The Hidden Opus of Music Alumni in Non-Musical Occupations: Perspectives on Postsecondary Music Curricula and Career Advising

by

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Abstract

There is a wealth of literature addressing the widening gap between increasing numbers of annual music graduates and decreasing numbers of traditional employment opportunities. These scholars and practitioners have voiced a wide spectrum of potential solutions to the problem, but participants in these studies are represented almost strictly by current students and graduates who have successfully secured sustainable careers in music-related fields. The purpose of my research is to address a gap in this literature by amplifying the stories of graduates who were not so fortunate. I hope that my findings will guide faculty and administrators in effective curricular and advising reform in order to protect future students from a similar fate.

To study this sample of music alumni I analyzed pre-existing data gathered by the Strategic National Arts Alumni Project (SNAAP). Housed at Indiana University's Center for Postsecondary Research, SNAAP provided data from the 2015-2017 iterations of their survey, representing 78,920 individual respondents and 109 different postsecondary institutions (SNAAP, 2018a). This data was compared with a selection of categorical institutional characteristics. These characteristics include Carnegie Classification, Educational Value of Seats, Music FTE Ratio, and Selectivity. These characteristics were compared with participants' career outcomes, perceptions of curricular relevance, perceptions of realistic career advising, and general institutional satisfaction. I also explored the differences in perceptions of institutional effectiveness between graduates who do and do not work in music-related occupations.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Statement of the Problem: The Decline of Traditional Employment

Scholars and practitioners are increasingly concerned about the number of former classmates announcing vocational changes away from music (Baumer & Angeles, 2001; Beeching, 1996; Bennett, 2009, 2016; Bennet & Bridgstock, 2015; Branscome, 2013; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Moore, 2016; Rogers, 1988; Wilson, 1946). I attended one of the most renowned music conservatories in the world, yet see growing numbers of fellow alumni changing course to non-creative careers such as real estate, insurance sales, retail management, or customer service. Most, if not all scholars, seem to focus on the experiences and perspectives of current students or graduates who were fortunate enough to establish a sustainable living in the creative fields.

Most modern scholars attribute the employment problem to the rise of non-linear portfolio careers (Bennett, 2007, 2009, 2016; Bennet & Bridgstock, 2015; Creech et al., 2009; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Trevino, 2014b). As voiced by one participant in Bennett's (2007) study of Australian music performance graduates, "I don't know any musicians who do only one thing" (p. 183). Sadly, many of these revenue streams tend to lack a creative element (Bennett, 2007, 2016; Cunningham et al., 2010; Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Miller et al., 2017), with one study finding that 71% of music graduates in the UK worked primarily in a non-creative occupation (Comunian et al., 2011). In summary, most artists enter the job market as "entrepreneurs by default" (Bennett, 2009, p. 323) and supplement their musical income with "low paid, unskilled, or unrelated work" (Bennett, 2007, p. 185).

A Buyer's Market

Other scholars are critical of the overproduction of music degrees, claiming that the employment landscape has suffered from a chronic buyer's market since even the mid-20th century (Bennett, 2009; Moore, 2016; Rogers, 1988; Wilson, 1946). Rogers (1988), in his analysis of data from the NASM Higher Education Arts Data Services, found that 2,100 degrees in music performance were conferred in the 1984-85 academic year. The following year, *International Musician* listed fewer than 800 ensemble vacancies, 64% of which were part-time. A more recent analysis from the same database was conducted by Angela Beeching (1996). Her analysis is not as helpful in this case, as it does not distinguish between music education and music performance degrees. What her research does show is the increased severity of the problem over the next decade. Rogers' (1988) analysis showed a total of 12,000 music degrees conferred in 1984-85. Beeching (1996) reports 82,795 music degrees conferred in 1994-95. That is an increase of 680% in only 10 years. Beeching (1996) goes on to state that "the decimation of public funding in the arts will shrink the already small number of employment opportunities for musicians. Further, alumni from schools in major metropolitan areas often remain in that area after graduating, causing a glut on the competitive local market" (p. 18). Rogers (1988) puts it this way: "the chances for employment as a performing classical musician are really very poor. The chances for full-time employment, even for the better B.M. graduates, are miniscule" (p. 107).

In Branscome's (2013) interviews with 17 administrators from NASM-accredited music departments, participants consistently expressed concerns about the overabundance of music performance graduates in comparison to the number of traditional jobs available. Tolmie (2014) also acknowledges the rapid decline of traditional forms of musical employment – as well as the rise of popularity for non-linear careers – but notes that some institutions with traditional

curricula continue to thrive. In her survey of music students at Queensland Conservatory in Australia, she found that traditional linear careers were still a common aspiration among participants despite their plummeting attainability. She worries that students with such romanticized aspirations may be "destined for career disappointment" (p. 79). Bennett (2009), in her study of Australian dance artists and musicians, found that the vast majority of participants expressed a need for self-sufficiency and adaptability "in a sector with decreasing numbers of employed performance positions and a growing number of graduates" (p. 314). Trevino (2014b) also advocates for vocational adaptability, as well as diversification:

> I realize some students just want to do one thing; just play in an orchestra, just be a soloist, etc... Given our job market, that is no longer a feasible approach…. Sure, it might work for specialty schools like Juilliard or Curtis, but as my friend Robert Freeman says, "Every school can't be Juilliard or Curtis, and shouldn't try to be."

Curricular Alignment in Other Fields

Additional research shows that many academic disciplines within American higher education exhibit poor alignment with the labor market (Bennett, 2007; Rogers, 1988; Williams, 1990; Xu, 2013). For example, geology departments in the U.S. engaged in significant academic restructuring during the 1980s because of sudden changes in employer needs (Williams, 1990). An oversupply of degree-holders has caused similar issues across all labor markets in some Asian countries (Mok & Neubauer, 2016). Some have even argued that the issue is prevalent across all academic disciplines (Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Riley, 1982; Vedder et al., 2013). This presents an ethical dilemma (Beeching, 1996), as higher education is increasingly marketed as a private good where students are treated as consumers (Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Giroux, 2002; Weerts, 2016). Bennett and Bridgstock (2015) expound on the ethical nature of this issue:

> Institutions have an ethical responsibility to represent the career opportunities and challenges associated with their degrees, particularly if they are marketing their degrees based on vocational outcomes. If initial education better addressed the learning needs of emerging performing artists, many of these issues and costs could be forestalled (p. 274).

Because many students bear the financial burden of a post-secondary education, they expect to receive some kind of return on their investment via higher employment and salary prospects (Chan, 2016; Gallup, 2015; Moore, 2016). This expectation is reasonable, as it would be for any 'consumer' in a market-like environment (Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Moore, 2016).

Unethical Recruiting and Career Advising

Many academic units are struggling to meet this expectation but continue to recruit aggressively for their degree programs (Branscome, 2013; Rogers, 1988; Winston, 1994). There is anecdotal evidence to support that faculty members are engaging in arguably unethical behavior through unrealistic career advising and predatory recruiting. This type of unethical behavior by employees facing job insecurity has been suggested by scholars in higher education (Gumport, 1993; Parkinson, 2017) and demonstrated empirically in the field of Institutional and Organizational Psychology (Mitchell et al., 2018; Shoss, 2017; Shoss et al., 2023). The problem is especially prevalent among faculty who perceive some type of proximal threat to their job security or to the quality of their employment relationship (Shoss, 2017).

Since the late 20th century, academics have gained a reputation for operating out of such "myopic self-interest" (Gumport, 1993, p. 298) when faced with possibilities of academic retrenchment or other perceived threats to job security (Gumport, 1993; Honey, 1972; Parkinson, 2017; Rogers, 1988; Williams, 1990). Perceptions of job insecurity can lead faculty and administrators engage in arguably unethical decision-making for the sake of self-preservation,

but at the expense of students (Gumport, 1993; Mitchell et al., 2013; Rogers, 1988; Shoss, 2017; Shoss et al., 2023). Parkinson (2017) offers a thought-provoking summary from the perspective of higher music education in the UK:

> The tuition-fee-dependent funding strategy of UK higher education has, via the threat of failure to recruit students and generate income, and the consequent risk to survival, instilled in academics 'technologies of the self' (Foucault 1988), whereby...the disciplinary culture is shaped in ways that ensure academics' professional survival (p. 23).

These faculty and administrators are most commonly found in disciplines and departments that generate comparatively low revenue from research, have trouble reaching critical mass enrollment, or consistently operate as revenue negative (Baumer & Angeles, 2001; Gumport, 1993).

The Purpose Of Higher Education

The discourses surrounding the improvement of career outcomes, curricular relevance, and realistic advising hinge on a relatively neoliberal view of the purpose of higher education (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Friedman & Friedman, 1980). Some scholars and practitioners oppose this position, arguing that it is not the institution's – nor the applied teacher's – responsibility to prepare graduates for work. Rather, students should be given a holistic education focused on general skills like critical thinking, problem solving, and communication (Giroux, 2002; Lagemann & Lewis, 2012; Polanyi, 1974). In other words, there is little benefit to discussing the alignment of curricula and career advising with the labor market if higher education is meant to function as a place of general learning and enlightenment rather than a factory for the workforce (Collini, 2012; Giroux, 2002; McCowan, 2015).

This incongruence among stakeholders is widespread across higher education, with scholars and practitioners representing a wide spectrum of beliefs. Chan (2016) provides an overview of these diverse views in his thorough literature review on the purposes of higher education. He summarizes this literature – and more specifically the contradictory views of higher education's provision of public or private benefits – in the following table:

Table 1.

Economic and Social Benefits for Completing a College Degree (Chan, 2016)

Societal Benefits (public)	Individual Benefits (private)
Advanced knowledge and higher cognitive skills	Advanced knowledge
Greater productivity and higher tax payments	Improved health and life expectancy
Increased quality of civic life	Higher salaries and work benefits
Reduced crime rates	Increased personal status
Decreased reliance on government financial support	Greater rates of employment
Greater appreciate [sic] for diversity	Personal and professional mobility
Social cohesion	Better consumer decision-making
Increased charitable giving	Improved working conditions
Increased community service	Improved ability to adapt to new technologies
More likely to vote	Less likely to experience poverty
More likely to donate blood	More likely to attend graduate school
Less likely to smoke	More likely to raise children with higher IQ

If contemporary American higher education is truly functioning as a private good – where the student is treated as the consumer who bears the cost in a market-like environment – then the opinions of scholars matter far less than the expectations of the consumer. In the words of Friedman and Friedman (1980) "no person attends a college or university against his will (or perhaps his parents'), [therefore] no institution can exist that does not meet, at least to a minimal

extent, the demands of its students" (p. 175). Many scholars have studied student perceptions on this issue, and the results predominantly show that they accept and embrace the privatized purpose of higher education.

Using data from UCLA's Cooperative Institutional Research Program, Chan (2016) found that, in 1967, just over 40% of college freshmen felt that "being very well off financially" after graduation was important (p. 12). This number rose to roughly 80% as of 2013. Chan (2016) summarizes these changes and their implications with the following quote: "These profound changes, in turn, have shifted higher education worldwide from once a public good to now a private benefit, whereby colleges and universities have begun to operate as a corporate industry with predominant economic goals and market-oriented values" (p. 2).

Astin (1993) conducted a longitudinal study of first-year college students, asking them about their college experience. He found that securing higher employment prospects was very important to 78.6% of participants, along with increased salary prospects for 74.7%. Chickering and Reisser (1993) similarly state that, "for large numbers of college students, the purpose of college is to qualify them for a good job…. [I]t is to ensure a comfortable lifestyle, not to broaden their knowledge base, find a philosophy of life, or become a lifelong learner" (p. 50). Even Giroux (2002), an outspoken critic of neoliberal policies, concedes to this reality: Within the neoliberal era of deregulation and the triumph of the market many students and their families no longer believe that higher education is about higher learning, but about gaining a better foothold in the job market" (p. 435).

Many music scholars share this view of the academy's purpose (Creech et al., 2009; Miller et al., 2017; Moore, 2016; Parkinson, 2017; Slaughter & Springer, 2015). Moore (2016) believes the public has been clear about its desire for institutions to deliver on employability

outcomes, remarking on the anxiety students and parents may feel about the uncertainty of getting a return on their investment. Creech et al. (2009) call this a "tall order" for institutions (p. 21), especially considering the challenging job markets of the music industry. Parkinson (2017) largely blames government policy for such performance pressures on UK higher music education, citing an "employability agenda" (p. 23). Pressure/accountability to tighten alignment with the labor market can also come from accrediting bodies. The National Association of Schools of Music Handbook states that the purpose of undergraduate music degree programs is for enrolled students to "develop the knowledge, skills, concepts, and sensitivities essential to the professional life of the musician" (NASM, 2024, p. 103).

Mok and Neubauers' (2016) find that Asian institutions are having difficulty upholding this purpose:

> When higher education is massified with an increasing number of families investing more on the higher education of the children, hoping to obtain better job prospects and enhanced social mobility, university graduates face the 'broken promise' of graduation from higher education with excellent job prospects (p. 2).

Is higher education's purported purpose of private benefit to the individual truly an *empty promise*? Mok and Neubauer (2016) would say yes. What about American higher education?

Brown (2003) claims that modern American graduates face less certainty of receiving these returns on their investment, stating that "as opportunities for education increase, they are proving harder to cash-in" (p. 149). Lee (2014a) agrees from a music perspective, referring to the "empty promises of entrepreneurship" as a symptom of the precarious nature of freelance work and higher music education's folly in promoting it. In many cases this depends on the field of study (Taylor & Cantwell, 2018). For example, Gallup (2015) found that graduates working in

more lucrative fields like law and engineering are significantly more likely than others to view their postsecondary education as worth the cost.

Despite historical trends, many contemporary scholars still view higher education as a place of general learning and enlightenment rather than a factory for the workforce (Collini, 2012; Giroux, 2002; McCowan, 2015). Giroux (2002) asserts that, "central to defending the university as a public good and site of critical learning is the recognition that education must not be confused with job training" (p. 433). At the dawn of the neoliberal movement in higher education, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) released a special report titled *Higher Education: Who Pays? Who Benefits? Who Should Pay?.* This report lists the following benefits an individual student should receive from a postsecondary education: "general advancement of knowledge…; greater political effectiveness of a democratic society…; greater social effectiveness of society through the resultant better understanding and mutual tolerance among individuals and groups; the more effective preservation and extension of the cultural heritage" (p. 4).

Beeching (1996) refers to advocates of this position as 'purists': "Purists may argue that the work of a music school is not to produce an employable musician but an educated one…. Predictably, this is not a popular idea with most parents or alumni" (p. 18). Millar (2009) would fit into this categorization, arguing that higher music education is "not simply a trade school teaching a narrow set of skills," but a place where students "learn how to learn" (p. 57). Some music administrators also share this philosophy, but the participants in Branscome's (2013) seem to use holistic education as a scapegoat for accountability: "A degree in music is no more promise of a career in music than an English degree promises a career as an author, editor, or

English teacher. Colleges provide students with skills and knowledge, and, yes, certain career-oriented skills, but this type of accountability is unrealistic" (p. 7).

Even if holistic education has lost its place in the driver's seat of American higher education, most scholars would agree that students need to, "at the very least…learn how to take responsibility for their own ideas, take intellectual risks, develop a sense of respect for others different from themselves, and learn how to think critically in order to function in a wider democratic culture" (Giroux, 2002, p. 451).

Human Capital Theory serves as a potential middle ground between hyper-specialized professional education and holistic purism. McMahon (2009) defines human capital as " the knowledge, skills, and attributes acquired by investment in education and health throughout the lifecycle" (p. 41). This definition is often viewed with implications of both public and private benefits (Slaughter et al., 2015; Weerts, 2016). When describing this more balanced view of the purpose of higher education, Chan (2016) states that "the value for completing a college degree is to not only to acquire advanced knowledge and discipline-specific competence, but to also create wealth for a global economy" (p. 10). Delbanco (2023) expands these potential benefits to the "economic health of the nation" and the "economic competitiveness of society" (p. 25).

Slaughter et al. (2015) center the undergraduate student as the essential building block of human capital. Standing as an opponent to neoliberal policies, they claim that Human Capital Theory associates education with increased individual earnings. They also assert that public investment in higher education benefits society through economic development. These benefits take shape in the form of "more highly skilled workers [who] are prepared for high-skill jobs that are the backbone of a prosperous economy" (p. 82). Land Grant schools established by the

Morrill Act were the first examples of this kind of publicly-funded academic investment in human capital (Weerts, 2016).

One purpose of higher education living on the margins of this discourse is the college social experience (Chan, 2016; Schultz & Higbee, 2007; Stephens, 2013; Taylor & Cantwell, 2018). Stephens (2013) asserts that there are three primary reasons students choose to attend college: (1) the social experience, (2) employment after graduation, and (3) "learning for learning's sake" i.e. holistic education (p. 2). Barber, Donnelly, and Rizvi (2013) claim that this 'college experience' is most students' top reason for attending college. Friedman and Friedman (1980) capture this sentiment by calling it a "pleasant interlude" between high school and work (p. 175).

Research supports the position that college students desire tight alignment between curricula and the labor market (Astin, 1993; Chan, 2016; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Gallup, 2015; Giroux, 2002). Assuming that higher education is currently functioning as a private good (regardless of its ideal function) and that students are treated as consumers, they are entitled to expect institutional production of skilled graduates who receive increased prospects of employability and career success as their return on investment.

My research into this problem is based largely on the theoretical work of George Rogers (1988) and Andrea Moore (2016). Both have similar perspectives on the problem, but Rogers (1988) provides a promising framework for potential solutions (curricular and advising reform). Moore (2016) debunks the popular solution of entrepreneurship and outlines the related consequences for students.

Need for the Study

If this problem is ignored or denied by scholars and practitioners, the consequences for the undergraduate music student will be grave. Many will graduate and proceed to suffer from financial instability (Beeching, 1996; Bennett, 2007; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Carnevale et al., 2013; Creech et al., 2009; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Moore, 2016), crushing student loan debt (Dumford & Miller, 2017; Gallup, 2015; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Trevino, 2014a; Wakin, 2004), repeated engagement in fruitless unpaid work (Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Moore, 2016; Rogers, 1988), poor alignment between education and work (Baumer & Angeles, 2001; Bennett, 2007; Branscome, 2010; Comunian et al., 2011; Creech et al., 2009; Cunningham et al., 2010; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Miller et al., 2017; Wakin, 2004), and family sacrifices (Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Creech et al., 2009; Gallup, 2015; Miksza & Hime, 2015). While few would dispute that these outcomes are harmful, scholars hold varying positions regarding their prevalence among music graduates.

Denial of the Problem

A former president of the College Music Society called faculty and administrators to face these problems head-on, stating that "colleges, universities, and conservatories must deal with the real world of musical experience, not withdraw from it into ivy [sic] towers" (Seaton, 1997, as cited in Bennett, 2007, p. 180). Branscome (2013) interviewed a number of music administrators who exhibit signs of such denial. One stated, as an argument against reducing enrollment numbers and increasing selectivity, that "if we advise students not to be musicians because there aren't enough jobs, we're buying into the lack of respect given to the arts in our culture in general" (p. 7). Another put the burden of responsibility on the students, attempting to rationalize the troubling reality of graduate unemployment: "If there is only one job, someone

will get that job. There has to be a particular critical mass in any industry for the cream to rise to the top" (p. 7).

The most concerning response from Branscome's (2013) interviews attempts to bleach the ethics of this issue with a euphemism about love for music: "There is nothing wrong with a world filled with people who love and who make music" (p. 7). This statement is problematic because the administrator is commenting on music majors, *not* non-majors. Branscome's (2013) research demonstrates that all practitioners do not hold a unified position on the ethics of the issue, as some administrators believe that it is acceptable for students to invest large sums of time and money into a degree that cannot guarantee competitiveness in the job market as long as they leave with a love for music.

The statements from Branscome's (2013) study suggest that some administrators may be engaging in self-deception. Self-deception is defined by von Hippel and Trivers (2011) as an information-processing bias where "people favor welcome over unwelcome information in a manner that reflects their goals or motivations" (p. 1). Tenbrunsel and Messick (2004) define self-deception as "avoidance of the truth, the lies that we tell to, and the secrets we keep from, ourselves" (p. 225). It is important to note that this concept is not equivalent to moral disengagement (Bandura 1986, 1999; Newman et al., 2020) or ethical fading (Tenbrunsel & Messick, 2004); rather, it is a common human cognition that needs to be addressed but should simultaneously be normalized rather than stigmatized. In the words of Messick and Bazerman (1996), "to deny this reality is to practice self-deception" (p. 22). On the other hand, these administrators may simply be acting in alignment with the common stereotype that academics are highly resistant to change (Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Gumport, 1993; Guskin, 1994; Honey, 1972).

Financial Instability

Financial instability is very common issue for graduates of music programs. Because of the decline of traditional, stable employment, many musicians enter the job market as "entrepreneurs by default" (Bennett, 2009, p. 323). Such portfolio careers are often precarious in nature (Lee, 2014a, 2014b; Moore 2016), as income is not guaranteed and fluctuates with little predictability. Additionally, the costs of health insurance, disability, pension, vacation, and other benefits fall on the individual (Moore, 2016). As a result, "musicians have career dilemmas about ten years after leaving school: they want a more stable life, they're sick of freelancing and private teaching, they need security, they are disillusioned or burned out" (Beeching, 1996, p. 18). Beeching's (1996) generalization of the 10-year mark aligns with Wakin's (2004) findings in his *New York Times* piece about Julliard graduates. Even at the Julliard School – one of the most elite conservatories in the world – more than 25% of instrumental graduates from the class of 1994 were found to no longer work in music ten years post-graduation. That number approaches 50% if you include the eight graduates who could not be contacted or have no digital footprint.

Miksza and Hime (2015), in their analysis of data from the 2010 Strategical National Arts Alumni Project (SNAAP) survey, found that 50% of music performance graduates reported an annual income of less than $20,000, with only 20% making above $40,000. This stands in contrast to music education graduates, of whom 14% made below $20,000 and 38% above $40,000. In their analysis of data from the 2011, 2012, and 2013 SNAAP surveys, Miller et al. (2017) present simple mean income levels of graduates from music performance, music education, and music history/composition/theory (HCT). Contrary to the more in-depth analysis of Miksa and Hime (2015), these mean income levels were quite similar. Graduates of HCT

reported a mean annual income of $58,626, with music education at $56,393, and music performance at $52,872. What is noteworthy is the large standard deviations shown for HCT and performance ($47,766 and $42,289, respectively). While the grossly oversimplified presentation of this data limits its validity – as it does not account for what field(s) the graduates work in, how long they have worked in said field, or how many different jobs they hold – the large standard deviations present implications for the precarious and unpredictable nature of music careers (not including music education).

Carnevale et al. (2013), in their study of employment and salary outcomes for college graduates in the United States, found the arts to exhibit the lowest levels of mean income across all measured fields and age groups. They further categorized the data on arts careers into the following fields: Fine Arts, Drama and Theater Arts, Music, Commercial Art and Graphic Design, Film Video and Photographic Arts, and Studio Arts. Among these fields, music was in the middle of the pack, showing median income levels of $30,000 for recent college graduates, $45,000 for experienced college graduates, and $55,000 for graduate degree holders. Graduates of music education programs were categorized separately under Education – Arts and Music Education. The results for music education were similar, with experienced college graduates reporting a mean income of $45,000 and graduate degree holders $57,000. Standard deviations were not published in the report, but the findings from Miller et al. (2017) allow the reader to infer a potentially sizeable discrepancy between income levels for music performance/HCT and music education.

