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Race, gender, and jazz school: chord-scale theory as white masculine technology

Race, Gender, and Jazz School: Chord-Scale Theory as White Masculine Technology[1]

Dan DiPiero

In the wake of the global mass protests against systemic racism and police brutality in 2020, US institutions have undergone what has been described as a "racial reckoning"—to decidedly mixed results. Music academia has not been excepted from these conversations, which were already underway in part because of an earlier disciplinary flashpoint: the controversy around Philip Ewell's 2019 Society for Music Theory keynote address, much discussed since, even in such venues as the *New York Times*.[2] Roughly concurrently, Loren Kajikawa has published important arguments about the persistence and structures of white supremacy in collegiate music education generally, showing how Ewell's critiques are not limited to the academic discipline of music theory but are rather more foundational.[3] In fact, Black music scholars have been making many of the same points for years: Ewell and Kajikawa's essays join longstanding conversations, research, and activism by scholars such as Dwight Andrews, Tammy Kernodle, Olly Wilson, and others who have long been thinking, writing, and speaking about the variously misunderstood and marginalized status of African American music vis-à-vis white music-theoretical and music-educational infrastructures.[4] That Kajikawa's essays remains helpful, incisive, and timely for the current state of higher education is a testament to how intractable these institutions have remained around meaningful change.

The purpose of this article is to bring Ewell's and Kajikawa's thinking into conversation with two additional lines of thought: first, critiques of jazz studies programs in higher education, and second, my own pedagogical experiences as both a student and teacher. As a contingent academic working across many institutions, I have consistently been involved in conversations regarding how music departments

can, should, and must reorganize themselves around more socially equitable practices. Yet we have seen fundamental contradictions in our disciplinary structures prevent these changes from taking place. At the same time, having attended two paradigmatic jazz programs across my undergraduate and master's work, I bring to this essay an autotheoretical perspective intended to corroborate and extend the arguments raised in the above studies. Throughout, my primary aim is to pick up one particular line of thought and to probe it in sustained detail: the problem of jazz theory itself.

Black music scholars have long argued that studying Afro-diasporic music via Western theory is insufficient at best and violent at worst for myriad reasons—chief among them has been the theory's ambition to treat music separately from the social practices in which it is situated and therefore meaningful. Thus, while pressure has mounted on music departments to diversify their course offerings, simply offering courses in jazz (or, as Kajikawa writes, hip-hop) in academia does not address the Eurocentrism prevalent in those programs; it also matters *how* we approach the topic.[5] Put differently, part of grappling with white supremacy in music education must involve attending to the fact that pedagogical approaches to jazz performance are not neutral, that they orient us in some ways and not in others, that they reflect choices about what to emphasize and what to discount.[6] It is therefore worth considering to what extent changing the ways that we teach jazz might also shift the cultures in those educational settings writ large.

In this essay, I join those scholars critical of jazz's institutionalization by suggesting that higher education's most dominant form of "jazz theory" too often serves as a white-masculinist technology that performs various functions to reinforce patriarchal jazz cultures and white supremacy both, or, as Tracy McMullen puts it, "at worst, jazz education *teaches* sexism and racism to its students."[7] My concern here is not to relitigate old debates in jazz studies around theory versus practice, formal versus informal learning, or other questions about jazz school's role in producing improvisers who all sound the same (and therefore "inauthentic"). Rather, I am concerned with the racial and gendered exclusions that music theory exacerbates, if not causes, when it is defined in narrow Western terms and then prioritized in curricular development.

This essay proceeds in three sections.[8] First, I trace the ways in which theory decontextualizes jazz from sociopolitical considerations, performing a transmutation that attempts to wrest the music into alignment with the way that Western theory has traditionally operated: as pure formalism, centered on "the music itself." It is this recoding of jazz theory that allows it to align with Eurological epistemologies and practices in higher education, since, as many scholars across disciplines have shown, "colorblind" approaches default to the hegemonic, white perspective.[9] Subsequently, I turn to gender analysis, arguing that jazz theory as practiced encourages competition among practitioners and the solidification of male communities around already familiar, indeed longstanding cultural inheritances. In particular, chord-scale

and adjacent approaches to jazz theory fit into patriarchy's consistent investment in "scientific" structural systems, while at the same time making it possible to "geek out" about performances understood to be virtuosic. This, in turn, facilitates competitive cultures (what I'll eventually refer to as "bro" cultures) invested in demonstrating similarly impressive feats. In short, jazz theory as practiced fosters systematicity, competition, and a certain kind of historically informed "nerd-bro" posture, all of which derive from and further reinforce masculinist paradigms.

After exploring jazz theory's social implications, I turn to my own experiences as a student in jazz studies programs, using autotheory to interrogate the correlation between music theory and both colorblindness as well as masculine competitiveness between two schools. Finally, I conclude by highlighting some suggestions in search of more equitable jazz pedagogies.

Chord-Scale Theory and Institutionalized Jazz Education

In this essay, my intent is not to criticize *any* means of "theorizing" music, jazz or otherwise. As scholars like Marc Hannaford, Eric Porter, and others have noted, African American composers, improvisers, and performers have developed unique theoretical/musical/spiritual frameworks as extensions of their musical praxes.[10] Such systems clearly depart from the Eurological appeal to modernist colorblindness that I discuss here and thus constitute potential alternative models to those I am critiquing.[11] The target of my analysis is instead a specific, hegemonic pedagogical approach based in "chord-scale" jazz theory, a system that arises directly from jazz's selective incorporation into white institutional spaces. In other words, I am interested in what happens to theorizing with/about jazz in higher educational contexts where the contributions of jazz's pioneers are consistently appropriated and co-opted into learning structures dominated by Western, what we might call (after George Lewis) Eurological epistemologies.[12] It is this process of institutionalization, more than anything, that is the subject of my critique—particularly to the extent that it codifies a single viewpoint, approach, or way-of-doing in jazz school, to the exclusion of others. This viewpoint is what I mean to identify by the term "chord-scale theory."

Dominant across higher education, chord-scale theories represent purposefully technocratic approaches to jazz improvisation that endeavor to match each type of chord quality one might encounter in a tune with a series of scales understood to be "appropriate" as resources for improvising over said chords. Associated most of all with the Berklee School of Music, chord-scale theory is a means of approaching jazz improvisation from the perspective of the soloist, and thus encompasses activities including transcription and analysis, as well as the memorization of chord-scale pairings and licks over specific chord changes. Taken together, chord-scale theory exemplifies a turn to notation-based theoretical approaches to teaching and learning jazz, where jazz is defined neoclassically.[13]

As Ken Prouty, David Ake, and others have written, chord-scale theory became dominant in higher education via the institutionalization of jazz pedagogy, a process during which, in order to become accepted and legitimated by higher education, jazz practitioners and pedagogues incorporated the music into preexisting, white infrastructures.[14] Then as now, music departments throughout the United States have been governed by what Kajikawa terms (after George Lipsitz) a "possessive investment in classical music."[15] Under this paradigm, Western art music is understood as the "most prestigious," and this "exalted status provides justification for schools to devote the majority of their resources to maintaining a racially exclusive status quo" in which the study of European classical music stands in for the study of music in general.[16] As Kajikawa also notes, the founding gestures of such systems emerged, often enough, from figures like John Powell, who in the early twentieth century used music as a central example and medium through which to advance his racist worldview—particularly through the moral panic that juxtaposed European classical music above and against jazz.

