congruence is not an illustration of successful socialization of the student to career values by the school, but of reinforcement of values that the student brings to the school (Kadushin, 1968: Chapter II).

2. The importance of the value-status orientation shared by students and faculty is enhanced by the lack of alternative supports other than the major teacher which are available, especially the lack of outside performing opportunities (Kadushin, 1968: Chapters II and VIII; Goffman, 1961).

Kadushin found that the number of outside jobs engaged in by students at Juilliard and Manhattan greatly influenced their development of a professional self-concept. It gave them a chance to make a gradual transition from the role of student to the role of professional, allowing them to practice in their field before actually "graduating" into it. It gave them a chance to expand their "audience" others and receive feedback concerning their performance from those outside their academic sphere of influence.

Oberlin lacks this link with the environment. It is in
this respect isolated from the professional world. Students simply cannot "job around", as almost no jobs are available. It is almost impossible for them to receive significant other professional feedback about their playing from outside the school. In this respect, while not attempting to generalize about Oberlin life in general, Oberlin takes on some characteristics of the total institution. The "inmates", or students, must rely almost solely on those connected with the institution to evaluate them and to teach them the values and statuses of the music world. Without others outside the organization who can provide other views, the views of those within take on added significance. The major applied teacher --- his views and his evaluations --- becomes extremely critical in effecting the student's view of his skill and the student's professional values.

With these two major factors in mind, the following specific hypotheses are made:

I. Concerning significant others in general.

1. In general, the more encouragement a student feels he receives from significant others, the higher will be the student's view of his skill.

Considering the self as social, formed in social interaction, the more a person perceives significant others as encouraging to him regarding his musical skill, the higher will he come to regard his musical skill.

2. More importantly, the availability of significant others familiar with the music field is strongly related to how accurate a student's view of his skill will be.

While the accumulation of support from many significant others is important, it has been found that the availability of one or more significant others who give great encouragement is
more important than the number of significant others who give encouragement (Yinger, et. al., 1970). It is hypothesized that significant others who are instrumentally important for the student, such as music teachers, are very important influences on the student, both at the music school and before the student comes to the music school. If a student can establish an important relationship with an instrumental significant other, that important other will greatly effect the student's view of his skill, regardless of other supports, or lack of supports, the student receives.

II. Concerning the student's relationship with the major applied teacher.

1. The most important significant other from the student's point of view concerning the student's present progress toward a music career is that student's major applied teacher.

This is predicted for a number of reasons. First, as stated above, instrumental others become more important than expressive others concerning career plans as a student grows older. When a student comes to Oberlin, he breaks with his former group of others, at least in frequency of contact, and establishes another set, headed by his major applied teacher. The teacher and the student meet on a one to one basis at least once a week, developing ties which are emotionally as well as instrumentally strong.

Because of the relationship developed, the frequency of one-to-one contact, and the lack of other contact with members of the professional music world, the private teacher takes on added importance. He is one who comes to know the student's skill very well, and becomes, in the student's eyes, the best judge of how capable the student is to pursue the career on which he plans.
1a. A student's major applied teacher will be seen as more important as a significant other concerning the student's musical progress by seniors than by freshmen.

The longer the student is in school, the more distant will his pre-school others become. He is also able to come to know his major applied teacher better, developing a more personal relationship with him.

1b. Students of higher musical skill will more often deem their present teachers the most important significant other concerning their musical progress, while those of lower skill will deem a former teacher or family member most important.

Students with higher skill, who are encouraged by their major teacher, will find this view of their skill reinforcement to their hope that they are good enough to "make it". Those of lower skill, who are likely not to receive the informal supports of their present teachers that those of higher skill receive, will revert to former encouragement received as support to their view of their skill, and will therefore deem them more important.

Music students become skilled earlier than others in most other disciplines (Kadushin, 1968: Chapter III). Music for them becomes an extremely important part of their overall self-concept (Cambor, 1962). To discover that they are not as good as they had thought is a most difficult personal blow for them. It is predicted that when their present teacher does not give them the support they want to receive for their skill, when the feedback from this significant other is not favorable, their first course, rather than admit or believe that they may not be as good as they thought, is to revert to the support they had from others who were important to them before they came to Oberlin from which they can gain the support needed.
2. The major applied teachers view performance as the highest musical achievement toward which the better students should strive, with teaching being an alternative available for those who are most likely not to be able to make it in a performance career.

While applied teachers are teachers, they are also performers and they teach performance. Those who teach at Oberlin are there not because they cannot make it as performers, but usually because they have, and now are teaching because they like that way of life, or to supplement their performance, or because the market is such that they cannot on their instrument make a total career of performance. Furthermore, their reputation rides on the success of their students as performers, both as students and after graduation. In addition, they are no more immune to being influenced by the general value-status structure of the profession than any other musician.

3. Students see performance as viewed as a higher status occupation than teaching by those in the music world.

Students, while not necessarily agreeing that this is the way things should be, are socialized to this value-status structure, usually before they come to the school. This view is reinforced by the views of those they come in contact with at the school, including the major applied teacher.

3a. Those planning a non-performance career see their skill as lower than those planning a performance career of the same "objective" skill.

The question of actual skill differential between those planning a performance career and those planning a non-performance career is an empirical question. If aspiring performers have significantly higher objective skill than the others, this might cause the self-appraisal of aspiring performers to be raised,
and the self-appraisal of non-performance-oriented students to be lowered. However, if there is no real differential in objective skill, the expected relationship might be caused by the general occupational value structure, where performance careers are seen as higher status than non-performance careers.

III. Further factors effecting students' views of their skill, objective skill, and commitment to career plans.

1. Seniors will have higher views of their own musical skill than will freshmen.

If other factors are held constant, because musical skill is "cumulative", we can expect a student to improve with the training the school offers. He will, through objective feedback of his performance and feedback from others, as well as seniority, see himself as improving in musical skill.

However, there are not the data available to test this idea. The data are cross-sectional: there are no comparable data for the seniors when they were freshmen. The preceding paragraph may be one reason why this relationship is expected to appear. Attrition is another --- those with the lowest view of their skill might be expected to have dropped out by the time they are seniors. However, again there are not the data to test this conclusively, and both reasons are offered only as tentative explanations.

2. Skill and commitment to a set of career plans are not usually related.

Commitment --- how strongly one values carrying out his set of career plans --- is independent of his skill. Other factors, such as his view of himself acting the role of musician, his interest in non-musical subjects, his conscious or sub-conscious
philosophy of life, enter into his commitment to a musical
career. It is thought that his view of his skill does influence
his commitment to a certain extent, in that if he sees his skill
as high, he is more likely to be committed to a music career.

3. A student's school class is not related to skill or
commitment.

That class is not related to skill is really a methodological
distinction. A student's objective skill is judged by his
teacher in relation to the "average".* It is assumed that class
is taken into consideration by the teacher when he defines what
is to be considered the "average".

That class is not related to commitment is of more theoretical
importance. It again confronts the contention that one comes to
the school with a great deal of commitment to a musical career al-
ready at hand. It is either reinforced or changed at the school,
but not taught. It is not cumulative, like musical skill.

4. Sex is not related to commitment or musical skill, but
is related to certain aspects of skill.

Regardless of their traditional status, women in music, it
is contended, have as high commitment to their desired profession
as do men. Their skill is also seen as essentially equal. How-
ever, since teachers were relied upon to rate a student's mus-
ical skill, and since women have traditionally found it extremely
difficult to be successful in a musical career because of their
traditional social role, it is predicted that teachers will differ-
entially rate some aspects of women's skill, especially concerning

* "Objective" musical skill was determined through a rating of the
student obtained from the student's major applied teacher. This
will be further discussed in Chapter IV.
her chances to be successful in music careers, as compared with the chances of men.

There are extremely few women in performance careers. This is especially true of instrumental performance, with the requirements of vocal music making it necessary to employ many women singers. As is generally the case, women musicians most often find employment in teaching, especially at the public school level. It is thought that this situation will influence the applied teachers' judgements of women students, with the teachers rating them less likely to be successful in performance careers than men.

The following chapter digresses from the discussions held thus far and focuses on the methods used to collect and analyze the data which will be used to test these hypotheses. Results of these tests will be presented in Chapter V.
CHAPTER IV:

METHODOLOGY

Data for this thesis were gathered in the late fall and winter of 1972. Questionnaires were administered to 188 Conservatory students, a response rate of 75.2% (77.4% with attrition) for the 250 students who were selected to be in the sample. The differences between the sample and the population with regard to such characteristics as sex, class, and major were not significant.

The simple random sample was drawn from the total undergraduate Conservatory population, which numbered at that time 503 students. The requirement for eligibility was that the student must have been a full-time Conservatory undergraduate on October 1, 1972. Transfers to the College after that date, of which there were two in the sample, were included. Transfers before that date were included in the attrition (one person).

Interviewers were students who freely devoted their time to administering the questionnaires. All interviewers who had not previously had interviewing experience, and most of those who had, attended training sessions at which the interviewing techniques were taught. All interviewers, whether at these training sessions or through individual conference with myself, were well acquainted with the questionnaire before administering it.

The questionnaire was originally intended to be administered personally by interviewers on a one-to-one basis with respondents. The majority of interviews were conducted in this manner. However,
due to a lack of time, 41% of the interviews were given in a group interview situation. Three interviewers were chosen and given further instruction in how to handle a group interview situation. An interviewer would give instructions to between two and eight respondents, who would then fill the questionnaire out themselves. The interviewer was present during the interview to answer any questions the respondents might have. Statistical tests on important variables revealed few significant differences between the answers received in the personal interview as compared with the group interview (for example, see Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1: Crosstabulations of group or individual interview by selected variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Interview</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>N</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
<td>48.1%</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi Square = 0.081</td>
<td>DF = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Interview</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>N</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freshmen</td>
<td>Sophomores</td>
<td>Juniors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi Square = 6.570</td>
<td>DF = 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


How does student view his skill compared with others in his teacher's studio?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Interview</th>
<th>Below Average</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Above Average</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
<td>55.4%</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 8.420  DF = 2  P less than .02

How does student view his skill compared with others in the Conservatory?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Interview</th>
<th>Below Average</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Above Average</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 1.993  DF = 2  NS

How does student view his skill compared with average professional?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Interview</th>
<th>Below Average</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Above Average</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 7.626  DF = 2  P less than .05

The first two tables are examples of the sort of relationship found in most all variables tested. These findings confirm the feelings expressed by the interviewers and gained through the coding of both types of interview --- that the data from either type are equally valid and reliable. The one exception to this concerns the questions on how a student views his own skill. Here, students in the group interviews tended to answer toward the extremes more often than those interviewed individually, possibly because students were reluctant to rate themselves above
or below their fellows when answering verbally to an interviewer. This is supported by the fact that all but one of the nine "objective" skill questions showed no significant difference between those who took group interviews and those who were interviewed individually. Both groups were equally skillful. The loss of some precision on information concerning the student's view of his skill is unfortunate. But since the students who took group interviews tended to rate themselves toward both extremes, it is felt that the situation has not skewed the relationship in one or another direction, and that the data are essentially valid.

The questionnaire contains much information in addition to what is analyzed in this thesis. The data are available from the author. A copy of the instrument is included as Appendix B.

In addition to the student questionnaires, faculty evaluation forms were administered in order to gain information about 1.) a student's "objective" skill, and 2.) what criteria the faculty use in assessing a student's skill. The major applied teachers were asked to fill out an evaluation form for each student included in the sample. Only one teacher, due to illness, was not able to return the forms. A copy of the evaluation form is also included in Appendix B.

The following indices were developed:

A. "Objective" Skill Indices. These indices were based on the following items from the teacher survey:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ability</th>
<th>Superior</th>
<th>Above Average</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Below Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>Technique</td>
<td>Musicality</td>
<td>Effort</td>
<td>Personality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Ability</td>
<td>Overall Progress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"In your judgement, how likely is it that this student would be able to make a successful career of:

Performance
   Very likely       Possible       Unlikely
   Teaching

A factor analysis was performed on these nine items (analyzed below in Chapter V). It yielded two distinct factors, one loading high on likelihood of performance and four other items (potential, technique, musicality, and overall ability), the other on likelihood of teaching and the remaining three items (effort, personality, and overall progress). The data, being normally distributed on all items, were determined to be well suited to factor analysis. Factor scores for each respondent were determined for each of the two factors, one being a measure of performing skill, the other of teaching skill. The standard formula for computing factor scores was used:

\[
\text{SCORE} = \left( \frac{\text{FSC}_1 (\text{Item 1} - \bar{X}_1)}{\text{SD}_1} \right) + \left( \frac{\text{FSC}_2 (\text{Item 2} - \bar{X}_2)}{\text{SD}_2} \right) + \ldots + \left( \frac{\text{FSC}_n (\text{Item n} - \bar{X}_n)}{\text{SD}_n} \right)
\]

where \(\text{FSC}_n\) = Factor score coefficient for the \(n\)th item;
\(\bar{X}_n\) = the mean for the \(n\)th item; and
\(\text{SD}_n\) = the standard deviation for the \(n\)th item.

It was decided that since the nine items broke into two distinct factors, an overall skill index could not be constructed, and the two indices of performance skill and teaching skill were left distinct throughout the analysis. The ranges of these scales are from -2.57 to 1.92 and from -2.37 to 1.95 respectively.

B. "Commitment" Index. An index was developed to measure how committed a student is to carrying out a set of career plans in music. It is based on the following three items:
"Different people attach different degrees of importance to their career when they consider it as a part of their total life. For your personal happiness and fulfillment, how important is it that you are successful in carrying out your present (a set of) career plans? Would you say it is very important, quite important, somewhat important, or not very important?"

"How definitely decided are you now on becoming a professional musician? Are you definitely decided, fairly decided, somewhat undecided, or quite undecided?"

"IF YOU HAVE NO CAREER PLANS AS YET, SKIP (THIS QUESTION). How committed would you say you are to carrying out your present career plans? Please circle the number representing your present commitment, with "8" being highest commitment, and "0" being lowest commitment."*

The theoretical rationale behind such a scale is the following:

1. The more decided a person is on becoming a professional musician, the higher is his commitment.

2. The more important one sees one's "career" in relation to other aspects of his life, the higher is his commitment.

3. The more committed one is to carrying out a specific set of career plans in music, the higher is his commitment to a music career.

Because of the fact that the third question was highly skewed to the right, it was recoded into four categories before the scale was constructed. Those who did not have specific career plans were coded into the lowest category --- that is, no additional commitment was added on the basis of the item.

A factor analysis was performed on these items, resulting in a strong one factor solution. The items were then scaled, using the formula discussed above. The range of the scores is from -2.19 to 1.00.

C. View of Skill Scales. These scales measure the student's

* This third question was on the "I-Series" of the questionnaire, which, even in the individual interviews, was to be filled out by the student himself while the interviewer waited. The other two questions were read by the interviewer.
own view of his musical skill, as measured by the following items:

"Compared with others in your teacher's studio, would you say you are above average in musical skill, about average in musical skill, or below average in musical skill?

"How about compared with all Conservatory students? Would you say you are above average, about average, or below average in musical skill?

"How about compared with the average professional in your field? Would you say you are above average, about average, or below average in musical skill?"

Responses of above average were coded as 2, about average as 1, and below average as 0. An overall scale of view of skill was constructed by adding the responses of all three items. Those who did not answer one or two items were assigned mean scores for the item(s) not answered. The scores range from 0 to 6.0.

D. Significant Other Scales. A number of significant other scales were constructed from three different sets of items:

"When you first began studying music, how much did the following people encourage you? Did they strongly encourage you, somewhat encourage you, somewhat discourage you, strongly discourage you, or were they indifferent? First, how about your . . .

