

CHAPTER 28

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MUSIC IN IDENTITY AT ADOLESCENCE ACROSS SCHOOL TRANSITION

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IN the United Kingdom, the majority of children change schools during early adolescence (ages 10–14 years) just as they are managing the complex task of leaving childhood for a more adult role in society. In line with the national tradition of elementary education, before transition the schooling comes to the student: lessons all happen in the same classroom with the same teacher, often at the same desk or place around the table. There, teachers have more opportunity to become familiar with their students and children know each other well. From a child's viewpoint, the contrasts between this familiar setting and their new school can be keenly felt in the first year after transition: whether they are changing to a middle school (ages 8–10 to 12–14), a secondary school (ages 11–16/18) or a high school (ages 13–16/18).

Typically, these 'transfer schools' are marked by an increase in the size of buildings and grounds, the number of students on roll, the number of teachers per student, work complexity, and focus on academic achievement (Symonds & Galton, 2014). There, children are responsible for managing their own equipment and moving between classrooms, encounter multiple teaching styles and experience lessons that are more goal-directed, structured around the subject for study, rather than the individual's involvement with it. In order to become a "successful" transfer student (academically and/or socially), children must employ greater self-management, fit into new social groups, and work out what type of student they will be, for example deviant or conformist (e.g., Measor & Woods, 1984).

At transition, several interesting things happen to children's identities. First, the move from the smaller, familiar feeder school to the larger, more impersonal transfer school means that, at least temporarily, their sense of self becomes diminished relative to its everyday environment. Typically, children feel more anonymous in the larger peer

group (Simmons & Blyth, 1987) and lose their emotional connection with their teachers (de Wit, Karioja, & Rye 2011). However at the same time, more is required of the self as children struggle to redefine themselves and cope with increased personal responsibility. Here, transition acts as a prism, diffracting what children know about themselves as they encounter new self-related information (Noyes, 2006). This brings specific identity issues to the foreground, such as gender roles and sexuality in the larger, more advanced peer group (Symonds, Galton, & Hargreaves, 2014), academic selves in new classrooms (e.g., Gneiwotz, Eccles, & Noack, 2011) and coping resources, e.g., whether children are sufficiently well organized. In this sense transition also acts as a lens, focusing children on aspects of their identities that are most challenged by the move (Symonds, 2015).

Over the course of the journey into the transfer school, children will think, feel and act differently, and perhaps even look different, as evidenced by themselves and others around them. Their perceptions of their current and future identities will change, as will their outward projection of themselves within the school community. This chapter deals with these issues of personal and social identity construction within the context of music by synthesizing extant literature and presenting two case studies of how musical identity plays out at transition in individual lives. We begin by outlining our social developmental perspective on identity development in adolescence, which stems from Erikson's (1968) approach, and takes into account other more recent research (e.g., Côté & Levine, 2002; Eccles, 2009). We then focus more specifically on the central issue of musical identity at school transition, as defined by the factors common to three studies reviewed in this chapter: Sloboda (2001), Marshall & Hargreaves' (2007) *Humpback Bridge* study, and our own work, *Changing Key* (2011). Those earlier studies were influential for *Changing Key*, with their foci on changes within music education across school transition; however, the central thrust of our study was that identity development occurs across environments, both in and—perhaps even more crucially—out of school and other educational contexts.

28.1 IDENTITY IN ADOLESCENCE

The majority of children in the United Kingdom change schools at age 11/12 years, which is the average age that children begin puberty in developed nations (Coleman & Coleman, 2002). Here, sex hormones stimulate the development of reproductive organs, outward sexual characteristics and a growth spurt that occurs earlier for girls than for boys (Tanner, Whitehouse, Marubini, & Resele, 1976). This results in the body becoming visibly different and more differentiated in comparison to peers. Around the same time, although governed by a different developmental clock (Sisk & Forster, 2004), the mind grows more capable of generating abstract thought and metacognition (Vygotsky, 1931/1998), enabling 10–14-year-olds to reflect in more detail about their personal qualities and social roles. These changes coincide with a shift in people's expectations for how responsible children should be (Symonds, 2009) as they straddle the worlds of the child and the teenager (Measor & Woods, 1984).

