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Beyond auditions: gender discrimination in America's top orchestras

Amy Louise Phelps
University of Iowa

BEYOND AUDITIONS: GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA'S TOP ORCHESTRAS

by

Amy Louise Phelps

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Essay Supervisor: Associate Professor Anthony Arnone

Graduate College
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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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D.M.A. ESSAY

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This is to certify that the D.M.A. essay of

Amy Louise Phelps

has been approved by the Examining Committee
for the essay requirement for the
Doctor of Musical Arts degree at the December 2010 graduation.

Essay Committee: _____
Anthony Arnone, Essay Supervisor

_____
Meredith Alexander

_____
David Gier

_____
Marian Wilson Kimber

_____
William Larue Jones

To my mother, Dorsey Phelps, for all of her support and to whom I am grateful for always demonstrating that a woman can accomplish whatever she sets her mind on, and to my grandmother, Virginia Phelps, a wonderfully intelligent and generous woman.

There are many reasons these days for not going into music as a career, but being female is not one of them.

Alan Rich
Careers and Opportunities in Music, 1964

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ABSTRACT

Although women have slowly been accepted in America's top orchestras, they are still a minority. Certain instrument sections remain predominantly male in spite of the implementation of blind auditions. Inconsistency in the use of the screen in blind auditions is partially responsible for the lack of women in orchestras, but the problem is seeded in cultural constructions that act as barriers for female brass, percussion and string bass players. Gender constructions have dictated that women should not play instruments that are loud, heavy or require physical exertion. Nonetheless, many women have shown that they are capable of performing as well as men on these instruments. Brass players are often the highest paid in an orchestra, thus women musicians face economic discrimination when they face bias at the hiring level or in the workplace.

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INTRODUCTION

> The law, medicine, economics, politics, and many other professions are open to women. Why then should not music be equally open to them? There is no lack of opportunity to study, what with tuitionless schools, music colleges, private teachers. And the union admits us to its ranks. But what after that? Where will we work, when so many organizations will not only not accept us, but not even give us auditions?[1]
>
> Antonia Brico, conductor of the New York Women's Symphony Orchestra, May 19, 1938

> From the beginning we have spoken of the special Viennese qualities, of the way music is made here. The way we make music here is not only a technical ability, but also something that has a lot to do with the soul. The soul does not let itself be separated from the cultural roots that we have here in central Europe. And it also doesn't allow itself to be separated from gender.[2]
>
> Helmut Zehetner, violinist of the Vienna Philharmonic, 1996.

If Antonia Brico were still living today, seventy-two years after she participated in a conference on women in musical professions, she would find it difficult to believe that orchestras such as the Vienna Philharmonic are still opposed to hiring women simply because of their gender. Fortunately, most twenty-first century orchestras are more inclined to accept woman members, and women have entered the ranks of America's top symphonies, albeit mainly in the string sections. Women remain a minority in certain sections of America's elite orchestras, specifically in the brass, percussion and string bass sections. These instruments have traditionally been considered "unfeminine" because of

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[1]"Women Musicians Urge Equal Rights," *New York Times* (19 May 1938) in "American Women Demand 'Mixed' Orchestras," *Women in Music*, ed. Carol Neuls-Bates (Boston: Northeastern University Press 1996): 252.

[2]Osborne, William. "Tokenism and Firings," http://www.osborne-conant.org/ten-years.htm, accessed 23 July 2010. As translated from the West German State Radio program "Musikalische Mysogynie" WDR - Radio 5, Musikpassagen; 10.05 Uhr, 13 February 1996, http://www.osborne-conant.org/ten-years.htm, accessed 23 July 2010

their sheer size and volume of sound. Brass instruments require powerful breath support, percussion instruments involve physical exertion in striking of mallets, and the double bass is one of the most cumbersome instruments to carry. The misconception that only men are capable of performing these acts is a social construction that implies that women are weaker and physically inferior. The physical distortions required to blow into a trumpet or strike a tympani are simply not considered attractive, thus not feminine. However, women have demonstrated repeatedly that they are just as successful as men when given the chance to compete equally. Until more women have equal opportunities to learn, practice and compete for jobs on these instruments typically perceived as masculine, the percentage of women in gender-typed sections of America's top orchestras will remain low. Women will also be paid less, as brass and percussion soloists earn more than a section string player. As long as women musicians are perceived as physically weaker than men, they will encounter difficulties in the workplace.

Gender constructions are often polemic; what is considered a feminine attribute, like grace or submission, is viewed negatively in a man. Thus, negative sex-role stereotypes such as "all male harpists are gay" emerge because of the social construction that harp-playing involves what are historically perceived as "feminine" qualities, in this case perhaps grace and delicacy. In orchestras, preconceived ideas of femininity and masculinity can lead to discrimination when fewer women are hired for what are considered masculine jobs. To reverse economic discrimination in music, the historical construction of a weak, submissive woman must be addressed in education.

Scholarly attention to gender in music has only recently begun to rewrite the historical narrative with the inclusion of women. Frequently, women have been ignored in musicology or relegated to special topics courses on women and music. Although progress has been made in representing women in textbooks at the college level, primary school curriculum still needs to be more inclusive. Some of the scholarship about gender and music questions whether there is such thing as "feminine" style of music when a

woman composes. Additional research has addressed women as leaders in music, describing the social interactions which occur when women step up on the podium and become musical directors or conductors. However, not enough research specifically questions why women have remained teachers and part-time musicians but have not been fully assimilated into leading orchestras.

Few scholars have made a connection between gender stereotyping and orchestral careers. Carol Neuls-Bates' 1996 anthology of source readings, *Women in Music*, which includes historical writings that describe the origins of instrumental music through the twentieth century, is one of several key works that addresses this imbalance. Karin Pendle's textbook, *Women and Music*, is an equally complete source of readings on women in music history. First published in 1980, *Unsung: A History of Women in American Music*, by Christine Ammer, surveys American female musicians, composers, and conductors and contains a chapter devoted to "Today's Orchestras, Conductors and Instrumentalists." Ammer concludes in the 1980s that "when more than half of all music students are female, and more than half of all American women are in the labor force, surely something other than lack of ability must be keeping the representation of women in the top echelons of professional music down to 10 or 15 percent." [3]

Blind auditions, the use of a screen to protect the candidate's identity in the hiring process, have begun to pave the way towards gender equality in orchestras. Nonetheless, the percentage of women in America's top orchestras has remained stable since the 1980s. The assumption that blind auditions have eradicated all discrimination is false; there is also a pressing need for better preparation, assimilation, and support of women in musical careers, particularly those preparing for careers on what are perceived as "male" instruments.

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[3] Christine Ammer, "Today's Orchestras, Conductors, and Instrumentalists," *Unsung:A History of Women in American Music*, 2nd ed. (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press 2001), 281.

Action at both the hiring stage, in the workplace, and in education would improve the proportion of women to men in top orchestras. Women will not be equally employed by American orchestras until the American Federation of Labor ensures that all American orchestras adopt the screen throughout the entire audition process. However, the roots of gender constructions are embedded in American educational institutions and are not simply manifested as discrimination at the hiring level. Music education curriculum content must be revised to ensure that women are encouraged to play historically "male" instruments by presenting counter-examples of successful female performers. Finally, regional symphonies should be encouraged to program educational outreach programs which feature female role models performing on historically constructed "male" instruments, or vice versa.

This examination of research concerning women in orchestras explores socio-economic studies and music education studies, and is intended to promote awareness of gender-bias for educators, unions, and performers themselves. In this investigation of how social constructions of gender have affected women's employment in orchestras, the analysis is threefold; the stereotype of a frail, domestic musician is explored, hiring places and lack of support for women in the orchestra workplace are exposed, and finally, challenges in relation to gender-types in music education are examined.

In Chapter One, the discussion of female musicians in different eras reveals a changing picture of how women musicians have been expected to behave; a historical narrative shows the paradox of societal expectations of ladies as demure, silent, and submissive who were nonetheless expected to become proficient at an art that requires expressiveness and passion. Historically, musical knowledge was essential to an upper class and later middle class woman's education, but women from such classes were never expected to become professional musicians or perform in public. By the end of the nineteenth century women began to be admitted to conservatories and thus began learning to play orchestral instruments, primarily the violin. Images in Chapter One

graphically illustrate the feminine construction in music, a historical construction which stems from early music but is gradually transformed through the development of the symphony orchestra and the rise of modern female performers.

Historical constructions created barriers for women in education and blocked women from orchestral careers. When gender constructions started to change, more women were gradually included in orchestral careers. Conductor Antonia Brico poignantly presented the dilemma of American female musicians in the late 1930s at the first meeting of the "Committee for the Recognition of Women in the Musical Profession," noting that women could become union members but sexual discrimination at the hiring level made it impossible for them to have orchestral careers. In 1903 the American Federation of Labor merged with the Mutual Musical Protective Union (founded in 1864) and required that the music union accept women members. Although the number of female union members gradually increased, beginning with a few harpists from the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, it took decades for women to gain employment in American symphonies in significant numbers. The slow rate of integration for women is partially due to widespread sexism; women are viewed as less competent than men. For the majority of the twentieth century, a woman's presence in a symphony was perceived as distracting and threatening within the workplace.

In addition to gender bias, a lack of education has also been a major barrier to female musicians, preventing them from competing on equal grounds with men. In fact, few women were trained as orchestral musicians because conservatories only began admitting women in the late nineteenth century and even then, prohibited or limited their participation in orchestral classes.[4] From their founding in the nineteenth century, America's orchestras excluded women, preserving the most lucrative and elite jobs for

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[4]Nancy B. Reich, "European Composers and Musicians ca. 1800-1890," in *Women and Music*, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 150.

men. For those women denied entry into professional symphonies, women's orchestras provided places to practice their art. From the latter half of the nineteenth century through the beginning of the twentieth century, "Ladies' Orchestras" were serious, salaried orchestras, but women largely remained segregated until they benefitted from the growing role of unions in the hiring process of American orchestras. "Many of us assume," writes Greta Kent in her memoir of her mother's career as a professional musician in England in the late nineteenth century, "that women's bands in this country are an invention of the contemporary women's movement. Not so. Before the turn of the century and for quite some time afterwards 'Ladies' Orchestras' were a regular fixture at holiday resorts, teashops, pavilions and concert halls…sometimes they played in duos or trios but just as often orchestras of thirty or more played at special events, such as trade exhibitions and the Ideal Home Exhibitions at Earls Court."[5] Greta Kent's comments ring true for American ladies' orchestras as well; they were born out of late-nineteenth-century women's desires to become professional symphony members, but they had to acquiesce to men's orchestras which had cornered the best-paying jobs in the market.

Despite the AF of L admittance of women to the union in 1903, orchestras did not begin to employ women for two more decades, and then only a few women were hired. Of the major American symphonies, the Cleveland Orchestra made history in 1923 when it hired four women, followed by San Francisco (five women string players) and Minneapolis in 1925. Most of the women being hired were string players, including harpists. In 1930 the Boston Symphony hired a principal harpist, a cellist was employed by the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1936, while the Boston Symphony engaged a bassoonist in 1945 and appointed a principal harpist in 1946.[6] Orchestras with smaller budgets and

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[5] Greta Kent, *A View From the Bandstand* (London: Sheba Feminist Publishers, 1983), 5.

[6] Ammer, 250.

thus less pay, like the Chicago Civic, could hire women for their affordability from their outset in 1921, and thus had more female players.

The primary explanation for the token numbers of women first hired in America's top orchestras was ostensibly financial; sexism has often been manifested through economic discrimination in all professions, and music is no exception to the rule.[7] Thus, in the late nineteenth century women either remained amateur musicians who practiced in the home, or were destined to teach for $1.50 a lesson or to play in dance orchestras at the rate of $9 a week for a violinist in a very good hotel.[8] Most orchestral musicians made $200 a year, but wind soloists could make up to $75 per week. In 1938, the Committee for the Recognition of Women in the Music Profession was created by 150 women from Musicians Local 802 to address the fact that women faced more hurdles in hiring than men. [9] The committee called for equal employment opportunities, but little became of their demands at the time. In fact, until World War II, orchestras were segregated.[10] The reasons behind a gradual change in discrimination were three-fold: many men were absent because of the war; women had proven themselves capable of playing major repertory in the all-women orchestras; and the increasing use of screens in auditions eliminated blatant prejudice in hiring practices. Orchestra committees began to judge with their ears, not their eyes.

In the twenty-first century women are still playing for less money; orchestras with budgets under $1.3 million tend to be more than fifty percent female, while today among

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[7] Judith Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870-1900," in *Women Making Music* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 333: "Prejudices against women players were rationalizations designed to protect the limited job market against competition."

[8] Ammer, 254.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

America's twenty-five strongest orchestras the proportion of women is closer to thirty percent.[11] The phenomenon of higher numbers of women in lower paid positions is common to many professions, but it is particularly true in music. A report compiled in 1976 by the American Symphony Orchestra League (now the League of American Orchestras) summarized the status of women in orchestras at the time with the conclusion that, "Orchestras with the highest budgets, longest seasons, and most generous salaries tend to have the fewest women musicians. Whether this is a natural reflection of the kinds of work being sought by women or a factor of the women's movement not having influenced long-standing employment patterns cannot be determined without further study."[12] Although the League of American Orchestras called for further study in 1976, only one important American study on gender and orchestras has been done since, by Claudia Goldin and Cecilia Rouse in 1988.[13]

Even after mixed orchestras were formed in the 1940s, few women were admitted into America's top orchestras until blind auditions became more common in the late 1960s. Chapter Two explores the impact blind auditions have had on the hiring of women. Currently brass sections are the most male-dominated of all orchestral sections, but there is hope for change. In 2006, Carol Jantsch, hired by the Philadelphia Orchestra, became the first woman tuba player to be engaged by a major American orchestra. Ms. Jantsch remains one of a few elite female brass players to reach the pinnacle of classical music careers, joining Rebecca Cherian (trombone, Pittsburgh Symphony), Julie Landsman (French horn, the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra) and Susan Slaughter

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[11] The author's data, taken from orchestra rosters, combined with that of Melinda Whiting, "Cracking the Ceiling: Women in American Orchestras," *Symphony* 50, no. 4 (July /August 1999): 26.

[12] Stephen Zdinski, "Women in American Symphony Orchestras," *Symphony News* 27 (2 April 1976), 23-26.

[13] Claudia Goldin and Cecilia Rouse, "Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of "Blind" Auditions on Female Musicians," *American Economic Review* 90 (1988)

(principal trumpet, Saint Louis Symphony). Women in Europe have faced even more difficulties, as in the infamous example of Abbie Conant, an American trombonist hired in a blind audition by the Munich Symphony. When the audition was over and the screen was removed, her female identity was discovered, and the music director tried to revoke his decision. Conant was later demoted to second trombone and sued the orchestra; the lawsuit was settled in her favor ten years later.[14]

In Europe some traditionally conservative organizations are now struggling to present at least a more favorable image to the international music scene. Whether this is tokenism, or if the Germanic societies really intend to change the sexist aspects of their culture, remains to be established. The Vienna Philharmonic, the last male bastion of orchestras in Europe, only allowed women to be full-time orchestra members beginning in 1997, and this only to give tenure to their female harp-player because the union demanded she be given a contract. However, the Vienna Philharmonic finally granted a woman tentative tenure in a position of leadership. In March 2010, the international press applauded the historic naming of Albena Danailova as a full-time player and concert master of the orchestra. In reality, the Bulgarian born violinist has only been appointed head of the Vienna State Opera, which is a government-run orchestra in Vienna and only slightly related to the privatized Vienna Philharmonic. Although any member of the Vienna Philharmonic can be a part of the opera orchestra, they must be confirmed in the State Opera before they become tenured members of the Vienna Philharmonic. If Ms. Danailova is confirmed a full-time member of the Vienna Philharmonic in the next year, she will increase the ranks of tenured women in that

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[14] Abbie Conant, "The Status of Women in German Orchestras: A Report Based on Practical Experience," *Viva Voce* 48 (December 1998), http://www.osborne-conant.org/status.htm accessed 24 August 2006.

orchestra by twenty-five percent and she would be the first female in a position of leadership. [15]

Construction of gender difference remains an underlying factor in the Vienna Philharmonic's blatant sexual discrimination. Otto Nezzius, a former violinist of the Vienna Philharmonic reputedly remarked, "With women, there are always cliques and intrigues."[16] American reporters typically draw attention to the overt sexism in the negative stereotyping of women as manipulative and devious. Nevertheless, the underlying hierarchical construction that women are weaker, less competent or a distraction in the workplace still flourishes elsewhere as well. British music critic Michael White aptly comments on Danailova's appointment:

> The whole business of women in (or rather not in) the Vienna Phil has been dogging the orchestra now for some years. In the past it went without comment, so they never needed to support their policy with argument. But when argument was called for, it was usually based on the idea that women couldn't produce the muscle or lung power to stand alongside male players and carry their full share of sonic responsibility. All the physiological evidence that I know runs against that argument; and in the past few years the VPO has slowly backed down.[17]

The orchestra is a microcosm of society, and just as the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra is representative of Viennese conservatism, America's culture is also reflected in the membership of its symphonies. Social constructions of difference are particularly

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[15] Abbie Fentress Swanson, "The Vienna Philharmonic Hasn't Made History…Yet." WQXR radio. http://www.wqxr.org/articles/wqxr-features/2010/mar/26/vienna-philharmonic-hasnt-made-history, Accessed July 10, 2010.

