A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF BLACK DOCTORAL MUSIC STUDENTS’ AND GRADUATES’ MANAGEMENT OF IDENTITY STEREOTYPES

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A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF BLACK DOCTORAL MUSIC STUDENTS’ AND GRADUATES’ MANAGEMENT OF IDENTITY STEREOTYPES

by

STEVEN ARMON ANDERSON

Under the Direction of Patrick K. Freer and Janice B. Fournillier

ABSTRACT

Numerous studies have found that stereotype threat can negatively affect academic performance, especially for Black students. However, studies have also shown that many African Americans have used the threat to enhance motivation and achievement. McGee & Martin (2011) used stereotype management to explain how Black mathematic students handled racial stereotypes and exhibited high achievement and resilience within an environment where stereotypes threatened performance. This study was designed to apply and extend research on stereotype threat and stereotype management to non-experimental, real-world accounts of Black music students. The purpose of this study was to investigate how Black music students identify and respond to identity stereotypes throughout their music education. The focus was on the issues of motivation and resilience. The study was designed to elicit the current and past experiences of Black doctoral music students and graduates, within the sociocultural context of their music
programs and communities. This study was grounded in a phenomenological theoretical framework and employed narrative inquiry methods. The following questions framed the study: How do Black doctoral music students and graduates report their experiences in music education classrooms and related activities? What types of stereotypes do Black doctoral music students and graduates encounter? The findings reveal that the major experiences were related to gender and SES stereotypes in earlier years, and almost exclusively racial stereotyping in college years. However the participants’ strengthening racial identity directly affected their responses to racial stimuli in their experiences. In addition, pride in Black identity not only served as motivation in the presence of racial stereotyping but also had debilitating effects. Finally, stereotype management manifested in determination to prove naysayers wrong, adamant defiance of stereotypes, and the desire to give back to future Black music students. Implications include suggestions on how music programs can build agency and resilience, and support the success of minority students and students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Findings from this study corroborate findings on the experiences of Black doctoral students in other disciplines. The results encourage further research on the effects of identity on the success of music students.

INDEX WORDS: Stereotype threat, stereotype management, Black doctoral students, Black doctoral music students, resilience, social identity, racial identity, music education
A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF BLACK DOCTORAL MUSIC STUDENTS’ AND GRADUATES’ MANAGEMENT OF IDENTITY STEREOTYPES

by

STEVEN ARMON ANDERSON

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the

Degree of

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in

Teaching & Learning

in

Music Education

in the

College of Education and Human Development
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Atlanta, GA
2018
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedication to Concella “Ba” Bates. This is one of those moments that I dreamed you would physically be here for, just like all of the other monumental moments of my life. From as early as I can remember, I’ve always been your “absent minded professor.” Thank you for planting that seed in my life. I miss you dearly, and still vow to make you proud. Here’s to the biggest step in making our dream a reality.
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# Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES .......................................................................................................................... vii

LIST OF FIGURES......................................................................................................................... viii

1 THE PROBLEM .......................................................................................................................... 1

Background .................................................................................................................................. 2

Purpose ......................................................................................................................................... 6

Research Questions ..................................................................................................................... 6

Need for the Study ....................................................................................................................... 7

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ............................................................................................... 9

Racial Identity .............................................................................................................................. 9

Social Identity ............................................................................................................................. 16

Identity Stereotypes in Music Education ................................................................................... 17

  *Race & Culture* ....................................................................................................................... 17

  *Gender, Sex, and Sexuality* .................................................................................................... 20

Stereotype Threat & Management ............................................................................................ 25

  *Stereotype Threat* .................................................................................................................. 25

  *Stereotype Management* ....................................................................................................... 28

  *Summary: Stereotype threat and stereotype management* ..................................................... 30

Chapter Summary ...................................................................................................................... 30

3 METHODOLOGY ..................................................................................................................... 32

Theoretical Framework .............................................................................................................. 32
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Stereotype Threat vs. Stereotype Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Participant Demographic Data</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Code Map: Breaking down stereotypes.............................................. 53
1 THE PROBLEM

“The teasing had to do with homosexuality, and you know, being a wuss and you know, challenging your abilities as a man, you know? Looking back, it changed my life completely because of the people that I don't talk to and the people I do talk to. The teasing obviously came from the guys more than the girls, so my relationship with guys is completely different than what it would have been if I hadn't played the flute…” (Taylor, 2009, p. 53).

Students’ in ensembles perceptions of identity stereotypes play a significant role in their social and musical experiences during adolescence (Adderley, Kennedy & Berz, 2003; Campbell, Connell & Beagle, 2007; Elpus, 2011). While music classrooms may be places where most students feel at home, the negative effects of stereotyping make many of them feel less welcomed or even out-casted. Gender, racial and sexuality stereotyping is unfortunate but common in music education. Many music students, such as the male flautist above, endure teasing, isolation, and exclusion due to the effects of stereotyping.

Numerous studies have highlighted the effects of identity stereotypes on student recruitment, attrition, performance, and enjoyment in music education (Bergonzi, 2009; Bradley, 2007; Carter, 2013; Conway, 2014; DeLorenzo, 2012; Elpus & Abril, 2011; Knotts & Gregorio, 2011; Koza, 1992; Taylor, 2009; Schmidt, 2010; Wynch, 2012;). Race and gender stereotypes in music education have been specifically popular topics among music education researchers. Elpus and Abril (2011) concluded, “Residuals showed that the overrepresentation of White students among music students significantly contributed to the overall association between race/ethnicity and music participation” (p. 135). Also, the recent increase in popularity of social justice research in music education emphasizes the need for a more inclusive profession and a step away from
White, male, heteronormative dominant discourse and pedagogy (Bergonzi, 2009; Bradley, 2007; DeLorenzo, 2013; Hoffman, 2013). However, there is little empirical research on how music students identify and respond to identity stereotypes.

Background

As a Black male music educator, I have seen and experienced the effects of stereotypes on student participation, instruction and policy development. My personal experiences as a musician, teacher, and researcher form the impetus for this study. I began my formal school music study on the violin in third grade. In fifth grade, I joined band but was the only student left in orchestra. My peers felt a deeper cultural connection and more social comfort in band and choir than orchestra. I continued to play violin into middle and high school, joining musicians from other zones in my school district. However, my term in orchestra ended after my sophomore year. I was the only student from my school and one of two Blacks in the ensemble. I found myself feeling socially, racially, and culturally isolated from the ensemble. The high school students in Schmidt’s (2011) survey echoed my experience. Schmidt posited that non-White students did not participate in string ensembles because they would be identified as nerds. One minority string student was quoted as saying, “When you went to orchestra, there was pretty much only White kids in there” (p.13). Unlike my experiences in band, I felt isolated and often pre-judged because of my physical, cultural and class differences when compared to my fellow musicians. To many, even my physical stature did not fit the stereotypical model of a violinist, clarinetist or oboist. I became accustomed to being one of the very few Black musicians in many of the ensembles in which I performed. I was almost always the only Black male violinists or clarinetist. As a result, I redirected stereotypical reactions into motivation to prove my musicianship.
As a music educator, I aim to be aware of the existing stereotypes and accompanying prejudices that may affect my students’ success and enjoyment. I have always been cognizant of my minority students’ sociocultural disposition, especially when directing show-style bands. Show-style marching bands (also referred to as high-stepping bands) are modeled after Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). White students in show-style bands compose the minority population, as Black students constitute the majority. Additionally, the performance and teaching techniques derive from Black culture. My phenomenological study (Anderson, 2014) explored the experiences of White students in high school show-style marching bands. The impetus for this study stemmed from my interest in studying the experience of perceiving and reacting to stereotypes within music education. Participants provided narratives of specific instances in which they felt their participation and performance abilities were pre-judged because of their race (e.g. “White people can’t dance”). A few of the participants mentioned how the intersections of race, gender, and sexuality colored their experiences. I was able to investigate how students react to identity stereotypes within the music education context. Across all cases, the participants met most instances of stereotyping with increased intrinsic motivation and resilience.

Research on the identification and reaction to stereotypes in music education is scarce, but social science researchers have highlighted the effects of identity stereotyping on performance. Stereotype threat is defined as “being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group (Anderson & Steele, 1995, p. 797).” This theory has commonly been applied to explain how individuals’ performance on specific tasks is affected by common stereotypes of facets of their identity. Stereotype threat research suggests that merely being a member of a stereotyped group can lead to decreased performance in certain situations, presumably by increasing the psychological stakes of failure on a task of importance to the individual
(Davis, Aronson & Salinas, 2006). For example, in a comparative study, Good, Aronson, and Harder (2008) found that women performed worse than men on a mathematical exam when gender differences in math performance were mentioned before the test and as well as the men when gender was not mentioned. However, researchers have also found, specifically for Blacks, that a strong positive identification with a stereotyped group can help to protect a person from the negative effects of stereotype threat (Davis, Aronson & Salinas 2006; Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee 2001). I have been conscious of the stereotypes assigned to my race and gender, specifically in the realms of education and music education. In some spaces, my gender has played a stronger role in feeling stigmatized than my race and vice-versa. Previous studies indicate that race and gender rarely share the same degree of influence on stereotype threat, (Shih, Pittinsky & Ambady, 1999). The show-style White, female drummer Anderson (2014) encountered much more stigmatization from gender than racial stereotypes.

The research showed that situational cues may activate stereotype threat and can cause individuals to feel a stronger tie to a stereotyped group identity than to other facets of their identity (Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000; Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2003; McGuire, McGuire, Child & Fujiokaet, 1978; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002). For example, I had the profound experience of standing in front of a mirror in a graduate conducting course. The class’s reflection was jarring: I was the only Black student in my cohort of over twenty people. Race immediately became a salient point for me in that course. As a graduate of a HBCU, this daunting experience was very new to me. For the first time in my higher education matriculation I felt “inferiority anxiety” – a state aroused by the race related cues in my environment (Steele, 1995).

My experiences in graduate school motivated me to interview a few peers for a qualitative research class project. They also moved on to Predominately White Institutions (PWIs) for
graduate study after graduating from prominent HBCUs. They all spoke of instances of feeling stereotyped because of their race and educational background in the new predominately White environment (e.g. “You write so well to have come from a Black school”). These interviews helped to inform my perception that management of stereotype threat is not only applicable to music students in grade school but may also be valid through collegiate music study. Additionally, McCall (2015) investigated the experiences of Black music students who transitioned from HBCUs for undergraduate degrees to PWIs for graduate study. She found that Black students experienced both covert and overt forms of discrimination when transitioning to PWIs. McCall (2015) concluded that the Black music students persevered to complete their degrees, using their “encounters with oppositional attitudes and behaviors as capital (Yosso, 2005; Bourdieu, 1993) to fund their success, affording them the capacity to steer through and negotiate familiar and unfamiliar spaces” (p. 255).

McGee & Martin (2011) introduced stereotype management to explain high achievement and resilience among Black mathematics and engineering college students. They define stereotype management as “a tactical response to ubiquitous forms of racism and racialized experiences across school and non-school contexts” (McGee & Martin, 2011, p.1347). According to the authors, stereotype management “emerged along overlapping paths of racial, gender, and mathematics identity development” (p. 1349). McGee and Martin (2011) concluded that Black math and engineering college students recognized the threat of stereotypes based on their gender and racial identities. The participants in the study grew from being motivated, to disprove stereotypes, to being inspired to succeed. This same story is evident in my experiences, of the Texas male flautists, the White girl on the drum line, my fellow students who went from HBCUs to PWIs, and a myriad of other examples in music education.
Purpose

Stereotype threat is usually measured quantitatively, and results vary based on the degree of an individual’s identification with a stigmatized identity and situational cues. However, stereotype management focuses on the reactions of individuals to stereotypes when they are ubiquitous and within real social and academic environments (McGee & Martin, 2011). This study is designed to apply and extend research on stereotype threat to non-experimental, real world accounts of Black music students. I chose Black doctoral students and recent graduates because of the salience of race in stereotype threat [and management] and the multitude of experiences acquired from grade school through terminal degree study. The purpose of this study was to investigate how Black music students identify and respond to identity stereotypes throughout their music education. In so doing, I examined the participants’ perceptions of experiences with management of identity stereotypes, with a focus on the issues of motivation and resilience. I aimed to determine how stereotypes in music education evolve from negative threats to performance, into agency to succeed.

Research Questions

This study addressed the following central question:

What are Black doctoral music students’ perceptions of their experiences with stereotype management in music classrooms and related spaces?

This study also addressed the following supporting question and two subordinate questions:

What types of stereotypes (i.e. racial, gender, sexuality, etc.) did these Black doctoral music students and graduates encounter?
1) How did these Black doctoral music students and graduates identify and manage any stereotypes?

2) How did stereotypes affect participation, motivation, resilience and achievement among these Black doctoral music students and graduates?

Need for the Study

Numerous studies indicate that stereotype threat can negatively affect academic performance, especially for Black students (e.g., Aronson & Steele, 2005; Hartley & Sutton, 2013; Mello, Mallett, Andretta & Worrell, 2012; Nguyen & Ryan, 2008; Palumbo & Steele-Johnson, 2014; Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Walton & Cohen, 2003). However, studies also suggest that many Blacks have used the threat to enhance motivation and achievement. These studies usually determine the amount of threat and achievement through quantitative experimental methods. Stereotype management, however, is measured qualitatively and indicates participants’ reactions within environments when stereotypes are ubiquitous. This phenomenon is shown in fields such as math education but not in music (McGee & Martin, 2011).

In music education, many studies identify the effect of gender stereotyping on music ensemble participation, perseverance, and enjoyment (Abeles, 2009; Abeles & Porter, 1978; Butler, 1990; Byo, 1991; Coffman & Sehmann, 1989; Conway, 2000; Conway, 2014; Davies, 1989; Delzell & Leppla, 1992; Eros, 2008; Fausto-Sterling, 2000; Fortney, Boyle, & DeCarbo, 1993; Glaser & Smith, 2008; Griswold & Chroback, 1981; Harrison, 2002; Kelly, 1997; Koza, 1993; Palkki, 2015; Sinabaugh, 2005; Sweet, 2010; Tarnowski, 1993; Wynch 2012; Zervoudakes & Tanur, 1994). Fewer studies exist concerning marginalized communities, such as racial minorities and lesbian, gay, transgender and questioning (LGTBQ) students but such studies are beginning to emerge. Lloyd (2017) presented the first empirical study of the effects of stereotype
threat on musicianship. She conducted two pilot studies to determine if existing quantitative measures of stereotype threat could be applied to music education research. However, there have been no studies in music education measuring students’ tactical responses to experiences with stereotype threat.

I studied Black doctoral music students because of the number years of experience in music education they possess (as compared to grade school or undergraduate students) and the salience of race on stereotype threat and management. Results revealed that Black music students naturally perceive and react to a variety of stereotypes throughout their lives. I elicited rich narratives of adversity, discouragement, resilience and motivation due to identity stereotypes. The results might help to inform future research on stereotype management in music education. This understanding can also inform policy from K-12 music education through terminal degree completion.
2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Within this review of the literature, I underscore music education research that defines the importance of identity in music education and how stereotypes affect music students. This is not an exhaustive review of literature. Instead, this is a review of the literature that highlights stereotypes of Black students in music education. This review does not cover literature on stereotypes that are not salient to the sample group. Topics for this review are accordingly representative of previous research activities, the volume of research studies on specific topics, and issues most applicable to Black music students. The focus of the review is race, culture, and gender that are considered as popularly stereotyped facets of identity in music education, especially for Black students.

This review of literature begins with the definition of racial and social identity development, and their importance on stereotyping in music education and Black doctoral students in general. Next, I outline research on race, culture, gender, sex and sexuality that is pertinent to my study. Finally, I outline the theories of stereotype threat and stereotype management, and their presence in education research.

Racial Identity

Researchers have commonly defined racial identity as the extent to which race influences a person's self-concept and consequent behavior (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990, 1995; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Gilbert, So, Russell, & Wessel, 2006). According to Helms (1990, 1995), racial identity is characterized by certain ways of responding to cultural or racial stimuli in the environment or within one's psyche. Responses are sometimes within conscious awareness. However, at other times, reactions to racial stimuli may be processed unconsciously (Gilbert et al., 2006). William Cross’s (1971,1991) Nigrescence theory of racial identity
development asserts that the various stages of affirming Blackness contribute to how Blacks respond to racial stimuli. Many other racial identity scholars agree that because of the nature of the Black/White, subordinate/dominant paradigm that exists within our society, it should come as no surprise that the development of racial identity processes is heterogeneous and situation specific (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990; Sellers et al., 1997). McGee and Martin (2011) posit that “understanding the extent to which being Black was central” to understanding why and how Black doctoral math and engineering students responded to stereotyping (p. 1379).

William Cross’s (1971,1991) Nigrescence Model of African American Identity is commonly accepted in psychology as the five stages that Blacks typically follow in their journey of racial identity development. Owens (2015) summarized the five stages of the Nigrescence Model:

1) Pre-encounter: absorbed in White culture; may see his/herself as non-Black or doesn’t identify with Black culture; White is “right”

2) Encounter: forced by event or series of events to acknowledge the impact of racism in one's life and the reality that one cannot truly be White; forced to focus on identity as a member of a group targeted by racism.

3) Immersion–Emersion: intense involvement in Black culture and rejection/avoidance of Whiteness; actively seek out opportunities to explore aspects of one’s own history and culture with support of peers from one’s own racial background. Immersion eventually gives way to Emersion as the individual starts to integrate this status of Black racial identity into his or her personality while also acknowledging the strengths and weaknesses of Black people.
4) Internalization: secure in one’s own sense of racial identity; pro-black attitudes become more expansive, open, and less defensive; willing to establish meaningful relationships with Whites who acknowledge and are respective of one’s self-definition.

5) Internalization-Commitment: The process of integrating the conflicts between past and present worldviews characterizes the Internalization status. During this phase the individual finds a renewed appreciation for all races and cultures. Gone are the anti-White feelings and this individual starts to develop non-Black friendships and connections. The individual in the Internalization-Commitment stage has reached all of these milestones but also maintains a high commitment to social activism. The individual in this status remains an advocate for causes that are meaningful to the group. (p. 3)

Cross’s Nigrescence model (1971, 1995) has been used to examine Black racial identity, and how it affects reactions to racialized experiences in school settings (e.g., Barker, 2012; Milner, 2004; Mizock & Harkins, 2009; Parham & Helms, 1981). Barker (2012) used the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981) to analyze correlations between racial identity scores and narratives of experiences with cross-race advising and mentoring. He found that racial identity scores (indicating individuals’ attitudes towards their racial identity) were indicative of how and why Black students responded to racialized experiences during doctoral study. For example, doctoral students with higher Emersion and Internalization attitude scores demonstrated a “hypersensitivity to racism” (Cross, 1995, p. 117) from professors and responded with defensive efforts to protect their Black racial identity. Barker (2012) claimed that
High Internalization attitudes accounted for these participants’ ability to protect their Black-ness and navigate racial experiences because their “defensive function becomes much sophisticated and flexible” (Cross, 1995, p. 117).

According to the racial-identity-as-promotive perspective (Smalls, White, Chavous & Sellers, 2007), having a strong racial identity and valuing education as a means to overcome racial barriers results in higher academic achievement and motivation in Black students (Byrd & Chavous, 2012). Existing research shows the link between a strong and positive sense of Black identity, and higher academic motivation and achievement in adolescents and young adults (Chavous, Bernat, Schmeelk-Cone, Caldwell, and Kohn-Wood, 2003; Chavous, Rivas, Smalls, Griffin & Cogburn, 2008; Cokley, 2001, 2003; O’Connor, 1999; Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001; Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus & Harpalani, 2001). In addition, researchers found that school context plays a role in the congruence between racial identity and how Black students experience race at school (Byrd & Chavous, 2012; Mattison & Aber, 2007; Patterson-Stewart, Ritchie & Sanders, 1997). Byrd and Chavous (2012) posit,

In some cases, African American youth may find themselves in school contexts where they experience many racial barriers, racially stigmatizing experiences, and low expectations, while in other settings they may experience relatively fewer racial barriers, and members of their group may be held to similarly high expectations as other students (p. 256).

Due to the heightened salience of race for Blacks in the United States, school racial climate is a particularly important construct to consider in psychological examinations of Black students’ achievement (Booker, 2006; Byrd & Chavous, 2012; Mattison & Aber, 2007). Additionally, researchers have found connections between students’ reported sense of belonging at school and
various academic motivation outcomes (e.g., Booker, 2006). Citing previous research on congruence between sense of belonging at school and academic motivation (Booker, 2006; Byrd & Chavous, 2012; Goodenow, 1993), Byrd and Chavous (2012) state,

Experiencing congruence between students’ racial identity attitudes and their school racial climate can increase sense of belonging in several ways: youth may feel that their teachers and fellow students accept them for who they are; youth may also perceive that they are similar to those around them and thus feel included in the social community, and both factors can facilitate social bonds and supportive interpersonal relationships (pp. 257 - 258).

The link between school climate and racial identity attitudes is particularly important to this study. There is a continuously growing amount of literature concluding that the Black doctoral education experience differs from those of White students and other students of color (Anderson-Thompkins, Gasman, Gerstl-Pepin, Hathaway, and Rasheed, 2004; Gasman et al., 2004; Holland, 1993; Jones, 2000; Mabokela and Green, 2000; Milner, 2004; Nettles, 1990; Rogers and Molina, 2006; Willie, Grady, and Hope, 1991; Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 2005). Willie, Grady and Hope (1991) found that lack of campus diversity and an unfriendly environment were major factors in Black doctoral and graduate students’ experiences with racism on campus. Furthermore, graduate schools usually focus more on assimilation than recognizing students’ individual cultural background (Davidson & Foster, 2001). Lack of appreciation of cultural identity causes many Black doctoral students to feel a sense of “social estrangement and sociocultural alienation (Robinson, 1999, p, 124).” Other researchers have corroborated research on feelings of invisibility, isolation, marginalization and devaluation among
Black students in doctoral programs at PWIs (Patterson-Stewart, Ritchie & Sanders, 1997; Robinson, 1999; Rogers & Molina, 2006).

Van Camp, Barden, Sloan and Clark posit that in addition to academics, finances, and geography, the main reason that Black students chose HBCUs is for opportunities of active racial self-development (2009). Additional research on Black HBCU students concluded a greater comfort and interpersonal satisfaction than those that attend PWI’s (Fleming, 1984; Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002). Furthermore, Black HBCU students tend to have more positive self-images, stronger racial pride, and healthier psychosocial adjustment (Berger & Milem, 2000; Fleming, 1984; Gurin & Epps, 1975; Gilbert, So, Russell & Wessel, 2006). By contrast, many Blacks who attend PWIs experience a heightened state of double consciousness.

DuBois’ (1903) theory of double consciousness refers to two constantly battling psyches—an individual assimilated to mainstream [White] American culture and holding on to Black identity. In the Souls of Black Folk, DuBois summarized double consciousness theory:

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuvel and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (Du Bois, 1903, p. 9)
Barker (2012) found that the battle of dual personas was consistent among her participants. The dual persona - being Black vs. being a doctoral student - barely ever coincided. Participants in his study chose to either bring up the salience of race or completely remove race from conversations and encounters, as to not become racially alienated.

According to Rodgers and Summers (2008), PWIs are prime environments for Black students to struggle with double consciousness. Fries-Britt and Griffin (2007) developed the Blackbox to explain the confinement expressed by high-achieving Black students. The Blackbox is often racialized, describing how Blackness limits how peers and faculty perceive and interact with Black students. These perceptions and interactions include negative stereotypes and assumptions of the Black community (p. 510). Numerous other researchers suggest that Blacks experience racism and hostility at PWIs that White students do not (Fries-Britt, 1997, 2000; Nolden & Sedlacek, 1996; Person & Christensen, 1996; Smedley et al., 1993). Smedley, Meyers & Harrell (1993) reported that minority students are subject to unique “minority status stressors.” They include being the target of racist acts, and having the legitimacy of one’s presence on campus questioned. Indeed, these stressors are debilitating because they “undermine their confidence, heighten their concerns over their academic preparedness for college, and limit their ability to bond to the university” (Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007, p. 510).

Black doctoral students’ feelings of isolation, lack of respect and being undervalued are linked to feelings of pressures to over perform (Milner 2004). Barker (2012) synthesized, “the sense of feeling undervalued is exacerbated by Black students’ perception of peers and faculty having negative stereotypes of Black student performance” (p. 390). These instances lead to Black students feeling as if their work quality is inferior to their White counterparts (Bonilla, Pickron, & Tatum, 1994) or that they must over perform (Bonilla et al., 1994; Milner, 2004) to be
seen as equal. The burden to over perform is often referenced as part of the “Black tax” in Black vernacular. Burrows (2016) defined the Black tax as, “the societal charges placed on African Americans to enter and participate in White spaces” (p. 15). Feeling a necessity to over perform (or pay the Black tax), and undervalued by peers and professors particularly, leaving Black doctoral students vulnerable to stereotype threat.