Thus it makes a certain kind of sense that when jazz did win acceptance in the academy, it did so by adopting the language, signifiers, and values of European classical music.[17] By extension, it also makes sense that this legitimization would have consequences, up to and including the paradoxical fact that dominant approaches to jazz pedagogy today resonate with and reinforce what Philip Ewell calls the "white racial frame" that informs so much music theorizing.[18] As many scholars have articulated, the process of legitimating jazz in public discourse—a project for which many jazz musicians long fought—succeeded in part by establishing its parallels with the great "art music" of Europe. In the same way that contemporary nonprofits like Jazz at Lincoln Center and the Jazz Arts Group stage big band performances through a symphony-based concert model (performing in fancy theaters, selling subscriptions, catering toward older audiences, and so on), legitimating jazz in higher education involved showing how well jazz fit within already established parameters by which we evaluate what counts as "serious music." Hence, in most US jazz programs, students advance by performing repertoire and excerpts (for example) in the same way that classical musicians do.

Chord-scale theory has been a critical and constitutive element in this process: "As jazz training became increasingly institutionalized in academia," Eitan Wilf writes, "[chord-scale] theory was more systematically codified and widely disseminated through various pedagogical aids."[19] It is in this context that nuanced theoretical/philosophical approaches to jazz theory, such as George Russell's *Lydian-Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization for Improvisation*, become too easily instrumentalized by institutional frameworks, resulting in the kinds of epistemological recontextualizations wherein music from the great Black tradition is reduced to a proscribed, narrow interpretation divorced from any sustained attention to its sociohistorical conditions.[20] Indeed, both George Russell and to a certain extent Jamey Aebersold—critical

influences for contemporary chord-scale theory—nevertheless viewed their approaches in terms that I suggest differ from the ways in which such approaches have been *taken up* in higher education. In other words, whatever Aebersold's ambitions might have been for his now ubiquitous "Play-A-Long" series of improvisation study materials, his systematization of soloistic vocabulary also provided a means for jazz educational institutions to structure entire classes and even departments around the idea that learning jazz was a matter of memorizing the correct chord-scale patterns and subsequently executing them at a high degree of technical proficiency.[21] Hence, chord-scale theory disincentivizes thinking of jazz in relation to race (among other factors), becoming white by default and perpetuating the analysis of Black music via Western theory.

Chord-Scale Theory and Race

The appropriation and subsequent dilution of Afrological musical practices in institutionalized jazz education settings has been noted by several scholars, particularly for my purposes, in Wilf's ethnographic investigation of jazz pedagogy at Berklee and the New School.[22] Here, I suggest that one effect of such appropriative processes has been to render jazz theory—like "music theory" (read: Western theory) before it—a masculinized, technocratic disciplinary endeavor, which presents Eurological barriers that keep white men as its primary practitioners. Chord-scale theory's exclusions, then, are multiple, erecting filters around race, gender, sexuality, and other intersecting identity positions as a function of its imbrication with US higher education.

One of the primary ways that chord-scale theory facilitates this kind of decontextualization is through its emphasis on what scholars have critiqued as "paper-based" concerns, in contrast with the aural and/or participatory practices that were prominent prior to jazz's institutionalization.[23] While Wilf takes care to complicate the too simplistic "formal/informal" binary that informs much criticism of university jazz programs, he also makes the critical observation that one consequence of deemphasizing aurality has been an embrace of paper-based theory's capacity to decontextualize jazz. Under this framework, chords and scales are extracted from any sociopolitical concerns—particularly those having to do with questions of race and identity—allowing jazz to become recontextualized as a modernist, universal, colorblind artform (which is, not coincidentally, increasingly taught and learned by white people). For Wilf, the political implications of (first) "reduc[ing] the creative variety that characterized the past masters' musical output into the standardized expert terminology of the academic jazz program" and (second) doing so in a context where the majority of the professors performing such sociopolitical reductions are white educators teaching Black music are indeed serious, particularly considering the fact that during his fieldwork across two institutions, the racial politics of jazz history were

not directly addressed in any class.[24] In relation to the pedagogy practiced at these schools, Wilf ultimately concludes that chord-scale and similar theoretical/analytical practices "are [thus] pervaded by a powerful impulse to abstract this output from its contextual elements and past complicated history."[25]

In this way, Wilf's arguments directly mirror Kajikawa's subsequent analysis of contemporary hip-hop classes, which music departments have increasingly adopted as a response to calls for more "diverse" course offerings:

> In music theory, disciplinary authority itself derives from quasi-scientific methods that limit research goals to modelling how music "works" for ideal (white, male) listeners. Music theorists' focus on formal relationships might enable a level of analytic detail not found in the work of other scholars, but it does so at the expense of entire worlds of knowledge about what makes hip-hop music such a vital and important part of our contemporary world. Sheltered from the many conversations already underway about rap's social, political, and artistic dimensions, music departments offer the safest spaces on campus for white men to talk about rap.[26]

Thus, it is clear that simply substituting the *content* of music classes is an inadequate change for socially equitable pedagogy; the *methods* must also be changed. In studying jazz or hip-hop according to methods developed for the study of seventeenth-century Western music, necessary social context is obfuscated or even assailed, further serving to exclude the perspectives of the very communities who created the music, all while validating and providing additional cultural capital to the music programs that can now be seen as addressing calls for racial equity.

Chord-Scale Theory and Gender

In addition to the erasure of Afrological epistemologies, practices, and investments that this chord-scale approach facilitates, it is also critical to note the ways in which music theory—long understood and discussed as a science or technology—comes to fit within Eurological and neoliberal epistemologies that prioritize objectivist thinking. Turning now to the question of gender, it is significant to this discussion that, under US patriarchy, "objectivity" of any kind is inherently coded as masculine.

The conflation between masculinity with reason (on the one hand) and femininity with emotion (on the other) has been a longstanding concern among feminist scholars since at least the 1980s. For example, the thinking of bell hooks, Donna Haraway, and Sara Ahmed are sources I have used in my own work. In particular, Haraway's "Situated Knowledges" is cited by Suzanne Cusick in an important article on feminist music theory and the myth of objectivity in science.[27] To further explicate how chord-scale theory might foster or resonate with masculine competitiveness

and even misogyny, I turn now to a brief discussion of three conceptual-historical connections that help to trace those effects of an overemphasis on jazz theory that I mentioned in the introduction: competition, systematicity, and "nerd/bro" culture.