Mother
Father
Brother or sister
Other relatives
Friends of your parents
Your own friends
The teacher who gave you lessons
Other musicians and music teachers
School teachers
Guidance counselors
Your own playing

"When you decided to think about entering music as a career, which of the following people strongly encouraged you? . . .

(The same categories as the previous question)

"How encouraging are the following people concerning your present progress in music? Are they strongly encouraging . . .

Mother
Father
Brother or sister  
Friends of your parents  
Your own friends  
Your major teacher  
Other musicians and music teachers  
Your own playing  

The scores for each item ran from strongly encouraging (4) to strongly discouraging (0). Summary measures of encouragement for each question (Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3) were constructed by adding the scores of all items in each set. Those who did not answer a certain item were assigned a score of 2 for that item. An overall measure of encouragement was made by adding the summary scores for the three sets. The scales for each individual time were standardized by dividing the sum by the number of items in the scale. The range for Time 1 and Time 2 scales is from 1.091 to 4.0; for Time 3 it is from 0 to 4.0, and for the summary scale, from 3.955 to 11.511.

For the purpose of certain types of analysis, these scales, as well as all others mentioned, were recoded into a small number of categories. When this was done, it was always attempted to put as nearly as possible an equal number of respondents into each category. When the analysis required data approaching as nearly as possible an interval scale, the scales were left in their original forms.

For the path analysis model (Chapter VI), separate measures were constructed for "instrumental" and "expressive" significant others for each set. The instrumental others were considered to be those whose relationship with the respondent was primarily one dealing with the acquisition of professional knowledge or career guidance (private teacher, school teacher, guidance coun-
selor, etc.), while the expressive others had more general, all-encompassing relationships with the respondent (mother, father, friends, etc.). These scales were constructed in the same manner as the others, by adding the response scores on each item for the particular type of "other" for the particular set of questions.

The significant other items and scales present a problem in that the data for Time 1 and Time 2 are retrospective in nature. The accuracy of a student's remembering the encouragement he received from various others at earlier times must be a qualification on the analyses undertaken below.

It is felt, however, that great encouragement and great discouragement a student receives is very likely to be remembered. Career choice is at least in part a very rational decision. A student looks for advice and help in determining what course to take. He is likely to remember those who strongly influenced him to take a certain course of action.

Also, the way the data are used in the analysis reduces the problem of retrospective data. The questions usually asked below are not concerned with whether one student perceived more encouragement than another, but whether a student perceived more or less encouragement over time. Each element, then, is equally subjected to the same student's retrospective biases. These factors hopefully minimize the problem of retrospective data, at least to some degree.

Techniques of evaluation used in the following analysis include metric, non-parametric, and partial correlation analysis, factor analysis, path analysis, and crosstabulations where appropriate. Further discussion of the particular methods used in a certain portion of the analysis will take place below.
CHAPTER V:

THE HYPOTHESES

In this chapter, consideration will be given to the tests made on the hypotheses listed in Chapter III. Discussion of the hypotheses will be in the order in which they were presented above.

I. Concerning significant others in general.

1. In general, the more encouragement a student feels he receives from significant others, the higher will be the student's view of his own skill.

Correlations were run of the four scales measuring significant other encouragement with the summary scale measuring the student's view of his "musical skill". The results are shown in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1: Pearson Correlation Coefficients for the four scales of significant other encouragement with the summary scale of the student's view of his own skill.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>View of skill</th>
<th>Others:</th>
<th>Others:</th>
<th>Others:</th>
<th>Others:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time 1</td>
<td>Time 2</td>
<td>Time 3</td>
<td>Sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>-0.093</td>
<td>0.2020</td>
<td>0.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig=0.263</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig=0.103</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig=0.003</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig=0.160</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Kendall and Spearman correlations were also run, yielding similar results. Pearson coefficients are reported here because readers are presumed to be more familiar with them. Before the correlations were run, crosstabulations showed that the data are linear and suited to correlation analysis.

It is clear that the hypothesis cannot be universally supported. The summary score of significant other encouragement, as
as well as the scales of Time 1 and Time 2, do not significantly correlate with the student's view of his skill. However, the student's view of his skill is significantly correlated with the significant other measure at Time 3 --- concerning one's "present progress in music".

These results suggest that there is not a "cumulative" gaining of significant other support concerning one's music, but that while the Time 1 and Time 2 encouragement was no doubt important at Time 1 and Time 2, remembering that encouragement is not important to a student at Time 3 in helping him form a view of his skill. However, it does show that the perceived significant other encouragement at Time 3 is related to the student's present view of his skill.

The hypothesis, then, seems to be true concerning the present feedback one receives from significant others, but not true for encouragement received in the past. The fact that previous encouragement does not significantly correlate with the student's view of his skill may point out the importance of improvement of musical skill over time, as well as a change in reference groups. Previously, the student was good compared with others in his town, at his high school, and so on. Now he is studying toward a professional music career in the company of others wanting a similar career. The talent of those around him has greatly increased. It is feedback concerning his present progress which relates to how he views his skill in comparison with others. The fact that his mother may have strongly encouraged him to enter a music career has little to do with his view of his skill now.
2. More importantly, the availability of significant others familiar with the music field is strongly related to how accurate a student's view of his skill will be.

For this hypothesis, correlations were run of the summary measure of one's view of his own skill with his total perceived significant other support, controlling for the "other" whom the respondent said provided him with his most important encouragement overall in his music (see Appendix B, question 85). For the purpose of controls, the "others" were recoded into two categories --- instrumental and expressive (see Chapter IV above). The results are shown in Table 5.2a.

**TABLE 5.2a:** Pearson Correlation Coefficients for the sum of significant other support with the student's view of his own skill, controlling for 'instrumental' and 'expressive' other as most important.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'Instrumental' other most important</th>
<th>'Expressive' other most important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others:</td>
<td>Others:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>Sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>View of skill:</td>
<td>0.203</td>
<td>-0.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>N=119</td>
<td>N=64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig=0.013</td>
<td>Sig=0.433</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results show an interesting difference between those who list an instrumental other as most important. While there is no relationship for those choosing an expressive other between the view of one's skill and the summary significant other support,
there is a significant correlation between those two measures for those seeing an instrumental other as most important. It seems that the total significant other support becomes significantly correlated with one's view of skill when a relationship with an instrumental other is so strongly established that the student feels that other has encouraged him more than anyone else.

To check the saliency of this relationship across related variables, correlations were run of the view of skill measure with objective performance and teaching skill, as well as the commitment index. These runs were made both with and without the control, and are reported in Table 5.2b.

**TABLE 5.2b:** Pearson Correlation Coefficients for the student's view of his own skill with objective performance skill, objective teaching skill, and commitment to a music career.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Respondents</th>
<th>'Instrumental' other most important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Performance Skill</td>
<td>Teaching Skill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>View of skill:</td>
<td>0.444</td>
<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>N=179</td>
<td>N=179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig=0.001</td>
<td>Sig=0.150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>View of skill:</td>
<td>0.514</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Instrumental' other most important</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>N=114</td>
<td>N=114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig=0.001</td>
<td>Sig=0.493</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the run with no controls, we find the view of skill index significantly correlated with objective performance skill and the commitment index, but not objective teaching skill. Certainly the correlation between performance skill and view of skill was to be expected — it seems that students in general have a pretty good idea of what their performance skill is judged to be. The correlation with commitment supports the idea that the higher one views his skill, the higher will be his commitment to a music career — or possibly vice versa.

The lack of correlation between objective teaching skill and a student's view of his skill was somewhat surprising. An explanation might be found in considering how students might view "musical skill", which is the term used in the questions about their own views of their skill. With an emphasis on performance in the music world and the music school, it can be argued that students come to equate "musical skill" with "performance skill", with musical ability in non-performance areas not entering into their self-evaluations of their skill. Attributes such as teaching ability, musical scholarship, perceptive listening, and effort are not seen as being an important part of "musical ability". The important factors are those relating to performance skill. This seems to reflect the high status in the music world of performance skills; at least of those attributes considered strongly
when teachers judge the possibility of a student being successful in a performance career. This point will be reconsidered further in discussing some of the other hypotheses.

In viewing the controlled correlations, it is seen that the correlation between performance skill and view of skill is a great deal higher for those students with a most important instrumental other than for those with an expressive other being most important. This implies that to adequately estimate one's performance skill, it greatly helps to establish a very important relationship with an instrumental significant other at some point in one's musical training. This could be so because it is usually the instrumental other, not the expressive other, who can best judge a student's performance ability, and whose opinion will be taken seriously. Whereas one's mother is likely to be encouraging because of the family relationship, she does not usually have the musical knowledge or the objectivity to be of great use in helping the student determine how good he really is. The teacher, on the other hand, has such expertise, and encouragement from him is a good reflection of the student's ability from an expert. Those students who establish important relationships with instrumental others, therefore, are better trained at judging their own skill in correspondence with how other musicians see that skill.

Commitment is not significantly changed for either of the control groups. Nor is the correlation between view of skill and teaching skill, although it may be speculated that, due to the changes which do appear, those who list expressive others as most important may see musical skill as less synonymous with
performance skill. Possibly they lack the contact with instrumental others who are part of the musical world and who to some extent teach their students the value that performance is the most important criteria for musical skill judgement. Or possibly such values are not as important to them, even if they have had as much contact with them.

II. Concerning the student's relationship with the major applied teacher.

1. The most important significant other from the student's point of view concerning the student's present progress toward a music career is that student's major applied teacher.

The frequency distribution bears out this hypotheses (Table 5.3a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Other</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major applied teacher</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your own playing</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other musicians and music teachers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother or sister</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not ascertained</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is seen that the major applied teacher is indicated as "most important concerning (the student's) present progress in music" by 53.2% of the sample, with the runner-up being "your own playing" (20.7%), followed by "other musicians" (13.3%). A number of controls were introduced. They will be considered, beginning with the two corollary hypotheses:
A student's major applied teacher will be seen as a more important significant other concerning the student's musical progress by seniors than by freshmen.

The crosstabulation of the most influential significant other at Time 3 with the respondent's class is shown in Table 5.3b.

TABLE 5.3b: Crosstabulation of the most influential other at Time 3 with the student's class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Most influential other</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Any other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshman</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>58.0%</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major applied teacher</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
<td>56.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 5.821 DF = 3 P less than .20

The predicted relationship does not strongly appear. There is a jump in importance for the major applied teacher for seniors, but freshmen and juniors have nearly identical percentages, with sophomores showing an unanticipated drop for the major applied teacher. The saliency of the importance of the major applied teacher indicates that the "transfer of allegiance" from an "other" who was most important before the student came to Oberlin takes place very early. The importance of the encouragement or lack of encouragement given by the teacher may have been learned through contact with other private teachers before the student came to Oberlin, or it may be learned during the first few weeks of the student's Oberlin career.

It was thought that one's career plans might add insight to
these findings. Might those not planning on a performance career see their major applied teacher as less important than those planning on a performance career? A control was applied for those who plan to go into a performance career, compared with those who plan on another career. The differences were not significant. This lends further support to the finding that students tend to equate "musical" skill with "performance" skill. Most of those who plan a non-performance career in music nevertheless see their major applied teacher as most influential concerning their present progress in music.

A control for sex was also applied, as shown in Table 5.3c.

TABLE 5.3c: Crosstabulation of the most influential other at Time 3 with the student's class, controlling for sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Most influential other</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Any other</td>
<td>Major applied teacher</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshman</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>60.9%</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 7.775, DF = 3, P less than .05
### Males

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Most influential other</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Any other</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshman</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 1.540, DF = 3, NS

While this control does not in either case show strongly the expected difference, it does show some interesting differences. Both males and females show a jump in importance for the major teacher for seniors, with males showing considerably more of an increase. For males, however, the other three classes are almost identical. Female freshmen and juniors show more importance than males for the major teacher, but it is seen that the drop in importance found in the original table for sophomores is due solely to female sophomores. It is unclear why this is the case.

One might speculate, however, as to why female freshmen and juniors find the major applied teacher somewhat more important than male underclassmen. Expressive significant others are, it seems, more important to females than to males, especially at Times 1 and 2 (see below, Chapter VI). When females enter the Conservatory, if they have not established very important instrumental significant other relationships before they arrive, the private teacher may take on added importance to them. With fewer instrumental relationships to compete with theirs with the major applied teacher, the teacher may take on the "most influential" role more
easily. This thought must, however, remain as speculation.

1b. Students of higher musical skill will more often deem their present teacher the most important significant other concerning the student's present progress, while those of lower skill will deem a former teacher or family member most important.

Crosstabulations were made of both objective performance and objective teaching skill by the significant other seen by the student as most influential concerning the student's present musical progress (Table 5.3d).

TABLE 5.3d: Crosstabulations of objective performance and teaching skill by the other deemed most influential at Time 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performance skill</th>
<th>Most influential other</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Any Other</td>
<td>Major applied teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
<td>52.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi Square</td>
<td>0.831</td>
<td>DF = 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching skill</th>
<th>Most influential other</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Any Other</td>
<td>Major applied teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>63.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi Square</td>
<td>4.556</td>
<td>DF = 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results are inconclusive. When performance skill is considered, the expected relationship appears, but not strongly enough to make the table significant. For teaching skill, the
difference between low and medium skill is strongly in the expected direction, with a drop for those with high skill. This table is also not significant. Introducing controls for class and sex does not significantly alter the relationships.

There seems to be, then, a slight tendency for those of lower skill to look to others who are possibly more encouraging as their "most influential" other concerning their present musical progress. However, this does not greatly reduce the percent who see the private teacher as most influential. What adjustments the students make to negative cues from their teachers seem not to be in the direction of greatly altering the importance of the teacher's views of the student's skill. The importance of the teacher may be too well institutionalized into the value structure to allow this to happen.

The importance of the major applied teacher as a significant other seems to be salient regardless of class (excepting female sophomores, and slightly more so for seniors). It is also very important regardless of sex. With such importance attached by the student to the major applied teacher, it can be reasonably expected that the student is very aware about cues given by the teacher as to his opinions of the music world, its values, and, especially, his opinions concerning the student's skill and ability to make successful the career planned. This point should be kept in mind as variables concerning a student's eventual career choice are considered.

It is also important to note that it takes very little time for freshmen to come to see their major applied teacher as most important in providing feedback as to their professional skills. The freshmen had been at the school no more than sixteen weeks when
they were interviewed; yet already a majority of them saw their major applied teacher as most influential concerning their present progress. The cultural value of looking to the private teacher for the most important cues is, then, already learned when a student enters the music school, or is learned within the first few weeks of the student's Oberlin career. The "power" of influence inherent in the position of the private teacher is, it seems, legitimized very early by the students, which means that the Conservatory does not usually have to concern itself with teaching that value to students --- at least not for long.

2. The major applied teachers view performance as the highest musical achievement toward which the better students should strive, with teaching being an alternative available for those who are most likely not to be able to make it in a performance career.

There was no direct measure of this hypothesis in the teachers' survey. However, strong inferential evidence is found through a factor analysis of the items used in constructing the objective skill scales (for a brief introduction to factor analysis, see Nie, et. al., 1970: pp. 209-226). The principal factor method with iterations was used with a varimax rotated solution obtained.

In essence, factor analysis attempts to locate underlying dimensions, or "factors", which run through a given set of variables. These factors must be named by the person doing the analysis on the basis of theory concerning the items which fall into each factor. The major strengths of this method for analysis purposes are that it locates underlying theoretical relationships among variables which might not appear using normal analysis methods, and that it will automatically determine the number of
factors which explain a substantial percent of the variance.

Factor analysis was run, first using the seven evaluation questions the teachers answered concerning the student's ability in a number of areas (see above, Chapter IV). Since these deal with the teacher's evaluation of a student's musical skill, it was expected that only one factor would appear. This indeed was the case.