**Social Identity**

According to Erickson’s psychosocial stage theory (1968), the major conflict in development during adolescence is identity vs. role confusion. During this stage, social relationships play a vital role in developing a sense of self and personal identity (Cherry, 2014). Social demands are exacerbated by the need to develop personal identity and independence during adolescence. Social identity theory explains the importance of one’s self-concept, based on their identification with and belonging to social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identification “stems from the categorization of individuals, the distinctiveness and prestige of the group, the salience of out-groups, and the factors that are associated with group formation” (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 20). According to this theory, individuals define themselves partly by salient group memberships. Therefore, self-worth and self-identity are directly affected by group membership. Ashforth and Mael (1989) state,

Social identification leads to activities that are congruent with the identity, support for institutions that embody the identity, stereotypical perceptions of self and others, and outcomes that traditionally are associated with group formation, and it reinforces the antecedents of identification (p. 1).
The school environment provides numerous opportunities for students to cultivate their identities. Students form and align themselves in peer groups while participating in structured social, academic, athletic and extra-curricular activities.

**Identity Stereotypes in Music Education**

Secondary school music ensembles are examples of groups in which the development of social identity and individual identities share a reciprocal relationship. Music education researchers have posited the importance of social benefits, identity development and sense of belonging for students in secondary music ensembles (Adderley, Kennedy & Berz, 2003; Cuisak, 1973; LaMont, 2002; Morrison, 2001; Swanwick, 1988). According to this research, the positive social benefits of participating in secondary school music ensembles are key to social development and identity development among students. However, it is important to note that school music ensembles represent institutions that not only embody the identity of the participants, but also create and reinforce stereotypes of members of these groups. School ensembles perpetuate their specific culture, which reflects and influences the lives of their members (Adderley, Kenney & Berz, 2003; Morrison, 2001). Students’ cultural backgrounds and circumstances affect their ability to make connections between their personal identity, the school music culture, and curriculum (Fitzpatrick, 2012). Race, gender, religion, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, exceptionality, and sexual orientation are commonly recognized as factors that contribute to these connections.

**Race & Culture**

DeLorenzo (2012) recognizes that social identity construction for students of color might be more complicated than for White students. DeLorenzo (2012) declares that identity development for students of color is a “journey toward selfhood that goes beyond questions of ‘Who am I?’ to ‘Who am I as a Black or Latino person?’ and ‘How is my identity connected to my success.”
in school?” (p. 42). Many scholars have defined racial identity as the extent to which race influences a person's self-concept and consequent behavior (Cross, 1991; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). According to Cross (1971), Black students’ identity and self-concept rely heavily on their reference group orientation or how well they feel that their own personal Black identity aligns with the norms and expectations of the surrounding culture. Cross’s model of self-concept may explain why many Black students find difficulty assimilating into music education programs, which often do not reflect their cultural norms.

Arizona high school students interviewed by Schmidt (2010) posited that non-White students did not participate in string ensembles because they would be identified as nerds. Participating in orchestra is often defined in the Black community as “acting White.” Sohn (2010) identified 17 behaviors of “acting White” based on data collected from high school students in Washington D.C. Of the 17 behaviors listed, six included musical behaviors:

(a) listening to White music and White radio stations, (b) going to the opera or ballet, (c) going to a Rolling Stones concert at the Capital Center, (d) going to a symphony orchestra concert, (e) having a party with no music, and (f) listening to classical music (p. 220).

This list illuminates the racial stereotype of performing and enjoying classical music as “acting White”. This juxtaposition of cultural norms in school music compared to those accepted by the Black community presents a conflict for Black music students whose social and personal identity relies on reference group orientation.

DeLorenzo (2012) postulates that a lack of Black and Hispanic students in secondary school orchestras contributes to a population of less than two percent of Black and Brown musicians in professional metropolitan orchestras. One key point she examines is social identity formation and culture of the music classroom. According to DeLorenzo (2012), the identity of the
teacher and the culture of school ensembles play a significant role in student enrollment. In addition, many Black and Brown students choose band and choir (or no music ensemble at all) instead of orchestra because playing stringed instruments (other than guitar) is perceived as culturally White or they do not identify with the teacher or other students. Analyzing the demographic profile of high school music ensemble students, Elpus and Abril (2011) concluded that overrepresentation of White students in music ensembles perpetuated the relationship between race/ethnicity and participation in music. Vagi (2010) stated that his experience with understanding the cultural identity of his urban instrumental students affected their enrollment:

I also noticed the high value placed on self-image in the inner city. Granted, nearly all preteens and teens have a heightened awareness of self. However, in the inner city, self-image isn't just an attempt to define oneself. For many, it's a means of survival. Unfortunately, band and orchestra don't carry much cultural value for many urban students. (p. 28)

The disconnect between the culture of Black and Latino students and the typical Western music repertoire of music education is a very popular topic research topic (Bates, 2012; Boyce-Tillman, 2012; Bradley, 2007; Bradley, 2012; DeLorenzo, 2012; Fitzpatrick, 2012; Vagi, 2010). Thus, culturally relevant teaching has been advanced as an effective solution to respond to the cultural needs of students of color in secondary music education (Gay, 2000; Koza, 2006; Abril, 2009; Fitzpatrick, 2011; Bates, 2012; Fitzpatrick, 2012; Hoffman, 2012; Abril, 2013). Ladson Billings (1994) defines culturally relevant teaching as:

a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically, by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes. These cultural references are not merely vehicles for bridging or explaining the dominant culture; they are
aspects of the curriculum in their own right (p.17-18).

Culturally responsive teaching, which is often used synonymously with culturally relevant teaching, “empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impact knowledge, skills and attitude” (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p. 20). Culturally relevancy and responsiveness is based on a constructionist theory of learning, validating and affirming students’ cultural backgrounds and lived experiences (Abril, 2013; Gay 2002, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Vilegas & Lucas, 2007). Gay (2000) suggests that culturally responsive teaching is culturally validating and affirming.

Understanding how participating in secondary music ensembles effects racial and cultural identity development is essential to understanding how participation in these ensembles effected the experiences of Black doctoral music students. Specifically, existing research suggests that navigating cultural norms of U.S. music programs can complicate the social and racial identity development for Black and Brown students. Gender, sex, and sexuality also play a significant role in the experiences of music students.

**Gender, Sex, and Sexuality**

The definitions of gender, sex, sexuality and masculinity/femininity can become very blurred, especially when discussing stereotypes. Sex refers to the biological differences between males and females. Gender encompasses societal labels of what is socially acceptable (including physical attributes) regarding the behaviors of males (masculine) and females (feminine) (Glaser & Smith, 2008; Harrison, 2010). Gender and sexuality are not binary categories but rather are malleable, ever-changing definitions (Butler, 1990; Davies, 1989; Fausto-Sterling, 2000).

Gender and instrument selection is one of the most researched aspects in stereotypes in music education (Eros, 2008; Wynch 2012). Abeles and Porter (1978) spoke directly to the dangers
of stereotyping instrument selection, stating, “the association of gender with musical instruments can, as can stereotyping of any kind, serve to constrict the behavior and thus the opportunities of individuals” (p. 65). Though results may vary marginally across studies, subjects among all ages identify particular instruments as being feminine or masculine, (or androgynous in some cases). In most studies, upper register woodwind and string instruments (i.e. flute, clarinet, and violin) are considered to be feminine, while larger brass and percussion (i.e. trombone, tuba, and drums) are deemed masculine. Zervoudakes and Tanur (1994) concluded that these masculine and feminine labels of instruments strengthen with age.

According to Cramer, Million and Perrault (2002), masculine and feminine instrument perceptions also connote dominance and inferiority. They found that participants rated females who played masculine instruments as equally dominant and active as males, but males who played feminine instruments were rated as less dominant and active than females who played the same instruments. Sinabaugh (2005) also found that girls had less stigmatizing experiences performing on stereotypically masculine instruments as opposed to males on stereotypically feminine instruments. According to these studies, women playing stereotypically masculine instruments were typically not judged as harshly (by peers and adults) as males who play stereotypically feminine instruments.

Conway (2014) interviewed 37 high school instrumental music students in a phenomenological investigation of students whose choice of instrument broke traditional stereotypes. Two high schools were chosen for research based on knowledge that many of the students played instruments outside of the common gender stereotypes. The participants related their experiences of defying stereotypes, reactions from peers and parents, and motivations for choosing and continuing to study their instrument. Despite gender stereotypes of instruments, the participants
mentioned instrument timber, physical characteristics of the instrument (i.e. size, volume, etc.),
parental influence and peer influence as other reasons for choosing and persevering on their in-
struments.

An unexpected finding of Conway’s (2014) study was that many participants spontaneous-
ously mentioned flute as the most stereotyped instrument. They made comments such as “Flute
is like, always for girls...,” (p. 13). Many students referenced the teasing that male flautists en-
dured and a general discouragement for males to play the flute because of the stereotyping and
taunting. Taylor (2009) investigated these specific phenomena by studying the experience of
Texas high school flautists. Taylor recognized that in addition to supportive parents and direc-
tors, competition was a primary motivator in the perseverance and enjoyment of the participants.
In a statement applicable to almost all music students dealing with stereotype harassment, he
posited, “competition is not necessarily correlated with high levels of self-efficacy or musical
achievement (Hayslett, 1992; Schmidt, 2005; Temple, 1973); however, for boys defying gender
stereotypes, competition may serve as a supportive means of validation” (p. 56). All participants
in Taylor’s study indicated that they were initially teased for being male flautists, but the taunt-
ing dissipated as they won competitions and continued to place high in auditions. This manifesta-
tion of intrinsic motivation, a desire to succeed and prove others wrong, is common among indi-
viduals who successfully manage adverse effects of stereotype threat (Baker, 2012; Davis, Ar-
onson & Salinas, 2006; McGee & Martin, 2011).

Researchers have found that throughout decades of research, instruments have continu-
ously been associated with gender. This stereotype is propagated by both children and adults, and
continues to limit students’ opportunities with music (Abeles & Porter, 1978; Abeles, 2009; Byo,
1991; Coffman & Sehmann, 1989; Conway, 2000; Delzell & Leppla, 1992; Eros, 2008; Fortney,
Boyle, & DeCarbo, 1993; Griswold & Chroback, 1981; Kelly, 1997; Sinabaugh, 2005; Tar-nownski, 1993; Wynch, 2012; Zervoudakes & Tanur, 1994). Green eloquently summarized “a
gendered musical meaning” model, and it’s limiting effect on music education (1997):

A picture of musical practices on one hand and musical meanings on the other as insepa-
rably combining in classrooms to participate in the discursive reproduction of the gender
politics of music. This would therefore seem to present a very bleak outlook for the role
of music education [in reversing the gender stereotypes]. If, indeed, deeply entrenched
gendered musical meanings are impinging in ways which reproduce the historical prece-
dents of men's and women's musical practices as defining characteristics of gender, then
there would not seem to be a great deal that the school can do to intervene (pp. 230-231).

Bennetts’s (2013) case study on the musical participation of middle school boys also re-
vealed a school culture that reinforced and perpetuated stereotypical gendered behaviors in mu-
sic, even while some teachers and students fought the stereotypes. This case sheds light on a
common notion of some music study being deemed as feminine and not appropriate for males.

Many scholars have highlighted that singing is considered a feminine activity (Koza, 1993; Har-
rison, 2002; Palkki, 2015; Sweet, 2010), subjecting male choral students to gender stereotyping.
Because stereotypes are often accepted, males who do decide to participate in such activities are
subject to a homophobic style of bullying (Harrison, 2002; Koza, 1993; Sweet, 2010). In studies
of boys in chorus and male flute players, individuals were commonly called names synonymous
with gay slurs such as “sissy,” “faggot,” and “poofter,” (Harrison, 2007; Powell, 2015; Sweet,
In each of these studies, the males were keenly aware of the stereotypes. Many spoke to the lim-
its that those stereotypes presented to their participation and enjoyment in music, and the need to
break down the stereotypes.

Carter’s (2013) collective case study provides insight to the intersections of race and sexuality, and stereotype threat among Black gay men in HBCU marching bands. The participants ranged from flamboyant openly gay men to closeted men who placed little emphasis on their sexuality or prided themselves in being assumed as heterosexual. Most of the men, especially those who were not yet “out”, spoke profoundly of the pressures to meet masculine standards and not be labeled as gay or feminine. For these participants, masculinity and sexuality were tied heavily to acceptance with oneself, among peers, family, and the church. He added, “for all participants, an identity as a band member and self-identification as a gay male were intertwined—they were in band to find sanctuary from the pressures they felt from society as a whole. The ever-present concern of acceptance and rejection was the principal theme in the participants’ experiences—the stereotype of who was accepting of their sexuality was being challenged constantly” (p. 37).

Prior to interviews, Carter (2013) required all of his participants to read Steele’s (1997) article on stereotype threat, identity and performance. In turn, participants linked their sense of pride and struggles with their identity to participation, success and enjoyment in marching band. The death of Robert Champion Jr., former drum major of the Florida A&M University’s (FAUM) Marching 100, encouraged Carter (2013) to conduct another set of interviews with his participants after the study was submitted for publication. Shortly after Champion’s death was reported, information about his sexuality surfaced amidst speculations of gay bashing in addition to hazing. Carter (2013) added the story of Champion and additional data on the severity and commonplace of bullying and hazing in school music programs, specifically with LGBTQ students. Carter (2013) also asserts that race may add a heightened dynamic of stigmatization for
gay racial minorities: “The difficult experiences surrounding the LGBTQ person who identifies as a racial minority heighten the obstacles of negotiating social spaces” (p. 39).

**Stereotype Threat & Management**

**Stereotype Threat**

“Stereotype threat” is defined as being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group (Anderson & Steele, 1995). According to this concept, an individual’s task performance can suffer as a result of their awareness that the social group they belong to is not expected to perform well. Aronson (1995) suggests that when faced with confirming a negative stereotype about one’s group, individuals feel threat of being treated or seen regarding that stereotype. Rumination or anxiety may occur when individuals are acutely exposed to stereotype threat. However, chronic exposure to stereotype threat can lead individuals to disengage with the performance domain, in efforts to protect self-esteem. For example, in the study that coined the term stereotype threat, Steele and Aronson (1995) proved that Black college sophomores performed more poorly on standardized academic tests when their race was emphasized during instructional prompts.

Evidence related to underperformance due to negative stereotypes of one’s social identity is supported by a long line of research (Good, Dweck & Aronson, 2007). As of 2016, over 300 studies showing the effects of stereotype threat have been published in peer-reviewed journals (see Nguyen & Ryan, 2008 and Walton & Cohen, 2003 for meta-analyses). Gender and race have been the two most studied constructs of identity in academic research on stereotype threat. Through varying the degrees in which students’ perceived stereotypes about their ability to perform well on tests, researchers have been able to measure the correlation between social identity
and stereotype threat (Steele, 1997; Hartley & Sutton, 2013; Mello, Mallett, Andretta & Worrell, 2012).

There is extensive research showing the effects of stereotype threat on test performance. These studies are conducted primarily with college/university students and adults through quantitative experimentation (Palumbo & Steele-Johnson, 2014; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, 1997). Some examples include academic performance of Hispanics (Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002; Schmader & Johns, 2003), students from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Croizet & Claire, 1998), females in math (Good, Aronson, & Harder, 2008; Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2003; Spencer, Steele & Quinn, 1999) and White males faced with the math performance superiority of Asians (Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keogh, Steele, & Brown, 1999; Stone, Lynch, Sjomerling, & Darley, 1999).

Since Aronson and Steele’s (1995) development of the theory of stereotype threat, many researchers have identified key factors that increase one’s vulnerability to stereotype threat, or “stereotype vulnerability” (Aronson, 2002). One of the major conclusions of stereotype threat research is that not all members of a stigmatized group are subject to the same degree of vulnerability. The extent to which stereotype threat affects individuals varies depending on one’s strength of alignment and identification with the stereotyped group. Also, the track of achievement in the stereotyped domain moderates the effects of stereotyped-based underperformance (Aronson et al., 1999; Good, Dweck & Aronson, 2007). Schmader (2002), for example, found that females who highly identified with their gender were more vulnerable to stereotype threat. By linking gender identity to performance on a math test, Schmader (2002) found that women with higher levels of gender identification performed worse, while women with lower levels of gender identification performed just as well as men.
Education researchers have also assessed the effects of stereotype threat on individuals with multiple identity aspects that are susceptible to the threat (e.g. Aronson et al., 1999; Cadinu, Maass, Frigerio, Impagliazzo, & Latinotti, 2003; Shih, Pittinsky and Ambady; 1999). These studies evaluated which characteristics of identity are most susceptible to stereotype threat or if they interact with one another. Shih, Pittinsky and Ambady’s (1999) studied Asian American women’s performance on a math exam. One aspect of their social identity was primed, by mentioning stereotypes before the test. The researchers concluded that the women’s performance on the math test was dependent upon which aspect of the participants’ social identity was made salient. Subjects whose Asian identity was primed prior to testing out-performed those whose female identity was primed. Tine and Gotlieb (2013) tested college students’ ability to perform on math and working memory tests while priming for gender, race and income. Students representing all three stigmatized features of identity experienced significantly larger effects of a stereotype threat than those with no, one or two stigmatized identity aspects.

Research strongly indicates that a positive identification with a stigmatized group may help protect a person from the effects of stereotype threat and produce the opposite results. For Blacks, specifically, some researchers have found that strong racial identity buffers students from stereotype threat (Davis & Aronson, 2005; McGee & Martin, 2011; Oyserman, Harrison & Bybee, 2001). For example, Davis, Aronson & Salinas (2006) found that strong internalization attitudes of Black identity shielded them from effects of stereotype threat during the verbal portion of the Graduate Record Examination (GRE). Oyserman, Harrison, and Bybee (2001) found that Black adolescent girls believed that their racial group was devalued by others and felt a greater sense of academic achievement when they felt connected to their ethnic group. Oyserman et al. (2006) affirmed that for Blacks, having a high identification with Blackness might mean
rejecting stereotypical definitions that a dominant White society imposes upon them. High identification includes an awareness of the need to overcome negative societal expectations and break down the stereotypes themselves. In each of these studies, participants rejected negative messages about their competencies (Good, Dweck & Aronson, 2007).

**Stereotype Management**

McGee and Martin (2011) used stereotype management to explain how Black mathematic students managed racial stereotypes. The researchers sought to explain high achievement and resilience among Black math and engineering students within an environment where stereotypes threaten performance. Stereotype management is characterized as a tactical response to ubiquitous forms of racism and racialized experiences across school and non-school contexts. This concept emerged along overlapping paths of racial, gender, and identity development:

In our view, this management is rooted in students' developing understandings of racism and their developing senses of, negotiations of, and assertions of what it means to be Black. As a result, students do not automatically experience a suppression of performance in situations where stereotypes exist. Moreover, because students define Blackness on their own terms, they are able to triumph over situational suggestions of Black inferiority. (McGee & Martin, 2011, p. 1349)

Stereotype management definitions developed after analyzing the life narratives of Black math and engineering college students. McGee and Martin (2011) defined three differences between stereotype threat and stereotype management (p. 1355). These differences are displayed in Table 1.
Unlike stereotype threat, stereotype management does not need to be primed by experimental methods (McGee & Martin 2011). Stereotype management involves the reactions to ubiquitous stereotypes, even when participants were not in the classroom environment. McGee and Martin (2011) concluded that the omnipresent feelings of being stereotyped motivated Black students to outperform students stereotyped as being high achievers in mathematics and engineering (e.g. White and Asian). They concluded, “As students began to understand the nature of racism, perpetuated through bias and stereotypes, they adopted more psychologically affirming strategies for academic resilience in spite of stereotypes, rather than internalizing their understandings to the degree that it lessened their performance. Students responded to the stereotype by exercising agency and achieving success” (McGee & Martin, 2011, p. 1353-1354).

McGee and Martin (2011) postulating that attempting to prove stereotypes wrong was a major theme in their research of stereotype threat among Black engineering and math majors. They concluded, “As a result of societal, school, teacher, and peer expectations, the students became preoccupied with proving these racial stereotypes wrong and sought the acceptance of the groups or individuals who thought negatively of them or Blacks in general” (p. 1363). They highlight the prove-them-wrong-syndrome developed by Moore, Madison-Colmore, and Smith (2003). The prove-them-wrong syndrome is a psychological response to the image of Black intellectual inferiority produced by society (Howard & Hammond, 1985). Fries-Britt and Griffin (2007) concluded the same phenomenon, positing that high-achieving Black students actively work to challenge negative myths and stereotypes of Black students while attending PWIs.
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stereotype Threat</th>
<th>Stereotype Management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The stereotype has to be primed</td>
<td>The stereotype is omnipresent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leads to academic disengagement</td>
<td>Leads to additional motivation for high achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experimental/manufactured in mostly test-taking situations</td>
<td>Everyday micro-aggressions inside and outside the classroom</td>
</tr>
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**Summary: Stereotype threat and stereotype management**

Prior to Steele and Aronson’s (1995) development of stereotype threat, many social scientists identified the self-evaluative predicament of affirming stereotypes of one’s group (Allport, 1954; Carter, 1991; Goffman, 1963; Steele, 1990; Steele 1992). Since Steele and Aronson’s experimental investigation and development of stereotype threat (1995), this social-psychological phenomenon has since been researched in a variety of contexts. This study is the first time that the theory of stereotype management has been applied to music education research.

**Chapter Summary**

The topics and literature covered in this chapter represent stereotypes that have already been identified as having effects on the experiences music education students. Topics were also chosen based on my experiences with exploratory studies and discourse among peers within the targeted demographic. This discourse helped to filter this literature review to existing research which reflects the experiences of Black doctoral music students. Existing research on identity development, stereotypes in music education, and the experiences of Black doctoral students overall highlights the need for a study on how stereotypes, and management thereof, affects Black
doctoral music students. Also, the development of stereotype management based on the experiences of Black doctoral engineering and mathematic students encouraged me to research this phenomenon among music students. Using the methodology and analysis techniques outlined in the following chapter, I investigated how the aforementioned literature on stereotypes applies to the music education experiences of Black doctoral music students.
3 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to investigate how Black music students identify and respond to identity stereotypes throughout their music education. Unlike most previous quantitative studies on stereotype threat, my goal was to gather qualitative data on how Black music students identify and respond to stereotypes. My study was designed to elicit the current and past experiences of musicians, within the sociocultural context of their music programs and communities. Therefore, this study is grounded in a phenomenological theoretical framework and employed narrative inquiry methods.

This study consisted of four methods of data collection: 1) demographic survey, 2) semi-structured interviews, 3) journaling/memo-writing, and 4) member checking. I used a demographic questionnaire to assist in purposeful sampling for this study. All interviews were conducted via video chat and video recorded. Participants completed at least one semi-structured, life-story interview for approximately one hour. Follow-up or extended interviews were conducted as needed when the allotted time was insufficient. Multiple rounds of coding were used for data reduction and initial analysis. Member checking of transcripts was also used for data crystallization (Carter, 2011). I utilized thematic analysis to answer research questions and provide recommendations and conclusions.

Theoretical Framework

I examined the data through a constructionist lens to emphasize participants’ social construction of meaning during their experiences with stereotypes in music education. More specifically, I employed an interpretivist theoretical perspective, examining how the participants’ sense
of identity colored their experiences of managing stereotypes (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Denzin, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2000). The interpretivist approach was used to analyze the culturally derived situated meanings that individuals give their experiences in music education contexts (Crotty, 1998; McGee & Martin, 2011). Eliott (2002) identified narrative inquiry as a form of interpretivism, in which the “researcher’s focus is on human actions that are meaningful to people in their social transactions with each other. The goal of interpretive inquiry is to discover the beliefs, values, motivations, and attitudes of people’s actions in education contexts” (p. 92).

I use the term narrative throughout this dissertation to describe participant provided stories consisting of chronological, diachronic data (Barone, 1990; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Polkinghorne, 1988, 1995; Zembylas, 2003). Narratives reflect participants’ perceptions of an experience (Dewey, 1934). These stories include events, stories and ideas, which include tension and resolve (Egan & Ling, 2002; Bresler, 2006).

**Phenomenology**

In this study, I emphasized the social construction of reality and utilized an interpretive approach to evaluate the meanings that individuals give to their Black realities in the music education context (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Denzin, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2000). Phenomenology is best suited to describe the lived experience of the participants, the meaning of those experiences, and how they interpret those experiences (Van Manen, 1990; Grbich, 2013). Investigating "the very nature of the thing" or "object of human experience," is the researcher's goal in phenomenological research (Creswell, 2013, p.177). Specifically, I investigated Black music students’ experiences of identifying and managing stereotypes. The interpretivist approach was used to analyze the culturally derived situated
meanings that individuals give their experiences in music education contexts (Crotty, 1998; McGee & Martin, 2011).

An interpretive phenomenological approach (IPA) was utilized to collect and analyze the lived experiences of multiple individuals who experienced similar events (Alase, 2017). Creswell asserted, “a phenomenological study describes the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or phenomenon” (Creswell, 2012, p. 76).

