THE MUSIC-IDENTITY OF 15–16-YEAR-OLD FINNISH SCHOOL PUPILS

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to examine how musical identities are reflected in young people's narratives through databased content analysis. The study also examined musical experiences of the young because they enabled the musical identities research. Subjects of this study were 15–16-year-old learners who wrote essays about their music-related experiences.

The foundation of the study was formed around Hall's theory about identities and especially his concept of the postmodern subject. Definitions of musical identity were limited to four slightly different visions. In the research, the views of Jorgensen, Leppänen & Unkari-Virtanen and Sintonen, Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald and Green were compared. Especially Green's and Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald's definitions were applied to this study.

Databased content analysis defined three categories for describing musical experiences. These categories were listening to music, music as a hobby and studying music. The results showed that especially listening to music played a significant role in the lives of the young, while on the other hand studying music in a school environment was considered to decrease their interest in music.

The term 'musical identity' was defined as young people's perceptions about themselves in the context of music. This study focused on examining what kinds of musical identities young people's musical experiences produced. Based on the musical experiences, four identity types were formed: versatile music hobbyists, comprehensive music listeners, everyday users of music and the music avoiders. The largest identity type was music listeners, which verified the notion of the importance of music listening during youth. Identity types enabled the examination of the issue relating to the impact of different kinds of musical experiences on attitudes towards music education in schools. Only a small minority of the participants had positive experiences in music lessons and a majority of

the young had negative experiences. The research showed that basically interest in music during free time and the contents of formal music education did not match.

Although the level of interest in music lessons was low, music was still a big part of young people's life. Music was used to pass the time, experience social cohesion and deal with difficult things. The most important meaning of music turned out to be the ability to escape the world through music.

Keywords: *Musical identity, musical experience, listening to music, musical taste, music as a hobby, music education, identity type, narrative study*

Background

Music is present in our life more than ever before. Almost all people have a relationship with music: some play a musical instrument; some enjoy listening to music. Music belongs to every youngster's life. People listen to music when they are sad, glad or while walking home from school. Music has very comprehensive impacts on human beings, it helps controlling emotions, it expresses values and gives us a feeling of togetherness.

The music-identity concept helps to explore music's versatile significances for people. Music can create identities but can also express an already existing identity. Music does not develop only musical skills; it proves very significant for individual's conceptions of oneself and others. Music expresses our deepest self, helps to understand others and creates a sense of togetherness. Music can build communities and it can be used to strengthen existing communality.

School music education can significantly influence the birth of musical identity. Music education plays an essential part during adolescents' identity building processes. Music lessons may offer pupils a place to express their own identity through music, but they also offer an opportunity to get to know different identities by showing different music cultures and in this way help in building one's own identity. Music education can have wider communal significances; it can be used to grow musical world citizenship (Ruud, 2002, 60).

The aim of this research was to explore the musical identities of 15–16-year-old Finnish learners based on their own narrative writings. We also explore their musical experiences and how these experiences had affected their music-identity and what kind of musical actors they are, together with revealing their own conceptions of themselves and the significances of school music education in these processes.

In this research, identity is seen as an individual's own conception of who they are (Ojanen, 1996; Suutari 2013). In the conception of identity, we use Hall's (1999) definition of the postmodern subject, which explains that identity is determined in interaction with the environment in relation to others and is under continuous change. There are several different definitions of music-identity, and in this research, we have used the definitions by Green (2011) and Hargreaves, Miell and McDonald (2002). In exploring the identities, we have used Green's definition of the factors, which form musical identity. According to her, musical identity is based on musical experiences, music taste and musical activities. From Hargreaves', Miell's and McDonald's points of view about musical identity, we picked the "identities in music" (IIM) viewpoint, which explores the impact of musical actions on our identities.

In addition to identity, self-image, too, has many definitions. This concerns also the relationship between musical identity and musical self-picture (or musical self-conception). These concepts are broad and often used interchangeably, depending on the used definition. The musical identities were built as identity types based on musical experiences themes. Spychiger (2017, 267) classifies self-picture more as a psychological concept which has some precise definitions. Identity is more popular in philosophical and sociological fields of research. Often, researchers use one of the concepts and mean the same idea. Both concepts can be used in studying musical experiences. In Finnish research, musical self-picture or musical self-conception is used more often than musical identity (see Tulamo, 1993; Juvonen, 2000). Music-identity is used much more often in the English language research.

This study was carried out as a narrative research effort where pupils' essays were explored with a focus on their musical experiences. The analysis was done using databased content analysis. The musical identities were built as identity types based on musical experiences themes. Musical identity was explored using music taste, music as a hobby and music studying points of view. In the definition of identity, we lean on Hall's identity concepts, which strongly support enhancing the understanding of musical identity. Different definitions of music identity were provided by Jorgensen (2002) Hargreaves, Miell and McDonald (2002), Leppänen, Unkari-Virtanen and Sintonen (2013) and Green (2011).

The Musical World of Young People

During youth, the contemplation *who am I* is common. This kind of question develops their self-concept and identity, but also concerns their body image and sexual identity, values and worldview (Saarikallio, 2009, 221). Adolescence is also full of music; young people are eager music consumers and music is an important part of life for many (Saarikallio, 2009, 222). Listening to music and playing musical instruments offer them the possibility for coping with their emotions, feeling togetherness and expressing their own personality.

Music as a Hobby

Having music as a hobby can mean composing songs or recording music in addition to traditional music hobbies like playing a musical instrument or singing. Music can be produced alone or with someone; it often has a social connection, like when playing in an orchestra, band or singing in a choir. Hobbies are an important part of life for many young people, as they create diversity, enjoyment and empowerment to everyday life. Having a musical hobby may become so important that it starts to determine one's personality (Juvonen, 2000, 40-41). A music hobby usually takes place in a music school or adult education centres where studying is target oriented.

A musical hobby is often started obeying parents' will, which may cause negative attitudes toward music in some cases. If one has had to participate in a music hobby against one's own will, it usually ends immediately after a young person's independence from their parents (Juvonen, 2000, 41). Currently, music hobbies take place increasingly in the Internet world outside formal institutions (Kosonen, 2009, 158).

This technological development allows one to learn singing and playing musical instruments through the Internet.

This informal way of learning can be very active. Independent learning of instrument playing, composing and music listening can be an important part of young people's lives.

Music Taste

Music taste is an individual element. It connects with an intuitive experience about what kind of music is good or bad (Juvonen, 2000, 57). Music taste and musical preferences have been widely explored in philosophical, psychological and musicological fields of research; it can be defined in many ways. LeBlanc (1987) created a theory about the formation of music taste, which he named the interactive theory of music taste. According to the theory, music taste and decisions concerning it are made based on interaction between the information a listener receives and his/her personal qualities (LeBlanc, 1987, 139). According to Juvonen (2000, 54), music taste comprises the choices connected to musical styles, genres, stylistic elements and musical constructions and their preferences. Music taste means some type of classification and validation of different musical styles (Juvonen, 2000, 54).