This makes for a turning point in identity formation, where “development must move one way or another, marshalling resources of growth, recovery, and further differentiation” (Erikson, 1968, p. 16). Erikson referred to this stage as an identity crisis, although he meant a critical moment in human development, rather than an “impending catastrophe” (p. 16). In Erikson’s perspective, adolescents build on identity elements formed in childhood such as preferences, desires, and perceived tendencies, which until this point are a dim reflection of the future self. They reassess their identity in the new social context of transition to adulthood, seeking a role, which will allow them to function with “unique excellence” (Erikson, 1968, p. 129). At this point, self-evaluation and career goals (or at least future selves) become inextricably linked, making for a shift in focus from *who I am now*, to *who I want to be*.

More recent philosophy specifies that early adolescents construct their identities by collating firsthand information about themselves into a second order abstraction. This firsthand information, such as their memories of playing the violin, is stored in a hypothetical neural network referred to as the self-concept or self-construct (Côté & Levine, 2002). The information in the self-concept is gathered and sorted often unconsciously, but can also be put together by the conscious, rational self, known as the ego (Côté & Levine, 2002). Not all of the self-concept is accessible at any one time and accordingly identity mutates according to which elements are brought forth within different contexts (Markus & Wurf, 1987). Commonly, identity entails two kinds of self-perceptions, being a person’s skills, characteristics and competencies, and their personal values and goals (Eccles, 2009). These elements are constructed in relation to the environment, so that when the environment changes at school transition, identity is reappraised and often reconstructed (Symonds, Long, & Hargreaves, 2011).

In line with Erikson’s focus on career, the aspects of personal musical identity that help one form a career self, such as musical accomplishment and whether one is a musical person (e.g., Lamont, 2002) should become more salient at adolescence. Because adolescents also begin to emphasize peers and deprioritize families in their development, those aspects of musical identity that strengthen their ties to peer networks (Eccles, 2009) should also rise to the foreground. Having an investment in music becomes a symbol of social status, and can be used to denote peer group membership and belonging. Music is used to project identity, and transition to secondary school opens up new spaces in which such projections can resonate.

28.2 MUSICAL IDENTITY AT SCHOOL TRANSITION

School transition alters many components of children’s musical lives. In the context of learning they experience new music teachers, a new music curriculum, and different resources for learning music and musical extracurricular activities, and opportunities

for school-based instrumental tuition. In the social realm their teachers and school peers provide new role models and companions for music. There are also musical influences outside of school, issuing from parents, siblings, local peers, and the neighborhood, such as church and other social activity groups, which can change as children enter a new phase in their educational careers. This chapter takes the perspective that school transition is a *life transition*, permeating these multiple contexts and altering children's musical identities in ways that transcend school experiences.

We conducted a literature review, which sought to establish how these changes in musical environment influence children's musical activity: for example, changes in how children gather and share music, listen to and discuss music, compose, practice, and perform music. We review how blockages to musical resources at transition can diminish children's musical activity, and how greater access to resources can stimulate it. Children's musical activity is also connected to their capability for conceptualizing and externalizing music, which alters for some as they become more independent across the transition, and more capable of metacognition. The critical point here is that changes in children's musical *activity* are directly connected to changes in their musical *identity*, as our review of an English national study and other relevant work clearly shows. This three-way interaction between musical environment, musical activity, and musical identity underpins our review, which first considers how musical identity changes at transition for most children (a thematic synthesis), and then how this occurred for two children whose musical careers diverged after transition.

28.3 METHODS

28.3.1 Thematic review

Having performed a general survey of the literature regarding adolescence, music, and identity development, we narrowed our scope by searching several electronic databases including ERIC and Google Scholar for any publications that included the word *music* and at least one of the phrases *school transition* or *school transfer* in the title, abstract, or body of the manuscript. We also incorporated several publications on the Key Stage Two to Key Stage Three transition into the resulting list. Together, the documents were scrutinized for information relating to children's musical identity. This included any mention of perspectives on musical identity, psychological selves, emotions relating to music, or musical behavior. Three publications fulfilled these criteria (Table 28.1) including our recent study *Changing Key*. All were longitudinal, recording children's perspectives in the years immediately before and after transition.

