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Moving Beyond Gender Barriers in Music Education

Transcender les stéréotypes de genre dans l'enseignement de la musique

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***Abstract:** While gender is socially constructed and an immaterial concept, gender has very real impacts on the school experiences of students of all genders. Our recent review of literature (published 2000-2024) identified three significant gender-based barriers that negatively affect students' music education experiences: (1) Gender stereotyping in and out of the music classroom limits the potential musical opportunities students see for themselves, such as the instruments they play and the ensembles they join; (2) Music students—particularly transgender and gender non-conforming students—are vulnerable to gender-based harassment and violence that discourages continued participation in school music programs; (3) Music students going against gender stereotypes can experience isolation from their peers that lasts beyond the duration of their school music programs. Guided by an ethic of hospitality to support gender diversity in educational contexts, we offer practical interventions that music teachers can use to address gender-based barriers and enhance personally meaningful music making experiences for students of all genders.*

***Résumé :** Même si le genre est une construction sociale et un concept immatériel, son influence sur l'expérience scolaire des élèves est bien réelle. Notre récente analyse de la littérature (publiée entre 2000 et 2024) a permis d'identifier trois obstacles importants liés au genre qui affectent négativement les expériences d'apprentissage musical des élèves : (1) les stéréotypes de genre à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de la classe limitent les perspectives musicales des élèves, telles que leurs choix d'instruments et d'ensembles musicaux; (2) les élèves, en particulier les transgenres et les élèves au genre non conforme, sont vulnérables au harcèlement et à la violence liés au genre, ce qui les décourage de continuer à participer aux programmes de musique à l'école; (3) les élèves qui transgressent les stéréotypes de genre peuvent être isolés même après avoir terminé leur programme musical. Guidés par une éthique de l'hospitalité visant à promouvoir la diversité des genres dans les milieux éducatifs, nous proposons aux professeurs de musique des interventions pratiques pour surmonter les obstacles liés au genre et permettre aux élèves de vivre des expériences musicales significatives quel que soit leur genre.*

Student engagement across subjects is mediated by the way students and teachers are taught to act out their gender (McGeown & Warhurst, 2020). In the music classroom, gender expectations can limit students' musical exploration and personal identity development (Watt, 2023). Music teachers must reckon with the impact of gender in order to offer students the space and resources to engage in personally fulfilling music-making. The abstract nature of gender barriers can be daunting. Gender stereotypes emerge early in classrooms, with students as young as pre-kindergarten believing that boys and girls have different academic capabilities. These beliefs impact the priorities students set for themselves throughout their academic careers (McGeown & Warhurst, 2020). Gender gaps in subject matter confidence widen and beliefs in gender stereotypes become more ingrained as students age (McGeown & Warhurst, 2020), posing different challenges for teachers depending on the age of their students. To mitigate gender barriers in music education contexts, teachers must (a) recognize the ways gender can limit students' engagement with music and (b) intentionally leverage strategies to move beyond those limitations to encourage both music learning and personal development.

Approaching Gender

We, the authors, understand gender as socially constructed with varying meanings across time and across cultures. Gender differences are socially learned rather than the product of biological predetermination, but the constructed nature of gender does not make it meaningless. We find it

useful to make the comparison to money—a five dollar bill has no inherent value, but because meaning has been assigned to it, we think of it and value it a certain way. When someone is legible as a woman, others will attach their meaning of "woman" to her and think of her and value her a certain way. Gender differences manifest in student beliefs and behaviours, impacting students' social and academic experiences (Fierro-Suero et al., 2023; McGeown & Warhurst, 2020). In this article we do not aim to ignore or deny experiences and understandings of gender. Instead, we aim to promote Airton's (2023) ethic of hospitality. Airton's hospitality de-centres how individual students present themselves, removing the burden from students to make their gender understood by the teacher. The teacher does not wait for a student to do gender[1] differently before practicing pedagogy that is hospitable to gender diversity; Airton (2023) suggests focusing on the consistent application of hospitality to gender. For example, a teacher would ideally already be using gender-inclusive language, rather than just start using it because they perceive they have a gender non-conforming student in their class. Thus, this article does not focus on preparing teachers for various types of gender diversity they might come across. Instead, we offer pedagogical approaches that are hospitable to students of all genders.