**Narrative Inquiry**

Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) assert, “narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story. . . is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience” (p. 38). Narrative inquiries in the human sciences are comprised of stories told by participants, interpretive accounts developed by an investigator, and "even the narrative a reader constructs after engaging with the participant's and investigator's narratives" (Reissman, 2008, p. 6). Clandinin and Connelly (2000) define narrative inquiry as, "an approach to the study of human lives conceived as a way of honoring lived experience as a source of important knowledge and understanding" (p. 17). She conceptualizes narrative inquiry as a research methodology geared towards understanding social, cultural and institutional aspects of personal life through the stories people tell. These narratives help people make sense of themselves, their life experience, of other people, and of the world they inhabit. Further, a major goal of researchers employing narrative inquiry is an empathetic understanding of others' perspectives (Barone, 2001; Bresler, 2006).

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) proposed that reciprocity is a reoccurring theme within narrative inquiry. Researcher and participant become a part of each other's life through narrative inquiry, analysis, and presentation. Polkinghorne (1995) also identifies that through the act of narration, the researcher and participant are equally important as the story itself. Clandinin
(2010) iterates, “narrative inquirers cannot subtract themselves from the inquiry relationship” (p. 40). She mentions two dimensions of sociality - the relationship between the researcher and participants, and the participants’ social conditions (feelings, hopes, desires, fears, and moral dispositions). Alase (2017) also recognizes that through interpretive phenomenology, “researchers are able to develop bonds with their participants; these bonds are developed through interpersonal and interactive relationships; the relationships allow for smooth information gathering and easier analysis” (p. 15). Mishler (1991) acknowledges that the researcher’s point of view affects the interpretation of discourse, including linguistic frameworks and nonverbal cues. My familiarity with discourse within the culture of Black students in higher education affected how I engaged and interpreted the discourse with my participants (Clandinin, 2010; Mishler, 1991; Devault, 2004). I was aware of the influence that my positionality as a Black doctoral music student had on the data collection and analysis processes. In fact, I dedicated an entire memo to the candidness and comfortability of the participants during interviews. Using the semi-structured interview format, I expected instances of interviewees viewing my positionality as opportunity to use coded and assumptive language. However, I was almost surprised at the amount of candor and Black cultural exchange during interviews (see Appendix A). I’ve experienced many of the participants’ code switch instantaneously in professional environments. During interviews, it was obvious that the participants did not feel a need to code-switch and spoke mostly with common Black vernacular. I recognized that their communication was much more relaxed and frank than in professional environments. Devault (2004) noted that when interviewing women, participants expected her to fill in gaps in their language, probe her for clarification and affirm their statements. While interviewing women on their experiences in the household, she acknowledges how often participants respond with phrases such as “you know,” “help me out a little” and “meet me
hallway” (pp. 233-235). She postulates that this familiar positionality with participants not only impacts data collection, but also requires an engaging transcription process. My participants regularly used phrases such as “you know” to elicit affirmation and comradery. Similar to Clandinin and Connelly (2000), Gee (1999) believes the primary functions of language are "to support the performance of social activities and social identities and to promote human affiliation within cultures, social groups and institutions" (p. 1). When designing my interview protocol (semi-structured), I wrote the prompts and probes to encourage sharing of specific experiences and meaning making of those experiences. However, just as Polkinghorne (1995) declared, my shared (assumed and actual) experiences with the participants was integral to why and how the participants shared their stories.

Clandinin and Huber (2010) assert that attending to the three commonplaces of narrative inquiry – temporality, sociality (mentioned above), and place – distinguishes narrative inquiry from other qualitative methodologies. Attending to temporality is essential, because participants and researchers are “composing and constantly revising our autobiographies as we go along” (Carr, 1986, p. 76). In this study, recognizing temporality during data collection and analysis required attention to: 1) the time in which the participants’ stories were situated, 2) the time in which the stories were being told, and 3) an analysis of the changes between the participants’ perceptions of living the experiences and telling them. For example, participants such as Darius made statements indicating that based on growth in aptitude, success and pride in identity, they would respond differently to racial stereotypes presented to them in earlier years. As the researcher, I recognize that the time in which they shared their stories (as older, more experienced and prideful Black musicians and educators) affected their perceptions of the event. Additionally,
the time at which they experienced episodes of stereotyping affected how they interpreted and reacted to aggressors.

**Traditional measurements of stereotype threat and management**

Of over 300 peer-reviewed articles showing the effects of stereotype threat (see Nguyen & Ryan, 2008 and Walton & Cohen, 2003 for meta-analyses), the vast majority use quantitative experimental methods. Gender and race have been the two most studied constructs of identity in academic research on stereotype threat. Through varying the degrees in which students’ perceived stereotypes about their ability to perform well on tests, researchers have been able to measure the correlation between social identity and stereotype threat (Steele, 1997; Hartley & Sutton, 2013; Mello, Mallett, Andretta & Worrell, 2012).

Fewer studies have used qualitative investigation to evaluate individuals’ experiences with stereotype threat. In more recent work, Steele (2010) uses vivid first-person narratives to support his research on stereotype threat. Other researchers have used interpretative qualitative methodologies to understand the sociocultural contexts in which individuals identify and respond to identity stereotypes. Data collection methods consist primarily of semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Phenomenology and grounded theory methodologies are most popular among these researchers to determine the nature of the experiences of participants and imply strategies to diminish stereotype threat and encourage resilience and self-efficacy. Doan (2008) employed a phenomenological qualitative research design to determine if qualitative methods could be used as a measurement of stereotype threat in mathematics tasks. Entsminger (2017) conducted a case study on six Black, female engineering students in order to examine how stereotype threat shaped their experiences. Fries-Britt and Griffin (2007) investigated the resilience and self-effi-

Two recent studies have applied the framework of stereotype threat to music. Lloyd (2017) used two pilot studies to transfer existing knowledge of stereotype threat to music research. Her goal was to adapt commonly used qualitative research models of stereotype activation to test how stereotype threat effects performance in musicians. In the first pilot study, she used a survey questionnaire to assess if stereotyped identity factors affected the practice and study habits of the participants (including the ease of seeking help from teachers). The second study was designed to test if Steele and Aronson’s (1995) research design could be used to test stereotype threat among musicians. Participants completed a word-task completion task to manipulate gender-awareness before a mock audition. She concluded that female musicians are vulnerable to gender stereotype threat, even when they are not performing.

Watson, Rubbie-Davies and Hattie (2017) investigated if gender stereotype threat affected the performance of adolescent male Australian choristers. They used a quasi-experimental, real-world design, by attempting to activate stereotype threat by highlighting the experiences of males vs. females in chorus before a performance. Male chorister performance was negatively affected by the presence of male non-choristers in the audience. The researchers concluded that cultural concerns of gender-role conformity triggered the stereotype threat. My goal, like Lloyd (2017), and Watson et al. (2017) was to apply knowledge of stereotype threat and management to music. However, unlike the aforementioned researchers, I chose a qualitative research design to examine how Black music students’ identification and response to stereotypes impacted their music education experiences.
Design

I chose a qualitative design for this study to garner in-depth narratives of how identity stereotypes affect the experience of Black students in music. Roulston (2010) posits, “qualitative inquiry encompasses work that seeks to understand, promote change, or seeks to break apart and trouble – or deconstruct – current understandings of topics” (Roulston, 2010, p. 75-76). The design of this study is based on the impetus of understanding the phenomenon of stereotype management among my participants. As recommended for phenomenological interviews, I used a semi-structured format with open-ended questions (Alase, 2017; Roulston, 2010; Smith et al., 2009). I utilized a descriptive data questionnaire to aid in purposeful sampling, and semi-structured life-story interviews to collect data on the intersections of social identity, stereotypes, and music education experiences. Connelly and Clandinin’s (2006) definition of narrative inquiry informed my decision to use narrative inquiry as a method to understand the phenomenon of stereotype management among Black music students:

People shape their daily lives by stories of who they and others are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story, then, is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular view of experience as phenomenon under study (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 375).
The design of this study was also inspired McGee and Martin's (2011) study of stereotype management among academically successful Black math and engineering students, in which the concept of stereotype management was developed. My methodology was also inspired by Carter’s (2013) examination of the experiences of Black gay men in HBCU marching bands.

**Participants**

Creswell (2013) recommends 5 to 25 participants for a phenomenological study. I employed purposive and snowball sampling to achieve a goal of 10 participants (Creswell, 2005, 2013; Huberman 1994). Purposive sampling limits participants to individuals who have experienced the phenomenon I investigated (Creswell, 2013). This sample is comprised of Black doctoral students and graduates who identified instances of feeling stereotyped throughout their musical education. I chose to include only doctoral students and graduates because of their years and diversity of experiences in formal music education. These participants were able to share experiences with stereotyping involving and matriculation through k-12, undergraduate and graduate school music programs. Many of these individuals shared various experiences from at least two higher education institutions. Also, two participants shared experiences with university employment.

I use the term Black in this study to describe both U.S. -born Black Americans and non-U.S.-born Blacks. I am aware of the nuances in racial identity that may occur for reasons that deal with nationality and culture. However, any individuals who represent the African diaspora and self-identify as Black were also eligible for this study. This included mixed race individuals who identify as Black.

Recruitment letters (see Appendix B) and demographic questionnaires (Appendix C) were sent to 15 Black doctoral students and graduates whose contact information I had prior to
beginning the study. These persons were identified through networking in graduate school programs, professional conferences, community performing ensembles, social media groups of Black professionals and introductions through peers. Snowball sampling allowed initially identified participants to recruit additional participants for this study (Creswell, 2005; Marsh, Chaney & Jones, 2012). The recruitment letter encouraged snowball sampling, asking recipients to forward the letter to other individuals who fit the demographic criteria and would be interested in participating. Thanks to snowball sampling, I gained contact information and sent recruitment letters to 23 possible participants. Of the 23, 14 individuals completed the questionnaire. I then narrowed the participant pool to 10, selecting individuals who identified instances with feeling stereotyped throughout their music education matriculation. Additionally, I chose participants with varying identity facets of age, region, sex and sexual orientation.

The participant pool represents a variety of experience in music education, performance, composition and conducting programs. The participants have a wide range of experience in both choral and instrumental music. Other than age and biological sex, every question on the demographic questionnaire was open response. I chose to use this method so that each participant could define their gender, sexual orientation and primary instrument in their own words. The participants ranged in age from 28 – 30, with a mean age of 32.89. Seven participants identified as male and three as female. Five of the participants identified as straight or heterosexual. One participant self-identified as bisexual and one answered “none” for sexual orientation. Allowing the participants to fill in their own designations for sex and sexuality offered good insight into individual interview design.

Three participants – Kevin, Sterling, and Darius –have primarily choral experience. They all sang in choirs in school and church and gained piano training suitable for choral directing.
Additionally, Kevin and Darius spoke extensively about their experiences as professionally published composers. Two participants, Aaron and Kevin began their music education as pianists and eventually joined choir in school. Kevin continued formal piano training into graduate school. Alicia, Julian, and Frank had a more traditional band trajectory. They started band in middle school and continued principal study on band instruments into college. Their teaching experiences were also primarily in band.

Lauren and Tyrone both have experience in band and chorus. They participated in band and chorus throughout middle and high school. Also, they both had to decide on a primary discipline (and a primary instrument for Laura) when they began their undergraduate music programs. Laura chose to stick with band, citing: (a) scholarship money from the band program, (b) talent as a flautist, (c) social experiences in band, and (d) the desire to participate in a HBCU marching band (she participated in a corp-style band in high school). Tyrone’s decision to choose chorus was based on: (a) personal talent, (b) experience with signing in and out of school, and (c) comfort level with teaching and learning vocal music. He stated:

*To me, vocal seemed to be on the easier side. The only reason I said that is because at the time, I was going to have to learn all of those instruments and choir seemed to be a little bit easier. When you put all the parts together, everybody is just kind of in tune and making these beautiful sounds. I can sing soprano, I can sing alto, I can sing tenor, and I can sing bass. I said, "I could actually do this."*

In table 2, Aaron and Kia also have music education listed as their focus. This is due to their current employment as collegiate music professors. Three participants attended PWIs for their undergraduate studies, while seven attended HBCUs.
Table 2

Demographic data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Sexual Orientation</th>
<th>Primary Discipline</th>
<th>Principal Instrument/Voice</th>
<th>Undergrad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tyrone</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bisexual</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>HBCU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Chorus, Piano</td>
<td>Bass-Baritone</td>
<td>HBCU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kia</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Band, Music Ed</td>
<td>Clarinet</td>
<td>PWI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aaron</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Chorus, Music Ed</td>
<td>Voice, Piano</td>
<td>PWI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterling</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>HBCU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alicia</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Lesbian</td>
<td>Band</td>
<td>Euphonium</td>
<td>PWI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darius</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Baritone</td>
<td>HBCU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julian</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Band</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>HBCU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauren</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td>Band, Chorus</td>
<td>Flute/Mezzo Soprano</td>
<td>HBCU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Band</td>
<td>Saxophone</td>
<td>HBCU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instruments

Questionnaire

The descriptive data questionnaire was developed on Qualtrics. The link to the questionnaire was sent to 23 potential participants via email. The questionnaire prompted individuals for: (a) age, (b) race, (c) sex, (d) gender, (e) sexual orientation, (f) past and current musical activities, (g) instrument/voice and (h) music education history, including the names of schools and programs attended. On the questionnaire, I stressed that cooperation on each question was optional, but honesty and full cooperation were appreciated. In addition to demographic information, the questionnaire contained one open-ended question:

Have you ever felt stereotyped in a music class/ensemble, based on your race, sex, gender or sexual orientation? If so, briefly describe this experience.
The open-ended question was essential in choosing participants with a variety of experiences with stereotyping in music education. Fourteen potential participants completed the questionnaire. Four individuals were eliminated from the pool because they answered “no” to the final open-ended question.

**Interviews**

My main data collection method, semi-structured interviews, was based on narrative inquiry methodology and an interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) framework. In order for participants to share their lived experiences in a phenomenological study, Creswell (2013) asserts, “the process of collecting information involves primary in-depth interviews with as many as 10 individuals. The important point is to describe the meaning of the phenomenon for a small number of individuals who have experienced it” (p. 161). In essence, qualitative research interviews are purposeful conversations, guided by research questions (Alase, 2017; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Smith et al. (2009) state, “the aim of an [IPA] interview is largely to facilitate an interaction which permits participants to tell their own stories, in their own words” (p. 57). I followed Alase’s (2017) recommendations for collecting data in IPA studies, including:

- An IPA research study should conduct semi-structured and unstructured interviews with as many as twenty-five (25) participants, but as few as two (2).

- The interview duration should be approximately sixty to ninety minutes in duration per interview session.

- The study should keep the interview invitation to one interview per participant. However, only if there is a need for a follow-up interview shall the researcher contact the participants for additional interviews.
The site (including the date, time and place) for the interviews should be left to the participants to decide. However, the researcher’s natural first choice and preference should always be at the participants’ place of comfort, for convenience purposes to the participants. But if need be, a safe and comfortable alternative place should be provided for the meetings by the researcher (i.e., at restaurants, coffee shops and/or any other convenient outlets). (p. 15)

I collected all data for this study. I conducted semi-structured interviews with the participants about their experiences throughout their music education careers. All interviews were conducted through video chat (i.e. Skype or FaceTime) and video recorded using Screen Recorder Robot. Video recording aided in analyzing the nuances of gestures, body language, and speech patterns (intonation, inflections, pauses, etc.), which may have not been apparent or lost without footage (Crichton & Childs, 2005; McGee & Martin, 2011). All participants scheduled the date and time of their interviews. Interviews were conducted between June 2016 and May 2017. They were scheduled to last for approximately one hour. Three participants were given the option for follow up interviews after we hit the one-hour mark. However, they all agreed to continue the interview until efficient data collection was complete.

For the semi-structured interviews, I used a prepared interview protocol (see Appendix D) as a guide of open ended questions and probes to ensure that I covered a common set of discussable topics among all of the participants (Roulston, 2010). The interviews varied for each participant, based on the answers given in the questionnaire, and the interviewees’ responses to questions and probes. Constructionist interview techniques were used, allowing the participants and I to construct meaning from their experiences (Roulston, 2010). This format encouraged honest and organic dialogue, inspiring narratives of specific episodes of stereotype management.
Data Analysis

My analysis was an interactive process of data collection, data analysis and memo writing (see appendices E & F). I used HyperTRANSCRIBER and HyperRESEARCH software to aide in the transcribing, coding and analysis processes. I began coding and memo writing after transcribing the first interview. In the first memo, I took note of interview and transcribing techniques (see Appendix E). This reflection process helped to improve the flexibility of my future interviews (reminding myself to probe deeper – “Tell me more about”).

I used Saldaña’s (2013) model of theory development for my analysis, moving from codes, to categories, to themes. This model also framed my two-cycle coding process: 1) initial coding, and 2) focused coding. Following this plan, I kept my codebook below the recommended 300 codes and my final themes between the recommended range of 5 to 7 (Fries, 2012; Creswell 2013; Lichtman, 2010; Saldaña, 2013). I begin my initial coding cycle with open coding – reading line by line and carefully coding each line, sentence and paragraph. Charmaz (2004) suggests that researchers ask themselves the following questions during the coding process:

• “What is going on?”
• “What are people doing?”
• “What are the people saying?”
• “What do these actions and statements take for granted?”
• “How do structure and context serve to support, maintain, impede, or change these actions and statements?” (p. 507).

During initial coding, process coding (using gerunds) and InVivo coding (using exact words from the data) were used to "keep analysis active and emergent" (Charmaz, 2008, p. 164). While coding the first interview, I began creating InVivo codes, based on rich phrases from Sterling’s
After completing two more interviews, I began focused coding to build and clarify concepts. Using focus coding, a researcher “examines all the data in a category, compares each piece of data with every other piece, and finally builds a clear working definition of each concept, which is then named” (Hess-Bibber & Leavy, 2006, p. 352). Focused coding requires researchers to develop a set of analytical categories, beyond simply labeling data (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). In coding three interviews, the coding book grew exponentially. However, during focused coding, I began to combine, rename, delete and regroup many of the codes into different categories (see Appendix F). The categories (e.g. Identifying stereotypes, Need for Black socialization and racial identity development, Self-efficacy and actualization) were not only developed to organize the code book, but also served as a bridge to thematic analysis. The patterns, descriptions and implications present in the categories helped to inform theme development. During the second round of coding, I created a separate file for theme development, which I continuously altered throughout the analysis process. I completed another full round of focused coding after transcribing the fifth and tenth (final) interviews. During this process, codes and groups were renamed, regrouped, merged, and deleted. Simultaneously, I edited the word document of possible themes emerging as I analyzed the data. Throughout the coding process, I opted to not compare the data and codes to other studies on stereotype management to ensure that my analysis was deductive, and not inductive.

**Intercoder Reliability**

After multiple rounds of focused coding, I shared 245 developed codes with my C.I.T.I. trained research partner, for interrater coding. I chose my research partner because he too is a
Black doctoral music student and was familiar with my research project’s background and goals. Coding three transcripts, we received an original intercoder agreement rate of 8%, far below the 90% goal. I then completed another round of coding and condensed the codes to 210. Most of the condensing was achieved through merging codes of similar meaning and deleting codes from the SES group. The deleted SES codes were not relevant to answering the research questions and/or reflected demographic data identified in the demographic survey. I also met with my research partner to discuss exactly how to complete the next round of interrater coding. First, I shared the new codebook and data on how I reduced them and clarified the organization of the code book. I also answered questions regarding codes duplicated in multiple groups. Next, we established the length of text to select for coding. The HyperResearch Intercoder Reliability tool measures the agreement rate down to each character. To fix consistency between us, we decided to code the entire phrase/paragraph from the interviewee, until their statement was complete, or I interrupted. Establishing the length of coded phrases significantly increased the agreement rate. After a second round of coding separately, we achieved an agreement rate of 92.64%.

**Interpretive phenomenological analysis**

In this study, I emphasized the social construction of reality and utilized interpretive phenomenological analysis to evaluate the meanings that individuals gave to their Black realities in the music education context (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Denzin, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2000). Phenomenology was best suited to investigate and analyze the lived experience of the participants, the meaning of those experiences, and how they interpreted those experiences (Van Manen, 1990; Grbich, 2013). Investigating "the very nature of the thing" or "object of human experience," is the researcher's goal in phenomeno-
logical research (Creswell, 2013, p.177). Specifically, I investigated Black music students’ experiences of identifying and managing stereotypes. The interpretivist approach was used to analyze the culturally derived situated meanings that individuals gave their phenomenological experiences in music education contexts (Crotty, 1998; McGee & Martin, 2011).

I used interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) and thematic analysis for this study. The interpretive phenomenological approach involves using descriptions to uncover the essence of a phenomenon. According to Creswell (2013), “Phenomenology is not only a description, but it is also an interpretive process in which the researcher makes an interpretation of the meaning of the lived experiences” (p. 76). Additionally, Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) stated that, IPA is concerned with the detailed examination of human lived experience. And it aims to conduct this examination in a way which as far as possible enables that experience to be expressed in its own terms, rather than according to predefined category systems. This is what makes IPA phenomenological and connect it to the core ideas unifying the phenomenological philosophers. . . (p. 32).

Within the phenomenological analytic process, researchers uncover the essence of the phenomena in question by uncovering different layers of interpretation. As Grbich (2013) highlights, the meaning of the phenomena is within the dominant themes that emerged between me and my participants, through IPA and thematic analysis (p. 96).

Prior to interviewing any participants, I completed a bracketing interview with my research assistant. Bracketing was necessary to separate my personal experiences from those of my participants’, and not taint the subjective data with my presuppositions (Hurssel, 1982; Crotty, 1998; Moustakas, 1994). This experience was extremely valuable in testing the effectiveness of
the interview protocol and leading me through Moustakas’s step of engagement in phenomenological analysis (1994). Though I was well aware of my subjectivities and positionality as a Black doctoral music student, the interview highlighted how difficult it was to recant some of my own experiences and further, how I created meaning of those experiences. I used memo writing to reflect on my data collection and analysis procedures. Journaling in memos was imperative in the self-reflection and improvement of interview techniques. Also, I used memos to take notes of code creation and reduction, and thematic analysis (see Appendices E & F).

To investigate stereotype management within the data, I conducted a phenomenological reduction of the transcripts. Specifically, I used the line-by-line approach developed by Van Manen (1990), asking myself ‘What does this sentence or sentence cluster reveal about the phenomenon or experience being described'. The major goal of this phenomenological analysis was to determine the participants' overall experience of identifying and managing stereotypes.

**Thematic Analysis**

According to Grbich (2013), “meaning lies in the identification of the dominant themes in the encounter between you and your participant through a light form of thematic analysis where the data is kept largely intact” (p, 96). The overall process includes:

- bracketing out your own experiences
- entering a dialogue with individual participants (or engaging with an existing text)
- reflecting on what you have gained through reading and re-reading and through journaling your thoughts, including any questions and responses
- identifying the major themes from the narratives/texts using processes of preliminary data and analysis and/or thematic analysis of the block and file variety
questioning the data and any emerging assumptions so that new descriptions and new conceptualizations are then more likely to arise.

Reissman (2008) discussed four ways to analyze narratives: thematic, structural, dialogic/performance, and visual. Thematic analysis was best suited to analyze my narrative data, as its “emphasis is on the content of a text, ‘what’ is said more than ‘how’ it is said, the ‘told’ rather than the ‘telling’” (Reissman, 2003, p. 2). Thematic analysis is a reduction and analytic tool for qualitative analysis (Grbich, 2013; Braun & Clark, 2006). I used thematic analysis as an analytic method, not a methodology (Clark & Braun, 2013) to develop themes from the coded data. Braun and Clark (2006) outline a six stage, non-liner model (recursive process) for thematic analysis:

1) Familiarization with the data: is common to all forms of qualitative analysis – the researcher must immerse themselves in, and become intimately familiar with, their data; reading and re-reading the data (and listening to audio-recorded data at least once, if relevant) and noting any initial analytic observations.

2) Coding: Also, a common element of many approaches to qualitative analysis (see Braun & Clarke, 2012a, for thorough comparison), this involves generating pithy labels for important features of the data of relevance to the (broad) research question guiding the analysis. Coding is not simply a method of data reduction, it is also an analytic process, so codes capture both a semantic and conceptual reading of the data. The researcher codes every data item and ends this phase by collating all their codes and relevant data extracts.

3) Searching for themes: A theme is a coherent and meaningful pattern in the data relevant to the research question. If codes are the bricks and tiles in a brick and tile house,
then themes are the walls and roof panels. Searching for themes is a bit like coding your codes to identify similarity in the data. This ‘searching’ is an active process; themes are not hidden in the data waiting to be discovered by the intrepid researcher, rather the researcher constructs themes. The researcher ends this phase by collating all the coded data relevant to each theme.

4) Reviewing themes: Involves checking that the themes ‘work’ in relation to both the coded extracts and the full data-set. The researcher should reflect on whether the themes tell a convincing and compelling story about the data, and begin to define the nature of each individual theme, and the relationship between the themes. It may be necessary to collapse two themes together or to split a theme into two or more themes, or to discard the candidate themes altogether and begin again the process of theme development.