[16] "First Woman Takes a Bow at Vienna Philharmonic,"*Guardian News and Media*, (9 September 2003), http://www.buzzle.com/editorials/1-9-2003-33406.asp, accessed July 10, 2010.

[17] Michael White, "Women in the Vienna Philharmonic! Shows how sensitive Austrians are these days…," online blog in *Telegraph.co.uk* (Sept. 12, 2009), http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/culture/michaelwhite/100003140/women-in-the-vienna-philharmonic-shows-how-sensitive-austrians-are-these-days/, accessed July 10, 2010.

more evident in the orchestral world where men and women are forced to work collectively than in other facets of musical performance.

In addition to investigating the possibilities of blatant discrimination in the hiring process, Chapter Two of this essay discusses harassment in the workplace once a woman has been hired. Accounts of female brass-players who have faced harassment by conductors in American symphonies demonstrate that even if other section members are supportive, many women face hardships working with hostile leadership. Testimonies by women in major and community symphonies cited in Chapter Two reveal that some aspects of life in American orchestras require more research, such as whether women receive adequate childcare support to allow them to balance family life with their careers.

Social constructions of what it is to be male or female, are instigated and nurtured first at home, then further engrained in the classroom. For this reason, Chapter Three explores how children's instrumental choices are fostered by historical constructions of what is masculine and feminine. Just as boys are pushed to wear dark colors and girls pastels, as if there were a natural order in color choice, girls have been discouraged from learning instruments like the trombone or tuba in spite of a lack of any physiological evidence that these instruments are more difficult for girls. Some of these constructions become so entrenched that our society perceives them as biological or natural. Green's studies of British music classrooms led her to assert that the school maintains gender constructions, not only through learning about music, but through the practice of music itself.[18] Green's studies suggest that boys are drawn to pop music more than girls, thus they play drums, where girls are more attracted to keyboards or orchestral instruments.

Transforming the classroom into a more tolerant, gender-inclusive environment can have positive, long-term repercussions in respect to these types of gender

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[18] Lucy Green, *Music, Gender, Educations* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 229.

constructions. Chapter Three also discusses concrete ways in which gendered meanings can be transformed to be more inclusive. Boys can be encouraged to sing without having their masculinity threatened, or can feel safe choosing to play the harp over the trumpet or drums. Finally, because orchestras often present educational programs for public schools, Chapter Three explores how such performances can help alter sex-role stereotypes through presenting live role models; this has been shown to be more effective than viewing mere pictures in a textbook of women playing historically-gendered male instruments.

For women to achieve better representation in American symphonies, several steps must be taken: the modification of the very social constructions that differentiate feminine and masculine musicians early on in the classroom; the utilization of live role models in educational outreach programs of symphonies to promote equality; the mandatory use of a screen in all phases of orchestra auditions; and the improvement of work conditions for those female professional musicians so that they can perform without being distracted by harassment from those hostile to their presence or concerns about child care issues. Then perhaps Antonia Brico's dreams of equal employment for women will finally be realized in the new millennium.

CHAPTER ONE: "SHE PLAYED LIKE A MAN," TRANSFORMATIONS IN HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF GENDER IN MUSIC

> Sex-role stereotype--Sets of attributes, including attitudes, personality traits, abilities, interests, and behaviors that are defined as appropriate for each sex.[1]

> Gender inequality—the devaluation of "women" and the social domination of "men"—has social functions and a social history. It is not the result of sex, procreation, physiology, anatomy, hormones or genetic predispositions. It is produced and maintained by identifiable social processes and built into the general social structure and individual identities deliberately and purposefully. The social order as we know it in Western societies is organized around racial, ethnic, class, and gender inequality.[2]

Playing it Softly

In the late twentieth century, American women became somewhat liberated from gender inequality as they entered previously male professions such as politics, medicine, business and law; yet even today they commonly earn twenty percent less than men for equal work.[3] Hierarchal social constructions have created different gender roles in Western culture. Historically women have been cast as the weaker, more submissive sex, relegated to being the "more natural" home makers. This construction was transformed in the twentieth century when women of all classes began to enter the general American workforce. By the twenty-first century women musicians are marketed like movie stars;

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[1] http://psychology.jrank.org/pages/575/Sex-Roles.html, accessed 2 August 2010.

[2] Judith Lorber and Paula S. Rothenberg, eds. "'Night to His Day', the Social Construction of Gender" in *Race, Class and Gender in the United States*, 7th ed. (New Jersey: Worth Publishers, 2007): 62.

[3] Maureen McCarty, "Salary Sats: Women vs. Men," *The Washington Post* (7 November 2008) http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/11/06/AR2008110602982_p, accessed 20 July 2010.

album covers of women are glamorous and sexy as opposed to the seriousness portrayed by their male counterparts.[4] This vision of women as a "body" is far from the image of women in early music, when women were traditionally expected to remain quiet, demure and chaste as they limited their music-making to an amateur realm. However, culturally constructed differences between women and men have always been present, typically restricting women's music-making while preserving the most profitable musical careers for men. Recent scholarship has revealed some exceptions to these gender barriers, uncovering many talented women who managed to overcome sex-role stereotypes and engage in musical careers even as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but these women remained unique.[5] Women have always sung in music history, and played instruments ideal for domestic music-making such as the lute and keyboards. (See Figures 1.1 and 1.2.)

In the late eighteenth century the development of the piano provided another ideal instrument for chamber music in the home and for accompaniment for the voice, and many women became proficient pianists. By the late nineteenth century women began to play the violin and other orchestral instruments, but they were prohibited from participating in orchestras. Women were still restricted to the realm of the amateur musician.

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[4] Amy Schrieffer, "Selling Sex and Symphonies: the Image of Women in Classical Music," National Public Radio Music, http.//www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=128831530&sc=emaf, accessed 31 July 2010.

[5] Karin Pendle mentions in "Musical Women in Early Modern Europe: The Fifteenth Through the Eighteenth Century," in *Women and Music: A Research and Information Guide*, 2nd ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 79 that Madonna Laura was hired as part of the papal *musica segreta* (household music ensemble) in Rome. She was on payroll in 1537-48. Judith Tick mentions several female violinists that performed at the "Concert Spirituel" in Paris from 1737-1774 in "Musiciennes of the Ancien Regime," in *Women Making Music*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 207.

Figure 1.1: Jan Vermeer, “Woman Seated at Virginal,” (1670-1675)*

* Jan Vermeer, “Woman Seated at Virginal,” http://www.essentialvermeer.com/catalogue/lady_seated_at_a_virginal.html, accessed 1 March, 2010.

Figure 1.2: Bartolomeo Veneto, Lady Playing a Lute (about 1530)*

* Bartolomeo Veneto, “Lady Playing a Lute,” (c.1530), http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bartolomeo_Veneto_Woman_playing_a_lute_Getty.jpg, accessed March 1, 2010.

Class has been a major factor influencing women's music education and careers throughout music history: early women of noble standing were taught music but remained chiefly amateurs.[6] Karin Pendle addresses class and gender in music in a book concerning women musicians in the fifteenth to the eighteenth century.[7] Although she notes that, "music making has never been limited solely by class, race, or sex," Pendle adds, "Though wealthy or titled women …were expected to be able to read music, to sing, to dance, and to play at least one instrument, they were also expected to limit their music making to home or court."[8] Thus, women did not leave court or their homes to perform in public lest they compromise their social standing. In the sixteenth century many women who actually performed in public were often courtesans, who were not just prostitutes but also paid entertainers expected to be proficient in singing or the lute.[9]

In the late eighteenth century post-French Revolution era, women's place in society shifted with the granting of more rights to education. Philosophers such as Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu and Nicolas de Condorcet promoted equality for women. However, these movements were not without opposition and in many ways women's education was even more regressive at this time.[10] Jean-Jacques Rousseau's was adamant that the "education of women should be relative to men," that women were intended primarily to serve men by being quiet, obedient, and modest, and he saw women primarily as mothers and nurturers. [11] Rousseau's position on women was widely

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[6] Pendle, "Musical Women in Early Modern Europe: the Fifteenth Through the Eighteenth Century," 59.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., 60-1.

[9] Ibid., 77.

[10] Julie Anne Sadie, "Musiciennes of the Ancien Regime," in *Women Making Music*, 225.

[11] Ibid., 226.

accepted, as women were considered to be different than men by nature, reinforcing the stereotype of a submissive woman in all aspects of society.

In "The Uphill Climb of Women in American Music," Mary Brown Hinely noted that music has always been a particularly male-dominated career. "The historical-cultural view of woman's primary role as that of wife, mother, and nurturer has greatly restricted woman's professional opportunities," affirms Hinely, who furthermore observes that this construction of women as nurturers created a "hostile" environment for women who wanted to work as professional musicians. By the nineteenth century, in spite of women being quite active in the French Revolution, laws were codified that designated women as their husband's property. The growing emphasis on domesticity created even more barriers to middle class women who sometimes needed to work as professional musicians out of necessity.[12]

Cultural restrictions also affected what type of education a woman could procure. When conservatories were founded in America in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries they admitted women, but held segregated classes. Female students were not taught composition or allowed in orchestra classes.[13] Some schools began to allow women to play the violin; thus it was mainly these women who fought to earn their living as orchestral musicians. Although they were not allowed to play in America's top ensembles, they formed their own all-women orchestras, such as the Los Angeles Woman's Orchestra or the Ladies Elite Orchestra, and these became quite prominent in the early twentieth century.[14] Harpists were the first instrumentalists permitted to join the ranks of a professional symphony orchestra, only because the harp had always been

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[12] Nancy Reich, "European Composers and Musicians: The Nineteenth Century and the Great War," in *Women and Music,* 147.

[13] Ibid., 150.

[14] Carol Neuls-Bates, "Women's Orchestras in the U.S., 1925-45," in *Women Making Music* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 350-1.

considered a "feminine" instrument.[15] By the late 1930s all-female ensembles had demonstrated that women were as competent as men in performing major repertory and demanded to be allowed into mixed symphony orchestras. World War II and the resulting demand for orchestral players created by the absence or death of great numbers of men facilitated the entry of women into previously all male orchestras.[16]

In the post-World War II era the pendulum shifted as some "male" instruments such as the violin or the flute became more feminized, although the louder and heavier instruments maintained their historically constructed masculinity. Female string players became more prevalent; however brass and percussion players remained predominantly male and still do today. As women entered the orchestral workforce in greater numbers due to the adoption of blind auditions, it became less taboo than in the past to associate women's music-making with passion. [17] Although in Western culture women have traditionally been pressured to be more concerned with their visual appearance than men, in modern times the concept of what is appropriate for women has changed drastically. Where in the past a woman musician showing skin would have been qualified as a courtesan, a sexist construction of the female as the body became acceptable in the twentieth century, and has been used to market everything from cars to music. This passive image of women is in opposition to that of an active, thinking male. These social constructions create difficulty for women playing in orchestras because the image of a bold, sensual woman is incongruous with the discipline and uniformity of the symphony as a whole. Orchestral musicians are encouraged to blend and conform to a conductor's musical ideal, not to express individuality.

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 362. From 1935-40 , Frederique Petride edited the newsletter *Women in Music*, which demanded women be employed in all orchestras.

[17] Ibid., 363. In 1938 the New York Committee for Recognition of Women as Musicians asked for women to be allowed to audition and lobbied for the use of screens. The use of screens was not common until the 1960s, however.

Early Women in Music: the Domestic Angel

History demonstrates that although women musicians have changed in status from courtesan, or domestic music-maker and finally to professional public performers, they have always been cast in a passive role of a female object, as projected for a male audience. Although twentieth century convention allowed women to shed skirts and move more freely, in the past centuries women were drastically more restricted than men by social standards in dress and demeanor that denied women freedom of movement and expression.

Figure 1.3: Gabriel Metsu (1629-1669) "Woman Playing the Viola da Gamba"*

* Gabriel Metsu, "Woman Playing the Viola da Gamba," http://www.gabrielmetsu.org/Woman-Playing-the-Viola-da-Gamba.html, accessed 1 March 2010.

In early times, women musicians played instruments that they could perform without distorting their physical features or adopting sexual poses. Even if a *viola da*

gamba, or a *viol* of the leg, happens to figure in a painting as in Figure 1.1, women are never depicted actually holding it between their legs, a taboo pose for a woman of good standing. In Figure 1.3 this woman is not holding the viola da gamba correctly, but away from her body, on a podium. In contrast, the seventeenth-century painting in Figure 1.4 shows a man playing the *viola da gamba* in the correct position, cradling it between his legs.

The women in the painting "Musical Society" (Figure 1.4) are portrayed singing and playing the lute, instruments that can be held without compromising the player's virtue.

Figure 1.4: Abraham Bosses, "Musical Society," c.1635*

* Abraham Bosses, "Musical Society," French painting, c. 1645. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viol, accessed 1 August 2010.

Both Renaissance courtiers and ladies were expected to read music and play several instruments, but according to Baldesar Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, a

book of courtly manners, a lady was expected to "practice very circumspectly and with the gentle delicacy we have said is appropriate to her." Additionally, Castiglione asserted, "Imagine what an ungainly sight it would be to have a woman playing drums, fifes, trumpets or other instruments of that sort…their stridency buries and destroys the sweet gentleness which embellishes everything a woman does."[18]

Delicacy, sweetness and gentleness become catchphrases for proper female conduct not only in the Renaissance but equally in later eras of music history. Women were not to play instruments that produced too much sound or gave them a loud "voice." Politically empowered women such as Elizabeth Stuart received musical training, but Janet Pollack notes that music education for a princess at court was primarily an accessory to give her the proper social standing in order to be desirable for marriage.[19]

Music was not only taught to women at courts. During the Italian Renaissance convents often had a performing ensemble, commonly referred to as a *concerto,* which performed mainly within the walls of the convent. The nuns of San Vito convent were commended by Hercole Botrigari (writing in his friend Alemanno Bennelli's name) in his 1594 treatise on instrumental practice: "And they play with such grace, and with such a nice manner, and such sonorous and just intonation of the notes that even people who are esteemed most excellent in the profession confess that it is incredible to anyone who does not actually see and hear it."[20] Although Botrigari commended the players, his astonishment at hearing accomplished women musicians betrays the underlying social construction that women are not capable of playing well.

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[18] Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (New York: Penguin Books, 1967), quoted in *Women in Music*, 39.

[19] Janet Pollack, "Princess Elizabeth Stuart as Musician and Muse" in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women*, ed. Thomasin Lamay (Cornwall: MPG Books, 2005), 405.

[20] Hercole Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio or Concerning the Playing Together of Various Musical Instruments*, trans. Carol McClintock (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962),in *Women in Music*, 48.

In the Baroque period, the tradition of cloistered female ensembles continued in Venice, most notably represented by the orchestra of Ospedale La Pietà, an orphanage where girls were taught all instruments and where Antonio Vivaldi composed and taught. These *ospedali* were places where all-women ensembles became proficient and even gave concerts open to the public. More than two hundred years after Castiglione authored the *Book of Courtiers* in 1528, Frenchman Charles de Brosses described a concert of La Pietà's female musical prodigies in 1771:

> …they sing like angels, play the violin, flute, organ, oboe, cello, bassoon—in short, no instrument is large enough to frighten them. They are cloistered like nuns…nothing is more charming than to see a young and pretty nun, dressed in white, a sprig of pomegranate blossom behind one ear, leading the orchestra and beating time with all the grace and precision imaginable.[21]

The tag words "grace" and "charm" are once again employed to describe women in music. Their beauty and ease on big instruments is exceptionally commended and De Brosses concludes that they are equal to the Paris opera, one of the best ensembles of the time.[22]

The *ospedali* permitted women to become accomplished musicians, albeit mostly within the confines of the convents. When women were not allowed to perform in the newly-formed classical ensemble called the orchestra, the Italian tradition of all-women's ensembles became a model for women in later centuries.