The two questions concerning the likelihood, in the teacher's opinion, of the student being successful in a performance career and a teaching career were then introduced into the analysis. The theoretical supposition was that, when considering a student's possibility of being successful at a given career, the seven ability items would be taken into consideration by the teacher, and judgement would be made on the basis of those characteristics. If success in a performance and teaching career are judged on the basis of similar relevant characteristics, a one-factor solution would be expected.

The results, however, clearly show that two factors are in operation. Table 5.4a gives the factor loadings for each of the nine items, and the eigenvalues for each of the two factors.

The eigenvalues are a measure of significance of the factors. The usual level at which a factor is considered significant is approximately 1.00.

Assigning an item to a factor is done in the following manner. Ideally, an item should have a "high" loading in only one factor. The possible loadings run from -1.00 to 1.00. Initially, one scans the loadings for each item, assigning them to the factor for which they load the highest. Ambiguities may be encountered
TABLE 5.4a: Factor loadings and eigenvalues for all skill variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Varimax rotated factor matrix</th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>0.812*</td>
<td>0.233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique</td>
<td>0.736*</td>
<td>0.321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musicality</td>
<td>0.710*</td>
<td>0.324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effort</td>
<td>0.292</td>
<td>0.893*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>0.290</td>
<td>0.632*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall ability</td>
<td>0.817*</td>
<td>0.368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall progress</td>
<td>0.449</td>
<td>0.759*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood of performance career</td>
<td>0.696*</td>
<td>0.186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood of teaching career</td>
<td>0.144</td>
<td>0.633*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* item belongs to that factor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>Percent of variance**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.011</td>
<td>83.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.960</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** of the total percent explained by the factors.

In two ways: an item may have similar factor loadings on more than one factor, thereby making it unclear as to which factor it belongs in; or an item's highest loading may be lower than the highest loading of another item already placed in that factor. Problems such as these may indicate that the underlying dimensions of the analysis are not clear.

In this case, the solution does not run into such problems. The items clearly break into two factors. A clear visual way to see this breakdown is to plot the loadings on a graph (Figure 5.1). It is seen that potential, musicality, technique, overall ability, and likelihood of a performance career cluster together, while effort, personality, overall progress, and likelihood of a teaching career cluster together. On the basis of these findings, it is concluded that, in assessing a student's likelihood of
FIGURE 5.1: Graph of varimax rotated factor matrix for all skill variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horizontal Factor 1</th>
<th>Vertical Factor 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Potential</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Technique</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Musicality</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Effort</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Personality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Overall Ability</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Overall Progress</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Likelihood of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance Career</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Likelihood of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Career</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
being successful in a performance career, the major applied teachers take a different set of characteristics into account than they do in assessing a student's likelihood of being successful in a teaching career.

Moreover, those characteristics split in a most interesting way. What might be called the "hard" musical items fall together with performance. These items are direct judgements on a student's musical ability or potential ability. On the other hand, the "soft" items fall with teaching. Personality and effort are independent of actual musical ability. Overall progress implies that musical ability items are held constant. To oversimplify, yet to clarify, it might be said that a student with high potential, technique, musicality, and overall ability is likely to be judged high on the likelihood of success in a performance career; a student with limited musical ability, but with a good personality, who tries hard, and who has made good progress considering his potential, is likely to be successful in a teaching career.

An examination of the correlation coefficients of the likelihood of performance and teaching items with the other items makes this point even more clear (Table 5.4b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Likelihood of Performance career</th>
<th>Likelihood of Teaching career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>0.655</td>
<td>0.303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique</td>
<td>0.592</td>
<td>0.269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musicality</td>
<td>0.562</td>
<td>0.347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effort</td>
<td>0.403</td>
<td>0.615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>0.315</td>
<td>0.412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall ability</td>
<td>0.607</td>
<td>0.368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall progress</td>
<td>0.457</td>
<td>0.560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood of performance career</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood of teaching career</td>
<td>0.177</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The performance and teaching items correlate least of all with each other. If one is judged high on likelihood of performance, it does not mean that he is likely to be judged high on likelihood of teaching. One does not imply the other. The major teachers do take a different set of things into account.

Can it be said, then, that teachers value performance more than teaching? Probably not, as there is, of course, no ground for saying that teachers value one's musical ability over, for example, one's personality. However, the musical ability of the student is not a positive element taken into account when a teacher judges whether or not a student would be successful as a teacher. Given that the major teacher's main job is to teach "musical ability"; given that, themselves performers as well as teachers, they attempt to produce performers, not teachers; and given the general status hierarchy of musical jobs in the music world (see above, Chapter III), it might be inferred that the major teachers would tend to influence students with high musical ability to attempt a performance career, and the others to attempt a teaching career.

3. Students see performance as viewed as a higher status occupation than teaching by those in the music world.

Students were asked to rank-order nine occupations of the music world according to the prestige the student felt they have in the music world. The distribution of means for the nine jobs is shown in Table 5.5a.

Performance occupations come in first through fourth, with the four lowest means. Opera chorus singer and Hollywood studio performer, two performing jobs considered usually as "hack" jobs in the general music world, are still rated above the public
TABLE 5.5a: Distribution of mean scores for the rank-ordering by prestige in the music world of music occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Symphony conductor</td>
<td>2.120</td>
<td>1.602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vocal or instrumental soloist</td>
<td>2.163</td>
<td>1.563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chamber music performer</td>
<td>3.951</td>
<td>1.868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Orchestral musician</td>
<td>4.223</td>
<td>1.448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. University music teacher</td>
<td>5.000</td>
<td>1.634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Private music teacher</td>
<td>6.000</td>
<td>2.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Opera chorus singer</td>
<td>6.372</td>
<td>1.655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Public school music teacher</td>
<td>7.798</td>
<td>1.731</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

school music teacher, who is ranked lowest. Controls applied by sex show no significant difference. Neither do controls applied by class, indicating that the musical prestige system, like the importance of the major applied teacher, is a trait the student learns before he comes to the Conservatory, or very soon thereafter.

How much these prestige values of the music world as perceived by the students effect their self-concept and their view of their skill is difficult to say. There was much indication that this prestige system, while recognized, was not nearly universally endorsed by the students. There were many questions to the interviewers concerning whether the answer wanted was the way the student viewed the intrinsic value of the job, or the way musicians in general would rank the prestige. Many commented that their answer reflects the way things are, not the way things should be.

There is indication in the literature that persons in lower status jobs tend, when ranking jobs in order of prestige, to rank low status jobs on the high side in an apparent attempt to raise
the value of the work they do, and thereby their self-concept (Alexander, 1973; Weinstein, 1957-58). Might this also be the case with aspiring musicians who are planning on careers holding very different prestige rewards? It might be argued that if those planning on a teaching career rank teaching jobs significantly higher than those planning on a performance career, some adjustment is being made to the self-concepts of aspiring teachers so that they do see higher social support accruing to teachers than do performance majors.

This indeed is not the case. Crosstabulations were run on the occupations by the student's present career plans, showing no significant differences in ranking. The student's major --- performance or music education (with others being edited) --- was then substituted for the student's career plans, and the crosstabulations were rerun. Those students majoring in music education are in a program primarily designed for those entering public school teaching. Again, none of the tables proved significant. Indeed, in the two cases where significance is approached, the relationship is in the direction opposite to what would have been expected from the literature (Table 5.5b).

TABLE 5.5b: Crosstabulations of music occupation prestige rankings by student's academic major.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major</th>
<th>Private music teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High (1,2,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music education</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi Square = 4.406</td>
<td>DF = 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Major | Hollywood studio performer
| High | Medium | Low | N |
| (1,2,3) | (4,5,6) | (7,8,9) | |
| Performance | 5.6% | 18.5% | 75.8% | 124 |
| Music education | 8.3% | 33.3% | 58.3% | 36 |

\[ \text{Chi Square} = 4.296 \quad \text{DF} = 2 \quad P \text{ less than .20} \]

The private teacher was ranked lower by music education majors than by performance majors. This may be due to performance majors viewing private teachers as more important to their eventual career than those in music education.

The other interesting case is that of the Hollywood studio musician. Here, performance majors ranked this job lower than music education majors. One reason for this might be that performance majors have a better idea as to what a Hollywood studio musician is. Those going into that field are viewed by many as losing their musical integrity by playing inferior music in order to make money, or, in Becker's terms employed in his studies of jazz musicians, "going commercial" (Becker, 1951). Music education majors may be less familiar with the tensions inherent in this type of situation.

It is found, then, that there is great unanimity among students as to what they see as the prestige system of musical occupations in the music world. Aspiring performers realize that they are heading toward what the music world sees as the most desirable jobs; aspiring teachers realize that they are heading toward a career which is seen as not as desirable as performing. Given also the discussion above of the teachers and their evaluations, might it not be expected that these factors effect the
student's perception of his musical skill? This is the next question to be considered.

3. This effects the student's view of his skill, with those planning a non-performance career seeing their skill as lower than those planning a performance career of the same "objective" skill.

It was found that a student's view of his musical skill is highly correlated with his objective performance skill, though not his objective teaching skill. Do one's career plans influence one's view of his skill so that those planning to go into a teaching career more often underrate their skill, and those going into a performance career more often overrate their skill?

Crosstabulations were run on one's objective performance and teaching skill with each separate question concerning the student's view of his skill. "Correct" estimates are shown on the diagonal of each table (Table 5.6), with the others being "incorrect" estimates of skill. Of course, more students feel themselves above average when compared with those in their teacher's studio than with the average professional in their field, but since the interest here is in only relative differences in estimates between those with differing career plans, the relative measures of "correct" and "incorrect" answers will suffice.

The data are presented in a summary table form in Table 5.6. In general, they tend to support the hypothesis. Because the table is somewhat complicated to read, an example is considered. 3.3% of those with medium objective performance skill underrated their ability when comparing themselves with other students in their teacher's studio, compared with 14.3% of those with medium skill who plan on a teaching career who underrated their skill compared with others in their teacher's studio.
TABLE 5.6: Summary percents of those overrating, underrating, or correctly estimating their objective performance and teaching skill, controlling for career plans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>View of skill compared with:</th>
<th>Objective performance skill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's studio:</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overrate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Performance</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Teaching</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Correct</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Performance</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Teaching</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Underrate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Performance</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Teaching</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservatory:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overrate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Performance</td>
<td>*88.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Teaching</td>
<td>*71.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Correct</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Performance</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Teaching</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Underrate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Performance</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Teaching</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overrate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Performance</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Teaching</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Correct</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Performance</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Teaching</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Underrate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Performance</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans=Teaching</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* in predicted direction by at least 5%.
\* in opposite direction by at least 5%.
With the exception of performance skill on the question concerning skill as seen in the student's teacher's studio, those planning a teaching career do tend to underrate their skill, and those planning a performance career tend to overrate their skill.
This is true both for objective performance skill and for objective teaching skill. While the percentages are such that no definite conclusions can be reached, the tendency for this to take place is clear.

III. Further factors effecting students' views of their skill, objective skill, and commitment to career plans.

1. Seniors will have higher views of their own skill than will freshmen.

A correlation analysis was run of a student's school class with the summary measure of his view of his skill. The results are shown in Table 5.7.

TABLE 5.7: Kendall Correlation Coefficients for a student's class with the summary scale of the student's view of his skill.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>View of skill: 0.219</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig=0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Kendall's correlation coefficient was used here because of the large "n" in each category of the class variable (see Nie, et. al., 1970: pp. 143-145).

There is a significant correlation between the view of skill scale and a student's class.

As discussed earlier, because of the nature of the data, explanations for this must be tentative. The longer a student successfully remains at the school may explain part of the relationship, with the attrition of those with low views of their skill being an added factor. But since the data are cross-sectional, there is no way to adequately test these possible explanations.

2. Skill and commitment to a set of career plans are not usually related.
A correlation analysis was run of the objective measures of a student's performance and teaching skill with his commitment to a music career. The correlation between objective teaching skill and commitment is, as predicted, not significant. However, a significant correlation between performance skill and commitment does appear (Table 5.8).

**TABLE 5.8:** Partial correlation coefficients for performance and teaching skill with commitment, controlling for a student's view of his skill.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Commitment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Performance skill</td>
<td>0.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig=0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching skill</td>
<td>0.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig=0.406</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Controlling for student's view of skill

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Commitment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Performance skill</td>
<td>0.096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig=0.110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to attempt to explain this correlation, a partial correlation was run between objective performance skill and commitment, controlling for the student's view of his skill. It was predicted that if a student's view of his skill is high, regardless of his actual skill, he is more likely to be highly committed to a musical career. If this is the case, it further establishes the importance of a student's view of his musical skill as a critical variable in matters relating to his career decisions and commitment. The results of this run show that controlling for the
student's view of his skill reduces the original relationship to a level below statistical significance.

3. A student's school class is not related to skill or commitment.

This hypothesis can only be answered with a qualified "yes" (Table 5.9).

TABLE 5.9: Crosstabulations of class by performance skill, teaching skill, and commitment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Performance skill</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshman</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>59.2%</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>61.2%</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>63.2%</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 6.311  DF = 3  P less than .10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching skill</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshman</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 3.072  DF = 3  NS

Crosstabulations show that there seem to be complex relationships going on which cannot at this time be explained. The data do not seem to be linear, rendering correlation analysis inappropriate. None of the tables are significant, although seniors seem to consistently rank higher on all items than do underclass-
Class | Commitment |  |  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshman</td>
<td>57.4%</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomore</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 4.641  DF = 3  NS

men. The fact that they do so at least partially can be explained by selective attrition — those who were not committed to a music career have been weeded out before becoming seniors. Still, the differences by class seem to be minimal.

4. Sex is not related to commitment or musical skill, but is related to certain aspects of skill.

Table 5.10a shows that, while men are somewhat higher both on the performance skill and commitment scales, none of the relationships is significant.

TABLE 5.10a: Crosstabulations for sex by performance skill, teaching skill, and commitment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Performance skill</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>57.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corrected Chi Square = 1.033  DF = 1  NS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Teaching skill</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corrected Chi Square = 0.005  DF = 1  NS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Commitment</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
<td>51.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corrected Chi Square = 1.476  DF = 1  NS

Crosstabulations of sex by the nine components of the skill indices show a very interesting relationship. The one significant relationship which shows up is that between sex and the teacher's judgement of the likelihood of the student being successful in a performance career (Table 5.10b).

TABLE 5.10b: Crosstabulation for sex by the likelihood of being successful in a performance career as judged by the major applied teacher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Likelihood of success in performance career</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unlikely</td>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>Very likely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 8.384  DF = 2  P less than .02

Men are deemed by the teachers much more likely to be successful in a performance career than are women.

What explanations might be offered to explain this relationship? Might women at Oberlin, for whatever reason, actually be less musically skilled overall than men? This does not seem to be the case — no significant difference was found on any of the seven ability items; nor, for that matter, on the item measuring likelihood of teaching.
Does the faculty have a lower opinion of the musical skill of the women students? For the same reason discussed in the preceding paragraph, the answer would have to be no. A more plausible explanation is that the faculty recognize the added difficulty in the performance world for women. Extremely few women have been members of major orchestras, instrumental soloists, or conductors. For whatever reasons, it has been extremely difficult for women to gain a foothold in performance occupations (with the one exception of the vocal field). The major applied teachers, who are themselves most familiar with this situation, therefore would be likely to add this factor into their considerations of how likely women are to be successful in performance.

While the findings do not point to a conclusion that the faculty are prejudiced against women, they are not irrelevant concerning the teaching of women students. It is reasonable to propose that if the faculty see women as less likely to be successful in a performance career, they may take them less seriously as contenders for success in a performance career. Their opinion may be communicated through advice to women about career plans, or, more subtly, through normal interaction which takes place at private lessons, or through informal cues. The data are not sensitive enough to explore such possibilities, though it does suggest an interesting area for future research. One might, however, see in operation a structurally-built-in self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby teachers, though not agreeing with the differential opportunities afforded women in musical careers, realize the harsh realities and discourage women from attempting to "make it" in performance careers, thereby helping to perpetuate the system as it stands. Again, it must be emphasized that such an
interpretation must remain as speculation at the present time.