5) Defining and naming themes: Requires the researcher to conduct and write a detailed analysis of each theme (the researcher should ask ‘what story does this theme tell?’ and ‘how does this theme fit into the overall story about the data?’), identifying the ‘essence’ of each theme and constructing a concise, punchy and informative name for each theme.

6) Writing up: Writing is an integral element of the analytic process in TA (and most qualitative research). Writing-up involves weaving together the analytic narrative and (vivid) data extracts to tell the reader a coherent and persuasive story about the data and contextualizing it in relation to existing literature. (p. 87)

Braun and Clarke (2006) posit that thematic analysis entails a back and forth between “the entire data set, the coded extracts of the data that you are analyzing, and the analysis of the data that you are producing.”
I used the HyperResearch code mapping tool as a visual tool to track the outcomes of my thematic analysis (Grbich, 2013, p. 63-65) and assist with cross-case themes. Using the code mapping feature, I was able to highlight the connections between codes. An integral result of the code map connections was the relationship between identifying stereotyping (and the results thereof), and the participants responding thoughts and actions to those stereotypes. For example, in the code map below (Figure 1), codes which are directly connected to “adamant defiance/breaking down stereotypes” are highlighted. “Recognizing personal talent,” “attain high achievement to disrupt the stereotype. . .”, “educating others on their racial ignorance and prejudice” represent behaviors that participants engaged in to breakdown stereotypes.

![Figure 1. Code Map: Breaking down stereotypes](image)

Figure 1. Code Map: Breaking down stereotypes
Data Protection

All data were stored on my personal, password protected laptop and on a flash drive dedicated solely to this study. Only approved investigators for this study had access to the data. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of participants. This includes, but is not limited to names of participants, schools, teachers and locations. Pseudonyms encouraged dialogue about specific instances of stereotype management, without fear of retribution or negative implications on the participants, peers, professors or institutions.

Trustworthiness, Credibility and Validity

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) state, “Like other qualitative research methods, narrative relies on criteria other than validity, reliability, and generalizability. It is important not to squeeze the language of narrative criteria into a language created for other forms of research” (p. 7). Multiple forms of data (i.e. questionnaire and interviews), interrater coding, and member checking served as means of credibility and validity for this study. Creswell asserts (2005), “Validating findings means that the researcher determines the accuracy or credibility of the findings through strategies such as member checking or triangulation” (p. 252). For member checking, participants were asked to review their interview transcripts to examine the accuracy and the manner in which the data is presented (Carter, 2011). A few transcripts were edited, at the request of participants. No data was printed without the consent of the participant.

Assumptions, Limitations, and Delimitations

There are several limitations and delimitations to this study. Prior to interviewing any participants, I completed a bracketing interview with my research assistant. Bracketing was necessary to ensure that data collection was not tainted by my presuppositions of the data and personal subjectivities. This experience was also helpful in testing the effectiveness of the interview
protocol. Though I was well aware of my subjectivities and positionality as a Black doctoral music student, the interview highlighted how difficult it was to recant some of my own experiences and moreover, how I created meaning of those experiences.

Studying the culturally situated meanings of the participants’ experiences through phenomenology is limiting. This study focused on the particular culture of Black doctoral students in music education, with a specific set of meaning systems and experiences. These experiences, and imposed meanings of understanding, exclude others’ (Crotty, 98, p. 81). A delimitation of this study is the limited sample. My purposeful sampling of Black doctoral music students disallows generalization across populations. All participants self-identified as Black and are currently completing or have completed doctoral degrees in music. Hopefully, results and recommendations from this study can apply to a myriad of cases throughout music education. Nevertheless, issues of personal and social identity are situated within the sociocultural context of this specific research sample.

This dissertation does not claim a comprehensive understanding of the experiences of all Black doctoral music students. There were a few limitations that I did not plan. Due to snowball sampling, the sample was not as balanced as I originally hoped. Only three of the ten participants were women and half of the participants identified as LGBTQ. This is not necessarily representative of the populations of Black doctoral music students. Some additional demographics of Black doctoral music not represented in this study include: 1) high socioeconomic backgrounds, 2) college and/or teacher General Music focus, 3) non-binary gender identifying and, 4) non-traditional school matriculation (e.g. not starting college directly after high school). Though rich data were reported regarding gender stereotypes in music education, more women would have been able to
add varying experiences. Also, the majority of the participants (one exception) with band experience perform primary instruments aligned with gender stereotypes. The participants reported their experiences realizing, understanding and even aligning with these stereotypes.

**Credibility and Trust**

I am well aware of my subjectivities as a researcher and the effects that they have on the impetus, design and completion of this study. I assumed that my positionality as a Black doctoral music student would promote positive bonds of trust and honesty within narrative inquiry (Johnson-Bailey, 1999; Johnson-Bailey, 2004). I also understand that my cultural membership would not necessarily guarantee these benefits (Johnson-Bailey, 1999). The participants shared deep narratives, with assumptions of mutual understanding and trust that I would re-present the results in an honest and fair manner. They asked for confirmation and sighted relatability during interviews. If this type of study were duplicated, a researcher viewed outside the community of the participants probably would not achieve the same results.
4 RESULTS

Introduction

This study was designed to apply and extend research on stereotype threat to real-world accounts of Black music students. I was able to investigate how Black music students identify and respond to identity stereotypes throughout their music education. Interviews were conducted to answer the following research questions:

What are Black doctoral students and graduates’ perceptions of their experiences in music education classrooms and related activities?

1) How did these Black doctoral music students and graduates identify and manage any stereotypes?

2) How did stereotypes affect participation, motivation, resilience and achievement among these Black doctoral music students and graduates?

Due to the large number of participants, a substantial amount of experiences with stereotypes, and management thereof were reported and analyzed. Despite the variances in identity and personal experience (e.g. voice/instrument, gender, region, SES, etc.), there were vast similarities among the participants’ experiences in music education. Specifically, the participants reported similar reactions when identifying and responding to stereotypes.

The data reported here are divided into developmental stages of early years, young adolescence, adolescence, undergraduate study and graduate school. Each stage contains episodes of identification of stereotypes, stereotype threat, and the respective stereotype management (see p. 10). Narratives are given to illuminate the participants’ interpretations of their lived experiences. Closing the results section, I provide themes that describe Black doctoral music students’ overall experiences.
Two major findings from this study include the evolution of identification of stereotypes and the transformation of the types of stereotypes identified. Participants reported fewer experiences with identity stereotypes types in earlier years (i.e. elementary and young adolescence) and spoke more about how their musical experiences helped develop their social identities. As they aged, they began to identify more stereotypes from peers and teachers, including methods to manage those stereotypes. In regard to type of identity stereotypes, most of the participants spoke primarily of gender and SES stereotypes in earlier years (though a few occurrences of stereotype threat due to race were reported). It was not until later adolescence that the participants began identifying a multitude of instances of racial stereotyping within their music education experiences. Episodes of recognizing and managing racial stereotyping increased with age alongside development of racial identity.

**Early Years**

The following section outlines data that references the participants beginning stages of formal music education. For some participants, joining a large school music ensemble (choir, orchestra or band) was the first formal music education experience they recalled. For others, elementary school music experiences, church ensembles or private lessons shaped began their trajectory of music study. During these years, the participants began to develop their musical identities and future goals for music learning and teaching.

**Identity on Instrument & Ensemble Selection**

*At the time, I really wanted to be a trumpet player, but my band director told me my lips were too big to play trumpet, so he tried me out on the trombone. .. I kind of took them harshly. I didn't know if it was. .. I kind of saw it to be racial a little bit, only because most of my White counterparts' lips were kind of smaller. My school was more 60%*
White, 40% black, but all the people who played trumpet were White. It almost made it seem like there wasn't really a place for Black trumpet players. You saw a lot of the African Americans playing trombone; you had a few people on saxophone, a lot of drummers and here or there you had one clarinet... there was a guy on clarinet and a guy on flute but other than that, everybody else was in the brass section. (Tyrone)

Tyrone’s beginning band experiences are indicative of the effects of gender and racial stereotypes on instrument choice and assignment. Each participant who studied band mentioned how their physical attributes (e.g. gender, race, facial features) attributed to their choice or assignment of an instrument. Like Tyrone, Julian recognized the correlation with instrument and gender grouping when it was time to choose a band instrument. Although his first choice was saxophone, gender associations made his ultimate choice between flute and trumpet much easier. When I asked why he chose trumpet over flute, he responded, “I wasn't interested in it. All the girls played the flute. I didn't want to sit with the girls. I wanted to be with the boys.” Lauren’s expression of gender – presentation of femininity, specifically - took precedence in her instrument choice. As a middle school student, Lauren was excited about finally being able to express her femininity through wearing nails. Her mom allowed her to wear fashionable nails once she began middle school. However, the orchestra director told her that she would have to cut her nails to play her first instrument of choice, the cello:

When I got to middle school that's when I started band. I originally was going to be in orchestra, and I wanted to play cello, but I was a girl. I just turned 12, and my mama said I could get nails, so I had nails. She said, “You're going to have to cut your nails.” No, not going to happen, haha. I already sung so I didn't want to be in chorus, so I was like I guess I'll be in ban... Yeah, she said you're going to have to cut your nails off. I
was like mmm, mm mmm. At that time, you know, pre-teen, I was like look, haha, I spent all summer convincing my mom to let me get nails when I got to the sixth grade so yeah, not going to do it but it's funny though. (Lauren)

Although Lauren, Julian and Tyrone reported their experiences differently, they all reflect associations with gender and instrument selection. Brandon observed the gender and racial grouping of the band and assimilated. Lauren was concerned with performing gender (i.e., being “girly”), while Julian observed the gender groupings and chose to follow suit.

Gender and sexuality played a different role in Frank’s decision to join band in middle school. His excitement about socialization with the opposite sex was motivation for him to choose band. He stated, “Then middle school comes, and girls are in band, so I'm going to join band.” Gender association, however, may have subliminally influenced Frank’s instrument choice. Frank and Kia both attributed their instrument choice to examples from their [same gender] older cousins.

Influences to study music

Maybe it had to do with... I had a cousin who was in middle school band. I don't know. But maybe it was what the people at registration were telling me. I remember them saying, "You know, the band program is really, really good, so you may want to consider joining the band. The orchestra program is really, really good too, but you should join band." But I think I stayed in band because of the people in it and the band director at the time was an African American male. He's dead now, but he was so awesome. He was real old school. He actually went to Rosa Parks University, so he was real throwback. He didn't play anything; you screw up, you get jacked up. So, I really liked him... And we
were like one of the best schools in not just the county, but surrounding counties; the best middle school band ever. So, I stayed in band through high school because of him. (Kia)

As expected, the participants did not have many stories to share with experiencing stereotypes in their early years. However, they all spoke at length about major influences on their desires to study music. Kia’s Black band director was a significant influence on why she chose band. She attributed his identity and personality to her retention in band. According to the frequency count analysis of codes, 3 of the top 10 most frequently used codes involved influences to study music. Participants cited taking private lessons 20 times, inspiration from elementary school music teachers/experiences 26 times, and inspiration for church/religious music experiences 39 times. Every participant mentioned a music teacher who directly influenced their desires to begin and continue music study. These individuals ranged from private piano instructors, church choir directors, elementary school music teachers and familial music teachers. Similar to Kia, all but one of the other participants specifically mentioned a Black musician and/or Black music teacher as an influence on studying music formally. Kevin’s admiration for his elementary school teacher not only influenced him to study music beyond elementary school but she also helped shape his early cultural understanding of music:

But Ms. Lewis was certainly a strong influence on me, I think. Culturally speaking, I was very interested in delving in to different types of music based on what she was doing in class. She certainly was a rigid woman, but she loved what she did, and I think I got that from her. I would have to say that yeah, at that moment, perhaps more so the voice than the piano was a big influence on me.

When I questioned what he meant by “culturally speaking,” he clarified that Ms. Lewis reinforced his desire to learn about music not usually representative of Black culture:
I will say that I wasn't necessarily listening to music that all of my other classmates were
listening to. That would be not solely based on Ms. Lewis but family as well. I didn't re-
ally start listening, personally, to even like mainstream R&B or Hip-Hop, things that my
friends were listening to. I wouldn't be able to listen to that on my own until maybe high
school... You know, I'd be in the car with my grandma and we'd be listening to Gershwin
or Tchaikovsky. I listened to older R&B with my mother, so we'd listen to soul - Luther
and Stevie and all those folks. But during that time when I was growing up, I wasn't lis-
tening to Pac or Biggie or Mary J or any of those that were really out there at the time.
Ms. Lewis was certainly... I think she sort of set that for me in that endeavor. Ms. Lewis
didn't even like Duke Ellington's version of the nutcracker because she thought it was...
She just didn't like it. She was one of those, you know, very traditionalist. Because she
thought that, I thought the same thing.

Sterling and Aaron’s earlier experiences with music in the church sparked their interests to learn
piano and lifelong music making. Sterling stated,

I grew up in church, so we had an excellent organist at church, black female. She could
read anything on the page and could play by ear like nobody's business. I was just enam-
ored by her and her ability and her musicianship growing up as a kid. I always wanted to
talk to her and learn stuff. And she finally just told my dad one day to get me piano les-
sons, you know. "He could use a really good teacher." And I just began the real lessons
and real training.

Aaron’s admiration of his church musicians not only peaked his interest but also set multiple ex-
amples of the different musical skills that a consensus of participants deemed necessary to learn
as a young musician. Specifically, Aaron learned different styles of gospel keyboard (included organ and piano) including playing by ear and reading from hymnals. He narrated:

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\text{You know, I had that particular experience and regarding church, you know, I think I was just . . . I grew up in a congregation where the music was just alive. It was infectious, and it was exciting. We had three different women in our church that all played very differently. You had Ms. Roberts who played the organ only, and she read, she played hymns, and she was not going to deviate at all with those hymns. I mean she played them by the book. So, Ms. Roberts, Evelyn Roberts, played for the senior choir. Then Ms. Ollie Reddish, who just passed very recently, played very honky-tonk old school style. She played for what we called gospel choir, which was the sort of mid-ranged. Senior choir, which was who Ms. Roberts played for with the hymns, were very old ladies with White/blue tint hair... who held hymn books right in front of their face even if some of them couldn't read, right? And so, she would play strict hymns with the senior choir for my grandmother’s age. Ollie Reddish would play sort of this honky-tonk down-home-style gospel when people would clap their hands and individuals would rock back and forth. And then you also had my dad’s choir who were sort of like in their 30s and 40s, you know, and they did more of a contemporary style at the time - contemporary style gospel. Her name was Gwendolyn Bagley; she just played in a new way, so it was supposed to be like the best choir of the church. So, I sat in our church with my eyes open so wide. Not on the choir, not on the congregation, not on the preacher but Ollie Reddish or Gwendolyn Bagley or Evelyn Roberts because I was so enthralled by what they did behind that piano. And each of the ladies knew that at the end of the service I was going to come up to them and pick their brain and ask them questions. I mean, think about it, I was in elementary}
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school... and so what happened was, I would go home Armon and sit down at our coffee
table, take the pillow off the couch and make that my bench. And I sat in front of that cof-
fee table and in my head, I could hear Ollie Reddish, or I could hear Gwendolyn Bagley,
or I could hear Evelyn Roberts. And I would use my hands [banging on table like key-
board] to recreate what they did. You know, so I knew how to go, [singing and playing
imaginary keyboard] "Are you ready, are you ready for the," so I was playing what I
thought they did, right? Or it was "Holy, Holy, Holy," I was just hitting the coffee table,
what would be in my mind an imaginary piano. And at some point, my dad said, “We
should get this boy some piano lessons.” So that's kind of how it happened. But I realize
now that that early sort of audiation in my mind and that connection between what’s in
my mind and what I was doing with my fingers set the stage for me being able to be more
improvisatory as a pianist which supplemented what I was learning from the piano ladies
which was very much so by the book.

All but one of the participants in this study mentioned the influence of participation in
church music as a major catalyst of their aspirations to study and teach music. Additionally, all
participants indicated encouraging parents as motivators to begin music study. Narratives on pa-
rental encouragement ranged from signing up children for private lessons, to forcing students to
join ensembles. There were also mentions of other adults in the community who helped push the
participants toward formal music study. For example, Aaron recanted how a neighbor insisted on
grooming him for his future career as a musician:

I don't know if there were other influences. I mean really, I was lucky that I lived in walk-
ing distance from our middle school band director and back then you would go to the
store and see the band director or see your teachers, or you would go to church with your
teachers. So, I can't think of the guy's name off the top of my head, but he was the one that would show me theory things. He was like "Johnston, you better come to my house because you're going to need this theory when you get to college and they're not teaching." You know that's how he talked, this sort of grandfather kind of figure that saw it as his role to prepare me for music theory. Not to prepare me for teaching but music theory, "because you're going to have to do ear training and I know they're not teaching you that stuff." I'd go to his house and, which I didn't go very often because I didn't connect with him like that, but you know, I had these wonderful people in my church, in my school who just really saw me as being, I mean, Armon you know me. I guess I have been the same person; I've just gotten taller. I mean, the way I talk, I was talking like this in third grade, and I've always been this person. I think they saw that in me, and you know. . . but I don't think I have any other influences.

Aaron’s insistence that “I’ve always been that person” was a common theme among participants. When speaking of original desires to study music, the majority mentioned an intense love for music and their destiny to teach and perform music throughout their lives. Or as Frank stated,

I don't think there's ever a right decision; I just think it's just the way that things are. It's the proverbial music chooses us. . . we don't choose music, music chooses us. I think it's the same as saxophone because I've stuck with it for almost 20 something years now.

Half of the participants described themselves at some point as always being a music geek or music nerd. Darius’s memories of his early years as a singer endearingly encapsulates the sentiments of the participants:
Well actually, I just saw a family friend yesterday who babysat me when I was three or four years old, maybe five, and she talked about how every day, I was walking around the house singing. I would always pick up a hairbrush as my microphone. She said she was in the room praying and I would be singing when she was praying. My mother talked about how at a very, very early age I was always standing right in front of the radio, listening to the stereo and trying to sing along, dancing and everything. So, every opportunity that I had to sing, I did. I couldn’t imagine doing anything else.

**Young Adolescence**

Elementary schools primarily focus on general music instruction and generally do not offer large ensemble opportunities. The middle school and junior high years are usually when young musicians settle into school performance ensembles. In most schools, music students usually choose one or two large ensemble disciplines, such as band, orchestra, chorus or guitar. The social relationships that students make at this age play a direct role in the development of one’s self, cultural and social identity. During this developmental stage, participants were able to more clearly understand what roles their music experiences, and particular individuals involved, played in their development. Specifically, they shared stories on how stereotypes about their identity formed the beginning stages of stereotype threat or agency to succeed despite.

One participant spoke at length about his struggle with his changing voice and resulting frustration with traditional gender roles in chorus. According to Darius, singing was always a great experience until he reached 7th grade. When I asked what changed, he responded,

*Because my voice changed late compared to everyone else. I was still singing soprano, whereas all the other boys - you know, cambiata and all that other stuff - I couldn't sing their parts. She wouldn't let me sing the soprano or alto parts, which is what I should have*
been signing because that's where my voice was. But because I was a boy, she wanted me to sing the boy's part. So, she actually would have me sing the boy's parts an octave higher most times which means that quite a few times I was singing higher than the soprano and alto. That really confused me. My voice didn't change until I was like late 13, whereas everybody else around me was changing at 11, 12, and early 13.

Darius went on to describe an experience very similar to many pubescent male singers. Between church choirs and school choirs, his directors commonly moved his physical position and changed his parts so that he could visually blend with members of his gender. As he spoke, I immediately thought of Julian’s comments on choosing trumpet over flute, so he could sit with the other boys and not the girls. I also began to reflect on my experiences in band and gospel choir around that age.

Adolescence (High School)

Socioeconomic status

Socioeconomic status (SES) is another topic that participants were able to grasp better at later years in their development. A few were able to articulate how their music abilities were stereotyped because of their SES. Julian and Frank recalled that they were aware of which members of the band were from lower SES backgrounds than the majority of the other students. However, their directors went above and beyond to make sure those students had the resources they needed, and students from all SES backgrounds had similar experiences. Kia also matriculated through band programs with students from mixed backgrounds. However, inequities in SES were apparent, and Kia’s awareness that she didn’t have the same resources as her affluent peers acti-
vated early forms of stereotype management. She was able to use her recognition of others’ stereotypes of her race, gender, and SES as motivation and agency. In a particularly frank exchange, she exclaimed:

> What was interesting was that there would be people in the band whose parents were like city officials, employers like being rich people. Those were the White people and maybe one or two minorities whose families came from that background. Then you had students from the middle class, the working portion of the city. Then you had people from low SES, which is where I was from. But, I think because of the music or the music experience (certainly it was for me), it was the competition and my playing ability that I think kind of balanced it out. But if I would’ve sucked, I don't know if people would've viewed me differently, you know what I mean? I didn't have a lot of resources, you know, to get reeds and stuff like that; like buying a box of reeds like my peers. Man, I can make some reeds last because they're expensive. My folks didn't get it, you know? Like, why do you need so many resources? So, I didn't have a reed case until college. I couldn't afford it. I put my clarinet in my backpack, and I'd just carry the case.

Though Kia’s experience’s resonated with my own, Aaron’s stories of his parents’ efforts to shield him from SES and racial inequities are common among many educated, middle-class Blacks. He touched on a common theme among participants - having to perform better than White or more affluent peers to be seen as equal:

> It’s the motivation that causes me to do good work. You know, my dad said, and I used to hate it, "You have to be twice as good as anybody else." I was like, "Nah that's not true," because remember, I grew up in Wilkesville, where we were very racially equal in terms of demographics. We all went to the high school, and we all got along. I used to fight my
dad because I never thought it was true. What I didn't realize was that my dad created. . .

My dad and my mom were in this middle class (I'm doing a lot of syntheses now), but my
dad and my mom in this middle-class environment shielded me from all of the things that
they had to endure to make sure I had that kind of life. I never knew that. I just thought
they were crazy for saying the kind of things they were saying - you know, about the way
I should act and behave. I just thought they were making that stuff up. Of course, time is
a great teller, whereas I've gotten older and I've seen what they were trying to say. I'm
just grateful that I had parents who prepared me to see society in a way I would not have
noticed because I didn't grow up with those experiences.

**Recognizing and accepting musical talent and aptitude**

Kia’s narrative of stereotype management as a result of her SES also highlighted another
universal theme among all participants. Each one of my peers spoke about pivotal moments
throughout their music education and careers where they recognized and accepted their musical
talents or aptitude. A total of 20 narratives were coded as identifying personal talent/intellect.

Very few statements before or around high school years were coded as such.

*So, by the time I got to high school and had Kimberly Washington – and Kimberly Wash-
ington was the premier pedagogue with teaching choir - she saw that I wanted to be a
music teacher and gave me all these wonderful experiences with doing warm-ups. I
would teach parts of the song. I also served as an accompanist. I had her for four years,
and towards the end of my senior year, Kimberly Washington decided that she was going
to quit early. And although they hired a permanent sub, I was able to serve as the "choir
director" to get us through the upcoming concert. So, my teachers allowed me to get out
of Latin, out of math, you know. (Aaron)*
In addition to Aaron, other participants reminisced on teenage-aged memories of when they were promoted to leadership positions in their high school ensembles and classrooms. Lauren and Frank’s promotions to section leader, then drum major in high school band served as turning points of their plans school and career plans. The recognition by their directors and acceptance of their own musical and leadership abilities influenced them to major in music and become secondary school music directors. Sterling, Darius, Aaron, Kevin and Tyrone not only spoke of leadership experiences in the classroom but also growth in confidence due to consistent placement in honors ensembles. All of the participants mentioned how successful high school music experiences aided them in accepting personal and social identities as musicians (even self-prescribed band geeks, choir nerds, etc.), and solidified their plans for future music study and careers. These stories were not necessarily indicative of instances of using talent or intellect to prove a stereotype wrong. In fact, they were all centered on an acceptance of a relatively high musical interest, ability, and intelligence. These stories represent a building of agency among the participants - self-efficacy that would later be required to combat identity stereotypes.

**Undergraduate Study**

I collected a vast wealth of data on influences of college choice for the participants. They shared multiple factors that influenced their final choice of undergraduate institution. Some influences included: 1) school location, 2) school size, 3) scholarships, 4) influence of alumni and family members, 5) school and music department reputation, and 6) notable professors. However, much of this data did not answer the research questions. Only data that answered research questions are presented in this section. As participants spoke of their college experiences, racial identity began to take on a higher level of importance. In fact, race became the most salient faction of identity in their stories.
HBCUs vs. PWIs

Lauren, Sterling, Frank, Julian, Tyrone, Kevin, and Darius (all HBCU graduates) emitted a high sense of pride in their alma matters and held their experiences dear. Lauren and Sterling’s negative view of show-style bands while high schoolers converted to admiration before enrolling. They exuded fondness and excitement as they reflected on their experiences in their college marching bands. Sterling, Julian, Tyrone, Kevin and Darius all spoke highly of their experiences learning and signing not only standard western repertoire, but a host of pieces by Black composers which they would not have been exposed to at PWIs. Stories among these participants contained themes of: 1) highly nurturing environments and professors, 2) building strong social and professional networks, 3) building resilience, 4) gaining a deeper connection and a desire to hold onto Black identity and 5) culture were prevalent in all of their interviews.