We used our perspective that musical identity develops in multiple contexts at school transition to synthesize the findings into key domains of family, friendships, teachers, classroom music, extracurricular musical activities, instrumental music, and transition interventions. In each, we explored the types of musical environment present at school

Table 28.1 Studies of musical identity at school transition

Name	Schools	Data	Time scale
Sloboda (2001)	35 primary schools to 9 secondary schools.	636 children surveyed 3 times each. 44 children interviewed 2 times each.	Questionnaire in Year 6 (Spring), Year 7 (Autumn & Spring). Interviews in Year 6 (Spring) and Year 7 (Spring).
Marshall & Hargreaves (2007) <i>Humpback Bridge</i>	13 schools	68 children interviewed 2 times each.	Interviews in Year 6 (Summer) and Year 7 (Autumn).
Symonds, Long, & Hargreaves (2011) <i>Changing Key</i>	6 primary schools to 3 secondary schools.	25 children interviewed 4 times each.	Interviews in Year 6 (Summer) and Year 7 (Autumn, Spring, Summer).

transition, the musical activity undertaken by children and how these factors interplayed with children’s musical identity development.

28.3.2 Case studies

We then illustrated how musical identity developed for two children in the Changing Key study. Changing Key was the student voice component of “Musical Bridges,” a larger program of music at school transition research, convened by Adrian Chappell and funded by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation. Like this chapter, Changing Key took a holistic, “multi-ecological” approach to gathering data on musical identity development. That is, we considered that any changes in musical identity are negotiated and manifest in and across many environments. Accordingly, in our study we were keen to open up the notion of musical engagement to include, for example, listening, dancing, composing, performing, and talking in the playground or any other activity involving music.

Changing Key studied 24 children who transferred from primary to secondary school in 2009–2010. They were situated in three locations, chosen to represent one inner city community (Dagenham), one rural (Devon), and one somewhere in between (Bolton), spread around the UK. Within each of these locations, subjects were in the same “pyramid”—two primary schools feeding into the same secondary school. We asked the primary teachers to select the participants, having requested that they had mixed musical experience and enthusiasm, mixed ethnicity, and evenly mixed gender. The children were educated about the project and about their role as interviewees, in an active participation workshop, before the research commenced.

Data were collected over four school terms, spanning the final term of primary, and the first year of secondary. In each term, we conducted “Myself and music” interviews.

Adolescents were asked to discuss their musical experiences and identity in the range of contexts described earlier. We repeated the interview questions across terms, only altering the tag lines to reflect the transition (e.g., “... now that you are in your second term at secondary school”). The two case studies in this chapter were selected from six children whose interview transcripts were analyzed and presented as personal narratives in the final Changing Key report (Symonds et al., 2011).

28.4 RESULTS

28.4.1 Thematic review

Table 28.2 displays those studies that reported data for each context of musical identity development at transition considered by this review. As the table demonstrates, Changing Key offered more information on relationships, whilst both Changing Key and the Humpback Bridge studied the schools’ provision for music. In comparison, Sloboda (2001) focussed on learning an instrument.

28.4.2 Family

For the adolescents in Changing Key, families were something of a constant amidst the rapidly changing musical landscape at school transition. Parents continued to share their musical preferences with their children, transmitting information about specific forms including popular, ethnic, and religious music. Older siblings introduced

Table 28.2 Data on the contexts for musical identity development

	Study		
	Changing Key	Humpback Bridge	Sloboda (2001)
<i>Context</i>			
Family	Yes	–	–
Friendships	Yes	–	–
Teachers	Yes	–	–
Resources	Yes	Yes	Yes
Curriculum	Yes	Yes	–
Assessment	–	Yes	–
Extracurricular	Yes	Yes	–
Instrument	Yes	–	Yes

children to new music and listening technologies on both sides of the transition. Many children enjoyed listening to their parents and siblings' choices, and incorporated both styles and in some cases specific recordings into their musical preferences.

Before transition, mothers were heralded as especially important for ferrying children to music lessons and providing musical equipment. This facilitated children's musical activity and ability to perceive themselves as instrumentalists. At the same time, other children reported not learning an instrument because their parents could not afford lessons. These disparities were still present after transition, even when schools offered extracurricular instrumental lessons, as these still required parents to pay for an instrument so that children could practice at home.

