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ABSTRACT

Society tends to look upon promising and highly able musicians as fortunate individuals, yet research has shown that musicians seldom are to be envied in terms of working conditions and the longtime results of their professional commitment. A majority amongst particularly orchestral musicians suffers from a wide variety of stress and stress-related injuries--physiological as well as psychological. These injuries do not occur suddenly without a longterm build-up. They start with the somewhat paradoxical maestro phenomenon and the teacher-student relationship in a context of higher musical education. The key questions explored in this paper are: Why do musicians accept the harsh treatment of conductors? What kind of teachers do brilliant performers make? Naturalistic case studies were conducted of seven performance teachers and their students. Results indicated that, among the participants, potential stressors may be structured along four dimensions: (1) the handling and pacing of informational flow; (2) the rationalized and standardized, rather than the existential and individualized understanding of music and playing; (3) the product-oriented teaching at the expense of person-oriented teaching; and (4) a superordinate stressor which is connected to the nature of the teacher-student relationship, and which--if optimal--seemingly lessens the impact of other stress factors. It is thought that students may tolerate poor treatment due to their desire to be associated with a famous figure arising from a distortion of their social perceptions. (RJM)

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The Maestro Music Teacher and Musicians' Mental Health

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Therapeutic Relationships With Creative People
The Psychotherapist, Teacher, Performing Artist

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Abstract

We tend to look upon promising and highly able musicians as fortunate individuals. Their's is self-actualization through a glorious musical pursuit, and their's is sometimes fame and glory. However, research has clearly shown that musicians seldom are to be envied in terms of working conditions and the longterm results of their professional commitment. A majority amongst particularly orchestral musicians suffers from a wide variety of stress and stress-related injuries—physiological as well as psychological. Musicians do not end up in such state suddenly, however, and without a longterm build-up. It seems to start early and is often promoted—rather than prevented—by their performance teachers. The particular and famous maestro, whom many students seek to study with and whom they often admire uninhibitedly, is not uncommonly an obstacle in the individual student's development towards artistic freedom and a healthy sense of self-worth.

While performance art medicine has so far mainly focussed on physiological stress-related injuries, few have considered musicians' psychological health. Even fewer, if any, have raised the question whether untrained, and not infrequently socially unskilled, maestros, are suitable teachers to tomorrow's generation of performers. They are crucial in their role as mentors, but a mentorship misunderstood, or not understood at all, may well be detrimental to many of their students.

This paper will discuss the somewhat paradoxical 'maestro phenomenon' and outline the teacher-student relationship in a context of higher musical education and in the light of recent research.

The Maestro Music Teacher and Musicians' Mental Health

"Perhaps I have a certain talent [for maintaining a creative tension in an orchestra]", Detroit Symphony conductor Sixten Ehrling says, "I do have tantrums... However, my rage passes as quickly as it hits me. Unwittingly I behave in such a way that musicians never really know what to expect. I can whisper, I can shout... Once I yelled so loudly that [one of the musicians] approached me to say: 'If you shout like that, we cannot play at all!' Sometimes I simply pretend to be angry... You have to know certain tricks." (Ehrling, in Aare, 1995, p. 185).

Arturo Toscanini, the legendary NBC Symphony Orchestra conductor, allegedly once remarked to one of the musicians having just displeased the the maestro: "What means 'forte'? Is a thousand fortes—all kinds of fortes. Sometimes forte is pia-a-a-no, piano is forte! You play here in *this* orchestra? In a village café house you belong! You don't listen to what others play. Your nose in the music—szshrump! Your hear nothing! You cover up the oboe solo! One poor oboe solo—one!—Szshrump! Where are your ears! Look at me! (Toscanini, as quoted in Bamberger, 1965, pp. 309-310). (One has to imagine the Italian accent and the temperament!)

Conductors in the world of Western Classical music often stand as the epitome of sovereign rule; many—if not most, are to be obeyed and never questioned as they convey to orchestras how *they* wish a certain repertoire to be performed. Individual musicians are as a general rule not consulted and often treated demeaningly if not harshly. This is a tradition that makes British sociologist Christopher Small (1987) to liken the symphony orchestra by the very model of a rationalized industrial enterprise and British music critic Norman Lebrecht (1991), having met with most of the famous conductors, to term them as

being "artificially created for nonmusical purposes... sustained by commercial necessity [being] the bane of a musician's daily life... [giving] orders that are redundant and offensive, demands a level of obedience unknown outside the army" (pp. 1-2).