LeBlanc (1987, 144) sees our musical preferences as a sum of many factors, which may originate from the surrounding world, family, friends, school or media. In addition, qualities like gender, personality, musical skills and socio-economic background influence what kind of music we like. In adolescence, the importance of peers is a significant factor that develops music taste, but there also is a need to develop one's own individual music taste as young people mature towards adulthood (LeBlanc, 1987, 140-145).
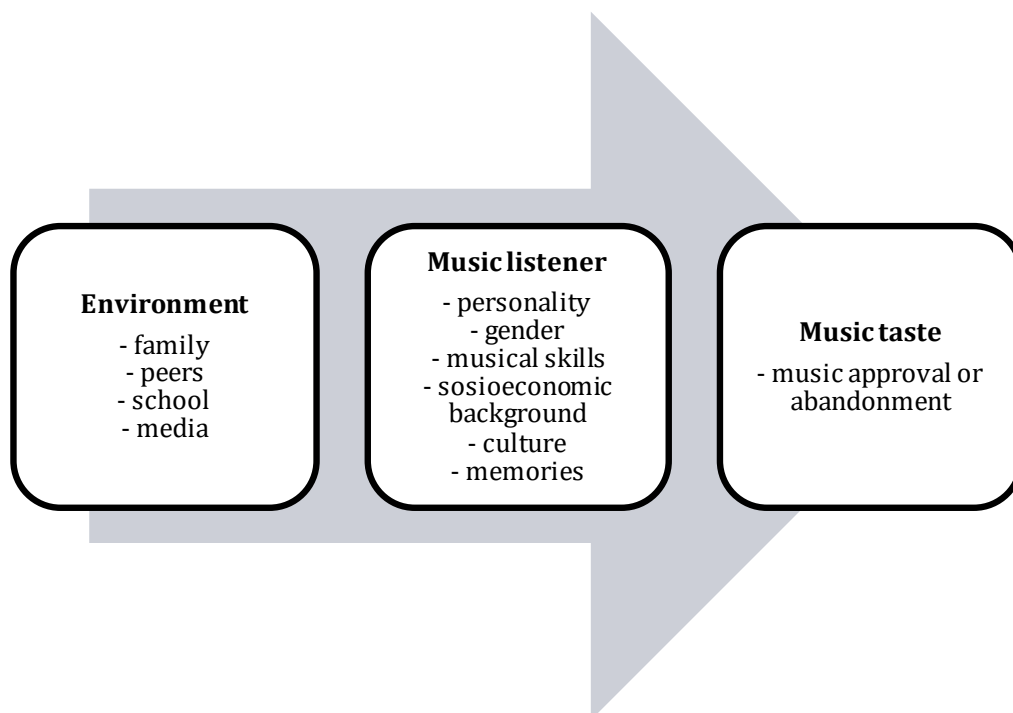

Environment
- family
- peers
- school
- media

Music listener
- personality
- gender
- musical skills
- sosioeconomic background
- culture
- memories

Music taste
- music approval or abandonment

Figure 1. Factors contributing to the development of music taste

Music listening is strongly present in the everyday lives of young people. Their favourite music is thoroughly considered as it represents them and their values (Saarikallio, 2009, 224). Music taste may also show outside. A strong identification with certain music genre may make the individual adapt the values and norms connected to the genre, which may show in ways of dressing, jewellery or way of speaking (Juvonen, 2000, 56).

School Music Education

Ahonen (2004, 15) describes music learning at school as explicit learning which requires deliberate struggle to acquire learning. The curriculum defines the content, aims and ways of working in music learning. School music education has a major impact on forming people's music significance level and their conceptions of their own musical skills (Anttila, 2006, 24).

Anttila (2006, 34) divides the factors concerning studying motivation into conceptions of value, environmental factors and expectations of success. Music studying includes many conceptions of value, among them being the usefulness of musical skills and significances of music in social relationships. The environment includes peers, teachers, the institute of studies and cultural environment. A young person's circle of friends greatly affects their attitudes toward the significance of music. The personality of the teacher and the atmosphere during music lessons are important factors in the significance of music learning (Anttila, 2006, 33-36).

According to Swanwick (1988, 143), pupils have negative experiences from school music activities, but not from music in general. The reason for this may be the fact that pupils do not feel they are getting any professional benefit from the music, but also because school music activities differ greatly from their music-related activities in free time (Swanwick, 1988, 143-144). In addition to family and peers, music teachers also have a strong effect on young people's development and attitudes. A teacher's attitude toward pupils impacts their positive attitudes about music and their own musical skills (Tulamo, 1993, 103). Saarikallio (2009, 227-228) emphasizes that a music educator has an opportunity to support pupils' comprehensive growth. An encouraging attitude and avoidance of an overly critical attitude support the pupil's wish to develop (Tulamo, 1993, 105-106).

The Usage of Music

Music seldom is only an activity like listening or instrument playing. The importance of music in life can be connected to emotions aroused by music, or feelings of togetherness in playing in music groups. All music has psychological gains. Saarikallio (2007, 21) divides these into four groups: relationships, self-determination, emotions and identity.

Relationships include two opposite needs. Young people use music to belong to a certain group, but music is also used for the needs of privacy. Togetherness means activities with peers, like playing music or listening to music. The feeling of togetherness can also be gained without other people. Listening to some pieces of music can evoke memories of important people and one can feel togetherness with an artist or his/her music. Music may offer a young person also privacy, because while listening, they can escape to their own worlds (Saarikallio, 2009, 225-226).

Under self-determination Saarikallio (2007, 22) understands control, competence and experiences of self-esteem. Music gives young people a tool for control: they can decide what kind of music they listen to and in what situation they want to listen to it. Control is also connected to emotional management in using music. Moreover, musical activity lifts young people's self-regard through the experiences of learning and accomplishment (Saarikallio, 2007, 22).

There usually is a very simple motive behind musical activity: music offers enjoyment (Saarikallio, 2007, 22). From the emotional point of view, music is used for many purposes. Saarikallio (2007, 23; 2009, 227) divides emotional management models into seven parts: entertainment, recovery, experiences, secession, rescission, imaginary work and consolation. Music helps young people to handle their negative emotions, clear their own thoughts, and break away from a current situation somewhere else (Saarikallio, 2007, 22).

The fourth psychologic purpose is identity. In adolescence, we build the conception about who we actually are. Music helps youngsters build their identity and strengthens the expression of their already existing identity (Saarikallio, 2009, 224).

Identity

Identity is not merely a psychological phenomenon; sociologists and anthropologists (Ruud, 2006, 63) also research it. Musical identity leans strongly on the idea of a postmodern subject, which is one of the identity conceptions. Identity is a multi-dimensional concept with many definitions. Often, identity is mixed with self, self-conception or self-esteem. Identity can be understood as a system, which contains self-conception and self-esteem (Talib, 2002, 42). Identity can also be seen in a wider context, and it is worth contemplating how identity differs from the concept of self as it also describes a human being's inner world. According to Ruud (2006, 63), the context is highlighted in identity and he calls identity 'self in a context'. Saastamoinen (2006, 172) defines identity as a self which has changed to a target. When we define and make a value judgement of our self, this is dealing with one's own identity.

The identity of a human being is seen in psychology as consisting of three parts: identity, self-conception and self-esteem. In everyday speech, they often mean the same thing. Ojanen (1996, 31) defined the difference of these concepts as follows: 1) Identity: *Who am I? Where do I belong?* 2) Self-conception: *What am I like?* 3) Self-esteem: *What is my value and significance?*

Suutari (2013, 258) defines identity as the following: connecting to surrounding social groups and the standing out among others. Identity can describe someone; in practice they are characterizations which help classification and characterizing people. Identity can also be related to ethnical matters when a person defines oneself as a Finn or a Sami, or also by one's gender (Antikainen, Rinne & Koski, 2013, 292-293). The concept of identity emphasizes individuality and togetherness. In addition to being conscious of which one is, one also experiences a sense of belonging to a certain group. Professional or social relations can also describe identity. We can describe ourselves as being a bus driver or a wife (Ojanen, 1996, 32-33). The definition of identity is dependent on the field of science exploring it. The culture researcher and sociologist, Hall (1999, 21-23), divides identity conceptions into three groups: The Subject of the Enlightenment,

Sociological subject and Postmodern Subject. Our understanding of our own identity changes during the time and surrounding society.

In the Subject of the Enlightenment, identity was seen as totally unchangeable. The idea was that the identity of an individual stays similar throughout life. Identity develops with the development of the individual, but one's basic nature remains the same (Hall, 1999, 21). The inner core of a human being consists of sense, consciousness and ability to function. This core opens as the individual grows but remains the same (Hall, 1999, 21). The Subject of the Enlightenment did not notice at all the significance of the environment for identity but was rather a very individual conception of the subject.

The other conception of identity, the Sociological Subject, notes the significance of the interaction in building identity. Differing from the Subject of the Enlightenment, the Sociological Subject's inner core was continuously changing because of the surrounding cultures and identities (Hall, 1999, 22). In the Sociological Subject, the environment surrounding a person disseminates values, significances and symbols, which are used in building identity. According to Hall (1999), in the Sociological Subject identity smoothens the gap between personal and public worlds. The individual mirrors their own identity to the surrounding society and culture and adopts characteristics from it to one's own identity (Hall, 1999, 22). The Sociological Subject is connected with the Subject of the Enlightenment through the common idea of the human being's inner core, the true self.