By contrast, Alicia, who attended a small PWI in the Northeast, experienced culture shock after leaving a predominately Black neighborhood and school system. She commented, “It was a very rough transition for me, going to a predominately White university that was very small, being the only person of color period in my whole school of music.” When I asked her to further explain this experience, she replied,

Um, it was definitely jarring, you know in a sense... going to a school like that, you get the impression of what the demographic in America actually are, right? So, one of the things that I realized is that people don't really know that they're White and that their Whiteness impacts other people. Constantly having to break down stereotypes or to not meet people's expectations in a negative way was something that was taxing. It is imme-
immediately thrust upon you when you get to an institution like that, especially given the population size of the university. You know, when I saw we were 1600 students, 6% minority in total.

Alicia continued to remark on the struggle of breaking down racial stereotypes at her undergraduate institution and deep feelings of isolation as the only person of color in her department. She added,

. . . and that includes people of color and people with disabilities. I mean yeah, it’s a really tiny population. So, trying to kind of reconcile race and find a place where you can fit in was easy because of the different organizations and that kind of thing. But finding a place where I could fit in within the school of music took a lot more time.

Kia also shared similar stories of loneliness and isolation in a large southern school of music. She imparted an alarming narrative of one of her first experiences with racist remarks from a professor:

For instance, there was this professor, Dr. Stewart; she was a White woman, maybe in her 50's at the time, very old and White. I was in the McNair scholars program and if you've heard about the program, you do stuff in the summer. I'll never forget. You do GRE prep, and you have to do an extensive research paper to complete the program. I wrote a paper on music intelligence of prodigies and savants. And, we would have to go every week. They only select 8 to 10 people per class or every year. We would have to go visit Dr. Stewart, so she could look at your paper and she looked at my paper and I'll never forget that day. She said, "I could get a monkey to write a better paper than this!"

And, at that time I was so concerned about my paper that I thought my paper was so awful and I told my professor, my mentor, because everyone had to have a mentor and at the
time I had to have two. They both were administrators in the school of music, one of which whom I'm really close. He's like my second dad and both of them are White. I remember telling Dr. Wiley about what was going on and she was like, "What did she say, what did she say?" And then I was telling her that, "My paper is awful, it's just awful." She said, "Tell me exactly what she said." Then I said, "She said she can get a monkey to write a better paper," and then that's when the whole conversation stopped. And Dr. Wiley was like, "Wait a minute, what did she say?" That's when it clicked because I was so caught up in being excellent that the comment just slipped past me. Then, in that moment, that's when I realized and got really mad, but I couldn't say anything because that moment had passed. So, Dr. Wiley called Dr. Howell, who was at the time the assistant director of the school of music, and he called the VP of Student Affairs or something. Then she got in deep, deep trouble. Then the next day, of course, she tried to be my friend. I was just like, you are so racist. But, there were things like that that happened outside of the school of music.

Graduates of both PWIs and HBCUs spoke of the stereotypes of HBCUs, though they did not necessarily subscribe to them. For instance, Frank shared the following about his interactions with peers (of all races), who attended PWIs:

_Honestly, to the same point, there are a few students that truly look up to you for the fact that your background is something that they wish they could've experienced because their background at their major institution was either lacking, let's say the skin that you're in or they were never able to truly connect. Or, even if they chose to go to a larger school than your HBCU and still feel kind of empty._
His comments reflected directly of Kia’s sense of isolation, and Alicia’s testament to the need for more nurturing from the faculty at her undergraduate institution. Based on stories from Black HBCU grads, Lauren assumed (as similarly stated by Frank) that she would have received more personal attention at an HBCU. However, she was not interested in the trade for the intense marching band demands common among HBCUs. Another communal sentiment among HBCU graduates was the goal of some historically Black schools to admit and educate students who may not have been admitted into other universities. Frank and Julian remarked that the admission gestures were noble, and the institutions were often successful in closing the gap and preparing these types of students for the next level. However, there were other students admitted who could not meet the rigorous requirements of their programs. As a whole, the HBCU graduates were prideful and adamant about breaking down negative stereotypes about their universities.

**Graduate school and employment**

Participants’ accounts of graduate school experiences revealed a heightened sense of racial and social identities. At this stage in interviews, participants shared more instances of identifying and responding to stereotypical behaviors of others. These episodes ranged from identifying micro-aggressions to reacting to blatantly racist statements. Moreover, intersections of identity harnessed a new importance in social interactions with peers and professors. For example, several participants spoke of deciphering between sexism and racism when interacting with colleagues and classmates. Personal insecurities in academic ability and feelings of isolation were also common among all participants during this stage. Furthermore, individuals who graduate from HBCU’s face additional stereotypes of their abilities. Resilience and strong self-efficacy was apparent in narratives, as participants spoke of building relationships with peers and advisors, agency to fill in gaps in knowledge, and adamantly breaking down stereotypes.
So that's one. And then, you know, I did have an issue one time where there was something racial that happened with a teacher, where they made a reference. All of the text of the work that we were doing in conducting [chosen by another professor] was by Black poets and it had text like negro girl and Black, just all that kind of stuff. And so, my teacher says, "Is there a movement about buckwheat? Are we going to start singing about watermelon?" Yeah, that happened. Yeah, one of the teachers in the room said that.

There were two teachers. And of course, that teacher then came over to me after noticing that it was the dumbest thing they could've said. The teacher came up to me and placed their hand on my shoulder, kind of chuckled a little bit and said, "Oh Darius, you know I'm just playing, that's kind of what it was." And I looked around and a couple of people that heard it were kind of just like, do I laugh because this is my teacher, or do I not laugh because that was extremely racist? And then, I got a phone call from that teacher about an hour and fifteen minutes later, probably about when I got home. I chose not to answer but the teacher then was gone for the next two days. When they returned, I mean I'm in a group of people and before they said hello to anybody that teacher came up to me and was like, "Darius can we talk?" They said, "I want to apologize, and you know, I wasn't trying to offend." You know, all that stuff. I was like, "Ok." "I don't want us to have any issues, I want us to be good friends," and all that kind of stuff. Ok, all right. You know I don't hold grudges. People say stupid stuff and it's whatever. The teacher had actually asked me to write a Christmas piece back in like April and I finished in like a week. I gave it to my teacher and they were considering using it, but we hadn't talked anything about it. So, this was probably like October and then after the apology, fifteen minutes later he was like, "Oh yeah, we'll take a look at that Christmas song you wrote." (Darius)
Darius’ experience with his choral director making racially insensitive remarks was very similar to Kia’s undergraduate experience. In both experiences, there was a professor who stepped in to express their personal disdain with the actions of their peers and initiate the process of damage control. Unfortunately, before those professors stepped in, a sense of inferior anxiety was already activated. Both participants felt reassured by the interventions of their professors.

*And two, stepping outside of the music ed. program, it's still White. You know, I only knew like one other Black doctoral student. He was in performance; I think clarinet performance. And then there were a couple of other Black undergraduates and that was it man. No black faculty, so I had to create my own way so to speak. If I wanted black culture, if I wanted to talk to Black people, one, I either had to go somewhere else on campus, like the Black Graduate Student Association and most the times they were not organized. So, I had to go outside of the school of music - BGSA, African-American studies. I would talk to Black people over there and it really wasn’t just about talking to Black people, it was about talking about these issues. I mean, not talking about black people or black culture or just being around black people, it was also about speaking with people about the type of research area I was in.* (Kia)

When speaking of graduate school experiences, many participants revisited the theme of isolation and searching for a connection with other Black students. Kia’s sense of loneliness during her doctoral work was debilitating, almost causing her to leave the program. She spoke extensively about not feeling completely comfortable around White peers and her constant search for spaces on campus to express her Black identity.

*At the doctoral level, Kia’s isolation from other Black students not only made her socially uncomfortable but also made her question her place in the program. She began to question*
her own abilities and was experiencing inferior anxiety. She also explicitly mentioned her state of double consciousness, trying to hold onto her Black identity while fitting into a White space:

*Kia: The level of isolation that you experience as an African American or Black doctoral student in a program at a predominately White school, particularly in music education or music, is unprecedented. It's crazy because even, say for instance just in your classes, let's say that they do a social gathering at a professor's house and you still have to keep that show going. You know, you still have to keep that mask on. I mean, yeah you can be yourself, but I don't know one Black person who feels like they can be themselves 100%, I don't know one Black person. And so, to go into social settings, even then, I was always the only Black person and it's just tiring. There would be times that I just didn't hang out because I got tired of it. My peers would be like, "Oh let's hang out, let's go have a drink," and I don't drink. And, "let's go get some food." I got so tired of being the only Black person, so I wouldn't hang out. I'd have to take a breather, come up for air.

*Armon: You're probably one of the first people to mention that keeping a mask on even in social settings.

*Kia: Yeah

*Armon: That is very interesting.

*Kia: Well, I think because people feel like they have to tend to compete even in the social setting, and I hate to say it but I feel like White people have by far, not always, but many White people feel like they have to keep it moving with work, and speaking this research language even though we're supposed to be at this Christmas party. So, you must too feel like when you're in Rome, so to speak. But yeah, it's so incredibly tiring and I think no
matter how you explain it to your White peers, they just don't get it. I hated that. I hated being the only Black person and it's just crazy.

Comradery with other Black students was another common theme amongst participants. Like Kia, each participant mentioned the importance of having other Black students around to feel socially comfortable, and to have someone in their respective programs to share their experiences with. Alicia and Julian spoke explicitly about the importance of having another Black student in the graduate music classroom. Alicia expressed, “You know, having 3 or 4 other black folks in your class changes things. It changes the comfortability level.” Julian more specifically stated, 

. . . having someone to relate to. Someone that's kind of in your boat. When you're having those conversations, or presenting research or just sitting around the table talking about music education in general, there is someone that has experienced the same type of music education environment as you have. So, instead of being this one person in the room that only speaks from this one perspective and knowing that nobody in the room that knows what you're talking about, there are several people in the room that can contribute to that conversation to say, yeah, I know what you're talking about.

**From HBCUs to PWI**

Let's just go ahead and say it. Let's just go ahead and call a spade a spade. When you say that you're from this certain institution, there's already a certain stigma saying that you can't play, or you can't hang, or you're not going to do this or do that. I think there's a lot of other great musicians or great pedagogues, or even great academics that come from HBCUs. But because they come from this university, when they go for graduate studies or what have you it's already a mantle of hey, you need to prove your worth here. (Frank)
Like Frank, each participant who graduated from an HBCU transitioned to a PWI for graduate studies. Three narratives specifically mention how intellectual abilities were challenged due to negative stereotypes of education at HBCUs. Tyrone and Julian’s professors directly referenced their HBCU training and the conflict it presented with their professors. Tyrone shared,

*Um, I think some people negatively view my intellectual and performance abilities. One, because I may have gone to an HBCU and sometimes they think the standards are not that high. My professor, prime example - we were getting ready to write this 10-page paper in this doctoral class and she said, "You need to write like you are at the Flagship University. That standard is what Flagship University is, so you need to write that way." And I can understand that but if somebody had said that 4 or 5 years ago, I don't know.*

Julian ended his narrative with a testament to his resilience and agency to succeed – a strong signal of positive stereotype management:

*Dr. McCormick is a very good example. He just told me that he didn't think that I was the type of student, when he first met me, that I ended up showing him at the end. He never really mentioned race per se, but I think where I went to undergrad, I would definitely say made a difference in Dr. Frazier's eyes. He made a comment to me one time. He said, "This is not Coretta Scott King, it's Panthersville, so what we learn over here is completely different than what you've learned. So, you need to come over here and get the right thing through learning with us.” It kind of offended me a little bit because I kind of felt like going forward into the program, at least that particular program, was just on a lot of where I received my undergrad degree, where I was teaching and kind of who I was at the end of the day. I felt like I had to work through that to show them that I was a student that could perform on such a level; that I can accomplish anything that they ask me*
to do. I think in the end that Dr. McCormick had to tell me that he had to really change his mind set about me because I ended up proving him wrong at the end of the day.

**Nurturing professors/advisors**

Darius and Kia both had advisors/professors come to their defense and address racist remarks from other professors. Throughout the data collection process, all of the participants shared kind words of motivation they received from their advisors. Alicia attested that when she sought help, professors would “bend over backwards to help you.” Though she felt isolated from her peers, Kia believed her professors “did everything possible to make sure that I was successful.” Speaking specifically of her doctoral advisor, she added, “the more time I spent with her, the more I realized that she’s genuinely on my side.” Kia’s professors throughout her doctoral matriculation truly helped her navigate the struggles of double consciousness, inferiority anxiety and isolation as a lone Black woman. She added that even though her professors did not share her experiences and vantage point, their support was pivotal to her success:

*To see these White women and Gardner who truly cared about not just me, but to improve experiences for African Americans, I thought that that was great. And there were times when I had to talk to Dr. Rice and she just sat there and listened. She listened to what I had to say and at times she admitted that she didn’t know what it felt like and she didn’t have any answers. I think that goes a long way because sometimes you’d speak with White people and they act like they know what you are feeling or how you feel.*

In Darius’ aforementioned narrative, he was shocked by the racist comments made by his professor. As Darius continued with his story, he mentioned a nurturing professor, a Black voice teacher, who was deeply bothered by the words of her colleague:

*Armon: That was an interesting experience.*
Darius: It was, especially with the fact that one of two Black faculty members was my voice teacher. And, thankfully I told her what happened when that teacher was not around. And thankfully, the voice faculty, well the applied studios are sound proof because people would have heard quite a bit coming from that studio after I told her that. It was to the point that she almost walked over to his office and give him a few choice words, while she was supposed to be teaching me voice. Haha.

Armon: Can you tell me about what the conversation was about, what it was like?

Darius: She just talked about how just wrong that was for him to say and how she is old enough to remember segregation and for her to know what it was like to hear stuff like that on a normal basis. And then for me to hear it, you know, it just wasn't right, and she wanted to tell that teacher that what they said was just not right. I just didn't feel that it was my place, as the student, to really combat it. Now, should that happen now, and I know that it would never happen at Southern Panhandle, not in the college of music. It just, Ugh. Yeah, that just wouldn’t happen now. But let's just say that if it did, I would be more vocal. I would not care about a degree, I would just make sure that person is not on my committee, haha.

Peer relationships

Kia: Hands down, the issues I had were with peers in the program. For instance, I mispronounced a word. I think I said novice [long o] and its novice teachers, and this White female made it her business to correct me. Like she felt like it was her power or right to correct me. My first year that was just constant from some of my peers. I was always the only African American in the doctoral program, so in every class I stood out like a sore
thumb. You know how you hang out right before your class with you cohort or colleagues, whatever you want to call them; peers? We were just shooting the breeze before seminar, just cracking jokes. And then this White guy said, "It's just like all Black people like fried chicken." And everything just stopped, and I just looked at him. And of course, everyone looked at me to see how I would respond. I said, "Oh yeah, well, I'm pretty sure more White people like fried chicken more than us. It's just like more White people like hip-hop more than we do."

Armon: Mmm Hmm

Kia: “I mean, you're the largest consumers.” And so, we got into this whole thing about them stealing our stuff.

Armon: Mmm Hmm

Kia: I'm like, you just want to be me.

Armon: Haha

Kia: Haha

Armon: Cultural appropriation?

Kia: Yeah. But there were comments like that or some of my peers felt like they always had to corral me, as if they were responsible for the Black girl. I hated that. And so, my first year, I intentionally pushed a lot of people away from me because if I felt that you were doing that, I'd stop hanging out with you. The only time I would be in your presence was in class or when I absolutely had to be. Yeah, I hated that. And then I didn't have anybody to talk to who looked like me because even on faculty, there were no black people.

Kia, Sterling, Frank and Darius shared stories of peers perpetuating racial stereotypes to and about them during graduate studies. Though Kia’s story represents a social racial stereotype,
Sterling and Darius provided multiple narratives of facing stereotypes of Black musicianship, another commonality across collegiate experiences. In each case, Sterling and Darius shared a full narrative of stereotype management. They narrated how their peers’ comments led to conscious decisions of breaking down stereotypes and educating their peers. For example, Darius decided to take the time to educate an undergraduate student on Black composers:

*Darius:* So, I was in the library looking up articles and he was just like "Yeah, Marcus what are you looking at?" And I was like, "Just part of my research and what it will be. I'm very interested in the music of. . ." Oh sorry, it was the Black Perspective in Music. That's what it was. So, I'm downloading a bunch of articles that had anything to do with any Black composers of vocal music and anything that specifically dealt with what it means to compose serious art music. So, I was telling him, “I'm looking at a series of art music by Black composers.” And he was like, "Oh, I didn't know Black composers wrote anything but spirituals." Well, let me educate you right now in this library. So, I spent about 10 minutes of letting him know about all that kind of stuff.

*Armon:* So, you took that time to educate him?

*Darius:* Oh definitely. Definitely.

*Armon:* Haha

*Darius:* I am an educator.

Gender stereotyping was not as salient as racial stereotyping in the graduate school experiences of the participants. However, my female participants did mention the intersectionality of being Black and a woman in higher education in music. Lauren iterated her concern of lack of women in leadership (specifically Black women) in higher level music education. Kia and Lau-
ren declared the lack of Black women at conferences and professional development and their responsive, intentional stereotype management. All of the female participants considered race to contribute more to their interactions with colleagues than gender. Kia explained her frustration with her interactions with White women at a music education feminist conference:

*My first year I made it through, but it was tough because we had this Feminist Conference. It's like this international conference that KSU hosted and what was interesting was that here are all these people talking about, you know, issues about women, gender, and feminism and I was literally the only Black person at that conference. To be a Black woman and to not hear anything out of all the things, the papers that I listened in on, no one that I heard talked about the intersection of race and being a woman. These were all White women and to hear these conversations go on and to not even feel a part of the conversation or that type of struggle made me think of womanism; like how that emerged out of the feminism movement with folks like Angela Davis because, Black women were not included in feminism in the 60's and 70's. So, you had Black women emerging because they were not included in the conversation or their being Black or being a person of color was not considered within that whole conversation. And so, that was so tough! These women would try to get you to chime in or cosign with them and their struggle with being a White woman and I'll never forget. There were some women who were professors but they also served in military bands, and they found out that I served in the United States army bands. They were talking about how they were just done so wrong. “You know you can't be a woman and be promoted,” and they were trying so hard to get me to cosign on their struggle. I was just like, “well I don't remember any of that.” And then, they just looked at me really weird. And I told them, “Well you know what, I was never
passed up for promotion or anything because I was a woman. I was passed up because I was Black.” You know, there were at least 3 or 4 times in the military not because I was a woman, it was because I was Black, they just didn't say it. But, that's how it was. So, it was just amazing how within the context of higher ed., how still, White women are still benefiting and still being heard, or just White people in general. They're still given a type of privilege that people of color are not.

Alicia spoke at length about how much more comfortable she was in her graduate program now that she was not the only person of color. However, she also shared a specific instance in graduate school where her identity affected how her classmate interacted with her. In the following narrative, she was well aware that her contributions were being diminished by her peer because of who she was. But, being a Black, gay woman, she was unsure of which aspect of her identity was being underestimated. Her exchange ends with an affirmation of stereotype management:

_Alicia: Intersectionalities are always so delicate. You know, like for example, I had an issue with a student at Los Angeles who, after talking to more people I know that he is a . . . he's an older White gentleman._

_Armon: Mmm Hmm_

_Alicia: So, he's a bit of a racist. And he's not a racist because he's an older White gentleman, he's an older White gentleman and he's a bit of a racist, I'll say that._

_Armon: Ok_

_Alicia: This was maybe like three or four years ago now. We're in class and we're sitting together in a group of four doing some sort of group activity and I was talking, I'm the only female and I was talking, sharing my ideas and then this guy starts talking right over me, right? And then, so my two friends who I'm really cool with they just look at me and I
look at them and we're all kind of just like, what happened? And so, he did that in the group. And then like the next class, I was speaking. I was addressing the entire class answering a question and he did the same thing but this time in front of everybody else. Everybody else just kind of looked and me and I looked at everybody else and the professor was just all trying to figure out what the hell happened. I was trying to figure out if I should be more upset as a woman, as a queer woman, as a woman of color or if I was just allowed to just be upset as a person.

Armon: Hhhmm

Alicia: It turns out I was upset for all of those reasons.

Armon: Haha

Alicia: So yeah, it was just like, dude. And the only thing that gives me a great deal of satisfaction is knowing that the perception of this guy, at least academically, is a joke and that he would never, ever be able to compete with me.

Armon: [nodding]

Alicia: And that's the satisfaction of knowing that I'm not there just because I'm black.

Filling the gaps

“Feeling academically or musically inadequate – missing skills/knowledge” was the most used code during analysis. It was primarily used to describe participants’ experiences during graduate school, though a few mentioned similar thoughts for undergraduate years. Specifically, the participants shared insecurities with being unfamiliar with research knowledge, vocabulary, and the processes and culture of graduate school. Three participants mentioned that there may have been entire courses that they wished they had in undergraduate study. However, after all of the narratives regarding missing skills, participants followed up with their solutions to fill in their
gaps of skills or knowledge. In many cases, the participants mentioned imposter syndrome, double consciousness and inferior anxiety, which are all common symptoms of stereotype threat. None of the participants attested to succumbing to the pressures but instead shared their stories of what we coded as “Taking charge of education – begin proactive about filling gaps in knowledge.” Kia’s story perfectly outlines the process of what many of the participants explained to me. She described her feelings of insecurity and how her personal agency kicked in:

Kia: I never made an effort to ask questions in class because that was always in the back of my mind, to see the looks on their face when I'd ask a question or when I'd speak in class. And I never really said anything my first year because I didn't want them to think that about me, so I just kept it hush hush. But, there were a lot of things that I did not know Armon, like some of the language. Not some, but a lot of the language, the research language.

Armon: Especially first year

Kia: Yeah, and [inaudible] words and things in research class that I'd never heard of in my life, but I kept my game face on as if I knew and I'd sit there and nod like everyone else. But, I would make notes on my computer to go home and look these words up, haha.

Armon: Haha, I did the same thing. Words to look up later, I had a whole list of them my first year. Haha

Kia: Haha

Armon: Like, what did they just say?

Kia: Yeah, and sometimes I would actually record the lectures.

Armon: Mmm Hmm
Kia: So, I would go home, and it was almost like, literally, if someone was coming from, I don't know, Chubakastan or Czech Republic and they come over as an international student and English is their second language. I was literally sitting there translating, you know, transcribing and then putting it back in form.

Julian and Aaron testified that they enrolled in graduate programs specifically to fill their gaps in knowledge. Julian stated that his undergrad institution taught him resilience and fostered a comfortability to accept what he didn’t know and a desire to seek the knowledge. Aaron claimed that his enrollment in graduate school was to gain more pedagogical knowledge and was influenced by his alma matter. He shared that even though he had to decide between universities, he knew that he needed to return to school to improve his pedagogy:

*So, my original plan was to go to Southern Panhandle but then I got married and I was at the same time teaching and having a lot of questions about my teaching. I thought, you know what, I need some more help about why are my boys are different each day, or their voices are changing what do I do? Or my middle school kids just sing so different, what's going on? You know? Or my elementary school kids that I taught, I'm not really sure about sequence or how do I assure that what I teach in kindergarten spills over into 5th grade. I had all of these questions and so it was those questions that led me to go, maybe I should just go to State School. Can I just tell you it was the best thing for me and my career? Out of everything I've done, State School always will be one, as a master’s program, will always be one of the things that set me on the course to be this kind of teacher that I am now.*

**Being the representative**
“I did not appreciate being the only one. It was tough because when issues of race came up or racism or anything closely related to that, people assumed that I would be the expert, as if I was the ambassador for all Black people.” (Kia)

The participants’ graduate school narratives encompassed the most instances of stereotype threat and management, by far. One of the most common sentiments that the participants encountered was the feeling of being the representative of the entire race (coded 17 times). In these statements, participants spoke of the extra pressure of feeling like their success, failures, struggles and insecurities were a reflection of the entire race, not just themselves. Kia indicated:

*It got really tiring to get up every day and go to school and to know that you are it; you are the Black person. You are the only one or one of few and the pressure behind all of that because you didn't want to be that one to fail. You didn't want to be the Black person who couldn't cut it because you stick out like a sore thumb.*

This extra pressure correlates directly to the effects of stereotype threat. Similar to Kia, Tyrone attested that he felt an even heavier burden because he was the only Black student in his courses:

*I could say that particularly, especially up there because most of the classes out of 23 students I would be the only Black one. I felt like I was somewhat the spokesperson for the Black race on certain issues that may come up in the class. "Well Mr. Richardson, what do you have to say about this situation?" So, sometimes I felt that way. Sometimes I just felt like, well, I'm pretty sure they're going to ask this question because they may not understand why it is what it is or what's going on. Yeah, especially, I think maybe I just felt that way because I was the only Black person in the class and everybody was White. Even the professor was White. So, it was almost like I had to hold this high standard be-
cause I would feel like I was being judged and if I messed it up I would mess it up of everybody that came behind me. So, it was like I had to hold this top tier standard or excellence.