The Rise of Female Orchestral Musicians

Orchestras emerged as ensembles in the late-seventeenth century when courts such as Versailles prospered, and royalty could pay large violin bands with supplemental

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[21] Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie à quelques amis en 1739 et 1740* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et De Broise, 1858), in *Women in Music*, 66.

[22] Ibid.

wind instruments.[23] The French fashion popularized by Jean-Baptiste Lully stretched to Italy where, by the 1680s, Corelli's ensembles included as many as sixty musicians. The orchestra became an establishment in musical society in France, Germany, England and Spain by the 1730s, and the Classical orchestra for which Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven later wrote great symphonic works flourished from 1740-1815.[24] Musicians employed in these orchestras were relegated to servant status. This meant noble women who received music education were not part of these ensembles. A woman might occasionally appear as a court musician, but primarily as a singer and never as part of an orchestra.[25]

Class was not the only obstacle prohibiting women from learning orchestral instruments. Valerie Goertzen notes that, "Women typically did not play string, wind, or brass instruments because they required 'distortion' of the face or body position."[26] Once again, women were not supposed to exert themselves as they performed and had to adhere to a social construct of modesty and passivity. When Goertzen does document the career of one string player, virtuoso violinist Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen, she qualifies her observations by saying that Sirmen was exceptional.[27] Sirmen was trained in a Venetian *ospedali* and encouraged by well-known male artists of the time, such as Guiseppe Tartini and Sirmen's husband, Lodovico Maria Gaspar Sirmen di Ravenna, a famous violinist himself. Owing to the "support and guidance of musicians and influential sponsors who supervised their technical training and fostered their intellectual

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[23] Jeremy Montagu, "Orchestra," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 23 July 2010.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Pendle, "Musical Women of the 17th and 18th Centuries," in *Women and Music* , 99.

[26] Valerie Goertzen, "The Eighteenth Century," in *From Convent to Concert Hall: A Guide to Women Composers,* ed. Sylvia Glickman and Martha Furman Schleifer, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003), 92.

[27] Ibid.

growth," women such as Sirmen had successful careers. Other eighteenth century violinists such as Elisabeth de Haulteterre and Mlle. Deschamps, who even premiered a Viotti concerto, were featured in the popular Parisian concert series "Le Concert Spirituel."[28]

Contrary to the violin, the harp, pictured in Figure 1.5, was more widely accepted in the late eighteenth century as a respectably feminine instrument, as it was performed in the domestic sphere.

Figure 1.5: Sir Joshua Reynolds, "The Countess of Eglinton," 1777*

* Sir Joshua Reynolds, "The Countess of Eglinton," 1777, http://www.artistsandart.org/2009/06/women-and-music-in-art-16-18th-c.html, accessed 1 March 2010.

The role of the harp is exemplified by this portrait of the Scottish Countess of Eglinton from 1777 and also a self-portrait by painter and composer Rose Adélaïde Ducreux from 1790 (see Figures 1.5 and 1.6). In Reynold's portrait the Countess of Eglinton is shown

[28] Sadie, "Musiciennes of the Ancien Regime," 207-8.

holding the harp correctly, in an unladylike manner between her legs. In contrast, Ducreux is show standing next to the harp, posing instead of actually performing.

Figure 1.6: Rose Adélaïde Ducreux, "A Self-portrait with a Harp,"1790*

*[1] Rose Adélaïde Ducreux, "A Self-Portrait With Harp," 1790, http://www.artistsandart.org/2009/06/women-and-music-in-art-16-18th-c.html, accessed 1 March 2010.

Although the rise of the bourgeois class in the late-eighteenth century was coupled with a growing music industry of festivals, concerts and new concert halls, upper and middle class professional female musicians were controlled by male authority. Men ran the concerts, directed the ensembles and music schools, and were responsible for engaging musicians.[29] The post-French Revolutionary era heralded changes that left women few rights; they were barred from politics and had almost no rights to own

[29] Reich, "Women as Musicians," 130.

property or ask for divorce. Men controlled society and women were subjected to their will. Paradoxically, upper class and bourgeois men valued music education in their wives, yet did not want them to perform publicly.[30] Because of the popularity of idealism such as Rousseau's, in the late eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century women were generally expected to stay home and raise families.[31] This made it increasingly difficult socially for women who had relied on music as a profession out of economic necessity.[32] Men who objected to their wives' desire to practice music professionally were pressured by cultural constructions; men did not want it to appear to others like they were not in control of their household, nor to allow their wives to exhibit their bodies publicly.[33] "The appearance of a woman on the concert stage," wrote Nancy Reich, "could undermine the hard-won social status of her bourgeois family: consequently, even the most gifted were expected to confine their musical activities to the home."[34]

Although women were gradually admitted to music conservatories and schools in the nineteenth century, they were educated only for careers as private music teachers, not public performers.[35] The same gender constructions in instrumental music prevailed in the nineteenth century: women were encouraged to play the harp, piano, and guitar, all instruments seen as appropriate for the home and for accompanying the primary female musical activity, singing. "In practice, women were initially forbidden to study such traditionally male subjects as composition and orchestration," remarks E. Douglas

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[30] Ibid., 137.

[31] Ibid., 131.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Reich, "European Composers and Musicians, ca.1800-1890," in 150.

Bomberger.[36] For women, the most popular instrument after singing was the piano. Notable female solo performers of the era remained pianists, including Clara Wieck Schumann (1819-1896), the wife of renowned composer Robert Schumann. Nonetheless, the majority of female pianists confined their playing to the privacy of their own homes, unlike Clara Schumann who performed in public.

Gender constructions of difference were particularly prominent in prudish Victorian society where women were subject to strict codes of conduct. Contemporary portrayals of women in this era emphasized their extreme emotionality, or hysteria. The construction of a woman who is incapable of mastering her emotions was discussed by George Upton in 1889:

> Conceding that music is the highest expression of the emotions, and that woman is emotional by nature, is it not one solution of the problem that woman does not musically reproduce them because she herself is emotional by temperament and nature, and cannot project herself outwardly, any more than she can give outward expression to other mysterious and deeply hidden traits of her nature? The emotion is a part of herself, and is natural to her as breathing. She lives in emotion, and acts from emotion. She feels its influences, its control, and its power; but she does not see these results as man looks at them.[37]

Upton suggested that women are emotional and subjective while men are rational and scientific, a common sexist nineteenth-century viewpoint. Upton observed that men practice music longer because women lose inspiration as they age because of household duties. Whereas men did not have such domestic distractions and could consecrate themselves to their art of performing or composing, marriage was the end of musical training for many women.[38] Upton's description of women in music reflects the

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[36] Bomberger, "The Nineteenth Century," in *From Convent to Concert Hall*, 156.

[37] George Upton, *Woman in Music* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1889), 23.

[38] Ibid., 25.

prejudice of nineteenth century society; Rousseau's ideal of women as nurturers and home-makers is upheld.

Nevertheless, some women persisted and became proficient at what were considered "unfeminine" instruments. In "Whence Comes the Lady Tympanist," Beth Abel Macleod cites the prominent American music critic, John Sullivan Dwight, who, writing about a Madison Female College concert in 1853 "took pianists, guitarists and harpists in stride, but expressed shock at 13 young lady violinists (!), 1 young lady violist (!!), 4 violoncellists (!!!) and 1 young lady contrabassist (!!!!)." [39] Dwight's editorial exclamation points indicate his astonishment at women playing larger instruments, even though he appeared to be open to the concept of female performers in his critique. Dwight's reaction parallels Botrigari's much earlier astonishment at hearing competent women performers; it was still a novelty three centuries later to see women playing orchestral instruments.

A few female violinists pioneered the way to the dissolution of some of these gender constructions. In 1893, violin soloist Camille Urso demanded that women musicians be allowed to work in the same capacity as their male-counterparts.[40] Maud Powell also helped popularize the concept of a female violinist, founding one of the first all-women string quartets in 1894 and touring with a female string trio in the early 1900s. Powell had trained in Europe, however, at the Leipzig and Paris Conservatories, not in America.[41] Some Victorian women were taught to play the cello "side-saddle" so that they would not have to straddle the instrument. British cellist Beatrice Harrison (1892- premiered the Cello Concerto by Frederick Delius and gave the first radio broadcast of Edward Elgar's Cello Concerto; she reputedly learned with this position before later

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[39] Beth Abel Macleod, *Women Performing Music* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001), 9.

[40] Judith Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl," in *Women Making Music*, 327.

[41] Karen Schaffer, "Powell, Maud," *Grove Music Online*, accessed 23 July 2010.

adopting the traditional cello-hold.[42] Figure 1.7 shows her holding the cello as she did later in her career.

Julius Eichberg, director of the Boston Conservatory in the 1880s, allowed women into his violin class there and applauded their orchestral abilities openly, assisting the formation of the "Eichberg Ladies String Quartette" and the "Eichberg String Orchestra."[43] Pioneers such as Eichberg showed educational institutions and the general public that women were capable of becoming talented musicians.

Figure 1.7: Beatrice Harrison with cello, accompanied by Edward Elgar at piano*

*http://www.elgar.org/3beatrice.jpg, accessed 26 July 2010.

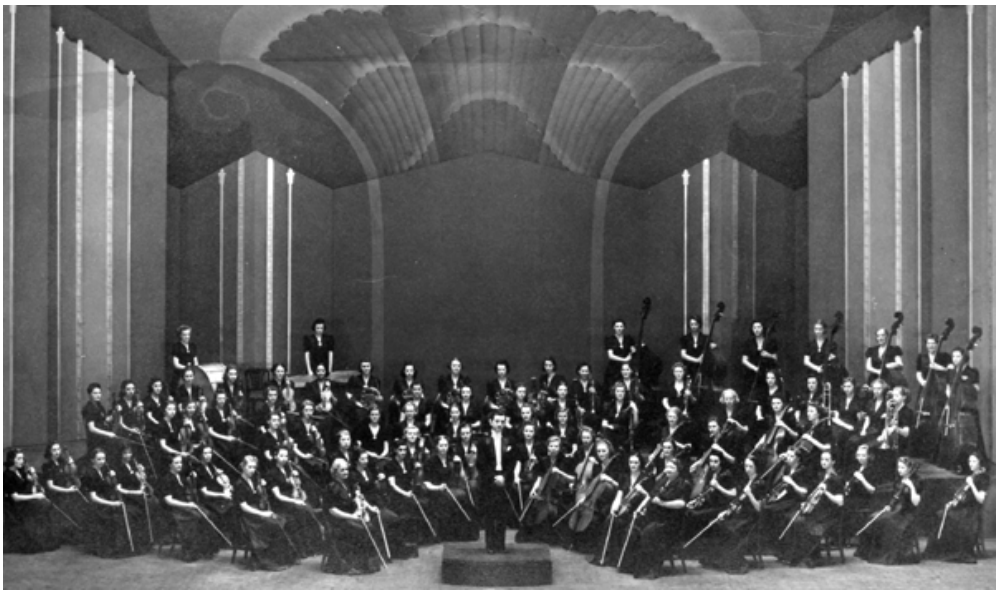
[42] David Sanders."Beatrice Harrison," http://www.cello.org/cnc/beatrice.htm, accessed 25 July 2010.

[43] Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl," 328.

The Importance of Ladies' Orchestras

The Maud Powells, Beatrice Harrisons and Julius Eichbergs led the way to women's inclusion in professional orchestras, but it did not happen overnight. Judith Tick observes that women formed all-women's orchestras (see Figure 1.8) out of a desire to earn a living, but that they were sometimes pressured to perform "light" repertory deemed appropriate for women.

Figure 1.8: The Cleveland Women's Orchestra, First Concert Performance at Severance Hall, 1936*



*http://www.clevelandwomensorchestra.org/history.html, accessed 1 March 2010.

They created free-lance ensembles that were not supposed to compete with the all-male municipal orchestras and theaters.[44] By 1888 the Boston Fadettes had earned a national reputation, playing vaudeville music as well as classical music and standard "hits."[45] Other orchestras, such as the New York Ladies Orchestra, the New York Women's String Orchestra, and the Ladies' Elite Orchestra of Atlantic Garden, were gaining momentum and by the 1900s many of these female ensembles were performing standard repertory.[46]

The novelty of these ensembles attracted audiences; Tick comments that "they exploited the prejudice that made them oddities, since the curiosity value of women playing cornets or double basses could attract audiences on that basis alone."[47] Nevertheless, female musicians yearned to be recognized and paid accordingly, on an equal level with men. "If I had the chance to substitute for a man I should do so in a minute," wrote one member of the Ladies' Elite orchestra in 1904; "Now we are limited to concert work or to musical organizations composed entirely of women. I am sure a great many of us could hold our own with the majority of men."[48]

Women were admitted to the music union in 1904. Although many men were absent from orchestras during World War I, the men not drafted resented working closely with any women hired as substitute players. Moreover, the same social constructions that represented women as frail or implied that it was inappropriate for women to play instruments that required wind power or would make them distort their facial expressions

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[44] Ibid., 330-331.

[45] Ibid., 331.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., 329.

[48] Ibid., 332. Tick is quoting from "Opinions of New York Leaders on Women as Orchestral Players," *Musical Standard*, 2 April 1904.

still acted as barriers to women wanting to gain employment. One conductor commented that "cornetists, clarinetists, flutists and the like, they are quite impossible, except in concert work. Women cannot possibly play brass instruments and look pretty, and why should they spoil their looks?"[49] Macleod cites one critic of women in ensembles who argued, "You shouldn't expect a man to keep his eyes divided between the music on his stand and the stick of his conductor when his sweetheart is a member of the organization, and is seated somewhere across the room."[50] Women's bodies, seen as a nuisance and a distraction, were not welcome. Managers not only were concerned about the distracting factor of a female presence in orchestras, but also how to maintain moral standards on tour.[51] Conditioned by the gender construction of feminine weakness, management also often questioned whether women had the stamina for long work hours.

In the 1920s and 1930s some orchestras with smaller budgets became more flexible and allowed women in their ranks, but all thirteen major American symphonies still barred women.[52] Thus, more than thirty all-women orchestras flourished in the 1930s. With the dissolution of silent films and the Great Depression, many theater musicians lost their jobs and numerous new orchestras were founded, creating jobs for displaced musicians. More than ever, male musicians were desperate for orchestral jobs and did not welcome female competition.[53] Although during World War II the economic situation was similar to World War I in that the job market was affected by men leaving for war, it was not until women such as conductor Antonia Brico led the fight for

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[49] Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl," 332-33.

[50] Beth Abelson Macleod, *Women Performing Music* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2001), 15.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Neuls-Bates, "Women's Orchestras in the U.S., 1925-45," 358.

[53] Ibid.

integration. Men were allowed to join the New York Women's Symphony in 1938, which soon disbanded as America's top orchestras finally began to admit women during World War II.[54] Some men furthered women musician's cause by arguing to let them keep their jobs after the war. For example, when Sir Thomas Beecham accused women of being a "disturbing element" in orchestras, American conductor Hans Kindler of the National Symphony argued that, "If anything their [women's] ability and enthusiasm constitute an added stimulant for the male performer to do as well."[55] Kindler and others challenged the underlying assumption that women were anything less than professional at work.

Mixed Orchestras and Changing Constructions of Gender

The notion that women could not coexist with men in the orchestral workforce was propagated long into the twentieth century. While he was conductor of the New York Philharmonic, Zubin Mehta was quoted as saying that, "I just don't think women should be in an orchestra. They become men. Men treat them as equals; they even change their pants in front of them. I just think it's terrible!"[56] Nevertheless, Mehta prefaced this statement by qualifying that "They [women] are very good—they got their jobs in competition with men." To Mehta, if women were given equal treatment they would somehow lose their feminine qualities and that was a capital sin, even if they were just as qualified to work as their male counterparts.

Mehta's mentality has frequently been echoed by members of the Vienna Philharmonic well into the 1990s, who somehow believe a female presence might taint the actual sound of the orchestra. Dieter Flury, principal flutist of the Vienna

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[54] Ibid., 362.

[55] Ibid, 364.

[56] Judy Klemesrudv, "Mehta's Mystique: Baton in Hand, Foot in Mouth?" *The New York Times*, 18 October 1970, p. D15.

Philharmonic, defended the orchestra's policy of discrimination against women by arguing, like Upton in the nineteenth century, that women's emotionalism will interfere with the unity of the orchestra:

> We have a male harpist, and two ladies. If you ask how noticeable the gender is with these colleagues, my personal experience is that this instrument is so far at the edge of the orchestra that it doesn't disturb our emotional unity, the unity I would strongly feel, for example, when the orchestra starts really cooking with a Mahler symphony. There, I sense very strongly and simply that only men sit around me. And as I said, I would not want to gamble with this unity. [57]

Not surprisingly, Mehta, who shares Upton's and Zehtner's sexist attitude, currently conducts the Vienna Philharmonic's annual New Year's Eve concert. Like American women's orchestras of the early twentieth century, Vienna still maintains one of the most illustrious all-women ensembles, the Vienna Philharmonic Women's Orchestra.[58] Although this example of gender construction is European, a similar sexist mentality silently hides behind discrimination against women musicians in the United States. Women are made to feel unwelcome in some sections of the orchestra, but perhaps not always as blatantly as in this cartoon that appeared in the *New Yorker* in 1997, the year the Vienna Philharmonic was forced to accept women. (See Figure 1.9.)

