This study is an examination of the relationship between gender and participation in high school and college instrumental jazz ensembles. Student demographic and attitudinal information was collected using the researcher-designed Instrumental Jazz Participation Survey (IJPS). Undergraduate college band students (N = 628) representing 15 programs offering degrees in music education were surveyed. Gender and jazz ensemble participation were found to be related at both levels; 52% of women and 80% of men surveyed reported playing jazz in high school, and 14% of women and 50% of men played in college. The results indicated that attitudes toward participation are influenced by both gender and jazz experience. Women and men were found to differ in their stated reasons for quitting jazz. Women's decisions to discontinue were affected by primary instrument selection, institutional obstacles that narrow participation options, feeling more comfortable in traditional ensembles, and an inability to connect jazz participation to career aspirations.

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Gender and Participation in High School and College Instrumental Jazz Ensembles

Jazz is considered America's classical music, and the genre is often used as an example of the strengths of American diversity. However, while women singers and pianists have long been associated with jazz, women instrumentalists have "been continuously overlooked in the most prestigious areas of jazz practice, marketing, and documentation" (Tucker, 2002, p. 978).

While jazz has become an accepted part of instrumental music programs in both high schools and colleges (Mark, 1987), few researchers have studied the gender of the participants in these programs. In a study conducted in 39 New Jersey high schools where

This article is based on the author's doctoral dissertation, "Gender and Participation in High School and College Instrumental Jazz Ensembles: A National Study," accepted in May 2003 by the University of Wyoming. Kathleen M. McKeage is a senior lecturer in the Department of Music, FA 306, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY 82071; mckeage@uwyo.edu. Copyright © 2004 by MENC: The National Association for Music Education.
girls accounted for 48% of all band membership, 26% of jazz ensemble members were girls (Barber, 1999). In her 2001 study of middle and high school jazz festivals, Steinberg found that only 30% of participants were girls. In a review of jazz ensemble enrollments conducted at one midwestern university, McKeage (2002) found 20% of the students were women. During the 10-year period that McKeage did her research, 60% of undergraduate music majors in the institution she studied were women. Women are also underrepresented as instrumental jazz faculty members in American postsecondary education (Cartwright, 2001; Payne, 1996). A 2001 review of active members conducted by MENC: The National Association for Music Education indicated that 23% of teachers who identified one of their teaching areas as jazz were women.

Students in college music teacher preparation programs are generally required to participate in traditional bands and marching bands. Jazz ensembles, while a common part of a secondary instrumental job description, are often electives (Engelke, 1996). Although there has been no research conducted into the link between jazz experience and secondary school band positions, several authors have predicted that by limiting their participation in ensembles, women may unknowingly limit their career options as both educators and performers (Abeles & Porter, 1978; Delzell, 1993/94). The 2001 MENC membership study indicated that while women make up 42% and 56% of senior high school orchestra and choral directors, respectively, only 25% of high school band directors were women.

Factors Affecting Women’s Participation in Instrumental Jazz

Discussions of the relationship between gender and music, especially jazz, are relatively recent and have evolved to include the reevaluation of music from a feminist standpoint (McClary, 1991). Green (1997) labeled the active areas of music-making—composing, improvising, and conducting—as traditionally male. Women are left the more passive areas of accompanying and teaching.

Jazz is a musical style that has historically not been open to women instrumentalists (Becker, 1973; Leonard, 1987). Linda Dahl wrote, “Clearly, the qualities needed to get ahead in the jazz world were held to be ‘masculine’ prerogatives: aggressive self-confidence on the bandstand, displaying one’s ‘chops’ or sheer blowing power; a single-minded attention to career moves, including frequent absences from home and family” (Dahl, 1984, p. x). According to Monson (1995), the jazz performer idealized by white musicians was a stereotypically dangerous black male. She wrote, “The symbolic intersection of masculinity, music, and race perhaps explains the persistence of jazz as a fraternity of male musicians” (p. 405). Historically, women instrumentalists were not included in jazz pedagogy; much of the training for musicians happened in nightclubs and performance venues that were predominantly male (Dahl, 1984; Tucker, 2002). Gourse (1995) explained how the isolated world of
jazz musicians affected hiring practices: “So, men usually play with the musicians they have always worked with: other men” (p. 12).