Tyrone’s dialogue was also coded with the feelings of isolation mentioned in the previous section. Feeling of isolation was also apparent among the other participants as they spoke of the anxiety of being a positive representative for all Black music students and breaking down stereotypes.

In addition to feeling like they represented all Black students, participants mentioned that they felt that at times that they were also unintentional ambassadors for their gender, region of rearing, current and past institutions, and intersections of identity factors (e.g. Black women, Black gay men, Black HBCU graduates attending PWIs, etc.). Lauren felt the burden of representing for Black women:

I'm literally the only Black female in my leg of my program now. . . And I was just like what is this... like why... why am I the only one here? When you're, and you know this, when you're by yourself like that, it really does feel like you're under a magnifying glass and everything that I said or every question that I had or answered or was going to give, I felt like people were going to scrutinize it. Um, for my first summer I just kind of laid back and I would do a lot of listening, but I do that anyway.

In efforts to breakdown or not contribute to stereotypes, participants felt they had to work harder that White peers and take extra efforts to be a good representative of the Black race. Kia’s narrative below explains how the intersections of her identity added consistent pressure to be a positive representation:
Kia: You didn't want to be the Black person who couldn't cut it because you stick out like a sore thumb. And still to this day, even though I can't prove it, I think that many of my peers in that program (not my professors) perceived that about me because one, I'm from the south, I have an accent, I'm black, low SES, and first generation. So, I have everything going against me and I'm a female. But yeah, even though I can't prove it, I feel like all those things made the perfect terrible situation, haha.

Armon: Haha

Kia: The perfect form of isolation it possibly could be. Because two, being first generation, there are certain things that you don't know. There are certain cognitive maps that you don't possess. And so, I never made an effort to ask questions in class because that was always in the back of my mind, to see the looks on their face when I'd ask a question or when I'd speak in class.

Being the first in one’s demographic to complete their program was mentioned in seven exchanges during data collection. Alicia is still the only Black student to graduate from her undergraduate’s music technology program. Aaron, Kia and John shared common sentiments about their experiences as the first Black student on track to finish their graduate programs. Though they were honored to be the first, they spoke about the even heavier load it added to their shoulders and the fear that they could possibly tarnish the legacy and opportunities for future Black students. Jason added:

Jason: I was still a Black guy. So, I think I was still trying to carry the weight of the world. You may not know this, but I was the very first African American male to finish the program. . .

Armon: What does that mean?
Jason: It meant oh my gosh, I don't want to mess it up for people coming after me. I don't want somebody to go, "Oh, you know we did let Jason in and you know what that got us."

Armon: Mmm Hmm

Jason: And I felt the burden of I want to make our race look good and I'm afraid I'm going to do something that may hinder the next person. Now I don't think that they would have done that but that was my thinking, my perception.

**Desire to give back**

For most of the participants, breaking down stereotypes of Black academic and musical ability reached well beyond personal interests. The code, “Stereotypes of inferior Black musicianship” ranked the 7th most used code of 210 total (see Appendix G). However, “Advocacy for teaching and learning Black music” had the fifth highest number of occurrences in the code frequency count (see Appendix G). In context, these two codes represent the participants’ adamant defiance of stereotypes. These dialogues included the participants efforts to not only prove stereotypes of inferior Black musicianship and scholarship wrong through their own success, but also through their teaching and mentoring of Black students. Julian, Frank, and Sterling’s desire to give back to the Black community led them to careers in teaching in urban, predominately Black schools. Sterling mentioned that he chooses not to shield the next generation of Black musicians from stereotypes. Instead, he chooses to teach his students of the reality of racial stereotyping and motivate them to break down stereotypes themselves:

> I talk to them about that all the time. I have no qualms about making sure that my students are aware of the world in which we live, which is one of the main reasons why I've only wanted to teach in Black environments. I just finished my 18th year of teaching and I've never taught in a school that was majority White. All of my public-school teaching
has been in schools that have been 95-99% Black and I've only taught at historically black colleges and universities. If I took the job in Atlanta, it's only because it's APS and I want to be in Black environments. I feel like it's where I thrive, I feel like that's where I'm able to do the most good because I'm able to talk to the students and treat them like they're mine. And, I think that they respect and love that because they know it's coming from a genuine place. So, I tell them all the time, and even with my White accompanist sitting in the room, they have to be ten times better than their White counterparts. (Sterling)

Kevin, Tyrone, and Darius were steadfast in breaking down stereotypes of Black composers and their music. They all spoke at length of their efforts to educate the masses on the quality, diversity and volume of music of Black composers. Kevin and Darius, both accomplished composers, even described the process of advocating for the performance of diverse music at their institutions, including their own compositions. Here, Darius explained his process of advocating the performance of Duke Ellington’s music to his colleagues:

Armon: Can you tell me a little about how that process of getting that approved? Did you feel like it was more difficult than what it should have been?

Darius: Oh yeah. I had to write a short proposal - budget proposal - and whatnot, and I had to explain why performing something like Duke Ellington would be advantageous to the school population.

Armon: Is this not a common practice, writing and explaining why it's advantageous?

Darius: Well the rest of my faculty colleagues don’t have to write proposals on why they need money to do Bach.

Armon: Ok.
Darius: So, I mean of course if we're going to do Bach and they're going to use early music specialists to come and play whatever instruments that they need to do Bach or any of those other blue haired folks from across the pond. So, I didn't know why it was necessary for me to bring a proposal to my faculty colleagues to explain to them why. I can understand if it's a lot of money to be paid and I'm explaining why it is that I need these additions. No, I'm explaining why I think it is that Duke Ellington should be performed period at this school.

IR: Ok. How was that process for you personally?

IE: Well, after having been at Culbredth for five years it wasn't too much of a surprise.

IR: Why do you say that?

IE: Culbredth has been very traditional in its ways. They are certainly striving to do a little better just because they know they can't thrive without diversity.

Similar to Darius and Tyrone, Kevin’s graduate research involves choral compositions of Black composers. In this discourse, he explained how the lack of research in Black art music a motivator for his research is:

I think as far as research, just because I understand that our composers have not given the [inaudible] research, the due performance and stage presence as I feel that they deserve when it comes to serious art music, and because there are so many interesting things that have been done in our art music, I'm trying to be that proponent. I have not seen a dissertation, a book, a journal, or journal articles dedicated to all Black composers. There have been some that say, ok, I'm going to talk about George Walker or Ulysses Kay, or this set of works by Adolphus Hailstork. Of course, they always mention, we don't
have any serious research in the art music of Black composers. We don't have any. We need to do more.

At the time of interviews, Sterling and Darius were both employed as choral directors at smaller HBCUs. They shared that their employment at HBCUs was fulfilling their desire to give back to the Black community, specifically young Black musicians. A major goal was to provide their students with a well-rounded undergraduate music education. Sterling, Darius, and Tyrone spoke of their desires to work in HBCU music departments and improve the diversity and overall quality of the education experience. In the following dialogue, Darius explained how he chose repertoire and performance experiences that he felt were missing from his own undergraduate experience:

*I knew what it was like being at an HBCU and studying in music. I'd had plenty of other peers who'd gone on to get advanced degrees in music, and I remember one conversation I had with a friend of mine who graduated from Oakwood. What hit him the biggest when he got to graduate school was the entrance exams, more specifically the music history. He was like everybody that I know, knocks them off of their hilt. And he said, "You know, we focus so much on Black music that we don't get what we need to be able to be on the same level as our non-Black counterparts who studied at predominately White institutions." But, that's not the case for all HBCUs. I will say that. But, one of my mentors was like, "Well Marcus, now that you are teaching, you know what you did not get at Coastal Commonwealth so you're able to give that to your students." And so, with the fact that our clientele is well over 50% from Philadelphia and many of them were not from the best high school in Philly, the average GPA was not as high as some would have liked. The SAT scores were not as high as some would have liked but it was still great they we
were able to give that opportunity of education to those that other schools would have said no to.

IR: Mmm Hmm

IE: I said that it was my job to then give them as much of what they are not used to as possible. So, in my selection of repertoire, speaking specifically about choir because that was the biggest focus to me naturally, especially my first year. . . Gosh, I gave them so much repertoire that was different than what you would expect of an all-Black choir. We had maybe two spirituals in our rep. Arty T. is one of my favorite composers, so I would make sure that I had some of his music in there. The music that I selected of his was going to be stuff that while it may have used a negro folk melody or folk theme as he stated, it was not treated the same way others may have done it, you know. And you know, he used his anthem for motets and the like. So, I would choose that, and I would specifically choose the original compositions of Black composers. I said ok, you know, I'm going to give my students a broader experience. When it came time for us to study. . . For instance, we did this concert of French music. Our department was presented with the opportunity to partner with the Kimmel Center for the Philadelphia International Festival of the Arts. I think it was it was all supposed to be a French kind of thing. So, I was like hey, the choir can easily do some French stuff. We did two songs in French and one by a French composer, Latin. So, you know, gave them that exposure. Before I got there, they had already been expected to do a semi-staged production. But personally, I tried to give them as much as I could. I kind of did a little too much.

IR: Haha
IE: I relaxed a little bit, but I did actually have like a couple more spirituals here and there. But I still did my best to give them even the current music; the contemporary stuff that had been written within the last 15/20 years by non-Black composers. I was giving them that because when I was at Coastal Commonwealth, the concert choir, while we did a good amount of music, at least half of it was by Black composers and there's nothing wrong with that. We do need to perform our music. However, I feel that if we're going to prepare future performers and educators for the professional stage, while we do want to give them more than what they would get at a Predominately White Institution, we can't give them so much that they don't know the same stuff that others know. Should it be 50%? No, because are 50% of the composers Black? No.

IR: Ok

IE: There are reasons for that and that kind of stuff but we are a minority so there's more of their music. So yes, I'm going to promote ours. I'm going to put a little more in than what is representative of the population of composers. But, I'm still going to give them a good amount of that others stuff so that they are on a level playing field with those that they'll be competing with, when they need to have conversations about stuff.

Darius was adamant on making sure his students received proper training in Western art music to keep them competitive with peers at PWI’s. However, he was still unwavering in teaching a variety of music of Black composers.

**Lack of diversity**

In addition to the lack of Black classmates, all interviewees mentioned the lack of Black faculty in college/university music departments as a troubling yet motivating phenomenon. Kevin expressed his concern with the lack of Black faculty at his university:
That is exactly why I'm here because I, and others like me, have to be the one teaching these classes. Do you know that there are two African American studies classes here? One of them is an African American survey, you know, history class, and a White woman is teaching it. Now I don't consider myself a racist at all, but I can tell you this, I don't ever want to walk into a class and be taught my history by somebody that's not Black.

Tyrone’s exchange on the lack of Black faculty in his graduate school also highlighted other aforementioned themes including: (a) feelings of isolation, (b) being the representative of the Black race, and (c) nurturing professors/advisors.

_Tyrone:_ And as an African American student, how do I fall into all of this? Because looking at Southern Peachtree University and some of these other universities, I don't see any faculty that looks like me. The faculty is all White. So, and I asked my professor, “As an African American male, how do I fit in?” “How do I fit in when no one else looks like me?” So, it is going to be even harder for me to get in because you all are going to have these high expectations and If I drop the ball, the response is, “We shouldn't have hired him in the first place.” But that may not be the case. I may just not know. I'm teachable, you can teach me. That's been my main concern. I'm getting this degree but what is after this? Is it a waste of my time? Do I still teach on the high school level for the next 24 years?

_Armon:_ Good questions.

_Tyrone:_ Where do I go when all of this is done? That's the question that I've been asking myself for the last couple of months.

_Armon:_ Can you tell me more about that conversation with your professor?
Tyrone: Well, that was my main concern and he said you just have to find your way. Being who you are, you have to find your way of how you fit into this whole scheme of academia. And I just told him that I don’t see where I fit; not because they don’t have... There’s not that many people that look like me but where do I fit into all of this? How do I get there? How do I succeed?

Tyrone’s battle with stereotype threat centered around his plans for his future career in academia. This same dilemma was apparent in my interviews with Kia and Aaron, who are both employed at large universities. They shared stories on navigating higher education as two of the few Black music professors in the field. Another one of Kia’s narratives focused on pre-judgement at conferences, even after progressing from student to professor:

But, anyway, being Black was tough and even more so going to conferences. It was sort of like what I said earlier, when I was in the band in high school. It was cool but then when you go outside of that bubble and people don’t know you, yet again, you have to start over to get some social capital and have people to trust that you are a smart person and you are very capable. And so, even now I still have to do that. But, going to conferences and people just don’t know you and I don’t know how to describe it but, it’s a look that certain White people give you that suggests, “ok... [skeptical look], yeah, they probably don’t know anything.” Then you stand up and prove them wrong and then it’s like all of a sudden, you’re their hero. But if you weren’t Black, then you wouldn’t have had to go through that process.

A large component of stereotype management amongst the participants was recognizing ways in which they knew they would be pre-judged. Aaron described others’ perception of his presence on campus through the lens of hypervisibility vs. invisibility. He eloquently explained
his awareness of others’ consciousness of his presence, and assumptions of his role based on his color, age, and style of dress. Aaron was the only participant to mention colorism – color based discrimination, awarding advantages and disadvantages that people who identify as the same race experience based on the shade (lightness or darkness) of their skin tone (Russell, Wilson & Hall, 1992; Keith & Monroe, 2016). As a lighter skinned Black man, he admitted how he benefits from it. Before Aaron shared the following narrative, I asked if he’d heard about the Black Ph.D. student at his alma matter who was handcuffed and thrown to the ground while trying to get into his own car on campus. The woman who called the police admitted she may have been racially profiling him. He responded:

Aaron: Hypervisibility is this idea that not only are you seen or observed but you’re watched and policed. It is the notion that when people go from being invisible to being visible, their ideas, their thoughts and their perspectives are usually scrutinized. Their thoughts, and their perspectives and who they are, are also judged and watched because they don’t fall into the norm of visibilities. So, the same thing you just said about the person really is a great notion of both invisibility and hypervisibility, because this student, this Black body. . . When I talk about my own self being a Black body in a White dominated space. . . You see the way I’m dressed now. I have on a cardigan, I have on a dress shirt, and I have on slacks. So, when I walk around the university like this in the daytime, I’m very invisible because I fit in. I am in the norm of expectation. But, Armon, I don’t dress like this all of the time. So, if I put on my baseball cap, if I put on a hoodie, if I put on some timbs or some kicks or whatever with some jeans or some sweat pants and it is now 7:30 at night here in AZ. If I wear that attire and walk around this university, I move from being invisible to being in some ways hyper-visible because people see me as a
threat then because I don't belong in that space. And when you're a threat, you become
not also observed but you're also watched.

Armon: Mmm Hmm

Aaron: You are policed, and you are scrutinized because you don't fit in that space. So
that's what happened with that guy because regardless of having a Ph.D. or being a Ph.D.
student, having some intellect, or money in the bank, that doesn't matter because they still
see you. They, being whoever, will see you as not fitting in that space.

Armon: How conscious of that do you think you were? Say for instance when you were in
school at Great Lakes?

Aaron: I was very conscious but not because of that. I was very conscious of here I am,
coming from a university position as a professor.

Armon: Ok

Aaron: And I wanted to model for not only my professors but also to my doctoral peers and
also the undergraduates who would be under me that I was a professional. That was only
because for years and even to this day, I don't look my age. Because I physically look
younger that what I really am, I turn 40 this year, people will equate the youthfulness with
a lack of experience. I've always had to dress with sports jackets and glasses because I
want people to realize that I am a professional.

Armon: Mmm Hmm

Aaron: So, I was very consciousness of that not because of the idea of hypervisibility be-
cause the truth be told, because I speak a certain way and because my skin is lighter, I've
always gotten a pass. So, my darker brother and sisters who tell me all these stories about
how they were perceived in the store, I've never had that experience at all.
Furthering Aaron’s concern with controlling others’ perception of him as an academic, he spoke on his goal of being seen as a qualified professor, presenter and researcher and not being diminished to a stereotypical Black entertaining presenter. He also reiterated another common theme in this study – you have to work harder than non-Blacks to be seen as equal:

*I will be perfectly honest with you, what I didn’t want to be was one of those jokey African American teachers. I know that I've seen some African American males, who because of trying to get people to like you, feel like they have to do the song and dance routine and make people laugh. I've done that, and I was like no. I'm going to show you that I'm legitimate in this space. So, when we talk about frames of references or analytical tools, I have students to go home and to do a certain assignment and they see the depth, thoroughness and the comprehensiveness of what we do (of course I get it from Great Lakes) and I feel confident. Like, you know what, you will not leave my classroom affirming whatever assumptions you may have about race, not from me. I just won't do it. But that's the burden I place on myself, that if you want people to respect you, to see you as a legitimate colleague or to see you as a person who which I can model, then you have to do the work. I cannot just say, well I can't rely on all of the lines about, “I'm Black and you don't know my struggle.” No, no, I don't need you to know my struggle, but I need you to see that I'm legitimate just like the other folks with doctorates. So, it’s the motivation that causes me to do good work. You know, my dad said, and I used to hate it, my dad said, "You have to be twice as good as anybody else.”*

**Admiration of Black peers and role models**

The code “Admiration of skill/knowledge of professors” was assigned 32 times during analysis (see Appendix G). Though my peer and I assigned this code to data concerning teachers
of all races, the majority of the statements centered around inspiring Black teachers who also served as role models. When the participants spoke of Black professionals in music education who inspired them to persevere and succeed, stories of Black peers were also prevalent. One of the more inspiring findings from this study (to many of the participants and myself) was that Aaron and Kia were actually mentioned in numerous interviews as individuals who inspired many of the other participants’ research interests, career goals, and desire to improve the presence and reputation of Blacks in collegiate music education. In the following narrative, Kia spoke on the importance of the camaraderie and inspiration she gained while interacting with other Blacks researches at professional development:

*Kia: I remember when I met Aaron at SMTE. I was like, Oh, it's a Black person! Haha.*

*Armon: Haha*

*Kia: Because it's like an anomaly, like when I met you.*

*Armon: It's two of them! Haha*

*Kia: And so, seriously, even at Kimmel State, when I'd see Black people on campus I'd be like, Oh my god, it's a Black person. It would be like a UFO sighting.*

*Armon: Mmm Hmm*

*Kia: And I remember meeting Aaron and he was cool, and to know he has to do the same thing I have to do to but at the end of the day, he's a Black person. What I mean by that is some people who are Black but they don't take that mask off; like they've lost themselves. They try so hard to be accepted by the majority, dominant population of White people that they don't acknowledge their blackness. And so, I would say they're fake, just fake. But to encounter the Black folks that I've encountered either as a doctoral student, you know? I'll never forget she Sheila Mitchem gave me the biggest hug and she didn't know*
me from Adam. But, to have a sense of like, oh my gosh, this feels like I'm hugging my auntie.

Armon: Haha, yeah

Kia: You know and for her to have her language, still have her identity, and to know that she's been in this game for a very long time and she's still very much herself. I think sometimes we have to work so hard to be believable, to be perceived as intellectual and philosophers and all of this stuff because of the skin color. And it's always the double standard that we have to work on and it makes me worried that they don't get it. They don't get how much they really overlook this issue of the lack of not just diversity because I can't speak on being Hispanic, I can't speak on being Native American, I can assume in a sense, but to be Black and to be... It's like that song, to be young gifted and black sung by Donnie Hathaway and Nina Simone

Armon: Mmm Hmm

Kia: And you're exactly that. But you have to work your ass off to one, keep yourself motivated and to keep yourself grounded to where you believe that you can do it. But then to deal with all the other crap; to wake up in a very White world. And to keep yourself forever reminded of your purpose while you're there, that's hard. I wish I knew how many Black doctoral students dropped out of programs because of these issues, because of the isolation, because of the lack of knowing there is someone who not only looks like you but who shares similar loyalties and subscriptions and ideals. It's ridiculous. It is forever messed up.
Frank also spoke of the inspiration he received from meeting individuals such as Aaron and Kia at professional development and the importance of adding our Black presence and voices to music education academia and research:

*Frank: I say the thing that you're doing right now, or what we're all kind of doing, needs to happen more even after we finish our degree. So, when we are done, as with so many of our colleagues have already done, they've kind of put the aspect of research to the side and done their own thing. We cannot afford to do that. We have to be on the forefront to let others know that we are the face of music education and we can honestly say that the students that we see now are definitely not the students that we see let's say 5, 10, 15 years later on. The students that we teach have to be somewhat prepared for students that will, I didn't say may, they will not look like them.*

Another impressive finding regarding role models was the mention of one particular professor in every interview of the choral educators. Dr. Marshall (pseudonym) inspired the participants as composers, performers, researchers and educators. Kevin described Dr. Marshall as a legend and mentor. He named Dr. Marshall as a primary influence to continue his education into graduate school and submit his compositions for publication. Tyrone deemed Dr. Marshall as the most revered Black collegiate music educator.

**Themes**

The following themes are representative of Black doctoral music students’ similar experiences across developmental stages. The sections are organized based on themes of stereotype management – the participants’ beliefs and actions that countered debilitating effects of pre-judgment.

**Identifying and responding to stereotypes**
All of the participants agreed that race was the most salient identity factor that contributed to their experience in music education. Everyone iterated instances of identifying racist words and actions and deciding how to respond to them. As mentioned earlier, the participants identified more episodes with racism in later years, specifically during graduate school. In many cases, participants took the step to interpret micro-aggressions as felt vs. real racism. In these cases, participants had to decide if their insecurities were causing discomfort, or if overt or covert stereotyping caused legitimate conflict. Sterling attested to recognizing and responding to different types of stereotypes, stating:

*I think the racial component is much more an issue, where I've had, or I've felt that there have been some issues or discomfort; some issues where I've had to check some folk, or some issues where I've had to check myself to see if I'm feeling something that's really not there.*

Context, including (but not limited to) perpetrator, audience, setting, and even mood played a significant role in how participants responded to these instances. Sterling continued:

*Fortunately for me, I think I'm in a position where when those things have occurred I've been in places where I could say something about it. Nine times out of ten, say this situation with one of my professors but I am going to say something to him about it. I just haven't yet. But yeah, I am a very outspoken person, and so I've always found a way to tactfully say what I need to say. Usually in those situations, if I've gotten myself, I've had to take a minute to gather myself before I say something I might regret. So yeah, I definitely approach the situations head on. I don't let them linger because I'm the type of person, if I don't address a situation that is bothering me, it's going to eat away at me. I'm not going to let your inartfulness or your ignorance, or your hatefulness, whatever it*
may have been on the spectrum. You may have just made a mistake, or you may have meant to hurt my feelings, know? In any case, I’m not going to own it and wear it. I’m going to address it with you because you need to be aware of what you did. I’m not going to be the one sitting there, letting it eat me alive while you walk around ignorant to the fact that I’m pissed off at you.

Other participants also responded to racialized experiences according to context. Analysis of all transcripts revealed that participants responded by either “sucking it up” (ignoring the racist actions or remarks), or gathering emotions before responding. Even when participants took offense to stereotypes, they always mentioned a period of reflection before responding. Due to the nature of narrative inquiry through interviews, representations of these occurrences may differ from the actual events (e.g. responding before carefully thinking of context and consequences).

Participants stated that moments of identifying stereotypes were sometimes accompanied with feelings of being the representative for the entire race or university reputation. They also mentioned double consciousness, inferior anxiety, and imposter syndrome as unintentional reactions. Their intentional responses included efforts to prove naysayers wrong through high achievement, a desire to defy and break down the stereotypes, and educate others on their racial ignorance (lack of knowledge) and prejudices.

**Breaking down stereotypes; proving them wrong**

Each participant mentioned feeling the need to prove their aptitude or talent and break down stereotypes of inferior Black musicianship and intellect. Performing just as well as non-Black peers was not enough to break down stereotypes. It was commonplace for participants to mention the burden of having to perform better than White peers (academically and musically) to
be perceived as equal. Or, as Aaron’s dad taught him, “You have to be twice as good as anybody else.” Sterling’s parents also instilled in him the same values:

Growing up as a kid in Alabama, one of the things that my parents always fostered and pushed on me was that we don't live in a world that is fair. And in order to succeed in life as a Black male, I’m going to have to be 10 times better than some of my other counterparts doing the same things that they do well. . . Then, I wanted to make sure that I did it better than anybody else. And so, that was a motivating factor for me. It’s just something that my parents instilled in me. If you're going to do it, you got to do it great and remember that you're a Black man, so your great is not their great. Your great is 10 times better in order to be equal to their great. So, it’s kind of stuck in my head all my life.