28.4.3 Friendships

While at primary school, many children in Changing Key danced and sang with friends for an adult audience at home. These creative endeavors were stimulated by the children's sense of enjoyment and desire to emulate popular performers. However, a remarkable change in our data was that none of this activity was reported after transition, suggesting that as children's interests changed, their self-consciousness grew; perhaps they perceived dancing and performing to/for parents or other adults at home to be immature or embarrassing. Similarly in Sloboda's (2001) study, fewer children danced to music or sang after transition. At that point, the Changing Key children sang informally with friends when no adults were present, and one boy joined a rock band, which positioned his musical activity as being acceptable within adult worlds. This was similar to Sloboda's (2001) finding that one case study girl who gave up her instrument after transition said she would consider taking it up again, but only in the context of modern music performance.

In Changing Key, children also spent more time listening to music with friends after transition, as parents allowed them to play out later with friends. Transition spurred children to make new friends who, in many cases, introduced them to different musical forms including classical and hip hop. This burgeoning listening activity helped children justify their preferences in more detail by referring to specific musicians and styles, whereas at primary school many of their rationales had been vague, such as 'I listen to my sister's music'. Despite this widening of their experience, several children felt under more pressure to show a specific preference for 'new' music, as otherwise there would be a mismatch with the listening culture of their school peers. This finding resonates with thought from Zillmann & Gan (1997), that for musical identity development in adolescence, activity must be owned and directed by the peer group, rather than imposed from "above".

28.4.4 Teachers

Here, we focus on school music teachers as mentors and role models for music, rather than on the musical information they transmit. None of the reviewed studies reported

children's perceptions about their primary school music teacher. In *Changing Key*, children were taught at primary school by music coordinators with specialist training, non-specialist classroom teachers, visiting music specialists and classroom assistants. As found in other studies, the non-specialist classroom teachers might have lacked confidence in teaching practical music (Henley, 2011), whilst the range of teacher types possibly arose from difficulty recruiting trained music coordinators at primary level (Lamont, Hargreaves, Marshall, & Tarrant, 2003).

After transition, the experiences of children in *Changing Key* were consolidated with the move to subject specialist music teachers, whom, according to Ofsted (2012), were likely to have a tertiary degree in music. Accordingly, many children described their new teachers as more knowledgeable, dedicated, and inspiring. Having these new role models strengthened some children's aspirations for a career in music, and had a positive impact on how children valued music in society. However in the second and third terms, some children's impressions of their new teachers soured after they were disciplined and found that they did not enjoy learning music theory.

28.4.5 Resources

At the end of primary school, children have looked forward to better equipment for music at secondary school (Marshall & Hargreaves, 2007; Symonds et al., 2011), and to playing new instruments there, in order to gain skills and more adult experience (Lamont et al., 2003; Symonds et al., 2011). Children's hopes have been confirmed after transition, as discovered in Sloboda's (2001) study, in which children reported there being greater opportunity to do music in secondary schools. In *Changing Key* this increased opportunity fed their aspirations of becoming professional musicians. However some secondary schools prevented children from continuing with instruments from primary school, because they did not provide them. For example in the *Humpback Bridge*, children who enjoyed playing the glockenspiel at primary school could not use this as a criterion for evaluating their musical ability at secondary school (Marshall & Hargreaves, 2007). Similarly in *Changing Key*, Peter lost his ability to impress friends and classmates with his skill on the Djembe (an African drum), which had a negative impact on his musical identity, as we explore in our first case study.

There is little information on changes in ICT provision in music across transition, however: we know from Ofsted (2012) that these resources are limited in many primary schools. This might relate to there being a lack of good quality, affordable equipment (Lamont et al., 2003) and appropriate training for primary school music teachers. In the *Humpback Bridge*, some children were introduced to IT in the first term, which helped them enjoy music more. However in *Changing Key*, children only reported using ICT in music in the third term, once the basics of theory and performance had been covered. This lag in using ICT for composing and performing is found in other research to frustrate children who desired a career in electronic music (Shehan Campbell, Connell, & Beegle, 2007).

28.4.6 Curriculum

In the majority of primary schools inspected by Ofsted (2012) and in Changing Key, there was little focus on practical music and more playing or singing along to songs and rhythms. In the Humpback Bridge, children were disillusioned, having little opportunity to play instruments other than percussion, being forced to sing hymns and traditional songs, and feeling bored by the way that music was taught. At primary school, children with more musical experience, for example those learning an instrument outside school, needed to be challenged more in class (Ofsted, 2012).