As discussed earlier, the financial precariousness of a career in music is caused largely by the oversaturation of a shrinking labor market with an oversupply of undergraduate and graduate degree holders (Bennett, 2007; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Branscome, 2013; Moore, 2016;

Rogers, 1988; Trevino, 2014a; Wilson, 1946). This problem has the potential to exist in all labor markets and is becoming an increasingly salient issue in the United States. Taylor and Cantwell (2018) observe that, "as the labor market becomes saturated with degree-holders, the median wage for someone with a college degree begins to approach the overall median wage" (p. 2). Cantwell (2018) supports this claim with the finding that college degree holders in the early 1990s earned between 80 and 90% more than the national median wage. By the mid-2010s this advantage fell to just under 70%.

Another factor contributing to financial struggles for music graduates is outlined by pianist and writer Andrew Lee (2014a):

> Technology allows everyone to be a content producer while the cost of distribution has been essentially reduced to zero. What is omitted from this glorious promise is that when anyone can produce and distribute content for free, it becomes difficult to convince anyone to pay for it. Moreover, as the field of competition grows unimaginably huge and the market becomes flooded, the perceived value of music likewise diminishes (p. 8).

This is not too far removed from what Ohio State professor emeritus Emmett Wilson (1946) observed about advances in music technology in the early/mid-twentieth century:

> The phonograph and radio have provided so much good music at practically no cost that a population who used to approach the study of music as they would the study of a difficult and totally unknown classic language now find music almost a mother tongue (p. 344).

Today, affordable streaming services like Spotify, Apple Music, as well as ad-driven platforms like YouTube and Pandora, have truly set a precedent that consumers can enjoy music 'a la

carte' with little to no cost. This makes entrepreneurship a less than promising solution to the problem of financial stability.

Bennett (2016) takes issue with broad critiques of music career outcomes such as those from Carnevale et al. (2013): "One of the difficulties for higher music education is that portfolio careers – those featuring multiple concurrent roles – are too complex to be measured by traditional metrics such as national graduate destinations surveys and census collections" (p. 387). She instead advocates for use of the Creative Trident model (Higgs et al., 2007), a concept which is further explicated in Chapter 2. While Bennett's (2016) recommendations on this topic are sound and valuable, her proposed solution to the problem of employment and financial stability – entrepreneurial education – may not be. As discussed later in this review, the entrepreneurial/protean career for which she advocates is viewed by some scholars as an empty promise that is precarious in nature and not actually entrepreneurial according to widely accepted definitions of the concept (Lee, 2014a, 2014b; Moore, 2016; Ricker, 2011).

Student Loan Debt

The student loan crisis in the US is an increasingly common household topic, with the national level of outstanding student debt sitting at $1.39 trillion as of March 2024 (Federal Student Aid, 2024). Gallup (2015) found that 63% of recent college graduates took out student loans for their undergraduate degree at a median amount of $30,000. Thirty-five percent of recent college graduates took out more than $25,000 in student loans. These numbers were found to be significantly higher for Black and first-generation college students. This report also found that, among recent college graduates, only 30% of those who received between $25,000 and $50,000 in student loans feel strongly that their education was worth the cost. Students who received more than $50,000 "are just as likely to strongly disagree that their education was worth

the cost (18%) as they are to strongly agree (18%)" (p. 12). Chan (2016) believes that institutions are aware of and responding to this pressure, stating that "many universities…are under intense pressure by parents, students and alumni to explain the public and private purpose of higher education and to what extent a college degree is 'worth it'" (p. 8).

While graduates' 'feelings' about the worth of their education could be considered subjective and less measurable, the student loan crisis is having equally troubling effects on students' measurable decision-making during their early career:

> Nearly half of recent graduates who incurred any amount of student loan debt have postponed further training or postgraduate education because of their student loans. A third or more have delayed purchasing a house or a car because of their debt, and nearly one in five have put off starting their own business. Each of these figures rises significantly among those with a debt burden of $25,001 or higher (Gallup, 2015, p. 21).

Combined with the typically low income of music professionals, this problem is especially salient for music graduates. Miksza and Hime (2015) found that 26.3% of 2010 music performance graduates required more than $20,000 in student loans to fund their education. In their study of SNAAP from 2011-2013, Dumford and Miller (2017) observed that "many [music] alumni express frustration with a burden of loan debt in comparison to their income" (p. 205). These graduates not only feel that their education was not worth the cost but are also likely struggling to make their student loan payments and/or make ends meet.

Unpaid Work

In her decisive critique of the entrepreneurial solution, Andrea Moore (2016) states that "less cheerful results may include lower wages…and self-exploitation, especially as musicians take on *unpaid* administrative work" (p. 50, emphasis added). Hennekam and Bennett (2017), in

their study of creative workers from across the globe, report that between 30% and 47% of respondents' time spent in creative activity was categorized as unpaid. These individuals often engage in unpaid work because they are intrinsically motivated to do so. Many scholars emphasize the intrinsic nature of career success for musicians and other creatives (Bennett, 2007, 2009; Dumford & Miller, 2017; Miller et al., 2017; Tolmie, 2014), but the aforementioned evidence from across the literature implies that such subjective career success (Heslin, 2005) may be as unpredictable and evasive as objective career success.

On the surface unpaid work may seem harmless for musicians, but for portfolio musicians such hemorrhaging of time is nearly equivalent to hemorrhaging money. Rogers (1988) questions the field's puzzling acquiescence to this problem: "Community orchestras or other amateur music groups are numerous, but I am not aware of any amateur dentists or lawyers who practice without compensation for the sheer joy of their craft" (p. 110). Roger's (1988) statement testifies not only to the intrinsic nature of playing music, but also the field's unique normalization of unpaid work. In light of this, one must wonder if faculty and administrators can ethically recruit and advise students to pursue a career in music without first informing them that much of their post-graduation music-making may not aid in paying student loans or living expenses.

Other young music professionals may take on unpaid work with the hope of increasing their career prospects. Galloway et al. (2002) – in their mixed methods study of UK artists' perceptions around employment status, variable patterns of income, tax and benefit systems, access to the labor market, and business development issues – summarized the phenomenon of unpaid work in their findings:

> Starting and building a career is especially problematic. Gaining access to artists' labour markets was considered challenging with beginners often needing family assistance as well as talent and commitment to survive the early years, whilst *taking unpaid voluntary work was common* (p. 2, emphasis added).

Some music professionals readily possess the resilience and adaptability to survive the challenges of these early years, and do so successfully. The unresolved question is whether curricular structures and career advising practices in higher music education are adequately preparing graduates for this uphill battle.

Non-Creative Occupations

These problems highlight the lack of alignment between higher music education and vocation, as well as the related consequence of music graduates working in non-creative occupations. Bennett (2016) concedes to this problem as normal and unavoidable: "A music career almost always means the inclusion of work located outside music and the creative industries" (p. 390). Hennekam and Bennett (2017) take a similar position, citing financial necessity but also attempting to euphemize the problem: "most [musicians] rely on multiple jobs to generate enough income (Guile, 2006), typically diversifying their expertise with non-arts or support roles" (p. 70).

In analyzing data from over 50,000 British college students in the creative fields, Comunian et al. (2011) found that 71% of music graduates worked primarily in a non-creative occupation. Miller et al. (2017) and Miksza and Hime (2015) found similar numbers about music graduates when analyzing SNAAP data. Miksza and Hime's study cited that nearly one-third of music performance graduates secured their first job in a field that was either not a close match to their education or "not at all" what they wanted (p. 180). Only 6.6% of music education

graduates felt the same about their first job. Bennett (2007) drew similar conclusions in her qualitative study of Australian music professionals, over one-third of whom held jobs outside the creative fields.

Working from the Creative Trident model (Higgs et al., 2007), Cunningham et al. (2010) conducted a thorough analysis of 2006 Australian census data concerning the employment outcomes of those working in some kind of arts or arts-related occupation. Of the 109,160 respondents employed in arts or arts-related occupations, only 10.6% were employed primarily in a specialist role, which the Creative Trident model defines as an artist occupation within the arts industries. The majority of respondents worked primarily in arts-related occupations inside non-creative industries, i.e. embedded creative work (25%), or non-creative occupations in arts industries, i.e. support work (22.1%). Of the 7,540 respondents working as musicians or composers in some capacity, 40.5% secured their primary employment outside of the arts industries.

Many scholars and musicians acknowledge this reality anecdotally: “In my experience it seems that many B.M. graduates move on to other options both in and outside of music: graduate music study, law school, retail sales, the food-service industry, or music education” (Rogers, 1988, p. 110). Bert Stratton (2015), a Nashville-based professional musician and father of Vulfpeck multi-instrumentalist Jack Stratton, also draws from personal experience in his *New York Times* op-ed: “I’ve played in bands for decades, and always with self-employed independent contractors — hyphenated guys (landlord-musician, schoolteacher-musician, warehouse worker-musician). I know few full-time musicians.” The problem has been recalled even as early as the mid-twentieth century: “Many of these [amateur musicians] who in former

times would have made music their profession, now, because of stiff competition, seek their livelihood elsewhere and make music their avocation" (Wilson, 1946, p. 344-345).

The pivot to non-creative employment is often driven by financial necessity (Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Hennekam & Bennett, 2017). As Galloway et al. (2002) observed about artists in the UK, "a 'second job' or complementary employment was regarded as essential to the survival of many people working in the cultural sector…. Some jobs were unskilled and taken on a casual basis to boost earnings when other income dried up" (p. 2). Bennett and Bridgstock (2015) describe these fiscally-compelled decisions as "reactive strateg[ies] for offsetting individualized risk" (p. 274). Beeching (1996) laments the related consequences for graduates' health and well-being:

> Two, five, or ten years after they graduate, music alumni frequently find themselves working in dead-end office temp jobs to make ends meet, with no health insurance or benefits, hoping that their big break will occur even as they grow bitter about music, their education, and their future (p. 18).

Poor alignment between education and vocation can lead to poor job satisfaction (Dumford & Miller, 2017; Xu, 2013). For example, Miksza and Hime (2015) found that only two-thirds of music performance graduates secured a first job that was related to their education, compared to almost 95% of music education graduates. While only an apparent correlation, the same study showed music education graduates to report significantly higher degrees of job satisfaction than music performance graduates. Dumford and Miller (2017) state that "the more that alumni see the connection between what they had chosen to study in college and the current job in which they spend the majority of their time, the happier that they seem to be" (p. 203).

Bennett and Bridgstock (2015), while somewhat utopian in their position on this alignment, take a pragmatic view in relation to career advising:

> In both the organization and character of creative work exists the creative and the mundane…. [I]ndeed, creative work as non-standard, non-repeatable, innovative and newly imagined is rare, and most labor has its routine or familiar component (Caves, 2000). These aspects of creative work are important inclusions when encouraging students to consider their future lives in music (p. 274).

In light of this evidence, institutional advisors and mentors should reflect on the level of transparency they engage in with students – especially regarding the likelihood of finding a career that is tightly aligned with their music education.

Family Sacrifices

A career in music can often be incongruent with starting/raising a family. One participant in Bennett and Bridgstock's (2015) study compared the portfolio career of a working musician to a gypsy lifestyle: "The ups and downs. The unpredictable, everchanging nature of freelance/project work. Fleeting employment and un-employment, a gypsy travelling (following the work) lifestyle" (p. 269). 'Following the work' and 'settling down' are difficult to reconcile as anything other than mutually exclusive.

Once again, financial necessity leads many of these decisions – decisions to make career *or* family concessions. Gallup (2015) reports that 39% of recent college graduates have delayed having children because of their student loans, along with 28% delaying marriage. Of these respondents, two-thirds reported acquiring loans in excess of $25,000. In Miksza and Hime's (2015) analysis of 2010 SNAAP data, they found that 78.5% of music graduates reported no children or dependents. This finding should be interpreted in light of the age of respondents (M =

28.5 years old, Med = 26, SD = 6.50). In comparison, the Institute for Family Studies (2020) reported that 48% of 27-year-old American women were childless in the year 2010 (Stone, 2020). Additionally, the average age of first-time mother's giving birth in the U.S. in 2008 was 25 years old (Taylor et al., 2010). While the availability of public data concerning childless males is limited, the above data provides some evidence that music graduates may be led by vocational or financial motivators to make more family sacrifices than the average American.

In their qualitative study of work-life balance among British musicians, Teague and Smith (2015) summarized their findings about family as such: "All participants explained that taking care of their children is or would be very important to them. Being part of a family was a key part of these musicians' identities, and they would be prepared to prioritise family over (musical) work" (p. 188). This finding was more salient among women participants, but many men in the study expressed a similar desire to rethink their vocational goals in order to prioritize raising/supporting children. One father shared the following: "[I] repositioned my career so that I was gonna be in a situation where I'd be someone who could be a dad and actually know the child, rather than just carrying on doing what I was doing" (p. 185). Among such vocational changes, Teague and Smith (2015) found that private teaching was best suited to fit around a family due to its reliable income, flexible hours, and proximity to home.

Creech et al. (2009) quote a mom/portfolio jazz pianist working through similar conflicting interests and reprioritization:

> I was part of the house band and I was very heavily pregnant with my second son, and this young guy came along to play and he sat in on the piano and he was fantastic and I just, suddenly, my confidence went and I thought 'what am I doing here' you know? 'I should be at home nest building. Who am I kidding, going out and trying to gig?' (p. 14).

There are certainly many music professionals who prefer not to have a spouse or children. There are others who wish for a family but are met with non-vocational obstacles. There are also many with healthy marriages and/or happy children. Not all aspiring music professionals will have to decide between career and family. We must, though, acknowledge that scholarship and experience attest to the challenges associated with these potentially conflicting interests. We must then assume that our young undergraduate music majors are not aware of this reality and advise them truthfully.

If the aforementioned problems are not addressed by faculty and administrators, the consequences for the undergraduate music student will be grave. What is most troubling is that many of these students will ultimately be forgotten by the institutions they believed would equip them for a better life. The remnants of their educational stories will live on only through the memories of classmates and teachers or through aggregation into faceless categories of "myriad failures" (Lee, 2014b, p. 14) and "misguided students" (Wilson, 1946, p. 345).

Research Purpose

When asked about recommended changes for music curricula in higher education, graduates have expressed the desire for more career development and industry-based experience, instruction on pedagogy, cultivation of small business skills, and more realistic advising about life as a professional and lack of performance opportunities (Bennett, 2007, 2009). These perspectives all come from graduates who successfully secured sustainable careers in the creative fields. The purpose of my research is to amplify the stories of graduates who were not so fortunate, using this information to help faculty and administrators protect future students from a similar fate.

While scholars and practitioners have voiced a wide spectrum of potential solutions to the problem, alumni perspectives provide unique insight not found anywhere else. In order to determine what higher music education can do to improve student career outcomes, we must know what actually happened during the students' postsecondary education, as well as what actually happened when they attempted to enter the job market. Scholarly hypothesis is, of course, an invaluable tool in this diagnostic process, but an accurate account of such information is most likely to come from the students themselves.

Limitations

The generalizability of my study is limited by the use of preexisting SNAAP data. The questions on this survey instrument were designed around research questions that far exceed the scope of my own. There are many items that provide answers to my research questions, but certain constructs – such a realism of career advising – present less rigorous findings than those with a larger number of related survey items.

My sample frame is relatively small, only including music graduates who hold at least one college degree in music *other than* music education, and who secure their primary source of income from a field that is either somewhat related or not related to their education. The 2016 iteration of the SNAAP survey invited 386,496 arts alumni to participate, of which only 65,376 responded (16.9%) (SNAAP, 2017). SNAAP surveys alumni from various fields within the arts, making my sample frame only a small percentage of these respondents. My findings must interpreted in light of these limitations.

Definition of Terms

- Academic Retrenchment: Synonymous with 'academic program reduction' (Gumport, 1993), this term refers to the administrative strategy of cutting academic programs for the

purpose of coping with economic recession/decreases in state appropriations for higher education.

- Academic Restructuring: The process of restructuring academic units and repurposing academic personnel in order to increase economic efficiency and/or improve assessment outcomes (Guskin, 1994).
- Critical Mass: The minimum number of students a university or college needs to enroll in order to maintain its financial viability, especially when the institution is tuition-dependent.
- Curricular Flexibility: Sometimes referred to as an 'option-rich curriculum' (Campbell et al., 2014), this is a curricular strategy where students and faculty "are given latitude and responsibility for charting their own pathways" (p. 8).
- Curricular Relevance: The alignment of postsecondary curricula with the skills and competencies desired by respective labor markets, ensuring that graduates are job-ready, employable, and lacking significant skill gaps.
- Curricular Saturation: The challenge faced by institutions to incorporate all areas of study and skill sets demanded by the current labor market into their curricula. This concept reflects the struggle to balance competing imperatives of stakeholders such as holistic and vocational education, constraints of time and credit hours, and accreditation requirements (Chan, 2016).

- Entrepreneurship: A vocational endeavor that capitalizes on a market opportunity, "envision[ing] its possibilities, and creat[ing] an enterprise to take advantage of the situation, usually with considerable initiative and risk" (Ricker, 2011, p. 19).
- Ethical Fading: "Avoiding or disguising the moral implications of a decision," allowing the individual to behave in a self-interested manner while still upholding their personal ethical convictions (Tenbrunsel & Messick, 2004, p. 225).
- Higher Music Education: The study of music – in any specialization – at the college or university level, ecompassing undergraduate programs and beyond.
- Holistic Education: Often associated with a view of higher education as a public good, this concept emphasizes the preparation of graduates for "democratic participation, active citizenship, and personal development" (Chan, 2016, p. 2). More moderate views of holistic education emphasize the cultivation of general skills such as critical thinking, public/interpersonal communication, and problem-solving.
- Job Insecurity: "A perceived threat to the continuity and stability of employment as it is currently experienced" (Shoss, 2017, p. 1914).
- Mentoring: A long-term developmental process that includes elements of advising, counselling, and coaching, aimed at sharing knowledge, cultivating holistic personal growth, and "help[ing] an individual place their creative, personal and professional development in a wider cultural, social and educational context" (Renshaw, 2009, p. 96).
- Musical Versatility: Competence in a variety of musical styles and genres (Branscome, 2010).

- Portfolio Career: A complex, non-linear career featuring multiple concurrent roles (Bennett, 2016). It can be a combination of full-time, part-time, and freelance work, and is often associated with self-employment.
- Professional Self-Interest: Individual behavior aimed at protecting one's job security or advancing one's professional standing. These actions and decisions are often viewed as normal and acceptable behavior (Homans, 1974; Miller, 1999), except when resulting in the harm of others (Jones, 1991).
- Protean Career: "The extreme end of portfolio careers…named after the mythological Greek sea god Proteus who was able to change form at will in order to avoid danger" (Bennett, 2009, p. 311). It can also be conceptualized as an umbrella term to capture the adaptability of portfolio careers, self-employment, and entrepreneurship.

Chapter Two

Review of the Literature

This review takes a broad view of the literature surrounding the dilemma of poor career outcomes for music graduates. It first covers the most popular solution championed by contemporary scholars – musical entrepreneurship – followed by two less popular but arguably more effective solutions – realistic career advising and curricular reform. The latter solutions are not without their obstacles, so these challenges are explicated in the context of the related literature. An overview of the purpose of higher education and the related scholarly discourses is provided as necessary context for understanding the dilemma at hand. The review concludes with other proposed solutions that have not gained as much traction among scholars and practitioners but are not without merit.

This review draws from scholars based in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand due to "the higher level of private investment in higher education by private donors and philanthropic organizations compared to those in developing and transitional economies" (Chan, 2016, p. 5).

Contemporary Solution: Entrepreneurship

Many modern scholars of higher music education champion entrepreneurship and portfolio careers as the most effective solutions to the decline of traditional employment (Bennett, 2007, 2009, 2016; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Millar, 2009; Tolmie, 2014; Trevino, 2014a). Others have simply observed its increased popularity in higher music education and the labor market (Branscome, 2010; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Parkinson, 2017). According to Andrea

Moore (2016), “musical entrepreneurship has become the most widely promoted, disseminated, and supported of [the possible solutions for the ‘death of classical music’]” (p. 38).

The concepts of entrepreneurship, self-employment, and portfolio careers are sometimes used interchangeably among the performing arts. Ricker (2011) defines entrepreneurship as a vocational endeavor that capitalizes on a market opportunity, “envision[ing] its possibilities, and creat[ing] an enterprise to take advantage of the situation, usually with considerable initiative and risk” (Ricker, 2011, p. 19). A portfolio career is defined as a complex, non-linear career featuring multiple concurrent roles (Bennett, 2016). It can be a combination of full-time, part-time, and freelance work, and is often associated with self-employment. The Internal Revenue Service classifies an individual as self-employed if they: (a) “carry on a trade or business as a sole proprietor or an independent contractor, (b) “are a member of a partnership that carries on a trade or business, or (c) “are otherwise in business for [themselves] (including a part-time business or as a gig worker)” (IRS, 2024).

Bennett (2009) uses the term ‘protean careers’ as an aggregation of entrepreneurship, self-employment, and portfolio careers. She defines protean careers as “the extreme end of portfolio careers…named after the mythological Greek sea god Proteus who was able to change form at will in order to avoid danger” (p. 311). She presents the following table based on the research of Douglas Hall (1976):

Table 2.

Elements in a Protean Career (Bennett, 2009; Hall, 1976)

Issue	Protean Career	Traditional Organizational Career
Who's in charge?	Person	Organization
Core values	Freedom, Growth	Advancement
Degree of mobility	High	Lower
Success criteria	Psychological success	Position level, Salary
Key attitudes	Work satisfaction, Professional commitment	Organizational commitment

In contrast with traditional, linear, long-term employment patterns, Bennett and Bridgstock (2015) claim that work of a creative nature most often resembles a portfolio or protean career – one that is taken on a "non-linear basis involving a continually unfolding, self-managed patchwork of concurrent and overlapping employment arrangements" (p. 263). Bennett (2009) argues that entrepreneurship/protean careers are a necessity for artists rather than a choice: "The lack of choice is important; rather than choosing to become independent having learned the market and gained a reputation, most artists find themselves entrepreneurs by default immediately [sic] they begin searching for work" (p. 323).

Other scholars have observed the increasing prevalence of protean career patterns among music professionals. Bennett (2016) cites Throsby and Zednik, who found in their 2010 study of Australian professional artists that "performing artists…are up to five times more likely than other workers to be self-employed" (p. 390). Tolmie (2014) views portfolio careers as a more viable option than traditional full-time employment options (orchestras, opera companies, etc.) that are in rapid decline and losing practical relevance. Miksza and Hime (2015) make similar observations about the difficulty of securing full-time musical employment and notice a resulting "shift…in sustainability models for classical music performance, away from those that are relatively stable and patron based to those that emphasize more entrepreneurial approaches" (p. 177). They laud prominent music schools such as the Eastman School of Music, the Manhattan

School of Music, Indiana University, and the New England Conservatory for their heavy investment in entrepreneurial curricula.