First, consider the centrality of bebop to contemporary chord-scale methods. While chord-scale theory is not exclusively defined by bebop, bebop nevertheless remains the heart of its epistemology.[28] It is during the bebop era that we see the codification of jazz conventions informing what Matthew Thibeault terms the "soloist as such," including the standardization of much repertoire, as well as the theoretically sophisticated approaches to improvisation necessitated by bebop's advanced harmonic vocabulary. The role of the band vis-à-vis the soloist remains relatively unchanged from bebop through hardbop, cool jazz, modal playing, and other styles from jazz history that are the focus of mainstream jazz pedagogy. In the neoclassical context, then, bebop arguably signifies a certain historical pinnacle of jazz practice, embodying all the criteria that neoclassical doctrine identifies as essential to the form. Bebop thus remains the foundation of how jazz is defined and recognized on an institutional level, if not exclusively in terms of style, then formally. I raise this point here to emphasize that making bebop the center of one's approach to jazz carries social implications and not just musical ones.

It is at this point well established that, as popular culture became an increasingly central site of contestation around race in American culture, Black bebop musicians were able to create and deploy this modernist, intellectual artform in part to assert themselves and accrue cultural capital in a racist society where professional and creative agency was hard won. At the same time, insofar as such agentic practices were possible, they were made so in part through recourse to masculine competitiveness, "cutting contests," and emerging notions of "cool."[29] That such a masculine posture was effective attests more than anything to the forms of legibility present in Jim Crow America and the tropes or spaces that white mainstream culture made available for Black performers. Certainly, as a Black avant-garde artform, bebop challenged, broke, and otherwise spoke back against mainstream expectations.[30] But it should not be understood as accidental that it did so in part through the language of masculinity.

The cultural legacy of bebop is obviously too complex to be adequately addressed in this space, comprising multiple historical, musical, and theoretical developments. In particular, I want to take pains not to reduce bebop to masculinity, for it is obviously so much more than the tropes I have just sketched. My reason for emphasizing only those tropes is to identify what is *left* of bebop in our contemporary academic contexts. The questions become: When appropriated by educational institutions and divested of any historical, critical-theoretical, or critical race consciousness, what remains of bebop? What is left when the cultural formation termed "bebop" gets reduced to its stylistic, music-technical innovations (uptempo tunes, increased harmonic and rhythmic activity, and so on)? The answers are twofold: a contemporary

version of music theory through which students can "deal with" bebop's complex musical vocabulary, and vestiges of the masculine competitiveness that such an approach facilitates.

Second, I suggest that George Russell serves as a kind of testimony to the ways in which jazz theory can foster systematicity and scientism as legitimating discourses. I raise Russell here because his Lydian Chromatic Concept is one of the best-known music-theoretical contributions in jazz literature, and also in order to draw attention to Russell's own awareness and deployment of the masculine-coded authority afforded to scientific theoretical systems, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, when structuralism was ascendant. Ingrid Monson and Eric Porter have both underscored the need *not* to read Russell as merely a technocratic tinkerer of music theory, or else a problematic example of the kind of masculine authority wielded by contemporary composers in the modernist vein (perhaps most infamously Milton Babbitt). In Monson's analysis, the Concept is not just a music-theoretical exercise but a "life giving philosophy" for Russell, a musico-spiritual worldview that expressed something deep about both Black cultural production and about Russell's own self-conception within that lineage.[31] In this way, Russell fits in a long tradition with figures like Wadada Leo Smith, Henry Threadgill, Nicole Mitchell, and others in Black radical/original music/Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) lineage who have formulated unique, idiosyncratic musical systems as assertions of Black agency, excellence, and spiritual force. In this music, "to become one's own theorist . . . [is] among the highest aesthetic ideals of the art form."[32]

Where masculinity is concerned, Porter builds on this analysis by arguing that Russell used the Concept to navigate and push back against the "racial politics of masculine authority" in popular music discourse "and in the economic relationships that helped produce it."[33] What makes Russell relevant to this discussion is that he did so by characterizing the Concept explicitly as a futurist technology, taking advantage of public discourse's veneration of scientific language in order to claim authority and agency in the context of limited opportunities for Black creativity and professional advancement. Russell knew that framing his Concept in scientific terms would *work*—would become legible—because music theory and its notation-based practices had already been established in Western cultures as scientific systems. In framing his Concept this way, Russell drew on the authority given to white experimental musicians like John Cage and his teacher Arnold Schoenberg, who, unlike the Black avant-garde,[34] were taken seriously—however outrageous or inscrutable their critics ultimately found the music. As Porter writes,

> Russell's self-presentation as a scientist relied on a dual authority: theoretical knowledge derived from a culturally transcendent science of music and a culturally specific idiomatic grounding. He drew upon the masculine codes that

> informed jazz artistry, as well as the no-less-masculine field of scientific and technological knowledge as he intervened in the power politics of the music world as well as that of broader society.[35]

We see clearly here the ways in which jazz theory can come to fit inside a Western epistemology that prizes logic, objectivity, and structuralist thinking, particularly when appropriated by Western institutions. Russell understood this and took advantage of it in the process of navigating the boundaries of race and gender in the music industry. But in doing so, he also testifies to the powerful hold music theory retains on our conceptions of what counts as "legitimate" or "serious" music, as well as the ways in which such authority remains the purview of masculinity.

Third, I argue that music theory helps us to understand what happened to "jazz nerd" culture, demonstrating a continuum from nerds to bros in the jazz community. Krin Gabbard's "jazz nerd" names an archetypal white character who accrues masculine credentials through a balance of culturally specific hipness and idiomatic knowledge.[36] Most notably, this knowledge is demonstrated through record collecting and a certain fetish for sound technology, a technological investment that Timothy D. Taylor points out could effectively guard against music listening's potentially effeminate connotations.[37] The connection I want to make here is this: the jazz nerd is understood as an identification that takes place with and through technology, specifically his record collection. But as we see with Russell's example, music theory itself has often been cast as a technology.[38] Thus, jazz nerds are as capable of fixating on and performing their identities through music theory as they are through obsessive record collecting. And if that's the case, then we might think of the jazz nerd as overlapping to an extent with the "theory bro" common to some academic humanities programs, a title that can apply equally to jazz students with an overinvestment in the theoretical-technical aspects of their study.

In this sense, we might finally relate the "jazz nerd" to the "jazzbro"[39] identified by Nate Chinen in 2013:

> A jazzbro—not to be confused with a jazzbo, its older taxonomical cousin—is a self-styled jazz aficionado, overwhelmingly male and usually a musician in training himself, who expresses a handful of determinative social behaviors. Among these are a migratory pattern from the practice room, where they often nest alone, to the jazz club, where they travel in packs; a compulsion to signal the awareness of any mildly startling musical detail, with muttered exclamations like the aforementioned "Woooo"; the emphatic adjectival use of the word "killing," as in "that solo was killing"; and the exploitation of jazz knowledge as a private commodity selectively put on public display.[40]

Considering Chinen's description of the jazzbro as most often a "musician in training," it is reasonable to read the shift from "nerd" to "bro" as one that reflects the

increasing centrality of higher education to jazz culture. That is, while the jazz nerd is a collector, the jazzbro is a student. As higher educational contexts become increasingly important to jazz culture, the jazzbro comes to replace the jazz nerd as the most dominant archetype available for young fans, a ready-made posture for signaling in-group belonging and expertise from which to evaluate peers.