Despite some children's hopes for a more advanced musical curriculum after transition (Symonds et al., 2011), many schools in Changing Key and the Humpback Bridge, and those inspected by Ofsted (2012), started from scratch, i.e., taught the basics to ensure an even spread of musical knowledge across different feeder students. This was embodied in the teaching unit *The Elements of Music*, which was used in many secondary schools (Ofsted, 2012). Starting from scratch in this way had a positive effect on the musical identities of less musically experienced children in Changing Key. There, a flurry of children began composing their own music at home for the first time after learning the basics. However, this activity was not reported in the second and third terms, as children became more pressured with homework and lost interest in composing. The opposite effect was reported by children with more musical knowledge, who were frustrated by returning to basics in the first term. Several schools responded by promoting these children to a student assistant position, which enhanced their perception of their musical ability. More advanced students enjoyed the freedom of composing their own pieces in the third term, as they had more license to work at their own pace.

28.4.7 Assessment

Secondary school music teachers have typically assessed children with refined criteria for knowledge and mastery. However at primary school assessment was more often concerned with completing work (Ofsted, 2012). This shift in assessment practices has several potential consequences for children's musical identity, as suggested by Ofsted (2012). First, children might lose their enthusiasm for classroom music when being driven towards complicated assessment targets, rather than being free to enjoy learning for its intrinsic values (Ofsted, 2012). Secondly, children might feel less musically competent when their work is judged as poor quality in secondary school, whereas at primary school they only had to complete work in order to get a good grade (Ofsted, 2012).

In the Humpback Bridge, children were questioned about their musical experience by their new teachers, who did not seem to value non-academic experience such as belonging to community groups or listening to music. There, children felt judged by their teachers, and noticed that their teachers paid more attention to children with greater academic musical experience. A large majority of children felt powerless to contribute

to how they were assessed, and this change in assessment practices appeared to affect how musical they perceived themselves to be.

28.4.8 Extracurricular activities

A survey of 83 primary schools found that nearly all had choirs and instrumental tuition, and roughly a third had orchestras (Ashworth, Atherley, & Chappell, 2011). Often, participation in choir and school concerts is compulsory (Lamont et al., 2003), which children in the Humpback Bridge recalled as a downside of primary school music, after they transferred. The focus on traditional extracurricular activities has persisted across transition, despite there being a wider range of non-traditional activities such as “junk band” (where instruments are made out of rubbish; Symonds et al., 2011) and vocal groups in the tradition of Glee clubs (Ofsted, 2012).

The dominant culture of traditional, selective activities at secondary school has had a significant impact on children’s musical identities. In Changing Key, children who tried out for activities were usually more musically experienced, or had friends in those activities. When they passed auditions, children felt special and musically talented, which helped them perceive themselves as being musical. However, failure to get in damaged other children’s musical aspirations and caused them to identify themselves as non-musical.

It is surprising that schools do not offer more non-traditional activities, since children prefer those that match with their ambition for a career in modern music, e.g., in composing electronic music, or being in a rock band (Shehan Campbell et al., 2007). Before transition, children also looked forward to these activities because they were easier to get into (Symonds et al., 2011). Perhaps because few non-traditional activities are offered after transition, participation in musical extracurricular activities has plummeted to as low as 10% of all children in the first year of secondary school (Ofsted, 2012; Lamont et al., 2003).

28.4.9 Instrumental lessons

Sloboda (2001) focussed on children’s participation in instrumental lessons across the transition. He found that of 684 children, 61% played a musical instrument at home or at school in primary school. Two girls in this cohort were tracked as case studies. They explained that they played an instrument because it was intrinsically enjoyable, provided a hobby and added to their sense of personal and social self-worth. Both presumed they would continue to play their instrument after transition. In fact, however, they stopped playing after transition, as did 45% of the larger group of children. When asked to explain why they gave up playing, they said that playing an instrument was boring, and prioritized homework and playing out with friends over practicing their instrument. They also felt under too much pressure emotionally and from parents to complete Grade exams and practice several hours a day, once in secondary school.