In summary, it seems as though the expected socialization process is operating, at least to some extent. The significant other encouragement perceived by the student is strongly related to his view of his skill. The accuracy of that view of his skill to his "objective" performance skill is increased if he has had contacts he sees as very important with significant others who know music and can give "expert" judgement on the student's qualifications. Concerning the student's present progress in music, the cues received from the student's major applied teacher are taken by the student as extremely important.

In rating the chances a student has for being successful in a performance career, teachers assess items directly related to the student's musical ability, whereas when rating a student's chances of being successful in a teaching career, these items are not seen as important. This fact, plus the occupational prestige system of the music world as seen by the students, encourages students who plan on a non-performance career to tend to underrate their musical ability, and those who plan on a performance career to tend to overrate their musical ability.

These findings point to a process by which students of high performance ability are likely to continue on toward a performance career, and those with lower performance ability are likely to switch to teaching. In the following chapter, the rate of actual change of career plans will be examined, followed by an attempt to integrate the knowledge gained into a causal model of the development process of a student's view of his skill and of a student's career choice.
CHAPTER VI:
THE PATH MODEL

Before explicating the causal model, a question must be asked which has not yet been directly approached, but which is critical to the analysis. The question is this: how much change actually occurs in the career plans of students at the Oberlin Conservatory? In Chapter II, it was stated that, from an organizational systems point of view, considering market conditions, it would be expected that a great deal of switching from performance plans to teaching plans by the students would take place. It was predicted, however, that at the Oberlin Conservatory, there would be very little change, and in Chapter III, the mechanisms the school has to effect such changes were considered, and those available specifically to the Oberlin Conservatory were discussed. In Chapter V, some of the more important variables and relationships in the socialization of music students were examined, of which socialization to a set of career plans is an important part. Now the following questions are asked: what is the nature of the Conservatory student's career plans? How much do they change while he is at school? In what direction is the change? What factors effect the direction of the change (that is, toward or away from performance)? And finally, what is the best predictor of a student's present career plans?

Information was solicited concerning the student's career plans when he first came to Oberlin, as well as a student's
present career plans. Analysis was done only on the first career listed, in the case of multiple listings (see Appendix B, questions 56 and 57a). These open-ended answers fell mainly into three categories: those whose first choice involves teaching (including, for example, musicologists, whose career almost always involves academic teaching positions, even if the main interest is research); those whose first choice is performance; and those whose first choice is a non-music profession. The third category was eliminated from the analysis.

Table 6.1 shows the extent of change from one category to another.

**TABLE 6.1:** Crosstabulation of student career plans when he first came to Oberlin with student's present career plans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plans at first</th>
<th>Present career plans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>76.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corrected Chi Square = 45.354  DF = 1  P less than .001

It is found that 21.9% of those who originally planned to enter a performance career had changed their plans to a teaching career. This might be termed slightly more change than was originally expected, although the change cannot be termed substantial. However, this is offset in the overall picture by the fact that 23.8% of the students who originally had planned on a career in teaching changed their plans to a performance career.

What does this mean in relation to the processes of sociali-
zation discussed earlier? First, regarding whether or not the students come to terms with the market situation and, with the exception only of the highest in musical skill, switch to teaching, this does not seem to be happening. There is as much changing toward performance as there is toward teaching. However, it is predicted from earlier discussions that the higher a student's view of his skill is, the more likely he is to change to plans of a performance career, and the lower his view of his skill is, the more likely he is to change toward a teaching career.

Table 6.2 summarizes the findings when crosstabulations were run on present plans by the plans held when the student first came to Oberlin, controlling for the student's view of his skill.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Switch to:</th>
<th>Student's view of his skill</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is seen that the prediction is strongly supported, with those viewing their skill as higher being much more inclined to switch in the direction of a performance career than those viewing their skill as lower.

Crosstabulations were also run controlling for sex and class. Men seem to shift slightly more often toward performance, and women toward teaching, but in neither case did the difference approach significance. Concerning class, as should be expected,
seniors had registered a change in one or the other direction more often than freshmen, as they had had three years, not three months, in which to change their plans. The directions of change, however, were substantially the same across classes.

It can at this point be concluded that a socialization process does seem to be operating at the school which encourages those with higher objective performance skill to equate this with high musical skill and see their musical skill as high, therefore being encouraged to attempt a performance career. This process also causes those whose objective performance skill is relatively low to see their musical skill as low and tend to plan on a career in teaching. This conclusion fits with what was to have been expected on the basis of the organizational systems approach, as well as on the basis of the socialization theory developed. However, it is the degree of change in each direction, not the process, which breaks with the theory expounded. As many students change toward a performance career as change toward a teaching career, thereby accounting for a nearly identical number of graduates hoping to pursue a performance career as was found at entrance.

Discussion of this conclusion will be saved until the next chapter. First, an attempt will be made to integrate the findings into a causal model of the socialization process in hopes of forming a clearer picture of what is going on.

The tool used to explicate this causal process is path analysis. It is a variation on regression analysis in which the relative strength of independent variables in predicting the value of a dependent variable can be measured (for a basic theoretical and mathematical introduction to path analysis, see Land, 1969; and
The measure used is called the path coefficient, which is simply Beta, or the standardized regression coefficient, of regression analysis.

For purposes of illustration, a very simple path model is shown in Figure 6.1. Item 1 is the dependent variable, being "caused" by items 2 and 3. The arrows indicate the causal direction of one item on another. Item 2 is "caused" by item 3. It is seen that both items 2 and 3 were predicted to have a direct effect on item 1, with item 3 also having an indirect effect by its influence on item 2.

The path coefficients (the range of which can vary between approximately -1.00 and 1.00) do show a strong relationship between items 2 and 1, and items 3 and 2, but a weak relationship between items 3 and 1 directly. It can be interpreted as meaning that item 3 is influential on item 1 only by its influence on item 2, but not directly on item 1.

There are some important theoretical and methodological constraints on the construction of path models. The first is that the causal relationships must be extremely sound theoretically. In the example in Figure 6.1, the direction of the arrows can be reversed and still yield the same path coefficients, but theoretically it would be meaningless. If, for instance, item 1 is a country's present gross national product and item 2 is that country's gross national product of five years ago, reversing the arrow between the two would be saying that a country's present gross national product has a strong influence on that country's gross national product of five years ago. Theoretical justification for the causal direction of the model, therefore, is
FIGURE 6.1: Example of path model.
critical.

Methodological constraints on path analysis are the same as those which apply to regression analysis. In the analysis which follows, the requirement of interval data has been somewhat relaxed. However, the scales used can either be considered somewhere between ordinal and interval scales (for example, the skill scales) or dichotomous scales (for example, the student's present career plans, coded as either performance or teaching). There are precedents for using these types of data in path analysis, and the amount of distortion has been found to be small (Land, 1969: pp. 33-34). It is therefore felt that the path coefficients found in this analysis are substantially valid.

Figure 6.2 shows the path model developed, with all possible causal paths included. The significant other variables are broken into the sum of instrumental and the sum of expressive other encouragement for each of the three times: when the student first began studying music, when he first thought of making a career of music, and concerning the student's present progress in music. Others at Time 1 can effect others at Time 2, who can effect others at Time 3, who can directly influence the student's view of his skill by providing feedback and encouragement, or lack of encouragement.

Others at Time 1 and Time 2 may also influence a student's career plans at the time he comes to Oberlin. These "plans at first" can directly influence the student's present career plans; certain commitments were involved in originally deciding on a career, and it can be assumed that they operate at the school to help the student maintain consistency of plan and resist temp-
FIGURE 6.2: All possible paths.

Instrumental
Sig. Others:
Time 1

Expressive
Sig. Others:
Time 2

Performance skill

Teaching skill

# of Performances

R's view of his/her skill

R's career plans upon coming to Oberlin

R's present career plans
As was noted earlier, the student's view of his skill affects his present career plans. This view of skill is influenced by the encouragement the student perceives he gets from significant others, as well as the opportunities he has to ply his trade. It is theoretically possible that objective teaching and performance skill have independent effects on the student's view of his skill.

The number of performances a student is in may be influenced by the student's objective performance and teaching skill, as well as the encouragement the student receives from present significant others. Finally, a student's encouragement from present significant others may be influenced by their perception of his objective performance and teaching skill.*

On the basis of this model, the path coefficients were computed. Significance of each coefficient was determined through the use of F tests. Those paths which were not significant were eliminated from the model, and the new coefficients were determined. This results in the model shown in Figure 6.3.

* Concerning the methodological nature of the specific items, all variables except those dealing with career plans can be said to approximate interval data. The number of performances is an interval item. The others are scales which contain fairly minute ordinal distinctions, resulting in fairly continuous variables with few ties in categories. While it must be remembered that the interval data requirement has been relaxed, thereby somewhat distorting the least squares solution to the regression equations, it is felt that a fair approximation has been achieved.

The two variables on career plans have been turned into dummy variables, with performance being scored as "1" and teaching and other (except for non-music responses, which were edited) being scored "0". This, while approximating interval-type data, further relaxes the requirement. However, since present career plans does not enter at all as an independent variable, and since plans at first only is used as a predictor to present plans, it is felt that the approximation is valid enough to use without disrupting the general model.
FIGURE 6.3: Corrected paths: all respondents.

Performance skill

Teaching skill

R's view of his/her skill

R's career plans upon coming to Oberlin

R's present career plans
Beginning with the relationships between the significant other variables, it is seen that the encouragement received from significant others at Time 1 is a strong predictor of the encouragement received from instrumental others at Time 2. The same holds true for expressive other encouragement at Times 1 and 2. It is interesting that there is a crossover relationship between the expressive other encouragement at Time 1 and the instrumental other encouragement at Time 2. This may have to do with the establishing of instrumental others for the student. When he first begins studying music, the expressive others usually provide him with his most important encouragement. This encouragement may include support for the student in establishing instrumental relationships (finding and studying with a private teacher, for example). Much expressive support at Time 1, therefore, may mean that by Time 2, the student is likely to have established contact with instrumental others who then are giving him support.

The support received by instrumental others at Time 2 is a significant predictor of the support received by instrumental others at Time 3. The expressive others relationship is even more significant regarding the strength of the predictor. The crossover, however, does not appear between Time 2 and Time 3. Instrumental and expressive encouragement by that time seem to be operating independently of one another.

The musician must start his career at an early age. The vast majority (95.2% of those interviewed) have studied their major applied instrument before coming to Oberlin. Once a relationship with an instrumental other is established, that other
may assume the function of guiding the student through social networks and establishing the musical connections a student needs. The instrumental others also usually know music and the music world better than the expressive others, raising the credibility of their encouragement (or lack of encouragement) in the student's eyes. Once such a relationship is established, expressive other encouragement is likely to become less important to the student and have little to do with the encouragement he receives from instrumental significant others.

What other factors enter into the amount of significant other encouragement perceived at Time 3? For the instrumental others, it is seen that both objective performance and objective teaching skill are significant predictors. For the expressive others, only performance skill is significant, and that barely so.

It is necessary at this point to reiterate exactly what these items are measuring. The skill items are based on ratings made of the student's skill by the teachers. The significant other items measure the relative amount of encouragement the students perceive as receiving from their various significant others. Teachers are included in the measure of instrumental significant others, so one of the others whose perceived encouragement goes into making that scale is the same as the person who gave the student his skill ratings.

All of which means that consideration is being given to an implied system of communication which goes on between the teacher and the student, as well as between all significant others and the student. On the basis of their judgement of a student's skill, significant others give the student encouragement. The more skill they judge he has, the more encouragement they will
give him concerning his present progress in music. The student, then, receives this encouragement, which is what is being measured. It is not a measure of encouragement given; it is a measure of encouragement perceived, hence, received.

What is somewhat surprising, then, is that the predictive power between skill and other encouragement is not greater than it is. It is fairly understandable that the coefficient is small between performance skill and expressive other encouragement. Expressive others are likely to give encouragement on other factors: since the student often is a relative or a friend. Also, the expressive other encouragement by now is likely to be looked upon by the student as not that important --- they are not experts; how do they know if he is really good?

The surprise is that the relationship between skill and the instrumental others is not stronger, especially considering that the teacher who rated the student is included in the instrumental other scale. What possible explanations are there? Other factors besides musical skill might enter into the encouragement given by the teacher. Or the teachers may see their role as primarily one of teaching skills, not judging students to the point of giving advice concerning the student's progress and/or his career plans. Or the teacher, while being good enough to force himself into skill ratings for the purpose of this research, may himself not be sure enough about the student's ability to directly encourage or discourage him. Or the student may not pick up the cues offered by the teacher as encouragement or discouragement. Or a combination of these factors may operate.

The important implication is that the translation of the
teacher's view of a student's skill into perceived instrumental other encouragement by the student is not as accurate as one might expect. A fruitful area for additional research would, it seems, be in the area of the communication of the teacher's evaluations of the student's skill to the student, both formally and informally.

Concerning the number of performances a student is in, objective performance skill is significant as a predictor, though just barely. This is logical: the higher one's performance skill, the more likely one is to be able to find opportunities to perform. Again, surprise must be expressed at the lack of strength of the coefficient. Again, extraneous factors may enter in. However, there are two other factors which should be taken into account. The first is that there are relatively few chances for anyone to perform (Table 6.3).

TABLE 6.3: Distribution of the number of performances the student was in 'so far this semester'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cum Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>54.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>67.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>88.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>92.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>93.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 or more</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>99.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not ascertained</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is seen that the distribution of performances is greatly skewed to the lower end. Moreover, as was mentioned before, the major proportion of the performing opportunities which are available
are through the school, with extremely few outside the school. The school, while in some cases differentiating the skill of the student in allowing the better students more performing opportunities (e.g., some make the orchestra, some do not), still feels an obligation to provide a somewhat comparable number of performance opportunities for all students in a particular field --- or at least a minimum number. This is reflected in the school requirements, making graduation contingent on the completion of minimum performance requirements.

What of the influence of independent variables on a student's view of his musical skill? Of the five possible paths tested (shown in Figure 6.2), only two survive --- those leading from performance skill and instrumental other encouragement, Time 3. The paths from teaching skill, expressive other encouragement, and number of performances are not significant.

This does much to summarize the socialization process which has been discussed throughout this thesis. It was expected that expressive others would not be important concerning a student's view of his skill at the present time, but that instrumental others would be. The instrumental others are the experts. The family, the most important component of the expressive others, does not usually enjoy the status of "musical expert". Moreover, with the student away at school, face-to-face contact is reduced, as well as overall influence.

The fact that teaching skill is not significant was also expected. It was discovered earlier that students tend to equate "musical skill" with "performance skill". Objective performance skill is a significant predictor both through instrumental other
encouragement, Time 3, and directly. This supports the view that, in general, the higher the performance skill, the more encouragement will be given by instrumental others, the more encouragement will be perceived by the student as given, and hence the higher will be the student's view of his skill. The direct path being significant between performance skill and the student's view of his skill allows for the fact that feedback other than from significant others, such as the student's comparison of his skill with what the student regards as "good" or "ideal" skill, is independently important in the formation by the student of a view of his skill.

The fact that the path between number of performances and the student's view of his skill was not significant was also expected. As was mentioned earlier, Kadushin's study of student musicians in New York found that development of a professional self-concept (of which it may be assumed that "view of skill" would form an important part) was most strongly related to the performance opportunities a student makes use of, as well as union membership, implying at least a symbolic relationship with the professional performing world (Kadushin, 1968: Chapter VIII). At Oberlin, with the performing opportunities extremely limited as compared with those in New York City, and especially with the lack of outside performance opportunities, it would be expected that this variable would not be important as a mechanism in forming a student's view of his skill.