Both the nerd and bro are informed by white masculinist logics. But the shift from nerds to bros should also be concerning given the context of higher education insofar as it is the straight white men who create and participate in bro culture who have been the chief perpetrators of sexist and racist violence on college campuses.[41] And although there is no necessary connection between (jazz)bro culture and violent behavior, we also know that violence is a spectrum that encompasses physical acts as well as microaggressions and casual sexism, the latter being common to bro cultures of any variety, from video game contexts to fraternities to music school practice rooms.[42]

Comparative Personal Experiences: Pedagogy and Autotheory

Recently, feminist scholarship has focused attention on autotheory—the intermingling of critical theory and autobiography—by explicating the method's deep rootedness in feminist practices, where one's position within systems of interconnected power hierarchies can be used to glean greater insights into the operations of those very mechanisms of oppression.[43] I write here as a straightish cis man of Italian American/white descent, raised in the upper middle class. I therefore do not invoke autotheory in order to claim a marginalized position. Rather, I raise it first in order to embrace feminist methods as a choice among many, a choice that I intend to reflect my values and praxis. Second, I employ autotheory in order to use my positionality from the opposite direction, as it were. More specifically, my exposure to and experience with jazz and improvised music has been facilitated and overdetermined by my access to expensive music programs of the kind I describe in this article. From this position, I claim a particular kind of (partial) perspective by virtue of participating in—and then moving through—patriarchal jazz education.

I want to begin by clarifying that, in retrospect, I still feel immensely privileged to have attended the programs that I did, and I maintain reverence for (and in many cases, community with) the friends, teachers, and broader relationships I forged by attending "jazz school." That being said, the experiences I had differed between two institutions, and I believe that those differences can help me think through the issues that I have raised in this article. (Additionally, I wonder if I would have had such gratifying educational experiences if I was not positioned the way that I am, i.e., if I was not a cis/het man.)

My undergraduate education took place in a conservatory that was in many ways paradigmatic of the kind of mainstream jazz education that I outlined in the

first part of this essay. By paradigmatic, what I mean is not only that it seems to me now to exemplify a neoclassical perspective insofar as we were taught precious little about the (Black) avant-garde, for example, or the sociopolitical history of its practitioners, but I also mean "paradigmatic" literally, insofar as several of the professors at this institution are or were involved at the highest levels of both the Jazz Education Network and the Jazz Arts Group, two of the most visible institutional faces of jazz advocacy in the Wynton Marsalis/Jazz at Lincoln Center mold. In this program, I took a total of sixteen theory-specific or theory-involved courses: twelve were specifically focused on music theory (Western theory and audiation, jazz theory, jazz arranging, jazz composition, jazz styles and analysis, etc.), while four were courses that combined theoretical study with an applied component (for instance, "jazz improvisation" involved practicing ii-V-I licks and other approaches to common chord progressions).

Compare this number with the total of six courses that dealt in any way with music history. Then, consider that the majority of said coursework constituted traditional Western music survey courses and further, that not one of these was taught by someone trained in the discipline of musicology; all were taught by either music theorists or performance faculty. In the end, I took a total of zero classes that in any way reflected critical race or cultural studies approaches to understanding jazz as a historical, philosophical, and political/cultural phenomenon.

Again, this is not intended as a critique of those musicians or theorists who found themselves responsible for teaching jazz history, nor is it to suggest that performers/theorists can't effectively teach history courses. Rather, I raise the distinction in order to draw attention to the institutional framework that decides what should be prioritized in jazz education and what shouldn't. It is difficult to argue that a jazz studies program with such a disparity between music theory and music history prioritizes the historical/cultural components of its subject matter. Instead, such programs, perhaps understandably, overwhelmingly emphasize developing technical proficiency and stylistic competency on one's instrument. The current course catalogue, it should be noted, has not changed since my time in the program (2005–2009).[44]

As an undergraduate, I experienced firsthand the competitive culture that seems to emerge anywhere and everywhere Western music education takes root. For example, our ensembles, offered as courses in the curriculum, were regarded in terms of a clear hierarchy by both students and faculty, where the "small jazz" combo was understood to be reserved for the most accomplished players on each instrument. In terms of practice room culture, I was fortunate insofar as this competition manifested in a particular, potentially less toxic way than it might have otherwise. At our institution, my friends and I had chips on our shoulders. As I've written elsewhere,[45] we understood ourselves as underdogs, unable to get into prestigious music schools in New York and working tirelessly to catch up to imaginary rivals in places other

than the Midwest. This is all to say that we didn't think of ourselves as all that good at making music. We certainly didn't think of ourselves as "hot shit." This kind of humility, I believe, did mitigate some of the more overtly flashy, performance-oriented displays of masculine bravado and competition that I observed even down the road, at the big R1.

Nevertheless, this humility also fostered a cultural climate where hard work was prized above all else. I recall, for example, sleeping on the concrete floors of practice rooms both because I was a motivated practicer but also, in the back of my mind, because I wanted to prove to my friends and peers just how dedicated to the music I was. Ambling bleary-eyed out of a practice room and greeting the 8 a.m. crowd with a shrug became a means of performing one's seriousness—with bonus points if one's physical appearance reflected the fact that one only had time for *music* and not trivial matters like *bathing*. While to a certain degree this kind of earnestness might be endearing for the eighteen- to twenty-one-year-old undergraduates who found themselves overtaken by a passion for music, it also fostered an atmosphere in which we were deeply judgmental of anyone who did not (or appeared not to) share our enthusiasm, those who were perceived to be "slacking" or otherwise not taking the music as seriously as it deserved. Unfortunately, in such a context, it was all too easy for such judgement to be cast on the very few women with whom I studied, and they often were. In retrospect, I am confident that I participated in this culture of shaming at the time.

Our teachers, from the other end of the equation, also played a role. In at least in one case that I know of, faculty consistently encouraged a woman in the percussion department to play keyboard/mallet instruments over any drums (mallet instruments—particularly keyboards like the marimba—are consistently coded feminine in percussion culture[46]) and to focus on aspects of her education other than "performance" (which was the highest mode of study in the social hierarchy, reserved for the most serious students). In this case, the student indeed did not harbor professional performance aspirations but she was keenly aware of the gendered framing through which she was addressed by several teachers, and resented it. Beyond this specific example, it was common knowledge that if one wasn't cutting it musically, teachers and peers alike would implicitly encourage and in extreme cases explicitly demand one switch from a performance degree (bachelor of music) to a bachelor of arts, for instance, or perhaps a bachelor of music on the music education track. These programs were seen as much less "serious," an attitude reflective of the cultural context of the US writ large, in which women are more likely to be music educators than performers. The hypothesis I'm trying to articulate here is that, in retrospect, our lack of education regarding the sociopolitical valence of music—particularly concerning gender and race—did not cause but bears some relationship to whatever misogynistic cultures suffused the conservatory. I will return to this point below.

For my master's work, I attended a school as equally paradigmatic as my undergrad, but in the opposite direction. The California Institute of the Arts (CalArts) has a national reputation as an "alternative" institution in almost every way, its music programs included. In part, I believe, as a result of its alternative ethos, I also experienced a different social climate at this school. As a first example of what I mean by "alternative," consider that all grades are given on a pass/fail basis, which right from the jump at least puts pressure on the neoliberal epistemology of the corporate university, always invested in quantifying performance metrics and tracking student performance.[47] More specifically, the jazz studies program as I experienced it (2010–2012) was structured around three primary components: faculty ensembles, student ensembles, and coursework. All of these differed substantially from my undergraduate experience.