In contrast, in *Changing Key*, children were excited about taking up instruments for the first time at secondary school, when lessons were made available to them. However, these subsidized lessons were often oversubscribed, and children had to wait until Christmas to begin their instrument of choice. This delay in instrumental tuition encouraged one child to turn his interests to sports in order to sustain the self-esteem that he previously gained by playing music, whilst another child showed great self-management and determination by teaching herself the recorder at home until flute lessons became available in the second term.

The difference between the two studies, i.e., giving up vs. taking up an instrument, might relate to the types of children being studied. In Sloboda's (2001) study, the children receiving instrumental lessons presumably had some social privilege to begin with, as their parents could afford the monetary and time costs of the venture. There, perhaps children perceived learning an instrument as a hobby that could be discarded (Sloboda, 2001) whereas in *Changing Key*, instrumental lessons were a resource that was prized by children who could not afford the privilege beforehand.

28.4.10 Case studies

Our case studies of Amy and Peter (pseudonyms) from *Changing Key* illustrate some of the links between environment, activity, and identity observed in the thematic review. The case studies are underpinned by their answers to two general questions about music and identity. Simplistic though this may seem it provides a clear index of their trajectories over the year. Both students were classified as high achievers on leaving primary school, and both identified themselves as "a musical sort of person" there. However, their musical identities seemed to follow directly opposite courses across the transition: Amy's identity as a pianist strengthened and provided a basis for continuity, whilst Peter's enthusiasm for music waned and nearly expired during his first year at secondary school.

28.4.10.1 *Peter and the Djembe: blocked resources*

In the first interview, Peter's confidence rode high: he was enthusiastic about music and focussed his attentions on the djembe, an African drum. The instrument is played as part of a troupe, in call and response structures with improvised breaks for soloists. This offered Peter a number of social opportunities: to lead the group, display improvisation and invention, execute complex rhythms, coordinate bodily movement, and perform to a ready-made, responsive audience (the troupe itself). In this manner, the resources for music provided at primary school facilitated Peter's perception of being a musical child. However, Peter was not allowed a djembe at home, even after having offered to save up for it himself and then only to play it in the shed or the garage. Peter's parents had told him this was to avoid upsetting his father who had migraines, although earlier his mother had offered to pay for djembe lessons, and said "we'll see" about the possibility of buying Peter a djembe. This was the first of several blockages that Peter described to us, regarding his musical development.

On arrival at secondary school, Peter was told that although there were djembes available, students only had access to them from Year 8 onwards. In order to overcome this, he and his friends asked about forming their own djembe group, Peter's application to join the "junk band" having been submitted too late. However, when the teacher eventually allowed them to start the group in the second term, Peter decided that actually he'd rather not join in. This rejection of musical resources coincided with Peter's uptake of other extracurricular activities including sport, where he gained self-confidence by displaying his prowess much like when playing djembe at primary school. Possibly, Peter's need for self-esteem was fulfilled by those other activities. Also Peter felt a disconnect with his music teacher and lessons, because of what might have been a learning disability, as he consistently reported struggling with mathematics and English, and likewise the theoretical and technical aspects of classroom music. Peter's reason for not joining the djembe troupe might simply have been that he didn't want anything more to do with classroom music, as it offered too many opportunities to feel incompetent.

Accordingly, over the course of Year 7, Peter became increasingly disaffected musically (see Table 28.3), his previously bullish confidence and musical activity almost

Table 28.3 Peter: musical identity statements

Peter	'Would you say you are a musical sort of person?'	'How much does music matter to you?'
Wave 1: Preparation (July (Y6))	Well people say ... I've got good taste in music. And I can really do stuff with it. Like a mixture of things. People say "can you do this?" And so I tried it out and I was actually really good at it. Like the way I got into acting and stuff ...	Well, it's quite an important thing in my life because if there wasn't music life wouldn't be fun. Because there wouldn't be...if there wasn't any music you couldn't sing together with your friends or stuff like that.
Wave 2: Encounter (October (Y7))	Well, I sort of haven't played a lot so my music [] sort of going down because loads of people are not up to my standard so they're all [gloomy] in my group.	Music is like I'm talented in music and everyone says so, even my parents and I'm just talented and playing different instruments. I'm a quick learner with instruments but when they say something I just go straightaway.
Wave 3: Adaptation (February (Y7))	No, because I've got more into other lessons that just music. So I'm like an all round type.	Well, it doesn't matter as much as when I was younger, because the school's just had a massive impact on me because I have lots of homework, I have to ... No, I don't have to worry about music as much because when I was in Year 6 I probably liked it so hard ... wanted to play it more. But as I got older I don't ... it sort of fades away'
Wave 4: Stabilization May (Y7)	'Mm ... no.'	"Um not as much." ... "Um, since I was in primary school."