Two questions were independently substituted for number of performances, and the model was rerun. These were the number of performances for which the student was paid, and whether or not
the student is a union member. The distributions were extremely skewed (Table 6.4), and neither one was a significant predictor of a student's view of his skill.

TABLE 6.4: Distributions of the number of performances for which students were paid, and for whether or not the student is a union member.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of paid performances</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cum Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>84.0%</td>
<td>84.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>91.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>97.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>98.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>98.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 or more</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is student a musician's union member?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cum Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>91.0%</td>
<td>91.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>99.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not ascertained</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moving from a student's view of his skill as the dependent variable, it is found that, as expected, the view of skill is a significant predictor of a student's present career plans, although only barely. By far the strongest predictor of present career plans is the student's plans when he first came to Oberlin, showing what was discovered in the previous chapter --- relatively little changing of plans takes place.

To discover if this relationship changes greatly when the student's class is controlled, the coefficients were figured for each class separately (Figure 6.4). Again only the significant
FIGURE 6.4: Partial Path model by class.

Freshmen

R's view of his/her skill

R's career plans upon coming to Oberlin → 0.547 → R's present career plans

Sophomores

R's view of his/her skill

R's career plans upon coming to Oberlin → 0.232 → R's present career plans

Juniors

R's view of his/her skill

R's career plans upon coming to Oberlin → 0.340 → R's present career plans

Seniors

R's view of his/her skill

R's career plans upon coming to Oberlin → 0.526 → R's present career plans

R's present career plans → 0.538 → R's career plans upon coming to Oberlin

R's present career plans → 0.440 → R's career plans upon coming to Oberlin
paths are shown. It would be expected that the student's career plans when he first came to Oberlin would be a weaker predictor for those students who are upperclassmen, with a rise in the predictive power of the student's view of his skill. Due to the small number of students in each class, the results must be considered tentative.

It is seen that the expectations are supported, with the exception of the seniors, where the power of the student's career plans at first does not decrease, but the student's view of his skill is not a significant predictor. In no case, though, does the situation found in Figure 6.3 come close to reversing itself --- the student's career plans when he first came to Oberlin is consistently the strongest predictor of his present career plans.

The entire model was also run controlling for sex (Figure 6.5). Again, it must be remembered that there is a substantial drop in the number of students entered into each analysis, which must call into question the validity of the data being used in this way. Only the significant paths are shown.

First, the women will be considered. At first glance, it is apparent that there is a break in the model between instrumental other encouragement at Time 3 from Time 2. This is consistent with the overall model (Figure 6.3), which found a large drop in predictive power on that path from the previous path. It may be due to the fact that, between Time 2 and Time 3, there is a break in the actual persons who are the important instrumental others. Students no longer take from their old teacher, but now study with a school teacher, whose encouragement may be very different from that of the former teacher.
FIGURE 6.5: Path model by sex.

Females

Performance Skill

Instrumental
Sig. Others:
Time 1

Instrumental
Sig. Others:
Time 2

Expressive
Sig. Others:
Time 1

Expressive
Sig. Others:
Time 2

Teaching Skill

Instrumental
Sig. Others:
Time 3

Expressive
Sig. Others:
Time 3

R's view of
his/her skill

# of
Performances

R's career plans
upon coming
to Oberlin

R's present
career plans

.324

.301

.557

.642

.246

.239

.242

.238

.187

.178

.519
The other major difference found between the female model when compared with the model of all respondents (and with the male model) is the strength of expressive other encouragement, extending to the point that it is a significant predictor on the student's view of her skill. It may in part be due to the traditional fact that women tend to remain closer to their families and put more importance in expressive friendship supports than do men. It may also be due to the fact that, from the family's point of view, music is a more legitimate profession for women than for men, and therefore the support does not suffer a break when women decide to study toward a music career.

Music, especially in American culture, is often seen as being feminine in character. It is "emotional" and, in addition, it is not seen as having great instrumental value in a society devoted to instrumental "progress" (see Parsons, 1964: pp. 155-182). Women traditionally have not had to worry about being successful in a career. It is therefore seen as fine for them to spend their time on music. Music is also fine as an avocation for men, but often when the young man decides to attempt to make a career of music, he meets with substantial family resistance (Cambor, 1962). Not only is music considered somewhat effeminate throughout a good deal of the culture, but it is seen to be an unstable career as well. Music is often seen to offer very insecure employment (which, at least for performance careers, is true). Whereas women are not thought to have to worry about this job insecurity, it is thought that men do. Therefore, expressive significant other encouragement received and perceived by the men may be greatly reduced when they decide to pursue music as
a career.

The female model also shows a great deal less predictive power on the student's view of her skill by objective performance skill and instrumental others, Time 3, than the male model. This may be due to women not being as good as men in picking up cues with regard to her skill. Crosstabulations were run on sex by view of skill, objective performance skill, and instrumental other encouragement, Time 3, in an attempt to see if the relationship could be explained by differences by sex in those items. The only significant difference was found in that men have a higher view of their skill than women (Table 6.5).

TABLE 6.5: Crosstabulation of the sum score of the student's view of his/her skill by sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Student's view of skill</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 6.225
DF = 3
P less than .05

This may account in part for the differential coefficients.

The male model also shows a few variations for which an adequate explanation is not readily available. The path between expressive other encouragement, Time 1, and instrumental other encouragement, Time 2, is not significant. This may be due to the men establishing instrumental other contacts earlier than the women, or to the women having more need for expressive other encouragement in order to establish instrumental contacts. The data do not allow a testing of these notions.
Finally, objective performance skill has dropped as a significant predictor of significant other encouragement. An explanation for this is not readily available. The whole area of the different socialization processes of men and women into the music world is an area in need of further research.

To briefly summarize this chapter, it was found that, as expected on the basis of the findings in Chapter V, students who view their musical skill as relatively high and enter planning on a non-performance career tend to switch to a performance career, and those who enter planning a performance career and view their skill as relatively low tend to switch to non-performance career plans. The expected process of socialization is operating, but not to the degree expected on the basis of market considerations. An explanation for this will be attempted in the following chapter.

The path model developed also seems to support the conclusions reached earlier. Expressive significant others are seen as important in helping to establish contact with instrumental others, but their direct effect on a student's present view of his skill is, at least for men, not significant. Instrumental significant other encouragement at the present time does have a significant effect on the student's view of his skill, as does objective performance skill, showing that a student does indeed assess his skill in ways other than through significant other feedback. The number of performances engaged in, unlike in Kadushin's study, does not have a significant effect on the student's view of his skill, reflecting the narrower range of performing opportunities available at Oberlin in comparison with New York City. Finally, the student's view of his skill does significantly effect his career
plans, although by far the strongest predictor of a student's present career plans are his plans when he first came to Oberlin. This reflects the fact that relatively few changes in plans do occur.
Through the testing of the hypotheses previously presented, as well as the testing of the path model of socialization to a view of skill and career plans in music, a number of conclusions have been reached. Before proceeding to a consideration of those conclusions, an overall summary of what was predicted will be made.

On the basis of certain aspects of organization theory (Thompson, 1967; Blau and Scott, 1962; Perlstadt, 1972), the Conservatory is viewed as an organization which is greatly influenced by its environment. It is an organization which must rely on the environment for its input (talented students) and for a market for its output (qualified professional musicians). The professional market for musicians is such that most jobs available are teaching jobs, with very few musicians being able to earn their living solely by performance. Those musicians who stand a chance at a performing career are usually only those who have reached the highest level of performance skill.

Logically, it is thought that a socialization process takes place at the music school which, through significant other encouragement or lack of encouragement (Kuhn, 1954; Yinger, et al., 1970; Denzin, 1966; Stryker, 1957; McDill and Coleman, 1965; Pugh, et al., 1971) regarding the student's skill, the student forms an opinion of his skill and assesses what his chances are of being successful in one or another of the music careers available. The music school not only teaches skills but, as is the
case with other professional schools (Becker, et. al., 1961), teaches and reinforces professional values as well (Kadushin, 1968). Most students enter the school as performance majors. Performance is the music career with the highest prestige, but with the fewest jobs in the market. Given these facts, it is logical to predict that a process goes on at the Conservatory whereby only those with the highest skill in performance are encouraged to continue planning on a performance career, with those with relatively less performance skill being encouraged to enter the teaching profession.

It was found, however, that this is not the case. While the majority of Conservatory students graduate with a performance degree and plan on a performance career, only a very small percentage actually go on to a performance career (Belcheff, 1971). It was the purpose of this thesis to explore the socialization process regarding the development of the student's view of his skill and his career plans to determine if the expected process is not operating, and if it is operating, to offer an explanation as to why a closer equilibrium between the career plans of the students and the market they will enter is not reached.

It was predicted that there are various factors which influence students not to change career plans toward teaching, regardless of their musical skill. The major factors were thought to be:

1. A very strong value-status orientation of both students and faculty which views performance as the highest ideal one can reach in the music world, and which views music teaching as a secondary endeavor, to be engaged in on a full-time basis by those who lack the talent or skill to be successful in a performance career.

2. The importance of the value-status orientation shared by the students and faculty is enhanced by the lack of alternative supports other than the major teacher which
are available, especially the lack of outside performing opportunities.

The school has both formal and informal mechanisms through which it might influence a student to alter his career plans. It was found that formal sanctions, both positive and negative (scholarships, competitions; control through committee evaluations and screening), were not at all extensively employed. The major portion of this paper was then devoted to examining the informal mechanisms which might influence a student to change his plans.

Three sets of hypotheses were developed in an attempt to clarify the relation between significant other encouragement, a student's view of his skill, his career plans, and factors such as sex, class, and the student's objective skill. The findings concerning these hypotheses will now be briefly reviewed.

I. Concerning significant others in general.

1. In general, the more encouragement a student feels he receives from significant others, the higher will be the student's view of his skill.

This hypothesis was partially supported on the basis of correlation analysis. The relationship is significant only for significant other encouragement received at the present time, but not for encouragement received in the past.

2. More importantly, the availability of significant others familiar with the music field is strongly related to how accurate a student's view of his skill will be.

This proposition was supported through correlation analysis. A significant relationship was found between objective performance skill and the student's view of his musical skill for those students who listed an instrumental other (private music teacher,
school music teacher) as most important, while no significant relationship was found for those who listed an expressive other (mother, father, other relative, friend) as most important. It was also found that students tend to equate musical skill with performance skill, as no significant correlation was found between objective teaching skill and a student's view of his skill.

II. Concerning the student's relationship with the major applied teacher.

1. The most important significant other from the student's point of view concerning the student's present progress toward a music career is that student's major applied teacher.

This hypothesis was shown to be true through the frequency distribution.

1a. A student's major applied teacher will be seen as a more important significant other concerning the student's musical progress by seniors than by freshmen.

The expected relationship did not appear strongly. While more important for seniors, freshmen seem to come to see the major applied teacher as extremely important very early in their school career.

1b. Students of higher musical skill will more often deem their present teacher the most important significant other concerning the student's musical progress, while those of lower skill will deem a former teacher or family member most important.

The results on the tests of this hypothesis are inconclusive. It seems that the influence of the major teacher is salient, regardless of the skill of the student.

2. The major applied teachers view performance as the highest musical achievement toward which the better students should strive, with teaching being an alternative available for those who are most likely not to be able to make it in a performance career.

There were no data which could directly test this proposi-
tion. However, through a factor analysis on the teachers' ratings of the students, it was found that the teachers used a very different set of items for assessing the likelihood of a student being successful at a performance career than for the likelihood of a student being successful at a teaching career. "Hard" items measuring musical skill were assessed when considering a performance career, and "soft" items (such as effort, personality) were used in judging the possibility of a teaching career.

3. Students see performance as viewed as a higher status occupation than teaching by those in the music world.

This hypothesis was supported by the data through an examination of the mean score rankings of various music occupations. Crosstabulations showed no significant difference in the ratings between those aspiring to be performers and those aspiring to be teachers.

3a. This effects the student's view of his skill, with those planning a non-performance career seeing their skill as lower than those planning a performance career of the same objective skill.

Through an examination of the students "overrating" and "underrating" their objective musical skill, it was found that students planning to go on to a performance career tended to overrate their skill, while those planning on a teaching career tended to underrate their skill.

III. Further factors effecting students' views of their skill, objective skill, and commitment to career plans.

1. Seniors will have higher views of their own musical skill than will freshmen.

A correlation analysis found a significant relationship between a student's class and his view of his skill.

2. Skill and commitment to a set of career plans are not usually related.
A partial correlation found that there is a relationship which is significant between a student's commitment and his performance skill, but only through his view of his skill. The hypothesis is therefore supported.

3. A student's school class is not related to skill or commitment.

The results are inconclusive. Crosstabulations show that there is not a linear relationship, but leave open the possibility that a complex non-linear relationship does exist.

4. Sex is not related to commitment or musical skill, but is related to certain aspects of skill.

Crosstabulations revealed that the only relationship which is significant is between sex and the likelihood of a student being successful in a performance career. Women were rated significantly less likely to be successful by their teachers than men.

To summarize more formally the conclusions which have been discussed above:

1. The sum of significant other supports at the present time is strongly related to a student's view of his musical skill.

2. The establishment of a relationship with an instrumental significant other which is strong enough for the student to deem it the "most important encouragement" he has received is important in that:
   a. It reinforces other encouragement the student has received, making summary encouragement more significant; and
   b. It improves the accuracy of a student's judgement of his musical skill as compared with the measure of his objective performance skill.

3. The major applied teacher is the significant other seen by the students as most influential concerning the students' present musical progress, and is, therefore, the significant other to whom most students look in assessing their progress and skill.
   a. This relationship holds, regardless of class, sex, or the skill of the student.
4. Teachers take different factors into account when judging the likelihood of a student's being successful in a performance career than are considered concerning a student's likelihood of success in a teaching career.
   a. "Hard" musical items are taken into account concerning the performance career (potential, technique, musicality, overall ability).
   b. "Soft" items are those seen as relevant to a teaching career (effort, personality, and overall progress).

5. From this, it is concluded that when teachers give career advice to students, or through informal mechanisms, they consciously or unconsciously tend to influence those with high musical ability toward a performance career, and those with lower musical ability toward a teaching career.

6. Students greatly agree on the differing prestige levels certain occupations have in the music world.
   a. Performance jobs are generally held as having higher prestige than teaching jobs.
   b. This is recognized to be so by both those students planning on a performance career and those planning on a teaching career.

7. This fact, plus the way teachers tend to view the characteristics needed for a person to make a successful career of performance or teaching, effects a student's view of his skill such that, if he plans on a teaching career, he is likely to underrate his musical skill, and if he plans on a performance career, he is likely to overrate his musical skill.

On the basis of these conclusions, it seems as though most factors expected on the basis of socialization theory are born out --- the process is operating. The analysis of the path model developed yields similar support (Chapter VI). It may be summarized in the following conclusions:

1. The support received from instrumental significant others at earlier times is a good predictor of the amount of instrumental other support received later.
   a. There is, however, a drop in predictive power when a student comes to Oberlin, signifying a break from the old others and establishment of new other relationships.

2. The support received from expressive significant others at earlier times is a good predictor of the amount of expressive other support received later.
3. Objective performance skill and instrumental other support are significant predictors of the student's view of his musical skill; the number of performances a student engages in, and expressive other support, as well as teaching skill, are not direct predictors.

4. While the student's view of his skill is a significant predictor of his present career plans, the strongest predictor is the student's career plan upon coming to Oberlin.
   a. This relationship, while being influenced by the student's class, remains essentially the same.

5. A student's sex influences these conclusions in that:
   a. Expressive other support is more important for women.
   b. There is a greater break between present and previous instrumental other support for women.
   c. Performance skill does not significantly predict the amount of other support received by women.