Tucker (2002) attributed the lack of women instrumentalists to three factors: (a) women do not play instruments common to jazz, (b) gender stereotypes in which women were “perceived as feminine sex spectacles” (p. 979), and (c) limiting women to performance areas more accepting of women, such as novelty or family acts. In a recent ethnographic study of three college women instrumentalists interviewed during the time they were deciding whether to continue in jazz, the researcher identified three possible reasons for quitting: (a) an inability to link jazz ensemble participation to career aspirations; (b) institutional obstacles to participation that included the structure of degree programs, ensemble requirements, and pressure from studio teachers to specialize in a primary instrument; and (c) the jazz environment, which included comfort levels in jazz ensembles and jazz pedagogy (McKeage, 2002).

The instrumentation commonly found in jazz (trumpet, trombone, saxophone, and rhythm section) includes instruments generally associated with males. Abeles and Porter (1978) identified sex-stereotyping of instruments in a study of 58 college students. They placed eight instruments commonly found in beginning instrumental music classes on a continuum moving from most masculine to most feminine: drums, trombone, trumpet, saxophone, cello, clarinet, violin, and flute. Subsequent studies indicate the gender association of instruments continues (Delzell & Leplla, 1992; Griswold & Chroback, 1981; Tarnowski, 1993; Zervoudakes & Tanur, 1994). However, “Findings indicate that the magnitude of gender associations has lessened” (Delzell & Leplla, 1992, p. 93).

The lack of role models and mentors has also been identified as a reason women are underrepresented in jazz (Cartwright, 2001). Eccles (1987) listed some of the issues girls must confront when considering careers in traditionally male-dominated fields: (a) they may not be able to connect success in certain fields to any kind of career, (b) girls may have a more realistic appraisal of their abilities than boys and may better understand the cost in time and effort, and (c) girls may understand that success in a male-dominated field does not guarantee acceptance within that field. “Knowledge that one will have to overcome discrimination as well as acquire the training necessary for success may deter some females from seriously considering male-dominated professions” (p. 147).

Students may feel uncomfortable moving between traditional music groups and jazz ensembles. Leavell (1995) studied 18 high school students as they transitioned between high school concert band and jazz band. The students experienced difficulty moving from a restrained style of playing common in traditional bands to the more aggressive style associated with jazz. Cartwright (2001) reported that participants in the all-women Sisters in Jazz combo experienced difficulty adjusting to a group in which they were the majority. McKeage (2002) found that the culture of college jazz ensembles dif-

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fers from traditional ensembles. Said one college jazz band director, “There are two languages spoken in jazz: music and sarcasm. If you don’t do well with sarcasm …” (p. 4). The women in the study reported negative responses from the men through the withholding of approval, criticism, or being excluded from group activities. They felt more comfortable in traditional ensembles where they understood the rules and felt protected by the authority of the conductor.

Institutional pressures on students can act as barriers to participation in elective ensembles (Nettl, 1995). Newman (1982) identified the tightly packed curriculum of the music education major as an obstacle to jazz participation. Wiggins (1997) questioned 132 high school band directors about their preparation for teaching. Fifty percent responded that they were unprepared for teaching jazz. The instrumentation and size of jazz ensembles can pose problems for students in high school and college groups. Fisher (1984) warned that students who played instruments not commonly found in jazz ensembles would be unable to participate unless they chose to play a secondary instrument.

This study is an examination of the relationship between gender and participation in high school and college instrumental jazz ensembles. College band students were asked if they had participated in jazz ensembles at the high school and college levels and, if they had, the length of that participation. The second component of the study is an exploration of the effects of student attitudes and gender differences on student choices to continue or discontinue participation in instrumental jazz. The following research questions were investigated:

1. What is the relationship between gender and participation in high school and college instrumental jazz ensembles?
2. What is the relationship between gender, previously identified variables (lack of connection between jazz and career aspirations, institutional obstacles, and the jazz environment), and student choices to participate in instrumental jazz ensembles?
3. Are there differences in attitudes toward jazz based on gender and participation status?
4. Do men and women differ in their reasons for discontinuing participation in jazz ensembles?