drying up. He obtained popularity through deviancy, using music as a tool, for example by beatboxing in lessons in order to gain his classmates' attention. This uptake of a more deviant identity by boys after transition can be a bid to increase popularity in a new, unfamiliar peer group that values macho behavior (e.g., Measor & Woods, 1984). Music played several roles in creating Peter's masculinity, for example Peter's father listened to music when exercising in the gym, and played loud music to Peter when driving. This might have conveyed to Peter that male behavior is attached to strength and noise. At the same time, Peter identified his musical tastes as masculine by implication, saying that he didn't like "girly" solo artists, unlike his friend.

This attachment to macho behavior might have further dissuaded Peter from learning theoretical, abstract information in music lessons, as children attach this type of learning to non-active, feminine behavior (Whitehead, 2006). Accordingly, Peter was quick to befriend a fellow beatboxer, and the two mouthed music to each other outside of school when in school the curriculum focussed on learning words and symbols. For Peter by the end of Year 7, music had become a symbol of school disengagement, rather than a means for personal and social accomplishment. This trajectory was reflected in Peter's ending comment that he was non-musical, the opposite of his description of being very musical at primary school.

28.4.10.2 *Amy's piano: an embedded identity*

In stark contrast to Peter, Amy was very well provided for by those around her, having access to many resources and support in the forms of encouragement and discipline. Amy's parents, in particular her mother, played a very strong role in facilitating her piano playing, despite not being musicians themselves. They paid for her lessons, exams, and books; they bought her a piano and before that a keyboard; her mum drove her to her lessons (with music on in the car) and helped ensure she stuck to her regular practice regime. Amy also had a valuable resource in her young piano teacher, with whom she identified at a personal level and as a role model.

Amy said that she had reignited a previously extinguished flame in her family by taking up piano, and so she saw her identity as part of a transgenerational script. Her father wanted to play the drums as a little boy, but her grandparents could not afford a drum kit. Indeed, her first keyboard experience was after her father brought down his old electronic instrument from the attic. Amy said in her opening interview that she was "the first in her family to play an instrument and to carry on to Grade III". As torchbearer for the family tradition, she noted the new ground she had claimed, from sticking letter names on the keys of the keyboard to learning to read music: shifting from novice to learned status. Indeed, bridging the gap with earlier generations, she tried teaching her Nan, who learned how to read music although didn't carry through to play the piano.

Over the course of the study, Amy affirmed her identity as *a Pianist*. Having succeeded at Grade III, she was well in advance of many of her new classmates at secondary school. By the second term, her new classroom music teacher had appointed Amy and one other student as advisory friends to their peers, helping others with their work. Amy found the sheer volume of demand for her help quite stressful at times, and said "some

people in my class are like ‘She knows it all ... she’s like a piano player. It’s not fair’”. However, her identity as a pianist was strong enough for her not to be disturbed by this, and she valued the ability to play an instrument over being popular with her peers. In fact, following transition, this distinction from her peers was something she enjoyed. She noted that the school keyboard club was intended for people below her standard, and when she was appointed the first ever, and only, pianist in orchestra this was a great boost to her musical confidence.

Despite this initial increase in musical activity, Amy soon became overwhelmed by the academic stresses of the transfer school, where she was required to do a lot of homework. She overcame this by cutting down on extracurricular activities, including the school orchestra, and postponing her study for Grade IV, in favor of a more relaxed approach to the piano and life in general (see Table 28.2 Wave 3). For example she learned some Christmas songs from YouTube tutorials that she had been introduced to by a friend. In the third term after she had adjusted to the greater academic demands, Amy restarted formal piano study with the intention of one day becoming a piano teacher. Throughout the transition period, Amy showed remarkably efficient management of her emotional and personal needs in order to keep playing an instrument she enjoyed (see Table 28.4).