Gender Barriers

Our review of literature published from 2000-2024 identified three significant gender-based barriers that negatively affected students' music education experiences: (1) Gender stereotyping in and out of the music classroom limits the potential musical opportunities students see for themselves, such as the instruments they play and the ensembles they join (Conway, 2000; Elpus, 2015; Watt, 2023); (2) Music students—particularly trans and gender non-confirming (TGNC) students—are vulnerable to gender-based harassment and violence that discourages continued participation in school music programs (Elpus & Carter, 2016; Harrison, 2007); (3) Music students going against gender stereotypes can experience isolation from their peers that lasts beyond their school music programs (Nichols, 2013; Taylor, 2009).

Gender Stereotyping In and Out of the Music Classroom Limits the Potential Opportunities Students See for Themselves

The association between instrument selection and gender has been a topic of interest to music educators for nearly half a century, with Abeles and Porter's first foray into the subject in 1978. Gender associations with instruments have remained consistent for decades (Abeles, 2009). For example, girls play high woodwinds and high strings while boys play low brass and percussion (Abeles, 2009; Hallam et al., 2020). Some instruments, such as the saxophone, French horn, and piano, occupy a gender-ambiguous middle ground (Hallam et al., 2020). The issue is rarely that a student has a material incapability to play an instrument with cross-gender associations, but rather an iterative social taboo (Conway, 2000; Watt, 2023). However, some girls have been denied access to instruments they wish to play because they are perceived to be physically incapable. This concern frequently occurs with percussion and the tuba (Watt, 2023; Sinsabaugh, 2005).

Teachers are aware of the gender labels associated with instruments, and many attempt to counteract stereotypes through strategic instrument demonstrations, posters, and videos (Bayley, 2004). Apart from teachers, parents play a significant role in influencing students' instrument choices. However, less is known about how parents perceive instrument-gender associations and make recommendations to their children (Abeles, 2009; Conway, 2000). Another problematic stereotype involves the culture of school technology teaching girls to be less confident using digital music tools than boys (Armstrong, 2008; Shibazaki & Marshall, 2013). The disparity in confidence in music technology is highlighted by Armstrong (2008). Responding to the question "Do you feel confident using music technology for composing?" 90% of boys responded affirmatively compared to only 48% of girls (Armstrong, 2008). Armstrong theorizes the disparity in confidence is due to technological fluency being a valued component of masculine identity at the schools that participated in the survey and field observations. Enculturated gender differences are apparent in the different approaches boys and girls use with music technology. In a study conducted by Shibazaki and Marshall (2013), girls tended to work in groups and approach composing with music software as a collective endeavour, rely on western music theory, plan the structure of the piece, and focus on their personal limitations when the final product wasn't to their liking. Boys tended to isolate their musical ideas into sections instead of working towards a collective vision, rely more on experimentation, draw on sounds from out-of-class experiences, and blame the limitations of the software when they were unhappy with their musical piece (Shibazaki & Marshall, 2013).

An additional unfortunate and inaccurate stereotype positions girls as less musically proficient than boys. Research suggests that as instrumentalists, girls are more self-critical. In a survey of instrumental conservatory students, girls rated their self-efficacy and capacity to learn new skills lower in comparison to boy respondents (Hallam et al., 2020). The development of these self-limiting beliefs may be connected to women being less represented as soloists, professional musicians, and section leaders.

Music teachers must reckon with the impact of gender in order to offer students the space and resources to engage in personally fulfilling music-making

While representation in music textbooks has been improving, men and boys are still portrayed as soloists and professional musicians more frequently than women and girls (Bernabé-Villodre & Martínez-Bello, 2018). In top-selling bands, orchestras, and ensembles, women are positioned as figureheads less frequently than men. In an analysis of principal and assistant principal chairs in international orchestras, 83% of principal chairs and 65% of assistant chairs were men (Sergeant & Himonides, 2023). In brass bands, 76% of section leaders were men (Sergeant & Himonides, 2023). The gender disparity is even more dramatic in pop music where men are 90% of lead artists in top-selling popular music groups, as gathered by the Recording Industry Artists of America (Sergeant & Himonides, 2023). Notably, this statistic does not include recording artists who perform as a solo act, such as Beyoncé, Taylor Swift, SZA, and Ice Spice.