In spite of women's acceptance into orchestras, women of the post-World War II years continued to be discouraged from performing on instruments that required them to appear unattractive or ungainly. Raymond Paige, music director of Radio City Music Hall orchestra alleged as late as 1952 that "instruments requiring physical force are a dubious choice, partly because women lack the strength for them, partly because the spectacle of a girl engaging in such physical exertions is not attractive."[59] Paige asserted that no

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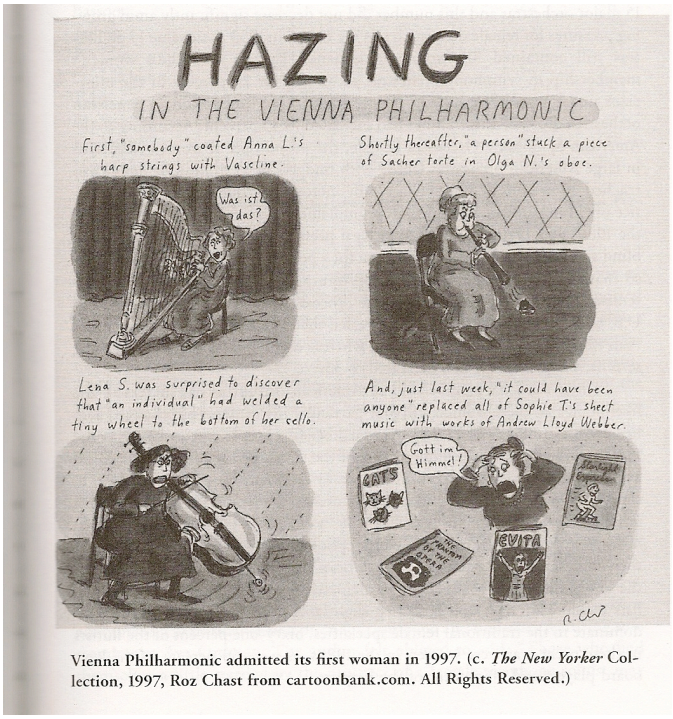
[57] William Osborne, "Tokenism and Firings."

[58] See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jaz2CHhbb3Q&feature=related for a video of the Vienna Philharmonic Women's Orchestra performing Johann Strauss' "Annen Polka" for an excellent demonstration of the Viennese style.

[59] Macleod, " Whence Comes the Lady Tympanist?", 20.

audience enjoys watching women contort their physique to play larger brass and percussion instruments and that therefore "their employment chances are slimmer."[60]

Figure 1.9: Roz Chast, "Hazing in the Vienna Philharmonic*



Vienna Philharmonic admitted its first woman in 1997. (c. *The New Yorker* Collection, 1997, Roz Chast from cartoonbank.com. All Rights Reserved.)

* Roz Cast, "Hazing in the Vienna Philharmonic," *The New Yorker Collection*, 1997. www.cartoonbank.com , accessed 31 July 2010.

Macleod identifies an important historical paradox that still pertains to women musicians of the twentieth century: women should learn instruments but must, at all costs, preserve decorum and grace. Nonetheless, by 1989, Paula Robinson's flute playing was ironically being applauded by reviewer Gordon Sparber of the *Washington Post* as

60 Ibid.

gutsy and he remarked that, “Such fierce power from a flutist forces a listener to sit up and take notice.”[61] Women have finally been encouraged to play with strength and conviction, and this was perceived positively at least by some.

In the brass sections, challenging this stereotype has met with more resistance than other wind instruments. A few talented women showed audiences that women could be orchestral soloists: Ellen Stone Bogoda, the first brass player ever hired in a mixed orchestra, made history when she was hired by the Pittsburgh Orchestra as principal horn player in 1937. However, late in the twentieth century, blatant sexism towards female brass players continued to emerge. During a master class at Boston University in 1991, Rolf Smedvig, former principal trumpet of the Boston Symphony, made incendiary comments concerning a female player that created such a stir that the *Boston Globe* covered the event and the ensuing complaints.

> Boys, I mean, we grow up at the age of 5, you know, and we're playing in the dirt and you guys are playing with dolls. I'm sorry to say that, but . . . some women brass players have a really tough time leaving those womanly traits behind and getting more aggressive. You came out there and it looked like you had your doily dress on and you were going to tiptoe through the tulips, you know, and play this. . . . You can’t do that when you have a trumpet in your hands. So basically, my suggestion on that, and this is something I think can help everyone, is to try to widen your emotional response to the music.[62]

Ironically, Smedvig criticizes women for not being sufficiently emotive where in the nineteenth century emotionalism was a negative feminine attribute. Women musicians are considered out of control if they express their emotions, yet condemned when they are not aggressive enough. Smedvig later apologized for his comments when he participated in a panel on gender and music organized to alleviate tensions after three women brass students involved in the Boston University master class complained.

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[61] Macleod, “Playing With Style,” 141.

[62] Richard Dyer,“Of Gender, Bravado and Brass,” *The Boston Globe*, 21 April 1991.

Smedvig continued to convey historically negative sex-role stereotypes, however, when he noted that in spite of strong women players in the professional circuit, "There is a design problem inherent in the basic personalities of women when it comes to brass instruments," while further noting that he didn't think women were capable of capturing the "animal" quality of Igor Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*.[63] Smedvig implies there is something biologically or psychologically inherent in women, making it impossible for them to be successful at brass instruments.

Flutist Doriot Dwyer was part of the panel that addressed Smedvig's remarks. Dwyer commented on the difference between valuing quantity of sound over quality, and how it had not always been an easy path for women musicians trying to exist in a hostile orchestral environment. Some women, like Dwyer, decide it is easier to not fight prejudice. "Sexism in orchestras is habitual, and I decided I would shed no more tears over it," Dwyer noted. She continued,

> I grew up listening to opera, where women always had prominent roles; I noticed that nobody ever said that somebody sang well 'for a woman'; a woman can sing as loud as any man. Never have I heard a conductor urge a male instrumentalist to play in a more feminine way. We have all heard male horn players play every note as if it were the worst note on the instrument, and nobody would tell them to play more like a woman; that would be considered a put-down because men consider themselves superior to women. But I have certainly heard women being told to play more like a man. A player should be able to take on any role, any character, like an actor. And quantity of sound should never take precedence over beauty of sound; the quality of sound we make is a statement about us.[64]

Dwyer calls for a respect for musicianship, where music takes precedence over gender or individual performance. Dwyer is reluctant to challenge gender constructions for fear of feeling unwanted in her workplace or even losing her job. At the same time, she realizes

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

gender constructions create a hierarchy where women's playing is less respected than men's.

As implied in Smedvig's extremist attitude towards women brass players, one social construction suggests that women are smaller and thus have less lung power. Small men do not have to prove that they have the physiology to blow into a trombone or trumpet, but it can be hard for women orchestral musicians to prove their musicianship when they face harassment by a conductor who has a sexist outlook. Trombonist Rebecca Bower, formerly with the Pittsburgh Symphony, spoke of her experiences with then music director Lorin Maazel who refused her tenure in 1990 on the grounds that he was concerned about the lack of sound she was producing and her breath control.[65] Because Maazel had often conveyed his appreciation for her talent in the previous season, Bower felt his refusal "came out of the blue."[66] Bower decided to respond by "blasting [her] head off, trying to exceed his wildest expectations as to volume" and was awarded tenure in 1991.[67] In spite of the fact that Bowers was hired as co-principal, Maazel demoted Bowers to second trombone seventy percent of the time.[68] Maazel thus sent a mixed message to Bowers that he found her worthy of tenure, but he was not comfortable having her in a position of leadership in the orchestra.

New Directions: One Step Forward and One Step Back

Just as women in the corporate world claim the existence of a "glass ceiling" that blocks them from becoming part of the highest paid elite, women musicians at the beginning of the twentieth-first century are still under-represented in orchestras or at any

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[65] David Bruenger, "Women Trombonists in North American Orchestras and Universities," *ITA Journal* 20 (1992): 17.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

level of management in music. Sexism has forced women to create alternative careers deemed more appropriate to their gender, forcing them into a lower economic strata because the more lucrative jobs in the solo brass and percussion sections have traditionally been reserved for men. Some journalists have even referred to this as the "brass ceiling" when a career in brass playing is perceived as impossible for women. [69]

Men are not solely responsible for the economic stratification caused by these socially constructed differences. Sometimes women are unable or unwilling to demand more equal work conditions. Jacqueline Du Pre, one of the few female cello soloists to achieve international fame in the twentieth century, was quoted early in her career as saying that she did not adhere to the values of the women's liberation movement: "I'm afraid I don't know very much about it….A girl came up to me after one concert and said she was pleased at my success for women's lib. It rather frightened me."[70] Du Pre cultivated a glamorous image, which made her extremely popular with male audiences in the 1960s-1970s.

Fifty years later, violinist Lara St. John is equally resistant to creating controversy about differences between the treatment of women and men. At age twenty, Lara St. John brought marketing classical music to a whole new level when she released an album of solo Bach in which she appeared nude on the cover with only her violin covering her chest. "I thought it was an artistic way of depicting what was therein, which was solo Bach. So, basically, a violinist and a violin, and that's it," argued Lara St. John in a recent National Public Radio interview.[71] When asked if she thought women had to market

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[69] See Susan Larson, "Women Musicians Bend 'Brass Ceiling,'" *The Boston Globe*, 6 September 1998, and "Jantsch Breaks the Brass Ceiling," *International Musician* 104 (2006): 21-23.

[70] Enid Nemy. "Women's Lib: It's not for Her" *The New York Times*, 18 November 1970, p. 54.

[71] Tom Huizenga, "Lara St. John: A Little Skin, Lots of Violin," *NPR Music*, 29 July 2010.http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story/.php?storyId=128820860, accessed 1 August 2010.

themselves to look sexier than men on album covers, she admitted, "I think there's probably that dichotomy between men and women in all walks of life. Isn't classical music just a microcosm?"[72]

Figure 1.10: Lara St. John, "Bach Works for Violin Solo," 1996*

* Lara St. John, Compact Disc cover, "Bach Works for Violin Solo," (Berkely: Well Tempered Productions, 50708880, 1996).

What was formerly taboo for women—showing skin on the stage—has become not only acceptable, but moreover a factor in promotional tactics in music to draw in bigger audiences. Modern day marketing dictates that all musicians should not just play well, but also sell music through their bodies. Female musicians are additionally expected to have sex appeal, not unlike their counterparts in pop music. Unlike most men, women musicians become more of a body than an artist. Sometimes this objectification is so pronounced that they are not even shown with their instruments. Figure 1.11 features

[72] Ibid.

world-famous cellist Ofra Harnoy, who leans forward provocatively but is pictured without her cello. This album cover sends the message that Harnoy's body is more important than what instrument she plays or the works she is performing.

Figure 1.11: Ofray Hornoy, "Volume 2 Brahms Cello Sonatas"*

* Ofra Harnoy, "Ofra Harnoy Collection, Volume 2: Brahms Cello Sonatas," *RCA*, 317863942, 1996), www.amazon.com, accessed 26 July 2010.

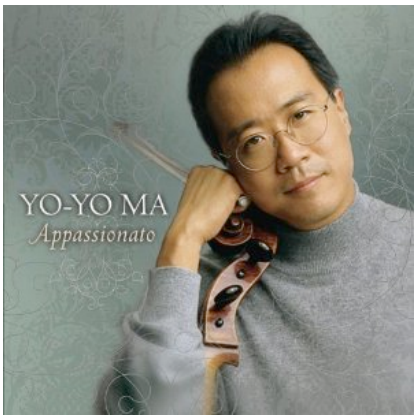
Beth Abelson Macleod comments on the trend towards marketing women musicians differently from men, noting that "men can be intense, sensitive, casual or middle-aged, where it is preferable for women to be young and beautiful."[73] Now defunct, a 2005 website called "beautyinmusic.com," featured photographs of female classical musicians and comments. Referring to this website, *New York Times* reporter Daniel Wakin

[73] Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, 152.

commented on the similarity to sexism in American society in general: “Cheesecake CD covers and slinky gowns are as much a part of the hawking of classical music as of any other field.”[74]

Marketing is different for classical male musicians, as exemplified in Figure 1.12. This difference is sometimes maintained by women such as Lara St. John, who create dichotomy between male marketing and female marketing by using a physical image to sell an audio product. This differentiation denigrates women: men do not need to undress to have their music taken seriously or to sell compact discs.

Figure 1.12: Yo-Yo Ma, "Appassionato" album cover*



* Yo-Yo Ma, *Appassionato* (Sony Classics, 775361177, 2007), www.amazon.com, accessed 26 July 2010.

Today men are portrayed conservatively in classical marketing; it is more often their music and not their bodies being sold. Cellist Yo-Yo Ma’s album cover for the

[74] Daniel J. Wakin, “Classical Cleavage,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 2005.

romantically titled album, “Appassionato” is in strict contrast to Ofrah Harnoy’s plunging necklines, yet he is one of America’s best-selling classical artists. This gender hierarchy does not allow women to compete on equal grounds with men. The risk in nude marketing techniques is that audiences may remember Yo-Yo Ma’s cello playing, but only Lara St. John’s album covers.

In another example, the Eroica Piano Trio continues today to embrace sexy marketing by putting “cheesecake” images on their album covers and sending a clear message to their audiences that their visual appearance is at least as important as their music. In their publicity photograph in Figure 1.13, animal prints and spiked-heel boots are used to suggest eroticism and savageness, distracting from the trio’s serious musical ability.

Figure 1.13: The Eroica Trio, publicity photo*

* Eroica Trio Recital publicity photo, http://uniontheater.wisc.edu/calendar.asp, accessed 26 July 2010.

In contrast, eroticism and glamour have no place for female orchestral musicians who are generally not required to “sell” themselves through their appearance. In an effort

to avoid distracting the audience from the music, strict dress codes of "concert black," usually a tuxedo or tails for men and long black sleeves and pants or skirts for women, are enforced by contract. Orchestral dress is modeled after a nineteenth-century male costume of tuxedo or tails, creating a dilemma for women who have to find the equivalent of this "masculine" attire.

Nancy Mehta, Zubin Mehta's wife, argued for a consistent dress code in 1996 in an article that appeared in the *New Yorker* addressing the issue of how to reconcile femininity with the male dress code. The *New Yorker* illustration (Figure 1.14) that accompanies the article features elegant white and black "uniforms" for women in the New York Philharmonic by famous clothing designers. "A uniform of their own," states Paula Deitz, "not necessarily based on male tailoring but incorporating black and white and also a variety of cuts, for a range of movement related to the demands of different instruments—would give women the look they deserve as full-fledged members of the music community."[75] However, the elegant gowns illustrated are not functionally designed for a "range of different movements," but they are designed to make an already tall and thin woman look sleek and beautiful. Dietz perceives a dilemma in trying to make women appear elegant, or feminine, in a situation where a uniform is required to match the men's.[76] However, even though designers like Yves-Saint Laurent have created very chic versions of the male tuxedo, the dresses in Figure 1.14 inexorably return to a socially constructed idea of femininity that is not only impractical, but also reveal so much skin that they turn women into sex objects.[77] Ironically, these "feminine

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[75] Paula Dietz. "Onstage: Ladies of the Orchestra," *The New Yorker* 72, 4 November 1996.

[76] Judith Lorber, "Night to His Day," in *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States*, ed. Paula S. Rothenberg (New York: Worth, 2007), 59.

[77] For examples of female tuxedos, see http://www.style.com/fashionshows/powersearch?trend=trend28&designer=design_house3, accessed 4 August 2010.

uniforms" would sustain the nineteenth-century construction of women as a "distracting" element in the symphony.

Figure 1.14: Drawing from *The New Yorker*, Paula Dietz, "Playing with Style"*

* Paula Dietz. "Onstage: Ladies of the Orchestra," *The New Yorker* 72, 4 November 1996.