The faculty ensembles, first of all, did not involve being "directed" by a faculty member so much as they involved playing with one; for example, if the bass professor was your instructor, they would also be the bass player in the band, while if drum professor was your ensemble coach, they would be the drummer in the band. This approach differs from my undergraduate ensembles, and importantly harkens back to the more active, collaborative, and participatory aspects of how jazz was learned and taught prior to its institutionalization. Furthermore, the inclusion of faculty members as a part of the band treats faculty and students on a level playing field, resisting to a degree the inevitable hierarchy between teachers and learners in institutional settings.

The student ensembles are potentially even more radical. Students are encouraged to form as many bands with other students—graduate or undergraduate—as they want and are given course credit for logging rehearsals and performances. During these rehearsals, there is no faculty member present; students learn by playing constantly in various contexts and in each other's projects—projects that are self-conceived, motivated, and directed. In this way, they are not limited to one or another style of music, ensemble format, or other logistical framework imposed by the university. Students make the music that they want to make, as long as they can find musicians to help share their vision. In this way, student ensembles also foster collaboration and social networking, insofar as one is forced to meet people simply by virtue of being required to form/participate in a certain number of bands. Additionally, students are exposed to different compositional approaches, styles of music, and performance contexts for which they receive credit. In these ensembles, rather than being instructed in how to properly execute or replicate a given historical style, students learn through experimentation and original composition. They are empowered to explore their own vision and to learn from how it succeeds or does not, where success and failure are always only self-determined (not evaluated by a superior). It is notable that these ensembles play a significant role in the course

requirements, making up a much larger portion of the overall curriculum than in my undergraduate institution.

Finally, consider the courses that I took during my master's studies. Not one of them involved chord-scale theory, or even the kinds of traditional music-theoretical endeavors—such as transcription/analysis or arranging—that that made up the bulk of my undergraduate coursework, or that Wilf observed in 2014. I did take several improvisation and composition courses, but they were approached very differently. Many, if not most, of these courses included explicit material about the social and political significance of the music we were making.

In Systemic Improvisation, for example, Wadada Leo Smith discussed his composition and performance praxis as well as his musical career from the AACM onward, while also conducting an ensemble trained to interpret Ankhrasmations, compositions based on his unique musical system.[48] Another class, Twentieth Century Intersections and Interactions, staged an interdisciplinary study of music and art history by separating the homework from the lectures: on the one hand, we read Alex Ross's *The Rest Is Noise* one chapter at a time, independently. On the other hand, class lectures discussed what was happening in other disciplines (painting, poetry, and so on) during the same time period as the chapter in question. In this way, disciplinary juxtapositions formed a greater holistic understanding and fostered experimentation in the course assignments. None of this had to do with jazz per se but instead increased my knowledge beyond a narrow scope.

Similarly, I took Writing for Strings, a class in which every student wrote original music and then benefitted from the experience of hearing that music being recorded by our string faculty, sometimes as quickly as a week after the assignment was due. That we were jazz studies majors was immaterial. In fact, that was the point: we were there to broaden our understanding of music, not to get tangled endlessly in one idiosyncratic practice. I took a Methodologies for Music Research course that in many ways started me on my current academic path. I took a course on music production techniques in Ableton. In Spirituality of Improvisation, we played music with Charlie Haden, who offered us his thoughts and shared recordings with us. Sometimes the whole class consisted of just listening to records together, eyes closed, with no words to disrupt the communal listening that tied us all together in a moment. Whether listening to records or to our own music-making, the passing down and sharing around of something was palpable in this class, a generosity of spirit and wisdom that manifested the spirituality in the course's title in ways that are difficult to describe.

In my graduate program, the culture among students felt perceptibly and meaningfully different from my undergrad experience. Ensembles were not organized according to an implicit hierarchy but were rather understood horizontally, distinguished only by the personality and musical style of the teacher. Correspondingly,

the overall attitude at the school had much less to do with practicing endlessly than it did with showing up to hear each other's music. There was almost an imperative, it felt, to be present for one another's performances, which happened nearly constantly. For my part, the encouragement that I felt from my peers was so strong that I even became suspicious of it at times. After an undergraduate program marked by a feeling of constant inadequacy, could it really be that I was making music others enjoyed? It seemed impossible. And yet, I continued to observe this support being practiced and received by others, on an ongoing basis, by both grads and undergrads, among whom there was likewise no perceptible hierarchy. We collaborated with students of any age and also eagerly worked with students outside of jazz studies, seen not as lesser musicians but as peers with exciting ideas. While there were similarly fewer women in the program, they were some of the most sought-after collaborators I can remember, and remain so. This reflects both the fact that this program was not exempt from the effects of patriarchal structures in music broadly, but also that I found at this school a more communal cultural environment, built on mutual support and the implicit value of each musician's unique voice.

I want to be clear that I still believe it is possible or even likely that women who attended CalArts with me experienced sexism of some kind, and my observations here should not stand in for empirical research on this question. In describing the lack of hierarchy and palpable competitiveness, then, I do not wish to imply that there were no power dynamics at play or to inadvertently dismiss anyone's experiences. I mean only to note that the cultural climate felt radically different to me based on the program from which I had just come, and that this cultural climate might be connected in some way to the pedagogical perspective at the school.

On this last point, it may be regarded as coincidental that my grad program—with little to no emphasis on chord-scale theory—felt less competitive than my undergrad program (with its standard heavy emphasis). But I don't believe that to be the case. I am certainly not suggesting a one-to-one correlation between an emphasis on chord-scale theory and patriarchal department cultures, but I am suggesting that the two bear a kind of relationship, where masculine-coded activities can reinforce any patriarchal, competitive culture that might exist, and vice versa. In other words, I don't attribute the more communal cultural climate at CalArts exclusively or even directly to the way that it handles the question of theory, but I do believe that the equal weight given in the curriculum to alternative musical approaches plays a role in mitigating the sense that what one has to do in order to learn jazz is to thoroughly master a technical system. When jazz is reduced to a game, it becomes winnable. When it remains an ineffable force, students approach it with more humility and curiosity. Put in reverse: when everyone is understood as a musician with a unique musical voice, hierarchical evaluations of who's cutting "it" (what?) are more difficult to maintain. Therefore, while I don't see CalArts' approach to jazz pedagogy as

overtly feminist, I think it is worth paying attention to humility, curiosity, and other noncompetitive/nonmasculine cultural values in conversations about what feminist jazz pedagogy *could* look like—questions whose answers Black feminist educators are already modeling.

Conclusion: Black Feminist Pedagogy

In two recent essays, Tracy McMullen has analyzed the white patriarchal culture of jazz education while also detailing efforts to combat such cultures through the Black feminist pedagogies being instituted at the Berklee Institute of Jazz and Gender Justice.[49] The work being done at the institute is both remarkable and pioneering—I have no doubt that it will have lasting, positive effects on the ways we teach jazz. As a concluding thought, I am also wondering what the many hundreds of other jazz programs throughout the United States without the resources of Berklee (or CalArts) can do to try to reimagine jazz pedagogy for a more equitable future.