The analysis of the hypotheses, plus the thirteen conclusions just outlined, shows that there is a socialization process which operates and, especially on the basis of instrumental significant other encouragement, influences the student in forming a view of his own skill. Further analysis revealed that those students who change plans to a teaching career view their skill lower than those who change their plans to a performance career.

While the socialization process found in this study seems to operate in the way and the direction expected, it was also found that, while a student's view of his skill is a significant predictor of what his career plans are, by far the most significant predictor is the career planned when he first came to Oberlin. This implies that very little changing goes on. This conclusion is confirmed through crosstabulation of the career planned by the student when he first came to the school with his present career plans. Moreover, it is found that an almost identical percentage of students switch their plans from teaching to performance as switch their plans from performance to teaching. The sociali-
zation process which influences change works, but it works both ways.

To return to the major factors which were expected to act as deterrents to career plan change, as stated in the beginning of this chapter:

1. There is a strong value-status orientation toward music careers. It does seem to be shared by students and faculty. It seems to some extent to encourage some students to switch to performance careers if their skill is deemed adequate, while not deterring a nearly equal percentage of students from changing from performance careers to teaching. It may have to do with the relatively low overall change in either direction, but it is not preventing the socialization process from operating, as was theorized.

2. The student-teacher relationship is very likely more important due to the lack of other instrumental supports available to the students. Again, however, it does not limit the operation of socialization processes and career plan changes from taking place.

There is, then, a dilemma to explain. The original dilemma is at least partially solved --- the socialization process whereby students of higher skill tend toward performance, and students of lower skill tend toward teaching, is operating. But it is not operating relative to the market situation --- approximately the same number of students who enter the school planning on a performance career leave the school planning on a performance career. How can this be explained?

The most plausible explanation seems to be the relative
isolation of the Oberlin Conservatory from the professional music world. While at the Conservatory, the student has little opportunity to engage in professional activities which would give him feedback from the others who will judge him once he graduates. He cannot gradually break into the music world like those attending a conservatory in a city. He cannot come to judge his talent by comparing it with professionals, or gain experience by playing before a wide variety of audiences. His major reference group by which he can judge his musical ability consists of his fellow students.

This interpretation explains why the same percent were found to change to performance plans as were found to change to teaching plans. The students who view their skill relatively high compared with fellow Oberlin students tend to hold plans leading to a performance career; the students who view their skill relatively low compared with fellow Oberlin students tend to hold plans leading to a teaching career. The students have relatively little basis on which to compare their skill with anyone else. The tendency is, for four years, to equate the music world with Oberlin.

While the theoretical argument concerning the "frog pond" effect of reference groups on academic achievement and career aspirations (Davis, 1966; Werts and Watley, 1969) is concerned with a different question, the findings of this thesis support at least some of Davis's conclusions concerning relative deprivation theory. Davis reasoned that undergraduate career choice is dependent on "academic self-concept", which in turn is influenced by the student's assessment of his academic ability in relation to his schoolmates. The critical reference group
for Davis is that of the students at the same school, not the larger group of students in general. The conclusions reached here lend support to this theory, although the support is purported only to be an example of the theory. It works at Oberlin, not because the students might be inclined to compare themselves with non-Oberlin music students or professional musicians, but because there is a lack of opportunity for them to make informed comparisons.

This idea can also be tied to Goffman's concept of total institutions. The Oberlin Conservatory is certainly not a total institution in the sense of a prison or a mental hospital. It does not have the ritual, desocialization, resocialization, and elaborate control structure which are characteristic of such institutions — at least not in a blatant sense. However, the isolation of the Conservatory from the professional music world does greatly increase the importance of the school itself in influencing the student's view of his skill and career plans. The school is the main place where the student can test his skills. Those at the school are his major — in most cases only — source of instrumental other feedback. Oberlin assumes this character by default — it did not, like prisons or mental hospitals, plan to isolate its inmates. This seems to suggest another type of total institution, or, if I may, a partially total institution, which is in a very different context from the ones Goffman explored, yet still develops some of the same characteristics with some of the same consequences. An interesting topic for future research would be a more systematic analysis of the Conservatory along the dimensions set forth by Goffman.
Some implications can be made concerning significant other and reference group theory as well. These findings support the idea that the availability of significant others who will lend support is more important than the mere sum of supports received. More specifically, the availability of others who provide relevant support with regard to the situation under consideration is seen as the important factor. Regarding a student's view of his skill, the family is important at first, but its role is transferred as time goes on to instrumental others, who can usually provide more "expert" feedback. They reflect the reference group to which the student aspires.

However, that aspirational reference group is not a strong direct influence on encouraging the student to change his career plans. At Oberlin, the student seems to change plans using his peers as a reference group. He sees himself in relation to others aspiring toward a similar career, not in relation to those who have made it. The fact that very soon they will be competing for jobs with those who have already "made it" seems to be a part of reality students at Oberlin can at least partly avoid. As mentioned above, the main reason for this seems to be the social setting. One must proceed with caution when attempting to generalize concerning the importance of a certain type of reference group (for example, local or cosmopolitan) in influencing decisions. The availability and type of contact between the person and the reference group is a variable which must not be overlooked.

Returning the analysis to an organizational level, it must be asked why the school has not responded to the market situation by
employing its formal sanctions more rigorously or by using its informal sanctions in a way which would encourage more students to train for a teaching career rather than for a performance career. Consideration must return to the value factors mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It is necessary to examine the place of music in American society in order to understand how this attitude came about, and its significance in relation to the larger system.

Concert societies began in this country later than in Europe. Until well into this century, "classical" music found its base of financial and moral support in the well-to-do elites. This type of music is not native to America --- it has been primarily imported. It was considered by the American elite part of the high cultural tradition of the West. Appreciating "good music" was an embellishment of high status, as were the adornments which go with concert life for an audience --- being seen in new furs, socializing in public with others of like status, and so forth. The concert was a social event of the upper class. This basically followed the European model, but, because the music was culturally foreign to most Americans, the mass support for the arts did not appear in the last century, but has only recently been appearing to any significant extent.

Due to the vocationalization of performing music and moves by musicians to professionalize, economic demands were made which outran the ability of elite individuals to meet. Appeals for mass support were begun, both to elicit support from the middle class and to justify an attempt for music organizations to receive increased support from public tax money. The attempt to
make classical music accessible to the masses is still going on.

It meets, however, with fairly substantial resistance. The artist as a full-time profession, as well as the content of "classical music" and its presumed functions beyond entertainment, have been and are foreign ideas to the "mass audience" being wooed (Nash, 1964; Wilson, 1964; Lowenthal, 1961). Musical performance and creation, if not wholly considered "feminine", is thought to be a nice avocation, but certainly not a "useful" career. The music teacher, especially in the public schools, also suffers from the instrumentally-oriented American value system (Parsons, 1964).

The general society, then, is not inclined to have a high understanding or opinion of classical music or the musician. Moreover, the status connotations still hang on --- classical music may be all right for the "upper crust", but the lower classes certainly cannot understand it. This view is often expressed by low and high social class persons, as well as musicians.

The musicians themselves have been trained for the most part in the European tradition. Conservatories have been built along European models. Musicians are isolated culturally from much of the society at large (Westby, 1960). A conflict emerges --- musicians want to share their art through performance and/or teaching, but the environment from which they need support is not supportive of them. Performers, however, do not come into contact with this value conflict as much as do teachers. Teachers must deal directly with students, families, and school boards that do not value music. Performers are usually in contact at least with administrators who value their art and audiences who
freely want to hear it. This advantage for performers is, of course, gained at a price --- the financial support is too thin to allow many people to be able to support themselves through performing.

The difficulties of a teacher are known to those in the Conservatory. Most have been greatly involved with public school music programs and even then have felt the value conflicts discussed above. Often they have been better musicians as seniors in high school than their high school band director is at the present time. The better musicians are likely to flow upward in the status scale to better teaching jobs or to performance. Students have seen their school music programs undervalued and underfunded. These factors, plus the lack of selectivity on the basis of musical talent in school music organizations, combine to make teaching (especially public school teaching) a most undesirable job, and to keep the better talented students from going into teaching after they graduate from the Conservatory.

Students are not deceived into thinking that a performance career is easy, or that the life of a performer is always full of joy. But one other factor is influential in influencing students to see performance as the highest musical ideal --- that of musical expression. The expressive, mystical content of music and the importance of individual musical interpretation through performance have been built into the musical value structure since the last century. To write or perform music is set up as the most creative experience a fine musician can have. This aspect of personal expression encourages one to accept much in the way of financial insecurity and possibility of defeat in order
to hope of attaining the goal of performer.

An implication of this analysis to organizational literature is to cite the importance of historical development in explaining organizational structure. The organization as an "open system" has developed through interaction with its environment over time. Any explanation of organizational features now or prediction of them in the future must to be adequate consider the organization's past (as is done by, for example, Lipset, et al., 1956). It may put many constraints on the set of actions an organization may take.

In addition, some problems are found with Thompson's concept of rationality norms. Under such norms, Thompson would expect the organization when using intensive technology to attempt to incorporate the object worked on --- in this case, the music student. The lack of outside influences should, then, be seen by the Conservatory as a "good thing". But is it? Might not a gradual "breaking from the womb" into the professional music world better help prepare the student for what will follow, and enhance his chances for coping well? And if he copes well, might he not have a better chance at a "better" job, thereby reflecting more favorably on the school? It is proposed that simply having more power over the object worked on is not necessarily an advantage for the organization, as there are some functions which people or groups outside the organization might better fulfill to the advantage of the organization.

The cultural position of the music school, then, tends to isolate it from considerations dealing with the general environment. There is little value congruity between those at the
school and the general public concerning the value of musical activities. The school is certainly influenced by its environment, but, to use another phrase of Thompson's, especially by its "task environment": the parts of its environment which are especially crucial to its operation. It does deal with the market as a part of that task environment, which in turn is to a large degree determined by the feelings of the general public about music. However, the market --- the music jobs available --- serve as a buffer, protecting the school from some influences of the general public. So long as the schools produce enough professional musicians to satisfy the market, the market cannot be expected to complain. The fact that the schools produce too many professional musicians for the market does not hurt the market at all. So long as the schools overproduce, there is no reason to expect that any pressure will come from the market for the schools to alter the type of musician it gives as output.

As discussed above, the musicians who are connected with the school have cultural and value commitments which would inhibit a large-scale change of student career plans in the direction of teaching careers. In addition, there are some practical organizational reasons why the Conservatory cannot respond to the market situation by changing its emphasis from performance to teaching. One reason is, simply, tradition. It is inherently difficult for an organization to change its basic goals, once entrenched. Unlike many organizations, which have experienced technological changes in this century which have compelled organizational change, the music school still has the same basic technology it has had for the past century. Changes in demand
may still bring about changes in supply --- witness the growth of interest in computer music and the subsequent changes in curricula. However, no real demand by the job market has been created. The traditional technology --- imparting skills in performance and (though with updating) music theory and music history --- is still dominant.

Also tied with the Conservatory tradition is the fact that the Conservatory has a reputation as one of the top five music schools in the country. Considering the occupational status hierarchy in the music world, it follows that the "best" schools must maintain their image by producing, in the first place, fine performers. The reputation of a school in the last analysis hangs on the success of its graduate performers. One famous pianist is worth 1,000 worthy music teachers.

A practical reason discussed above in another context is also related to this problem. As in most any organization, there are internal divisions which vie for power vis a vis the others (Michels, 1959; Nieburg, 1969). The applied faculty themselves fought for a secure place in the music world. They would not be likely to agree to give up some of their faculty positions for the sake of equity. To them it is a bread and butter issue. These are powerful forces which operate against any change in the basic orientation of the institution.

Both cultural and structural reasons are found which explain why the Conservatory, while socializing students to change their career to teaching if they are of relatively low performance skill and to performance if they have relatively high performance skill, does not do so to an extent that would bring it to
equilibrium with its market. In what areas might future research be useful in order to clarify this situation yet further?

1. Work on the early socialization of music students would be most profitable. Except for significant other encouragement, little was said regarding differential characteristics which students bring to the music school. Data for such analysis are available and could profitably be tied in with what has been examined in this thesis. For example, answers to such questions as family and demographic backgrounds of music students, early exposure to music, and early significant other relationships could be explored in depth, adding insight into the characteristics a student brings with him to the school.

2. A closer examination of the student-teacher interaction is also in order. The importance of the teacher in influencing the development by the student of a view of his skill, as well as in influencing career plans and value orientations of the student, has been found to be great. Learning more about the mechanisms by which these influences make themselves known would be very valuable to an understanding of the school socialization process. Moreover, a systematic comparison of the student-teacher relationship in a music school with comparable relationships in other situations (for example, graduate school students and teachers, gang members and gang leaders, Buddhist monks and initiates) would be of interest in attempting to spell out general interaction processes.

3. Further study of organizational factors leading to cultural and value change, as well as the effects of culture on organizational structure and goals, would be valuable. Con-
nections between these factors concerning the music school have been shown, but not in a systematic way. Analysis of these factors would be enlightening insofar as a change in one element may be shown to effect a change in the others. The scope of this paper included the study of certain changes in individuals or aggregates of individuals. It should be balanced by a study of organizational and extra-organizational change as related to the music school. The author would see this as the area where future research is most needed.

4. Study of the music system as a whole, and its relation to other institutions in society, is also very much needed. It is the area where the least work has been done, but is the area where relationships must be explicated before a full understanding of the processes which go on within the music system can take place.
POSTLUDE

This thesis has been concerned with the study of certain aspects of the training of young men and women who are bound toward a music career. It has been implied that there is a problem in the "musical career system" as it now operates: too many musicians are being trained in areas of a field where there are too few jobs. If the reader has received the impression that the author thinks this situation is "bad", he is partly correct. Too many men and women leave music school only to find that much of their training has not been relevant to what their career will turn out to be.

But none of us, least of all the author, should make the fallacy of equating the "relevant" with the "good". Those "musically overtrained" housewives, lawyers, and sociologists cannot help, because of their training in and love of the art of music, to influence others to appreciate some of the beauty of life which they may otherwise have never enjoyed. And our own lives are richer for it. To be of value, a music education need not lead to a music career.

The faith in the human good of music has been stated in many ways. Possibly it is as the composer Ernst Levy wrote in this century:

"To a humanity looking for elements of hope, music ought to be an important matter. We may even say that man will begin to recover the moment he takes art as seriously as physics, chemistry or money. There is no human activity that asks for such a harmonious cooperation of 'intellect' and 'soul' as artistic creation and, especially, music... Music is human. Music is also extra-human inasmuch as it is
a mirror of universal laws. To destructive analysis music opposes synthesis. To the uniformization of science, which reduces qualities to quantities, music opposes a hierarchy of values. Our mechanized minds need to be musicalized. We have developed only half of man's possibilities, or rather, have developed that half completely out of proportion to the other half. We have deified the intellect, we have separated it completely from the other side of human nature. We must seek a synthesis. Music as an art and as a science can do it. This is not a petty problem. It is the problem of our time."

Or, more simply, as the composer William Byrd stated four hundred years ago:

"Since singing is so good a thing
I wish all men would learn to sing."
APPENDIX A:
RECOMMENDATIONS
A certain responsibility is felt by the author to go beyond the analysis of these questions and to suggest some possible solutions to the problems confronting the school and the students. I am not in a position to judge the feasibility of these recommendations, but it is hoped that in some small measure they may help the Conservatory confront some of the problems it faces in attempting to maintain and improve its position of high esteem in the music world, and in attempting to give its students the best training possible.