The scholarly push for more entrepreneurial curriculum in higher music education is largely led by Dawn Bennett (2007, 2008, 2009, 2016). She particularly laments the lack of coursework that addresses small business skills, industry-based experience, and career development (2009). When asked what changes they would make to their former postsecondary music education, 19.9% of Bennett's (2007) participants called for more career education and industry experience, and another 15.3% for more courses teaching business skills. Over three-fourths of Bennett's (2009) participants reported actively depending on small business skills to sustain their music careers. Similarly, Miller et al. (2017) report that "average ratings of importance for business and entrepreneurial skills are quite high" among music alumni, "with music performance majors rating them significantly higher" (p. 11). Branscome's (2013) study shows that many postsecondary music administrators acknowledge this need, as "all participants…supported the importance of business skills for professional musicians" (p. 6), but curricular saturation was cited as justification for not including more entrepreneurial coursework in the curriculum.

Andrea Moore (2016), an outspoken antagonist to the entrepreneurial discourse, observes these same trends: "More and more conservatories and music schools, concerned with the state of the concert music industry and the difficulties of obtaining musical employment therein, are developing entrepreneurship curricula in response" (p. 38). In contrast to its advocates, she views the promotion of entrepreneurial music education as an advancement of neoliberal values and a "valorization of precarious labor structures" (p. 33). By romanticizing freedom and innovation, and by encouraging a "radical self-sufficiency" (p. 33), this popular strategy for curricular

reform insinuates that the proper response to the decline of traditional employment is for graduates to not only “embrace precariousness” (p. 42) as a way of life, but also habituate it and promote it as the savior of classical music.

Andrew Lee (2014b), similarly critiques the entrepreneurial solution for its perpetuation of the ‘winner-take-all’ model.

> When you can make music much more cheaply than in the past, when you can distribute it around the world for free, then we can all find a fan base to support our art. This thinking represents the "long tail" theory of economics. In general, this means that relatively few artists and organizations dominate the market while a large number of others jockey over a small percentage of market share.

Heslin (2005) validates this conclusion in his highly cited work titled *Conceptualizing and Evaluating Career Success*. Like Lee (2014b), he observes how technology has enabled “millions of people to listen and watch only *star* artists and athletes” (p. 122), which has created a winner-take-all market for the performing arts and professional sports. He also points out a troubling side effect of this phenomenon where these individuals can feel trapped in the precarious winner-take-all market. Rather than “forgoing all they have already invested in striving to become successful” (p. 122), they continue to invest in materials, training, and unpaid opportunities they believe will increase their chances of success.

Lee (2014b) provides a thought-provoking summary of his critique:

> The more we speak of entrepreneurship as our great hope or even our calling, the more we reinforce a system that benefits only a few. We are subsuming a mindset that places little value in our work and then wondering why no one cares about what we do.

Another hole in the case for entrepreneurial education is that what Bennett (2007, 2009, 2016) and others are championing is not actually entrepreneurship according to widely accepted definitions of the concept. Lee (2014a) puts it this way:

> For the rest of the world, to be an entrepreneur means to develop a new product/service or to fundamentally improve on an existing product/service in such a way as to disrupt the marketplace. How can we do that in music? To teach, perform, compose, commission, start ensembles, or start a concert series is nothing new. We are not creating new industries or products, nor are we objectively improving on the past.

This discrepancy in definitions is further demonstrated by two well-known advocates of entrepreneurial music education. Ramon Ricker (2011), a jazz musician, professor emeritus, and former director of the Institute for Music Leadership at the Eastman School of Music, defines it as a vocational endeavor that *capitalizes* on a market opportunity, "envisions its possibilities, and creates an enterprise to *take advantage* of the situation, usually with considerable initiative and risk" (p. 19, emphasis mine). Bennett (2009), in her advocacy for protean careers, instead focuses on the *creation* of or "continual *development* of new opportunities" (p. 311, emphasis mine). In other words, protean careerists, unlike entrepreneurs in the traditional sense, must create opportunities for sustainable work rather capitalize on opportunities that already exist in the market.

Moore (2016) turns the issue back to institutions of higher education and the responsibility they must take for the fates of their future 'musical entrepreneurs':

> In concert culture, the entrepreneurial push draws on the 'death of classical music' debate…that relies on polemics about classical music's morbidity, or counterarguments about its robustness, for sustenance…. In Charles Rosen's words, 'the death of classical music is perhaps its oldest living tradition'…. While couched in broad terms as 'classical music,' then, what is really perceived to be at risk is the financial health and sustainability of these institutions, which have in fact been financially precarious in the United States almost since their inception (p. 37).

This final clause calls for a brief reflection on the historical precariousness of classical music. The following historical trends are somewhat overgeneralized, but are helpful in providing a broad perspective on the timelessness of the 'death of classical music' discourse.

Since at least the 17th century, classical musicians and composers have been at the financial mercy of some kind of wealthy entity. During the Baroque period (circa 1600-1750) this patronage came from a prosperous institution: the church. J.S. Bach was employed at many churches throughout his career, most notably as Cantor at St. Thomas Church in Leipzig, Germany. Similarly, Georg Philipp Telemann spent much of his career as music director for the five main churches in Hamburg, Germany and Giovanni Gabrieli as organist St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, Italy (Hanning, 2020). In both the Baroque and Classical periods (circa 1600-1820) it was common for musicians to be employed by wealthy royal patrons. Mozart was famously employed by the Archbishop of Salzburg, Haydn by the Esterházy family in Hungary, and Handel by the British royal family (Hanning, 2020). Sometimes these musicians worked full-time in the royal court, and other times on individual commissions.

During the transition from Classical (1700-1820) to Romantic period (1820-1900) composers and musicians capitalized on a new opportunity for funding: private patrons.

Sometimes these individuals were of a royal nature, such as Count Ferdinand von Waldstein and Archduke Rudolph's support of Beethoven or Emperor Joseph II's support of Mozart. Johannes Brahms had many private patrons, most notably of which was Clara Schumann. Clara was the wealthy widow of composer Robert Schumann, who was another recipient of her patronage both before and after their marriage. Tchaikovsky was also supported by a wealthy widow named Nadezhda von Meck, who gave him an annual income that allowed him to compose full-time (Hanning, 2020). Orchestras, opera companies, and even colleges and universities depend on private patronage to this day.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century musicians did experience brief pockets of sustainable consumer support. This primarily took the form of sheet music sales. Amateur musicians – particularly female amateur pianists and social string quartets – took great interest in purchasing new music to play in the home for leisure or social purposes. In the early twentieth century, American music experienced a brief surge in sheet music sales commonly referred to as Tin-Pan Alley. This surge was short lived for composers, but was very lucrative for some. Popular examples include Scott Joplin's *Maple Leaf Rag* and Irving Berlin's song *When I Lost You* that supposedly sold more than a million copies (Hanning, 2020). In the post-war era musicians and composers flocked to the academy for employment. Milton Babbitt (1958) captures this phenomenon, and the related dependence on the academy for funding, in his infamous essay *Who Cares if You Listen*. At the same time the recording industry was booming and creating a lucrative consumer-driven market for folk/popular music.

This historical game of cat and mouse between musicians and financial stability illustrates the precarious nature of the profession. Today we find ourselves trialing entrepreneurship as the next solution. In the end, this institutional emphasis on entrepreneurial

education and protean careers "merely shift[s] that existing financial precariousness from institution to individual" (Moore, 2016, p. 41).

It must be noted that some individuals prefer this type of lifestyle and career. Galloway et al. (2002) state that "the flexibility of 'portfolio careers' could be stimulating. Indeed, some participants said that more secure employment would not be conducive to creative activity and they related this to the role of the artist in challenging the status quo" (p. 2). What is most important is that students are candidly advised *before entering the degree program* about the realities of a protean career and its implications for their future quality of life (Bennett, 2009; Rogers, 1988).

It has been established that champions of entrepreneurship uplift it as the solution to the decline of traditional musical employment. If this promise is indeed empty, what other solutions can be explored? Nearly forty years ago, George Rogers (1988) suggested two viable and promising alternatives while also providing further support for the timelessness of the problem:

> Given the present state of the business of music…it seems rather foolish to think that the number of professional performance opportunities will soon double or triple to accommodate all of our graduates. The idea of increasing the demand for performers' services to solve the unemployment problem is not a realistic short term goal and is not directly under the control of college music teachers. There is also very little we can do about the current surplus of musicians already in the field. My suggestions, therefore, focus on the root of the problem, which is under our control: *the advising of students and the relevance of their college curriculum* (p. 112, emphasis mine).

Proposed Solution (Part 1): Realistic Career Advising

Students are entitled to receive realistic career advice from institutional mentors (Beeching, 1996; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Rogers, 1988; Trevino, 2014a). Such mentors can include applied teachers, other faculty, administrators, and staff. This should happen early in the course of study:

> Students should receive realistic counseling as *freshmen* concerning various degree options; they should not be flattered into a B.M. curriculum in which they spend four years preparing to compete for jobs that simply do not exist. If the extraordinarily gifted (or determined) musicians want to pursue the B.M. after knowing the facts, fine (Rogers, 1988, p. 113, emphasis mine).

Studies show that students desire such candor and honesty from faculty and mentors (Bennett, 2009; Gaunt et al., 2012). In her study of over 200 Australian dance artists and musicians, Bennett (2009) asked respondents the following question: "Based upon your experience [in the career field], what changes would you recommend to the education and training that you have undertaken?" Almost 25% of respondents expressed a desire for "open discussion about the realities of working life and the limited performance opportunities" (p. 320). Gaunt et al., 2012, in their longitudinal qualitative study of students at the Guildhall School of Music, found clear evidence that students desire candor from applied faculty. This is captured by a first-year vocal student's description of an ideal teacher: "[I want them to be] really honest…honest with the advice he or she is trying to give you" (p. 34).

Institutions have an ethical responsibility to educate students about the realities of the job market. Bennett and Bridgstock (2015) present it this way:

> Extended education-to-work transitions resulting from mismatches between educational provision and sectoral requirements are costly in a number of ways. These include graduate unemployment and underemployment, reliance on social security, distress, sectoral attrition, and expensive retraining (Bridgstock & Hearn, 2011). Institutions have an ethical responsibility to represent the career opportunities and challenges associated with their degrees, particularly if they are marketing their degrees based on vocational outcomes (p. 274).

If an institution indeed boasts a promise of vocational outcomes, they also have an ethical responsibility to align curricular and advising practices with the labor market (Beeching, 1996; Bennett, 2009; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Rogers, 1988). According to Bennett (2009), recruiting students while failing to meet this goal could be considered "fundamental dishonesty" (p. 325).

Saying nothing is also unethical. Institutional mentors who are truthful with their students but simultaneously withhold information that could dissuade them from majoring in music are engaging in unethical advising practices. Tenbrusnel and Messick (2004) refer to this choice as a lie of omission:

> Consider the situation in which you are selling a car. Is it your responsibility to inform the buyer that the car has had several unexplained malfunctions or is it the buyer's responsibility to ask? Phrases or euphemisms such as "buyer beware" reveal the answer: moral responsibility shifts from the agent to the target under situations characterized by acts of omissions (p. 230).

Rogers (1988) gives institutional mentors the benefit of the doubt on this topic, but firmly holds the ethical line:

> Certainly many faculty members do care very much about the future of their students and give them realistic and truly helpful advice. Other teachers are concerned about their students' futures, but are understandably more concerned with their own future and job security. Saying nothing seems an innocent way of keeping one's studio and course-load full (p. 112).

He clarifies this statement by urging institutional mentors to go beyond mere truthfulness:

> It is clear that students should not be deceived or misled about the possibility of employment, but it seems to me that our responsibility as faculty members goes beyond not deceiving students: we should be concerned enough about their futures to volunteer realistic advice when students are most naive and vulnerable. If freshmen receive frank, accurate, and unsolicited advice from music faculty as to the probability of finding a job and still decide to pursue a B.M. curriculum, fine: everyone can enter the process with eyes open and a clear conscience (Rogers, 1988, p. 111).

Student Responsibility For Career Awareness

In Branscome's (2013) interviews with postsecondary music administrators, 35% of participants encouraged their faculty to be honest with students, but stipulated that "the ultimate decision was still the responsibility of the students" (p. 7). This market-based/neoliberal view of education can be traced back to the work of Friedman and Friedman (1980), who famously argued that higher education should be treated as a private good and students as consumers: "Expenditure on education is a capital investment in a risky enterprise, as it were, like investment in a newly formed small business" (p. 183). This statement implies that 18-year-old college freshmen knowingly take on this risk, being equally as informed as a small business owner.

While this line of thought is sound in theory, it is highly idealistic. What Friedman and Friedman (1980) and Branscome's (2013) administrators do not know – or refuse to admit – is that many students lack the information to be held responsible for an unrealistic picture of the job market. Tolmie (2014) claims that most students have an "unrealistic understanding of graduate life" (p. 75). According to Angela Beeching (1996), many music students suffer from "an alarming information deficiency" (p. 19). This makes sense, as younger generations receive much of their information from the internet, and public media tends to overemphasize success stories (Heslin, 2005). They know little of the "myriad failures" that have come with the idealization of entrepreneurial music careers (Lee, 2014b).

Institutions are partly responsible for this information deficiency, as they may be sending mixed messages to students about the viability of a career in music: "The abundance of performance programs may erroneously send a message to incoming students that a proportionate number of performance jobs are available" (Branscome, 2013, p. 7). Such misconceptions and "romantic dream harbouring…contribute to [a] refusal to accept reality" (Tolmie, 2014, p. 75). Daniel Wakin (2004) captures this problem in his *New York Times* piece about the employment outcomes of Julliard alumni:

> In the end, maybe going to a conservatory is like being a compulsive gambler: It is one big bet, but the drive to study music is so blinding, and doing anything else so inconceivable, that young players are *oblivious to the risk* (emphasis mine).

Career Success

Is it is important to acknowledge that music graduates do not necessarily share a unified definition of career success, and therefore may have different perceptions of what classifies as risk. Heslin (2005) provides a thorough conceptualization of career success in his review of the

literature, presenting a dichotomous model that distinguishes between objective and subjective career success. He defines objective career success as "verifiable attainments, such as pay, promotions, and occupational status, which have long been considered the hallmarks of career success across a wide range of societies" (p. 114). While acknowledge that these are significant extrinsic motivators for employees, he largely attributes the prevalence of these success metrics to their convenience and measurability.

Heslin (2005) defines subjective career success as "an individual's reactions to his or her unfolding career experiences" (p. 114). While seemingly more abstract, measurable outcomes include work-life balance (Finegold & Morhman, 2001), sense of meaning (Wrzesniewski, 2002) , sense of purpose (Cochran, 1990), sense of identity (Law, Meijers, & Wijers, 2002), and personal growth (Brousseau et al., 1996) (all as cited in Heslin, 2005).While he includes job satisfaction as a potential outcome of subjective career success, he makes it clear that the two concepts are distinct and not necessarily related. For example, "high job satisfaction does not necessarily lead to subjective career success when it exacts a high toll in terms of health, family relationships, or other salient personal values" (p. 117).

In contrast to objective outcomes like pay, power, and promotions, Heslin (2005) observes that individuals in non-linear, protean careers tend to be driven by subjective outcomes and intrinsic motives. These individuals are "much more inclined to set their own career agenda and determine the yardsticks by which its success is measured" (p. 126). Dawn Bennett's work (Bennet, 2007, 2009, 2016; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015) has firmly established that modern professional musicians and performing artists frequently engage in protean careers.
It can therefore be concluded that professional musicians are more likely to be motivated by subjective, rather than objective, career success.

This deduction is supported by the work of many other music scholars (Dobrow & Heller, 2015; Dumford & Miller, 2017; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Miller et al., 2017; Parkinson, 2017; Tolmie, 2014; Trevino, 2014b). Bennett (2007) captures this mindset in a concise summary of her analysis: "Data strongly indicated that far from making a living by making music, the majority of musicians finance music making by making a living" (p. 185). In other words, career success for professional musicians can be defined as "the ability to sustain one's professional practice within a framework that meets one's personal, professional and artistic needs" (p. 188).

Dumford and Miller (2017) used SNAAP data to study subjective career success among music graduates. They conclude that, "in comparison to other careers, musicians have much more nuanced definitions of success" (p. 196). They acknowledge and support greater accountability for career outcomes in higher education, but worry about the negative side effects it may have on certain fields. Since musicians are less likely to define career success with traditional metrics, they may be categorized as 'unsuccessful' just because their income compares poorly with graduates who desire more objective indicators of career success.

> Although fields such as the arts, humanities, education and social services do not necessarily result in financial success, they nonetheless serve great purpose to society, and provide workers with a sense of personal value and fulfilment. Institutions should be able to convey this aspect of alumni success when they are asked to provide evidence of a 'return on investment' for the educational experiences of their graduates (Dumford & Miller, 2017, p. 204-205).

While statements of this nature receive resounding support from the academic music community – especially from champions of an entrepreneurial curriculum – they fall short in

their ‘musitopian’ (Bennett, 2007) idealism. Trevino (2014b) expounds on the pragmatic side of the issue:

> I understand there’s an argument that a college education should not be gauged in the light of economics…, that college is about gaining knowledge, being enlightened, and ultimately becoming an independent thinker. All I’m asking is that music schools give their students the tools necessary to pay for their enlightenment. I don’t think that’s too much to ask (pp. 6-7).

Angela Beeching (1996) offers a similar sentiment in her charge to the academy, reintroducing the ethical dilemma: “The schools that accepted [these students] and took their tuition dollars have some responsibility to help students deal with their futures” (p. 18).

Instead of taking this responsibility, administrators like those in Brancome’s (2013) study are arguably engaging in what Newman et al. (2020) describe as attribution of blame: “the situation in which perpetrators seek to blame others, usually the victim, for the immoral conduct to exonerate themselves of responsibility” (p. 539). On the other hand, these administrators may view the institution’s relationship with students as one of a purely business nature, lacking any moral or ethical implications. Tenbrunsel and Messick refer to this mindset as ethical fading, defined as “avoiding or disguising the moral implications of a decision,” (p. 225). This allows the individual to behave in a self-interested manner while still upholding their personal ethical convictions.

Applied Teachers as Mentors

A commonly proposed intervention to improve student career awareness is the creation of an academic center for career counseling (Trevino, 2014a). In contrast a study of 32,000 Australian university students showed that “more students seek career advice from teachers and

professors than from any other source, *including career centers* (Bennett, 2009, p. 325, emphasis added). Scholars tend to agree that applied teachers are the primary musical mentor and role model at postsecondary music schools (Austin et al., 2012; Gaunt et al., 2012; Isbell, 2008; Roberts, 1991). In a survey of 450 undergraduate music majors from three diversified institutions, Austin et al. found that "almost one out of two music majors (48%) identified the studio teacher as their strongest musician role model…regardless of degree program" (p. 72).

While most institutions have moved to an unbundled faculty role in the last few decades (Gehrke & Kezar, 2015; Macfarlane, 2011; Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006), the aforementioned evidence leads to the reasonable conclusion that applied faculty are charged with serving in a mentorship role in addition to a purely instructional role. In this mentorship role, applied faculty are responsible for providing realistic career advice (Bennett, 2009; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Creech et al., 2009; Gaunt, 2010). Students look to their applied teachers to help them with "connecting their aspirations to actual professional possibilities" (Gaunt et al., 2012, p. 40). Slaughter and Springer (2015) even refer to music mentors as "the most significant resource for career advice and experiential connections" (p. 3).

Faculty have remarkably impressionable young people looking to them for guidance. They "must not contribute to the gap between the expectation and reality by selling the dream" (Wakin, 2004, as cited in Bennett, 2009, original quote redacted in current version of source). "Mentors who fail to advise their students effectively do them a great disservice, especially when it comes to realities of employment" (Slaughter & Springer, 2015, p. 3).

It is important to clarify what is meant by the term 'mentoring.' Gaunt et al. (2012) provide some helpful definitions, as well distinctions between the commonly confounded concepts of instruction, advising, coaching, counselling, and mentoring. Instruction is defined as

imparting knowledge without much dialogue. Coaching is a similar concept, but involves a more organic, interactive process between student and teacher. Advising, while often possessing a wide range of interpretations in the academy, is defined here as "a conversation about professional issues that arise from practice in a specific context" (p. 29). 'Professional' is they key term here, delineating its distinction from the similar concept of counselling which deals with personal development. Mentoring is seen by the authors to possess elements of all the above concepts. It is a development process grounded in the relationship between teacher and student, but what makes it especially unique is its holistic nature and long-term focus. This approach by applied faculty provides ultimate benefit to the student because it recognizes the "interdependence of personal and professional development" (p. 28).

Some faculty may not feel properly equipped to engage in this type of mentoring (Beeching, 1996; Gaunt et al., 2012). This is to be expected, as their postsecondary education likely did not train them to engage in advising or counselling. For this reason, deans and department chairs should consider instituting some type of professional development to this end.

Alan Guskin (1994) provides a thought-provoking summary on the issue of faculty mentoring:

> Often faculty view advising as a limited exercise enabling students to understand which courses to register for to meet institutional graduation requirements. However, the best faculty advisers use this role to mentor and coach as much as advise: they encourage students to see how new learning can relate to earlier learning; discuss…concerns about their future, about relationships to other students; and provide adult experience and wisdom to a searching young (or older) student. All these provide the intimacy of faculty/student interaction that is long remembered by students (p. 24).

Tragically, some applied teachers and institutional mentors do not take this role seriously. They have even been accused of using their influence to protect their own interests at the expense of the student: “Sad indeed is the fate of those misguided students who still select – in fact, are often encouraged by a self-interested faculty to elect – this curriculum, which appears to lead to stardom but inevitably ends in frustration and narrow egoism” (Wilson, 1946, p. 345).

Obstacles to Part 1: Professional Self-Interest

This kind of self-interested behavior among faculty has garnered harsh – and sometimes overgeneralized – criticism (Gumport, 1993; Honey, 1972; Wilson, 1946). It has even been a critique of higher education as a whole: “Higher education policy [in the late 1970s] began to be constructed with the view of both students and institutions as self-interested parties” (Weerts, 2016, p. 195). This wholesale critique of the academy reached a large audience through the writings of Friedman and Friedman (1980). Their take on the self-interested nature of higher education can be summarized in the following story about the deliberations of the Carnegie Commission:

> The commission contented itself with concluding that "no precise—or even imprecise—methods exist to assess the individual and societal benefits as against the private and public costs." But that did not prevent it from recommending firmly and unambiguously an increase in the already massive government subsidization of higher education. In our judgment this is special pleading, pure and simple…. Of the eighteen members of the commission…nine either were or had been heads of higher educational institutions, and five others were professionally associated with institutions of higher education. The remaining four had all served on the board of trustees or regents of universities. The academic community has no difficulty recognizing and sneering at special pleading when

> businessmen march to Washington under the banner of free enterprise to demand tariffs, quotas, and other special benefits. What would the academic world say about a steel industry commission, fourteen of whose eighteen members were from the steel industry, which recommended a major expansion in government subsidies to the steel industry? Yet we have heard nothing from the academic world about the comparable recommendation of the Carnegie Commission" (p. 181).

To use a colloquialism, these critics paint with a broad brush. Higher education is full of remarkable faculty who care deeply about their students. To review the words of George Rogers (1988), who has himself been critical of applied teachers, "certainly many faculty members do care very much about the future of their students and give them realistic and truly helpful advice" (p. 112). Additionally, psychologists tend to agree that self-interest is a normal behavior (Homans, 1974; Miller, 1999). In a professional context, Mitchell et al. (2018) observe that "employees are naturally disposed to think and act in ways that optimize positive outcomes and reduce negative outcomes in order to advance their own interests" (p. 54). While a normal behavior, professional self-interest must be considered morally acceptable when directly or indirectly resulting in the harm of others (Jones, 1991).