METHOD

To reach a large group of student musicians, a cross-sectional, group-administered questionnaire format was chosen as the most appropriate and efficient method of gathering information (Fowler, 1993). A review of related literature and a search of appropriate measurements found no existing survey instrument. Consequently, the researcher-designed Instrumental Jazz Participation Survey (IJPS) was developed, piloted, and refined based on themes generated in an earlier study (McKeage, 2002) and focus group discussions with students.
The 27-question survey was divided into three sections. The 13 questions in Section 1 elicited demographic information about gender, primary and secondary instrument, year in school, major, gender of private teacher, participation in jazz ensembles, and length of participation. Section 2 contained eight questions and was designed to collect attitudinal information about jazz participation from students who have played or continue to play in jazz bands. Section 3 contained six questions about quitting jazz and was answered only by those students who had played in jazz bands in either high school or college but subsequently quit. Students were also asked to list any additional reasons they had for quitting in an open-ended response format.

Internal reliability of the questionnaire was assessed using Cronbach's alpha. A score of .79 was generated for the nondemographic questions. Reliability and criterion validity were established by cross-referencing student-reported information against course enrollment information. Content validity was addressed by including demographic information directly related to the research questions, using student generated questions, and eliciting feedback from students who took the pilot surveys (Fowler, 1993).

A cluster sampling method was used (Bordens & Abbott, 2002), and sample size was estimated based on three factors: confidence interval, the statistical tests used, and statistical power analysis (Cohen, 1992). Based on information from the pilot studies, the sample necessary to produce minimum cell sizes was 490.

The survey was designed to be administered to students during a symphonic or concert band rehearsal. Students who participated only in jazz ensembles or those students who had withdrawn completely from ensembles were excluded from the study. Schools were targeted that represented a range of institutions from small (fewer than 100 undergraduate music majors per year) to large (more than 400 majors). To be included in the study, each program had to offer an undergraduate degree in music education and provide opportunities to all students to participate in both traditional bands and jazz ensembles. Ensembles were chosen that included the most undergraduate music education majors, and only one group was selected from each school.

RESULTS

Individual bands representing 15 college programs participated in the survey. The number of students completing surveys from each institution ranged from 20 to 63. A total of 628 students participated in the survey. Of those, 44% were men and 56% were women. Sixty-seven percent were music majors, and 43% of all students were music education majors.

Students were asked to list their primary instrument and any secondary instruments they may have played. The results of the instrument selection question suggested strong gender associations for certain band instruments but indicated that a student's secondary
instrument choice may be less affected by gender-stereotyping.

Instruments commonly found in jazz ensembles (saxophone, trumpet, trombone, percussion, bass, guitar, and keyboards) were coded as jazz and all other instruments coded as nonjazz. Student instrument choices were then categorized into one of three groups: (a) primary instrument is jazz, (b) secondary instrument is jazz, or (c) primary or secondary instrument is jazz. Of the respondents, 28% of the women and 72% of the men reported a primary instrument commonly found in jazz ensembles. Fifty-five percent of the women and 43% of the men indicated they also played a secondary instrument commonly used in jazz ensembles. The majority of students played either a primary or secondary instrument commonly found in jazz ensembles.

The majority of students (80%) reported taking private lessons, and 72% of those indicated their teacher was male. Of the students taking private lessons, 42% indicated that their teacher played jazz and 37% said their teacher encouraged them to play jazz.