In the third conception of identity, the Post-modern Subject identity is not seen as permanent, but constantly changing. According to Hall (1999, 19), the identity of a human being is fragmentary and does not have a solid existence. This is caused by major changes in the structures of societies. Hall defines a modern society as a society of constant, rapid, permanent changes (Hall, 1999, 24). Differing from the other definitions, the Post-modernist subject identity is defined historically, not biologically.

The individual does not have a solid inborn self, but one can have several different identities at different times. Some of these identities may not be compatible. In the global world, our identity is shaped by the impact of surrounding cultures, and in the multicultural world, the identities may have picked influences from several different cultures. An individual can identify oneself in any of the identities, which are built at least occasionally.

An identity is a process of the contemporary society; it is constantly shaping unconsciously instead of existing naturally (Hall, 1999, 39). Identity never becomes complete, changing with the interactions between the individual and society (Rastas, 2008, 250). Although identity continuously changes, it is an essential concept when we explore the individual's self-conception, position in society or relationship with other people. When examining children or young people, identity is approached from two slightly different points of view. We can explore which matters influence identity: what factors build, for example, the Finnish national identity or gender identity. We can also use the concept of how certain factors like gender, skin colour or travelling define our identity (Rastas, 2008, 251).

Culture is one of the most important factors in building and changing identity (Hall, 2003, 85). In the Post-modern subject's identity concept, the significance of culture is considerable, because the surrounding cultures are in direct connection to its identity.

Lundberg, Malm and Ronström (2003, 16) see that culture and identity are the most important concepts structuring the modern world.

Culture includes values, attitudes, beliefs, skills and knowledge. Through culture, a human being learns how to act in society as the survey-strategy is constructed with it (Helve, 2008, 281). Hall (2003) defines culture as a system of common significances, which a certain group of people uses to bring order to the world. When an individual understands a system of significances, it brings a feeling of belonging to a culture, which causes togetherness and experiences of common identity.

Identity in Childhood and Adolescence

When exploring the development of identity, the environment of the child is very important. Identity is not biological; it is constantly changing through being in contact with others. Childhood and adolescence are important for the development of identity, and this is often brought into discussion about the development of children and young people. In the discussion, positive and negative concepts of identity as well as identity crisis and multicultural identities are often brought up. During elementary school, a child also develops their identity. The home and the circle of acquaintances are strongly significant in the growing process, but when starting school, the significance of the peers rises fast (Rastas, 2008, 150).

Lamont (2002, 42) refers to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model (Figure 2) where all developmental contexts are presented. The child's closest circle represents microsystems, which are home, school and neighbourhood. Microsystems are the places where a child is connected directly every day and where the child must process the self continuously (Lamont, 2002, 42). The exosystems include communal customs and media, which are not directly in contact with the child's own life, but which influence in the background. The outermost circle, the macrosystem, includes common beliefs, which mean, for example, the attitude to the importance of education (Lamont, 2002, 43).
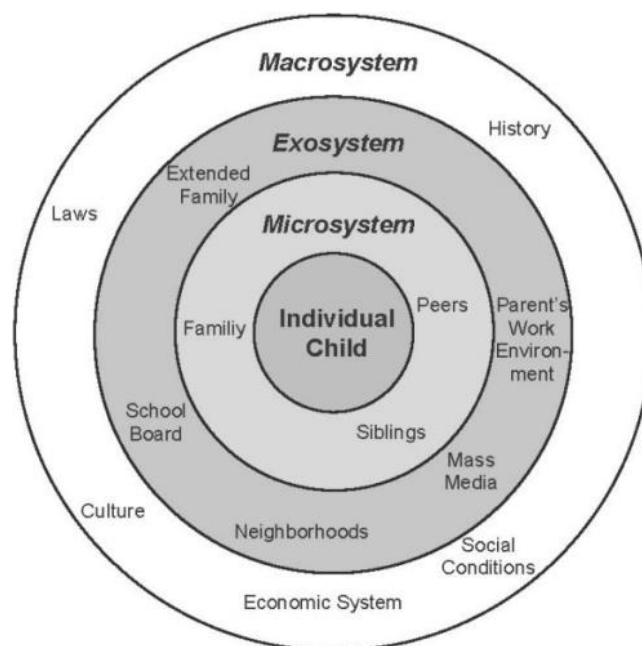

Figure 2. Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model

Bronfenbrenner (1979) connects the school to the microsystem of his model, which is the context closest to the child. Before starting school, the child has built their identity only with their family and circle of acquaintances. When school begins, the child gets their first contact with a group of peers. Then the child starts to compare themselves with the others, which has big influence on building identity (Lamont, 2002, 43).

In adolescence, the pupil contemplates many identity questions like values, moral questions and worldview (Saarikallio, 2009, 221). Marcia (1966) divides the process into four stages: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement. The diffusion means a stage of early childhood when the child is not committed to any certain identity. Foreclosure means the stage when the child commits oneself to some identity without going through an identity crisis, for example, when a child chooses a profession according to their parents' professions. Moratorium describes the identity crisis of a child, which occurs when getting to know other alternative identities, but they are not yet ready to commit to any particular one. In the achievement stage, the child has gone through different identities and committed to a certain identity (Tarrant, North & Hargreaves, 2002, 134-135).

Music-identity

Music is increasingly used in building and expressing identity because music has more significance in contemporary society than ever before. Music is easily available due to technological development and it is easy to enjoy music as a musician, listener, performer or a critic. Music is not only used for managing emotions or behaviour, it is important also for expressing our values and attitudes (DeNora, 2000; MacDonald, Hargreaves & Miell, 2002). Music builds and expresses our identity (Lundberg, Malm & Ronström, 2003, 16).

The social actions of music can be divided into three groups: the relationships between people, managing the mood, and identity. Music is used in finding one's own place in a group and expressing participation in it. This is important especially for the young people whose musical choices define which group they belong to. Secondly, music can be used in managing moods, for example listening to uplifting music when one is sad. Thirdly, music has an important role in building and developing identity. The concept of musical identity can be used in exploring the actions between music and an individual (MacDonald, Hargreaves & Miell, 2002, 4-5).

It is possible to express one's identity through music because it shows our values. Music choices also show to which reference group we wish to belong (MacDonald, Hargreaves & Miell, 2002; Louhivuori, 2009). Although our music choices are individual, there are influential cultural significances in the background. We make music choices keeping an eye on identities (Suutari, 2013, 262).

Different music cultures have different meanings to people. Everyone interprets music and its cultural significances in an individual way. The cultural significances are not permanent; they depend on interpretation and life situation. This leads to an identity game where the significances are not permanent and they can be consciously changed (Suutari, 2013, 262).

Conceptions about Music-identity

There are different points of view about the meaning and building of music-identity, the concept is multi-dimensional. The idea is related to the Post-modern subject and the idea that identity is continuously changing. Jorgensen (2002, 32) sees music and identity in a reciprocal relationship as music both shapes and expresses our identity. Music has an impact on our identity because it can influence our beliefs and actions. Music has been used in this meaning as long as human beings have existed. It is commonly believed that music can transfer values, beliefs and ways of action. This idea can be seen behind some of the views expressed by the greatest philosophers about the significance of music. For example, Aristotle saw music education as necessary in developing technical skills but also for its social significances (Jorgensen, 2002, 31).

The social element is important in building music-identity as the individual belongs in and identifies with several groups sharing certain ways of acting and beliefs. Identity is built into relationship to these groups and an individual can use characteristics of several different groups in building his individual identity (Jorgensen, 2002, 32). Pupils can pick up identity building blocks from their own musical world. If the pupil studies classical music but also enjoys rap music, both can be used in building music-identity. Music gives opportunities to express one's own emotions, dreams and aims, but also an opportunity to criticize their current life situation (Jorgensen, 2002, 32).

Music-identity can be found in all human beings and it is not bound up with musical talent or musicality. Many individuals who do not consider themselves musical have strong opinions about good and bad music. Music taste can tell a lot about an individual and his/her values and culture. The significance of music in building and shaping identity varies a lot. For those who have music as a hobby it has more significance in identity building than those who do not have a musical hobby (Hargreaves et al., 2002, 11-12).

MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell (2002) divide the music-identity concept into two parts: identities in music (IIM) focuses on how musical identity is defined based on cultural and social roles. The identities in music approach the concept of music-identity by exploring how an individual's musical actions define one's identity. Culturally defined roles in music, like a conductor, composer or a soloist define the individual's identity. In addition to this, identity can be defined also by the music genre to which the individual listens, or by the musical instrument, the individual plays (Hargreaves, Miell & MacDonald, 2002, 12-14). Music in identities (MII) explores how we use music as a resource at developing our music-identity. We can also build gender identity, national identity and youth identity through music. MII explores the influences of music in self-conception (Hargreaves et al., 2002, 14-15).

Leppänen, Unkari-Virtanen and Sintonen (2013, 334) explore the significance of music to identity from the cultural point of view. Identity builds in different cultures in relationship with different factors, like gender, nationality, age, sexuality, ethnicity or race (Leppänen, Unkari-Virtanen & Sintonen, 2013, 334). Different genres have significance in identity building, for example listening to pop music builds a certain kind of identity.

Green (2011, 11) has defined music-identity most precisely. Music identity builds on personal musical experiences and participation in different social groups like the

family. Musical identity includes music taste, values and musical activities like singing and dancing together with skills and knowledge.

The concept of music-identity can be used in describing the influence of music on human development. Music develops one's identity in music, but it also makes an impact on different identity areas like cultural and national identity. There are only a few people, who do not have music as a part of their life, which makes it possible to explore the music-identity of almost all people. In this research, we use music-identity as a tool for exploring the relation between music and identity. Music-identity comprises young people's musical experiences.

The Music-identity of a Young Individual

Music-identity starts to develop around the age of seven, when a child can recognize their different identities. A child's music-identity builds from their musical experiences and as the child grows, they compared their identity to that of their peers. In childhood, the most important thing from the music-identity point of view is the child's attitudes and emotions related to music (Lamont, 2002, 43).

Tarrant, North and Hargreaves (2002, 135) see that the significant role of music in adolescence is based on the opportunity music offers for managing important developmental problems. Music can help children's development in many ways. Saarikallio (2009, 222) divides the psychosocial significances of music into four theme sectors through which music can support their development. They are self-determination, relationships, emotions and identity, including identity building and strengthening it. Music offers young people tools for managing identity and its changes in their own privacy and peace. Young people's experience of their own identity is often uncertain because adolescence is full of major changes. For example, the music of a favourite band or a favourite piece of music can form a way for expressing identity (Saarikallio, 2009, 224).

Suutari (2013, 263) emphasizes the significance of music's bodily and experiential significances in transferring identity. Music can express identities which are difficult to express exactly, or which are not structured linguistically. This is based on the music's immediate influence and unconscious impact, which raises different emotions (Suutari, 2013, 263). Music is born in a certain culture and it describes its characteristics, but music can also create and build cultures. It awakens associations in us, which we can connect to certain cultures (Suutari, 2013, 263). Moisala and Antikainen (1995, 198) see that we collect for ourselves a warehouse of sounds from the surrounding culture, and music has important tasks, roles and usages in our culture.

Music Education and Identity

When a child goes to school it increases the child's social circle extensively. In addition to family, peers and their school influence the development of identities. Identity can work as a bridge between music education and music's communal role and individual significances. In music lessons, music identity is built in interaction with music, other pupils and the teacher (Anttila, 2006, 26). At school, identity building is strongly

connected to the cultural and social structures of society and the pupil's identity may be defined by social class, gender and ethnicity (Antikainen, Rinne & Koski, 2013, 288).

School is an institution, which offers people complete identity types and evaluates the pupil's ability to reach them. This makes the pupils build their own identities, conceptions of whom they are. The school is a symbolic system, which includes different official and non-official significances. These are products of the surrounding culture and pupils can use them in describing themselves and the others (Antikainen, Rinne & Koski, 2013, 298). In the same classroom, there can be pupils with very different cultural identities. The challenge for schools is to create an environment where different cultural, national and ethnical identities are noticed and accepted (Folkestad, 2002, 160).

The significance of school music education in building pupils' music-identity depends on the pupils' musical backgrounds. The largest influence depends on whether the pupil has had music as a hobby or not outside school. Those with music as a hobby have more positive attitudes toward school music lessons than the others. Music lessons are significant for pupils in defining their own musicality. In addition, the personality of the teacher influences the development of a pupil's music-identity (Lamont, 2002, 46-54).

Method and Sample

The aim of this research is to reveal what kinds of music-identities the pupils have according to their written narrative stories. We also explore what kind of musical experiences the pupils have and how they have influenced their building of music-identities. We aim at obtaining a comprehensive picture of young people's musical experiences and use the identities in exploring the significance of school music education for them.

Both research questions are based on a theoretical background, and the definition of music-identity is guided strongly by the questions:

What kind of musical experiences have young people lived through?

What kind of music-identities can we find from the narrative stories of young people?

Musical experiences are very individual. Our aim is to explore musical experiences and how young people consider their influence in building their music relationship. In this research, the music-identity is equivalent to Hargreaves' research group's identities in music (IIM).

Our data consisted of pupils' written narrative stories, which were analysed by databased content analysis. Pupils' own life experiences and significances were communicated through these stories. The stories are moulded and shaped throughout life, for example, by different interactions and new experiences (Paananen, 2008, 19; Kaasila, 2008, 41; Riessman, 1993, 2). Therefore, the stories can offer many kinds of information about several themes. According to Heikkinen (2015, 151), narrative research is the exploration focusing on the stories and telling as a moderator and builder of information.

Our data was gathered from 26 elementary school 9th graders and upper secondary school 1st graders' written essays under the headline "Music and me". This data comprised 14 essays (essays nr 1-14) from upper secondary school pupils and 12 (essays nr 15-26) by elementary school pupils. The essays were around one page, but there were also some, which were remarkably longer. The data was collected in the beginning of spring 2018. Appropriate permissions were acquired from the school principals, pupils' parents and pupils. The pupils reported first their age, grade level and gender. They were informed that they were able to stop writing any time or reject participating in the research.

Results

A. Music experiences

The pupils' experiences included memories of music listening, music as a hobby and music studying. These were divided into three main categories.
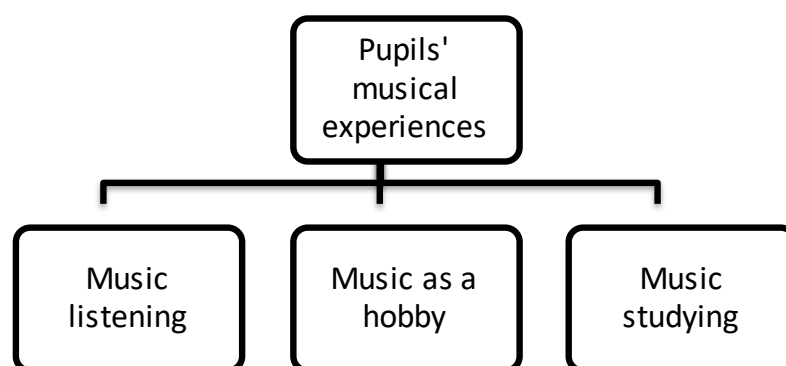