Although women have not quite found equal footing in the orchestral world, they have come a long way from the days when music-making was limited to domestic instruments such as keyboards or strummed instruments. Confined to the home by patriarchal laws and social constructions, women had to struggle to receive musical training worthy of a professional musician. Because the harp was considered the most feminine of all orchestral instruments, women harpists were the first to enter American orchestras. The popularity of women solo violinist helped women string players to gain admittance to America's newly-founded music schools. Even after women entered music conservatories, classes were segregated and women were oriented towards careers as teachers, not orchestral musicians. Banned from America's first orchestras in the late nineteenth century, female musicians were able to earn income and gain professional experience in all-women's orchestras. Gradually women were permitted to join the music

union and demanded to be allowed equal job opportunities. The shortage of male musicians during World War II enabled many women to enter formerly all-male orchestras. Higher-pitched and smaller wind instruments like the flute became acceptable for women to play, but the heavier and louder instruments of the orchestra were still viewed as incompatible with a socially constructed notion of femininity. Gradually, blind auditions slowed visual discrimination and women began to be hired in all sections of America's orchestras.

Currently, although women are still a minority in orchestras, they are present. The American Federation of Music has ensured they have the right to audition and work alongside men. For the most part, their integration has been successful and in many orchestras, men have learned to work alongside women without feeling distracted or threatened. Women can pursue a variety of careers as teachers, soloists or orchestral players and they are well-represented in the string sections, upper wood winds, and as keyboardists.

In spite of the role models of successful women brass players in top American orchestras, historically constructed stereotypes such as those professed by Rolf Smedvig in 1991concerning women's capability endure. Not only do women face hurdles at the hiring level; these socially constructed ideas of femininity haunt them in the workplace once they are employed, making it difficult for them to rehearse and perform with ease.

Sexism is embedded in American culture, which continues to portray women as passive, sexual objects (bodies) and men as strong, successful leaders. For hundreds of years women have struggled to break out of these rigid constructions and show that they are equally capable. Gender does not have a divisive affect on music, which is often defined as an "international language," yet these historically constructed ideas of masculinity and femininity in music have driven men and women apart, reserving the best jobs for men. In order for orchestral musicians to succeed, they need to be heard, not seen. Women and men both must be judged on their musical aptitude, not their gender.

CHAPTER TWO:

"THE FAIR, NEW WORLD OF ORCHESTRA AUDITIONS?" BIAS IN HIRING AND THE WORK ENVIRONMENT IN MAJOR SYMPHONIES

> When the criteria for inclusion into elite performance situations are entirely musical, there is no problem. However, it is extremely easy for other criteria to be applied. Even excellent musicians sometimes listen more with their eyes or with their preconceptions than with their ears. Prejudices can bias our perceptions significantly. Prejudice can focus on anything and have a significant impact in a competitive, intense environment.[1]

The string section of any major orchestra in America today would give the impression that women have been accepted into the elite symphonic workforce. Some women even hold title positions, like Sarah Kwak, acting concertmaster of Minnesota Orchestra, or Cynthia Phelps, principal viola of the New York Philharmonic. Nonetheless, it is only partially correct to assume that progress made by labor unions and women's rights advocates in the second half of the twentieth century have had a positive impact on the integration of women into America's top symphonies. In some orchestra sections, notably the upper strings, this has held to be true, but others, like the brass, remain male.[2] The introduction of "blind auditions"[3] in the late 1950s and the almost widespread adoption of this audition policy by the 1980s and 1990s helped women surmount the most overt discrimination and the visible barriers that inhibited their assimilation into the musical elite. In a blind audition, the entire identity of a candidate is

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[1] Bruenger, 21.

[2] An orchestra section is defined by an instrumental group; for instance, the violins, violas, celli and bass comprise the string section, trombones, horn, tuba and trumpet the brass section, and flute, oboes, clarinets and bassoons the woodwinds.

[3] Typically unions monitor the audition to ensure that the committee, (which consists of the musical director and various members of the orchestra) does not discover the identity of the candidate. Speaking is not permitted between committee members and there is a proctor to convey any questions the candidate might have to the committee. Candidates may not speak during an audition.

supposedly hidden as a screen is placed between the committee and the musician. The screen has promoted the hiring of a higher proportion of female musicians, as well as other under-represented populations such as Latinos/as and African Americans. “Gone are the days, “ writes Bernard Holland in 1981 in *The New York Times*, “when conductors like Fritz Reiner would fire 45 to 40 Pittsburgh Symphony players per season and replace them by means of private auditions…to be sure, some inequities and certainly plenty of anguish may still exist, but today auditions for symphony orchestras are conducted by duly-selected player committees whose members go to almost endless lengths to eliminate all forms of prejudice and favoritism in the selection process.”[4]

Some auditioning musicians have contested the use of a screen, claiming that having a barrier distorts their sound. Other committee members affirm that they can determine the auditioning musician’s gender because a woman’s breath intake is different (less deep) than a man’s. Both Julie Landsman (principal horn, the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra) and Carol Jantsch (prinicpal tuba, Philadelphia Orchestra) challenge this assumption; they both believe that if a breath is heard, the player is not breathing with proper technique. A scientific economic study *Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of “Blind” Auditions on Female Musicians*, conducted by Claudia Goldin and Cecilia Rouse in 1988 through a joint Harvard-Princeton effort was conclusive: their study showed that the use of blind auditions was directly proportional to the overall rise in women being hired by American orchestras.[5] “Using data from actual auditions in an individual fixed-effects framework,” write Goldin and Rouse,

> we find that the screen increases--by 50%--the probability a woman will be advanced out of certain preliminary rounds. . . .the switch to “blind” auditions can explain between 30% and 55% of the increase in the proportion female among new hires and

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[4] Bernard Holland, “The Fair, New World of Orchestra Auditions,” *The New York Times*, 11January 1981, D1.

[5] Goldin and Rouse.

> between 25% and 46% of the increase in the percentage female in the orchestras since 1970." [6]

A civil rights lawsuit in the 1970s involving the African American bassist Art Davis and the New York Philharmonic probably iniated the widespread use of the screen in auditions, but women have equally benefitted from the practice of blind auditions. In *Blink*, Malcolm Gladwell notes that "by fixing the first impression at the heart of the audition—by judging purely on the basis of ability—orchestras now hire better musicians, and better musicians mean better music."[7]

The Princeton-Harvard study analyzed the proportion of woman hired by dividing the audition process into three segments (preliminary round, semi-finals, and final round) and evaluated the success of female candidates with a screen and without the protection of blind auditions. Seeking to prove whether they could identify discrimination as a factor in the low proportion of women hired from 1970 to the 1990s, Goldin and Rouse concluded that because hiding the identity and thus the sex of the candidate increased the employment of women in the top eight American orchestras. Goldin and Rouse further noted that discrimination adversely affected the hiring of women when the screen was not used. "The impact of the screen is positive and large in magnitude," observe Goldin and Rouse, "Women are about 5 percentage points more likely to be hired than are men in a completely 'blind' audition."[8] By "completely blind," Goldin and Rouse refer to an audition where the screen is maintained for both preliminary and final rounds of the audition. Goldin and Rouse qualify this statement by adding that "Because the probability of winning an audition is less than 3 percent, even a 1 percentage point increase is

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[6] Goldin and Rouse, abstract.

[7] Malcolm Gladwell, "Conclusion Listening with Your Eyes: The Lessons of Blink," in *Blink: The Power of Thinking Without Thinking* (New York: Little, Brown and Co.,2005), 253.

[8] Goldin and Rouse, 19.

large."[9] In fact, some auditions for one position in a major symphony can last for three days because there are so many candidates vying for one seat.

Boston Globe journalist Geoff Edgers describes the difficulty of a major orchestra audition in an article detailing the cut-throat competitiveness of an audition that often only lasts six minutes. "Take the level of competition and scrutiny at a pro football tryout," he writes, "Add a shield of secrecy rivaling Yale's Skull and Bones society. Then, to complete the drama, throw in the screen."[10] Edgers traces one violinist's audition process, noting that "typical job-interview expectations don't mean a thing here. There is no schmoozing or name-dropping, no wining and dining or hot prospects."[11] Edgers emphasizes that orchestra auditions are more like a race than a typical interview; the musicians should ultimately be purely judged on their talent, not on who they are.

Although the use of the screen reduces favoritism or outright prejudice, nonetheless a certain degree of bias is introduced in the fact that many orchestras pre-screen candidates by asking for their curriculum vitae and then inviting only certain candidates. Holland remarks that some talent is "lost in the shuffle" because of this pre-screening on paper, and tells the story of Judith LeClair, a young female bassoonist engaged in the 1980s by the New York Philharmonic. Originally her application was rejected, and only reinstated "after an urgent call from an esteemed professional, K. David Van Hoesen, her former teacher at the Eastman School of Music and one-time bassoonist with the Cleveland Orchestra." LeClair, aged twenty three, was hired out of seventy-five auditioning bassoonists.[12] Without the support of a male, well-known bassoonist, she would not have been heard by the audition committee.

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[9] Ibid., 19.

[10] Geoff Edgers, "6 Minutes to Shine," *The Boston Globe*, 4 September, 2005.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Holland, D1.

There is always means for the audition committee to know who is behind the screen, but the music unions have worked to minimize this likelihood. A committee member might recognize the particular sound or style of playing of a contender. The candidate may have had a lesson with the principal player, who might clue them into what a particular conductor or the committee members are seeking in a candidate. Although during most major auditions a candidate is not even allowed even to tune on stage, a musician can add a specific ornament or stylistic effect to let the committee know who they are. Ava Ordmann, principal trombonist of the Grand Rapids Symphony in 1992, remembers an audition where a committee member was puzzled that Ordman did not advance to the final round. He questioned another committee member about why "number six" had not advanced, and the man replied, "Oh, you mean the girl."[13] Obviously Ordmann's identity was not protected by giving her a random number, a common practice in auditions.

However, in a major audition, due to the sheer number of qualified musicians and the quality of those candidates, it is unlikely that the committee will identify the person behind the screen. Edgers notes that the committees strictly regulate conversation or any other communication between committee members during a major audition. The candidate, as well, is never allowed to address the committee, but must speak through a proctor if necessary. Holland, however, notes that the most common way for a committee to discriminate is by rejecting all candidates. "'Phony' auditions go through the motions of hearing many and choosing no one," Holland observes, "thus freeing committees to turn later in 'desperation' to some preselected friend. The question of discrimination and possible lawsuits is finessed, and the crony gets the job."[14]

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[13] Bruenger, 17.

[14] Holland, D1.

In regional or community orchestras, often not unionized, audition practices vary and are typically not as strict. As a member of an Iowa community orchestra recently noted, sometimes when the committee members discuss candidates it may work to the disadvantage of the auditioning player. [15] In one instance, the committee was discussing their favorite candidate, who had auditioned behind a screen, and one member of the committee mentioned that he thought the candidate might be a fantastic female tuba player he knew that had a similar, beautiful tone-quality. As soon as he suggested the gender of the player, the other committee members began to find faults that they had not previously noted in the discussion, and they ended up dismissing that candidate. Ironically, the tuba player was male.[16] As Gladwell notes in *Blink*, it is better to trust your first impression. In this case, it is probable that the strongest candidate was dismissed by mistaken gender discrimination.

Issues in the Orchestral Workplace

Once a woman is admitted into an orchestra, bias and child care issues (also a problem for men) in the workplace can create additional hardships. Until there are enough women in an orchestra to create a support network, women sometimes face harassment or try to resolve child care issues on their own. Jutta Allmendinger of Munich University and J. Richard Hackman of Harvard University published a study in 1995 entitled, "The More, the Better? A Four-Nation Study of the Inclusion of Women in Symphony Orchestras." Allmendinger and Hackman conclude that women must be represented by at least 40% in a symphony to be comfortable in the orchestra's culture. Female integration drastically improves when they are represented above 40% in an orchestra. Allmendinger and Hackman note the historical barriers to female players:

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[15] Interview with cellist (who wishes to remain anonymous) from the Dubuque Symphony, 2009.

[16] Ibid., 2009.

> The type of organization we studied, the professional symphony orchestra, is unique in a number of ways. The work is to perform music. Accomplishing that work requires extraordinary levels of member coordination. Playing in a symphony orchestra is a high status profession, one with high barriers to entry. An orchestra is a true ensemble, but members work under the strong direction of a leader who is almost always male. And, as an institution, the symphony orchestra has a tradition of male exclusivity that is both longstanding and deeply rooted.[17]

The authors deduce that because in 1995 gender integration was a relatively new phenomenon to symphony orchestras around the world, more research will be necessary to clarify some ambiguities they encountered in studying the symphony orchestra. As they observe, "researchers can study the change process, interventionists can try to help it along, and managers can behave in ways that promote or impede it. But, in this view, gender recomposition in the workplace will inexorably move forward, regardless of what these and other professionals do."[18] Women may feel uneasy when they are underrepresented in a workplace, but as their numbers grow, they will have better support networks and a sense of normality.

An example of the difficulty of integration into an orchestra is illustrated by the story of Carol Jantsch, the only female tuba player ever to be hired by a major American orchestra. Jantsch indicated that she was pleased when the Philadelphia Orchestra recently renovated their rehearsal space because they created more locker rooms for women to accommodate the new higher numbers of female musicians. Many of the older concert halls did not even have separate dressing rooms for women until they were renovated.[19] Jantsch also explained how being a minority in a section can be particularly unpleasant if women are treated differently: on one occasion, Jantsch felt obligated to complain to her personnel manager when a visiting conductor of the Philadelphia

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[17] Allmendinger and Hackman, "The More, the Better? A Four-Nation Study of the Inclusion of Women in Symphony Orchestras," *Social Forces* 74 (1995): 454-455.

[18] Ibid., 455.

[19] Live interview conducted by telephone, 22 October 2009.

Orchestra repeatedly addressed the brass as "Gentlemen of the Brass Section." The guest conductor made a bad situation worse when he apologized, adding that "he hadn't been able to tell she was a woman with her hair pulled back."[20]

In fact, most brass players interviewed by Bruenger for the International Trombone Association agree that biased comments primarily come from conductors and not other males in their sections.[21] Patricia McHugh, principal trombone of the Louisville Symphony, described one conductor that systematically fired all the women in the orchestra after he was hired. The music director began harassing McHugh until it became very uncomfortable for her. "He would repeatedly stop a rehearsal and ask me to tune and retune a single note to a tuner. Then, when I would play with the orchestra and adjust for the harmonic context, he would stop and ask me to tune again."[22] McHugh resigned after she had worn out "every legal action to fight it" and found herself losing her desire to play when "friends and colleagues ignored [her] as well as others who were singled out."[23] McHugh did not feel comfortable in a workplace where she had no support from the management or players themselves, and was forced to leave.

Childcare also presents issues for women in the workplace who are trying to balance careers and children. Often orchestras lack support structures for women to help them continue to work while caring for young children. A violinist in the Cleveland Symphony who wishes to remain anonymous remarked that when she had her first child in 2001, the average age of the members of the orchestra was near retirement and men far outnumbered women. "I feel like when I was having babies the attitude of the orchestra was archaic in how they looked at women's issues. There seemed to be a feeling of 'you

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[20] Jantsch interview, 22 October 2009.

[21] Bruenger, 17.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

chose to have a baby so you have to deal with the difficulties' rather than trying to work out a way to do everything successfully and happily."[24] The violinist described the difficulty of going on tour with children when her son was a toddler and her daughter seven months old. At her pediatrician's recommendation she requested a medical (paid) leave of absence due to fatigue and complications related to breast-feeding. She was denied, but offered an unpaid leave. Considering the policy unfair and a bad precedent to set, she refused the unpaid leave and went on tour. She had to miss concert during a day trip on the European tour when she became so exhausted and dehydrated that her milk stopped and it was necessary to see a pediatrician when her baby was not getting adequate nutrition. "It was a very helpless feeling," she stated, "Plus some of my colleagues didn't appreciate the fact that I got to miss an all day run out that no one really wanted to do, so I felt uncomfortable about that as well." [25]

During contract renegotiations, the Cleveland Orchestra violinist tried to organize other women to rally support to convince the committee that women's issues were important. "Shockingly," she observed, "some of the women who had been in the orchestra for a long time and had already raised their children, felt that we as women should just be quiet and do our jobs and not cause problems. They were still of the mind-set that women were lucky to be playing in symphony orchestras and we shouldn't make waves. I am happy to say that the musicians in this orchestra are much more supportive now."[26]

In spite of difficulties with touring, both the Cleveland Orchestra violinist and a violist who once played in the "President's Own" United States Marine Chamber

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[24] Email interview by email with Cleveland Orchestra violinist would like to remain anonymous.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

Orchestra, now a member of a part-time orchestra, agree that full-time orchestras have better hours for rearing children than part-time. Both string players confirm that in the full-time orchestras, rehearsals were primarily in the daytime and they had personal vacation days or sick days when they needed to stay home with the children. "I've found the daycare issue to be considerably more frustrating with the part-time orchestra because we rehearse mainly during the evening and because of the inconsistent schedule," comments the violist, who left her full-time job to follow her husband who is in orchestra management.[27] Even though the part-time orchestra does not rehearse in the daytime to allow members to have "day jobs," the violist felt she needed some daycare for her toddler to find time to practice and teach private lessons. "So basically," she said speaking of her frustration over child care issues, "over half of my annual salary went to daycare."