Research Question 1

Students were divided into three groups based on their jazz participation status. The results indicated that 46% of the women and 15% of the men never played jazz at any level. Furthermore, 44% of women and 50% of men played jazz in either high school or college but had subsequently quit. Ten percent of women and 35% of men were still playing college instrumental jazz at the time of the survey. An omnibus chi-square analysis was conducted to evaluate whether gender and jazz participation were related. A significant relationship between gender and the three levels of jazz participation status was identified, Pearson $\chi^2 (2, N = 628) = 91.96, p < .001$. Follow-up pairwise comparisons were conducted within the three groups. Significant differences were identified within all three groups (never played, quit playing, still playing).

Students were asked if they had played jazz in high school. Fifty-two percent of women and 80% of men answered yes. Gender and participation were found to be significantly related, Pearson $\chi^2 (1, N = 628) = 52.86, p < .001$. Students who played high school jazz were asked how many years (rounded to the nearest half year) they had participated. The men participated longer ($M = 2.99, SD = 1.11$) than did the women ($M = 2.61, SD = 1.21$).

Students were asked if they had played instrumental jazz in college. The results indicated that 14% of women and 50% of men played in college. Gender and participation in college jazz ensembles were found to be significantly related, Pearson $\chi^2 (1, N = 628) = 95.94, p < .001$. The length of participation in college ensembles for men ($M = 1.78, SD = 1.38$) was slightly longer than that of women ($M = 1.71, SD = 1.16$).

The information in Figure 1 tracks the number of music students across four levels of jazz participation: those who never played, those who played in high school, those who played in college, and those...
who continue to play.

Of the 268 music education majors, 42% of women and 12% of men indicated they had never played instrumental jazz at any level. Fifty-four percent of women and 84% of men played in high school. In college, 20% of women and 61% of men played jazz. At the time of the survey, 15% of women and 47% of men were still playing in jazz ensembles.

Research Question 2

What is the relationship between gender and three variables (lack of connection between jazz participation and career aspirations, institutional obstacles to participation, and the jazz environment)? To answer Research Question 2, the three variables were divided into 10 subgroups (see Table 1) based on statements from a previous study (McKeage, 2002) and the data were analyzed to understand the degree of association between each variable and jazz participation status. Students who played jazz were divided into two groups (quit playing and still playing). To control for gender as a mediating variable, student responses were divided into two groups. The results generated by individual questions are reported in a side by side comparison table (Table 1) of correlation coefficients for jazz participa-
Table 1
Within-Group Measures of Association between Independent Variables and Jazz Participation Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Career Aspirations/Role Models</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important to Future</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influences/Role Models</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Plays Jazz</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Institutional Pressures to Specialize</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major (Music)</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year in School</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Instrument/Jazz</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Encourages Jazz</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schedule Time for Jazz</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jazz Environment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfort</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\text{phi/ r}_{pb}$ = Measures of association.

The third research question asked whether there was a difference in attitudes toward jazz across gender and jazz participation status. The measures of association using phi and $r_{pb}$ are .10, .30, and .50 for small, medium, and large effects, respectively.

**Research Question 3**

The third research question asked whether there was a difference in attitudes toward jazz across gender and jazz participation status. Students who played jazz in either high school or college were given a series of eight statements (Section 2 of the IJPS) and asked to rate each statement on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The statements included: (a) “Playing jazz is important to my future,” (b) “I can learn to play jazz with proper instruction,” (c) “I make time in my schedule for jazz ensemble.” (d)
"I feel comfortable with my colleagues when I play in jazz bands," (e) "I think I understand jazz theory," (f) "I enjoy improvising solos," (g) "I feel competent playing jazz," and (h) "It is possible to learn classical and jazz at the same time."

A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between student attitudes toward jazz and jazz participation status. The independent variable, jazz status, included four levels: women who quit playing, women still playing, men who quit playing, and men still playing. The dependent variable was the composite means generated from Section 2 of the survey. The ANOVA was significant, $F(3, 413) = 71.23, p < .001$. Because of the differences in cell sizes, Dunnet’s C was the follow-up procedure used to evaluate the pairwise differences between the group means. There were significant differences between each of the four groups. The group means were ordered by jazz participation status as well as gender. Men and women who continued to play jazz had the highest group means, $M = 4.23$, $SD = .66$ and $M = 3.90$, $SD = .65$, respectively. Men and women who quit playing had the lower mean scores, $M = 3.42$, $SD = .69$ and $M = 3.03$, $SD = .63$, respectively.