Kia realized that she had to gain social capital, as the minority in new settings. This was achieved by proving her talent and intellect to pre-judging individuals. She stated, “There were some people that were really nasty to me until they heard me play. And then it was like, ‘Oh, little Black girl can play Chopin or Schumann.’”

Self-efficacy building through growth/achievement

From young adolescents into university employment, self-efficacy and esteem building was vital to the success of the participants. During all eras, the participants spoke of their success as musicians and scholars. They mentioned how those successes helped to build confidence and self-efficacy. For example, each participant mentioned ensemble leadership roles or honor ensemble placements as affirmation of their musical abilities.

During adverse episodes, from young adolescents into university employment, Black music students’ agency (recognition of personal talent/intellect) buffered negative effects of stereotype threat, and imposter syndrome. This agency influenced the participants’ resilience through
pre-judgment of playing abilities in high school and college, writing ability in college, and speaking/presenting in graduate school. I posit that recognizing personal talent or intellect buffers many negative responses to pre-judgement and is a direct catalyst of resilience among Black doctoral music students. For example, Alicia, Sterling and Frank’s incidences with White peers doubting their intellect (see graduate school experiences) were not met with negative reactions. Instead, the participants responded with confidence, breaking down proposed stereotypes, assumptions, and misunderstandings. This confidence was due to self-efficacy built over years of success in music education and performance. The vast majority of the participants’ angst with academic language in graduate school was eased, based on agency from prior success in music classrooms. High amounts of self-efficacy motivated the participants to accept that they were in their positions due to personal ability and they strived to fill in gaps of knowledge or experience. Alicia and Aaron explained that in multiple instances, evidence that they were more or just as intelligent and capable as their White peers built more self-efficacy and resilience for future experiences. Julian and Frank specifically referenced the resilience that their undergraduate programs fostered, when dealing with stereotype threat during graduate studies. Recognition of personal talent influenced the trajectory from elementary to graduate school for the participants. Tyrone, Lauren and Kevin decided between choral and instrumental disciplines, based on their talent and experience in each. Tyrone changed his major to music, and Aaron’s music education philosophy changed due to their successes as music teachers and performers.

Socializing

The need to socialize with other Black peers and racially sensitive nurturing from advisors and professors were paramount to the success of Black doctoral music students. By graduate school, all of the participants were experiencing the effects of being a minority in their programs.
The sense of isolation and the desire to fit in in academic and social spaces was a common threat to the success of the participants. A thorough analysis of narratives yielded the following common cross-case themes regarding social experiences of Black doctoral students’ music education experience: 1) Code-switching; 2) wearing a mask, even in social settings; 3) socially withdrawing from peers; 4) losing touch with Blackness; 5) lack of faculty support vs. nurturing faculty; 6) racist remarks from peers and professors; 7) seeking spaces for connection with Black people and culture; 8) camaraderie with/inspiration from Black peers; and 9) finding a place to fit in. I further discuss how these themes relate to previous research on the social experiences of Black graduate students in chapter five.

**Desire to give back**

The desire to give back was a driving motivation for participants. Though I previously reported this theme under experiences during graduate school, it was prevalent in all cases, and across eras. Participants explicitly and inexplicitly described this motivation regarding: 1) teaching in urban settings, 2) advocacy for teaching and learning Black music, 3) increasing the number of Black researchers and faculty members (or Black women) and, 4) the desire to improve education or break down stereotypes of HBCUs. For Sterling, Frank, Julian, Tyrone, and Kevin, the trajectory or their entire music education reflects a grounded experience in urban music education. Each of these gentlemen grew up in urban, predominately Black districts, attended HBCUs and now teach in predominately Black settings. Their motivation to teach and obtain advanced degrees was based in their desires to provide a quality music education to the next generation of Black students. For these young men, their experiences as students in urban settings provided them with a deeper understanding and additional tools needed to provide a quality education to their students.
Conclusion

Presenting the results of this study in chronological order helped to highlight how developing identity affected the experiences of Black students within music education. Issues of pre-judgement and inequity due to gender, SES, sexuality, and region of rearing gradually decreased with age. Gender identity inundated narratives on instrument choice but diminished significantly by graduate school. By graduate school, female participants’ accounts of gender were colored more with the intersectionality of race and gender than by gender singularly. Sexuality did not play a major role in the experiences of the participants.

The participants’ strengthening racial identity directly affected their responses to racial stimuli in their experiences. Pride in Black identity not only served as motivation in the presence of racial stereotyping but also had debilitating effects. Feelings of isolation and searching for academic and social spaces to fit in negatively affected all of the participants’ agency. However, stereotype management manifested in agency to prove naysayers wrong, adamantly defy stereotypes and give back to future Black music students. In chapter 5, I discuss how these findings relate to this study’s research questions, existing literature, and implications for future research.
The purpose of this study was to investigate how Black music students identify and respond to identity stereotypes throughout their music education. My goal was to determine how stereotypes in music education evolve from negative threats to performance, into agency to succeed. Answering the supporting research question [What, if any, types of stereotypes (i.e., racial, gender, sexuality, etc.) did these Black doctoral music students and graduates encounter?] required an understanding of how participants identified and managed episodes of stereotyping and adversarial situations that could possibly hinder self-efficacy and motivation. In this discussion, I connect themes developed from this research on the experiences of the participants and existing research on the effects of identity stereotypes on music education.

I found that the development of self-concept, racial identity, and social identity played a significant role in stereotype management among Black doctoral music students. The ability to connect personal and cultural backgrounds to school music culture directly affected motivation, agency, and resilience among the participants. Sexual orientation, religion, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, exceptionality, and race are commonly recognized as factors that contribute to these connections (Fitzpatrick, 2012).

There was minimal mention of how sexuality affected the experiences of the Black doctoral music students. This was particularly surprising for two reasons: 1) 50% of the participants identified as LGBTQ; and 2) there is a large amount of existing empirical research on sexuality stereotypes and negative experiences in music education (e.g., Harrison, 2007; Powell, 2015; Sweet, 2010; Taylor 2009). I expected to hear narratives of bullying due to stereotypes of males in chorus and playing non-gender-conforming instruments. For example, Carter’ (2013) concluded that for each participant in his study of Black gay men, “being gay was a source of ever-
present anxiety when operating within the HBCU band at large” (p. 37). A few of the choral participants mentioned that being gay or bisexual played no significant role in their experiences. Alicia, who admitted that her presentation of her sexuality is obvious, did not feel that being lesbian noticeably affected her experience in music education.

The participants only mentioned religion as early music experience (i.e., signing in church choirs) and as an influence to continue music study. However, Aaron’s conflict between religious doctrine of sexuality, and liberal academic culture presented conflict as a college professor. His acceptance of openly gay students in his university gospel choir conflicted with the religious doctrine in which he was reared. Yet, his acceptance of his students aligns with his current beliefs of equality and inclusion. The importance of religious identity on music education experience was a topic that Carter (2013) unsuccessfully tried to evade when interviewing gay Black men on their experiences in HBCU marching bands. He felt that the subject of religion was too controversial for that study. Many of his participants referenced a conflict between religious doctrine (homosexuality as a sin) and their journeys of personal acceptance and “coming out” to peers in band. No matter the degree of comfort with their sexuality, they faced conflict with their religious rearing.

This study did not reveal a large amount of new data on gender and the experiences of Black music students. The dearth of data on gender stereotypes was affected by the small ratio of female participants. The participants chose instruments in line with gender associations. Also, the female participants reported very few instances of stereotyping dealing specifically with gender. However, one unexpected finding encompassing gender stereotypes validated Taylor’s (2009) findings on the experience of Texas high school flautists. Taylor (2009) posited, “...for boys defying gender stereotypes, competition may serve as a supportive means of validation,” (p.
This assertion directly related to the attitude of a male flautist that Lauren encountered in an honors ensemble:

Lauren: *We were playing for chair placement in the wind ensemble at the HBCU consortium, and when it finally was released who were the top chairs it was a White, not a White flute player haha, it was a male flute player from FAMU. I was like aaaaah ok, haha. And so, me and my best friend, we were 2nd and 3rd chair, and we were just hassled by this guy the entire time. He was like just really nasty and catty stuff that you wouldn't expect from a guy, but he played flute so...*

Armon: Haha

Lauren: "You know the instrument was made for a man's hands" blah blah "and that's why I can play circles around you." Like, really stupid, childish stuff. I was just like really, we're here? We're really here? Ok. Like, I never experienced anything else like that specifically. I was just like, 'dude.'

Though not a participant in my study, the male flute player in this story also seemed to overcompensate his abilities and confidence to combat stereotypes.

Kia, Aaron, and Frank imparted stories on how SES affects social and musical identity development. Numerous scholars have posited the links between social and musical identity development and the secondary school music classroom (Adderley, Kennedy & Berz, 2003; Cuisak, 1973; Lamont, 2002; Morrison, 2001; Swanwick, 1988). However, as Kia identified, a low SES background can make the “home away from home” feel less welcoming (Adderley, Kennedy & Berz, 2003). In Hoffman’s (2013) article on socioeconomic inequalities in music education, she explains how SES can dramatically affect students’ experiences in and out of the classroom. The profiles of Isabella (upper-middle-class family) and Santiago (low-income family)
were justly illustrated very different experiences of two students in the same band program. When reading about Isabella, I reflected on students, who lived in the wealthy homes in the suburbs. They were able to afford private lessons, owned their instruments, had active parents in the booster organizations and had a designated place at home to practice. Students like Santiago, used school instruments, shared bedrooms at home with families, parents worked multiple shifts and often were not able to attend performances and fundraisers. For Kia and myself, coming from a background like Santiago could be intimidating when surrounded by students like Isabella. It was obvious when we did not possess the same musical resources and social capital as peers. Exhibiting musical talent and aptitude was our form of stereotype management, overcoming assumptions that our lack of resources and background enervated our abilities. In Julian and Frank’s experiences, directors stepped in to lessen the adverse effects that SES had on their students. And as employees in urban school districts, they are answering the call to social justice from many recent music education researchers by providing equitable experiences for students across all socioeconomic backgrounds (Albert, 2006; Allsup & Shieh, 2012; Anderson & Denison, 2015; DeLorenzo, 2012; Fitzpatrick, 2011; Hoffman, 2013; Martignetti, Talbot, & Hawkins, 2013).

The relationship between racial identity development and response to racialized interactions was a significant finding in this study. Results from this study corroborated findings that that a strong racial identity, specifically for Blacks, buffers students from the negative effects of stereotype threat (Davis & Aronson, 2005; McGee & Martin, 2011; Oyserman, Harrison & Bybee, 2001). Also, my results substantiate the models of racial identity development and educational congruence identified in chapter two; the various stages of affirming Blackness contribute to how Blacks respond to racial stimuli (Byrd & Chavous, 2012; Chavous, Shelton, & Smith,
1997; Chavous, Bernat, Schmeelk-Cone, Caldwell, and Kohn-Wood, 2003; Chavous, Rivas, Smalls, Griffin & Cogburn, 2008; Cokley, 2001, 2003; Cross 1971, 1991; Helm 1990, 1995; O’Connor, 1999; Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001; Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus & Harpalani, 2001). McGee and Martin (2011) concluded, “understanding the extent to which being Black was central to the students aided the understanding of why and how they responded to stereotyping” (p. 1350). The findings from the current study and those of McGee and Martin (2011) highlight how strong racial identities among Black students can help deter the negative effects of stereotype threat. Like Black engineering and mathematic students, Black doctoral music students showed that having a high identification with Blackness means rejecting stereotypical definitions that a dominant White society imposes upon them. High identification includes an awareness of the need to overcome negative societal expectations and break down the stereotypes themselves (Oyserman, 2006). In each of these studies, participants rejected negative messages stereotypes about their competencies and abilities (Good, Dweck & Aronson, 2007). These results contradict findings of stereotype threat in other domains. Similar to McGee & Martin (2011), my participants responded to stereotyping with increased agency (p. 1353-1355).

Additionally, the congruence between racial identity and school climate was key to understanding how racial identity attitudes affected stereotype management and the overall music education experience of the participants. Pertinent to this discussion was the undergraduate school climate of the participants, as mentioned in the results and in existing literature (Berger & Milem, 2000; Fleming, 1984; Gurin & Epps, 1975; Gilbert, So, Russell & Wessel, 2006; Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002; Fries-Britt, 1997, 2000; Noldon & Sedlacek, 1996; Person & Christensen, 1996; Smedley et al., 1993). Black HBCU students tend to have more positive self-images, stronger racial pride, healthier psychosocial adjustment, and encounter significantly less (if any)
racism during undergraduate study. Kia and Darius’s narratives on responding to racist remarks by professors are examples of how racial identity development played a significant role in their reactions. In a pre-encounter stage (Cross, 1971, 1991), Kia’s adolescent psyche was focused on assimilation and did not recognize her teacher’s comments as racist; she applied little significance to her racial identity. In reminiscing, she realized that moment as one of many encounters, and began to recognize and focus on the racial stereotyping directed towards her. In contrast, Darius’ reactions to his professor’s racist remarks were influenced by his age and experiences, including his HBCU education. By graduate school, he exhibited qualities of a fully recognized Black identity, having already experienced: 1) racial stereotyping, 2) immersion and growth in Black culture, 3) internalization of Black pride, 4) lack of resentment for White culture, and 5) a desire to give back to the Black community (Cross, 1971, 1991). Previous conclusions that attending HBCUs foster more positive self-images, develop racial pride, and aide in racial identity development proved true with participants in this study (Berger & Milem, 2000; Eleming, 1984; Gilbert, So, Russell & Wessel, 2006; Gurin & Epps, 1975; Van Camp, Barden, Sloan & Clark, 2009).

Recognizing the relationship between Black identity and stereotype management was imperative to understanding stereotype management among the participants. Existing research proves the link between a strong and positive sense of Black identity, and higher academic motivation and achievement in adolescents and young adults (Chavous, Bernat, Schmeelk-Cone, Caldwell, and Kohn-Wood, 2003; Chavous, Rivas, Smalls, Griffin & Cogburn, 2008; Cokley, 2001, 2003; O’Connor, 1999; Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001; Smalls, White, Chavous & Sellers, 2007; Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus & Harpalani, 2001). Additionally, the racial-identity-as-promotive perspective implies that having a strong racial identity and valuing education as a
means to overcome racial barriers results in higher academic achievement and motivation in Black students (Byrd & Chavous, 2012). For Black doctoral music students, building agency through successful music and academic performance, alongside developing strong racial identities, were primary factors to management of stereotypes in graduate music study.

**Themes**

So far, this discussion section has focused on the links between existing literature and my conclusions on stereotype management among Black doctoral music students. Furthermore, I was able to corroborate existing literature with the overarching themes developed in my data collection and analysis. In the next sub-sections, I provide additional literature which is specific to these themes.

**Identifying and responding to stereotypes**

Barker (2012) concluded that Black doctoral students encountered more racialized experiences with professors than with peers. Participants in this study mentioned racist remarks from peers and professors almost equally. Barker (2012) also provided narratives of students who shared their processes of identifying racist remarks and actions of professors. This included consciously debating on how they should respond, and a reflection on what factors led to their responses. Literature on racial identity development in Blacks is directly applicable to how Black student identify and respond to racial stereotypes. For example, doctoral students with higher Emersion and Internalization attitude scores demonstrated a “hypersensitivity to racism” (Cross, 1995, p. 117) from professors and responded with defensive efforts to protect their Black racial identity. Barker (2012) claimed that High Internalization attitudes accounted for these participants’ ability to protect their Blackness and navigate racial experiences because their “defensive function becomes much sophisticated and flexible” (Cross, 1995, p. 117).
Breaking down stereotypes; proving them wrong

Participants in the present study, similar to McGee and Martin (2011) and Fries-Britt and Griffin (2007), engaged in purposeful behaviors to prove naysayers wrong. For my participants, this included excelling in academic and musical tasks throughout their educational careers. As higher education students and employees, Kia, Aaron, and Alicia expressed concern over being perceived as simply fulfilling a diversity quota. They worked against their self-doubt (imposter syndrome) to prove they weren’t simply diversity hires or what McGee and Martin termed “affirmative action students” (2011, p. 1365) and Fries-Britt and Griffin (2007) deemed the “token” Black student (p. 515). For many of the participants, proving naysayers wrong was accompanied with a drive to over perform, due to their belief that performing better than White peers was necessary to be seen as equal. My findings on Black doctoral music students’ motivation to over perform in order to break down negative stereotypes were similar to those of Black doctoral students in other fields of study (Barker, 2012; Bonilla, Pickron, and Tatum, 1994; Fries-Britt et al., 2007; McGee & Martin, 2011; Milner, 2004).

The current study and existing research contain narratives of Black doctoral students breaking down stereotypes and prejudices which they did not know were present. Kia’s aforementioned story of teachers treating her different once they realized “. . . little Black girl can play Chopin of Schumann,” are similar to my own experiences, and those in Barker’s (2012) study of Black doctoral students’ experiences. Two of Barker’s participants shared stories of professors who remarked in surprise at their quality of writing, and even attested to being treated more favorably afterwards. These narratives were eerily similar to my experience of realizing that one of my graduate school professors’ expectations of my work were markedly lower than
the quality of work I produced. Similar to Barker’s participants, I too was dismayed after I realized that her amazement was a consequence of negative assumptions.

McGee and Martin (2012) further recognized breaking down stereotypes as a theme of *always being on point*. Black doctoral engineering and math students identified their need to over-perform as a reaction to the dichotomy of hyper-visibility vs. invisibility. Though they felt that their cultural needs and contributions were invisible (or devalued), their minority presence and accompanying negative stereotypes made their academic performance hyper-visible and overly scrutinized. Black doctoral music students in this study also struggled with this dichotomy. Aaron was able to articulate the conflict directly, identifying his presence as a Black male at a PWI as hyper-visible, but his cultural contributions and needs as invisible. Additionally, Aaron’s recognition of his presence as a Black man in certain spaces on campus (places and times) made him hyper-visible and even a stereotypical threat to some. McGee & Martin (2012) also identified stereotype threat being primed in his participants as they explained the hyper-visibility they felt just by walking into advanced level classes as a Black student.

**Self-efficacy building**

Building of self-efficacy and agency was a common thread throughout every interview. I conclude that Black doctoral music students’ agency was paramount in responding to stereotyping throughout music study. In addition to agency developed through success in musical endeavors, the participants’ positive racial identities played a major role in stereotype management. My study highlights findings that Black doctoral students have been proven to have moderate to high sense of Black identity, thanks to maturity, education and other experiences that help develop their racial and social identities (Byrd & Chavous, 2012; Smalls, White, Chavous & Sellers, 2007; McGee & Martin, 2011). The racial-identity-as-promotive perspective proved applicable
to this study. Strong racial identity and valuing education helped Black doctoral music students overcome racial barriers in academic achievement and motivation (Smalls, White, Chavous & Sellers, 2007; Byrd & Chavous, 2012). Participants also spoke of the love of music, both teaching and performing, as major motivation to succeed. Black doctoral students’ personal goals, ambition and expectations outweigh societies negative expectations and stereotypes of Black students (McGee & Martin, 2011). These personal expectations and goals developed with age, maturity and by achieving personal goals.

**Socializing**

Feeling isolated and culturally undervalued on campus is among the most common themes in studies on the experiences of Black doctoral students (Baker, 2012; Fries-Britt, 1997, 2000; Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007; McGee & Martin, 2011; Milner 2004; Noldon & Sedlacek, 1996; Person & Christensen, 1996; Smedley, Meyers & Harrell, 1993; Robinson, 1999). Every participant in the current study corroborated the findings of existing research, stressing the negative effects of social isolation on the campuses of PWIs. Kia’s experiences with isolation were debilitating to the point of her considering leaving the program. Thankfully, advisors and mentors motivated her to persevere and complete through degree completion. However, McGee and Martin (2011) interviewed a participant who actually quit the doctoral program due to social isolation, devaluation of academic abilities, and racism. My participants’ feelings of isolation and being the representative for the Black race was shared by Barker’s (2012) participants who felt unease towards attending academic and social events because they felt they were invited to showcase diversity.
McGee and Martin (2011) concluded that stereotype management among Black doctoral students consists of cultural code-switching. They posit that their participants performed in behaviors (not actually believing in them) to diminish their Black cultural expression, in order to assimilate to dominant White culture on campus and within their departments. Barker (2012) similarly reported experiences of being socialized to navigate their Black identities in predominately White male dominated spaces. In both of these studies, and my own, participants actively searched for ways to express their Blackness on campus, similar to participants in the current study. By contrast, McGee and Martin (2011) shared the experiences of a student who purposefully increased his Black cultural expressions on campus (e.g. style of dress, language, etc.) in order to bring stereotypes to the forefront and trouble them; this was his form of stereotype management. This experience speaks again to the theme of hyper-visibility vs. invisibility, as Aaron mentioned being hyper-visible on campus while dressing in comfortable clothes (e.g. sweatpants and timberland boots) and invisible while blending in with professional attire.

It is important to reiterate that the presence of Black peers and role models helped to mitigate the negative effects of social isolation on Black doctoral students. Socializing with Black doctoral music students and professors at conferences and other professional events was motivation for the participants. HBCUs are educational environments in which most peers, and sometimes most educators, are African American (Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984; Gilbert, So, Russell, & Wessel, 2006; Nottingham, Rosen, & Parks, 1992). Corroborating the findings of McCall (2015), I found that Black doctoral students who transitioned from HBCUs to PWIs were troubled even more by overt and covert racism. Networking with other Black music education professionals and seeing the success of peers were paramount to the development motivation and resilience. Aaron and Kia, Dr. Marshall and even I were mentioned numerous times throughout interviews.
as role models for the participants. Existing research on the Black doctoral students also mentioned the importance of the Black professors and role models as motivators for his participants, even though their presence was scarce (Barker, 2012; Byrd & Chavous, 2012; Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007; McGee & Martin, 2011; Milner, 2004).

**Desire to give back**

Lack of Black music professors served as both a discourager and motivator to the scholars in this study. As of 2015, only 6% of full-time faculty were Black (NCES, 2017). This low percentage was evident in the feelings of isolation mentioned by the participants. However, the dismal number of Black professionals in music education also served as motivation to improve music education in Black communities and at their alma matters. McGee & Martin (2011) found a similar phenomenon among their participants, citing their sense of responsibility to be role models and educate the next generation of Black mathematic and engineering students.

In regard to racial identity development, the desire to give back to younger generations meets the goals outlined in the Internalization-Commitment stage of Cross’s Nigrescence model (Cross, 1971, 1991). Serving as role models and improving music education for Black youth represents a commitment to advocacy and social activism for the Black race. This desire also answers the call for culturally relevant pedagogy in music education (Abril, 2009, 2013; Bates, 2012; Gay, 2000; Koza, 2006; Fitzpatrick, 2011; Fitzpatrick, 2012; Hoffman, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 2009). This conclusion was also shared by McGee and Martin (2011):

Not only did the participants have goals that included teaching mathematics and engineering, but they desired to teach in a way that values the racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds of the students they teach. Imparting their own stories and sharing their strategies for success would allow aspiring Black engineering and mathematics students
to be true to their own selves and persist in spite of stereotypes that threaten to mitigate their achievements (McGee & Martin, 2011, p. 1375)

**Implications**

Results from this study suggest that positive experiences in elementary and secondary school music settings help to build self-efficacy and agency among Black music students. Leadership roles, honor ensembles, private lessons, and successful auditions are examples of opportunities that develop not only musicianship but also self-esteem. This confidence was paramount to the development of resilience, which the participants needed in the face of stereotypes. For the Black musicians in this study, proving talent and intellect in the face of adversity helped break down stereotypes. The ability to prove pre-judging detractors wrong is a common goal among high achieving Black students (Baker, 2012; Bonner, 2001; McGee & Martin, 2011; Fiess & Griffin, 2007; Moore, Madison-Colmore & Smith, 2003). Music educators should encourage marginalized students to develop and use musical talent and intellect to break down stereotypes and foster opportunities to build agency. For Black students from low SES, music instructors must help bridge the gaps that exist due to lack of resources, and level the playing field for these students to focus on building musicianship and agency in the same manner as students from SES. Also, leadership opportunities, private lessons and honor ensembles must be tangible options to minority students.