Job Insecurity

Professional self-interest is especially prevalent among employees who perceive some kind of proximal threat to their job security or quality (Shoss, 2017; Mitchell et al., 2018). Shoss et al. (2023) found that "individuals are motivated to direct energy and effort toward trying to counteract threats to their jobs, particularly when faced with proximal threats" (p. 2406).

Shoss (2017) defines job insecurity as "a perceived threat to the continuity and stability of employment as it is currently experienced" (p. 1914). 'Perceived' is a keyword here, as job

insecurity is a subjective experience (De Witte, 1999). Two employees facing objectively identical threats to their job security or quality may experience different levels of job insecurity (Shoss, 2017).

Hellgren et al. (1999) established a two-dimensional conception of job insecurity by distinguishing between quantitative and qualitative variations. They define quantitative job insecurity as "concerns about the future existence of the present job" and qualitative as "deterioration of working conditions, lack of career opportunities, and decreasing salary development" (p. 182). Within this model, specific threats in the context of higher education include academic retrenchment as quantitative job insecurity (Gumport, 1993) and academic restructuring as qualitative (Guskin, 1994).

This distinction carries implications for the various faculty roles and the associated differences in responses to job insecurity. Benson et al. (2020) note that the responses of tenured, tenure-track, and contingent faculty to job security threats will differ in light of social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) and psychological contract breach (Turnley & Feldman, 1998). For example, faculty who lack the security of tenure will likely perceive most threats as quantitative, while tenured faculty will instead experience mostly qualitative job insecurity because their jobs are contractually secure. Benson et al. (2020) found that such perceptions of qualitative job insecurity can have detrimental effects on job satisfaction and performance for tenured faculty. Other scholars have found that job insecurity is linked with self-protective behavior (Shoss et al., 2023; Newman et al., 2020).

Some faculty may be at higher risk of responding negatively to job insecurity, as they are more likely to be intrinsically motivated and/or connect their self-esteem with work-related achievement (Blom et al., 2018). This may be especially true for music faculty, as musicians and

artists have been found to exhibit higher levels of intrinsic motivation to work (Bennett, 2007, 2009; Dumford & Miller, 2017; Heslin, 2005; Miller et al., 2017).

Organizational culture can also contribute to the prevalence of self-interested and unethical behavior by enhancing employees' perceived need for self-preservation (Mitchell et al., 2018; Jones, 1991). Parkinson (2017) accuses institutions of instilling this need for self-preservation in faculty. He claims that state and institutional imperatives for enrollment and revenue generation force faculty and administrators to shape the organizational culture in a way that "ensure[s] academics' professional survival" (p. 23).

Academic Retrenchment

Parkinson (2017) is not alone in this critique. Giroux (2002) states that "areas of study in the university that don't translate into substantial profits get either marginalized, underfunded, or eliminated" (p. 434). In his study of two flagship public research institutions implementing significant academic program cuts, Gumport (1993) observed that administrators engaged in "selective elimination of obviously "weak" or "non-essential" programs" (p. 289), justifying their decisions with euphemistic calls for increased efficiency, downsizing, and streamlining.

Faculty housed in these 'at-risk' academic units, or – more specifically to this review – applied music faculty with low enrollment in their studios – may experience high levels of job insecurity and therefore be more likely to engage in what Shoss (2017) calls 'job aggrandizement': "Job preservation motivation might not only translate into efforts to demonstrate one's own worth as an employee, but also translate into efforts to demonstrate the value of the particular position" (p. 1927). These faculty – whether full-time or part-time, tenured or non-tenured – may attempt to pad their enrollments via unrealistic career advising,

lies of omission, or predatory recruiting. To review the words of George Rogers (1988), “Saying nothing seems an innocent way of keeping one's studio and course-load full” (p. 112).

Critical Mass/Enrollment Pressures

These kinds of performance pressures are salient threats to faculty well-being and job security. Among these pressures, the most common is that to achieve a critical mass in enrollment. Departmental and program enrollment numbers are frequently used to make decisions about the allocation of funding, equipment, facilities, and faculty positions.

The history of this performance-based allocation strategy can be traced back to Manns and March (1978). Embracing the view of higher education as a private good, they proposed the use of the enrollment market as “a fundamental mechanism for matching external pressures on the university with internal allocations is the enrollment market. The university (and departments within it) must maintain demand for enrollment in order to secure resources to meet the demand” (p. 542). LeBlanc (1984) attributes this to the convenience of enrollment counts, stating that “it is much easier to count numbers than to measure quality, and, in the absence of outside pressure, college administrators have tended to make decisions based on a simple head count” (p. 37).

Many academics are critical of enrollment pressures, claiming that it lowers admission standards (Bennett, 2007; Branscome, 2013), negatively impacts curricular relevance and flexibility (Campbell et al., 2014), and consequently decreases the wholesale value of a degree. The administrators in Branscome’s (2013) study acknowledged that they feel a responsibility to sustain critical mass in their departments. This pressure and related decision-making were found to have implications for admission standards. Participants admitted that audition standards may fluctuate for students who fill a department need (i.e. a rare instrument) or “when there is a smaller applicant pool in a given semester or for a particular performance medium” (p. 3). This

compromise, although done unofficially and off the record, does a serious injustice to the students and the institution.

Enrollment pressures can also come from beyond the institution. Accrediting bodies often require each degree program to maintain a certain threshold of enrollment. This threshold can be vague and flexible, such as the National Association of Schools of Music's (NASM) use of the phrase 'sufficient enrollment' (NASM, 2024), or specific and measurable in the case of the Alabama Commission on Higher Education (ACHE, 2001). Although these pressures are external, administrators have the opportunity – even the responsibility – to insulate faculty and students from their side effects.

It could therefore be hypothesized that unethical advising practices are primarily a top-down, organizational culture issue. Gumport (1993) quoted a provost overseeing academic program cuts at a flagship public research university: "Yield and retention are now big issues. Those little students are the moneymakers and the FTE ratio is all important" (p. 291). Assuming there are other institutional decision-makers who feel this way, the question begs: how do these values mutate as they trickle down to the levels of Dean, Department Chair, and Faculty?

Employees, especially those at a conventional level of moral development, look to their co-workers and supervisors for a moral definition of the situation (Trevino, 1986). Should faculty, chairs, and deans witness others rationalizing unethical recruiting and advising practices under the guise of survival, they themselves may be more inclined to engage in ethical fading, lies of omission, and attribution of blame (Newman et al., 2020; Tenbrunsel & Messick, 2004). All employees, regardless of their place in the organizational hierarchy, have a choice to follow or resist: "principled individuals may be more likely to resist external influence, to try to change

the situation, or to select themselves out of situations where they were expected to behave unethically" (p. 610).

What ultimately matters is how these performance pressures impact the individual student. The administrators in Branscome's (2013) study acknowledged that this practice could instill false hope in their students and/or compromise the quality of their education. Other impacts on students include deterioration of teaching quality (Giroux, 2002; Guskin, 1994; Slaughter et al., 2015; Winston, 1994), devaluation of nonprofitable fields (Benson et al., 2020; Giroux, 2002; Gumport, 1993; Williams, 1990), and lack of curricular options (Campbell et al., 2014). Guskin (1994) states that the inevitable results of market-like management of higher education will be "an ever-increasing downhill struggle entailing big, new costs to the quality of faculty life and to opportunities for student learning" (p. 18).

Realistically, there may be no escape from enrollment pressures due to the seemingly irreversible momentum of neoliberal education policy. What, then, does Trevino's (1986) resistance look like? What is actually under our control to change as faculty and administrators? To review Rogers' (1988) recommendations, we should "focus on the root of the problem, which is under our control: the advising of students and the relevance of their college curriculum" (p. 112).

Proposed Solution (Part 2): Curriculum

Many scholars have questioned the relevance of curricula and called for reform in higher music education (Bennett, 2009; Campbell et al., 2014; Moir & Hails, 2019; Rogers, 1988; Trevino, 2014a; Wilson, 1946). In advocating for entrepreneurial education, Bennett (2007) contends that "performance-based education and training in classical music does not provide graduates with the requisite skills to achieve a sustainable career" (p. 187). Similarly, Tolmie

(2014) claims that "the nineteenth century conservatoire model is losing its practical relevance" (p. 74). Bennett (2016) found that arts alumni express similar dissatisfaction with curricular relevance, citing "insufficient preparation for work" (p. 391).

Critiques of this nature are ubiquitous among other disciplines and higher education in general (Gibbons, 1998; Stuckey et al., 2013; Williams, 1990). These critiques focus on tight alignment between education and the labor market. According to Chan (2016), "there is notable confusion between higher education providers and the employment sectors regarding skills development that are essential to academic and career development success" (pp. 5-6). Like Bennett (2016), Honey (1972) centers the student perspective: "The restiveness of many students derives not so much from lack of intellectual stamina as from disbelief that what they are learning in the classroom has direct bearing on all the problems that they have long been exposed to outside it" (p. 27).

Guskin (1994) implies that faculty are partly to blame, predicting that "the undergraduate curriculum as presently organized will have to change from its present focus on faculty disciplinary interests to a focus on student learning" (p. 25). Carey et al. (2013) defend academia's resistance to curricular change, painting it as a strength but providing an important caveat:

> It is both strength and limitation of institutional cultures…that they are not readily overturned. With the high stakes that attend any conservatoire, there is much to be lost in following fads and fashions, no matter how compelling they may seem in terms of a rationale for wide and deep change. On the other hand, the tendency to maintain time-honored practices that continue to be exempted from scrutiny…is a tendency that is

> increasingly unsustainable in the context of demands for more client-oriented accountability from higher education institutions (p. 151).

As discussed earlier, entrepreneurship is championed as the most effective curricular solution by most contemporary scholars. As demonstrated by Moore (2016), Lee (2014b), and Heslin (2005), this may not be true. What, then, should curricular reform look like apart from the entrepreneurial approach?

While most of Bennett's (2007) findings focus on business and entrepreneurial skills, her participants voiced other preferences that better align with the work of Rogers (1988). When respondents were asked what changes they would make to their postsecondary music education, the most common response was career education and industry experience (19.9% of respondents). After this was training in pedagogy and teaching (17.6%). Similar findings emerged from Bennett's 2009 study. Nearly 25% of respondents wished for more career development and industry-based experience (24.1%), once again followed by training in pedagogy and teaching (18%).

Career Development/Industry Experience

Miller et al. (2011) encourage the addition of internships and service-learning to postsecondary music curricula, citing their prevalence and effectiveness in non-arts disciplines like business and engineering. Results from the Gallup-Purdue Index (2015) validate this claim of effectiveness, particularly from the student point of view. This report found that graduates who participated in an internship were 1.5 times more likely to view their postsecondary education as 'worth the cost' and 1.8 times more likely to be engaged at work (controlling for personality factors). In a separate report analyzing the same data, Seymour and Ray (2014) found that 71% of recent college graduates who were presented with internship opportunities during

their undergraduate education have secured sustainable full-time employment, compared with only 56% of those who did not have internship opportunities.

The effectiveness of internships in the music industry was explored by Rolston and Herrera (2000) in their survey of 163 professionals actively employed in the commercial music/recording industry. When asked to rate the effectiveness of various strategies for entering the job market (scale of 1-10 with 10 being most effective), internships were rated the highest ($M = 7.47$, $SD = 2.20$) when compared to networking, classified ads, temp agencies, cold calling, and unsolicited resumes.

Other music scholars and academics agree with the benefits of work experience and internships. Gaunt et al. (2012) recommend their inclusion in music curricula because they "make [students] think more acutely about their own professional identity and path" (p. 38). Without explicitly mentioning curricular internships, Beeching (1996) states that music faculty "need to encourage students to experiment and explore the world of work while they're still in school" (p. 34).

Ivan Trevino (2014b), an active composer and faculty member at the University of Texas at Austin, proposes what he calls a "Senior Year Field Experience" to fill this need. During this year, the students does not take any traditional classes. Instead they continue taking lessons with an applied teacher while "spending the year as an actual 'working' musician." Specific tasks include booking, promoting, and performing a requisite number of concerts out in the local community; giving educational outreach presentations at public schools; maintaining a private teaching studio; and designing a website, press kit, and portfolio. This would benefit the student as a low-stakes, supervised "practice run at being a working musician," as well as the community via musical enrichment and educational outreach.

Tolmie (2014), while an avid supported of career development for music students, argues that senior year is too late for this type of curricular intervention. In contrast, her home institution – the Queensland Conservatory at Griffith University – has implemented an early-term, three-part career development coursework called *My Life as a Musician* (MLaaM). While quite different from an internship/external work experience, it attempts to fill the same curricular void. Overall, the coursework is designed to introduce students to potential career options, prompts them to consider their vocational futures, cultivates non-traditional skills ranging from opportunity recognition to pedagogy, and further develops these skills through project-based learning (Griffith University, 2024).

Pedagogical Training

"One can hardly ignore the need for music performance majors to embrace pedagogy and teaching as social and occupational realities they will encounter sooner rather than later" (Austin et al., 2012, p. 81). Many music scholars have voiced support for this sentiment (Bennett & Stanberg, 2006; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Mills, 2004; Rogers, 1988). Bennett (2007) found that most Australian musicians spend more time teaching than performing. More than 81% of her participants taught music in some capacity. A British survey of orchestral musicians found that over 75% of respondents earned more half of their income from teaching (Metier, 2001b, as cited in Bennett, 2007).

In her study of Australian musicians and dance artists, Bennett (2009) found that teaching served as a consistent source of income for protean careerists, and was even a "necessity to survive financially" for some artists (p. 317). "Respondents highlighted the importance of pedagogy training for all music performance students. Suggestions included formal pedagogy

training, opportunities for teaching practice, mentorship, and the incorporation of credits towards a teaching qualification" (p. 320).

Musical Versatility

Musical versatility – or competence in a variety of musical styles and genres – has been suggested as a vital skill set for those pursuing performance careers (Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Campbell et al., 2014; Creech et al., 2009). In Branscome's (2010) dissertation that studied 66 faculty members and 14 professional musicians, participants expressed a need for such musical versatility in order to succeed in a classical music performance career. A similar sentiment was expressed by those in the jazz subgroup, stating that jazz musicians often encounter the financial necessity to perform in show bands or orchestras, record non-jazz music in a studio, or work in other genres.

Bennett (2008) found that many alumni of music programs are dissatisfied that they graduate with insufficient knowledge of multiple genres. Slaughter and Springer (2015) speak to employer expectations, stating that "some employers have begun to pass over specialized musicians in favor of more diversified musicians who are…fluent in many musical styles" (p. 3). In his "Pretend Music School," Trevino (2014a) dreams of students being trained to improvise and perform in many different styles: "Don't turn down gigs because you 'don't play rock.' You do want to make money, so you should have the skills to do so in many different musical contexts."

Popular Music: A Source of Versatility or a Field of its Own?

One discourse that remains largely hidden in mainstream literature is the place of popular music in higher education. Some authors approach the topic by advocating for the integration of commercial/popular music to bridge the curricular gap (Lebler, 2008; Powell et al., 2015;

Dyndahl et al., 2017). Others argue that Higher Popular Music Education (HPME) is crudely classified by traditional higher music education as anything *other* than 'Classical Music' (Moir & Hails, 2019). Popular music is therefore commonly viewed, not as a legitimate field within the academy, but as an important source of diversity within the 'classical' curriculum (Creech et al., 2009). There is little debate that higher music education is historically rooted in the Western art-music tradition, but some argue that it is purposed with upholding high culture and teaching "time-honored practices that continue to be exempted from scrutiny" (Carey et al., 2013, p. 151). HPME, on the other hand, is subject to "the subtly pejorative adjectives historically used in association with popular culture ('vernacular', 'light', 'low', 'mass') [that] set it apart from that which has been prized…by institutions" (Parkinson, 2017, p. 14).

Parkinson (2017) uses a critical lens to connect this discourse with issues of social justice. He asserts that the classical/popular distinction functions in parallel with cultural/class-based prejudice. An arguable majority of post-secondary music students are upper class, as are most consumers of Western high-art music, which perpetuates the class divide preserved by higher music education. The early musical training frequently required for admission to elite institutions – and consequent success in the career field – is primarily available to those with significant financial resources. Parkinson (2017) concludes that the continued growth and acceptance of HPME could break down the elite status of classical music education by "disrupting its canonical norms" (p. 25).

Moir and Hails (2019) assert that most problems in HPME stem from "doing things 'the way that they have always been done'," or "uncritically adopting pedagogic practices" from other times (p. 8). This position can readily be applied to all of higher music education. Canonized masterworks, for example, are certainly valuable to the learning process, but

according to Moir and Hails (2019) should be seen as fallible and subject to a post-structural critique. The same goes for traditional forms of pedagogy and assessment – the music industry is nearly unrecognizable when compared to nineteenth century Europe, so why are institutions committed to immortalizing music and practices from that period?

Parkinson (2017) attributes HPME's rise in popularity to the shift in higher education policy toward a utilitarian, neoliberal model:

> The employability agenda dictates that undergraduate degree programmes should simultaneously equip students for financially sustainable careers and meet the demands of industry. In the case of [HPME], this might be seen to favour curricula orientated towards the economic logics of a commercial industry that thrives on that which is 'popular' in the quantitative (profit-generating) sense, as opposed to curricula that prioritize aesthetic and cultural value, understood in intrinsic terms (p. 23-24).

This is exemplified by the advertisement of the BA in Commercial Music at the University of Westminster, embracing a mission to help students meet "the prevailing standards of the commercial music sector" (University of Westminster, 2016, p. 3).

Creech et al.'s (2009) findings seem to support such heightened prospects of employability for graduates of popular music programs. In their analysis of interview data from 27 Scottish undergraduate and portfolio musicians, data showed that, "amongst all [genres] but the popular musicians, the music profession was deemed to be highly competitive" (p. 14). Branscome (2010) expresses some concern about this curricular solution, worrying that declining enrollment in music business programs may reflect a lack of market demand for employees with specialized degrees.

Composition and Improv

Most creative fields place significant emphasis on the creation of new work. For some reason, traditional music education has deemphasized the arts of improvisation and composition. The College Music Society's *Task Force for the Undergraduate Music Major* observed this trend in their manifesto on curricular reform:

> One of the most startling shortcomings in all of arts education is that too many music students graduate with little to no experience…in the essential creative processes of improvisation and composition. In contrast, students majoring in the visual arts could not gain a degree without producing a portfolio of original creative work (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 4).

Trevino (2014a) echoes this sentiment in dreaming of his "Pretend Music School." As a successful composer, he recognizes the benefits this training can bring to protean musicians, as composing and arranging can add valuable supplemental income to other work. His recommendation is to "axe that last semester of atonal theory in favor of some more practical theoretical skills that we can immediately utilize in our post college lives" (p. 2).

In summary, an ever changing landscape of musical employment and rapid technological innovation have necessitated radical curricular reform in higher music education (Bennett, 2007, 2009; Campbell et al., 2014; Rogers, 1988; Tolmie, 2014; Trevino, 2014a, 2014b). While few dispute this claim – other those most traditional and resistant to change –many scholars and practitioners will be quick to point out the challenges facing such reform.

Obstacles to Part 2: Curricular Saturation and Resistance to Change

How can faculty and administrators address this diverse and sizeable range of curricular needs without overloading an already saturated curriculum? It is well-known among the higher

music education community that curricula have a tendency towards overload (Branscome, 2013; Slaughter & Springer, 2015; Tolmie, 2014). In her study of 207 music professionals and educators, Bennett's (2007) participants accepted the reality of a saturated curriculum, conceding that "musicians could not possibly graduate with all of the skills required for their future career" (p. 186). Such resigned acceptance of curricular saturation is likely due to competing imperatives in higher education (Chan, 2016). Is it the institution's purpose to create jobs, develop skills, cultivate citizens, disseminate knowledge, or all of the above?

Bennett (2009) recognizes that many institutions struggle with the balance of course delivery and time constraints, and consequently recommends career development opportunities and industry-based experience as viable solutions that don't necessarily add to a saturated curriculum. Trevino (2014b) recommends his Senior Year Field Experience as succinct way to fill the aforementioned curricular gaps. Other recommended solutions include curricular integration and curricular flexibility.

Curricular Integration

Campbell et al. (2014) list "pervasive fragmentation" (p. 6) as a primary weakness of the modern curricular model. Their critique highlights the siloing of concepts such as performance, theoretical studies, historical inquiry, and composition. They suggest that these seemingly unrelated concepts could be integrated within the applied lesson context, but also encourage a holistic integration of musical concepts in classroom and ensemble settings. They are clear that such an intervention "should not be conflated with add-on provisions…which typically carries more hours and course credit" (p. 12).

Gaunt (2010) touches on the issue from the student perspective. In his interviews with 20 UK conservatoire students, the majority of participants felt little integration between their

applied lessons and the rest of their course work. As a result, "they saw classes as a peripheral activity, and at times irrelevant" (p. 199). Wilson (1946), in his vehement argument against hyper-specialization in undergraduate music education, held similar concerns about curricula nearly 70 years beforehand: "The most sinister of these [impediments to progress] is the progressive subdivision of subject matter which, in every field, masquerades as more refined specialization and efficiency" (p. 346).

Curricular Flexibility

In their manifesto on curricular reform, Campbell et al. (2014) advocate for an option-rich curriculum. They define this as a curricular strategy where students and faculty "are given latitude and responsibility for charting their own pathways" (p. 8). They suggest streamlining the core music curriculum to allow students greater freedom for exploring "an expanded slate of options" (p. 10). This non-traditional solution would empower to students to explore their specific interests in the music industry without being pinned into a hyper-specialized curriculum. Streamlining the core curriculum comes with risks, particularly in relation to accreditation requirements and external perceptions of academic rigor. In response to this, Campbell et al. (2014) suggest "carefully designed proficiency protocols…that balance choice with developing high degrees of rigor and skill" (p. 11).

Academic Restructuring

Curricular reform, especially methods that propose the teaching of new subjects (Williams, 1990) or a shift towards student interests (Campbell et al., 2014), will likely require some kind of academic restructuring. This may be met with resistance by some faculty (Guskin, 1994), as they may feel ill-equipped to teach new subjects (Campbell et al., 2014), unwilling to teach in areas outside of their disciplinary interests (Guskin, 1994), or hesitant to devote time to

retraining or professional development. It may even cause faculty to experience qualitative job insecurity, defined by Hellgren et al. (1999) as “perceived threats of impaired quality in the employment relationship, such as deterioration of working conditions, lack of career opportunities, and decreasing salary development” (p. 182).

Guskin (1994) summarizes this obstacle from the perspective of college administrators: “The fundamental challenge…will be to induce a highly resistant community [of faculty] to understand that there's an economic reality within which they'll have to live, one that may include "downsizing" and "restructuring" and the biting of all sorts of personally painful bullets” (p. 18). Campbell et al. (2014) confront the issue in a more diplomatic tone, stating that “turbulence is inherent to change” (p. 7). Their task force poses multiple recommendations for instituting healthy change and coping with potential resistance. The first is to initiate ongoing conversation that is both critical and scrutinous of traditional practices. Another is to support faculty adaptability via provision of professional development opportunities (Dixon, 1983; Guskin, 1994; Williams, 1990). They acknowledge that is up to the individual to capitalize on these opportunities, as “deeply inspired teaching [must come] from those who are themselves avid learners, willing to enhance their own knowledge and skill to increase their relevance and service to students” (p. 12).