Certainly, taking cues from leaders like those McMullen identifies (Terri Lyne Carrington, Kris Davis, Nicole Mitchell Gantt, Sarah Charles, and Paula Grissom-Broughton) is critical. Additionally, there are other, smaller logistical changes that could address the role of jazz studies in the context of higher education generally. Thinking with Kajikawa here, for example, a simple first idea would be to push for a balance in curricular requirements. The Ohio State University, where I used to work, has recently revamped its course offerings to require a four-course history sequence for all music majors: beyond Ideas and Styles in the Western Tradition there is also African American Music, Global Music Histories, and Musical Citizenship, an interdisciplinary course that "explores the varied relationship between music and politics in the world today" by addressing "the essential role music plays in the political lives of individuals, communities and states in a variety of cultures and societies." At a basic level, making such courses core requirements rather than electives works against the possessive investment in classical music by giving them equal weight in the requirements. I suggest that such culturally oriented courses—in which critical race, feminist, queer, and other critical theories are centered—should become more central to overall course requirements, displacing the current hegemony of courses that focus on "the music itself." The main point I would like to make here is that music-theoretical approaches indisputably overdetermine how we teach and learn jazz in US higher education, and because of how thoroughly chord-scale theory has been masculinized and whitened, it will consistently frustrate efforts at more equitable pedagogy if it remains underinterrogated.

Second, we must continue to follow Ellie Hisama's call to redefine what "music theory" means—as well as who is understood to practice it.[50] By this I mean both that theorizing music must be seen as an activity not exclusive to scholars trained

in the discipline and that the discipline itself must become more capacious, orienting itself away from chord-scale theory and toward the unique interpretive systems developed by Black musical practitioners. Several scholars have made similar calls and have worked to develop new understandings of music theory writ large.[51] I would suggest that jazz programs explicitly need to do the same and that these developments must be embraced at an institutional level (rather than disappearing when one or two standout faculty retire). Such alternative approaches to theorizing would reprioritize the sociopolitical contexts of jazz in classroom discussions, which, if embraced structurally, would also open the door to understanding the complex nexus of music and identity in general. In turn, this could become one means (among many) of fostering a reassertion of Afrological perspectives in jazz curricula, of (re) grounding jazz pedagogy in and as an "Afro-American value system"[52] even as this system cannot be pigeonholed or narrowly defined, even as it fosters capaciousness and an outward reach toward expanded community and difference.[53]

Finally, in my view, jazz programs should take steps to reprioritize original compositions in applied labs, which would not only have the benefit of providing outlets for agency and personal expression but would also downplay competitiveness and performative feats of mastery insofar as rehearsal becomes about building something together, not showing off when it's your turn to solo over a form you already know well—all while putting a wider variety of approaches to improvisation into play, resisting the hegemony of neoclassicism.[54]

Beyond any specific recommendations, it is critical that we continue to have conversations aimed at resisting white supremacy and patriarchy in our institutions. In my view, the dominance of chord-scale theory makes such conversations more difficult. I believe that it is therefore worth thinking through how one of our primary means of musical analysis can be rearticulated, away from its current predominant function as a white-masculine technology and toward an intersectionally inclusive conceptual apparatus for enriching the lives of those who study, a philosophical/musical/social framework that refuses its current role as a knowledge delimiter, instead aspiring to continuously open students up onto new mysteries ahead. It remains to be seen whether music departments will grasp and act in ways that reflect the reality of our post-2020 moment as one in which change is both possible and urgent—but I remain hopeful.

Notes

1. With deep thanks to Maya Cunningham, Travis Jackson, AJ Kluth, and Brian Wright for helping me to think through these ideas, as well as Philip Ewell, Christopher Jenkins, and everyone involved with the Theorizing African American Music conference, which provided the ideal context for such conversations. I also want to thank the team at *Jazz and Culture* for such a generative working process, which improved this essay considerably.

2. Michael Powell, "Obscure Musicology Journal Sparks Battles Over Race and Free Speech," *New York Times*, February 15, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/14/arts

/musicology-journal-race-free-speech.html. Ewell's work on this topic was subsequently published as Philip A. Ewell, "Music Theory and the White Racial Frame," *Music Theory Online* 26 no. 2 (September 2020).

3. Loren Kajikawa, "The Possessive Investment in Classical Music: Confronting Legacies of White Supremacy in U.S. Schools and Departments of Music," in *Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness Across the Disciplines*, ed. Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw et al. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 155–174; Loren Kajikawa, "Leaders of the New School? Music Departments, Hip-Hop, and the Challenge of Significant Difference," *Twentieth-Century Music* 18, no. 1 (2020): 45–64.

4. For just a few examples of longstanding work on Black music and white institutions, see Amiri Baraka, *Blues People* (New York: Perennial, 1963); Amiri Baraka, *Black Music* (New York: William Morrow, 1967); Paul Joseph Burgett, "Aesthetics of the Music of Afro-Americans: A Critical Analysis of the Writings of Selected Black Scholars with Implications for Black Music Studies and for Music Education" (PhD diss., Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1976); Ella Joy Nelson, "Black American Folk Song: An Analytical Study with Implications for Music Education" (DMA diss., Stanford University, 1981); Houston A. Baker Jr., *Black Studies, Rap, and the Academy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Olly Wilson, "Black Music as an Art Form," *Black Music Research Journal* 3 (1983): 1–22; Olly Wilson, "The Black-American Composer and the Orchestra in the Twentieth Century," *Black Perspective in Music* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1986): 26–34; Doris Evans McGinty, "Black Scholars on Black Music: The Past, the Present, and the Future," *Black Music Research Journal* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 1–13; Samuel A. Floyd Jr. et al., "The Round Table on Integrative Inquiry," *Lennox Avenue: A Journal of Interarts Inquiry* 1 (1995): 5–61.

   For more contemporary examples, see Naomi André, *Black Opera* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018); Naomi André et al., "Colloquy: Shadow Culture Narratives: Race, Gender, and American Music Historiography," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 73, no. 3 (2020): 711–784; Darren Hamilton, "#BlackMusicMatters: Dismantling Anti-Black Racism in Music Education," *Canadian Music Educator* 62, no. 2: 16–28; Tiffany Mitchell Patterson and Christine McWhorter, "Black Music Is American Music: Learning Underrepresented Aspects of Black History in College through Critical Race Media Literacy," *International Journal of Music Education* 22, no. 2 (2020): 145–162; Tammy Kernodle, "Q&A with Visiting Guest Dr. Tammy Kernodle," McGill School of Music, October, 16, 2020, https://www.mcgill.ca/music/channels/news/qa-visiting-guest-dr-tammy-kernodle-325495; Baruch Whitehead, "Black Music Matters," *College Music Symposium* 61, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2021): 86–88; and the works cited section.

5. This is to say nothing of whether or not educators are maintaining meaningful connections to the musical communities about which we endeavor to teach, often enough a problem in its own right.