As with instruments, vocal music-making is also subject to gendered perceptions. Singing and choral participation is often stereotyped as a feminine form of music making (Harrison, 2007; McBride, 2016; Warzecha, 2013). The participation of boys in choirs has been an ongoing concern for music education researchers and teachers, resulting in differing and sometimes contradictory advice for recruiting and keeping boys in vocal ensembles (Freer, 2010; Harrison, 2007; McBride, 2016; Palkki, 2015; Warzecha, 2013). In US school choirs, girls have outnumbered boys by a greater than 2:1 ratio since the 1980s (Elpus, 2015). The sounds of individual voices are gendered based on pitch, pitch variation, resonance, inflection, timbre, articulation, and volume (Pennington, 2022). Also, the way a singer's voice is classified is highly impacted by visual cues, making a singer's role in choir not just about the sound of their voice, but how they visually present their gender (Knight et al., 2023). Those whose voices go against gender expectations may attempt to compensate by trying to fulfill gender stereotypes in other ways, adding additional pressure to the musicians (Jones, 2019). Gendered stereotypes are pervasive in music contexts and can have a detrimental effect on student engagement. Although the barriers are socially constructed, their impact is very real. For example, students will often refuse to play instruments that contradict the gender stereotypes they are expected to embody (Conway, 2000; Watt, 2023). Similarly, students may resist singing in a certain section of the choir (or singing at all) due to discomfort with gendered associations.

Music Students are Vulnerable to Gender-Based Harassment and Violence, Particularly Trans+ and Gender Non-Conforming Students

In a U.S. crime victimization survey, students in the performing arts were found to be 88% more likely to experience gender-based victimization than students not enrolled in the performing arts (Elpus & Carter, 2016). Gender-based victimization tended to manifest differently for different genders. Boys and students perceived as boys were more frequently victims of physical aggression while girls and students perceived as girls were more frequently victims of social-relational aggression (Elpus & Carter, 2016). In Taylor's (2009) study of men flutists in Texas, 14 of 16 respondents reported being teased by peers for their instrument choice. Girls and women who perform on instruments with cross-gender stereotypes have received a barrage of cyberbullying, including sexual comments, the questioning of their sexuality, and having their skills diminished (Abeles et al., 2014). Unsurprisingly, such gender-based bullying is significant in deterring students from continued participation in school music programs (Harrison, 2007).

Trans+ and gender non-conforming (TGNC) students are particularly at risk of victimization. In the latest survey conducted by Egale Canada on homophobia, biphobia, and transphobia in grade 8 to 12 across Canada, TGNC students reported being victim to verbal, physical, and sexual harassment significantly more than cisgender students, including cisgender sexual minority students (Peter et al., 2021). Not only are TGNC students more vulnerable to peer-to-peer victimization, but to victimization from school staff and administration as well (Palkki, 2020). TGNC students expressed feeling less safe in class than their cisgender and gender-conforming peers (Palkki & Caldwell, 2018). Students who engage in counter-stereotyped music-making according to their gender or perceived gender are frequently gender non-conforming in other ways (Conway, 2000), making the wellbeing of these students of particular concern.

Research on positive experiences of TGNC youth in school has shown that teachers are key players in the well-being of TGNC students (Leonard, 2022). Promisingly, Silveira and Goff (2016) found that the majority of music

teachers want to support TGNC students. Predictably, gender and sexual minority students report wanting quick interventions from music teachers when gender and sexuality-based bullying occurs in order to feel safe in music class (Palkki & Caldwell, 2018). Unspoken support is not sufficient; students may read a lack of explicit support as a sign that a teacher is unsupportive. Directly communicated allyship is critical, whether verbal or symbolically expressed through signage (Palkki & Caldwell, 2018). Nichols (2013) examined the story of Rie Daisies, a gender non-conforming music student. Rie was frequently victimized by peers and staff during her schooling. While her music teachers did not antagonize her or mention her gender, Rie did not see them as allies. She attributes her relative safety in class to her musical skill rather than any conscious allyship effort on the part of her music teachers. Ongoing gender-based victimization led to Rie leaving school. Rie's story exemplifies the vital nature of active and engaged allies and the significant difference between passive non-offenders and allies.