Needless to say these conductors are invariably brilliant artists, and are as a result cherished, praised and admired both by a vast international audience as well as by their own musicians. However, two interesting questions arise: How come musicians accept such a strict regime under circumstances which are often both insulting and demeaning and *continue*, seemingly with few exceptions, to recall working with such "maestros" as extremely worthwhile? Also, how are such brilliant performers as teachers? Do tomorrow's musicians encounter maestros of music in training too?

The ever-growing literature on performance art medicine is an alarming indicator which needs to be taken seriously (Persson, 1995). It generally paints a dire picture of what the professional and educational connotations of being an artist are. Amongst professional ISCOM musicians, for example, 82% have reported work-related medical problems at one time or another, 13% suffer acute anxiety, 17% suffer depression, and 14% suffer from sleep disturbances. In addition 70% of these musicians use nonprescribed beta blockers on and off (Fishbein, Middlestadt, Ottati *et al.*, 1988). With reference to the training of student musicians Gelber (1988) describes students as "workaholics", whose pursuit is "like a golden ladder to nothingness" (p. 15). Durrant (1992) notes that student musicians at the London conservatories of music consistently dwell on failure and fail to regard their pursuit as something positive. Kingsbury's (1988) study of a similar American institution suggests that more significant than talent

is the association with particular teachers, their tradition and genealogy, suggesting that what a maestro *represents* may be considered more important than what he or she can provide in terms of actual teaching.

No wonder that Rovics (1984) found many musicians, both students and professionals, to seriously lack a sense of self-worth, and that Ostwald and Avery (1992) warns that the professional context of particularly Classical musicians may indeed threaten their psychological welfare. A conservatory environment then, contrary to expectations perhaps, seems not necessarily to be an optimal context of developing self-actualizing musicianship, but rather one *depriving* student musicians of their self-esteem and initial joy in music!

This paper will briefly discuss an almost entirely neglected field of study in the light of the results of a research project conducted at a well-known British Department of Music, namely the understanding of apprenticeship or mentorships between student performers and their teachers at a higher level of training and the implications for mental health as a result of such relationships.

Method

Naturalistic case studies were made of seven performance teachers and their students (N=40). Data were gathered by participant observation, interviews and measurements of personal characteristics as well as of lesson content by inventories devised for the project (cf. Persson, 1994a, 1994b, 1996a, in press/a). Of the participating teachers two are pianists (males), two are organists (males), two are singers (one male and one female), and one is a clarinetist (female). At least four of these teachers are nationally celebrated as very competent performers with

a number of concert tours and recordings to warrant the quality of their musicianship.

I stayed as a psychological scientist in the institution for the extent of three years. However, I devoted two to three weeks of observation to each of the participating cases, during which time I sat in during the teachers' lessons and sometimes, having a background also as a Classical piano performer, when suitable, I acted accompanist to alleviate the participants' sense of being under scrutiny. A strategy which appeared quite successful.

Results

I found amongst the participants that potential stressors may be structured along four dimensions, namely the handling and pacing of informational flow, the rationalized and standardized rather than the existential and individualized understanding of music and playing, product-orientated teaching at the expense of person-oriented teaching and, as a super-ordinate stressor more or less related to these three appears to be the nature of the teacher-student relationship, which—if optimal—seemingly lessens the impact of other stress factors. Product-orientation, however, is the first amongst the potential stressors up for discussion.

I define product-orientation as a type of teaching that only allows principles of performance practice which artistically can be either "right" or "wrong". Note, however, that product-orientation need not necessarily function as a stress factor. But it does seem to become one if pursued at the expense of informal and person-oriented teaching. All the participating teachers except one taught according to such a "convergent" manner of instruction. It must be

pointed out, however, that I visited the participating teachers in times of final examinations. In other words, in the interest of allowing their students to obtain a good GPA-standing, teachers pushed their students towards a certain way of playing, which they knew by experience would be accepted by the examining jury. Frustration apparently only came to those students who tried to establish their own unique artistic understanding of the well-known repertoire. Individual musicianship and the development of an artistic flair, were issues almost entirely and paradoxically ignored in the music department. Playing became an entirely *reproductive* process, where conformity to a very elusive definition of performance quality was printed in the scores by the Urtext-editor or by the teacher's markings.