**Research Question 4**

Research Question 4 asked if men and women differed in their reasons for quitting jazz. Students who had played jazz in either high school or college and subsequently quit were asked to respond to six statements generated by students in a focus group and rate each on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (not important) to 5 (extremely important) in their decision to quit playing jazz. The statements were ranked based on the mean scores generated for each (see Table 2). The women generally rated the statements higher in their decisions to quit playing jazz.

Finally, students were asked to list any other reasons for quitting jazz in an open-ended response format. The 103 responses were transcribed, coded, and categorized. Four major themes emerged: lack of time, primary instrument selection, comfort in a jazz setting, and pedagogy.

Fifty-eight women wrote comments. Twenty-three of the responses concerned primary instruments and how the instrumentation in jazz ensembles prevented them from participating. "I play clarinet. No one remembers Benny Goodman," wrote one student. A horn player noted that her high school director made accommodations for her to participate, but those accommodations did not continue in college. She wrote, "My band director in high school only had one trombone. My teacher transposed trombone parts for me to play them on mellophone. That wasn’t the case when I got to college, and I don’t play a jazz instrument."

Fifteen women wrote that time and scheduling prevented them from continuing to play jazz. Eight women noted that they were uncomfortable in a jazz setting. "People at my school are dissuading,"
Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 3 Statements</th>
<th>Women (N = 141)</th>
<th>Men (N = 126)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jazz theory is overwhelming.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t have time for jazz.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jazz is not important to my future.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need to focus on classical playing.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel more comfortable in a traditional band or orchestra.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t enjoy playing jazz anymore.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wrote one woman. Another wrote that she was “intimidated by students and professors.” A lack of training in jazz was the reason given for seven of the respondents. One woman wrote, “Only picked up jazz b/c they needed someone, and I loved it but I didn’t feel confident enough to continue.” Finally, two women mentioned that there were limited spaces available in the jazz ensembles, and they felt unlikely to win an audition.

Forty-six men wrote comments and the largest number of respondents (16) identified time constraints and scheduling as reasons to quit jazz. Nine mentioned that lack of proper training was an issue. One wrote, “Didn’t get good enough instruction in high school to feel competent enough to continue playing. Don’t feel I adequately understand the genre.” Eight students reported problems with primary and secondary instruments. Three men reported that they felt more comfortable in traditional ensembles. Two reported that they did not want to audition for the limited spaces available in the jazz ensemble.

DISCUSSION

In Research Question 1, an association between gender and instrumental jazz ensemble participation was clearly identified in each of the measures used. Proportionally, more women (46%) than men (15%) stated they had never played jazz. The attrition rate for women between high school and college jazz was dramatic. While 62% of men who played jazz in high school played in college, only
26% of women who played in high school attempted jazz in college. For students whose primary instrument was a jazz instrument, the numbers were higher; 70% of men and 43% of women who played jazz in high school played in college.

In Research Question 2, the variables associated with participation were similar for men and women, although the strength of those associations differed. No associations were found between the participation status of men and women and either music major or year in school. The impact of role models on women’s decisions produced conflicting results. While there was a moderate association between the studio teacher’s encouragement and participation in jazz, there was no association identified between jazz influences and participation. The last finding is surprising in light of the work of Eccles (1987), who identified the importance of gender-specific role models in career decisions. However, in a study of women college band directors, Gould (2001) found many were ambivalent about the importance of role models on their own careers and uncomfortable being perceived as role models by their students.

The role of the student’s primary instrument choice is not surprising and was predicted in studies of the gender-stereotyping of instruments. For women, the association is stronger than for men and may be due to the men choosing the instruments that are traditionally found in jazz while the women tend to choose nonjazz instruments.