Figure 3. Pupils' musical experiences' main categories

B. Music as a hobby

In descriptions of music as a hobby, four upper categories were found: the influence of the hobby, starting the hobby, giving up the hobby, not having a music hobby (See Figure 4). Under these, we defined several subcategories. The influence of the hobby: psychological factors, social factors. Starting the hobby: own will, influence of others (peers, parents, teacher, etc.). Giving up the hobby: lack of motivation, influence of others, major challenges. Not having a music hobby: conception of own skills, lack of interest.
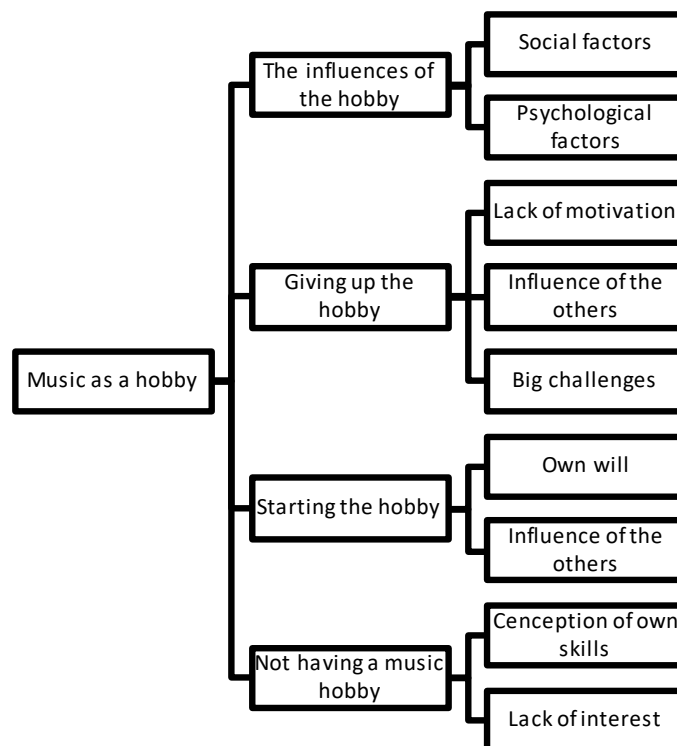
Figure 4. Music as a hobby: High categories and subcategories

Many pupils thought that music can be counted as a hobby only when it takes place in some formal institute like a music school. Only a few pupils named music listening in leisure time as their hobby. Those who never had a music hobby validated it explaining that music never interested them so much or that their interests were elsewhere.

*"I have never taken instrument lessons or had music as a hobby in any way.
There is no particular reason for it. My hobbies have been focused on sports and
music doesn't fascinate me as a hobby." (6)*

*"I have never had enough interest that I would have wanted to bring music as a
hobby into my life." (25)*

Some of the pupils validated their lack of music hobby explaining that it would not benefit them in any way. Several essays showed that very few pupils saw any future professional use of music (compare Swanwick, 1988).

*"I don't have a music hobby anymore because I feel that I don't have time for
any useless hobbies." (1)*

Those who had music as a hobby saw it as important. They described singing in a choir, singing lessons or playing piano, guitar, drums, flute or kantele. They wrote that taking up music as a hobby had psychological and social effects; some found like-minded friends and felt togetherness in the hobby.

*"I like choir singing and it was the highlight of the week. I made a lot of friends
who were excited about music." (9)*

Music hobbies also improved pupils' well-being. Instrument playing brought them positive effects like easing stress and calming their mood or refreshing it.

> *"I have had music as a hobby because I like it and it eases stress focusing thoughts elsewhere."(22)*

The stories had many descriptions of starting the hobby and giving it up. Often, pupils told that the hobby had started as an idea from their parents, not by their own will.

> *"I have had singing and playing as a hobby because in our family music has always been an important thing." (26)*

Several pupils used the word "forced" in the description of starting a musical hobby, but many also added their own interest to it.

> *"I played guitar, because my mom partly forced me, but I wanted it a little, too."*
> *(2)*

> *"I have played the drums because my parents forced me but I also wanted to play some musical instrument." (7)*

According to Juvonen (2000), if the music hobby did not start of the student's own will, the level of interest in it easily drops and the hobby stops. The same was observed in this research, too.

> *"I would not like to touch a music instruments anymore, because I played guitar and I have mixed memories of the hobby. I was in the second grade, I liked to play somehow, but soon my interest dropped and I gave up the hobby."(10)*

In one case the hobby started inspired by an idol, in this case a choirmaster. Idols may be found also in a young person's own close circle of acquaintances. In addition, some pupils mentioned the positive influence of the family members in starting a music hobby.

> *"Our choirmaster played the flute in one of our choir's concerts and it sparked an interest which has lasted until today. I started flute lessons the very next autumn." (9)*

The reasons for giving up the music hobby were big challenges, lack of motivation and the influence of the others. Continuing to practise was often seen as too challenging; some also felt instrument playing was too difficult. Kosonen (2009) thought that this could be because of modern people's impatient characteristics.

> *"I was not interested in practising, if I didn't succeed in the first try, I thought that it is no use to practise." (2)*

> *"I have an impatient temperament and I lost my nerves when something didn't go as I wished." (6)*

Sometimes the reasons for giving up a hobby were outside of the pupils' control. The reasons mentioned were a bad atmosphere during lessons and a poor teacher.

> *"I sang in a choir because I like singing. I liked being in the choir for a short time, but later I felt like the others did not like me, so I gave up. I continued singing at home." (17)*

Those who had a music hobby linked its significance with enjoyment, well-being and togetherness with a group. Often, if these elements were not present, the hobby was given up. The reasons for starting a hobby were own will and influence or even being 'forced' to start a music hobby by others.

C. Music listening

From music listening experiences, two upper categories were found: music taste and purpose of use (Figure 5). The subcategories of music taste were expression of music taste and development of music taste. The purpose of use was managing the emotions and music as a part of everyday life, passing of time.
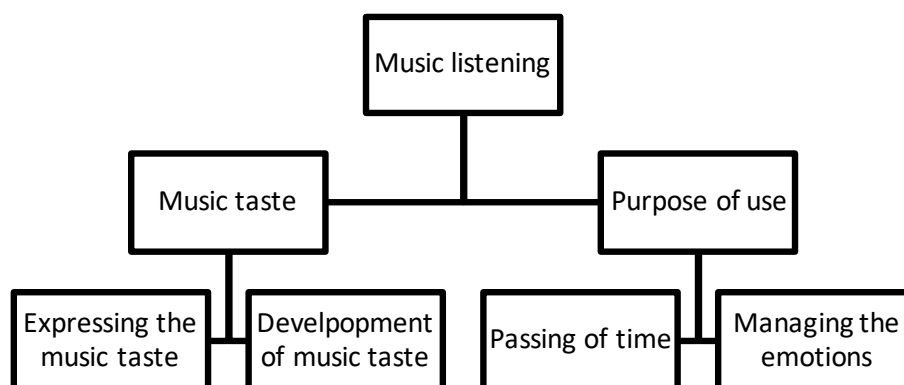

Figure 5. Music listening: Upper categories and subcategories

> *"With music, I escape from difficult days." (26)*

Among musical activities, listening is the most important for the respondents. Many of them focused on describing their music taste and its significances. This category had the widest amount of data. Many respondents told that although they did not believe they have musical talent or musicality and they do not have a music hobby, music listening is still a significant part of their life.

D. Music taste

Almost all respondents had a clear vision of good and bad music, and many named genres to which they listened, but also those to which they did not want to listen. Several pupils did not tell what kind of music they listen to but rather told what they did not listen to.

> *"I don't listen to classical music or any Finnish heavy metal or hip hop." (1)*

Most of the respondents defined their music taste by naming the genres, but some did it by mentioning artists and bands.

"I listen to everything from Katri Helena through Eminem to Disturbed. From day to day, the music genres keep changing. Lately I have been listening mostly to Nickelback and Avenged Sevenfold. I listen to classical music the least." (6)

"I listen mostly to rap music and least some heavy metal music." (16)

The most popular genres were pop and rap music. On the other hand, several respondents mentioned that they did not like rap music while pop music was mentioned only in a positive sense. Those music genres to which pupils did not listen were, among others, classical music, traditional hit music, folk music, rock and heavy music. Pupils did not give reasons for why some genres felt positive and the others negative.

E. The development of music taste

The music tastes of the respondents were either changing or permanent. Many told that they had favoured the same music all their life and some described how their taste had changed as they grew from childhood to young adulthood. Music taste changed from children's songs to pop music or from Finnish music to international music.

"My music taste has changed along with age. As a child I listened to merry children's songs and traditional dance music thanks to my daddy. After that I listened to Finnish pop rather much and I was for a long time a fan of Antti Tuisku. Next, I moved to Apulanta and Robin, which lasted for about a year and then I forgot about them. My cousin introduced me to a band called Black Veil Brides, which was a hard experience. After that, I found Ed Sheeran, and now he is the best." (17)

For many respondents, the circle of acquaintances has had an impact on their music taste, as the former reference showed. In addition to a father, also siblings, cousins and boyfriends often influenced music taste. In addition, radio broadcast had affected the music taste for many respondents.