Neither of these two top-level string players would ever consider leaving their jobs. "I have never considered not working," writes the violinist. "I was trained to work. I like to work. And frankly I would go insane if I stayed at home…furthermore, as you know, it is difficult to quit working in our business and be able to just jump back in when you're ready."[28] The violinist noted positively, "I also realize how lucky I am to be doing something I love and reflecting that onto my children and having them get to share some of that with me when they come on tours. There will always be people who don't think women should work, or have kids, or most importantly bring their kids to the workplace, but the more women who do it and make it work, will eventually change that mindset."[29]

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[27] Email interview by author with violist who wishes to remain anonymous, 25 July 2010.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Interview with Cleveland Orchestra violinist.

New Data Pertaining to Women in Top American Orchestras

Current data collected in the 2009-2010 season indicates that women are represented in America's combined top fifteen orchestras at 35%.[30] This is not significantly different than in 1990 when Allmendinger and Hackman obtained a median percentage of 36% women in American orchestras, in spite of blind auditions. One reason for this lack of growth in twenty years is that women today continue to be excluded from playing instruments considered only appropriate for men. Despite the Allemendinger's and Hackman's optimistic prediction that gender recomposition will move forward, nearly fifteen years later brass, percussion and string bass sections have remained predominantly or entirely male. Goldin's and Rouse's study also draws a superficially positive conclusion concerning the overall hiring of women in American orchestras because it does not take into account the instrumentation of the players.

The number of women in orchestras by instrument is not available from the American Symphony League, who indicated in 2008 that they document ethnicity but not gender of their players. Obviously the ASL does not consider gender proportions to be a current problem. In order to collect the data necessary to obtain the number of women in the top fifteen orchestras (determined by budget from the American Symphony League website), Goldin's and Rouse's methodology was replicated: orchestra rosters were consulted online. Unlike Goldin and Rouse, the data was collected by gender *and* instrument.

The number of women per section in 2009 in the top thirteen American Orchestras surveyed rarely surpasses fifty percent. [31] The predominantly male sections

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[30] This percentage was determined by data collected in June 2009 from orchestra rosters surveyed online and presented in the following material. All rosters consulted included photos, eliminating any possible of error concerning the player's gender.

[31] Orchestras surveyed in this poll include: Chicago Symphony Orchestra, New York Philharmonic, Cleveland Orchestra, Pittsburgh Symphony, San Francisco Symphony, Los

consist primarily of large, heavy instruments or those that require strong breathing skills. Figure 2.1 indicates the number of women compared to men in top American orchestras, while Figure 2.2 shows the total percentage of women by instrument in all top orchestras in 2009. However, it is necessary to note that the wind, brass, and percussion sections consist of two to three full-time players (apart from the French horn section, which is regularly five players). Percentages of women can appear misleadingly high in these sections, when in fact, thirty percent women in a trombone section indicates that there is just one woman. However, sections having two percent or less signify that there is only one woman in that section.

The vertical axis of Figure 2.1 represents the number of total players in all of the top orchestras combined. Some instrument types are highly underrepresented in female players. Only one female player of each of these gender-stereotyped instruments is employed by the top fifteen American orchestras, as seen in Figure 2.3. Conversely, there is only one male who counters the gender stereotype, harpist Douglas Rioth of the San Francisco Symphony. The percentage of women shown in Figure 2.2 in certain orchestral sections remains woefully low, especially since Allemnendinger's and Hackman's study suggests that women will not be integrated in a workplace if they are represented by less than 40%. In Fig. 2.1, both the first and second violin sections are grouped together, and all members of the same family (i.e., clarinet and bass clarinet, oboe and English horn, or flute and piccolo are grouped together) are also counted as a "section." Figure 2.2 indicates the average number of contracted players in an orchestral section and should be used when considering percentages in Figure 2.3 or overall numbers of women. In total, women comprise 35% of American's top orchestra personnel. This is still considerably

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Angeles Philharmonic, Boston Symphony, St. Louis Symphony, the National Symphony of Washington, D.C., Seattle Symphony, Minnesota Orchestra, Atlanta Symphony and the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra. This data was gathered from online orchestra rosters.

under Allmendinger's and Hackman's 40% threshold necessary for women to fully integrate into their workplace.

Figure 2.1: Gender by Instrument in Top American Orchestras 2009

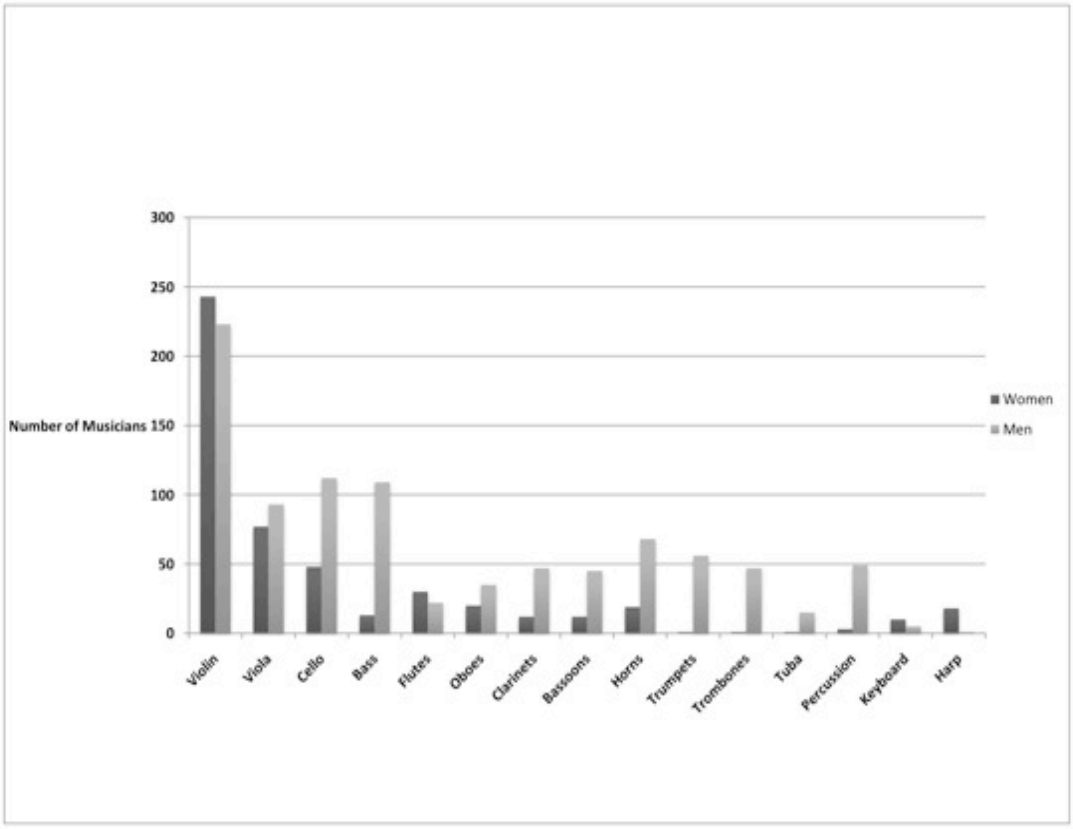

Figure 2.2: Average Number of Full-time Players per Section

Section by instrument	Median number of players per section
Violin	32
Viola	11
Cello	11
Bass	8
Flute	3
Oboe	4
Clarinet	4
Bassoon	4
French Horn	6
Trumpet	4
Trombone	3
Tuba	1
Percussion	3
Keyboard	1
Harp	1

Figure 2.3: The Percentage of Women in the Top 15 American Orchestras in 2009

INSTRUMENT	TOTAL PLAYERS	% FEMALE
HARP	19	95%**
KEYBOARDS	15	67%
FLUTE	52	58%
VIOLIN	466	52%
VIOLA	170	45%
OBOE	55	36%
CELLO	160	30%
HORN	87	22%
BASSOON	57	21%
CLARINET	59	20%
BASS	122	11%
TUBA	16	6%*
PERCUSSION	52	6%*
TRUMPET	57	2%*
TROMBONE	48	2%*

*Only one contracted female instrumentalist of this type in all fifteen orchestras surveyed.

**Only one contracted male harpist in all fifteen orchestras surveyed.

Figure 2.4 shows the full data compiled by orchestra. At the time this data was compiled, both the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic used a screen throughout their entire audition process. The Metropolitan and the New York

Philharmonic had the highest percentage of women in 2009, confirming Goldin's and Rouse's study on the impact of blind auditions. Again, it is useful to compare this chart with Figure 2.2 which shows the average number of players per section. Amongst all of the top orchestras, the trombone, trumpet and tuba sections have only one woman player.

These pioneers include Susan Slaughter, the only female trumpet player to be integrated into America's elite orchestral circle, who has pioneered women's rights in music by founding the International Women's Brass Conference. Slaughter recognizes that she had to have 100% confidence to get the job: "If you are a humane person," she observed," and you're aware that a certain attitude is detrimental to you or your colleagues—you might want to change it. I guess I hope to change things….but not necessarily overnight."[32] Slaughter also stated that in order to survive some of the hostility in her workplace, she was obliged to compromise her own feelings. "Initially, I felt it was more important to absorb anger rather than send it back," she remarked, "I had to learn how to not absorb the hostility of others and to confront people directly and constructively about their anger. People respect that now. Because I changed it helped others change."[33] Slaughter's ability to work with others helped her adapt to an unfavorable work environment.

Jantsch, the first woman tuba player in the history of the top ten American orchestras, hired at age twenty, is also one of the youngest players in its history. Only one of the orchestras presented in this data has hired a female trombone player, principal trombone of the Pittsburgh Symphony, Rebecca Cherian, appointed in 1989. These three women remain unique. Some sections, such as French horn sections, are gradually integrating women. Julie Landsman, principal French horn player of the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra and professor at the Juilliard School of Music, believes that with the

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[32] Bruenger, 18.

[33] Ibid.

help of screens and blind auditions, a newer generation of fine female French horn players is emerging. She believes that women are "unstoppable" and show more musical sensitivity, but they have to be highly competitive and play better than any man at an audition to prove that they have the same talent.[34] The statistics presented in the above data confirm Landsman's confidence and reflect a slow but steady change as women win positions in French horn sections.

Female string bass players have not only chosen a large, cumbersome instrument deemed unfeminine by traditional stereotypes; but the string bass is also associated with jazz, which historically has implied a whole underworld of gritty nightlife. Classically-trained jazz bassist Esperanza Spalding talks about the lack of integration of women into jazz in a 2010 *New Yorker* article dedicated to her career. "When a woman musician can really play, people are, like, 'Man, she's a monster, she sounds like a dude!' she remarks with humor. "Something is wrong in the mind right there," Spalding continues, speaking of social constructions of gender, "because actually that quality of power and strength and quickness—and a wittiness that's necessary—that's not a masculine trait. It's just that it's such a boys' club that when a woman comes in and exhibits those qualities it's automatically associated with her having more testosterone."[35]

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[34] Interview with Julie Landsman, May 15, 2009.

[35] John Colapinto, "New Note: Esperanza Spalding's Music" *The New Yorker* 86 (15 March 2010): 36.

Figure 2.4: Number of Women by Orchestra and Instrument in 2009

ORCH	VLN	VLA	CELLO	BASS	FL	OBOE	CL	BASSN	HORN	TRMPT	TROMB	TUBA	PERC	KEYBRD	HARP	TOTAL
Met Opera	23	5	3	1	1	2	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	45
NY Phil	21	7	6	2	3	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	45
St. Louis	22	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	39
Nat'l (D.C.)	18	7	3	0	3	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	38
Dallas	13	8	2	2	3	1	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	37
Seattle	12	5	5	5	2	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	36
SF Symph	17	6	6	1	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	35
Pittsburgh	17	6	4	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	34
LA Phil	14	6	1	0	2	4	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	34
Philadelphia	14	5	5	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	1	1	1	2	34
Atlanta	13	4	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	32
Cleveland	17	5	2	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	32
CSO	19	5	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	31
BSO	17	4	1	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	31
Minnesota	16	1	5	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	28

Although Spalding is a jazz musician, her observations are pertinent to female classical musicians; our society sees strength in a woman as masculine because of constructions of difference. Spalding, along with many accomplished female performers, is ironically accused of being unfeminine if she plays well, but would be accused of being a weak, incompetent female if she is not successful.

There are several factors that make it difficult to identify why some orchestras appear to have higher rates of women players than other. One reason is that each orchestra establishes its own audition policy, which can vary as contracts are renegotiated and/or the musical direction of the ensemble changes. Although all of the orchestras in this study are unionized, meaning that a candidate has to be a member of the American Federation of Musicians to audition and be contracted, the union does not determine whether or not a screen will be used. Landsman observed that she never would have been hired without the use of the screen, even though she truly considered herself the best candidate that day.[36] The music union needs to be more proactive and call for the mandatory use of the screen in auditions to prevent prejudice from the leadership of America's symphonies from tainting the hiring process.

Most orchestras do use a screen, but many remove screens for either the semi-finals or the final round in order to work face to face with a candidate. The number of variables in the audition process (pre-screening by curriculum vitae, inconsistent uses of screens, and ambiguous judging criteria) are what Allmendinger and Hackman identified as sources of complexity in scientific studies. The subjectivity and personal nature of judging musicianship alone creates a platform for many types of social discrimination. It is time to listen with ears and not eyes. Now is the time to standardize and clarify the

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[36] Ibid.

audition process in an effort to let the best players win, regardless of gender, race, or cultural differences.

CHAPTER THREE:

GENDER STEREOTYPING IN MUSIC EDUCATION

> I wondered if there was something wrong with me for wanting to play the trombone.[1]
>
> --Rebecca Cherian, principal trombone of the Pittsburgh Symphony

New Directions

The low percentage of female brass, percussion, and string bass players in the top American orchestras raises a fundamental question: are as many women as men being prepared for a career on these instruments? In other words, are gender roles being perpetuated from the outset when girls and boys choose to play certain instruments in band or orchestra? Indeed, research indicates that early education is still a factor in gender constructions in music and is at the root of any discussion about women in musical performance.

School music teachers are not the only educators of children. Frequently parents dictate the choice of instrument for their child. Children are influenced in their choice of genres of music and instruments by the type of music their parents listen to at home and any biases they might have. Social constructions introduced by media equally mold young students' perceptions of gender and music. Children's conception of gender differences begins in the home and is further shaped at school. At the same time educational institutions are a reflection of the way Americans view gender, they are also the most fertile territory for seeding change. Music education can change the way both future instrumentalists and audiences perceive gender, opening new territories to women musicians.

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[1] Bruenger, "Woman Trombonists in North America," 14.

Feminist theory has influenced general educational studies but was late to infiltrate music education. Gender research in music education was in its formative stages in the late 1970s and by the 1990s a few studies surfaced concerning instruments and gender. Harold Abeles and Susan Yank Porter began in the late 1970s by ranking gender stereotypes by instrument.[2] Later, in the 1990s, feminist studies in music education scrutinized images of women in general music textbooks which perpetuate gender constructions. Lucy Green dedicated an entire book to *Music, Gender and Education*.[3] Green approached music education from a feminist theoretical viewpoint, suggesting that historical constructions are easy to observe in the classroom:

> The music classroom is a place in which the present-day operation of gendered musical practices and meanings surfaces, both in the raw common-sense and in the considered perspectives of girls, boys and of their teachers. Together, pupils and teachers in schools reveal the workings of our contemporary construction of the discourse on music and gender in which, without necessarily being aware of it, we reiterate the gendered practices and meanings that are bequeathed by our musical, historical legacy.[4]

Also in the 1990s, several studies identified how early elementary school children begin stereotyping.[5] In 1992 Julia Koza studied images in music textbooks and how they mold perceptions of appropriate professions for both men and women.[6] More recently, a

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[2] Harold Abeles and Susan Yank Porter, "The Sex-Stereotyping of Musical Instruments," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 26 (1978): 65-75.

[3] Green, *Music, Gender, Education*, 17.
[4] Ibid., 17.

[5] These include J.K. Delzell and D.A. Leppla, "Gender Associations of Musical Instruments and Preferences of Fourth Grade Students for Selected Instruments," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 30 (1992),93-103 and S.A. O'Neill and M.J. Boulton, "Boys' and Girls' Preferences for Musical Instruments: A Function of Gender?" *Psychology of Music* 24 (1996): 171-183.