The second potential stress factor concerns the fact that six of the seven participating teachers do not differentiate between the level of ability amongst their students. Students are generally taught in accordance with what I have elsewhere termed a "commonsense strategy": that is, a personally developed standard, based on the teacher's *own* understanding of music, and more importantly: his or her *own* learning style. In other words, to an inexperienced performance teacher there may be only *one* way to learn and study a piece of music; a way which is not necessarily useful for a student at hand. It is my observation that the participating performance lecturers, endeavoring to be "good" teachers, often unwittingly create a "cognitive overload" by believing that the more could be said of a certain piece of music or performance the better for the student. This turned out not to be the case. A majority of the participating teachers rather confused their students by giving too many instructions in too short a period of time. No participating student was capable of immediately

complying with their teachers' many suggestions and demands and often left lessons in frustration.

In bringing rationalization and standardization into the discussion as a candidate for a third stress factor, I refer specifically to Weberian tenets of societal structure and dynamics, in which rationalization in essence is a process towards dehumanization and alienation, particularly so for the lower and relatively uninfluential strata in society. The process of alienating an individual from a state of being able to control one's own everyday life and work to a state where one has very little influence and most circumstances are controlled by extraneous factors, has recently been described as "McDonaldization" by American sociologist George Ritzer (1992), referring, of course, to the global hamburger franchise. Standardization, on the other hand, is to some extent a consequence of this process. It warrants, for example, that a "Big Mac" is always a "Big Mac" no matter where you are in the world. According to Ritzer, quality in a sense becomes quantity and is definitely not intended to offer surprises.

In the light of rationalization in this particular sense, consider the following advice given by two of the participating teachers to their students. One teacher argues that "when it comes to performance in concert, you should always be prepared to undo the things you have learnt and practiced. A conductor might not tell you until the final rehearsal how he wants to have certain things. You have no choice but to go along with it instantly. You listen, do it, take your cheque, and go home!" The other teacher argues similarly that "You should play like a business person to show your examiners that you know what you are doing... We have to practice like we are going to be the best in the world. There *has* to be precision and accuracy. In the real world you will have to play better

than anyone else and if that is not possible, you have to act it!" The same professor replied, upon being asked what to do when a student tires of a certain piece of music: "I would remind them of professional life and future exams. Their ability to earn money playing music is essential and their dislikes are unimportant in today's world. It is essential to provide variety unless we are preparing an exam".

In other words, many students are, by and large, becoming "standardized" to make possible to receive a marketable recognition. Few, if any, in the market-dependent world of Western classical music will greet a well-known piece of music played too differently. And as is allegedly the case with the global hamburger, the community of classical music tends also to shy away from "surprises". Herein lies a great paradox in the world of performance: on the one hand we desire performers to be inspired and, in a sense, free-spirited, as well as being absorbed by their art, but in demanding that certain repertoire must be played only in a certain standardized way, we simultaneously obliterate the very foundation from which the musical and presumably the creative mind has developed (Persson, 1996b). Ambiguity, according to the literature (Rogers, 1961), and not prohibition, is likely to be conducive to creativity!

Most important, and apparently super-ordinate to other stress factors, is a supportive and *personal* relationship with the performance teacher. One student told me in confidence the following incident. He asked to have his lesson rescheduled since he had to take part in a master class not related to his major study. The professor concerned is said to have answered: "No! If I happen to miss a lesson then it's OK to find another time. But if *you* miss a lesson I have no obligation to give you another!" The professor's answer was a considerable blow

to the student who much admired him. In profound dismay the student reflected: "That's work affection for you!!!" Another student had a similar problem but for quite a different reason. His teacher was merely parttime and therefore only available one day every week, or sometimes—depending on concerts and other engagements—available every second week. The student complained about feeling abandoned. He could never look him up for a friendly word or a piece of advice during the week. There was no contact besides the actual lesson. A third student, studying piano performance as a minor subject, wrote the following as a lengthy but spontaneous comment in the questionnaire I collected from him:

This questionnaire is good for me because my major study teacher is virtually the opposite of Professor Wilson [my piano teacher]. One thing about the college is that if you don't get on with your teacher you can't change. And if you do change teacher anyway you get a "black mark" against your name. From the answers I have given in the questionnaire it is obvious that if you don't get along with your teacher then, for me, it's a waste of time. As a student you should be regarded as an equal, who is being helped by a more skilled person in a particular field.