"My boyfriend has influenced the change in my music taste as he has introduced more heavy metal music to me." (6)

The impact of others weakened as the respondents grew older. Many needed more individuality and they wanted to separate themselves from the masses with their music taste. Many ninth graders and upper secondary school pupils had a need to separate themselves from the music taste of peers and close people to show their growing to adulthood.

"I like to listen to indie bands and I listen to them quite a lot. I listen to rap the least. My music taste has changed a lot because as a child the others had a strong influence on my music taste." (13)

"My music taste has changed and become wider during the last year. A year ago I listened to "teen pop" meaning, in practise, list hits like One Direction and Justin Bieber." (6)

"I have a very negative attitude to mass music." (14)

Many descriptions told that music taste changes according to situation or mood. Only a few respondents saw that their music taste had not changed during their life at all. This kind of permanent music taste was substantiated by saying that they simply had always liked certain music.

F. Expressing the music taste

The expressing of the music taste was divided into two subcategories: private and public music taste. The respondents were divided into two groups: those who never shared their music taste with others and those who wanted somehow to express the music, which they liked. To many of the pupils, music taste was an intimate experience. They did not discuss their own favourite songs with peers and their music taste did not show in any way outside. In addition, there are many levels of privacy; several respondents informed that they never spoke about their favourite music and some said that they would tell, if somebody asked.

> *"I never tell anyone what music I listen to, and if someone asks I just say:"This and that." (4)*

> *"I don't express my music taste, but if somebody asks I tell them what I listen to directly without shame." (22)*

Public music taste meant sharing one's own favourite music with others, music listening together, humming favourite songs publicly and dressing in a certain way. Only few respondents said that they expressed their music taste in any way.

> *"I express my music taste by talking about the pieces of music and if it is more like heavy metal music, I dress in black and use a lot of jewellery." (17)*

Only two respondents informed that they expressed their music taste through their clothing. Both of them referred to heavy metal music and the black clothing, which is associated with it. Although music listening is an important part of life, music taste is a very private experience and due to this privacy, students do not want to show it in public.

G. The purpose of music use

The purpose of use is divided into two subcategories: music as time passing and managing emotions. These are quite similar to the definitions of Saarikallio (2007; 2009) about music's psychosocial significances.

> *"In leisure time, I listen to music almost all the time. When I wake up in the morning, Spotify is open, and I close it in the evening." (9)*

The music as a time passing subcategory includes descriptions of everyday music listening. The respondents described how music was listened to continuously at home and in other environments of everyday life. Music was listened to during homework, work, travelling, sports and when trying to sleep. For many, music is a part of life around the clock.

> *"At logging sites and in summertime building work, I listen to music several hours a day." (8)*

> *"I listen to music every day, sometimes a couple of hours. I always listen to music when I do my homework and study for examinations. When I am cleaning, music is my best friend!" (17)*

Most respondents listen to music daily and use it for passing time, for example when travelling. They are also very conscious of the effects of listening. In addition to revitalization during work and passing time, the respondents mentioned the usage of different kinds of music for different purposes.

> *"When I study, I can concentrate best while listening to classical music in the background, but when I'm training at the gym I prefer faster pop and heavy metal music. Music listening is almost essential because different music styles help in controlling myself better. When I want to escape the world or ease stress, the best way is to read a good book and listen to Beethoven." (9)*

The significances of music listening included many descriptions related to emotions. Music listening helps to concentrate; it refreshes and lifts moods. The respondents describe how they use certain types of music for lifting their mood.

> *"With music, I escape from difficult days. If you have a good feeling, it can easily be destroyed with music and the other way round, during a bad day I listen only to positive music and it lifts up my feelings. Without music I would not survive bad days." (26)*

Secession, which Saarikallio described (2007), was especially important for the respondents. Several used the words "a way to escape from reality" when they described the purposes of their music use. This kind of secession felt like the most important significance in music listening.

> *"Music listening is very important for me because it is a means of escaping from reality." (1)*

> *"Music is important; I can stay in my private world while listening." (4)*

Music also offered an opportunity to handle difficult matters arising during adolescence, such like the stress, anger and depression. Music listening was perceived as a good tool to handle one's own emotions.

> *"Music listening helps to get away from depression's deep swamp, which makes it really important." (17)*

There were only a few respondents, who explained that they did not listen to a lot of music. For the rest, music listening was a daily occurrence with different purposes of use.

I. Music studying

The music studying category was divided into three upper categories: content, teacher and influences (Figure 6). The idea was to collect pupil's experiences of music studying in the school environment and memories of the music lessons. The content was divided into two subcategories: elementary classes and secondary school. The teacher category

was divided into understanding, motivation and development of the skills. The influence category was divided into skills and interest.
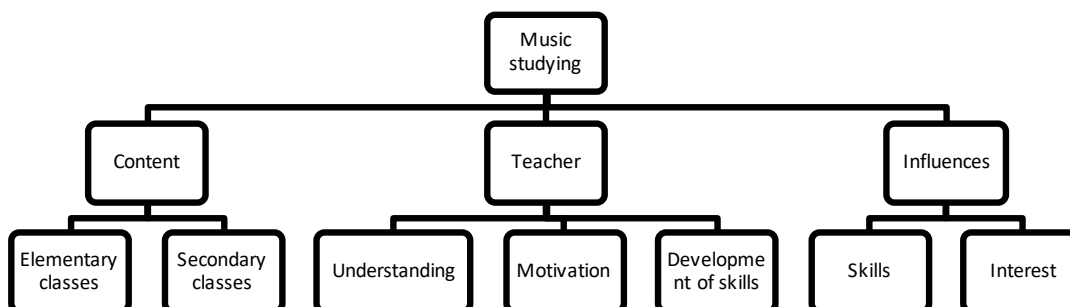

Figure 6. Music Studying: Categories and subcategories

J. Content

Although curriculum defines the content of music education, curriculum implementation depends greatly on the teacher. The memories from music lessons in this research are school-specific and the aim is to create a context for the pupils' musical experiences.

"We sang Don Cat and Mexico express." (2)

The memories of ninth graders and secondary high school pupils about elementary school music lessons are from many years back and many respondents only remember small details like playing some musical instrument or singing a certain song. Many respondents remembered the high amount of singing in elementary school classes and the instrument the recorder was mentioned most often.

"In secondary school we played guitar and sang into a microphone." (17)

There were more memories from the secondary school music lessons. Many respondents highlighted guitar playing and music theory teaching. There were also memories of singing into a microphone, playing the drums, music history teaching and record panels. Some remembered a lot of instrument playing and some did not. Memories of guitar playing were mostly negative and only a few respondents saw them as positive.

K. Teacher

The teacher's influences were divided into three subcategories: motivation, understanding and developing skills. The pupils had contradictory views about the significance of the music teacher. Some said that they did not see that the music teacher had any effect on their music attitudes. Most respondents saw the content of the music lessons as more important than the teacher. A couple of pupils defined the significance of the teacher through good and bad teacher definitions.

> *"The music teacher had the following significance: if the music teacher was bad, the lessons were poor and no one had motivation for music, but if music teacher was good, everybody had a good feeling and if the music teacher understands us young people and our music taste it makes music lessons more fun." (26)*

Many respondents thought that the content of the music lessons was dependent on the teacher. They remembered associations of their music teachers and what they did in music lessons. The background of the teachers was not clear in the stories.

> *"The school music lessons depend of the music teacher. Some teachers plan versatile lessons and some only play instruments and sing, some really teach only music theory." (18)*

The most significant characteristic of a music teacher was their ability to motivate pupils to learn music. The music teacher should make music lessons and their content interesting, which makes participating more fun. The music teacher was also seen as important in instrument playing, helping pupils to develop further. An understanding attitude by the teacher was essential. The teacher should listen to pupils and understand their age level.