Music Students Going Against Gender Stereotypes Can Become Socially Isolated

Making music in a way that is counter stereotypical to one's gender can cause social strain and loneliness despite the collaborative nature of ensemble membership. Students who are the only person of their gender within their section have reported feelings of isolation that stem from the treatment of section peers (Conway, 2000). A man flutist reported that the bullying he faced from boys at his school has had a lasting impact on the way he interacts with other men and has created distance between him and other men years later (Taylor, 2009). Boy singers report similar experience to that of the flutist. Boy singers described isolation magnified by the way their schools prioritized athletics programming for boys over music programming (Harrison, 2007). Fortunately, some studies suggest students that have engaged in counter stereotypical music-making do not always experience isolation. Instrumentalists who were described as particularly skillful report positive social experiences emerging from their music-making (Sinsabaugh, 2005; Taylor, 2009). Studies on choral students whose voices sound counter-stereotypical to their gender have not reported the same experiences.

Suggested Interventions

In this section of the article, we offer practical interventions that music teachers can use to address gender-based barriers. Guided by Airton's (2023) ethic of hospitality, we present these interventions as tools to enhance personally meaningful music making experiences for students of all genders.

Barrier: Gender Stereotyping In and Out of the Music Classroom Limits the Potential Opportunities Students See for Themselves.

Suggestion: Don't Fall Back on Traditional Gender Roles; Offer Options

To address students feeling limited in their potential avenues for musical engagement due to their gender, teachers should be aware of how they may be projecting gender role expectations. In choral activities, teachers should be careful to not equate sections with gender. When rehearsing different sections of the choir, instead of saying men or boys, teachers can specify low voices or tenors and basses. Instead of saying women or girls, teachers can specify high voices or sopranos and altos. When recruiting tenors and basses, teachers can avoid the urge to assure potential singers that they are still embodying normative masculinity (McBride, 2016; Palkki, 2015). Phrases such as "real men sing" teach boys to maintain socially accepted masculinity, reinforcing the idea that there are legitimate ("real") and illegitimate men (McBride, 2016). The pressure to practice normative masculinity can be an extra source of pressure for sexual minorities in a culture that associates masculinity with heterosexuality (Butler, 1990; McBride, 2016).

In terms of repertoire, teachers can select or encourage choices that challenge musical and lyrical tropes and do not corner students into enacting normative gender narratives. While Palkki (2015) provides recommendations on how to avoid misogynistic and heteronormative repertoire in reference to tenor and bass ensembles, it is well worth keeping in mind for all ensembles. Gendered approaches to repertoire can be reconfigured. Music educators can invite students of all genders to dramatically embody different characters represented in songs. Rex, an elementary music teacher, invites all students in his class to become Johnny who works with one hammer or the little old lady who swallowed a fly (Bernard & Talbot, 2023), thereby encouraging students to explore different

Gendered stereotypes are pervasive in music contexts and can have a detrimental effect on student engagement. Although the barriers are socially constructed, their impact is very real

gender narratives rather than perform only the traditional role associated with their gender.

Performing normative gender extends into uniforms. Gendered uniforms can be a source of discomfort for vocal and instrumental musicians of all genders and presentations (Palkki & Caldwell, 2018). Doing away with gendered uniforms or implementing gender neutral uniforms removes pressure from the musicians to portray gender norms, and can signal support of gender diversity (Watt, 2023). For example, Palkki (2018) reported that requiring sopranos and altos in choir to wear dresses at performances was distressing to both a trans boy and a cisgender girl as it coerced them into performing an image of femininity that neither student felt represented them.

Instead of asking students to embody normative gender narratives in class, music teachers can give agency to students and open up possibilities for how they engage. During the instrument selection process, teachers can offer multiple suggestions (Kim, 2023) and provide examples of performers of different genders playing each instrument (Cooper & Burns, 2021). While Kim (2023) advises teachers to avoid influencing students' instrument selection, research indicates that gender does not play a significant factor in music teachers' instrument recommendation to students (Johnson & Stewart, 2004; 2005). Therefore, we suggest that teachers *do* offer recommendations, because teachers often have an in-depth knowledge and expertise in guiding student choices. Ideally, teachers should offer a range of options and invite students to open dialogues about the reasons they are drawn to certain instruments or not, including discussions of social pressures and relevant gender associations. If a student wishes to play a certain instrument but encounters physical challenges—for example, the instrument is too heavy—the teacher can provide the student the chance to try the instrument again at a later point.