[6] Julia Koza, "Picture This: Sex Equity in Textbook Illustrations," Special Focus: Women in Music, *Music Educators Journal* 78, no.7 (1992): 28-33.

study of live classical concerts and their impact on stereotyping was published in 2001 by Samantha Pickering and Betty Repacholi.[7]

Most research regarding gender and music reveals that music education is not only at the heart of gender-stereotyping, it is also the easiest means for change by those educators who recognize the need for more equity. This involves changes for girls in education, but as Adam Adler and Scott Harrison pointed out in 2004, there is also a need for a discourse on male identity in gender and music education.[8] Boys are cast in the most rigid gender roles, and Adler and Harrison note that when boys participate in choir or classical music, they are marginalized by their peers and spoken of in derogatory terms as "gay."[9] Adler and Harrison call for inclusion, support and equity in the classroom so that all children can benefit from the rewards of musical training, and they also note all gender roles will not be flexible until the masculine stereotype changes. This more humanist view for both sexes would allow society to move forward and allow all children to have equal opportunities in music.

Early Education and Sex Stereotypes in Music

Studies such as Harold Abeles' and Susan Yank Porter exploration of sex-stereotypes of musical instruments have determined that by fourth grade, students generally exhibit signs of gender-stereotyping in music.[10] Further studies have shown that although kindergartners of both sexes choose "masculine" instruments (drums,

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[7] Samantha Pickering and Betty Repacholi, "Modifying Children's Gender-Typed Musical Instrument Preferences: The Effects of Gender and Age." *Sex Roles* 45 (November 2001): 623-643.

[8] Adam Adler and Scott Harrison, "Swinging Back the Gender Pendulum: Addressing Boy's Needs in Music Education Research and Practice," in *Questioning the Music Education Paradigm* (Ontario: Canadian Music Editor's Association, 2004): 270-299.

[9] Ibid., 274.

[10] Harold Abeles and Susan Yank Porter, "The Sex-Stereotyping of Musical Instruments," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 26 (1978): 65-75.

saxophone, trumpet, trombone), by the time they reach third grade they have begun to prefer instruments generally perceived by society as appropriate for their own sex.[11] These rigid gender constructions can have extremely negative effects on vocational choices later on in life: Harold Abeles and Susan Porter state that "the sex-stereotyping of musical instruments, therefore, tends to limit the range of musical experiences available to male and female musicians in several ways, including participation in instrumental ensembles and vocations in instrumental music."[12] Furthermore, their study deduces that the stereotypes become even more pronounced after third grade at the time when the process of musical instrument selection often begins. They warn that, "Special care, therefore, must be taken by the instrumental music teacher when helping children select instruments."[13] Pickering and Repacholi concur in their later study, noting that, "These instrument, but may also limit the availability and scope of their music education, effect instrument stereotypes not only influence people's motivation to learn to play a particular their participation in musical ensembles, and, more importantly, restrict their career opportunities."[14]

Abeles and Porter confirmed that instruments were clearly associated with gender when presented to a college age pool of thirty-two music majors and twenty-six non-music majors. Published by Abeles and Porter, Table 3.1 displays the ranking of children's perceptions of gender and instruments; children rated the masculinity of primary musical instruments using a "normalized gender scale." Thus, Table 3.1 shows the instruments ranked from feminine to masculine. Interestingly, the most masculine

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[11] C.L. Martin and J.K. Little, ""The Relation of Gender Understanding to Children's Sex-typed Preferences and Gender Stereotypes," *Child Development* 61 (1990): 1427-1439, cited by Pickering and Repacholi, 626.

[12] Abeles and Porter, 65.

[13] Ibid., 75.

[14] Pickering and Repacholi, 2.

instruments replicate those which are also typically most represented by men in American orchestras as presented in Figure 2.1. Several conclusions can be drawn from this data, including that certain instrumental families, like the brass family, are viewed as masculine. Perceptions of the higher-pitched and less cumbersome instruments, like the violin and woodwinds, remain primarily feminine, while the cello is probably the most gender-neutral choice of instrument in this study. Instruments which produce the loudest sound, like the trumpet, trombone and drums, are considered "male" instruments by the students surveyed.

A more recent study by Jason Zervoudakes and Judith M. Tanur in 1994 replicated the previous study.[15] Zervoudakes and Tanur reached the same conclusion as the earlier report: "Musical instruments are gendered. Research indicates that regardless of whether we concentrate on who actually plays the instrument or on the images or stereotypes evoked by their names, certain instruments are considered feminine and others masculine, though which instruments are assigned to which gender seems to differ over time and with various age-groups."[16] Zervoudakes and Tanur noted that as females instrumentalists grow older, the proportion playing what are considered "female" instruments increases, whereas the proportion of girls playing "male" instruments remains the same or actually decreases.[17]

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[15] Jason Zervodakes and Judith M. Tanur, "Gender and Musical Instruments: Winds of Change?" *Journal of Research in Music Education* 42 (1994): 58-67.

[16] Ibid., 58.

[17] Ibid., 65.

Table 3.1: Abeles and Porter Study of Transformations of Instrument-Gender Paired Comparison Judgments (1978)*

Instrument	Normalized Gender Scale Score
Flute	.000
Violin	1.518
Clarinet	1.949
Cello	2.643
Saxophone	3.182
Trumpet	3.261
Trombone	4.143
Drum	4.195

* Harold Abeles and Susan Yank Porter, "The Sex-Stereotyping of Musical Instruments," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 26 (1978): 68

The Zervoudakes and Tanur study surveys a broader group of schools than did the earlier Abeles and Porter study, but it reaches the same conclusions about gender rankings. Table 3.1 and 3.2 duplicate data presented by both the instrumental preference studies which indicate very similar rankings; the flute is highly feminine, the lower brass and percussion as proportionately masculine and the cello is gender-neutral.

The Zervoudakes and Tanur study concludes that although there are more women playing musical instruments by the time they reach college, gender differentiation is more prominent than at earlier ages. "The increasing proportion of young women in high school and college bands seems to have served to perpetuate gender-based stereotypes of

appropriate instruments," write Zervoudakes and Tanur. "Furthermore, there is no evidence that the proportion of women among principal players is growing when the overall proportion of women is held constant. Thus, women do not seem to be increasing their leadership roles."[18]

Table 3.2: Zervoudakes and Tanur Study of Gender Proportions in Main Instrument Groups (1994)*

Instrument group	Hypothesized Gender stereotype	Additional Instruments added
Clarinet	Female	Alto, bass, e-flat clarinet, basset horn
Flute	Female	Piccolo, alto flute
Oboe	Female	English Horn
Viola	Female	
Violin	Female	
Cello	Neutral	
Piano	Neutral	
Baritone horn	Male	
Bass	Male	String bass only
Bassoon	Male	
French Horn	Male	
Percussion	Male	Drums, mallets, tympani
Saxophone	Male	Alto, tenor, baritone sax
Trombone	Male	Bass Trombone
Trumpet	Male	Cornet, fluegel horn
Tuba	Male	Sousaphone

* Jason Zervodakes and Judith M. Tanur, "Gender and Musical Instruments: Winds of Change?" *Journal of Research in Music Education* 42 (1994): 62.

[18] Ibid., 67.

Zervoudakes and Tanur liken this to trends in women entering other traditionally masculine vocations, like medicine, where women doctors are choosing fields typically "feminine" like pediatrics or general practice, or in law, where women tend to migrate towards family practice.[19] Zervoudakes and Tanur credit the growing number of women practicing music to the "rise of feminism and the increased participation of women in the labor force over the last 30 years hav[ing] led to an increased sensitivity to issues of gender stereotyping among teachers."[20] Finally, they note that although by 1987 women had begun to play historically "male" instruments like the French horn and the trumpet, they were also more likely to play clarinet, flute and oboe, instruments that Zervodakes and Tanur mistakenly identify as "historically female."[21] The upper woodwinds, although lighter in weight and higher and pitch, were never really classified as feminine until women started entering in American orchestras, and even so, the woodwinds apart from the flute seem to have remained fairly gender-neutral.

The data presented in both the Abeles and Porter study and the later Zervoudakes and Tanur study demonstrates similar trends in gender stereotyping in music. These stereotypes reflect the representations of women in orchestras in the present decade. Because at the educational level girls are not learning brass, percussion and string bass, women are not prepared to obtain high-level jobs in music performance on these instruments.

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[19] Ibid., 65.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

Effects of Gender Stereotypes in Advertising and Textbooks on Choice of Instrument and Career Paths

At the primary level, the marketing of band instruments continues to perpetuate gender constructions of brass players and wind players. In general advertising brochures uphold traditional gender stereotypes. A brief survey of materials available for educators reveals some efforts to render images of instrumentalists gender-neutral. For instance, the instruments will be depicted in a chart without visual depictions of musicians. Nevertheless, until women are actually depicted playing male-dominated instruments like the trombone or tuba, gender stereotyping will not be eradicated.

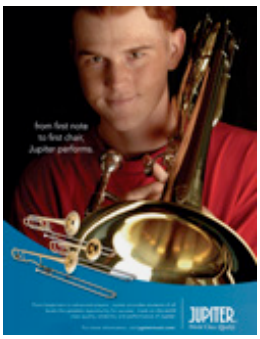
The following marketing images obtained from Jupiter, a well-known band instrument maker demonstrate the power of imagery in gender stereotyping. These images come from a catalogue cover marketing specific instruments.[22]

Figure 3.1: Jupiter Catalogue 2009, Girl playing flute

[22]http://www.jupitermusic.com/jbi_home.aspx, accessed 28 December 2009.

Notably, the flute is promoted by a young woman dressed in pink and wearing jewelry, thus exuding what has traditionally been perceived as femininity. On the other hand, the trombone catalogue sports a young man in red.

Figure 3.2: Jupiter Catalogue, 2009, Young man playing trombone



Imagine the impact if these images were reversed, and the young woman in pink were shown holding the trombone and the young man the flute.

Figure 3.3: Jupiter Catalogue, 2009, Girl playing horn

The result might be similar to Figure 3.3. In contrast to the first two images, Figure 3.3 demonstrates how a successful role model of a young lady playing a male gender-typed instrument can have a positive impact and create normalcy.

As the Zervoudakes and Tanur study showed, more women are playing the French horn, and the instrument company Jupiter evidently follows these trends closely when designing their marketing material. This sales image promotes the idea that young women can play brass instruments and generates a more gender-neutral image of brass players.

Several scientific studies have been conducted to determine if gender roles can be reversed by presenting counter-stereotypes, or women playing on traditionally male instruments and vice versa. In an Australian study conducted in 2001 by Pickering and Repacholi, videotapes of male and female musicians playing stereotypically male or female instruments were presented both to kindergartners (a less gender-conditioned group of students) and to fourth graders.[23] They concluded that girls were more flexible in their choice of instrument when the instruments were introduced through counter-examples (a woman playing a trombone, for instance). Pickering and Rapicholi write, "The main analysis revealed that children in the counter-stereotyped condition were less likely to select a gender-typed instrument than those in the control and stereotyped conditions. Thus, a brief exposure to musicians playing gender-inconsistent instruments appears to be sufficient to modify, at least in the short term, children's instrument preferences."[24] Pickering and Repacholi observe that this is consistent with children's response to counter-examples in domestic chores, such as Dad doing the dishes, or other occupations, such as male nurses.[25]

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[23] Pickering and Repacholi, 623.

[24] Ibid., 632.

[25] Ibid., 627.

The same authors conducted a second study the same year in order to consider various factors which may have influenced the children's decision-making. For instance, it had been shown in previous studies in both 1993 and 2000 that children shy away from approaching musicians of the opposite sex when instruments are being demonstrated in schools or children"s concerts.[26] Thus, in a second study children were presented with sketches of instruments with no performers pictured. Pickering and Repacholi found that girls were more likely to navigate towards an instrument if a woman were portrayed playing it than if it were depicted as just an instrument alone, whereas boys adhered more firmly to gender roles. Regardless of which gender plays the instrument, they attribute the boys' reaction to general trends in social behavior (in toy or career choices, for example) and note that boys generally face harder consequences (teasing) for engaging in oppositional gender-stereotyped behavior than girls.[27]

Pickering and Repacholi observed that girls respond to counter-stereotyping only when both men and women were shown playing untraditional instruments.[28] For example, a girl might accept a female trombone player only if men were also shown playing the flute. Finally, the authors note inherent dangers to completely reversing all gender constructions, concluding that "…we run the risk of creating a new set of stereotypes, when the goal should be to encourage children to view these instruments as gender-neutral." [29] They note that the real goal is to encourage children to play any instrument, regardless of their gender.

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[26] Ibid., 625. The authors cite studies by R. Bruce and A. Kemp, "Sex-stereotyping in Children's Preferences for Musical Instruments," *British Journal of Music Education* 10 (1993),213-217, and A.C. Harrison and S.A. O'Neill, "Children's Gender-typed preferences for Musical Instruments and Occupations by Gender and Major," *Psychology of Music* 28 (2000),81-97.

[27] Ibid., 641. The authors cite a study by C.L.Martin, "Attitudes and Expectations About Children With Nontraditional and Traditional Gender Roles," *Sex* Roles 22 (1990), 151-165.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

This recent research supports the hypothesis that presenting pictures only of instruments on posters in schools will not eradicate bias by reversing images of gender stereotyping; counter-stereotypes must also be presented through images of women performing on "masculine" instruments and conversely, men performing on "feminine" instruments like the flute or harp in a healthy balance with traditional depictions of musicians. Children need to have a gender-mixed selection of images in order to become gender-neutral in their selection of instruments. For instance, an image of a modern orchestra that has fairly equal representation of sexes in all sections (strings, woodwind, brass and percussion) could ideally become the poster example for instrument categories instead of just a display of the instruments themselves.

Freedom of choice and perceptions of gender for elementary and middle school children is also highly affected by images in the curriculum and textbooks. Julia Koza of University of Wisconsin scrutinized more than 3,500 images in textbooks and drew important conclusions from their content. Koza found a manifest conviction that music-making was presented as more feminine than masculine in textbook depictions. However, she also observed that there are fewer women represented as professional musicians than men in textbooks and women musicians, especially professional, were more likely to be portrayed anonymously. Koza confirmed that gender stereotypes for certain instruments are reinforced by images and that musical careers are also gender stereotyped. Men in textbooks are more likely to be portrayed as composers and conductors than women, while women are more likely to be shown as singers than men.[30] Koza notes that "contemporary textbooks continue to paint women out of the historical picture, denying girls the power that comes from knowing their roots."[31] Even though women were not

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[30] Julia Koza, "Picture This: Sex Equity in Textbook Illustrations," *Music Educators Journal* Special Focus: Women in Music 78, no.7 (1992): 30.

[31] Ibid., 31.

always represented because they did not have the same privileges as men, critical thinking coupled with positive female role models can be used in the classroom to explore why women were excluded.

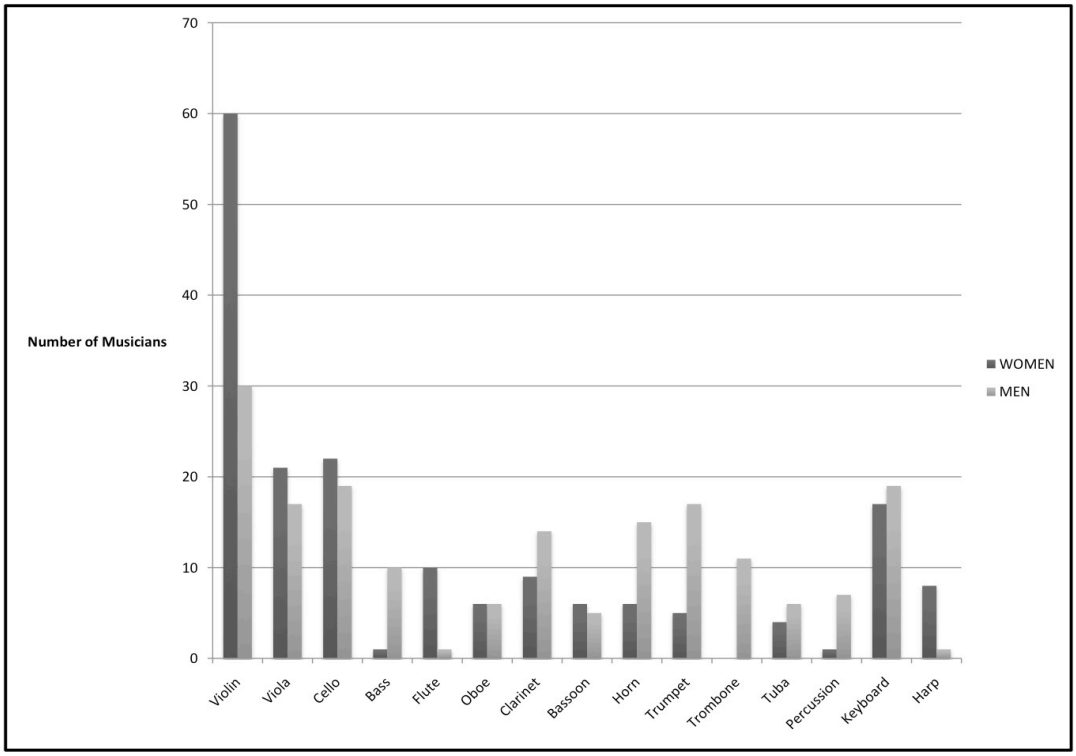
College-Level Music Education and Gender Stereotyping

If women are not obtaining jobs in America's elite orchestras, an important question remains to be answered: are women actually gaining high-level proficiency through higher education to be prepared for these jobs? Surprisingly, although the National Association of Schools of Music (NASM) collects data pertaining to gender and graduate degrees, they only report data on ethnicity and undergraduate degrees, not gender. Although many musicians with graduate degrees seek teaching careers, they are not necessarily the same musicians seeking orchestra careers.