L. Influence of music lessons

The influence of the music lessons is divided into two subcategories: skills and interest. Both included positive and negative points of view. Many of the respondents thought that the school music education had weakened their interest in music. Swanwick (1988) had the same results in his research: the pupils had a positive attitude toward music but a negative attitude toward music at school.

> *"In the beginning the instrument playing was fun, but then it turned boring and stupid. In other ways, music lessons became more a burden than enjoyment."*
> *(17)*

Some respondents felt their skills were developing thanks to music lessons. They had experienced development as musicians, singers and music listeners. For them, music education had offered new information and points of view.

> *"Now I know the background of the music I listen to and I have found new music for listening and I have learned to play instruments." (23)*

> *"My appreciation of musicians has risen." (22)*

Some pupils saw the skills learned in music lessons as useless and wasted. According to Swanwick (1988), pupils seeing music lessons as useless from a professional point of view may explain this. Respondents did not find musical instrument learning useful at all. Many also experienced being forced to play instruments. The negative attitudes may be related to the respondents' conception of their own poor skills.

> *"I hated playing guitar because I was poor at it. I did not want to sit in lessons because I had no interest in learning guitar playing. The lessons passed while I played with my mobile phone or talked with friends. I was not a model pupil."*
> *(6)*

> *"Music studying at school was very boring and difficult when the children are forced to play instruments and sing although they don't necessarily want to do it. Actually, I was very sick of them. School music education has weakened my interest in playing music because it is obligatory." (14)*

Some of the pupils thought that music lessons had increased their interest in music, but a majority of the respondents thought that school music education had a negative influence on their attitude toward music. Many explained that their interest in music had consistently weakened from elementary school to secondary school. The reason for this flagging interest was the content of the lessons, first of all musical instrument learning.

> *"Sometimes we had a good time in secondary school music lessons when we had record panels and other stuff like that. Guitar playing was too forced, which still affects my attitude towards music as a hobby." (1)*

> *"In elementary school, I was eager to play different instruments like the drums. Now that I have reached secondary school, my enthusiasm in music has lowered. Nowadays I prefer music listening than participating in music making, playing or singing." (25)*

Pupils experienced that music lessons did not respond to their own interests. Those who had music as a hobby had a positive attitude toward school music education, while the others felt the school music education weaken their interest in music.

M. Music-identities

Identities in music describe the conceptions of people themselves in the music context and they sample the respondents' musical conceptions. Music-identities are built in personal musical experiences and include music taste, values, music activities like instrument playing and singing. We explore music-identities using the IIM model of Hargreaves, Mills and MacDonald (2002). The respondents were not asked to define their music-identity. That appeared in their musical experiences. Some respondents saw themselves as musical, but most respondents lacked this kind of self-assessment. Musical identity is a feature of most people and it is not bound to musical talent or musicality.

Pupils' music-identities were divided into four identity types: versatile music hobbyists, comprehensive music listeners, everyday music users and music avoidance. Only a few respondents are totally described in the identity-type and they have characteristics of several identity types. Identity can also be under change and context bound.

N. Versatile music hobbyists

Based on their narrative stories, eight respondents were classified as versatile music hobbyist music-identity carriers. Typical characteristics were having music as a hobby and music's high significance to their whole life.

> *"I breathe music." (17)*

Table 1. Versatile music hobbyists' characteristics

ESSAY NUMBER	IDENTITY-TYPE CHARACTERISTICS
4, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 23, 26	Music as a hobby
	Music has a big significance in life
	Experience of own musicality
	A will to develop in music
	Music listening is important
	Wide music taste
	Public music taste
	Positive and negative experiences from music lessons

Versatile music hobbyists' music-identity was mostly defined by the music hobby and their studies focused on their musical hobby in free time. All music hobbyists carried out their hobby in some formal institute like a music school or adult education centre. The hobby consisted of instrument lessons or choir singing. Many respondents had started their hobby already at an early age and they saw their music hobby as having a significant role in their whole life.

> *"Music has always meant for me a field of art where there are countless possibilities to go in different directions." (9)*

Music hobbyists feel that they are musically talented. To their minds, this is defined by playing a musical instrument. They also wish to develop further in the field of music and they often have a precise conception of their own skills and where they still have possibilities to develop.

> *"I practise instrument playing many hours a day… My strength is solo playing. I would like to develop in music theory." (13)*

Those who have a music hobby are also eager music listeners and they see it as important as instrument playing. A lot of time is used for music listening and it is seen as important.

> *"I listen to music every day. In the bus in the morning and afternoons I listen to music, otherwise the day would not start properly. I listen to music whenever it is possible." (26)*

Music hobbyists are well aware of the many different possibilities in music listening. They use music as a support for concentration, help for having privacy and managing their emotions. They search for, for example, a better mood through music listening. From all music-identity types, music hobbyists have the widest music taste; they listen to music from one side of the musical spectrum to the other. Still, they try to separate themselves from the masses with their music taste and they would rather listen to music other than pop music when it comes from the radio.

> *"I listen to music very much. According to Spotify, I have listened to more than 30 000 hours of music in one year. Mostly it is heavy music, for example heavy metal, hard rock and almost any metal music except black metal or death metal. I also listen to classical music, pop music, blues and jazz music – everything. There is not a style I would not listen to, but my listening focuses on*

heavy metal and the music of today. I also listen to music from the 40s, 50s, 60s and 70s and especially music from 80s." (23)

Music hobbyists are not afraid of expressing their music taste and they share their listening experiences with others. With regard to school music lessons, respondents are divided into two groups: Those who study music in a target-oriented manner see music lessons often unnecessary and did not want to learn music, choosing optional music courses at school. These hobbyists concentrated especially on their music instrument studies during free time and did not see the school music lessons offering them challenges enough. Target-oriented music hobbyists usually focused on classical music studies.

"During the instrument lessons I play versatilely scales, songs teach the technical matters and new ways of using the flute's voice... I feel that I master my instrument well, but I always look forward to learning new things from the lessons because one can never be perfect and it is always possible to learn something new." (9)

The other group consisted of music hobbyists whose hobby was not especially target oriented. They had a positive attitude toward school music lessons because they enjoyed above all instrument playing in music lessons. The music instruments of their hobbies, drums and guitar were also more suitable for band playing-oriented music lessons.

O. Comprehensive music listeners

This music-identity type forms the largest number of respondents, there were eleven respondents belonging to this group. The most important characteristic is the importance of music listening, but also their negative attitude toward school music lessons differentiates them from the other identity groups.

"The day is not beautiful if I have not listened to music for at least for a moment." (2)

Table 2. Identity characteristics of the group comprehensive music listeners

ESSAY NUMBER	IDENTITY-TYPE CHARACTERISTICS
1, 2, 6, 10, 11, 14, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25	Has given up music hobby / has not had a music hobby
	Music listening is important
	Music has a high significance
	Negative conception of own musical talent
	Continuous music listening
	The aim in music listening is managing emotions
	Music taste describing oneself
	Negative experiences from school music lessons

The clearest characteristic feature among this identity-group was that they underlined the fact of their not being musicians, but music listeners. Listening to music is so

important to them that they almost saw it as a musical hobby. They never had music as a hobby carried out in a formal music institution, or it had ended in early childhood.

"Listening to music is more important to me than playing musical instruments."
(19)

"I don't play a musical instrument at all during a week, but I listen to music all the time." (11)

Music listening forms a big part of this identity-type's life because listening is continuous; they listen to music for many hours every day. The comprehensive music listeners' music-identity group is conscious about the impact of music on them; they use music for facilitating their work and especially in managing their own emotions.

"I listen to music a lot. I like to listen while travelling and doing different tasks at home, It means a lot, because when you are down the music helps get you into a better mood and forget your sorrows for a moment."(6)

The group members' music taste is quite distinct, they have a clear vision about what is good and bad music.

They seek for both communality and individuality in music listening. They feel that their music taste represents their personalities and their music choices highlight a need for individuality. Comprehensive music listeners do not express their music taste by clothing, but they eagerly share their music listening habits with others.

"I do not show my music taste except when I play my favourite music for others." (25)

Although music was defined as a big part of their life, members of this group did not see themselves as having musical talent. They related musicality to instrument playing, not music listening.