The third research question dealt with differences in attitudes toward jazz across gender and jazz participation status. The results indicated that attitudes toward jazz are influenced by both gender and jazz participation status. Men and women who quit playing had the least positive attitudes about jazz. All groups agreed or strongly agreed that they could learn to play jazz with proper instruction and that it was possible to learn to play both classical and jazz.

The lone departure from the ranking of the mean scores was found in the responses to “I enjoy improvising solos.” Women who were still playing jazz had less positive feelings about improvisation than did the men who quit playing. This anomaly may reflect women’s reluctance to both solo and improvise, as described by Green (1997) and Steinberg (2001).

Research Question 4 asked if women and men differ in their reasons for quitting jazz. The student responses were divided by gender and the mean scores were compared and ranked. Both groups agreed that lack of time was the most important reason for quitting jazz. Women and men rated “I am more comfortable in traditional band or orchestra” second to lack of time, but the group mean score was lower for men than women. Women ranked “My future in music does not include jazz” higher as a reason for quitting than men. For both men and women, the answer “I don’t enjoy jazz anymore” was rated least important.

The open-ended responses indicated that women found it difficult to continue in jazz when their major instrument was not a tradition-
al jazz instrument. For women, feeling uncomfortable in jazz ensembles and the need to focus on classical playing were also stated reasons for quitting. Both men and women alluded to the difficulty of continuing in jazz because of scheduling and time constraints.

This study clearly indicates a link between gender and instrumental jazz ensemble participation at both the high school and college level. The disparity is even clearer when the attrition rates for men and women are compared. Why do proportionally more women withdraw from jazz between high school and college while men are more likely to continue? While there are no overt barriers to women’s participation in jazz, this study provides insights into why women may choose to quit jazz.

First, there is little doubt that instrument choice plays a role in participation. These choices are mitigated at the high school level when students may be encouraged to play more than one instrument. In college, however, the need to specialize in one instrument or the necessity of competing for spots in a jazz ensemble against students who specialize in jazz instruments limits participation. Participation is further hampered by limiting the number of jazz ensembles offered, limiting instrumentation, and capping the size of an ensemble. Women are most affected by these program limitations because of instrument choices.

Second, the time necessary to play in a jazz ensemble in addition to other ensemble requirements forces students to make decisions based on scheduling. Given that only two of the 15 music programs involved in this study counted jazz ensembles toward a degree, it is no surprise that only 21% of the students in the study were still playing jazz at the time of the survey. Ensemble and scholarship requirements that protect traditional bands at the expense of jazz ensembles as well as studio requirements that require students to specialize in a single instrument discourage students from participating. The student’s decision to withdraw from jazz may be sensible, even necessary at the time, but may affect career options in public school teaching.

Third, women may not be as comfortable as their male colleagues playing in jazz ensembles and indicated being more comfortable in traditional ensembles than the men. Women have an established history of participation in traditional ensembles. Eccles (1987) noted that women tend to make choices based on an “expectation for success” (p. 147). In jazz, women must not only master their instrument, but must negotiate a place within a traditionally male-dominated community.

Fourth, there is evidence that women may not be able to connect participation in jazz ensemble with career possibilities. Amateur performers may be able to envision community bands in their future, but there are few community jazz ensembles. In the professional ranks, there is a lack of female role models. Music education students may need to be reminded that the majority of junior and senior high school band teaching positions include a jazz component. In programs where jazz ensemble is an elective, music education students should be made
aware of the consequences of not participating in instrumental jazz.

Women do not participate in instrumental jazz in the same numbers as their male colleagues at either the high school or college level. The obstacles to participation are not overt and may affect the decisions of both women and men. Women do not see jazz as a part of their career plans and do not feel as comfortable in jazz ensembles as in traditional bands. Instrument choices, coupled with institutional requirements, narrow participation options for both men and women. That these institutional barriers exist at the college level is made clear by the dramatic drop in women's participation between high school and college. Both men and women are affected by barriers to participation, but women are especially vulnerable.

REFERENCES


Submitted April 21, 2004; accepted October 1, 2004.