Given the purposes of the Oberlin Conservatory, and on the basis of the findings of this study, the following recommendations are suggested:

1. To increase the probability of landing top input, Oberlin should institute a program of talent scholarships.

The Oberlin Conservatory has advantages and disadvantages when it vies with its competitors for talent. What is for one student a "plus" --- a certain teacher, an isolated location, a college there, too --- may for another student be seen as a drawback. However, no student would consider the lack of talent scholarships as an Oberlin advantage. Oberlin is attempting to draw the top performance talent available. Its competitors have an advantage in that most all of them offer talent scholarships --- they can be a most powerful tool in swaying a student toward a certain school. At least as important as the actual material benefits (if one assumes that, given the present Oberlin financial aid program, the student doesn't really "need" the money in order to attend school) are the psychological, symbolic benefits
"School 'A' really must believe in my talent and want me. They've given me a talent scholarship!"

Granted, scholarship money is never easy to come by, and, if talent scholarships are instituted, the gains made through them must be balanced against the losses of, for instance, students who would not fall in this top talent bracket, but who do need money in order to attend. Possibly a balance could be reached whereby a relatively small amount of the total scholarship money would be allotted to talent scholarships, thereby not depriving many of those who need the money, but being enough to draw a number of top students who otherwise would not attend.

The fact seems to be that if costs of attending the school continue to go up, and Oberlin continues to attempt to draw the top performing talent available, the total lack of this major tool used to attract that talent successfully by competitors can do nothing but place Oberlin at a disadvantage.

2. Oberlin should encourage students, when judged competent by their major teachers, to perform outside the school, both individually and in school groups. The Conservatory should take the initiative in attempting to locate playing opportunities (preferably paying jobs).

Such a program seems to be essential in order for the students to adequately judge how well they would like a performance career, as well as to develop accurate views of their skill and professional self-concepts. For the school, it would bring great gains in public relations as well. For the audiences, it would give them a chance to hear music they might otherwise not hear, possibly developing an appreciation for a type of music they were not familiar with, and thereby the school would be helping develop a larger base of support for its art, as well as itself.
Many schools have full-time concert bureaus, where performing opportunities are sought for faculty and students. This would seem to be a good idea for Oberlin. Kadushin found that payment for performances seemed to enhance the professional self-concept of students, especially on a symbolic basis --- they are able to "play professional" before being totally thrust into the professional world. A concert bureau could negotiate for nominal fees from groups in order to attempt to give this symbolic benefit to students. The fact that pay seems to operate at a symbolic level would suggest that even a very small fee might usually do, not putting too much strain on the organizations hiring the musicians.

3. Oberlin should encourage students to attempt their hand at teaching, both on their major applied instruments and in classroom situations.

Students have been encouraged to teach their major applied instruments, and this encouragement seems to be increasing. If funds could be found so that the school could subsidize lessons given by students to townspeople who cannot afford lessons, this would improve the situation still more. The students would have a greater opportunity to teach, and people who would not normally be able to study music would be given the chance to do so.

If possible, efforts should be made to encourage students to teach in classroom (academic and musical performance group) situations as well. The student teaching program in the music education department does not allow the student to try his hand at teaching until late in his Oberlin career, making it too late for many who find they do not enjoy teaching to change their major without a great deal of difficulty. In addition, if teaching
experience were provided for performance majors as well, many may enjoy it and be enticed to change their plans to a teaching career.

4. An effort should be made to inform the students of the market situation and of what life is like in the career the students plan to enter.

While the school does not formally have a responsibility to do this, it would be very beneficial to the student, and of little cost to the school, if such an effort were made. The isolation of Oberlin makes it difficult for the students to assess these factors on their own. Alumni and friends of faculty and students who are in different areas of the music field could be brought in, probably only costing the school expenses, to discuss their career and area of music. Alternative careers in the music world with which the students may not be familiar, such as arts administration, could be introduced in this way.

5. The school should encourage the students to avail themselves of musical experiences available in the surrounding area.

Cleveland is only an hour's drive from Oberlin. The Cleveland Orchestra is located there. Many solo and chamber recitals go on in Cleveland. It is, however, extremely difficult for students to attend these performances. Students are not generally allowed to have cars on campus. College transportation could be provided at a nominal cost on a regular basis in order to allow students to make regular use of these opportunities.

6. A more active placement service should be provided in an attempt to place students in jobs after graduation.

Again, while there is no formal responsibility for the school to attempt to place graduates, it is in the school's self-interest, as well as the student's interest, to have stu-
dents placed in good musical jobs. The faculty at Oberlin are now primarily teachers --- unlike the faculty at city music schools, they do not now generally have the contacts which would help them sponsor their graduating students into musical job networks.

The school, therefore, might take the responsibility of actively seeking information regarding jobs available. They should make this information conveniently available to students and actively seek to make contacts in the music world who might provide a source of jobs to Oberlin graduates. Money might be provided to help students afford to take auditions or interviews they otherwise could not take. It would seem to be in the school's interest to carry on as active and professional a placement program as it does an admissions program. It is through its graduates in the professional world that the reputation of the school is made, and only through maintaining a top reputation as a producer of fine music performers and teachers can the school hope to continue to draw top talent as input.

7. The Conservatory should use to the fullest the possibilities afforded by its association with Oberlin College in increasing the interdisciplinary work possible for Conservatory students.

The curriculum of the Oberlin Conservatory has been greatly expanded in its scope over the past several years. The student now has a chance to become familiar with many different aspects of music with which he would not previously have had contact. Besides broadening a student's knowledge and interests, this has allowed him to gain an interest in fields where there may be a lack of qualified people for the jobs available, either now or in years to come.
The resources of Oberlin College give opportunities for the school to develop even more broadly in this direction. Numerous interdisciplinary subjects could be suggested which would give students an opportunity to see music from a wider perspective from that now available: for example, courses in the psychology of music, acoustics, music and intellectual history, popular music and culture, and, of course (!), the sociology of music. At no other school does the author know of a situation which would be better suited to establishing a comprehensive program to study the relationship of music with culture and society. By broadening the interests of students through creative study of these various aspects of music, it might allow them to be able to take an aggressive role in relation to the job market. They would be able to offer knowledge and services which very few others could offer, thereby, in some measure, giving them some possibility of creating jobs and disciplines.

Which brings me to one final, yet important, point. The Oberlin Conservatory's major goal seems to be producing performers. Yet the great majority of the graduates it sends into the market end up teaching. Is its goal realistic and desirable?

Unless Oberlin considers approximately 8 percent of its graduates who are successful in performance as being evidence of successful meeting of its major goal, or unless some changes are instituted which change this figure, it looks as though the goal is not realistic. Whether or not it is desirable is up to those at the school to decide. Alternatives can be found which, while still not deemphasizing the importance or excellence of performance, might greatly broaden the scope of an Oberlin Con-
servatory education. For example, given Oberlin's humanistic tradition; and given that for musical life in this country to grow, more public support must be found; and given that this will be done by getting more people to enjoy music; and given that Oberlin's main "product" is teachers, regardless of the stated organizational goal --- Oberlin could consider changing its emphasis in the direction of developing innovative education programs at all levels. A center for music education might be started which would concern itself with all aspects of the subject, some of which might be: what are the best methods by which to teach young school children to enjoy music? Can or do children's concerts work? How might adults come to enjoy a type of music they have never known? Research on such questions would involve much interdisciplinary work. The research could be done here and teachers trained who would use Oberlin's missionary zeal in attempting to gain support for music in America. Some way would have to be found to counteract the low self-image that "music teacher" conjures up, but that could be done if a change in direction were really desired. And still, I'd expect that 8 percent of those who graduate would end up in performance, and the quality of the performance program would not have to be diminished.

This is only one example of how Oberlin might change. It is my suggestion not that this direction be taken, but that the Conservatory's direction and goals be discussed. The music world is changing. Oberlin College and Oberlin Conservatory are changing. This cannot be stopped, nor should it be. This thesis, among other things, asked if the students know where they are heading.
concerning their career plans. A similar question can be asked of the Conservatory. An organization is in a much better position if it plans the direction of its change rather than having to adjust piecemeal to changes imposed by conditions from the outside. If a goal change is warranted, it behooves Oberlin to know in what direction it wants that change to be in. If a goal change is not warranted, it behooves Oberlin not to be ashamed about its position of training a musical elite and do such things as institute talent scholarships so that it can adequately compete with its competitors in that field.

Which boils down simply to the advice I would give to any organization, as well as any person: "Know Thyself". Through knowledge and planned action, the organization can indeed gain much control over its future.
APPENDIX B.:  

THE QUESTIONNAIRE
SURVEY OF CONSERVATORY STUDENTS'
BACKGROUNDS AND ATTITUDES

To begin with, we'd like to get a few pieces of information about you and your family background.

1. Are you now a freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior?


2. Have you ever attended another undergraduate college besides Oberlin?

   1. Yes  0. No

   (IF YES)

   2a. What college was that?

      ________________________________ (RECORD COLLEGE)

   2b. What was your major or intended major while there?

      ________________________________ (RECORD MAJOR)

3. How old were you on your last birthday?

      ______________ (RECORD R'S AGE)

4. Are you now single, engaged, or married?

5. What is your home state? (RECORD STATE IF U.S., COUNTRY IF OUTSIDE U.S.)
   (IF NECESSARY: where you were living before coming to Oberlin)
   __________________________ (RECORD STATE OR COUNTRY)

6. Which of the following best describes your home community (IF NECESSARY:
   where you were living before coming to Oberlin)? (INTERVIEWER: READ CATE-
   GORIES AS GIVEN BELOW) Would you say it's a . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. Small town (less than 25,000)</th>
<th>2. Small city (25,000 - 100,000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. City (100,000 - 500,000)</td>
<td>4. City metropolis (over 500,000)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Was the neighborhood you grew up in made up mostly of people of one ethnic
   group or race, or was it mixed? (IF NECESSARY: within a fifteen minute walk
   of your house)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0. One group</th>
<th>1. Mixed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

8. What group was this? (What groups were these?)

   __________________________ (RECORD ETHNIC GROUP OR GROUPS)

9. While you were growing up, were your family's friends mostly people in your
   neighborhood or outside your neighborhood?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0. In</th>
<th>2. Outside</th>
<th>1. Both equally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

10. What is your parents' present marital status? Are they married, separated,
    divorced, or widowed?

    |   | 0. Married | 2. Separated | 3. Divorced | 1. Widowed |
    |---|------------|-------------|----------|----------|

    (IF WIDOWED)

10a. Is it your mother or father who is still alive?

    |   | 1. Father | 2. Mother |
    |---|----------|----------|
11. How many brothers do you have?

________________ (RECORD NUMBER OF BROTHERS)

12. How many sisters do you have?

________________ (RECORD NUMBER OF SISTERS)

(IF R HAS ANY BROTHERS AND/OR SISTERS)

12a. How many of them (Did he) (Did she) ever study music?

________________ (RECORD NUMBER THAT STUDIED MUSIC)

(IF ANY STUDIED MUSIC)

12b. How many of them (Is he) (Is she) in a musical career or studying toward a music career?

________________ (RECORD NUMBER IN OR STUDYING FOR A MUSIC CAREER)

12c. How many of them are (Is your brother) (Is your sister) older than you?

________________ (RECORD NUMBER OLDER THAN R)

13. What type of work does (did) your father do? (PROBE FOR DETAIL IF AT ALL UNCLEAR)

_________________________________________________________________

(IF R'S MOTHER IS ALIVE)

14. Is your mother employed at present?

1. Yes  0. No
14a. What does she do? (PROBE FOR DETAIL)

14b. Is it a part-time or full-time job?

1. Full-time  0. Part-time

15. Was your mother employed while you were growing up?

1. Yes  0. No

(IF YES)

15a. What job did she hold then? (PROBE FOR DETAIL)

15b. Was that job part or full time?

1. Full-time  0. Part-time

16. How much education does (did) your father have?

1. Some grade school  2. Completed grade school
3. Some high school  4. Completed high school
5. Some college  6. Completed college
7. Some graduate school or more
17. And how much education does (did) your mother have?

1. Some grade school  
2. Completed grade school

3. Some high school  
4. Completed high school

5. Some college  
6. Completed college

7. Some graduate school or more

18. Were both your parents born in the United States?

1. Yes  
0. No

(IF NO)

18a. Where were they born?

Mother ________________________________

Father ________________________________

18b. When did they come to this country?

______________________________

19. How about your grandparents? In what countries were they born? First, how about on your mother's side, and then on your father's side.

Mother's side  
Father's side

Grandmother __________________________

Grandfather __________________________

Grandmother __________________________

Grandfather __________________________

20. What is (was) your father's religious preference?

1. Protestant  
2. Catholic  
3. Jewish  
4. Other (SPECIFY)
20a. And what denomination is that?


21. And what is (was) your mother's religious preference?


21a. And what denomination is that?


22. And what is your religious preference?


22a. And what denomination is that?


23. As you were growing up, who was more influential on the whole in the direction and control of the affairs of your family? Your father, your mother, or were both about equally influential?

0. Father  1. Both about equally  2. Mother

24. What is your present major?

________________________________________________________________________

25. And what is your major applied instrument?

________________________________________________________________________

Now I'd like to turn to some questions about your background and your early study of music.

26. To begin with, did your family listen to a great deal, some, or very little music in your home while you were growing up?

2. A great deal  1. Some  0. Very little

27. Of the music they listened to, was most of it classical, non-classical, or split about evenly between classical and non-classical?

2. Classical  1. Split about even  0. Non-classical

28. While you were growing up, did your parents play musical instruments or sing?

3. Yes, both  2. Yes, mother  1. Yes, father  0. No
28a. Did they (he) (she) play or sing in any musical groups while you were growing up?

1. Yes
0. No

(IF YES)

28b. What groups were they (and which parent performed?)

________________________________________ (RECORD GROUP(S) AND PARENT(S))

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

29. Do you or your parents own any musical instruments which have been in your family for more than one generation?

1. Yes
0. No

(IF YES)

29a. What kind of instrument is it?

________________________________________ (RECORD INSTRUMENT)

29b. Who in the family first owned it? (PROBE FOR RELATIONSHIP TO R)

________________________________________ (RECORD RELATIVE)

30. Do you own a musical instrument?

1. Yes
0. No
30a. What is it?

(RECORD INSTRUMENT)

30b. When did you get it? (INTERVIEWER: IF MORE THAN ONE OWNED, ASK: When did you get your first instrument?)

(RECORD WHEN R GOT INSTRUMENT)

30c. Did you buy it yourself, or was it a gift?

1. Self  0. Gift

(IF GIFT)

30d. Who gave it to you? (PROBE FOR RELATION TO R)

31. Are there any relatives besides your immediate family who you remember playing musical instruments or singing? (PROBE FOR RELATIONSHIP TO R)

1. Yes (SPECIFY)  0. No

32. Besides those in which you or members of your family participated, how often did your family attend musical events, such as concerts, recitals, or operas? Would you say often, sometimes, seldom, or never?


33. How about other artistic events such as theater or art shows? Did they attend often, sometimes, seldom, or never?

34. How old were you when you started singing or playing a musical instrument? 

(RECORD AGE R STARTED)

35. When you first began studying music, how much did the following people encourage you? Did they strongly encourage you, somewhat encourage you, somewhat discourage you, strongly discourage you, or were they indifferent? First, how about your . . .

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<th>E+</th>
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<td>Mother</td>
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<td>Brother or sister (if any)</td>
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<td>Other relatives</td>
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<td>Friends of your parents</td>
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<td>Your own friends</td>
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<td>The teacher who gave you lessons</td>
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<td>Other musicians and music teachers</td>
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<td>School teachers</td>
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<td>Guidance counselors</td>
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<td>Your own playing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are there any others?</td>
<td>(SPECIFY)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- Are there any others? (SPECIFY)
35a. Which one of those persons was most influential concerning your early study of music?

(Record person most influential)

36. How old were you when you first thought about making a career of music?

(Record age R first thought of making music a career)

37. At what age did you decide to become a professional musician?

(Record age R decided)

38. How definitely decided are you now on becoming a professional musician? Are you definitely decided, fairly decided, somewhat undecided, or quite undecided?