Apparently, the sense of being brought up by a "musical parent" rather than by some informal performance expert, was very important to a majority of the participating students. In fact, in my estimation there was only one student who did not show such a pressing need to attract the honest and frank interest and support by her teachers. Intriguingly this student was generally regarded as very talented, and unlike most of her fellow-students her self-esteem was continually, and presumably unintentionally, reinforced. She could afford to make mistakes because she had already earned the respect and recognition of her teacher.

It should be noted that the participating teachers themselves certainly argued their personal concern for each and every student. One of the singing

teachers, for example, commented that "so many are so grey! They have no will to express themselves! They might have a voice but I am the one who will have to do all the work. I have to spoon-feed quite a few of them. Sometimes I become really bored... Perhaps this is a problem with me that I am too patient with them. It takes so much time to develop a voice; time which we do not have. Where time to develop and mature is needed, we need to think about exams..."

Also, teaching ideals are known to usually remain *ideals* and not necessarily be reflected in the actual teaching situation. Consider to what extent the participating students and their teachers agreed on a personal characteristics inventory and a teaching content inventory. Both inventories were compiled for the occasion and are not standardized in a psychometric sense (Tabel 1).

Tabel 1. Mean cross-item correlations as a measure of agreement on teachers' personality and teaching content inventories rated separately by students and participating professors.

Participants:	Field:	Personality	Teaching	Style of teaching:
Professor B1 6 students	Singing	.67	.36	Nondominant, uncritical, unsystematic
Professor B7 5 students	Singing	.60	.77	Dominant, critical, systematic
Professor B2 5 students	Organ	.17	.59	Very dominant, very critical, impatient
Professor B5 3 students	Organ	.56	.53	Dominant, demanding socially inconsistent
Professor B3 8 students	Piano	.44	.38	Extremely imaginative very unsystematic
Professor B8 5 students	Piano	.69	.80	Flexible, socially skilled consistent
Professor B6 8 students	Clarinet	.79	.83	Extremely dominant, inflexible, very demanding and very frank

Although one must refrain from reading too much into these results, it is nevertheless interesting to find that there is generally a rather moderate or low degree of agreement between teachers and their students. There are two exceptions from this: Piano Professor Wilson (B8) and Clarinet Professor Jones (B6). The former was, in my estimation, the most flexible and socially intelligent amongst the participants. He was also the youngest amongst the professors. The latter, on the other hand, was the most dominant of all teachers. She was very inflexible, very demanding and excruciatingly frank to her students; a quality, by the way, which the students appreciated. If any conclusions might be drawn from these figures, they would perhaps suggest that it is generally difficult for performance teachers to get their message across to their students—provided they do indeed have one. Inconsistency seems to be detrimental, just like a lack of social graces. In other words, perhaps the participating performance teachers are so ignorant of learning and teaching processes that they fail to communicate their intentions approximately half the time?

Discussion

Although generalizations are difficult to make from a naturalistic study, I am confident that investigating a highly ritualistic context with traditions and idioms which tend to vary only marginally in a global perspective, will allow at least a degree of generalizations to be made irrespective of location. Some variations doubtlessly exist from one country to another, but the music of any Western Classical composer will be played according to the same principles and in similar settings be the location either New York, Paris, Singapore, Sydney, Beijing or Moscow.

Hence, the maestro-type is international and a role inherent in a global sub-culture rather than in any particular national culture.

As a result of the present research, it is clear that the Maestro traveling worldwide to lead symphony orchestras does indeed exist also as teacher in music conservatories. The maestro is by definition a totalitarian, and in a leading position as either conductor, instructor or teacher, he or she tends to exhibit a stereotypical behavior prompted by expectations and traditions general and inherent in the subculture. Some of these "traits" being, for example, product-orientation for the sake of being "true" to the music, impatience with other individuals not sharing their conviction, nor perhaps their degree of ability, and little understanding for an informal, and largely "parental", relationship with musicians or musicians-to-be under their leadership.