Table 28.4 Amy: musical identity statements

Amy	‘Would you say you are a musical sort of person?’	‘How much does music matter to you?’
Wave 1: preparation (July (Y6))	Yes. I think so... but I’m not one of those people that go to every musical and want to play music 24/7, but I do like music’=	It matters a lot because when I play my piano, it’s really fun and I’m used to it and it matters a lot. If I just gave that up I would have nothing to do in my spare time
Wave 2: encounter (October (Y7))	Yeah. I’m really into music ... because I play music out of school and in school and I just do everything really ...	Music is a big part of my life really because if I didn’t play the piano and I didn’t listen to music I really would not know what to do ... if they just cut out music that would be really cruel ...
Wave 3: adaptation (February (Y7))	Yeah ... at home, if there’s music on in the background on my telly, and if it’s like a Sunday and no-one’s doing anything there’s like the radio on then I’m always like dancing about the room and like singing along while I’m doing other things ...	Well, it’s quite a big thing in secondary school because if you don’t like know any new music you’re a bit weird.
Wave 4: stabilization (May (Y7))	Um, yeah. I would.	Um, it’s quite important because if you didn’t have music there wouldn’t be a lot to do really.

28.5 CONCLUSIONS

Peter and Amy's distinct and contrasting—indeed opposed—music identity trajectories across transition both seem to be tied to the material and socio-cultural resources available. Amy had a piano to play, people to play it to/for, and, in her piano teacher, a model; Peter had neither a djembe nor any other instrument available after transition, and was told that in any case his father's migraines would not permit the noise. Extrapolating from these two local models and from the three thematic studies reviewed herein, these patterns might represent two groups of children, coming from musically advantaged and disadvantaged backgrounds. For both groups, secondary school presents new challenges to musical identity.

For children from advantaged, musically supportive backgrounds like Amy's, school transition creates a mixture of risk and protective factors for musical identity. For those who have had private instrumental tuition outside school or equivalent experiences, having to start from scratch in school music might be frustrating, leading to boredom and a loss of motivation. A further risk derives from being placed in a new social context: learning a classical instrument may be seen as uncool by peers, and transient; a hobby rather than a long-term pursuit in which identity is invested (Sloboda, 2001). In addition, as Amy found, the increased workload at secondary school is a threat to regular practice, so strategies for managing this conflict in order that the instrumental study, with its connotations for identity can be sustained, need to be in place. For children like Amy, transition imposes a decision to react towards or against their musical pursuits, and in so doing, to become more conscious of their musical identity. Alongside all these risks, musically experienced children have a certain social status over and above others: they have increased opportunity to be involved in selective musical extracurricular activities, and notice that they are more musically accomplished than their peers, which boosts their musical self-esteem.

For children from less privileged backgrounds, transition is a time of increased opportunity. At secondary school there are more, better musical resources, access to instrumental lessons, and school lessons education starting with the basics: suddenly for these children, there is a pathway to developing musical aspirations. However, they are still vulnerable to significant blockages. This group of children is more likely to struggle academically (Croll, 2002), and so as music lessons become more advanced, they may find their motivation drained. Also, not having the advantage of private lessons, they are less likely to be selected for musical extracurricular activities. Indeed, there is often some cost for instrumental lessons at schools, which may not be affordable to their parents.

In *Changing Key* we only studied schools in England, although patterns of musical identity development throughout the world are presumably dependent on resources, and people's access to them. The UK government's recommendation, made in response to Darren Henley's Review of Music Education (Henley, 2011), that children should be given the chance to learn a musical instrument for a year, or at least for a term, is surely a

good thing. This provides a wonderful opportunity for those whose access to music lessons would otherwise be blocked. However, in terms of musical identity development, the *embeddedness* of musical pursuit within other areas of life seems to be what distinguishes children like Amy, whose backgrounds either serve to enable and support musical identity development, from those like Peter, whose development is stifled by a lack of resources.

It is not simply that Amy continued to play an instrument when Peter did not; rather the piano connected existing aspects of Amy's musical identity and experience, whereas for Peter, this fledgling network was quashed when the opportunity to play Djembe was removed at transition. By providing equal musical opportunities to children from a range of backgrounds, schools can begin to address surface disparities in musical experience. Whether this promotes musicality may depend on how carefully schools develop *all* children's musical identities as a continual process, rather than simply increasing a certain type of resources after transition, as for some children, this offering will be made against the odds.

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