3. Definitely decided  2. Fairly decided

1. Somewhat undecided  0. Quite undecided

8. Would prefer something else

39. Who first encouraged you to think about music as a career?

(Probe for relationship to R)

40. Which of the following kinds of performance experience did you have before coming to Oberlin?

School band  1. Yes  0. No

School orchestra  1. Yes  0. No

School choir  1. Yes  0. No
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Youth orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chamber group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Youth choir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community choir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solo experience</td>
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<tr>
<td>State competitions</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Other competitions</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Other (SPECIFY)

41. Did you study your present applied instrument privately before coming to Oberlin?

1. Yes  0. No

(IF YES)

41a. When did you start studying it privately?

______________________________
______________________________

42. Did you study another instrument privately before coming to Oberlin?

1. Yes  0. No
42a. What was it?

_________________________________________ (RECORD INSTRUMENT)

42b. And when did you start studying that instrument privately?

_________________________________________ (RECORD WHEN R. STARTED STUDYING)

43. (IF YES TO 41 OR 42)

43. Did your private teacher(s) encourage you to attend Oberlin?

1. Yes   0. No

44. Would you tell me how many music courses, not including performing groups, were available in your high school?

_________________________________________ (RECORD NUMBER OF CLASSES AVAILABLE)

45. How many of these classes did you take?

_________________________________________ (RECORD NUMBER OF CLASSES TAKEN)

46. How would you characterize your high school's music program? Would you say it was excellent, good, average, poor, or very poor?

4. Excellent  3. Good  2. Average  1. Poor  0. Very poor

47. About how many extra-curricular activities were you in during high school?

_________________________________________ (RECORD NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES)

47a. And how many of these were musical activities?

_________________________________________ (RECORD NUMBER OF MUSICAL ACTIVITIES)
48. During high school, did you seriously consider any other possible profession besides music?

1. Yes  0. No

(IF YES)

48a. What career was it?

________________________________________ (RECORD OTHER CAREER)

49. Why did you decide to study toward a career in music?

________________________________________

________________________________________

50. When you decided to think about entering music as a career, which of the following people strongly encouraged you, somewhat encouraged you, somewhat discouraged you, strongly discouraged you, or were indifferent? Your . . .

<table>
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<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
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<td>E+</td>
<td>E-</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>D-</td>
<td>D+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mother

Father

Brother or sister (if any)

Other relatives

Friends of your parents

Your own friends

The teacher who gave you lessons (if any)
Other musicians or music teachers

School teachers

Guidance counselors

Your own playing

Are there any others? (SPECIFY)

50a. Which of those persons was most influential concerning your thinking about going into a music career?

(RECORD MOST INFLUENTIAL PERSON)

51. During high school, did you date more often, about as often, or less often than most in your school?

0. More often 1. About as often 2. Less often

52. About how many very close friends would you say you had in high school?

(RECORD NUMBER OF FRIENDS)

(IF ANY)

52a. How many of them were musicians at that time?

(RECORD NUMBER WHO WERE MUSICIANS)

52b. How many of them would you still consider very close friends?

(RECORD NUMBER WHO ARE STILL FRIENDS)
53. About how much time a week did you spend practicing in high school?

_________________________ (RECORD HOURS PRACTICED)

54. How many competitions for parts, prizes, or performances both at and outside Oberlin did you enter in the past two years?

_________________________ (LIST NUMBER ENTERED)

(IF ANY)

55. How many of those did you win?

_________________________ (RECORD NUMBER WON)

56. When you came to Oberlin, what exactly did you plan to do as a career? (PROBE FOR DETAIL)

_________________________

_________________________

57. Have those plans changed?

1. Yes  
   
   (IF YES)

57a. What are your career plans now?

_________________________

_________________________

57b. Have you ever seriously considered changing those plans since coming to Oberlin?

1. Yes  0. No  
   
   (IF YES)

57c. What changes did you consider?
Now I'd like to ask you a few questions concerning your general opinions about music and about yourself as a musician.

58. What job do you think the general public ranks on the same level as "classical musician"?

(RECORD JOB)

59. Different people attach different degrees of importance to their career when they consider it as a part of their total life. For your personal happiness and fulfillment, how important is it that you are successful in carrying out your present career plans? Would you say it is very important, quite important, somewhat important, or not very important?

3. Very  2. Quite  1. Somewhat  0. Not very

I-SERIES: The rest of this series of questions will go a little easier if you fill it out yourself. If you should have any questions about the meaning of anything you're asked to do, just ask. (HAND RESPONDENT I-SERIES AND PENCIL)

I'd now like to ask you some questions concerning your opinions about Oberlin, and then we'll be through.

60. What were Oberlin's biggest drawing cards for you?

61. In general, is the education you're getting at Oberlin better than you thought it would be, about as good as you thought it would be, or not as good as you thought it would be?

2. Better  1. About as good  0. Not as good
62. Compared with others in your teacher's studio, would you say you are above average in musical skill, about average in musical skill, or below average in musical skill?

2. Above Average  1. About average  0. Below average

63. How about compared with all Conservatory students? Would you say you are above average, about average, or below average in musical skill?

2. Above average  1. About average  0. Below average

64. How about compared with the average professional in your field? Would you say you are above average, about average, or below average in musical skill?

2. Above average  1. About average  0. Below average

65. So far this semester, about how many performances, both at and outside Oberlin (the school), have you participated in?

____________________ (RECORD NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES)

66. How many of these were performances for which you were paid?

____________________ (RECORD NUMBER PAID)

67. So far this semester, about how many recitals and concerts in which you did not perform did you attend?

____________________ (RECORD NUMBER ATTENDED)

68. Do you belong to a musician's union?

1. Yes  0. No

69. About how much time a week do you spend in a practice room?

____________________ (RECORD HOURS PRACTICING)
70. About how much time a week do you spend rehearsing with a group?
______________________________________(RECORD HOURS REHEARSING)

71. How many extra-curricular activities have you participated in at Oberlin?
______________________________________(RECORD NUMBER OF EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES)

(If any)

71a. And how many of these are musical activities?
______________________________________(RECORD NUMBER OF MUSICAL ACTIVITIES)

72. Is the pressure at Oberlin greater than you'd like it to be, about right for you, or not as great as you'd like it to be?

0. Greater  1. About right  2. Not great enough

73. How about the competition? Is it greater than you'd like it to be, about right for you, or not as great as you'd like it to be?

0. Greater  1. About right  2. Not great enough

74. Would you say there are too many performing opportunities, enough performing opportunities, or not enough performing opportunities for you at Oberlin?

0. Too many  1. Enough  2. Not enough

75. Concerning the progress you are making here at Oberlin, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

3. Very satisfied  2. Somewhat satisfied

1. Somewhat dissatisfied  0. Very dissatisfied
76. How encouraging are the following people concerning your present progress in music? Are they strongly encouraging, somewhat encouraging, somewhat discouraging, strongly discouraging, or indifferent? First, your . . .

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<th>Person</th>
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<td>Your own friends</td>
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<td>Your major teacher</td>
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<td>Other musicians or</td>
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<td>Are there others?</td>
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</table>

76a. Which one of those people is most influential concerning your present progress?

___________________________ (RECORD MOST INFLUENTIAL PERSON)
77. As you well know, many skills are needed in order to make music your career. Concerning the skills needed by the professional musician, is Oberlin teaching you too much, enough, or not enough of each of the following skills:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Too much</th>
<th>Enough</th>
<th>Not enough</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music History</td>
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<tr>
<td>Performance technique</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musicality (conveying feeling through music and interpretation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musicianship (performance etiquette, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal Arts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music Education</td>
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</table>

78. Concerning the quality of courses at Oberlin, would you say that Conservatory courses are usually better than College courses, College courses are usually better than Conservatory courses, or Conservatory and College courses are of about the same quality?

1. Both about equal
2. Con courses better
3. College courses better

79. About how many very close friends would you say you now have, both at and away from Oberlin?

______________________________ (RECORD NUMBER OF FRIENDS)
79a. How many of them did you meet at Oberlin?

[RECORD NUMBER MET AT OBERLIN]

79b. How many of them are musicians?

[RECORD NUMBER OF MUSICIANS]

80. Among all your friends at Oberlin, do you associate mainly with students of the same major, Conservatory students of different majors, College students, or students of all three areas about equally?

3. Con students —— same major

2. Con students —— different major

0. College students

1. All about equally

81. Concerning the friends you associate with most in the Conservatory, what would you say overall concerning their musical ability as compared with that of other Oberlin Conservatory students? Is it above average, about average, or somewhat below average?

2. Above average

1. About average

0. Below average

82. Would you say that your teacher spends most of his time with his best students, with students other than his best students, or divides his time about equally, regardless of the skill of the student?

2. Best students

1. Equally

0. Not best students

83. Do you plan to go to graduate school once you leave Oberlin?

1. Yes

0. No

8. Don't know
83a. Do you have any idea where you would like to go?

1. Yes  
   0. No

(IF YES)

83b. Where is that?

______________________ (RECORD SCHOOL)

83c. What are you planning to major in?

______________________ (RECORD PLANNED MAJOR)

84. If you had the ability to be successful at any career you chose, in or out of music, what job would you most like to hold? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR DETAIL)

__________________________

85. Now, just one last question. Of all the people who encouraged you in music at various times, think of the three who provided you with the most important encouragement. Who of those would you say was most important? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR RELATION TO R)

__________________________

85a. Who was next most important?

__________________________

85b. And who was third most important?

__________________________

That's it! Thank you very much, etc.

Time interview ended__________________________
THUMBNAIL SKETCH

TO BE FILLED OUT BY THE INTERVIEWER: DO NOT ASK RESPONDENT

T-1. R's sex: 0. Female 1. Male

T-2. R's race: 0. White 1. Black 2. Other (SPECIFY)

T-3. R showed (check one):

0. Apathy 1. Mild inattention 2. Mild interest 3. High interest

T-4. Are there any other considerations that ought to be taken into account in assessing the quality of this interview?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

T-5. Total time of interview:

______________________________ minutes
INTERVIEW NUMBER __________________

INTERVIEWER ________________________

I-1. Would you please rank the following schools in the order of your opinion of them, with 1 being the best, and 8 being the worst. Consider only the schools' undergraduate programs, with special emphasis to the degree toward which you are studying.

______ Curtis Institute of Music
______ New England Conservatory
______ Juilliard School of Music
______ California School of the Arts
______ Indiana University School of Music
______ Manhattan School of Music
______ Oberlin Conservatory
______ Eastman School of Music

I-1a. To what schools have you ever applied?

____________________________________  __________________________________
____________________________________  __________________________________
____________________________________  __________________________________

I-1b. At which of those schools were you accepted?

____________________________________  __________________________________
____________________________________  __________________________________
____________________________________  __________________________________
I-1c. Was Oberlin your first choice?

1. Yes  2. No

I-2. Would you please rank which of the following things are most important to you, with "1" meaning most important, and "6" meaning least important of the things mentioned.

_______ To be a loving person
_______ To find the meaning of life
_______ To work for social change
_______ To become a good musician
_______ To be successful in a music career
_______ To be happy

I-3. Please rank the following in the order of the prestige you feel they have in the music world, with "1" being the highest status of those listed, and "9" being the lowest...

_______ Symphony orchestra musician
_______ Opera chorus singer
_______ Vocal or instrumental soloist
_______ Symphony conductor
_______ Private music teacher
_______ Hollywood studio performer
_______ Public school music teacher
_______ University music teacher
_______ Chamber music performer

I-4. Who are the two best students studying your major at Oberlin?
I-5. Please rate on each item below how important you feel it is for a person in a music career to do the following in order to be successful. Put the number corresponding to importance beside each item. The numbers are:

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important
5. Don't know

_____ 1. Work long hard hours
_____ 2. Have much innate musical talent
_____ 3. Have much personal ambition
_____ 4. Have excellent teachers
_____ 5. Have a selfless love of music
_____ 6. Attend an excellent school
_____ 7. Be a cutthroat competitor
_____ 8. Know the right people
_____ 9. Have a great deal of "luck"

I-5a. Of the requirements you rated "1" or "2", which do you think you are especially able to meet? That is, which of them are your "strong points"? Please list the numbers of the items you select.

__________

__________

I-5b. Again considering those requirements which you rated "1" or "2", please list the numbers of those in which you are afraid you might be deficient; that is, those you feel least able to meet.

__________

__________
I-6. We would like to know whether you think of yourself these days as a music student, as a professional musician, or as "part way" between a music student and a professional musician. As a spur of-the-moment judgment, where would you place yourself these days. Draw a vertical line through the place on the line which represents how you feel.

Music student  Professional musician

I-7. Which of the following contact do you have with your major teacher? Check all that apply.

__________ Attendance at social parties in his house
__________ Attendance at group classes he gives
__________ Exchange of letters when you or he is away
__________ Giving him gifts
__________ Receiving his gifts
__________ Possession of his picture
__________ Advice and help with jobs
__________ Eating dinner together
__________ Spending summers at same camp or school
__________ Other? What?
__________ No contact other than lessons

I-8. IF YOU HAVE NO CAREER PLANS AS YET, SKIP TO I-9.
How committed would you say you are to carrying out your present career plans? Please circle the number representing your present commitment, with "8" being highest commitment, and "0" being lowest commitment.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Lowest       Highest
I-9. How attractive do you find these aspects of the music profession? Put the corresponding number beside each item.
The numbers are:

3. Extremely attractive
2. Considerably attractive
1. Somewhat attractive
0. Not attractive

________ A chance to meet interesting people

________ Some chance to become famous

________ Being applauded by audience

________ A chance to make a good living

________ Not being tied down to an office job

________ The chance to bring good music to other people

________ The chance to express yourself

________ The chance to make good music together with other musicians

________ Other. What? ____________________________
I-F

I-10. How much are you bothered by these aspects of the music profession? Again, put the corresponding number beside each item. The numbers are:

3. Extremely bothered
2. Considerably bothered
1. Somewhat bothered
0. Not bothered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Being nice to people you don't really care for</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The chance of having to settle for a &quot;hack&quot; music job</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being subject to unpredictable audiences</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The uncertainty of making a good living</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The long hours of practice</td>
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<tr>
<td>All the time you spend on tour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pressure to conform to music that happens to be fashionable</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rivalry and jealousy between musicians</td>
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<tr>
<td>The expense of starting a career</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other. What?</td>
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</table>

I-11. Again, consider the things you ranked earlier as to their importance to you. In high school, how would you have ranked the same set of goals?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To be a loving person</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To find the meaning of life</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To work for social change</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To become a good musician</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be successful in a music career</td>
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<tr>
<td>To be happy</td>
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TEACHER'S SURVEY

1. How would you rate this student in the following areas?

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<td>Potential</td>
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<tr>
<td>Technique</td>
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<td>Musicality</td>
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<td>Effort</td>
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<td>Personality</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall ability</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall progress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. In your judgment, how likely is it that this student would be able to make a successful career of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career</th>
<th>Very Likely</th>
<th>Possible</th>
<th>Unlikely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2a. If you answered either "unlikely", please check the appropriate reason(s).

1. Lack of musical ability
2. Does not work hard enough
3. Personality would hinder such a career
4. Other (please specify) ________________________________

3. Have you ever discussed this student's career plans with him (her)?

[ ] Yes  [ ] No
3a. (IF YES) Was it at your instigation or at his (hers)?

- Mine - [ ] Student's [ ]

4. What is the attitude you have taken with this student concerning his (her) career plans? (Please check each that applies)

[ ] I have tried not to influence him (her) regarding career plans.

[ ] I have tried to influence the student to change plans, which he (she) did.

[ ] I have tried to influence the student to change plans, which he (she) did not do.

[ ] I have tried to encourage the student in his (her) career plans.

[ ] I do not know this student's career plans.

Thank you.
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