A case study of academic restructuring in American higher education can be seen in the example of geology departments during the 1980’s (Williams, 1990). This field experienced a dramatic decline in the number of geology majors beginning around 1983. Decreases in the price of petroleum, and the consequential reduction of the workforce, made many students reluctant to choose a major with such limited career opportunities. In response, many geology departments scrambled to develop programs in applied geology (engineering and hydrogeology) and earth-

science education. This required not only a shift in faculty hiring, but also a retraining of current faculty to teach earth-science education. This of course presented significant obstacles: “Where would they receive this retraining? How long would it take? And, are there enough current faculty who would be willing to undertake such a redirection of their careers?” (p. 192). This restructuring served not only to improve the career outcomes of geology majors, but attract more students and therefore preserve the department and related faculty jobs.

Rogers (1988) suggested a similar shift of focus away from music performance and toward music education. Dean Angeles, professor emeritus at Loyola University, went so far to say that small colleges and music departments are best suited for producing music educators rather than performers (Baumer & Angeles, 2001). At Loyola, his ideal orchestra was comprised of 50% music education majors, compared to only 30% from performance/composition/music business. These recommendations are supported by data showing that music education graduates consistently exhibit higher career outcomes than performance graduates (Miksza & Hime, 2015; Miller et al., 2017).

Rogers (1988) offers another unique, thought-provoking, and potentially controversial recommendation on the dilemma of academic restructuring, turning to the education of non-majors and the cultivation of the next generation of music lovers:

> How shall we retain present numbers of college music faculty while guiding undergraduate music students in a more realistic direction?... It might mean broadening the academic offerings for nonmajors beyond the traditional music appreciation course, perhaps to include music fundamentals, piano, guitar, jazz history, related arts, non-Western musics, or courses involving popular music and culture. Working with nonmajors can help music faculty keep their world in perspective and provide a challenge

> for their motivational and teaching skills. Perhaps more importantly, such courses take music from a specialist milieu into the educational mainstream. Such a focus on making the nonmusician more musical might ultimately result in a somewhat more human and aesthetically aware society - one in which the arts would be supported to a greater degree than presently. Broadening our efforts and focusing less on the performer, in other words, might help provide exactly the situation in which the performer could prosper (p. 115-116).

Instructional Quality

Even the most effective and innovative curriculum is limited by the quality of instructional delivery. This presents an additional obstacle to efforts for curriculum reform. Many scholars have emphasized this importance of instructional quality for the success of graduates (Astin, 1993; Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Gallup, 2015; Giroux, 2002; Gumport, 1993; Guskin, 1994; Slaughter et al., 2015; Winston, 1994). The Gallup-Purdue Index (2015), in their survey of students perceptions about the quality of their education, states that "all universities need to strongly emphasize the quality of the interactions faculty members have with students to maintain their promise of a valuable college education to prospective undergraduates" (p. 9). Astin (1993) agrees, focusing attention on the quality of faculty/student interactions:

> The quality of the college experience is strongly affected by student-faculty interactions. The frequency with which students talk with professors outside class, work with them on research projects, [and] assist them in teaching…correlates with student grade-point average, degree attainment, enrollment in graduate or professional school, every self-reported area of intellectual and personal growth, satisfaction with quality of instruction, and likelihood of choosing a career in college teaching (pp. 383-384).

Gallup (2015) argues that the primary impediment to this quality is lack of faculty accessibility to students and the resulting loss of meaningful interactions. Guskin (1994) implies that this loss is caused by institutional emphasis on job roles unrelated to instruction: "Faculty spend precious little time involved in the activities that are unique to faculty and that have major impact on student learning, namely direct, individual faculty/student interaction, intense small group discussions, [and] mentoring and advising" (p. 20).

To explain this, many critics of higher education point to neoliberal policies and lopsided institutional reward structures that overemphasize research and undervalue teaching (Giroux, 2002; Gumport, 1993; Guskin, 1994; Slaughter et al., 2015; Winston, 1994). Even Friedman and Friedman (1980), who are often seen as pioneers of the neoliberal movement in higher education, criticize institutions for these policies:

> There are good teachers in city and state colleges and universities as well as interested students. But the rewards for faculty and administrators at the prestigious government institutions are not for good undergraduate teaching. Faculty members advance as a result of research and publication; administrators advance by attracting larger appropriations from the state legislature. As a result, even the most famous state universities—the University of California at Los Angeles or at Berkeley, the University of Wisconsin, or the University of Michigan—are not noted for undergraduate teaching. Their reputation is for graduate work, research, and athletic teams—that is where the payoffs are (p. 176).

Giroux (2002), although an outspoke critic of Friedman and Friedman's (1980) views on higher education, agrees with them on this point:

> Those working conditions that allow professors and graduate assistants to comment extensively on student work, teach small classes, take on student advising, conduct

> independent studies, and engage in collaborative research will be further weakened or eliminated [by neoliberal policies], since they do not appear consistent with the imperatives of downsizing, efficiency, and cost accounting (p. 434).

In an effort to increase the offset the decrease in faculty/student interactions, administrators have increased teaching loads for graduate students and hired a disproportionate percentage of adjunct faculty (Kezar & Maxey, 2012; Kezar & Sam, 2010).

Some argue that these strategies have failed to salvage the sinking quality of undergraduate education, as graduate students are often overworked and underpaid (Gold & Dore, 2001; Julius & Gumport, 1993) and adjunct/contingent faculty typically receive poor training and support from their institution (Giroux 2002; Kezar & Maxey, 2012; Kezar & Sam, 2010). For these reasons it unreasonable to expect these instructors to invest in students the way full-time faculty once did, and unsurprising that the amount of meaningful student/teacher interactions is still wanting (Giroux, 2002; Slaughter et al., 2015; Winston, 1994).

Striving Institutions

Gumport (1993) attributes this problem to the competition for resources between – and within – higher education institutions precipitated by neoliberal educational policies: "The grant-seeking orientation and aspiration to be a premier research university reflected a tilt away from a mission where resources are earned based on undergraduate teaching and regional service" (p. 304). O'Meara and Bloomgarden (2011) label these 'aspirational' institutions as 'striving.' They use this term to describe institutions who aspire to meet the research standards of more prestigious universities, especially in relation to faculty members who desire the prestige, pay, and research accolades of their peers at top-ranked research universities. This is most relevant to

liberal arts colleges, who are "the most at risk of striving behavior" (p. 40) because of their vulnerability to market trends and financial dependence on tuition.

To study this phenomenon, O'Meara and Bloomgarden (2011) employed a descriptive case study of a single liberal arts college that self-identified as striving, conducting 40–70-minute interviews of 29 faculty members. Participants reported that their institution was experiencing an "identity crisis" (p. 52), torn between pursuing greater prestige and remaining committed to the missions of teaching and service. They also expressed frustration with a lack of clear institutional values. Administrators were giving conflicted messages about what constitutes real work – research or teaching? While the authors characterized this particular institution as an elite liberal arts college, its lack of contentment with the current level of prestige resulted in significant negative trickle-down effects for faculty and students.

For these reasons, striving institutions are potentially predisposed to poor graduate outcomes, as any type of curricular reform is unlikely to be effective. Winston (1994), in his critique of faculty and instructional quality in the 1990s, presents a potential solution:

> Increased national attention to deficiencies in undergraduate teaching should lead more students to those schools in which good undergraduate teaching remains…. Ultimately, the trend may be reversed by countervailing pressures from another market if our undergraduate customers, and the legislators acting on their behalf, withhold their tuitions and appropriations from the universities that can't deliver good teaching (p. 15).

As previously discussed, a solution of this type is idealistic. Many college students suffer from "an alarming information deficiency" (Beeching, 1996, p. 19).

Others are misled by institutional marketing (Branscome, 2013) or by rankings like U.S. News and World Report that offer an unreliable portrait of educational quality (Bastedo &

Bowman, 2010; Clauset et al., 2015; Cole, 2011). According to the Gallup-Purdue Index (2015), "such systems too often rely not on the outcomes that are most meaningful to students, but those that are easiest to measure" (p. 2). They found, in surveying college students after graduation, that alumni perceptions of college quality are quite different from the rankings and data provided by these sources. Gallup (2015) presents a graph comparing these rankings with the percentage of students who strongly agree their postsecondary education was worth the cost: "Though there is clearly a positive relationship between the two measures, there is also considerable distribution around the trend line, and the U.S. News and World Report rankings account for about one-third of the variation in alumni responses" (p. 3).

In contrast to Winston's (1994) arguably idealistic solution for the decline for instructional quality, Gallup's (2015) proposal aligns more closely with Giroux (2002) and Friedman and Friedman (1980): "It may mean shifting the institution's culture to give faculty members more incentive to hone their teaching practices or to make a talent for engaging students and supporting learning outcomes a more important part of hiring criteria for educators" (p. 9).

Other Proposed Solutions

Entrepreneurial education, realistic career advising, and curricular reform are the most prevalent proposed solutions offered by scholars and practitioners. They are not without their challenges, but the latter two are certainly worth pursuing for the sake of our students. For any faculty or administrator who wishes to implement some of change/intervention at their institution, they may consider triangulating their primary efforts with solutions that sit closer to the margins of scholarly discourse.

Capping Performance Graduates

A controversial solution among scholars is to increase selectivity and therefore reduce the number of music graduates and conservatories (Branscome, 2013; Rogers, 1988). Bennett (2007) proposes this solution, but quickly clarifies that curricular reform/entrepreneurial education is "by far the preferred solution". Such a solution also lacks practicality, as enforcement would have to come from some kind of central governing or accrediting body. Rogers (1988) embraces the solution as a pragmatic necessity:

> In other professions, notably medicine and law, professional organizations see to it that enrollments in professional schools are limited…. By continuing to graduate thousands of excess performers each year, schools of music insure [sic] that the few musicians who do find employment will probably be greatly underpaid in comparison to other persons with similar training…. This discrepancy may be a reflection of our society's values, but it is also a matter of an oversupply of cheap labor (p. 110).

Brown (2007) implies that an overproduction of music degrees in light of the decline of traditional employment could be considered "fundamental dishonesty" (p. 46).

Prestige

Some scholars have recommended encouraging aspiring performers to only attend elite institutions. Rogers (1988) lists the most prestigious schools as exceptions to the problem at hand but notes that the vast majority of B.M. students do not attend these schools. Dean Angeles (2001) of Loyola University asserts that any student serious about pursuing a career in music performance should be fighting for admission to the elite conservatories, while smaller colleges should focus on producing music educators.

The three schools often listed in this line of thought are Juilliard, Curtis Institute of Music, and Eastman School of Music (Bennett, 2007; Wilson, 1946; Trevino, 2014b). Even at the Julliard School – one of the most elite conservatories in the world – more than 25% of instrumental graduates from the class of 1994 were found to no longer work in music ten years post-graduation. That number approaches 50% if you include the eight graduates who could not be contacted or have no digital footprint (Wakin, 2004).

Music Education

It is relatively undisputed that music education is a more stable and predictable career field than music performance or composition (Miksza & Hime, 2015; Miller et al., 2017). If it is assumed that American public research institutions of higher education do advertise a promise of increased employability – as private/liberal arts colleges are more likely to *profess* a mission of holistic education) – it is then necessary to interrogate the utility and effectiveness of a B.M. degree in performance when compared with a Bachelor of Music Education (B.M.E.).

In their analysis of 2010 SNAAP data, Miksza and Hime (2015) compared the employment outcomes of music education and performance alumni. Concerning salary, 23.5% of performance graduates reported annual income between $10,000-$20,000, along with 22.7% reporting below $10,000. This is compared to 8.4 and 5.7% of music education graduates, respectively. Music education alumni also reported significantly higher levels of job satisfaction than performance alumni. Finally, Miksza and Hime (2015) remark that music education is generally a more rewarding and stable career option for artists who have interests in pedagogy. Miller et al. (2017) presented similar findings in their analysis of 2011-2013 SNAAP data, concluding that music education alumni were more satisfied with their education, felt more

prepared for their careers, and were more likely to return to the same institution than their music performance counterparts.

Another excerpt from George Rogers (1988) sheds further light on the utility of a degree in music education:

> There is some merit in considering the music education degree as the most basic and practical degree for undergraduates, who then can specialize in graduate programs in performance, musicology, theory, composition, or music education. Nearly all music professionals do in fact teach in some capacity or another: training as a music teacher seems appropriate for those who will teach music…. Even if the music education graduate decides not to teach music, and not to perform music in any capacity, he or she is still more broadly educated than the B.M. graduate and better prepared to pursue a career outside of music (pp. 114-115).

While students should certainly be informed of the relatively stable nature of music education employment, institutional mentors should beware of directing students down this path who have no interest in teaching or working with young people.

Graduate Student Treadmill

Some argue that persisting through graduate school will improve employment prospects. Carnevale et al. (2013) found that unemployment rates are lower and average earnings are higher for those holding graduate degrees – but only when excluding fields like the Arts, Education, and Architecture. Dumford and Miller (2017) found that those with graduate degrees are more likely to work in a field directly related to their education, but "the extra investment in an advanced degree did not have the accompanying monetary rewards and job security that they may have hoped" (p. 203).

These same issues have become a concern beyond the Arts, Education, and Architecture. Similar to the problems observed in undergraduate education, doctoral programs across the country are struggling with uncertain job prospects, inadequate career preparation, and unsustainable levels of student loan debt (Golde & Dore, 2001, Gumport, 2000). If these claims are true, then what is the worth of graduate education? If it does not deliver on its expected monetary rewards and then proceeds to burden the graduate with unstainable loan payments, then there is certainly reason for significant concern and reform. Trevino (2014a) says it this way when planning his 'Pretend Music School':

> Do I really want to send even more DMA graduates out into the world and encourage even more national student loan debt? Put them in a position where they potentially start their lives with what amounts to a mortgage in a job market that is mainly producing adjunct jobs with no benefits? (p. 4).

These misleading narratives about the financial return on an investment in graduate education have created what I call the 'graduate student treadmill.' The threats of unemployment and poverty loom menacingly beyond completion of an undergraduate degree in the performing arts. In attempt to delay the inevitable, many performance graduates stay on the educational treadmill with the hope that it will improve their employment prospects and ultimately pay itself off (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Carnevale et al., 2013; Mok & Neubauer, 2016). This trend appears to be true in music as well. In their analysis of 2011-2013 SNAAP data, Miller et al. (2017) found that music performance, music history, music theory, and composition majors (21%) were twice as likely as music education majors (8%) to pursue graduate education. Miksza and Hime (2015) came to the same conclusion in their analysis of 2010 SNAAP data,

with performance majors at 30.7% and education majors at 4.3%. In light of the empirical evidence, Dean Angeles provides a succinct anecdotal summary of the treadmill:

> When [music students] go out and take some auditions they find out that they're not good enough. Next they earn a master's degree, and by the time they get a D.M.A. they get lost in the shuffle and are looking for work outside of music" (Baumer & Angeles, p. 30).

Some may respond to these claims with the argument that the B.M. degree is not designed to prepare the performer for musical employment but is rather meant to build a "foundation for graduate study" (Rogers, 1988, p. 109). This argument is a red herring contrived by the community of applied music faculty and administrators that wish to deflect criticism from the B.M. degree/protect it from academic retrenchment. Consequently, the discourse surrounding this 'academic treadmill' has been largely hidden in the literature, though some scholars have indirectly debunked the red-herring counter-argument from an array of epistemologies and research methods (Miksza & Hime, 2015; Miller et al., 2017; Mok & Neubauer, 2016). Rogers (1988) is one of the few music scholars to face it head on:

> There is some truth in this argument, but there are at least two problems with it. First, many persons with a doctorate in performance still cannot find full-time employment in music…. The advanced degrees are necessary when competing for college teaching positions, but additional degrees mean very little in and of themselves when auditioning for a performance position. Second, many B.M. graduates begin graduate study primarily because they are unable to find work: a graduate assistantship is an alternative to a job. A 1984 study revealed that for 68% of performers "unemployment was the primary motivation for doctoral pursuit." To say that performers seek the additional study in order to find employment later is toying with the truth, since many of these students have few

> alternatives but to enroll for more and more schooling…. For many persons, graduate school only postpones the unemployment problem rather than solves it (p. 109).

Summary

As the number of annual music graduates continues to grow (Beeching, 1996; Rogers, 1988), the opportunities for traditional musical employment continue to decline (Baumer & Angeles, 2001; Branscome, 2013; Wilson, 1946). Scholars like Dawn Bennett (2007, 2009, 2016) and Tolmie (2014) champion musical entrepreneurship as the savior of the classical music profession (and faculty jobs). Critics like Moore (2016) and Lee (2014a, 2014b) rebut this solution, claiming that its use of the entrepreneurial concept differs drastically from largely accepted definitions. Instead, they claim this solution encourages unwitting students to enter a lifestyle precarious by nature in order to lift the burden of precariousness off of the academy and stave off the seemingly inescapable "death of classical music" (Rosen, as cited in Moore, 2016, p. 37).

Nearly 40 years ago, Rogers (1988) proposed a more promising solution for this timeless dilemma. He advocated for reform in areas under the control of faculty and administrators: the realistic career advising of students and improved relevance of curricula to the labor market. Scholars such as Gaunt et al. (2012) and Campbell et al. (2014) support the notions of advising and curricular reform, but few address the dilemma as directly and unapologetically as Rogers (1988).

Advocates of a holistic, non-professional approach to higher education (Collini, 2012; Giroux, 2002; McCowan, 2015) may take issue with Rogers' (1988) solutions, arguing that the academy is not meant to be a production factory of human capital for the workforce. Others take

a middle ground, advocating for a more holistic curriculum but acknowledging the need to give students a return on their investment through vocational outcomes.

Regardless of philosophy on the purpose of higher education, it is difficult to deny the consequences of ineffective solutions — or worse — pretending the problem does not exist. Most of these consequences fall on our students, including financial instability (Beeching, 1996; Bennett, 2007; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Carnevale et al., 2013; Creech et al., 2009; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Moore, 2016), crushing student loan debt (Dumford & Miller, 2017; Gallup, 2015; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Trevino, 2014a; Wakin, 2004), repeated engagement in fruitless unpaid work (Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Moore, 2016; Rogers, 1988), poor alignment between education and work (Baumer & Angeles, 2001; Bennett, 2007; Branscome, 2010; Comunian et al., 2011; Creech et al., 2009; Cunningham et al., 2010; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Miller et al., 2017; Wakin, 2004), and family sacrifices (Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Creech et al., 2009; Gallup, 2015; Miksza & Hime, 2015).

I conclude this review of the literature with a quote from George Rogers (1988) that acknowledges the pragmatic sides of the dilemma without compromising on his core conviction – higher education bears a responsibility for its students and their futures:

> Like the child in the fable who shouted that "the Emperor has no clothes," persons who point out the obvious are seldom fully appreciated. I suspect that I may fall into that category, especially since the problem I describe is widespread and the solution[s] potentially threatening. I am keenly aware that faculty in most institutions are desperately seeking more students. Deans and directors everywhere want Growth and Progress, that is, more and better students and faculty. How can anyone seriously suggest doing otherwise? The naivete of my suggestions, very simply, stems from the consideration that

students, even undergraduate students, are not merely grist for the mill or credit hours generated. They are people - not entirely unlike college faculty - who deserve to be treated fairly and advised (p. 116).

Chapter Three

Methodology

While scholars and practitioners have proposed a wide array of potential solutions to the problem, alumni perspectives provide unique and irreplicable insight. Some scholars have examined these perspectives, but only from those who successfully secured sustainable careers in a music-related field. Using quantitative data previously gathered by the Strategic National Arts Alumni project, my study examined the perspectives of those who were not so fortunate, measuring their responses against various institutional characteristics via non-parametric tests, independent *t*-tests, and analyses of variance. My hope is for the findings to amplify the stories of these graduates in order to help faculty and administrators protect future students from a similar fate.

Research Questions

The methodology of my study is based on the following research questions:

1. What institutional factors are leading so many students to pursue a postsecondary degree in music performance, only to secure their primary source of income from an occupation unrelated to music?
    1a. Does a relationship exist between institutional type and graduate employment outcomes?
    1b. Does a relationship exist between the educational value of seats and graduate employment outcomes?
    1c. Does a relationship exist between enrollment size and graduate employment outcomes?

1d. Does a relationship exist between institutional selectivity and graduate employment outcomes?

2. Concerning music graduates who no longer work in a music-related occupation, what are the perceptions of the quality of career advising at their respective institutions?

    2a. Are graduates who currently work in a music-related occupation more likely to perceive their career advising as high-quality and realistic?

    2b. Does a significant relationship exist between perceived quality of career advising and the aforementioned institutional variables?

3. Concerning music graduates who no longer work in a music-related occupation what are the perceptions of the relevance of curriculum at their respective institutions?

    3a. Are graduates who currently work in a music-related occupation more likely to perceive the curricula as relevant?

    3b. Were these graduates presented with curricular opportunities for hands-on, industry-based experience?

    3c. Were these graduates presented with curricular opportunities for pedagogical instruction?

    3d. Were these graduates presented with curricular opportunities for cultivation of small business and technological skills?

    3e. Does a significant relationship exist between perceived curricular relevance and the aforementioned institutional variables?

4. Do music graduates who no longer work in a music-related occupation find that their postsecondary music education was worth the cost, despite its lack of alignment with their primary vocation?

4a. What were these graduates' overall levels of satisfaction with their educational experience?

4b. Would these graduates recommend this institution to other students like them?

4c. Are graduates who currently work in a music-related occupation more likely to be satisfied with their educational experiences?

4d. Does a significant relationship exist between overall institutional satisfaction and the aforementioned institutional variables?

Strategic National Arts Alumni Project (SNAAP)

This study used data from the 2015, 2016, and 2017 iterations of the Strategic National Arts Alumni Project (SNAAP). SNAAP is a multi-institutional alumni survey administered online. Developed by educational researchers, arts educators, and policy analysts, it covers a broad range of creative fields from architecture to music. In exchange for a fee, any institution of higher education with arts majors can choose to participate and receive customized reports about their alumni (Miller et al., 2017). Its purpose is to "maximize the success and impact of creatives in society by driving evidence-informed change in training and illuminating the value of arts and design education" (Mission and history, n.d.). While currently housed at the University of Texas at Austin, all surveys before 2022 were administered by and are still housed within Indiana University's Center for Postsecondary Research.[1]

[1] To learn more about the Strategic National Arts Alumni Project visit www.snaaparts.org.

Validity

SNAAP conducted three different field tests in 2008, 2009, and 2010 before administering the first official versions of the survey in 2011, 2012, and 2013. The 2015, 2016, and 2017 iterations have been deemed "SNAAP 2.0.," which include an updated questionnaire and reformed administration/sampling procedures. SNAAP contacts respondents via email, the addresses for which are provided by participating institutions. A 2022 validity test found that 66% of initial email addresses provided by institutions were valid (SNAAP, 2023).