All participating performance teachers in the present study displayed to some extent the "maestro role"—although some more than others. Interestingly all students but one—like the participants in Durrant's (1992) study—appeared to dwell on failure and considered "not talented enough" by their teachers, but simultaneously they confessed to admire their teachers immensely. A teacher was generally beyond reproach and all mistakes and shortcomings made were the sole blame of students. In other words, much like the musicians under Arturo Toscanini, students nurtured a most ambiguous relationship to their teachers. They would stand being insulted, go away angry, but later when asked, they would continue to hold on to their admiration and suppress demeaning and harsh treatment "for the sake of art". It is my observation that many of the participating students suffered a conflict between self-preservation and their desired identity as musicians in the making. To

develop such an identity was generally *not* encouraged. Instead, by enforcing absolute tradition, seldom appealing to individual artistic integrity, teachers most likely counteracted their students' development into becoming independent artists—at the expense of students self-worth, and potentially also their psychological welfare.

The question remains, however, why students (and orchestra musicians) accept a treatment, which in social contexts other than Western Classical music, probably would be considered unacceptable? Based on the findings of the present study I have elsewhere proposed there is a case here for a distortion of social perception (see Persson, 1993, 1996a), suitably termed “The Maestro Phenomenon”. It suggest as one possible cause the social stature of the maestro. It is important for students to associate with someone famous; to bask in the glory of others (Cialdini, Borden, Thorne *et al.*, 1976). Another possible cause pertains to the perception of commitment. If the maestro shows a candid concern for art itself or the individual musician's skill and progress, regardless of whether such concern is expressed in a socially sensitive manner or not, the student will feel a certain emotional “debt”. If he or she invests time and effort it must be repaid. To perceive such commitment is essential. A third contributing cause appears to be uninhibited frankness and clearly defined goals in terms of “right playing” and “wrong playing”. To cope with highly set and given (or demanded) goals invariably increases self-esteem. However, *failing* such goals is known to potentially cause a more profound depression than if the goals were individually decided (Luginbuhl, 1972). And one might assume that the more prestigious the maestro the higher the demanded goals, set with the maestro himself or herself as sole reference and not the student.

Thus, I propose that in a context highly governed by ritualistic behavior and clearly defined expectations, association, the perception of commitment and consistently given (rather than taken) goals pave the way for individuals to rationalize discomfort, insult, threat and anger into something positive. Hence, students may blame themselves for teachers' pedagogical shortcomings and orchestral musicians may also take on a collective blame for "failing" a well-known and otherwise respected conductor's artistic demands. Whereas distorted social perception hardly is unique to the world of Western Classical music, the fact that it is accepted and that traditions have remained unchallenged at the expense of individual persons well-being must be considered unique. There is no democracy in the world of Classical music and it is proving to be increasingly detrimental to musicians in the present type of rationalistic professional context!

Although my findings are tentative at best, I am convinced that we cannot pursue performance art medicine with a good conscience, with the objective to remedy musicians' failing health, should we neglect to search for *preventive* measures. To provide interventions is good and necessary for the time being, but we must also seek to create an environment where musicians need not lose their joy of playing, nor indeed denying them to develop an identity as musicians. From my data, as well as from anecdotal data and a variety of biographical data, it is apparent that the teaching of Western classical music exhibits certain features which, at least with some individuals, impede rather than promote the musical socialization process: the process by which a musician-to-be accepts and forms the identity of a musician. I consider issues that potentially impede this process as psychosocial stress factors. In the present study I

found four such factors, namely the handling and pacing of information, the rationalization of a presumably irrational phenomenon, product-orientation, and most significant of them all: ignoring the significance of a mentorship. Therefore, it seems to me, a first step towards improving the situation in institutions similar to the one I studied, would be to establish a much broader research base in order to survey the psychosocial environment in a variety of institutions, and pinpoint more stringently the different needs. A second step towards helping musicians in need must also involve some type of training of their chosen maestro! Although there certainly are exceptions to the maestro rule, I fear that far too many—and strangely we tend to condone it—are allowed to make their students' lives miserable in one way or another. A third step, I propose, must probably be to reconsider—to use Kingsbury's (1988) term—the conservatory culture, to challenge tradition, and to train tomorrow's musicians on their individual terms rather than on the inflexible terms of out-dated pedagogical principles and market principles. After all, the musicians who make it, in spite of difficulties, tend not to remember their institution as much as they remember their fortune of having met a mentor and not a maestro. The distortions och social perception potentially caused by the maestro phenomenon must not lead anyone to conclude at face value that all is well because musicians claim it to be the case when asked. The vast literature on their increasingly ill-fated health suggests otherwise!

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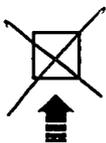
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