Because NASM does not provide statistics pertaining to the instrumentation of undergraduate music majors, data was collected from eleven of America's elite music conservatories and music departments in order to determine the number of women graduating with degrees in music. The music schools were asked to provide the number of Bachelor in Music or Bachelor of Arts in Music graduates by instrument for the academic year 2007-2008.[32] Although participation in this unofficial survey was voluntary on the part of school, seven schools responded. A larger, more extensive sample would be useful for drawing more meaningful statistical conclusions, but nonetheless the data collected in Table 3.3 provides important information.

[32] Schools polled based on the size and reputation of their music departments included: Eastman School of Music, Curtis Institute of Music, Juilliard School of Music, San Francisco Conservatory, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, New England Conservatory and Peabody Conservatory of Music, University of Minnesota, Oberlin Conservatory, Indiana University at Bloomington, and Northwestern University.

Table 3.3: Gender of Undergraduates by Instrument Graduating with B.A. or B.M in 2007-2008*



*Schools responding included: Eastman School of Music, Curtis Institute of Music, Juilliard School of Music, San Francisco Conservatory, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, New England Conservatory and Peabody Conservatory of Music.

Table 3.3 reveals that the numbers of women graduating in music with performance degrees or music education degrees confirms gender stereotyping: as seen in Figure 2.1, there are fewer women players of typically "masculine" like the brass, bass and percussion instruments than any other instruments. Conversely, Table 3.3 demonstrates that certain instruments like the flute, violin and harp remain for the most part "female" instruments at the college-level.

This twenty-first century data echoes age-old gender constructions. Women continue to learn instruments that are on the quieter and more delicate end of the sound spectrum. On the other hand, a college-level male graduate with a degree in "feminine" instruments is a rarity, despite unconventional role models such as James Galway on the flute or Douglas Rioth who has been harpist for the San Francisco Symphony since 1981.

Effects of Live Role Models on Gender Stereotypes in Music in Education

In order to transform these strict gender roles from early education through the collegiate level, live role models are essential. The effects of gender counter-stereotyping through educational live concerts have been studied by Bruce and Kemp and Harrison and O'Neill, as well as Pickering and Repacholi. [33] For instance, a primary school-aged girl will more readily approach a female cellist doing an instrumental demonstration and she will then be more likely to identify the cello as an instrument she would like to study. Pickering and Repacholi interpreted the findings of the Bruce and Kemp study while observing the danger of drawing conclusions from their limited survey:

> Regardless of the instrument being played, children tended to approach same-sex musicians. For example, in one concert, 14.5% of the boys looked at the violin when it was played by a male compared to 3.5% of boys attending a concert in which this instrument was played by a female. Similarly, 23.5% of girls examined the trombone when the musician was female, but only 1.5% did so when it had been played by a male. Because each instrument was presented with a musician during the test phase, it is impossible to determine whether children were actively selecting a preferred instrument, a preferred musician, or some combination of the two. Moreover, because this testing was conducted in groups, children may have avoided certain instruments and/or musicians for fear of being ostracized by their peers. Finally, without a control group, it was impossible to determine whether such young children had already acquired the gender stereotypes for these instruments.[34]

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[33] Additional studies include Bruce and Kemp, 1993 and Harrison and O'Neill, 2000.

[34] Pickering and Repacholi, 625.

However, Pickering and Repacholi's study of whether gender-typed musical instrument preferences could be influenced and changed by the use of counter-examples was conclusive: "The analyses indicated that the counter-examples had an immediate impact on children's preferences, regardless of whether this material was presented in videotapes or line drawings."[35] The study individually tested children, so that "instrument exposure and selection occurred in the absence of peers."[36] In these conditions, taped performances were substituted for live.

There are several different ways to model counter-stereotypes for young, school-age children. One common way for children to be exposed to different instruments is a class trip to a local symphony. This is one way for community orchestras or professional symphonies to ensure future audiences. In fact, critics of programs such as Project Arts, financed by New York City's former mayor Rudolph Giuliani, fear that outreach concerts might replace classroom music education in an era of budget slashing.[37] "In the absence of the teachers and the budgets necessary to offer comprehensive and coherent arts courses," writes Allan Kozinn in the *New York Times* in 2007, "the schools, encouraged and financed by such programs, have formed partnerships with performing groups, charging the ensembles with the task of creating arts programs for children."[38] Kozinn is correct in asserting that attending a concert once a year does not replace more in-depth music classes in school, but the value of having live role models is indisputable.

When used in conjunction with traditional music programs in the schools, however, these outreach partnerships can be very beneficial. "The Academy "(a Program

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[35] Ibid., 640.

[36] Ibid., 626.

[37] Allan Kozinn, "To Provide Quality Music Education Now, Schools Could Learn From the Past," *The New York Times*, 25 December 2007.

[38] Ibid.

of Carnegie Hall, the Juilliard School and the Weill Music Institute) placed Alana Vegter, a young, professionally-accomplished horn player, in an intermediate Brooklyn School where she taught band for a year. In a video interview broadcast on *New York Times* online, Ms. Vegter described her experience, noting that, "…the kids get to choose between art, band, dance and keyboard and most of the girls lean towards either art or dance. So, my band of sixth and seventh graders was twenty-six boys and two girls. So, that was a real recipe for some interesting experiences!"[39]

Another accomplished jazz trumpeter and vocalist, Jennifer Hartswick, believes strongly in setting an example for girls and boys in her native Vermont schools by sharing her career-story. "I try to go into a school or two, and just be a good influence for young girls who are in fifth and sixth grade and going through that whole awkward period, and just show them that nothing can stand in their way and that it doesn't matter what the boys think—just do your thing."[40]

If school districts are on restricted budgets or do not benefit from grants to support their music programs, recorded performances can still bring counter-examples into the classroom. "YouTube" now offers a huge data base of videos of past and present concerts that be used just to present an instrument or, more specifically, to generate a classroom discussion of gender stereotyping. Table 3.4 gives examples of highly proficient musicians who challenge traditional gender stereotypes: [41]

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[39]<http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/arts/20080621_BAND_FEATURE/index.html>, accessed 22 July 2010.

[40], K.C Whitely, "Rising Star Jennifer Hartswick—Blowing Her Own Horn, and How," *Vermont Woman*, July 2010.

[41] Compiled 22 July 2010 from <www.YouTube.com>.

Table 3.4: URL Role Models

Female Horn Players	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tedBDcOBV0M
Meg Thomas Percussion Performance at the Arcada	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FRs89OXlYSI
Indonesian Traditional Female Percussion	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uYK0HjdqWr4
Invitation from Susan Slaughter to the Brass Spectacular	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u3cQgllK1AQ
Alison Balsom Haydn & Hummel Trumpet Concertos	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mcmwL_BHl7A
Esperanza Spalding Grooves (bass)	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZNw46j0nNOs
Edmar Castaneda Harp Solo	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WAN8y-pcVH0
Emmanuel Ceysson J.S. Bach French Suite No.3 in b for Harp	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Z9HNKzYFY8
Carol Jantsch, Tuba, Visits Interlochen	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=84BgbIARXyc
Golden Gate Bass Camp 2007-Diana Gannet	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-FJPjlfBuo

The use of these counter-examples in special topics classes on women or class discussions pertaining to women limits their impact. Many of these videos profiling highly-trained artists can be used in more general educational contexts. For instance, Alison Balsom's video could be used simply to present the trumpet as an instrument, a discussion of historical interpretation, or during a presentation of the classical era highlighting Haydn and Hummel. Esperanza Spalding's videos can be used to highlight women in jazz, of course, but also discussions of African Americans in music, varying careers for classically-trained musicians, or just a class on groove as a musical genre. Carol Jantsch's story can be used as inspiration for how hard work and practice can pay

off. Male harpists, female percussionists and brass players all need to be woven into a general musical narrative, not differentiated and polarized.

Several professional symphonies have included women in their educational mission. The Quad Cities Symphony in Davenport has an exemplary program called "Listening Olympics" in which composer Libby Larsen is showcased.[42] In the New York Philharmonic's "Kidzone," children can go to a composer's gallery which features composers like Sophia Gubaidulina as well as more well-known male composers, or they can visit the musicians of the orchestra in the "Musician's Lounge" and learn how Orin O'Brien became a double bass player and what her other interests are.[43] These examples of fun educational programs for children illustrate the ease in which women can be presented as strong role models.

In order to change social constructions, intervention is necessary. In the case of music education, some small changes to the curriculum in the way gender and instruments are presented could have a huge impact. Similar transformations in educational outreach programs for symphonies could challenge stereotypes and orient both boys and girls towards instruments they might otherwise avoid. Education is the most direct way to ensure children have freedom in career choices. Ultimately if more children are free to choose an instrument they like, they will enhance American orchestra standards by becoming more proficient. A few courageous women like brass players Rebecca Cherian have succeeded against all odds, but steps must be taken to provide support for the many other talented girls and women that might feel as she did when as a child she questioned why she even liked the trombone. Today, nearly forty years after the first music educators began to identify the problems involved with gender stereotyping,

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[42]http://www.qcsymphony.com/edu_listeningolympics.cfm, accessed 2 August 2010.

[43]http://www.nyphilkids.org/studio/main.phtml?, accessed 2 August 2010.

transformations in curriculum and innovative outreach programs still need to be implemented.

CHAPTER FOUR: UNLEARNING

> The first problem for all of us, men and women, is not to learn, but to unlearn.
>
> Gloria Steinhem[1]

When Gloria Steinhem addressed Vassar College at the commencement ceremony in 1970, her speech confirmed that the Women's Liberation movement was truly underway. Instead of resorting to accusatory or divisive rhetoric, Steinhem expressed a need to review history in more humanist terms by "rescuing this country from its old, expensive patterns of elitism, racism and violence."[2] Steinhem recognized that challenging historical constructions can be threatening as it undermines our culture's basic value systems when she observed that, "We are filled with the popular wisdom of several centuries just past, and we are terrified to give it up."[3]

In the past, pioneering thinkers like Steinhem have suggested new beliefs about what is essentially feminine or masculine. In turn these have opened some doorways for women in society, allowing them more freedom in occupational choices and increasing financial independence. For instance, women have assumed roles in leadership in business and politics. In music, women are starting to be featured in orchestral leadership as section leaders of string sections in major American orchestras. In general, gender roles appear less rigid when the popular press sports pictures of male stars pushing baby strollers and cuddling infants, indicating an acceptance of men in nurturing roles

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[1] Gloria Steinhem, "'Women's Liberation' Aims to Free Men Too," *The Washington Post*, 7 June 1970, http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/wlm/aims/, accessed 2 August 2010.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

previously assigned only to women.[4] Men in orchestral workplaces are often faced with the same child care issues as women when they struggle to balance demanding rehearsal and touring schedules with family life.

However, even today these new ways of viewing gender often meet resistance. Caryl Rivers of Boston University noted that during Hillary Clinton's campaign, Clinton was repeatedly represented as the Wicked Witch, Lady Macbeth or other ugly stereotypes.[5] The witch analogy clearly equates women who question authority or think independently with the devil, a historical construction that cost many lives during the Salem Witch Trials. The message is clear: when a woman assumes leadership, American culture may feel threatened and ugly stereotypes surface to demean women and hinder their rise to power. In the twenty-first century, constructed hierarchies still place men before women, giving them more financial and political power. As in politics, women are still scarce on orchestral podium, where conductors wield the most power of anyone in the orchestral world.

The overall low percentage of women in American orchestras reflects this cultural and economic hierarchy. More women are found in America's lower-paid orchestras. Discrimination at the hiring level in symphonies happens when committees begin to judge with their eyes, not their ears. Blind auditions reduce this subjectivity but their use is not consistent. Thus said, each orchestra's integrity must be protected and each music director should maintain his/her own criteria of sound and musicianship. The criteria must be based on aural, not visual criteria. In academia, affirmative action has worked to ensure that certain quotas of women or other underrepresented groups are represented in

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[4] For example, http://www.people.com/people/celebritybabies/gallery/0,,20404295,00.html#20814200, accessed 3 August 2010.

[5] Caryl Rivers, "Ignoble Hillary," *The Huffington Post*, 14 May 2008, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/caryl-rivers/ignoble-hillary_b_101752.html, accessed 4 August 2010.

the workforce, with varying degrees of success. Orchestra auditions are more comparable to a sports performance; the winner must be the person who performed the best at a specific moment. However, it is important to ensure that higher numbers of women are permitted to compete by eliminating discrimination; the mandatory use of screens in all rounds of auditions would drastically improve the quotas of women in American orchestras, as proven by organizations like the New York Philharmonic or the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra who have enforced completely blind auditions. To comply with the principles of affirmative action, this should not be left to the employer's discretion. The music union must monitor audition policy so that it protects all American musicians.

Beyond blind auditions, the very gender constructions which are grounds for discrimination must be "unlearned." Historically, female musicians have been portrayed as weaker, quieter and relegated to domestic musicianship, where male musicians have been seen as active, strong, and allowed to work outside of the home and secure the best jobs. These constructions have even been applied to the instruments they play, making it difficult for a woman to play a brass instrument without being characterized as "unfeminine." The negative stereotypes that evolve from these constructions, such as "all female trombone players are butch," make it even harder for women and men to have freedom in musical careers. These culturally constructed differences have been embedded in classical music history for so long that they will be extremely difficult to change. Nonetheless, the successful women musicians described in this essay have shown that these constructions of difference are not biologically founded and they can be reversed.

Socially constructed ideas of femininity and masculinity are not unique to music and they need to be addressed at a deeper cultural level before women musicians can move forward. Allowing women and men to move freely beyond these constructions does not imply that women will become men or vice versa. When America elected an African American president in 2008, he did not become a white male even though voters

deemed him worthy of the power and leadership usually only assigned to white males. Just as American culture is still divided over these race constructions, gender equity will not happen overnight in all aspects of American culture, especially in orchestras.

Despite the challenges of "unlearning" gender constructions deeply tied to our culture, musical careers for women in orchestras are slowly improving. After the data in this essay concerning orchestra personnel was collected in the summer of 2009, Amanda Davidson was hired as Associate Principal Trombone of the New York Philharmonic.[6] Davidson's success demonstrates that as musicians retire from America's top orchestras, blind auditions can help more women become employed in solo positions of what were previously considered "male" sections. Future generations will be encouraged by role models such as Cherian, Landsman, Ordmann, and Slaughter, to name only a few. As gender constructions are gradually addressed in the general educational curriculum, the music education paradigm will also come under scrutiny and become more inclusive of women.

Educators, employers and musicians can all choose the fair path, a humanist path that allows both men and women to express music in an artistic setting without fear of discrimination or harassment. In this improved environment, there will be no question of "she played like a man" or women's souls are inferior to men's, as implied by Zehetner of the Vienna Philharmonic. Instead, "she/he played like a woman" may become a positive statement. The music union needs to ensure that all Americans, regardless of gender, race or class are permitted to compete for jobs in America's elite orchestras. If gendered constructions of instrumentalists could disappear, musicians could finally express themselves democratically and in a truly cohesive, sensitive manner. There is also hope that racial and class barriers would benefit from the same steps that need to be

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[6] The New York Philharmonic Orchestra roster, http://nyphil.org/meet/orchestra/index.cfm?page=profile&personNum=1558, accessed 3 August 2010.

taken to protect women's rights in music. Behind the screen, the best musicians of the world can compete to make America's orchestras some of the most diverse and musically rich in the world.

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