Overall Sample Details

For all administrations of SNAAP 2.0 (2015-2017), a total of 78,920 individuals responded to the survey. These individuals held degrees from 109 different postsecondary institutions (SNAAP, 2018a). More extensive sample information is available for the 2015-2016 administrations. A total of 386,496 individuals were invited to participate in these surveys, of which 65,376 responded. This resulted in a 16.9% overall response rate. The average response rate per institution was 18%, with the highest institutional response rate at 34%. The predominant institution type represented among participating colleges and universities was doctoral research universities (39%). An additional 31% of participating institutions were classified as specialty 4-year art/music/design schools (SNAAP, 2017). 77% of respondents held only an undergraduate degree, with the other 23% holding a graduate degree.

While SNAAP is largely dependent on institutional alumni records for connecting with individual participants, the 2015-2016 administrations identified a total of 3,398 alumni who were previously "lost" – i.e. the institution had lost contact or lacked any contact information for the individual (SNAAP, 2017). The most recent administrations of the survey have partnered with AlumniSync to identify even more lost alumni. In a 2022 validity test, 34% of the initial

email addresses provided by institutions were no longer valid, and AlumniSync was able to locate valid addresses for 54% of these individuals (SNAAP, 2023).

Study Sample Frame

While SNAAP's sample covers a broad range of arts disciplines and alumni, the current study's sample frame is notably narrower: 12,915 respondents, representing 16% of total SNAAP 2.0 individual participants. The data I received from SNAAP only represents individual participants who hold at least one undergraduate or graduate degree in one of the following music sub-disciplines: choral music/conducting, composition and theory, general music, instrumental conducting, instrumental performance, jazz studies, musical theater, musicology and ethnomusicology, and vocal performance. Degrees like music education, music business, and music therapy are excluded from my sample frame due to notable differences in the job market. These differences are further explicated in Chapter 2.

The primary construct used to investigate my research questions was respondents' perceptions about the effectiveness of their degree conferring institutions in preparing them for a career in music. Sub-constructs include perceived relevance of curriculum to the current job market, perceived realism of career advising, and general institutional satisfaction. These constructs were operationalized and used as dependent variables. They were then compared with various institutional characteristics, used as independent variables. These characteristics include institutional type (Carnegie Classification), ratio of music enrollment to total enrollment (Music FTE Ratio), Selectivity, and educational Value of Seats.

To satisfy anonymity agreements with individual respondents and institutions, SNAAP will not match responses with names of the degree-conferring institution. Instead, I worked together with the staff at Indiana University's Center for Postsecondary Research to collapse and

merge outside continuous institutional variables into groups of no fewer than five institutions per category. The merge applied to all institutional characteristics except Carnegie Classification.

Recoded and Imported Variables

Curricular Areas

To measure respondents' perceptions of curricular relevance, 12 items were used from the SNAAP 2.0 codebook. Many items were related, so these 12 items were consolidated into five curricular areas to streamline the analysis. The first category – Specialized Music Skills – combined two items: 1) "Please select the option that best describes how satisfied you were with [opportunities to perform, exhibit, or present your work] at [INSTITUTION]" and 2) "In your opinion, how much did [INSTITUTION] help you acquire or develop [artistic technique]?".

The second category – Holistic Education – combined three items: 1) "In your opinion, how much did [INSTITUTION] help you acquire or develop [broad knowledge and education]?", 2) "In your opinion, how much did [INSTITUTION] help you acquire or develop [creative thinking and problem solving]?", and 3) "In your opinion, how much did [INSTITUTION] help you acquire or develop [critical thinking and analysis of arguments and information]?".

The third category – Entrepreneurial Skills – combined three items: 1) "In your opinion, how much did [INSTITUTION] help you acquire or develop [technological skills]?", 2) "In your opinion, how much did [INSTITUTION] help you acquire or develop [financial and business management skills]?", and 3) "In your opinion, how much did [INSTITUTION] help you acquire or develop [entrepreneurial skills]?".

The fourth and fifth curricular areas were represented by single items. Pedagogical Skills was measured with responses to the following question: "In your opinion, how much did

[INSTITUTION] help you acquire or develop [teaching skills]?". Internships/Work Experience was measured with responses to the following prompt: "Please select the option that best describes how satisfied you were with [opportunities for degree-related internships or work] at [INSTITUTION]" (SNAAP 2017 Codebook, 2017).

Educational Value of Seats

Value of seats is an external (non-SNAAP) institutional variable drawn from the work of Taylor and Cantwell (2018). Serving as an education-focused replacement for ineffective rankings such as U.S. News and World Report (see Chapter 2), this is a custom categorical institutional measurement that attempts to classify colleges and universities by the value of their education per individual seat. This measurement was used in my study for notably different purposes than those of Taylor and Cantwell (2018), leading me to make small adjustments to their methods.

Using the most recent available data from the International Postsecondary Education Data Set (IPEDS) and the related Delta Cost Project (2012), Value of Seats was determined through a two-step process. The first is an aggregation of the following standardize scores: Tuition Dependence (TD-Z), Selectivity/Acceptance Rate (S-Z), and Total Education and Related Expenses per FTE (E&R/FTE-Z). The means and standard deviations are derived strictly from participating institutions provided in the sample. Standardized scores for Tuition Dependence are reverse coded, as an institution with higher fiscal dependence on tuition is interpreted to have lesser educational value per seat (Taylor & Cantwell, 2018). E&R/FTE-Z is weighted double because of its direct reflection on an institution's value of education, as opposed to conflicting values like research and student experience (Guskin, 1994). E&R/FTE-Z uses medians instead of means, as the institutional outliers are so severe as to skew the normal curve.

The formula for the aggregation of standardized scores (which I will hereafter refer to as Value-Z Score) can be represented as such: Value-Z Score = -1(TD-Z) + S-Z + 2(E&R/FTE-Z).

The second step for classification involves a relatively subjective analysis, considering not only the aggregated Value-Z Score, but also individual variables (E&R/FTE, TD, % of E&R from Tuition, and total FTE). This two-step process is used to separate institutions into seven categories, ranked in relative order of value: Super-Elite, Elite, Multiversity, Subsidy-Reliant, Typical Large University, Striving, and Vulnerable.

Super-Elite and Elite.

Super-Elite is classified as the top 10% of Value-Z Scores, and Elite as the top 20%. My classification of these two types is markedly different from Taylor and Cantwell (2018), particularly in the inclusion of public universities. These institutions report laudable levels of spending on E&R per FTE, while also remaining largely above average in tuition dependence. For example, Super-Elite institutions report a mean E&R of $49,357 per FTE and a mean Tuition Dependence of 27.4% for the 2011-2012 academic year. There are a handful of Elite institutions below average in tuition dependence, but their Value-Z score remains high due to above average selectivity and E&R/FTE. Seats at both types are highly coveted, but Super-Elite institutions exceed Elite in all measures.

Multiversity.

Multiversities represent most of the remaining institutions with a total Value-Z score above zero, but all with a total FTE of 15,000+. Predominantly public, these institutions spend generously on their students' education and are generally above average in selectivity but are sometimes below average in percentage of E&R drawn from tuition. According to Taylor and Cantwell (2018), these are the "archetypal U.S. public flagship universities with massive

undergraduate enrollments and extensive research enterprises" (p. 10). In summary, these institutions can be described as large, prestigious, high-value, and in high demand.

Subsidy-Reliant.

Subsidy-Reliant institutions, while comparatively low in Value-Z Scores, are an important outlier that requires a closer analysis to determine the true value of its seats (Taylor & Cantwell, 2018). While below average on Selectivity and E&R/FTE, they fall short only to Super-Elite institutions on tuitional reliance metrics (Tuition Dependance and % of E&R from Tuition). They also spend significantly more on E&R than Vulnerable institutions and slightly more than Striving. The low tuition-reliance of Subsidy-Reliant institutional is powered not only by external funding, but also by the percentage of students receiving federal, state and local grants to fund their educational costs (this does not include federal loans or internally funded scholarships). For example, the average fiscal dependence of Subsidy-Reliant institutions on these kinds of grants is 41%, compared to 16.4% from the full sample. This discrepancy is also illustrated by the difference in tuition costs: Subsidy-Reliant institutions report a mean gross tuition revenue per FTE (i.e. average sticker price) of $7,288, compared to the sample mean of $17,143. "Although spending was low, so were tuition fees, a state of affairs that created good value seats" (Taylor & Cantwell, 2018, p. 10).

Striving.

My classification of Striving institutions is extracted from Taylor and Cantwell's (2018) disproportionately large "Vulnerable" umbrella. While the value metrics of these two types are similar in many ways, I split the Vulnerable classification into two categories because of the nuanced metric differences and significant differences in administrator/faculty behavior. The primary metric that distinguishes Striving institutions from their Vulnerable counterpart is their

remarkably low tuition reliance. They score higher than both Elite and Typical institutions on Tuition Dependence-Z. Their low Value-Z Score results instead from their incredibly low spending on E&R. Because of their aspirations for higher prestige, these institutions typically devalue education and pour a higher percentage of financial resources into research and student experience (Gumport, 1993; O'Meara & Bloomgarden, 2011).

This unique behavior is largely driven by the competition for resources between – and within – higher education institutions precipitated by neoliberal educational policies: "The grant-seeking orientation and aspiration to be a premier research university reflected a tilt away from a mission where resources are earned based on undergraduate teaching and regional service" (Gumport, 1993, p. 304). O'Meara and Bloomgarden (2011) label these aspirational institutions as "striving." They use this term to describe colleges and universities who envy the research standards of more prestigious universities such as those with R1 (high research activity) status. This is especially salient in relation to faculty members who desire the prestige, pay, and research accolades of their peers at top-ranked research universities. O'Meara and Bloomgarden (2011) find this behavior to be most prevalent at small liberal arts colleges, who are "the most at risk of striving behavior" (p. 40) because of their vulnerability to market trends and financial dependence on tuition.

Vulnerable.

Vulnerable institutions score lowest on nearly every value metric, with the exception of above average E&R/FTE and the slightly lower selectivity of Striving institutions. The former exception is a result of extremely low FTE numbers (mean FTE-Z = -0.636). In this case, as with Subsidy-Reliant institutions, a simple one-stage categorization of value via high E&R/FTE would be misleading. Because of their low enrollment and crippling dependency on tuition

revenue, these institutions are not only highly susceptible to market trends, but also vulnerable to bankruptcy and/or closure. This threat alone has significant implications for instructional quality and the related value of a student's education, let alone the trickle-down effects it will have on administrative decisions, faculty behavior, curricular structures, recruiting/advising practices, and more.

Typical.

Typical Colleges and Universities is a sort of "catch-all" categorization for institutions that hover around the mean on most metrics. There are of course a number of outliers, as this classification is ill-defined compared to the other six. For example, a selection of Typical institutions have remarkably low Value-Z Scores, but such high FTE as to prevent from fitting aptly into the Vulnerable classification. These same institutions are far too tuition dependent and not selective enough to be categorized as a Multiversity. They could be classified as striving – for their E&R/FTE is either low or average – but they have been awarded the coveted status of R-1 (high research activity) institution that many "striving" institutions are striving for. Fragmenting these institutions into even smaller subgroups would limit the generalizability of the findings, leading to the less-than-desirable, largely heterogenous classification of Typical Colleges and Universities.

These classifications, along with the relationship of their standardized scores across five different institutional metrics, are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3.

Value-Z Scores by Value Classification

Classification	FTE	Selectivity	E&R/FTE	Tuition/E&R	Tuition Dep.	Value-Z Score
Super Elite	-0.151	1.641	2.380	1.109	0.928	7.329
Elite	0.521	0.902	0.863	0.117	-0.095	2.532
Multiversity	0.417	0.369	0.008	0.005	0.351	0.736
Subs. Reliant	-0.130	-0.352	-0.445	0.581	0.429	-0.813
Typical	0.270	-0.453	-0.025	-0.616	-0.086	-0.589
Striving	-0.170	-0.774	-0.467	0.047	0.127	-1.581
Vulnerable	-0.701	-0.621	0.172	-1.007	-1.389	-1.666

Music FTE Ratio

This institutional characteristic is a calculated ratio between an institution's music enrollment and total enrollment. All enrollment numbers are measured through FTE, or full-time equivalent. Enrollment data were gathered from publicly available sources such as institutional web pages, institutional research dashboards, and the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). These numbers were then calculated into ratios and grouped into categories of no less than five institutions.

Conservatory/Arts Programs.

This category contains programs reporting music enrollment ratios higher than 10%. These institutions are either completely arts-focused, or operate like a standalone "conservatory" though technically under the umbrella of a larger institution. These music programs likely receive top financial priority in their institutional budget model, but may have larger faculty-student ratios than smaller programs.

Flagship Programs.

This category contains programs reporting music enrollment ratios between 3.0% and 9.99%. Most of these programs are housed within relatively small institutions, but report music enrollment between 150-400. This category does also include a handful of very large universities (total enrollment above 30,000) with music enrollment over 1,000 FTE. These music programs likely receive relatively high financial priority in their institutional budget model, but typically have large faculty-student ratios and a high number of graduate students filling instructional roles.

Average Programs.

This category contains programs reporting music enrollment ratios between 1.6% and 2.99%. Most of these programs (14 out of 19) are housed within larger institutions (total enrollment above 10,000), reporting music enrollments between 200-600. While sort of a catch-all category, these music programs are not likely to be financially marginalized within their institutional budget model. There is a lot of variety in this category, and results should interpreted with this in mind.

Below-Average Programs.

The mean ratio for participating institutions – not including Conservatory/Arts programs which act as outliers – is 1.62%. For this reason, the below-average category contains programs reporting music enrollment ratios between 1.0% and 1.59%. Most of these programs (16 out of 22) are housed within larger institutions (total enrollment above 10,000), reporting music enrollments between 25-700. These music programs likely receive relatively low financial priority in their institutional budget model when compared with other fields. Some of the public

research institutions fall in this category simply because of their incredibly high total FTE enrollment (40,000+), and are therefore less certain to fit the categorical implications.

Marginalized Programs.

This category contains programs reporting music enrollment ratios between 0.15% and 0.99%. Most of these programs (15 out of 19) are housed within larger institutions (total enrollment above 10,000), reporting music enrollments between 15-250. This category does include one outlier with total FTE over 50,000 and music enrollment above 400. These music programs likely receive relatively low financial priority in their institutional budget model when compared with other fields. In fact, it is more likely to say that they are financially marginalized – especially if the institution itself is financially vulnerable.

Selectivity

Selectivity data is gathered primarily from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). In rare cases, admissions selectivity of the department/school of music is used when published on their website. This was mostly the case for more elite/exclusive programs. Selectivity percentages were categorized into groups of no less than five institutions. The exclusive category contains institutions reporting selectivity lower than 30%. Selective institutions are between 30-55%, Average between 56-79%, Accessible between 80-90%, and Non-Selective above 90%.

Employment Identity

Employment Identity is a customized categorical variable formed by merging two career outcomes within the data: Primary Occupation and Vocational Intent. These categories were generated in an attempt to measure the interaction between the two related but subtly unique career outcome measures. While there are 30 possible combinations between the two grouping

categories, I recoded the interactions into nine unique employment identities. These employment identities, their comprised responses, and a short description are shown in Table 4. For the second and third columns, VI stands for Vocational Intent and PO for Primary Occupation. The superscript *r* indicates that Retired respondents are included in the group.

Table 4 lists the Employment Identities in a hypothesized order of institutional and career satisfaction. Respondents representing the top four categories – Artist in Music, Artist/Teacher, Non-Artist Track, and Non-Music Track – are considered to exhibit "ideal" career outcomes because their reported Primary Occupation aligns with their initial Vocational Intent. Those representing the bottom five – Pragmatist, Self-Patron, Unrealized Artist, Unemployed Dreamer, and Course Corrector – are considered to exhibit "sub-ideal" career outcomes because their reported Primary Occupation is disconnected from their initial Vocational Intent. The exact ordering within these categories is somewhat arbitrary, but the categories are separated based on general agreement in the literature concerning institutional satisfaction and career satisfaction (Beeching, 1996; Dumford & Miller, 2017; Gallup, 2015; Xu, 2013).

Statistical Analysis

To answer the research questions comparing categorical variables (RQ1) a series of non-parametric Chi-Square analyses were run. To measure the relationship between binary grouping variables and Likert-type satisfaction scores (RQ2a, 3a-3d, 4a-4c) a series of independent *t*-tests were run. Analyses of variance were used to investigate research questions comparing these Likert responses with categorical variables of more than two groups (RQ2b, 3e, 4d). Univariates analyses of variance (ANCOVA) were run to investigate interaction effects between grouping variables in relation to Likert-type satisfaction responses.

Table 4.

Employment Identity Groups

Title	VI	PO	Description
Artist in Music[r]	Y/Y	Music-related	Makes an income performing/composing music, includes higher education faculty, may still draw primary income from a different, but music-related job
		Retired	
Artist/Teacher	Y/Y	Music educator	Makes an income performing/composing music, draws primary income from teaching music privately or in schools (not higher education)
Non-Artist Track	N/N	Music-related	Never intended to pursue a sustainable career performing or composing music, likely due to career aspirations in another music-related sub-field (in which they are currently employed)
	N/Y		
Non-Music Track[r]	N/N	Non-music-related	Never intended to pursue a sustainable career in music and currently works outside of music, was likely a double major and/or proceeded to law or medical school after graduating
		Retired	
Pragmatist	Y/Y^N	Music educator	Initially hoped to work as a music artist, instead chose to secure a sustainable career teaching music, likely due to either financial reasons and/or love for teaching
	Y/N		
Self-Patron	Y/Y	Non-music-related	Makes some income from performing/composing music, but funds this work by working a day job unrelated to music
Unrealized Artist	Y/Y^N	Music-related	Initially hoped to work as a music artist but does not, spends majority of work time in a music-related job, may still be pursuing a sustainable career as an artist
	Y/N		
Unemployed Dreamer	Y/Y^N	Unemployed	Initially hoped to work as a music artist but does not, is currently unemployed, likely seeking music-related work in some regard
	Y/N		
Course Corrector[r]	Y/Y^N	Non-music-related	Initially hoped to work as a music artist but does not, instead made the choice to leave vocational music and work in another field, may still engage in contract work
	Y/N	Retired	
Other[r]			All other possible combinations, each with small sample sizes, none of which fit cleanly in categories and/or have implications for this study

Dependent variables included respondents' perceptions of career advising, curricular relevance, and general institutional satisfaction. Independent variables included Carnegie Classification, Value of Seats, Music FTE Ratio, and Selectivity. Residual plots were examined to check for linearity of the data as well as homoscedasticity. Leven's Test for Equality of Variances were run when comparing group means. This assumption was violated for most analyses of variance, leading to frequent use of the Welch test for unequal variances.

To analyze the SNAAP data I used IBM SPSS 29.0. My a priori alpha level was be $p \leq .05$. The individual-level survey data provided by SNAAP – particularly the items regarding participants' perceptions of institutional quality – are primarily on a 4-point Likert-Type scale. One notable exception to this is a 5-point scale used for 'institutional referral.' The full questionnaire and codebook can be found in the Appendix.

Limitations

Limitations include low response rates, temporal differences in data sources, self-report/individual respondent bias, and the inability to customize the questionnaire. The primary limitation is the low response rate of SNAAP 2.0. Alumni surveys have historically had trouble securing high response rates (Smith & Bers, 1987), although this doesn't necessarily translate to lower response representativeness (Lambert & Miller, 2014). SNAAP 2.0 fits the trend of relatively low response rate with a total of 16.9%.

Comparison of graduates who have secured a sustainable career in music with those who do not work in a music-related occupation should be interpreted in light of the likelihood that the response rate for the second group is significantly lower than the first. Graduates who do not work in a music-related occupation may be less likely to stay connected with their institution, check outdated email addresses associated with the institution, or be connected with professional

organizations that make it easier for institutions and researchers to find valid email addresses. Alumni from this group may therefore be underrepresented.

The findings are also limited by the temporal differences of preexisting data. The Delta Cost Project only collected data until 2012, while the SNAAP 2.0 data was collected from 2015-2017. Additionally, nearly 30% of SNAAP 2.0 respondents graduated before 1987, meaning the institution's enrollment, selectivity, or budget models may have been significantly different in 2012 than when the participant attended. For example, at least one public institution who participated in SNAAP 2.0 was acquired by a larger state university system between 2012 and 2015, making their Delta Cost Project data potentially irrelevant. This institution and their alumni were therefore excluded from the Value of Seats categorization. Additionally, selectivity data is collected from 2022 IPEDS data or institutional websites, meaning that acceptances rates could differ significantly for various graduates of the same institution.

Because the Likert-type items in the SNAAP questionnaire are classified as self-report data, respondent perceptions of institutional quality may be subject to biases in either the positive or negative direction. This could include non-educational/extra-curricular experiences that they associate with the institution, undue credit/blame attributed to the institution for the individual's career outcomes, or the lack of available data to control for individual personality characteristics. While not available for this study, some of these biases could be neutralized through the inclusion of rich qualitative data.

Finally, the choice to use preexisting data is additionally limiting because I was not able to tailor the questionnaire to my research questions. While many of the survey items do directly address my questions, others are only tangentially related. The most notable limitation is that realistic career advising is only directly addressed by one survey item. The 2022 SNAAP

questionnaire includes more items related to career advising, but the data will not be available for sharing until 2025.

Chapter Four

Findings

Sample Overview

The purpose of this research is to study alumni perceptions of institutional effectiveness by comparing career outcomes with various institutional characteristics, particularly in regard to career advising, curricular relevance, institutional satisfaction, and job satisfaction. To investigate this topic I analyzed pre-existing data from the 2015, 2016, and 2017 iterations of the Strategic National Arts Alumni Project (SNAAP) survey. SNAAP is an multi-institutional alumni survey administered online. For all administrations of SNAAP 2.0 (2015-2017), a total of 78,920 individuals responded to the survey. These individuals held degrees from 109 different postsecondary institutions (SNAAP, 2018a).

While SNAAP's sample covers a broad range of arts disciplines and alumni, my sample frame is notably narrow: 12,915 respondents, representing 16% of total SNAAP 2.0 individual participants. The data I received from SNAAP only represents individual participants who hold at least one undergraduate or graduate degree in one of the following music sub-disciplines: choral music/conducting, composition and theory, general music, instrumental conducting, instrumental performance, jazz studies, musical theater, musicology and ethnomusicology, and vocal performance. Degrees like music education, music business, and music therapy are excluded from my sample frame due to notable differences in the job market. The data provided by SNAAP represents three different iterations of the SNAAP 2.0 survey, with 4,584 respondents from 2015 iterations (35.5%), 6,033 from 2016 (46.7%), and 2,298 from 2017 (17.8%).

Sample Demographics

Out of the 12,915 respondents in my sample frame, 5,638 identified as female (43.7%), 5,166 as male (40.0%), and 33 as 'another gender identity' (0.3%). Respondents choosing not to disclose their gender identity numbered 167 (1.3%). When asked to provide their race/ethnic identification, 19 respondents identified as American Indian/Alaska Native (0.1%), 439 as Asian (3.4%), 217 as Black/African American (1.7%), 277 as Hispanic or Latino (2.1%), 8 as Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (0.1%), 9,311 as White (72.1%), 414 as two or more races (3.2%), and 166 as Other (1.3%). 2,064 respondents did not make a selection regarding their race/ethnicity (16.0%). The ages of respondents range from 21 to 100, with a mean of 47.29, standard deviation of 16.52, and median of 45. Table 5 displays these respondent demographics.

Table 5.