Camaraderie with other Black students is integral to the success of Black doctoral music students, and high achieving Black students, in general. Black culture exchange is needed to deter feelings of social estrangement. The feelings of isolation were almost debilitating for some participants, leading to thoughts of not completing the doctoral program. Because graduate level music programs are almost exclusively housed at PWIs, the transition for Black music students
graduating from HBCUs can be even more daunting. HBCU graduates are usually buffered from psychological stressors and even psychologically strengthened by their undergraduate experiences. I posit that without support of faculty and peers of color, Black doctoral music students (with both PWI and HBCU backgrounds) experience increased difficulty dealing with racial stereotyping. Universities must house social and academic support systems that encourage connections among Black students and faculty across campus to alleviate this difficulty. Rogers and Molina (2006) cited campus multicultural affairs centers as integral spaces for connecting minority graduate school students. These support systems allow Black students to engage in Black cultural exchange. Also, because Black students are highly under-represented in doctoral programs, it is essential that departments reevaluate how racial identities are silenced or made salient within these complex cultural structures (Barker, 2012). Black students’ identity and self-concept rely heavily on their reference group orientation or “how well they feel that their own personal identity as Black aligns with the norms and expectations of the culture that surrounds them” (Fitzpatrick, 2012, p. 54). Therefore, I propose that departments and institutions create opportunities for dialogue and participate in other cultural awareness activities that unpack the role of race in doctoral music programs. Though music education research is ripe with literature on culturally relevant and responsive teaching for grade school, this study indicates the need to apply culturally relevant pedagogy to collegiate music study.

Additionally, increasing Black faculty in university music departments is a step toward encouraging and modeling diversity. Other university support systems for advising and nurturing Black music students would also help manage stereotype threat and promote success. Professors who view their role as “mentor” are essential influencers on Black doctoral music students’ persistence through their degree programs. Felder (2010) found that faculty mentoring was a critical
component of influencing success among Black doctoral students. Felder also found that the presence of faculty diversity motivated Black students, particularly during their negotiation of major barriers efforts to complete their degree. Felder’s research corroborates my findings and provides insight to the support necessary for Black doctoral music students. Kia and Darius’s stories, particularly, shed light on how advisors took steps to save agency and motivation among their mentees at crucial moments in their doctoral program matriculation. Even when race and ethnic cultures of professors and their Black doctoral students are different, cross-cultural mentoring can be valuable. Darius was able to speak to Black a professor, who immediately related his experiences to her own and confronted her racially insensitive colleague. Kia’s major advisor wasn’t Black but was still able to mentor her and ease her angst caused by racialized experiences, self-doubt, and financial hardships. Also, professors who can pair their students with individuals and helpful resources are significant to the success and persistence of Black doctoral students. Additional mentoring for first-generation college students can assist the navigation of the unfamiliar conventions of doctoral programs. Furthermore, larger support groups and networking opportunities are necessary to support Black doctoral music students. Because of the minimal number of Black doctoral music students per university, Black students and Black professors should be encouraged to network across universities, in social and professional settings. Data from this study suggests that lack of camaraderie with other Black students was found to be an issue within music departments, within universities, across universities, and at professional conferences.

Almost all of the interviews ended with the participants thanking me for taking up this important research. Many of them mentioned the lack of networking among Black doctoral music students, and a discouragement of discourse on the issues that affect this demographic. Frank
summed up the importance of the presence of Black scholars in music education, an increased amount of camaraderie, and breaking down stereotypes:

Frank: I don’t want to sound completely cliché, but it’s the aspect that many people don’t think that we can go as far as we do. . . There are speckling’s of us in higher education. There’s Dr. Dawson, Aaron Johnston, you, and hopefully myself if I can get through the program. But it's the fact that there's more of a prominent picture of us that is starting to speckle the face of music education. We're not going to talk a little... We’re not going to talk about the fiasco that happened a few months back concerning the spokesperson. . . . It will have to be us to be the sort of litmus paper to say, what he says or what the construct of many of those who have the same mindset are completely wrong. We have to be the ones at the forefront to dispel those types of stigmas. We have to, I don’t want to say prove them wrong, but we have to be present in order to make sure that we are known.

Suggestions for Further Research

The design of this study elicited a broad range of topics from a limited sample group. Both limitations and delimitations of the study design affected the results of this study. Future research on stereotype management in music education should include more specific facets of identity and various sample sizes. As mentioned earlier, more data was needed on the experiences of Black women and stereotype management within music education. Also, due to the lack of women in leadership positions in music education, a study on stereotype management among women (of all races) in music is worthwhile. Because I also received less data than expected on gender and instrument association stereotypes, a future study on stereotype management among students who perform non-gender conforming instruments is needed. Also, case studies on the
experiences of minority music students in graduate music education could provide a deeper understanding of individuals’ trajectory in music education. Results from the recent graduates (now college professors) in this study reveal a need to investigate the experience of obtaining employment and navigating academia as a novice, minority professor.

A mixed method study would also be appropriate to analyze how stereotype threat directly affects performance among music students. The design for such a study could include a manipulated performance environment, participants primed or not primed (control group) by applicable stereotypes, and interviews of the participants’ experiences. Additionally, Carter’s (2013) research design on Black, gay men in HBCU marching band could be applied to other identity intersections such as Black women or lesbians in music leadership roles.

**Conclusion**

Findings from this study suggest that Black doctoral music students engage in stereotype management throughout their music education. Agency and resilience are fostered alongside racial and social identities, and successful musical experiences. Though they encountered gender, sexuality, age, socioeconomic, and regional stereotypes, Black doctoral music students are most affected by racial stereotypes. However, resilience, and the desire to break down negative assumptions protected the participants from the debilitating effects of stereotype threat. My findings corroborated those of other studies on successful Black graduate students and identity stereotypes. It also conveys the lived experiences of ten successful Black musicians and scholars throughout their music education.

This study investigated how management of identity stereotypes affects the experiences of successful Black music students. Motivation, agency and resilience were important catalysts
to the perseverance and success of the participants when confronted with stereotypes. These results inspire questions about music students who do not possess the motivation, agency or resilience to persevere in music when experiencing stereotype threat. This study did not account for music students who were not as successful or quit music study because of stereotyping. What about male students who quit chorus or female tuba players who quit band because they were bullied for non-gender-conforming stereotypes? A future study is needed to investigate how stereotype threat contributes to negative experiences in music education. More specifically, what type of experiences with stereotype threat lead to musicians quitting music study? The stories of these ten Black doctoral music students and graduates illustrate the personal motivation, resilience, and support from teachers and programs needed for a successful music education for diverse students.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A - Memo #6 – 9/17/16 – Candidness in interviews

I’m transcribing Joyce’s interview and John’s interview is fresh on my mind. What just became very obvious was the candidness and comfort of the participants and how my position as another Black Ph.D. student is definitely influencing their candor. Any worry about my positionality negatively effecting data collection is being removed. Their comfort with being candid and looking to relate with me has definitely been a plus.

Joyce’s assertions of the need to find and engage in Black cultural exchange stood out to me just now while transcribing. Specifically, her need to talk to other Black researchers and professors was a new theme but relates to the importance of engaging with Black professors, which all of the participants have mentioned.

Also, the language in the interviews is very candid. It’s obvious that the participants do not feel a need to code switch and mostly speak with common Black vernacular. Because I’ve conversed with some of them in a professional environment, I’ve heard them code switch within moments, and recognize that their communication is much more relaxed and frank than in professional environments. I’m thankful that my positionality is seemingly provoking open interview.

Joyce’s narratives on the feelings of isolation are giving me research ideas for the future. Specifically, I’d like to look at attention and retention among doctoral music students of color and the reasons why they leave or stay.
Appendix B – Recruitment Letter

Greetings,

My name is Steven Armon Anderson and I am a doctoral student in the College of Education and Human Development at Georgia State University. I am writing to invite you to participate in my research on the experiences of Black doctoral music students. You are eligible for participation in this study based on what I understand are characteristics about your demographic and education backgrounds.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire, and then engage in an interview about your experiences throughout your music education. You may also elect to participate in an article reading and journaling activity after your interview, but this is completely optional. I will interview you between June and August 2016. You will choose an in person or via video chat (e.g. FaceTime, Skype) interview and decide the date and time. You and I may decide to schedule a follow-up interview, or you may request one at any time. No other forms of documentation are needed.

You will not be paid for your participation. However, you will be able to share your personal story as a Black doctoral music student or graduate. This study will help to inform future research and foster an understanding of the experiences of Black students in music education.

Remember, your participation is completely voluntary but greatly appreciated. If you’d like to participate or have any questions about the study, please email me at sanderson47@student.gsu.edu, by June 30, 2016. Please include “Dissertation participant” in the subject line and include your current contact information in the message. Also, please forward this letter to any Black doctoral music students who may be willing to help with this study. Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,
Steven Armon Anderson
Georgia State University
Sanderson47@student.gsu.edu
Appendix C - Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer each prompt and question as thoroughly and honestly as possible. Your answers will help to determine the format of your interview.

1) Age: __________

2) Race: __________

3) Biological sex: __________

4) Gender Identity: __________

5) Sexual orientation: __________

6) Principal instrument/voice: ________________________________

7) Summary of your past and current musical activities:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

8) Music education history, including the names of schools and programs attended:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
9) Have you ever felt stereotyped in a music class/ensemble, based on your race, sex, gender or sexual orientation? __________

10) If you answered yes to question number nine, briefly describe this experience.

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Appendix D – Interview Protocol

The experiences of Black doctoral music students

Date..................................
Time...................................
Place ....................................
Interviewer: Steven Armon Anderson

Introductory Protocol

To facilitate my note taking, I would like to record our conversations today. Only researchers on this project will be privy to the recordings, which will eventually be destroyed after they are transcribed. Also, you must sign a form devised to meet our human subject requirements. Essentially, this document states that: (1) all information will be held confidential, (2) your participation is voluntary, and you may stop at any time if you feel uncomfortable, and (3) we do not intend to inflict any harm. Thank you for agreeing to participate.

I have planned this interview to last for approximately 60 minutes. During this time, I have several questions that I would like to cover. If time begins to run short, I may ask for an extension beyond 60 minutes. If either of us feels that we need more time, I can schedule a follow-up interview with your consent.

Introduction

You have been selected to speak with me today because you are a Black doctoral student in music or graduate. This research project focuses on identification and management of stereotypes among Black doctoral music students throughout their music education.

Questions and Probes

1) When and where did you begin your formal music education?
   a. Did you always attend school in the same community?
   b. Did you begin in a school band, orchestra or chorus program?
   c. Were you previously involved in music outside of school?
2) What influenced you to begin school music study?
   a. Please tell me about this experience
   b. Why did you choose that specific musical ensemble over the others?
3) Did you have any hesitations about joining the music ensemble?
4) What was the demographic make-up of your first music program?
   a. Were you a racial or gender minority?
   b. Did the demographic make-up of your music program reflect the school population?
5) What influenced you to major in music?
6) What factors influenced your choice of higher education institutions?
a. Undergraduate
b. Graduate
c. Terminal

7) What or who were your influences on choosing your instrument(s)?
   a. Did any of your teachers, parents or peers have a stronger influence on your choice than others?
   b. Do you think you made the right decision in choosing that instrument?

8) Do you feel like your intellectual or performance abilities were challenged because of your identity?
   a. Tell me about this experience
   b. Due to race?
   c. Due to gender?
   d. Due to educational background?
   e. By whom?
   f. How?

9) Tell me about how your instrument choice affected your music education experience.
10) Tell me about how your race affected your music education experience.
11) Tell me about how your gender affected your music education experience.
12) Overall, how do you feel like your race, gender or other aspects of your identity affected your music education experience?
13) Is there anything that you would like to add?
Appendix E – Memo #4: Initial Analysis: Emergence of themes and subcodes

I completed my third interview today. I was much more comfortable with this interview and think I did a better job of allowing the interviewee to lead the path of the interview. Great data emerged, and the entire protocol was covered in what I think was a more fluid matter. Also, many of the subjects were covered from a different perspective. Though I haven’t coded the third interview yet, I’m noticing an emergence of themes through the notes that I took on the protocol from this interview and the analysis of the previous interviews.

Tomorrow will be a good time to revisit codes. As I was taking notes on his interview protocol, I realized that his perspectives were strengthening the definitions of codes. I also begin to develop a few subcodes and am beginning to develop themes. One area that I’m changing a code into a theme is on influences for attending an HBCU. All three participants spoke highly of their decisions to attend but with different perspectives. I think appropriate subcodes such as: scholarship offers, family tradition and encouragement, learning about heritage or Black history, quality of educational experience, quality of music programs, and school pride are better for analysis.

A desire to teach Black students has also shown up across all three interviews but with varying influences and goals. It’s also developing from a code to a theme. Different perspectives on this topic include the general desire to teach younger black students about: 1) their heritage, 2) recognizing racism, 3) Black music and composers, 4) music not from the Black music canon, and even, 4) a desire to teach them about racism.
Appendix F - Memo - 6/13 – Reduction and analysis, Intercoder Reliability

This process has been a JOURNEY. Since March I have:

1) Changed my research partner
2) Completed the amendment process with IRB for change of personnel
3) Figured out how to share the HyperResearch program
4) Figured out how to share the data and code list
5) Met with my new research partner numerous times about sharing and resharind data
6) Endured the heartbreak and frustration of learning that HyperResearch did not include an Intercoder function
7) Searched for programs that have the option
8) Contacted Researchware about a preview Intercoder function
9) Engaged in a multiple email exchange about the Intercoder tool malfunctioning
10) Having a gotomeeting with Researchware to fix the bug

Afterwards, I compared the coding between Greg and I for two of the participants. Immediately I noticed that the agreement rate was unacceptable. At a 75% level, we only achieved an 8% agreement rate. Another reason for the low agreement rate is the vast amount of codes. 245 codes were used for Intercoder Reliability. Before beginning another round of inter-rater coding, I am once again condensing codes.

6/14

I spoke to my research partner yesterday about the next step. As of now I am condensing the codes before sending them to him and start our next round of analysis. One of the major
points of the conversation was developing our exact coding process. We agreed to code entire phrases of responses from the participants, instead of sentences.

Also, after re-reading my prospectus, that I am deleting many of the codes of the demographic points of the interview, unless they reflect specific instances of stereotype management or overall identity issues. Many of the codes in the SES group deal with just general information on background and are not needed for the interview analysis.

**Deleted/recoded (merging into an existing code) codes:**

- **Deleted** - Not disclosing background (stereotype management)
- **Recoded** - Chosen repertoire attracted students across cultures into Reciprocity in cultural teaching/learning
- **Recoded** - Preference for show-style band and Preference for show style band into Preference for specific type of marching band – show vs. corp
- **Recoded** – Choosing school/music program for reputation/popularity into Strong/reputable music programs influenced enrollment
- **Changed group name from** - College choice to School Choice: codes now include experiences/decisions that encompass all levels
- **Renamed** - School reputation to Overall school reputation influenced desire to attend
- **Deleted** - Middle class background
- **Recoded** – Feeling more comfortable with other Black peers present to Camaraderie with/inspiration from other Black music students/professionals
- **Recoded** – Formal education needed to improve musical knowledge/skill to Desire to improve musical knowledge, skill and/or pedagogy
• **Deleted** – Intimidating terminal degree experiences

• **Recoded** – Having to keep guard up **to** Double Consciousness

• **Recoded** – Students preferred to perform non-Black classical music **to** Preference for classical music

• **Recoded** – Received favoritism because of male gender **to** Male privilege

• **Recoded** – Lack of Black women at music professional development **and** Lack of Black women in graduate level music **to** Lack of Black women

• **Recoded** – Wealth of Black gay male chorus directors **and** Wealth of Black male chorus directors **to** Wealth of Black male/Black gay male chorus directors

• **Renamed** – Racial encounters with police **to** Racial profiling

• **Recoded** – Graduate professors going above and beyond to aide success **to** Nurturing and/or supportive advisor/professor

• **Deleted** – Raised in affluent community

• **Deleted** – Shift in Black and White school ratio

• **Deleted** – Attended predominately Black grade schools

• **Deleted** – Raised in a predominately Black neighborhood

• **Deleted** – Racially diverse upbringing

• **Recoded** – Stereotypes of lack of musicianship of Blacks **into** Stereotypes of Black musicianship

• **Recoded** – Formed lifelong friendship in college **into** Lasting friendships and bonds created in music study

• **Recoded** – Being judged/treated differently by teachers/professors **to** Teachers/professors judging/treating Black students worse than others
• **Recoded** – Stereotypes of Black musicianship and Lowered expectations for Black composers/musicians/students to Stereotypes of inferior Black musicianship

• **Recoded** – Lack of research on Black music/composers to Advocacy for teaching/learning/researching Black music/composers

• **Recoded** – Desire for teaching Black music and culture to Advocacy for teaching/learning/researching Black music/composers

• **Recoded** – Missing skills or knowledge to Feeling musically or academically inadequate; missing skills or knowledge

• **Recoded** – Skills/knowledge missing from HBCU training to Feeling musically or academically inadequate; missing skills or knowledge

• **Recoded** – HBCU teaching experience to College/university teaching experience

• **Renamed** – Teacher certification to Hardships of teacher certification

• **Deleted** – Taught in the same area as rearing

• **Recoded** – Musicianship challenged due to region of rearing to Stereotype that northern band programs are inferior to southern

• **Recoded** - Residents’ professors influence on choosing college to Admiration of skill/knowledge of professors

• **Recoded** – Racial profiling to Being negative pre-judged because of race

• **Recoded** – Thriving in the face of adversity to Resilience – thriving in the face of adversity
Deleted many codes in the SES group – didn’t feel they were particularly relevant to answering research questions. Also, this type of demographic behavior was readily available from the survey. I am now down to 210 codes

6/27

I met with my research partner to discuss exactly how to complete the next round of interrater coding. First, I shared the new codebook (210 codes) and data on how I reduced them. Next, the most important step, was establishing the length of text for highlighting during coding. The HyperResearch Intercoder Reliability tool measures the agreement down to each character. To work around this issue, we decided to code each entire phrase/paragraph from the interviewee, until their statement was complete, or I interrupted. We agreed to have the second round done within a week.

7/10/1

Achieved 92.64% agreement after three rounds of coding with research partner.
## Appendix G – Code frequency report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feeling academically or musically inadequate; missing skills or knowledge</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspired by church or religious music experiences</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admiration of skill/knowledge of professors</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of loneliness/isolation in educational pursuit</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspired by elementary school music experiences</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy for teaching/learning/researching Black music/composers</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereotypes of inferior Black musicianship</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of background in research/academia</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Took private lessons as a child</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognizing personal talent/intellect</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double consciousness</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognizing/pride in academic/skill growth or attainment</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspired by music teacher to study/teach music - wanting to be like former director</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong/reputable music programs influenced enrollment</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Black music faculty/researchers</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling of being the representation of the Black race</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking charge of education - being proactive about filling gaps in knowledge - extra study/research/practice/seeking help</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College/university teaching experience</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of developing ear and/or music reading abilities</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurturing and/or supportive advisor/professor</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarships/assistantships were a major factor on college choice</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music ed. philosophy/goals changed in master's or terminal degree program</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict between religious doctrine and liberal views/academic culture</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspired by Black teacher/musician to study and/or teach music</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adamant defiance of/breaking down stereotypes</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanting to be judged based on the same traditional standards of success that others are judged by</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspired by musical family</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being negatively prejudged due to identity; racial profiling</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to become a music teacher</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didn't play instrument of first choice</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resilience - thriving in the face of adversity</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imposter syndrome</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invisibility vs. hypervisibility</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing/changing music discipline</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-actualization within music education experiences</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognizing racist beliefs in others</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camaraderie with/inspiration from other Black music students/graduates/professionals</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer teaching/leadership experiences in grade school</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfying diversity quota</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding a place to fit in</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence built due to school success</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocity in culturally responsive teaching and learning/understanding</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music program reflected school demographics</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always loved music - felt like destiny to continue/pursue</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity intersectionalities</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to work/study and live in a specific area</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measuring success - making a difference/leaving a stamp on field; life-long career</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in multiple musical ensembles or disciplines simultaneously</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of musical ensembles at prospective schools influenced desire to attend</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conforming to gender roles/stereotypes</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to improve music education at HBCUs</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encouraged by adults throughout the community</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composing experiences</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciating the beauty/love of music</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made the right college choice</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deciphering felt vs. real racism</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to play an instrument</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to prove naysayers wrong</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differing expectations on music programs due to region</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching music in urban settings</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outreach/involvement of music program in grade schools</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to improve knowledge and/or pedagogy</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First in demographic to complete program</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Could not relate to cultural references</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some school music programs more diverse than others</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participated in music honor ensembles</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Having to perform better than others to be seen as equal</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative assumptions/views or lack of understanding of HBCUs</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to advance in the field</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal physical attributes attributed to instrument choice/assignment</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Black women</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discomfort with transitioning to being in the minority</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>More or just as smart/talented/successful as White peers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music program brought together students from all SES's</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers/professors treating/judging Black students worse than others</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seeking spaces for a connection with Black people/culture</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Terminal degree needed to teach on the collegiate level</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding a program to fit career/education goals</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parents worked to shield children from racial discrimination/disparagement/inequality</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Undergrad program laid strong foundation</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sucking it up: Ignoring racist beliefs and actions of others</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nurturing professors and environment of HBCUs</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social interests to study music</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to obtain terminal degree or certification level</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desire to teach on the collegiate level</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music program did not reflect school demographics</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Encouraging parents</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Director's race influenced demographics of music program</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Familial responsibilities/influences</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Micro-aggressions</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attain high achievement to disrupt the stereotype in classroom and school situations</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received favoritism because of music skill and knowledge</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended performing arts school</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could not meet graduate school requirements</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBCU undergrad program fostered resilience - taught how to deal with adversity</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereotype that northern band programs are inferior to southern</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differences in teaching in urban vs rural or suburban settings</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to become a teacher</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large focus on Black music at HBCUs</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community music - teaching/learning/performing</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needed structure and feedback from professors</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of diversity</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall school reputation influenced desire to attend</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects of being a first-generation student</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfamiliar with other colleges/universities</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Learned of institution through print advertisement</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ageism/youthfulness as a disadvantage for image professionalism/experience</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence</td>
<td>Score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorism</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of support from faculty; faculty not interested or opposed to Black student success</td>
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<tr>
<td>Questioning the value of and goals of obtaining the terminal degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-prescribed music nerd/geek/kid</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private lessons were needed</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strong desire to protect the next generation of Black and Brown students against negative racialized experiences</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influences on desire to attend an HBCU</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate degree needed to achieve goals/be perceived as successful</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing the mask even in social settings</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desire to hold on to Blackness/Black identity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied with college choice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desire to join a show-style band</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender grouping by instrument</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taking offense to stereotypes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties writing on the graduate level</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Racial relationships differ by region</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of female secondary school and collegiate ensemble directors</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to perform</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggled with changing voice</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racist remarks by professors</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preference for non-Black classical music</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male privilege</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiences in different regions brought different perspectives to the classroom</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>White privilege</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not attend school of first choice</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having to prove you are just as intellectually/musically capable as peers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling responsible for university reputation</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paving the way for future Black students</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefited from diverse school environment</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alumni influence</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Networking through undergrad connections</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Curiosity/admiration of HBCU experience from PWI graduates</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardships of teacher certification</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next generations of Blacks should understand racial stereotypes against them</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to teach young black students; giving back</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexuality didn't affect music education experience</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race is most salient identity factor on experience in music education</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being pre-judged/stereotyped by blacks who didn't attend HBCUs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture shock due to changing regions</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relating to experiences of other Black music students</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lasting friendships and bonds created in music study</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-handicapping</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors apologetic for insensitive remarks</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educating others on their racial ignorance or prejudice</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough focus on non-Black music at HBCUs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disdain for marching band</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in music theory and analysis</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projecting insecurities onto others</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessons learned from undergrad influenced grad school success</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More diverse region than previous school location</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn't give too much thought to gender</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks underrepresented in music program</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendships with non-Black peers did not extend beyond music</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not have same resources as more affluent peers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racist remarks from peers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially withdrawing from peers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-black peers not understanding or believing racial perspective</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pride in Black identity</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop culture inspired instrument choice</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion/church provided support/motivation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University/department accepted students who probably wouldn't have been accepted elsewhere</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preference for specific type of marching band - show vs. corp</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small amount of men in choir</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to attend an HBCU</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gathering oneself before reacting to racist stations</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code switching</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay raise</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advantages due to region of rearing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate school program more organized/efficient than undergrad</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of women in gradate level music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth of Black male/Black gay male chorus directors</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male chauvinism</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support of Black faculty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expounding knowledge of classical music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disdain for public school teaching</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety of music disciplines offered influenced college choice</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate school more diverse than undergrad</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger than most of peers in graduate program</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too much focus on marching band at HBCUs</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urged to not attend predominately Black school</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivated by competition to improve musicianship</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would have chosen a different instrument in hindsight</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condescending White peers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural appropriation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusion of race from feminism and gender study</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Blacks at professional development</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Losing touch with Blackness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attracted to physical aspects of instrument</td>
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<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Value</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial grouping by instrument</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to run a good/reputable program</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preferred co-ed college</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diverse musical background achieved from HBCU</td>
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<tr>
<td>Effects of sexuality and gender presentation on interpersonal interactions</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Institutional racism</td>
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<tr>
<td>Size of music department - more personal attention</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desire to engage students in music making</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education experience varied due to school/department size</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balancing responsibilities of teaching music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music teacher educators must evolve with evolving needs of students</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balancing work and school</td>
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</tbody>
</table>