The same principle of offering choice can be applied to vocal activities. Alongside supporting the healthy vocal development of students, the teacher can offer flexibility and room for students to explore their vocal capabilities in different vocal sections. By better understanding the full capacity of their own voices, singers might gain new appreciation for the vocal abilities of others. Students can try out different vocal sections just as they might try out different instruments before deciding how they most comfortably musically engage. Teachers can be present to support students' decision-making as needed but should allow students to take the lead. It is important to keep in mind that voice physiology changes as students age, particularly during puberty (Skelton, 2007). While the most dramatic vocal changes are seen in testosterone-based puberty, puberty spurs vocal changes for all singers (Skelton, 2007). Music teachers can support students in negotiating these physiological changes by inviting them to explore and move between vocal parts and sections.

Since students of different genders may approach composition and music technology differently (Shibazaki & Marshall, 2013; Webster, 2011), teachers can offer multiple strategies for approaching composition and interacting with music technology. Teachers can also offer the choice of independent or group work. This strategy is not intended to challenge the ways boys and girls have been taught or are inclined to work, but instead frame all approaches as suitable, hopefully addressing the disparity in confidence girls have demonstrated with composing and music technology (Armstrong, 2008; Shibazaki & Marshall, 2013). For example, the "Electronic Music Accelerator" project in Australia displayed the impact of workshops facilitated by women targeted to gender minorities in digital music technology (Strong & Gadir, 2023). Considering gender differences in approach to music technology, facilitators focused on teaching participants the value of typically feminine approaches in the field of music production.

As students explore their music-making opportunities, they may venture into spaces where they have few to no same-gender peers. Rather than tokenizing a single counter-stereotypical musician, teachers can offer multiple counter-stereotypical role models of different backgrounds, genders, and self-expressions. Displaying diverse musicians and non-normative music-making will ideally support students' confidence as they sculpt their musical selves (Freer, 2010; Palkki, 2015).

Suggestion: Music Class as a Place to Explore Gender

While music teachers are not able to control what gender narratives students learn outside of the classroom, teachers can use class activities to engage students in critical conversations about gender narratives. These conversations do not have to be bogged down in theoretical jargon and can instead start with what and how it may be meaningful to students. For example, teachers can discuss with younger students how they decide what gender a singer is if they only hear their voice. Older students may be in-

Teachers can be present to support students' decision-making as needed, but should allow students to take the lead

terested in discussing why some instruments are played more by boys and others are played more by girls in their school music programs or in their favourite bands. As mentioned above, the teacher can create space for students to initiate a conversation about gender-associated interests and concerns related to selecting an instrument, encouraging students to explore their own understandings and experiences. Additionally, teachers can facilitate the exploration and playful transgression of instrument gender associations by using flexible or adaptable instrumental arrangements. Working in small or large ensembles, players can experiment with instruments taking on non-traditional melody or accompaniment roles, such as having a tuba play the melody, or a flute play the bass line. When rigid musical expectations come under examination and are challenged by musicians, students can explore new creative outlets for self-expression and gender affirmation (Watt, 2023).

Gender exploration can also be supported by teachers inviting students to share songs they enjoy so that the class can collectively listen and examine what messages the songs convey (Robison & Culp, 2021). Questions such as: *How do vocalists of different genders interact on the same track? Who plays which instruments? What experiences mentioned in the lyrics resonate with students?* could be posed. Reflective listening can encourage students to practice empathy by envisioning the musician's point of view or the perspective of the student who shared the song with the class (Robison & Culp, 2021). Critical listening can be easily adapted for different grades by delegating more responsibility to students to find musical selections and exploring topics relevant to the age of students, such as friendships, relationships, increasing responsibilities, and self-care.

Barrier: Music Students are Vulnerable to Gender-Based Harassment and Violence, Particularly TGNC Students

Suggestion: Music Teachers can Explicitly and Consistently Support Gender Diversity

Music students experience gender-based bullying at higher rates than non-music students (Elpus & Carter, 2016) and TGNC music students report feeling less safe in choir than cisgender sexual minority students (Palkki & Caldwell, 2018). 2SLGBTQ+ students have shared that they wished music teachers were explicit about their support of gender and sexual minority students (Palkki & Caldwell, 2018). Airton (2023) recommends that this step can be implemented on the first day of coming together as a class or music ensemble. Rather than asking students to share their pronouns, which requires students to know and communicate their identity publicly, the teacher can share their own name and pronouns, then leave the door open for students to broach a conversation about names and pronouns with the teacher should they wish it (Airton, 2023). We propose that in this same introduction, the teacher can share their classroom and school policies regarding gender-based and sexuality-based harassment, and what supports are available to students experiencing gender-based harassment in the classroom and school. This initial gesture of hospitality will ideally not be a one-time occurrence. The conversation can be revisited throughout the semester, such as after breaks. The ongoing offer for students to share their identity can be communicated symbolically. In settings where students have name tags or placards, supplies to (re)make the tags or placards can be made available at every meeting so students can update their name or pronouns with little fanfare and without seeking permission to do so.