6. In using the language of orientations, I am following Sara Ahmed, particularly in *Queer Phenomenology*.

7. See Tracy McMullen, "The Lessons of Jazz: What We Teach When We Teach Jazz in College," in *Artistic Research in Jazz*, edited by Michael Kahr (New York: Routledge, 2021), 85–97.

8. Although I tackle race and gender somewhat separately here, we should keep in mind how identity positions cannot be disarticulated from one another but are rather coconstituting and mutually constitutive. See Angela Davis, *Women, Race, & Class* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983); Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989, no. 1: 139–167; bell hooks, *Feminism Is for Everybody: Passionate Politics* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000); Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, ed. *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective* (New York: Haymarket Books, 2017); Patricia Hill Collins, *Intersectionality as*

Critical Social Theory (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019); Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw et al., eds., *Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness across the Disciplines* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

9. See Crenshaw et al., *Seeing Race Again*.
10. Marc Hannaford's notion of "fugitive music theory," for example, highlights, foregrounds, and synthesizes the original theorizing of pioneering Black musicians like Yusef Lateef, Roland Wiggins, Muhal Richard Abrams, George Russell, and more, thus providing an alternative music-theoretical model that neither succumbs to what I will describe here as music theory's decontextualizing temptations nor eschews theorizing outright. See Hannaford, "Theory on the South Side: Muhal Richard Abrams's Engagement with Joseph Schillinger's System of Musical Composition," *Journal of the Society for American Music* (January 18, 2023): 1–25; "Fugitive Music Theory and George Russell's Theory of Tonality," *Theory & Practice* no. 46 (2021): 47–81.
11. Although "alternative models" should be taken with the caveat that, as Hannaford notes, such systems cannot be simply applied or adopted into white pedagogical spaces, an effort that would perform the very same instrumentalization of jazz theory that I am suggesting has already happened many times over in jazz education departments.
12. "Afrological" and "Eurological" are George E. Lewis's well-known terms for "musical belief systems and behavior" that "exemplify particular kinds of musical 'logic'" as well as the history of two different systems that "evolved in such divergent cultural environments." See George E. Lewis, "Improvised Music After 1950: Afrological and Eurological Perspectives," in *The Other Side of Nowhere: Jazz, Improvisation, and Communities in Dialogue*, ed. Daniel Fischlin and Ajay Heble (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 131–162.
13. I use the term "neoclassical" here in part to raise the conservative politics of the movement but also to identify the state of jazz education, which "continues to propagate the notion that there is a canonic jazz repertoire to learn (that of the Great American Songbook), and a canonic body of exemplary works and practices to engage (the recordings of a small subset of jazz musicians from the bebop era and just beyond; very approximately 1945 through the early 1960s)." See Chris Stover, "Jazz Harmony: A Progress Report," *Journal of Jazz Studies* 10, no. 2 (2014–2015): 157–197. I contend that such a posture is, officially or unofficially, a neoclassical one. For more on jazz neoclassicism, see David Ake, *Jazz Cultures* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2002) and Dale Chapman, *The Jazz Bubble: Neoclassical Jazz in Neoliberal Times* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018).
14. See Ake, *Jazz Cultures*, and Kenneth E. Prouty, *Knowing Jazz* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012).
15. Loren Kajikawa, "Possessive Investment."
16. Kajikawa, "Possessive Investment," 158. In addition to the epistemic dominance of European music in university music programs, it is also the case that women and people of color are a distinct minority in music schools—even in jazz programs—an absolutely related, but somewhat distinct issue. See for example, Norman Michael Goecke, "What Is at Stake in Jazz Education? Creative Black Music and the Twenty-First-Century Learning Environment" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2016) and Tracy McMullen, "Jazz Education After 2017: The Berklee Institute of Jazz and Gender Justice and the Pedagogical Lineage," *Jazz and Culture* 4, no. 2 (2021): 27–55.
17. See chapter 2 in Prouty, *Knowing Jazz*.
18. Ewell, "Music Theory and the White Racial Frame."
19. Eitan Y. Wilf, *School for Cool: The Academic Jazz Program and the Paradox of Institutionalized Creativity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 144.
20. George Russell, *The Lydian Chromatic Concept of Tonal Organization for Improvisation* (Concept Pub, 1959).

21. For more on the evolution, intentions behind, and critiques of Aebersold's "Play-A-Long" series, see Matthew D. Thibeault, "Aebersold's Mediated Play-A-Long Pedagogy and the Invention of the Beginning Jazz Improvisation Student," *Journal of Research in Music Education* (2021): 1–26.

22. Wilf, *School for Cool*. See also William T. Mc Daniel Jr., "The Status of Jazz Education in the 1990s: A Historical Commentary," *International Jazz Archives Journal* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1993): 114–139; Prouty, *Knowing Jazz*; Goecke, "What Is at Stake in Jazz Education?"; Stover, "Jazz Harmony"; Chapman, *The Jazz Bubble*; Tracy McMullen, *Haunthenticity: Musical Replay and the Fear of the Real* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2019), "The Lessons of Jazz," and "Jazz Education After 2017."

23. See Paul F. Berliner, *Thinking In Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Ingrid Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Ake, *Jazz Cultures*; David Borgo, "Free Jazz in the Classroom: An Ecological Approach to Music Education," *Jazz Perspectives* 1, no. 1 (May 2007): 61–88; Prouty, *Knowing Jazz*; Ajay Heble and Rob Wallace, eds., *People Get Ready: The Future of Jazz Is Now!* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Wilf, *School for Cool*; Chapman, *The Jazz Bubble*; McMullen, *Haunthenticity*, "The Lessons of Jazz," and "Jazz Education After 2017"; Thibeault, "Aebersold's Mediated Play-A-Long Pedagogy"; Dan DiPiero, *Contingent Encounters: Improvisation in Music and Everyday Life* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2022).

24. Wilf, *School for Cool*, 158.

25. Wilf, *School for Cool*, 162.

26. Kajikawa, "Leaders of the New School?," 52–53.

27. See Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14 (1988): 575–599; Suzanne G. Cusick, "Feminist Theory, Music Theory, and the Mind/Body Problem," *Perspectives of New Music* 32, no. 1 (1994): 8–27. For a recent study that seeks to add "empirical teeth" to the ongoing persistence of the rational-masculine/emotional-feminine conflation in contemporary society, see Olivia Pavco-Giaccia et al., "Rationality Is Gendered," *Collabra: Psychology* 5, no. 1: 54.

28. David Baker, for example, has said that "the language of bebop is . . . the lingua franca of contemporary jazz improvisation." See Kenneth E. Prouty, "The History of Jazz Education: A Critical Reassessment," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 26, no. 2 (2005): 94.

29. Robin D. G. Kelley, "'We Are Not What We Seem': Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South," *Journal of American History* 80, no. 1 (June 1993): 75-112; Phillip Brian Harper, *Are We Not Men? Masculine Anxiety and the Problem of African-American Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Ake, *Jazz Cultures*; Vickie Willis, "Be-in-tween the Spa[ ]ces: The Location of Women and Subversion in Jazz," *Journal of American Culture* 31, no. 3 (2008): 293-301; Jayne Caudwell, "The Jazz-Sport Analogue: Passing Notes on Gender and Sexuality," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 45, no. 2 (2010): 240-248; Guthrie P. Ramsey, *The Amazing Bud Powell: Black Genius, Jazz History, and the Challenge of Bebop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

30. Fred Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); George E. Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself: The AACM and American Experimental Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Ramsey, *The Amazing Bud Powell*.

31. Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 292.

32. Monson, *Freedom Sounds*, 286.

33. Eric Porter, "'Born Out of Jazz . . . Yet Embracing All Music': Race, Gender, and Technology in George Russell's Lydian Chromatic Concept," in *Big Ears: Listening for Gender*

in Jazz Studies, ed. Nichole T. Rustin and Sherrie Tucker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 230.

34. On this point, see Moten, *In the Break*; Lewis, "Improvised Music" and *A Power Stronger Than Itself*.
35. Porter, "Born out of Jazz," 230.
36. Krin Gabbard, *Black Magic: White Hollywood and African American Culture* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004).
37. Timothy D. Taylor, *Strange Sounds: Music, Technology and Culture* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2001).
38. Thibeault also describes Aebersold's "Play-A-Long" series via John Dewey's understanding of a technology—see Thibeault, "Aebersold's Mediated Play-A-Long Pedagogy."
39. Nate Chinen, "The Gig—Behold the Jazzbro," *Jazz Times*, July 18, 2013, https://jazztimes.com/features/columns/the-gig-behold-the-jazzbro. Also worth noting is the fact that the "jazzbro" may have touched a nerve, being taken up shortly thereafter by David A. Graham in the *Atlantic*. See David A. Graham, "Jazzbros: A Force for Jazzgood or Jazzevil?" *Atlantic*, August 15, 2013, https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2013/08/jazzbros-a-force-for-jazzgood-or-jazzevil/278696/.
40. Chinen, "Behold the Jazzbro."
41. Laurie Essig, "Hate Crimes Won't End Until Toxic 'Bro' Culture Is Reformed," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 8, 2018, https://www.chronicle.com/article/hate-crimes-wont-end-until-toxic-bro-culture-is-reformed/.
42. See, for example, Anastasia Salter and Bridget Blodgett, *Toxic Geek Masculinity in Media: Sexism, Trolling, and Identity Policing* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2017); Megan Condis, *Gaming Masculinity: Trolls, Fake Geeks, and the Gendered Battle for Online Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2018); Sarah Banet-Weiser, *Empowered Popular Feminism and Popular Misogyny* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018); Thomas Keith, *The Bro Code: The Fallout of Raising Boys to Objectify and Subordinate Women* (London: Routledge, 2021).
43. See for example Sara Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017); Lauren Fournier, *Autotheory as Feminist Practice in Art, Writing, and Criticism* (Boston: MIT Press, 2021).
44. See Capital University, "Bachelor of Music in Jazz Studies," https://bulletin.capital.edu/preview_program.php?catoid=5&poid=712&returnto=98. It should also be noted that these paltry history requirements are robust when compared with other majors in the conservatory; indeed, the situation at Capital is exactly as Kajikawa describes it in "Leaders of the New School?": where non-Western music courses do appear, they often do so through "elective" options, rather than requirements for all students. Thus if one likes, exposure to non-Western musical traditions can simply be avoided, where required courses still overwhelmingly prioritize the Western canon.
45. Dan DiPiero, "Bracing for Impact: Music, Millennials, and What Comes After COVID-19," *Los Angeles Review of Books*, May 11, 2020, https://blog.lareviewofbooks.org/essays/bracing-impact-music-millennials-comes-covid-19/.
46. Meghan Georgina Aube, "Women in Percussion: The Emergence of Women as Professional Percussionists in the United States, 1930–present" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2011); Pamela Rae Riggles, "Are All Things Equal in the Back Row? Issues of Bias and the Female Percussionist" (master's thesis, James Madison University, 2012); Kenneth Dale Lee Disney, "Understructures, Gender Roles, and Performativity in a High School Percussion Section" (PhD diss., Boston University, 2018).
47. That being said, it currently costs $51,466 annually to attend this program.

48. See Wadada Leo Smith, "About," https://wadadaleosmith.com/about/.
49. See McMullen, "The Lessons of Jazz" and "Jazz Education After 2017."
50. See Ellie M. Hisama,"Getting to Count," *Music Theory Spectrum* 43, no. 2 (Fall 2021): 349–363.
51. Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Susan McClary, "Paradigm Dissonances: Music Theory, Cultural Studies, Feminist Criticism," *Perspectives of New Music* 32, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 68–85; Rosemary N. Killam, "Feminist Music Theories—Process and Continua," *Music Theory Online* 0, no. 8 (May 1994); Suzanne G. Cusick, "Feminist Theory, Music Theory, and the Mind/Body Problem"; Amy Marie Cimini, "Music Theory, Feminism, the Body: Mediation's Plural Work," *Contemporary Music Review* 37, nos. 5–6 (2018): 666–683; Rachel Lumsden, "Enriching Classroom Discussions: Some Strategies from Feminist Pedagogy," in *The Norton Guide to Teaching Music Theory*, ed. Rachel Lumsden and Jeffrey Swinkin (New York: W. W. Norton, 2018), 313–330; Ellie M. Hisama, "Power and Equity in the Academy: Change from Within," *Current Musicology* 102 (2018); Megan L. Lavengood, "Bespoke Music Theory: A Modular Core Curriculum Designed for Audio Engineers, Classical Violinists, and Everyone in Between," *Engaging Students: Essays in Music Pedagogy* 7 (2019); Megan Lavengood, "What Makes It Sound '80s?" *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 31, no. 3 (2019): 73–94; Hannaford, "Theory on the South Side" and "Fugitive Music Theory"; as well as the Engaged Music Theory database, https://engagedmusictheory.com/. I also think here of the theoretical/historical/applied approaches taken by scholars like Stephanie Doktor, Marc Hannaford, Mikkel Vad, and so many others as examples that need to be institutionally supported.
52. Building on Billy Taylor's understanding of this term, McMullen writes that the Institute for Jazz and Gender Justice "sets a model for such an education that attends to both race and gender discrimination in jazz in its philosophical foundation that combines Black feminist thought with the African American jazz 'value system.' The institute taps into a long-established infrastructure that is ready to take center stage; it offers instruction from a Black female standpoint that has tremendous benefit for all students, and it presents a route to real inclusivity. In prioritizing justice as a part of jazz, jazz education moves away from the racial (and gender) etiquette that delimited jazz into formal elements only." McMullen, "Jazz Education After 2017," 42.
53. I am thinking here of James Gordon Williams's recent formulation of "Black musical space-making" as "characterized by liminality and aims to be culturally inclusive of all expressions of humanity and all genders." See James Gordon Williams, *Crossing Bar Lines: The Politics and Practices of Black Musical Space* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2021), 156.
54. On a very basic level, I am suspicious about the possibility of social justice coexisting with(in) the conservative culture of neoclassicism. For more on the history of conservativism and jazz, see Andrew Sanchirico, "The Culturally Conservative View of Jazz in America: A Historical and Critical Analysis," *Jazz Perspectives* 9, no. 3 (2015): 289–311.

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