"I don't feel that I am musical because I do not play any music instruments in my free-time." (24)

"I am not a particularly musical person; I just like listening to music quite a lot."
(25)

Comprehensive music listeners had negative experiences from school music lessons. Many experienced that the school music education had lessened their interest in music. The group had an especially negative attitude toward instrument playing and they had a negative conception of their own skills.

"In secondary school we sometimes had fun, when we had record pools and that kind of thing but guitar playing felt too forced and it may still effect my negative attitude toward music." (1)

"Nowadays I like more listening to music than participating in instrument playing or singing." (25)

This group considered that the most important music teacher's task was motivating the pupils and creating an encouraging atmosphere in the classroom

P. Everyday users of music

This music-identity group included four respondents. Their typical characteristics were music listening for passing the time and the small significance of music for their life.

"If I don't have anything else to do, I listen to music." (16)

Table 3. Identity characteristics of the everyday music user music-identity group

ESSAY NUMBER	IDENTITY-TYPE CHARACTERISTICS
3, 7, 8, 16	Music listening as a part of everyday life
	Small significance of music
	Music listening does not have effects
	Wide music taste
	Private music taste
	Neutral attitude toward school music lessons

The everyday music users have a neutral attitude toward music, they do not have music as a hobby and their music listening is not on an everyday basis. They do not seek help for managing their emotions by music; their music use is more associated with passing of time and background listening while doing everyday tasks.

"Usually I don't listen to music at all, because in woodcutting and building work in the summertime I listen to music many hours a day." (8)

This music-identity group is not very particular about the music they listen; they do not seek music from Spotify. They listen to the music that is played on the radio. Because music does not provoke strong emotions for this group, they listen to any kind of music. Music taste is not an important factor in defining themselves.

"The school music lessons didn't weaken or strengthen my interest in music My own musical skills have developed thanks to school music lessons, but these skills are useless for anything and I am not going to develop them anymore because I am not a musical person." (3)

The everyday music users have a neutral attitude toward school music lessons, they saw the lessons as mostly nice and they felt they had learned to play musical instruments thanks to the lessons. On the other hand, they did not see any use for these acquired skills.

Q. Music avoidance music-identity group

This group consisted of three respondents; their essays were the shortest of all. A typical characteristic was that music had no significance at all in their life.

"Music doesn't have a big significance in my life." (20)

Table 4. Music avoidance music-identity group characteristics

ESSAY NUMBER	IDENTITY-TYPE CHARACTERISTICS
5, 15, 20	Music doesn't have high significance in my life
	Negative conception about own musicality
	Does not want to develop in music
	Private music taste
	Neutral attitude to school music lessons

For this identity group, music does not have any significance in their life; they have never had an interest in having music as a hobby and they do not have any musical skills according to their own self-assessment. They see that musicality is a precondition for having music as a hobby.

"I don't want to develop in music because I am not musical." (5)

Listening to music does not have a major role in the everyday life of this identity-group, and music is listened to occasionally. They do not aim to manage any emotional experiences when they listen to music. Music listening is for this group a private experience and they do not discuss the music they listen to with anyone else. The respondents in this identity-group experienced that school music lessons did not increase their interest in music. They saw music as an unimportant school subject and that is why they had a neutral attitude toward music lesson contents. They did not see the teacher's significance in music lessons' meaningfulness.

Summary of the Music-identities

In the table below (Table 5), we have summarized different identity types. There are five characteristics, which distinguish music-identity types one from another. These are music as a hobby, the significance of music, conception of own musicality, music taste and the experiences from school music lessons.

Table 5. Summary of music-identities' characteristics

THE IDENTITY TYPE	MUSIC AS A HOBBY	THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MUSIC	CONCEPTION ABOUT ONE'S OWN MUSICALITY	MUSICAL TASTE	EXPERIENCES FROM SCHOOL MUSIC LESSONS
Versatile music hobbyist	Yes	Very strong	Positive	Public	Positive / Negative
Comprehensive music listener	No / has had earlier	Strong	Negative	Public	Negative
Everyday user of music	No	Weak	Negative	Private	Neutral
Music avoidance	No	No significance	Negative	Private	Neutral

The idea of music-identity types is to understand the kinds of actors among young pupils and how different kinds of experiences affect the building of these identity types. Musical identities also help in understanding how different experiences during school music lessons impact pupils' attitudes toward music lessons.

The musical hobby is the most common among the versatile music hobbyist identity-group and declines in popularity towards the music avoidance group. The identity types are presented in Table 5 in the order from the greatest to the least music significance in the group's life, starting from the greatest and ending with the least significance.

Most of the respondents saw the significance of music as great in their life. Still, the respondents differentiated into two groups: the ones who had music as a hobby and those who underlined only their music listening without playing any musical instruments. The groups also differed by their experiences from school music lessons: the hobbyists had both positive and negative experiences from the lessons, while music listeners had only negative experiences. In addition, the music listeners had a negative conception of their own musicality.

The rest of the respondents were divided into two groups: everyday music users and the music avoidance-group. The differences between these two groups were, in addition to significances of music for their life, in the purpose of using music for different purposes. The everyday music users use music, for example, when they are working while the music avoidance group does not use music for any purposes. For both groups, music was a hobby and their conception about their own musicality was negative.

The concept of musicality (or musical talent) was closely related to the demand of having music as a hobby; usually manifested in playing some musical instrument in some formal institution. This was also the reason why music hobbyists assessed themselves as musical. Although the significance of music was great also for music listeners, they did not see themselves as musically talented. The music hobbyists and comprehensive music listeners have a public music taste; they express the music they listen to through clothing and sharing music with others. The music taste of the everyday music users and music avoidance-identity group is private: they do not wish to share the music they listen to with others and it does not show in their appearance.

The results show that only some music hobbyists have positive experiences from school music lessons, and the most negative group was the comprehensive music listeners. The everyday music users and music avoidance group, who both reported a minor significance of music in their life, had quite neutral attitudes toward school music lessons. The greater the significance of music, the more negative experiences the respondents had from school music lessons. The only exception for this was a small group of music hobbyists who had positive experiences.

Conclusions

The pupils' music taste is quite strongly related to others in elementary school and at the beginning of secondary school. However, as they grow older the influence of others diminishes. This research supports LeBlanc's (1987) findings in this respect. When getting older, pupils want to draw apart from the music taste of others, and they seek

individuality. The results show that for most of respondents, music taste is private and a smaller part of them had a public music taste. This supports the thoughts of Saarikallio (2009): music is a strong expression of self, but there was hesitation to show music taste to others.

Most of the pupils listen to music daily and use it consciously in managing their emotions, changing their mood, and supporting their concentration. It also brings good feelings, relieves stress and offers an escape from the reality which Saarikallio (2007) also had described. Although support from parents was important in having music as a hobby, it had also negative effects when the respondent felt forced to have a musical hobby.

In elementary school, experiences of music lessons focused on singing and in secondary school on band playing. The teacher's personality had a strong effect on the classroom atmosphere but also on motivating and developing pupils' skills. They were also required to understand pupils. Some respondents felt they gained skills during music lessons, but they were not useful at all. The pupils' interest in music flagged from elementary school to secondary school, especially instrument playing was an interest-weakening element. Most of the respondents saw school music lessons as weakening their interest in music, although the significance of music was strong in their life. This raises questions about the content of music lessons: *How could they be developed to be more suitable for pupils' experience of the world?*

Music-identities were condensed into four identity types: versatile music hobbyists, comprehensive music listeners, everyday music users and music avoidance group. This is like in a postmodern subject a bigger or smaller part of total identity. These identities develop according to pupils' musical experiences both at school and outside school (compare Green, 2011). As pupils spend a lot of time at school, the significance of school in building one's music-identity is remarkable. Music lessons have an impact on the conception of a pupil's own musicality (compare Lamont, 2002). Music identities are built in interaction with peers (Compare Anttila, 2006). The conceptions of musicality and musical identities can have a long-lasting effect on the personality and development of a young person. Music is a major part of life during adolescence and it helps with managing emotions and escaping from reality. A music teacher should be able to use this information to create a positive music relationship with all of their pupils.

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