Barrier: Music Students Going Against Gender Stereotypes Can Become Socially Isolated

Suggestion: Music Teachers Can Organize Regular Social Experiences Outside of the Ensemble Structure

Ensemble structures can be uncomfortable for TGNC musicians who have a gender or gender presentation atypical to their instrumental or vocal section. Offering opportunities for students to socially and musically engage with one another outside of regular large ensemble structures may strengthen students' sense of belonging in the music class or program. Team-building exercises within ensemble or class time may be helpful. Classes spent exploring new ways of making music—such as songwriting, improvising, or playing in small ensembles—can give students opportunities to connect with peers and form friendships outside of their ensemble sections. Teachers may be able to support extracurricular social activities for music students, such as performances, trips, or open mic events. Introducing social activities as an intentional and regular part of music education can form bonds that support students throughout their music education journeys.

Suggestion: Music Teachers Can Help Students Establish Connections with Musicians Outside of the School Community

Music teachers can expand their students' musical networks by inviting guests to share their musical contributions with the class. Guest musicians can get involved as section clinicians for ensembles, showcase different instruments for beginning instrumental music students, serve as conductors or composers-in-residence, lead workshops in an area of expertise, or perform. Extended relationship building between students and local musicians elevates the earlier suggestion of offering multiple counter-stereotype role models for students (Eros, 2008). Potential visiting musicians could be former students or sourced from students' families or from nearby post-sec-

ondary institutions. As another possibility, students who play instruments counter-stereotyped to their gender may seek connection through online communities (Abeles et al., 2016). However, these communities can be vulnerable to cyberbullying and may be unmoderated (Abeles et al., 2016). By providing connections to trusted parties with similar experiences, teachers can help mitigate the risks students may encounter by turning to online forums.

Suggestions for Future Research

While the topics of gendered associations of instruments and the limited presence of boys and men in choirs have been capturing the attention of music educators and researchers for decades, other intersections of gender and music education remain relatively unexplored. Although literature on the experiences of TGNC students in choral education has been expanding in the last decade, instrumental music education and music technology education contexts have received little attention. While authors have acknowledged the impact parents have on students' instrument selection (Abeles, 2009; Conway, 2000), the perspective of parents of music students has not yet been explored. The potential for culturally relevant pedagogy to disrupt stereotypes is intriguing and worthy of research. In Canada, residential schools enforced colonial gender roles on Indigenous children as a tool of colonization and assimilation (De Leeuw, 2007). Researchers may wish to investigate the role of decolonization and Indigenization in moving beyond gender barriers in music education.

Conclusion

Gender-based barriers to fulfilling music-making are pervasive, but that does not make music teachers helpless to counter them. Music educators can actively combat the perpetuation of stereotypes that instill limiting beliefs by questioning traditional gender associations and offering their classrooms as spaces for students to be inquisitive about gender and examine the beliefs that influence their decision making. Music educators can be vigilant for gender-based harassment and violence while proactively, explicitly, and consistently voicing their allyship and support for gender diversity. Recognizing that students going against gender stereotypes can become socially isolated in music contexts, educators can facilitate social and musical interactions outside of regular ensemble structures, with diverse musicians from and beyond the school music program. By practicing Airton's (2023) notion of hospitality to students of all genders, interventions to support gender diversity in the music classroom will not risk drawing unwanted attention to illegible gender presentations and will preserve the safety and dignity of gender minority students. These approaches do not require educators to become experts about gender, but they do provide a safe space for students to explore their interlocking identities, share their lived experiences, and examine the musical possibilities available to them.

Notes

[1] A term coined by West & Zimmerman (1987), *doing gender* unsettles the idea that gender is an achievable state and is instead an ongoing project requiring consistent maintenance in order to remain legible.

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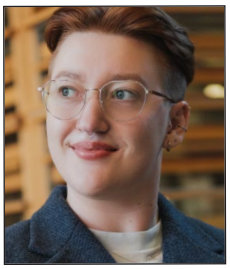

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