Respondent Demographics

Characteristic	*N*	%	*M*	*SD*	*Mdn*
Gender					
Female	5,368	43.7			
Male	5,166	40.0			
Other	33	0.3			
Prefer Not to Say	167	1.3			
Missing	1,911	14.8			
Race/Ethinicity					
American Indian/Alaska Native	19	0.1			
Asian	439	3.4			
Black/African American	217	1.7			
Hispanic/Latino	277	2.1			
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	8	0.1			
White	9,311	72.1			
Two or more	414	3.2			
Other	166	1.3			
Missing	2,064	16.0			
Age			47.29	16.52	45

Family Characteristics

As noted in the literature review, family can hold significant weight on an individuals educational and career decisions (Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Creech et al., 2009; Gallup, 2015; Miksza & Hime, 2015). For this reason, it is important to note different aspects of respondent's personal lives that may have implications for findings. At the time of completing the survey, 2,867 respondents were single and never married (22.2%), 6,972 were married or had a domestic partner (54.0%), 830 were divorced or separated (6.4%), and 271 were widowed (2.1%). When asked about children/dependents under the age of 18, 7,110 respondents reported having zero at the time of survey completion (55.1%), 2,882 reported having one to three (22.3%), 250 reported having four to six (1.9%), and 17 reported having seven or more (0.2%). Table 6 displays the frequencies for these characteristics.

Table 6.

Family Characteristics

Characteristic	*N*	%
Marital Status		
Single (never married)	2,867	22.2
Married/domestic partner	6,972	54.0
Divorced/separated	830	6.4
Widowed	271	2.1
Missing	1,975	15.3
Children/Dependents Under 18		
None	7,110	55.1
One to Three	2,882	22.3
Four to Six	250	1.9
Seven or More	17	0.2
Missing	2,656	20.6

Educational Demographics

While the original SNAAP 2.0 questionnaire offered 96 different arts-related majors for respondents to choose from, my sample frame reduced this down to 15 music-related sub-categories. Within the 12,915 respondents, 1,781 reported receiving a degree in General Music (13.8%), 526 in Brass Performance (4.1%), 228 in Choral Music (1.8%), 83 in Guitar Performance (0.6%), 133 in Instrumental Conducting (1.0%), 323 in Jazz Studies (2.5%), 1,444 in Keyboard Performance (11.2%), 372 in Musicology (2.9%), 1,059 in Music Composition and Theory (8.2%), 142 in Percussion Performance (1.1%), 988 in String Performance (7.7%), 1,497 in Vocal Performance (11.6%), 849 in Woodwind Performance (6.6%), 1,141 in Other Music Performance (8.8%), and 209 in Musical Theater (1.6%). While many other degree types were reported as primary or secondary majors, it should be noted that 2,107 reported two majors (16.3%). Table 7 displays these educational demographics.

Career Outcomes

SNAAP 2.0 measured career outcomes through multiple different questionnaire items. For the purposes of my study, I have recoded these various items into three categorical variables: Primary Occupation, Vocational Intent, and Employment Identity. Primary Occupation is based on the survey item stating “Please select the occupation in which you spent the majority of your time.” This was recoded into different forms by the SNAAP team, but my version recodes the responses into five categories: Music-related occupation (including higher education faculty), Non-music-related occupation, Music educator (other than higher education), Retired and Unemployed. Respondents were only given the option to select ‘Unemployed’ on the original questionnaire, so a ‘Retired’ category was generated from all Unemployed responses age 67 and up. Of the 11,078 respondents who had data available for this recoding, 4,101 spend the majority

of their time working in a music-related occupation (31.8%), 3,813 in a non-music-related occupation (29.5%), 1,997 as a music educator (15.5%), 565 working-age respondents reported being unemployed (4.4%), and 602 respondents were hypothesized to be retired (4.7%). Table 8 displays these frequencies for Primary Occupation.

Table 7.

Educational Demographics

Major	*N*	%
General Music	1,781	13.8
Music Performance	6,670	51.6
Brass	526	4.1
Guitar	83	0.6
Keyboard	1,444	11.2
Percussion	142	1.1
Strings	988	7.7
Vocal	1,497	11.6
Woodwind	849	6.6
Other	1,141	8.8
History/Composition/Theory	1,431	11.1
Musicology	372	2.9
Composition & Theory	1,059	8.2
Choral Music	228	1.8
Instrumental Conducting	133	1.0
Jazz Studies	323	2.5
Musical Theater	209	1.6

Vocational Intent is a categorical grouping variable recoded from two separate SNAAP questionnaire items. The first (intart) reads “When you began at [INSTITUTION], did you intend to work eventually in an occupation as an artist?” The second (artist) reads “Have you

ever worked, either full- or part-time, in an occupation as an artist (where you create or perform your art)?" These two variables were recoded to create six groups based on the available combination of responses. To abbreviate I will use Y for the response 'Yes', N for the response 'No', and Y^N for the response 'Yes but not anymore'. Of these groups, 6,197 respondents answered Y/Y (48.0%), 2,221 answered Y/Y^N (17.2%), 1,299 answered Y/N (10.1%), 822 answered N/N (6.4%), 457 answered N/Y, and 430 answered N/Y^N (3.3%). These were then condensed into three larger categories: Currently employed as an artist (6,654 respondents, 51.5%), Not employed as an artist but initially hoped to be (3,520 respondents, 27.3%), and Other (1,252 respondents, 9.7%). Table 9 displays these frequencies for Vocational Intent.

Employment Identity is a categorical combination of Primary Occupation and Vocational Intent generated in an attempt to measure the interaction between the two related but subtly unique measures of career outcome. While there are 30 possible combinations between the two grouping categories, I recoded the interactions into nine unique employment identities. Descriptions of each identity are listed in Table 4. Their dispersions are displayed in Table 10.

Table 8.

Frequencies - Primary Occupation

Occupation Type	*N*	%
Music-related occupation	4,101	31.8
Non-music-related occupation	3,813	29.5
Music educator (not higher ed)	1,997	15.5
Unemployed	565	4.4
Retired	602	4.7
Missing	1,837	14.2

Table 9.

Frequencies - Vocational Intent

Occupation Type	*N*	%
Sequential Answers		
Yes, Yes	6,197	48.0
Yes, Yes but not anymore	2,221	17.2
Yes, No	1,299	10.1
No, No	822	6.4
No, Yes	457	3.5
No, Yes but not anymore	430	3.3
Employment Categories		
Currently employed as an artist	6,654	51.5
Not an artist but initially hoped to be	3,520	27.3
Other	1,252	9.7
Missing	1,489	11.5

Table 10.

Frequencies - Employment Identity

Title	*N*	%
Artist in Music[r]	3,605	27.9
Artist/Teacher	1,263	9.8
Self-Patron	1,275	9.9
Unrealized Artist	458	3.5
Pragmatist	423	3.3
Course Corrector[r]	1,848	14.3
Unemployed Dreamer	348	2.7
Non-Artist Track	562	4.4
Non-Music Track[r]	465	3.6
Other[r]	788	6.1
Missing	1,880	14.6

Institutional Characteristics

Seven different categorical, de-identified institutional characteristics were used in this study. These characteristics were described in detail in Chapter 3. Four characteristics consistently produced null or distorted results (to be discussed later in this chapter). For this reason, the respondent dispersions will be shown only for the three characteristics used most frequently in the analysis. Regarding Carnegie Classifications – which were preset by SNAAP before receiving the data – 2,200 respondents attended Special Focus Music Schools (17.0%), 6,776 attended R1 Doctoral Universities (52.5%), 1,571 attended R2 Doctoral Universities (12.2%), 302 attended R3 Doctoral Universities (2.3%), 1,325 attended Regional Comprehensive Colleges and Universities (10.3%), and 741 attended Baccalaureate/Liberal Arts Colleges (5.7%). Table 11 displays these frequencies.

Table 11.

Frequencies - Carnegie Classifications

Institution Type	*N*	%
Special Focus Music School	2,200	17.0
R1: Highest Research Activity	6,776	52.5
R2: Higher Research Activity	1,571	12.2
R3: Moderate Research Activity	302	2.3
Regional Comprehensive/Master's	1,325	10.3
Baccalaureate/Liberal Arts	741	5.7

Value of Seats, drawn from the work of Taylor and Cantwell (2018), serves as an education-focused replacement for ineffective institutional rankings such as U.S. News and

World Report[2] (Bastedo & Bowman, 2010; Clauset et al., 2015; Cole, 2011). It is a custom categorical variable imported into the SNAAP data that attempts to classify colleges and universities by the value of their education per individual seat. A detailed discussion of the classification process can be found in Chapter 3. In summary, an institution's tuition dependence, selectivity, and total educational expenses are turned into standardized scores and combined into a single metric. Educational expenses is weighted double because of its strong implications for educational value. Within these categories, 2,562 respondents attended Super-Elite institutions (19.8%), 4,918 attended Elite institutions (38.1%), 1,182 attended a Multiversity (9.2%), 688 attended Subsidy-Reliant institutions (5.3%), 1,683 attended Typical institutions (13.0%), 1,202 attended Striving institutions (9.3%), 585 attended Vulnerable institutions (4.5%), and 95 attended institutions that did not participate in the Delta Cost Project (0.7%). Table 12 displays these frequencies.

Table 12.

Frequencies - Value of Seats

Institution Type	*N*	%
Super-Elite	2,562	19.8
Elite	4,918	38.1
Multiversity	1,182	9.2
Subsidy-Reliant	688	5.3
Typical	1,683	13.0
Striving	1,202	9.3
Vulnerable	585	4.5
Did Not Participate	95	0.7

[2] The ineffectiveness of such rankings is discussed further in Chapter Two.

Music FTE Ratio is an institutional characteristic drawn from publicly available data and imported into the SNAAP data file by categories of five or more schools. This ratio represents the publicized full-time equivalent enrollment (FTE) of the music department/school in comparison to the entire institution's FTE. These categories are a grossly over-simplified reflection of the program's importance to university administrators via enrollment, providing implications of the percentage of resources devoted to the music program. Within these categories, 2,341 respondents attended Conservatory/Arts Schools (18.1%), 1,734 attended Flagship programs (13.4%), 3,430 attended programs with Average FTE ratio (26.6%), 4,008 attended programs with Below-Average FTE ratio (31.0%), and 1,402 attended Marginalized programs (10.9%). Table 13 displays these frequencies.

Table 13.

Frequencies - Music FTE Ratio

Institution Type	*N*	%
Conservatory/Arts School	2,341	18.1
Flagship Program	1,734	13.4
Average	3,430	26.6
Below-Average	4,008	31.0
Marginalized	1,402	10.9

Research Question 1

What institutional factors are leading so many students to pursue a postsecondary degree in music performance, only to secure their primary source of income from a non-creative occupation?

To investigate this question, I ran a series of non-parametric Chi-Square analyses to compare respondent career outcomes with institutional characteristics. Career outcomes include Primary Occupation, Vocational Intent, and Employment Identity. Institutional characteristics

include Carnegie Classification, Value of Seats, Music FTE Ratio, Total Enrollment, Selectivity, and Region.

1a. Does a relationship exist between institutional type and graduate employment outcomes?

A Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between Carnegie Classification and Primary Occupation. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (20, N = 11,078) = 447.065, $p < .001$. Special Focus and R1 institutions matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who reported working primarily in music-related occupations than institutions with lower research activity. Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 14.

Table 14.

Crosstab – Carnegie x Primary Occupation

		Special Focus	R1	R2	R3	Regional Comp	Bacc./ Lib Arts
Music-Related	Count	964	2,218	394	79	280	166
	Expected Count	680.8	2,153.8	500.1	93.7	427.9	244.7
	% within Carnegie	52.4	38.1	29.2	31.2	24.2	25.1
	Standardized Res.	10.9	1.4	-4.7	-1.5	-7.2	-5.0
Non-Music-Related	Count	479	1,960	493	96	492	293
	Expected Count	633.0	2002.5	465.0	87.1	397.9	227.5
	% within Carnegie	26.0	33.7	36.5	37.9	42.6	44.3
	Standardized Res.	-6.1	-1.0	1.3	1.0	4.7	4.3
Music Educator	Count	267	1,030	290	59	248	103
	Expected Count	331.5	1,048.8	243.5	45.6	208.4	119.2
	% within Carnegie	14.5	17.7	21.5	23.3	21.5	15.6
	Standardized Res.	-3.5	-0.6	3.0	2.0	2.7	-1.5
Unemployed	Count	64	259	126	10	68	38
	Expected Count	93.8	296.7	68.9	12.9	59.0	33.7
	% within Carnegie	3.5	4.5	9.3	4.0	5.9	5.7
	Standardized Res.	-3.1	-2.2	6.9	-0.8	1.2	0.7
Retired	Count	65	351	48	9	68	61
	Expected Count	99.9	316.2	73.4	13.7	62.8	35.9
	% within Carnegie	3.5	6.0	3.6	3.6	5.9	9.2
	Standardized Res.	-3.5	2.0	-3.0	-1.3	0.7	4.2

An additional Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between Carnegie Classification and Vocational Intent. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (10, N = 11,462) = 384.487, p < .001. Special Focus and R1 institutions matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who achieved their initial vocational aspirations than institutions with lower research activity. Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 15.

Table 15.

Crosstab – Carnegie x Vocational Intent

		Special Focus	R1	R2	R3	Regional Comp	Bacc./ Lib Arts
Currently employed as an artist	Count	1,352	3,521	726	147	582	326
	Expected Count	1,110.0	3,482.0	819.4	148.5	695.3	383.2
	% within Carnegie	70.9	58.9	51.6	57.6	48.7	47.7
	Standardized Res.	7.3	0.7	-3.3	-0.1	-4.3	-3.6
Not employed as an artist but initially hoped to be	Count	522	1,818	464	88	410	218
	Expected Count	587.2	1,842.3	433.5	78.6	367.8	210.7
	% within Carnegie	27.4	30.4	33.0	34.5	34.3	31.9
	Standardized Res.	-2.7	-0.6	1.5	1.1	2.2	0.5
Never intended to pursue career as an artist	Count	32	641	217	20	202	140
	Expected Count	208.8	655.3	154.2	27.9	130.8	74.9
	% within Carnegie	1.7	10.7	15.4	7.8	16.9	20.5
	Standardized Res.	-12.2	-0.6	5.1	-1.5	6.2	7.5

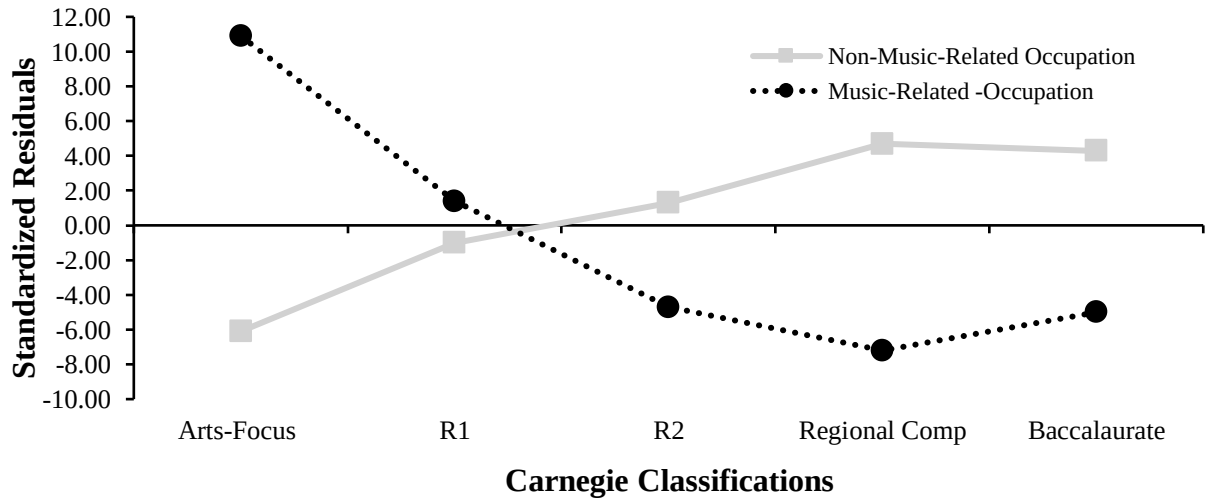
A final Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between Carnegie Classification and Employment Identity. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (40, N = 10,247) = 545.969, p < .001. Special Focus and R1 institutions

matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who reported ideal Employment Identities[3] than institutions with lower research activity. Because of the large number of groups in each variable, expected counts get very low (minimum = 8.22). Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 16.

Noticeable trends can be observed between respondents' career outcomes and Carnegie Classification. While it is impractical to display all nine Employment Identities on a line chart, noticeable trends can also be observed between Artists in Music and Course Correctors. Self-Patrons (those who fund their artistic work via non-musical day jobs) appear to be dispersed evenly across all Carnegie types. R3 Doctoral institutions act as outliers in this analysis because of their disproportionately low sample size. For this reason, respondents graduating from R3 institutions (*N* = 255) have been omitted from all Carnegie line charts.

Figure 1.

Carnegie x Primary Occupation



[3] See Chapter 3 for descriptions of Employment Identities as well as a discussion of which categories are considered ideal.

Figure 2.

Carnegie x Vocational Intent

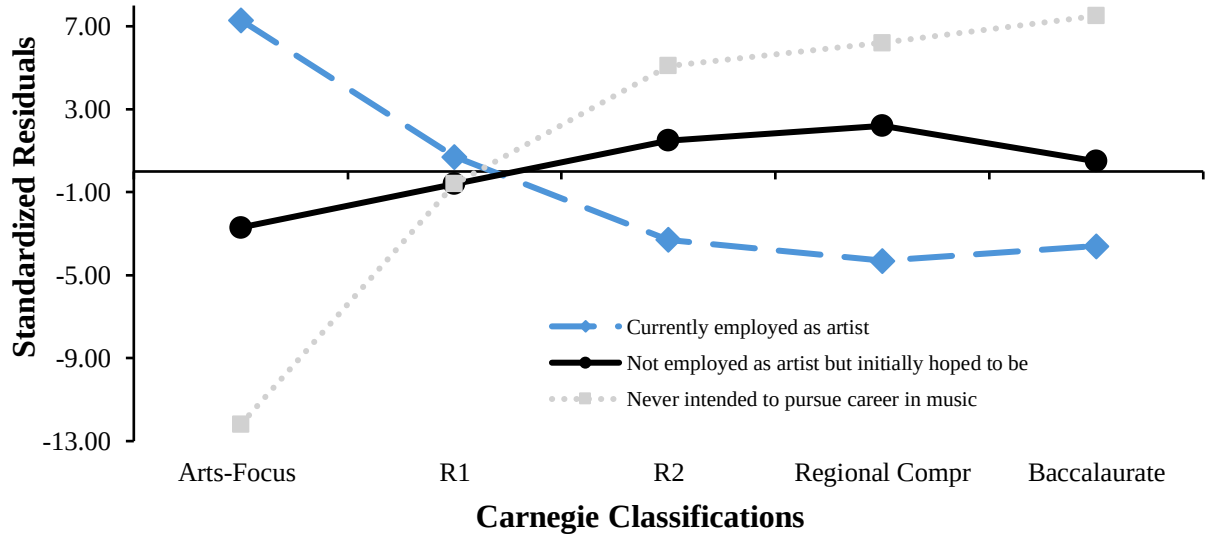


Figure 3.

Carnegie x Employment Identity

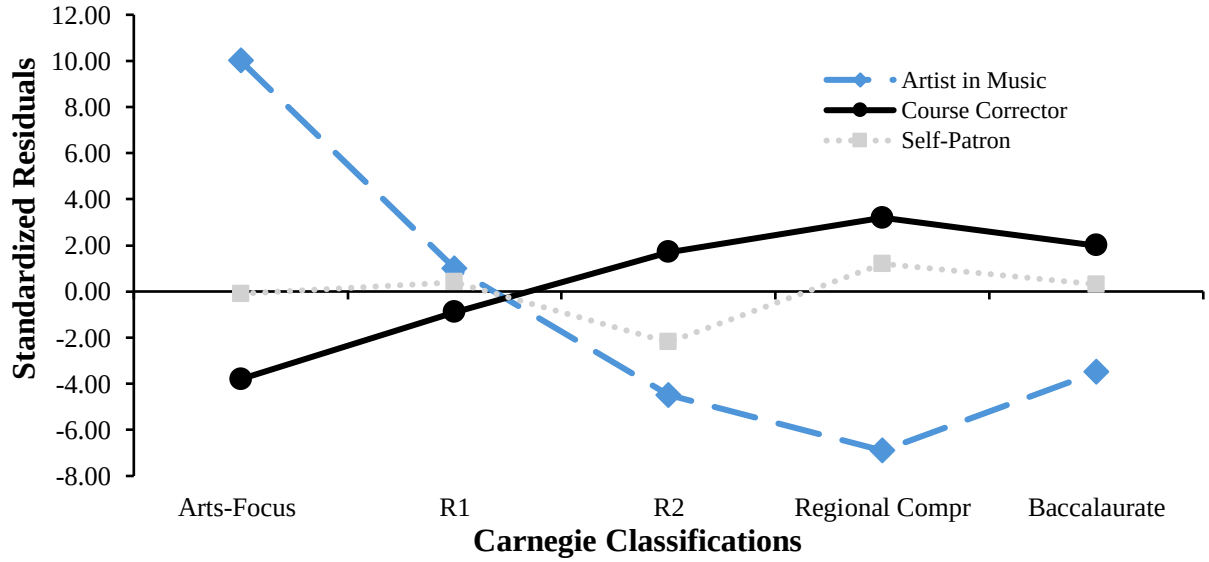


Table 16.

Crosstab – Carnegie x Employment Identity

Employment Identity		Special Focus	R1	R2	R3	Regional Compr.	Bacc./ Lib Arts
Artist in Music	Count	883	1942	335	63	232	150
	Expected Count	631.1	1897.0	427.8	85.1	364.5	199.5
	% within Carnegie	49.2	36.0	27.5	26.0	22.4	26.5
	Standardized Res.	10.0	1.0	-4.5	-2.4	-6.9	-3.5
Artist/Teacher	Count	200	659	169	39	136	60
	Expected Count	221.1	664.6	149.9	29.8	127.7	69.9
	% within Carnegie	11.1	12.2	13.9	16.1	13.1	10.6
	Standardized Res.	-1.4	-0.2	1.6	1.7	0.7	-1.2
Non-Artist Track	Count	17	316	91	12	79	47
	Expected Count	98.4	295.7	66.7	13.3	56.8	31.1
	% within Carnegie	0.9	5.9	7.5	5.0	7.6	8.3
	Standardized Res.	-8.2	1.2	3.0	-0.3	2.9	2.9
Non-Music Track	Count	10	231	80	10	75	59
	Expected Count	81.4	244.7	55.2	11.0	47.0	25.7
	% within Carnegie	0.6	4.3	6.6	4.1	7.2	10.4
	Standardized Res.	-7.9	-0.9	3.3	-0.3	4.1	6.6
Pragmatist	Count	60	208	60	14	59	22
	Expected Count	74.1	222.6	50.2	10.0	42.8	23.4
	% within Carnegie	3.3	3.9	4.9	5.8	5.7	3.9
	Standardized Res.	-1.6	-1.0	1.4	1.3	2.5	-0.3
Unrealized Artist	Count	105	253	36	13	38	13
	Expected Count	80.2	241.0	54.4	10.8	46.3	25.3
	% within Carnegie	5.9	4.7	3.0	5.4	3.7	2.3
	Standardized Res.	2.8	0.8	-2.5	0.7	-1.2	-2.5
Self-Patron	Count	221	681	124	34	142	73
	Expected Count	223.2	670.9	151.3	30.1	128.9	70.5
	% within Carnegie	12.3	12.6	10.2	14.0	13.7	12.9
	Standardized Res.	-0.1	0.4	-2.2	0.7	1.2	0.3
Unemployed Dreamer	Count	42	159	77	5	44	21
	Expected Count	60.9	183.1	41.3	8.2	35.2	19.3
	% within Carnegie	2.3	2.9	6.3	2.1	4.2	3.7
	Standardized Res.	-2.4	-1.8	5.6	-1.1	1.5	0.4
Course Corrector	Count	256	943	244	52	231	122
	Expected Count	323.5	972.4	219.3	43.6	186.8	102.3
	% within Carnegie	14.3	17.5	20.1	21.5	22.3	21.5
	Standardized Res.	-3.8	-0.9	1.7	1.3	3.2	2.0

1b. Does a relationship exist between the educational value of seats and graduate employment outcomes?

A Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between Value of Seats and Primary Occupation. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (24, N = 10,998) = 304.229, p < .001. Institutions with higher educational value matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who reported working primarily in a music-related occupation. Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 17.

An additional Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between Value of Seats and Vocational Intent. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (12, N = 11,342) = 148.122, p < .001. Institutions with higher educational value matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who achieved their initial vocational aspirations. Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 18.

A final Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between Value of Seats and Employment Identity. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (48, N = 10,171) = 312.878, p < .001. Institutions of higher educational value matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who reported ideal Employment Identities. Because of the large number of groups in each variable, expected counts get very low (minimum = 15.04). Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 19.

Noticeable trends can be observed between respondent's career outcomes and Value of Seats categories. Subsidy-Reliant (N=570) and Vulnerable (N=505) institutions may act as outliers in this analysis because of their disproportionately low sample size. Value of Seats line charts should be interpreted with this in mind. While it is impractical to display all nine Employment Identities on a line chart, noticeable trends can be observed between Artists in

Music and Course Correctors. Self-Patrons (those who fund their artistic work via non-musical day jobs) appear to be dispersed evenly across all Value types. These trends are displayed in Figures 4, 5, and 6.

Table 17.

Crosstab – Value of Seats x Primary Occupation

		Super-Elite	Elite	Typical	Multi-versity	Subsidy-Reliant	Striving	Vulnerable
Music-related	Count	1,038	1,659	537	283	166	258	140
	Expected Count	814.1	1,580.0	523.6	372.9	211.5	391.5	187.4
	% within Value	47.3	39.0	38.1	28.2	29.1	24.5	27.7
	Standardized Res.	7.8	2.0	0.6	-4.7	-3.1	-6.7	-3.5
Non-music related	Count	662	1,425	458	391	222	420	211
	Expected Count	755.9	1,467.0	486.1	346.2	196.4	363.5	174.0
	% within Value	30.2	33.5	32.5	38.9	38.9	39.8	41.8
	Standardized Res.	-3.4	-1.1	-1.3	2.4	1.8	3.0	2.8
Music educator	Count	312	697	277	214	127	261	80
	Expected Count	392.6	761.9	252.5	179.8	102.0	188.8	90.4
	% within Value	14.2	16.4	19.6	21.3	22.3	24.7	15.8
	Standardized Res.	-4.1	-2.4	1.5	2.5	2.5	5.3	-1.1
Unemployed	Count	81	239	71	47	29	69	25
	Expected Count	111.9	217.2	72.0	51.3	29.1	53.8	25.8
	% within Value	3.7	5.6	5.0	4.7	5.1	6.5	5.0
	Standardized Res.	-2.9	1.5	-0.1	-0.6	0.0	2.1	-0.1
Retired	Count	101.0	238.0	68.0	70.0	26.0	47.0	49.0
	Expected Count	119.5	231.9	76.8	54.7	31.0	57.5	27.5
	% within Value	4.6	5.6	4.8	7.0	4.6	4.5	9.7
	Standardized Res.	-1.7	0.4	-1.0	2.1	-0.9	-1.4	4.1

Table 18.

Crosstab – Value of Seats x Vocational Intent

		Super-Elite	Elite	Typical	Multi-versity	Subsidy-Reliant	Striving	Vulnerable
Currently employed as an artist	Count	1,456	2,612	849	564	320	543	260
	Expected Count	1,315.9	2,562.5	840.8	604.4	347.0	628.8	304.5
	% within Value	64.4	59.4	58.8	54.3	53.7	50.3	49.7
	Standardized Res.	3.9	1.0	0.3	-1.6	-1.5	-3.4	-2.6
Not employed as an artist but initially hoped to be	Count	655	1,334	453	329	183	358	189
	Expected Count	697.6	1,358.5	445.7	320.4	184.0	333.4	161.4
	% within Value	29.0	30.3	31.4	31.7	30.7	33.1	36.1
	Standardized Res.	-1.6	-0.7	0.3	0.5	-0.1	1.3	2.2
Never intended to pursue career as an artist	Count	149	455	142	145	93	179	74
	Expected Count	246.5	480.0	157.5	113.2	65.0	117.8	57.0
	% within Value	6.6	10.3	9.8	14.0	15.6	16.6	14.1
	Standardized Res.	-6.2	-1.1	-1.2	3.0	3.5	5.6	2.2

Table 19.

Crosstab – Value of Seats x Employment Identity

Employment Identity		Super-Elite	Elite	Typical	Multi-versity	Subsidy-Reliant	Striving	Vulnerable
Artist in Music	Count	910	1485	477	247	137	204	127
	Expected Count	735.3	1394.8	461.3	323.8	182.3	333.6	155.9
	% within Value	43.6	37.5	36.5	26.9	26.5	21.6	28.7
	Standardized Resid.	6.4	2.4	0.7	-4.3	-3.4	-7.1	-2.3
Artist/ Teacher	Count	224	459	161	132	79	138	50
	Expected Count	254.8	483.3	159.9	112.2	63.2	115.6	54.0
	% within Value	10.7	11.6	12.3	14.4	15.3	14.6	11.3
	Standardized Resid.	-1.9	-1.1	0.1	1.9	2.0	2.1	-0.5
Non-Artist Track	Count	71	200	67	72	42	79	24
	Expected Count	113.8	215.8	71.4	50.1	28.2	51.6	24.1
	% within Value	3.4	5.1	5.1	7.8	8.1	8.4	5.4
	Standardized Resid.	-4.0	-1.1	-0.5	3.1	2.6	3.8	0.0
Non-Music Track	Count	65	182	38	56	29	62	27
	Expected Count	94.1	178.5	59.0	41.4	23.3	42.7	19.9
	% within Value	3.1	4.6	2.9	6.1	5.6	6.6	6.1
	Standardized Resid.	-3.0	0.3	-2.7	2.3	1.2	3.0	1.6
Pragmatist	Count	65	140	71	39	19	69	16
	Expected Count	85.9	162.9	53.9	37.8	21.3	39.0	18.2
	% within Value	3.1	3.5	5.4	4.2	3.7	7.3	3.6
	Standardized Resid.	-2.3	-1.8	2.3	0.2	-0.5	4.8	-0.5
Unrealized Artist	Count	118	165	60	36	16	38	24
	Expected Count	93.7	177.7	58.8	41.2	23.2	42.5	19.9
	% within Value	5.7	4.2	4.6	3.9	3.1	4.0	5.4
	Standardized Resid.	2.5	-1.0	0.2	-0.8	-1.5	-0.7	0.9
Self-Patron	Count	245	477	161	129	72	127	57
	Expected Count	259.9	493.1	163.1	114.4	64.5	117.9	55.1
	% within Value	11.8	12.1	12.3	14.1	13.9	13.4	12.9
	Standardized Resid.	-0.9	-0.7	-0.2	1.4	0.9	0.8	0.3
Unemployed Dreamer	Count	49	148	47	30	20	39	13
	Expected Count	70.9	134.5	44.5	31.2	17.6	32.2	15.0
	% within Value	2.4	3.7	3.6	3.3	3.9	4.1	2.9
	Standardized Resid.	-2.6	1.2	0.4	-0.2	0.6	1.2	-0.5
Course Corrector	Count	338	699	226	177	103	190	104
	Expected Count	376.6	714.3	236.2	165.8	93.4	170.9	79.8
	% within Value	16.2	17.7	17.3	19.3	19.9	20.1	23.5
	Standardized Resid.	-2.0	-0.6	-0.7	0.9	1.0	1.5	2.7

Figure 4.

Value of Seats x Primary Occupation

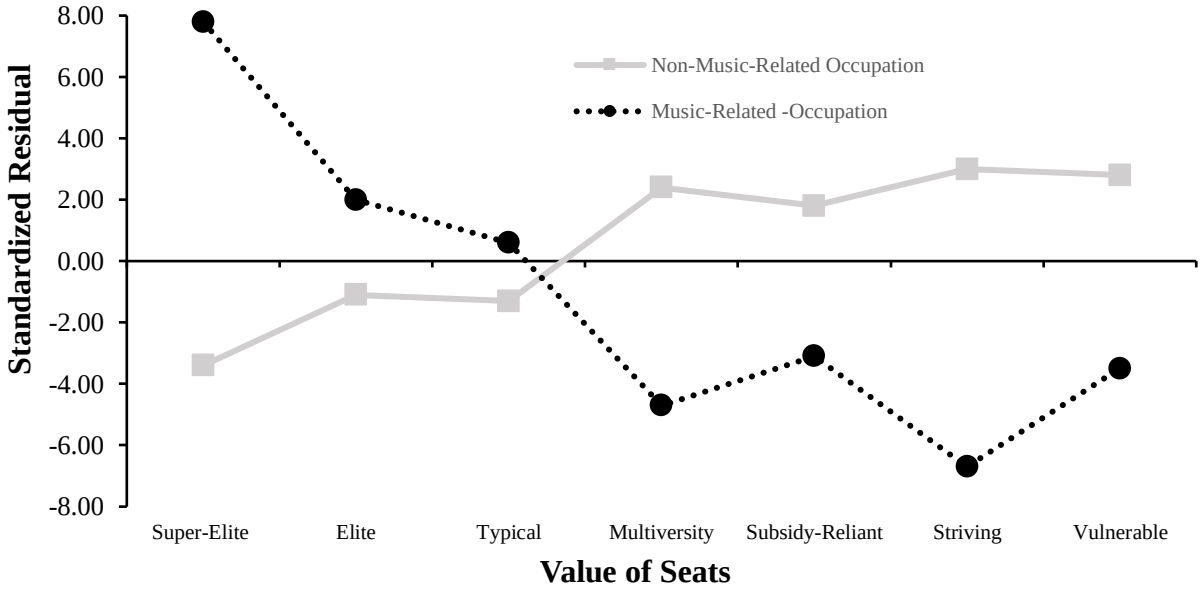


Figure 5.

Value of Seats x Vocational Intent

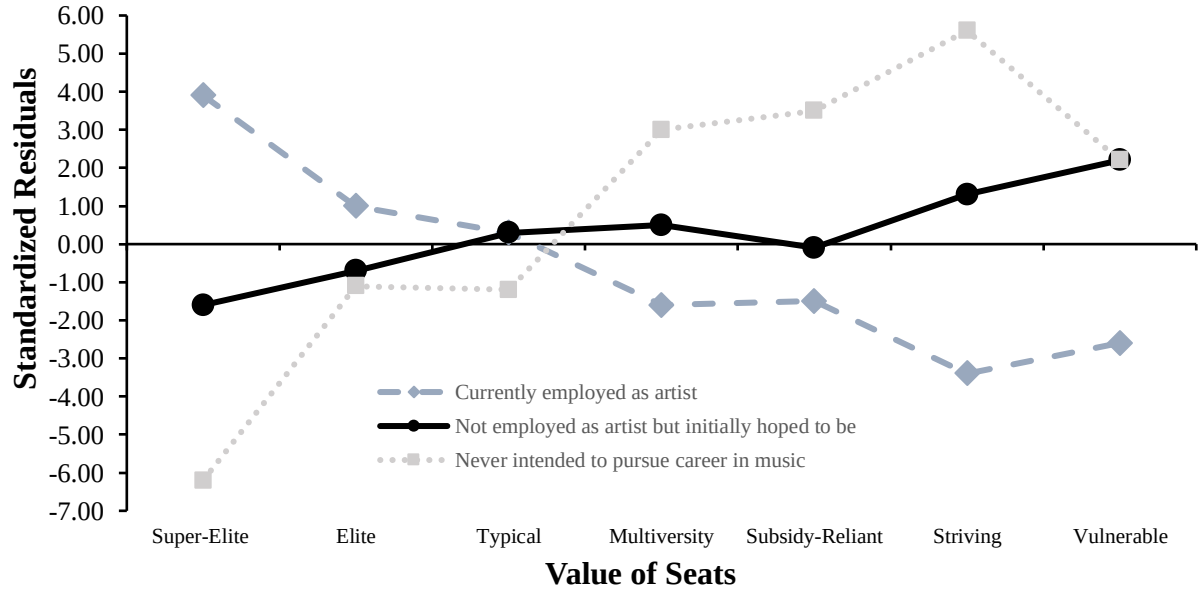
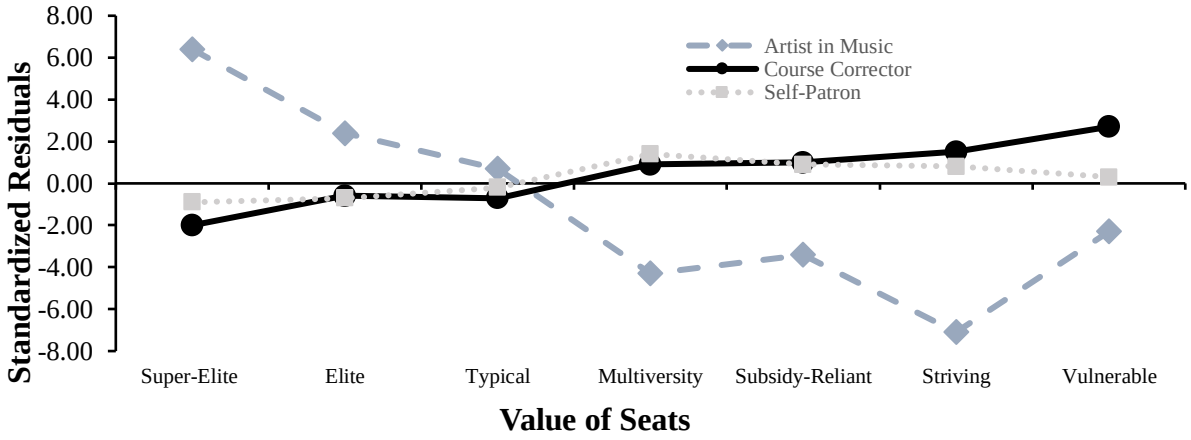


Figure 6.

Value of Seats x Employment Identity



1c. Does a relationship exist between institutional enrollment size and graduate employment outcomes?

The ratio of music enrollment to total enrollment was used in place of total enrollment because of its specificity to music alumni, as well as its potential implications for budgetary prioritization. A Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between Music FTE Ratio and Primary Occupation. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (16, N = 11,078) = 276.138, p < .001. Music programs with a higher FTE enrollment ratio matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who reported working primarily in a music-related occupation. Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 20.

An additional Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship with Vocational Intent. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (8, N = 11,426) = 332.649, p < .001. Music programs with a higher FTE enrollment ratio matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who achieved their initial vocational aspirations. Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 21.

A final Chi-square test examined the relationship with Employment Identity. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (32, N = 10,247) = 435.573, p < .001. Music programs with a higher FTE enrollment ratio matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who reported ideal Employment Identities. Details are displayed in Table 22.

Table 20.

Crosstab – Music FTE Ratio x Primary Occupation

		Conservatory	Flagship	Average	Below-Average	Marginalized
Music-related	Count	1,006	600	986	1,150	359
	Expected Count	724.8	554.5	1,086.5	1,286.1	449.0
	% within Music FTE	51.4	40.1	33.6	33.1	29.6
	Standardized Res.	10.4	1.9	-3.0	-3.8	-4.2
Non-music related	Count	524	481	1,065	1,276	467
	Expected Count	673.9	515.6	1,010.2	1,195.7	417.5
	% within Music FTE	26.8	32.1	36.3	36.7	38.5
	Standardized Res.	-5.8	-1.5	1.7	2.3	2.4
Music educator	Count	284	238	579	648	248
	Expected Count	353.0	270.0	529.1	626.2	218.7
	% within Music FTE	14.5	15.9	19.7	18.7	20.4
	Standardized Res.	-3.7	-1.9	2.2	0.9	2.0
Unemployed	Count	67	67	145	222	64
	Expected Count	99.9	76.4	149.7	177.2	61.9
	% within Music FTE	3.4	4.5	4.9	6.4	5.3
	Standardized Res.	-3.3	-1.1	-0.4	3.4	0.3
Retired	Count	77	112	160	178	75
	Expected Count	106.4	81.4	159.5	188.8	65.9
	% within Music FTE	3.9	7.5	5.5	5.1	6.2
	Standardized Res.	-2.9	3.4	0.0	-0.8	1.1

Table 21.

Crosstab – Music FTE Ratio x Vocational Intent

		Conservatory	Flagship	Average	Below-Average	Marginalized
Currently employed as an artist	Count	1,418	921	1,706	1,956	653
	Expected Count	1,181.6	902.7	1,758.7	2,086.0	725.0
	% within Music FTE	69.9	59.4	56.5	54.6	52.4
	Standardized Res.	6.9	0.6	-1.3	-2.8	-2.7
Not employed as an artist but initially hoped to be	Count	574	482	976	1,134	354
	Expected Count	625.1	477.5	930.4	1,103.5	383.5
	% within Music FTE	28.3	31.1	32.3	31.7	28.4
	Standardized Res.	-2.0	0.2	1.5	0.9	-1.5
Never intended to pursue career as an artist	Count	37	147	338	492	238
	Expected Count	222.3	169.8	330.9	392.5	136.4
	% within Music FTE	1.8	9.5	11.2	13.7	19.1
	Standardized Res.	-12.4	-1.8	0.4	5.0	8.7

Table 22.

Crosstab – Music FTE Ratio x Employment Identity

Employment Identity		Conservatory	Flagship	Average	Below-Average	Marginalized
Artist in Music	Count	921	534	846	1013	291
	Expected Count	671.6	492.9	959.4	1107.5	373.6
	% within Music FTE	48.2	38.1	31.0	32.2	27.4
	Standardized Res.	9.6	1.9	-3.7	-2.8	-4.3
Artist/Teacher	Count	214	160	359	389	141
	Expected Count	235.3	172.7	336.1	388.0	130.9
	% within Music FTE	11.2	11.4	13.2	12.4	13.3
	Standardized Res.	-1.4	-1.0	1.2	0.1	0.9
Non-Artist Track	Count	18	82	160	191	111
	Expected Count	104.7	76.8	149.6	172.7	58.2
	% within Music FTE	0.9	5.9	5.9	6.1	10.5
	Standardized Res.	-8.5	0.6	0.9	1.4	6.9
Non-Music Track	Count	13	48	125	204	75
	Expected Count	86.6	63.6	123.7	142.9	48.2
	% within Music FTE	0.7	3.4	4.6	6.5	7.1
	Standardized Res.	-7.9	-2.0	0.1	5.1	3.9
Pragmatist	Count	63	47	123	149	41
	Expected Count	78.8	57.8	112.6	130.0	43.8
	% within Music FTE	3.3	3.4	4.5	4.7	3.9
	Standardized Res.	-1.8	-1.4	1.0	1.7	-0.4
Unrealized Artist	Count	116	60	125	116	41
	Expected Count	85.3	62.6	121.9	140.7	47.5
	% within Music FTE	6.1	4.3	4.6	3.7	3.9
	Standardized Res.	3.3	-0.3	0.3	-2.1	-0.9
Self-Patron	Count	240	176	372	359	128
	Expected Count	237.5	174.3	339.3	391.7	132.1
	% within Music FTE	12.6	12.6	13.6	11.4	12.1
	Standardized Res.	0.2	0.1	1.8	-1.7	-0.4
Unemployed Dreamer	Count	45	38	91	138	36
	Expected Count	64.8	47.6	92.6	106.9	36.1
	% within Music FTE	2.4	2.7	3.3	4.4	3.4
	Standardized Res.	-2.5	-1.4	-0.2	3.0	0.0
Course Corrector	Count	279	256	526	589	198
	Expected Count	344.3	252.7	491.8	567.7	191.5
	% within Music FTE	14.6	18.3	19.3	18.7	18.6
	Standardized Res.	-3.5	0.2	1.5	0.9	0.5

Noticeable trends can be observed between respondents' career outcomes and Music FTE Ratio categories. While it is impractical to display all nine Employment Identities on a line chart, noticeable trends can also be observed between Artists in Music and Non-Artist/Non-Music Tracks. These trends are displayed in Figures 7, 8, and 9.

Figure 7.

Music FTE Ratio x Primary Occupation

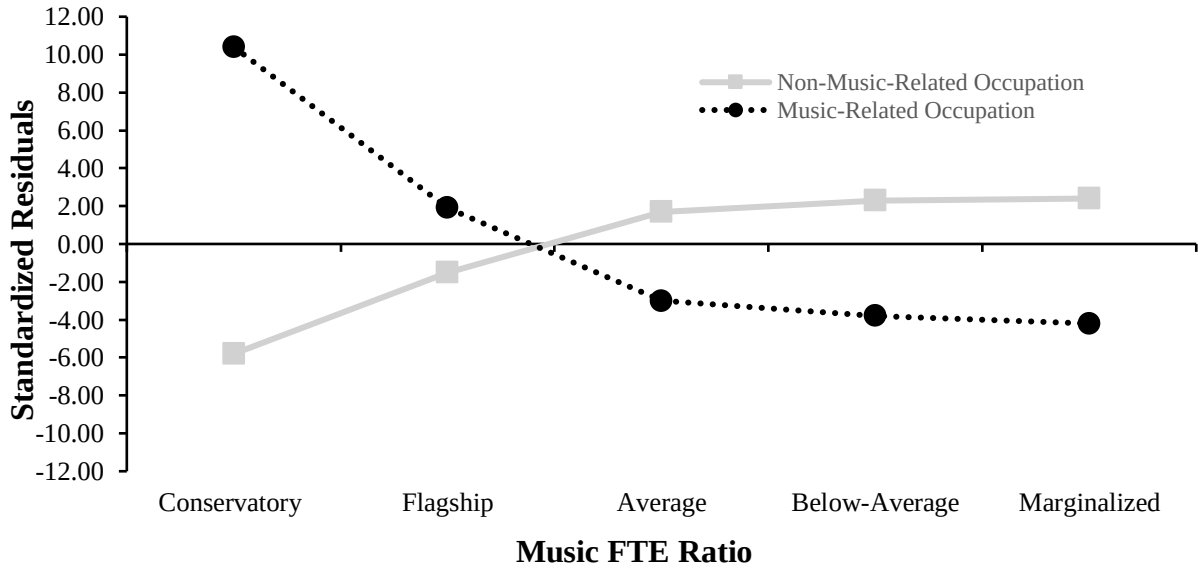


Figure 8.

Music FTE Ratio x Vocational Intent

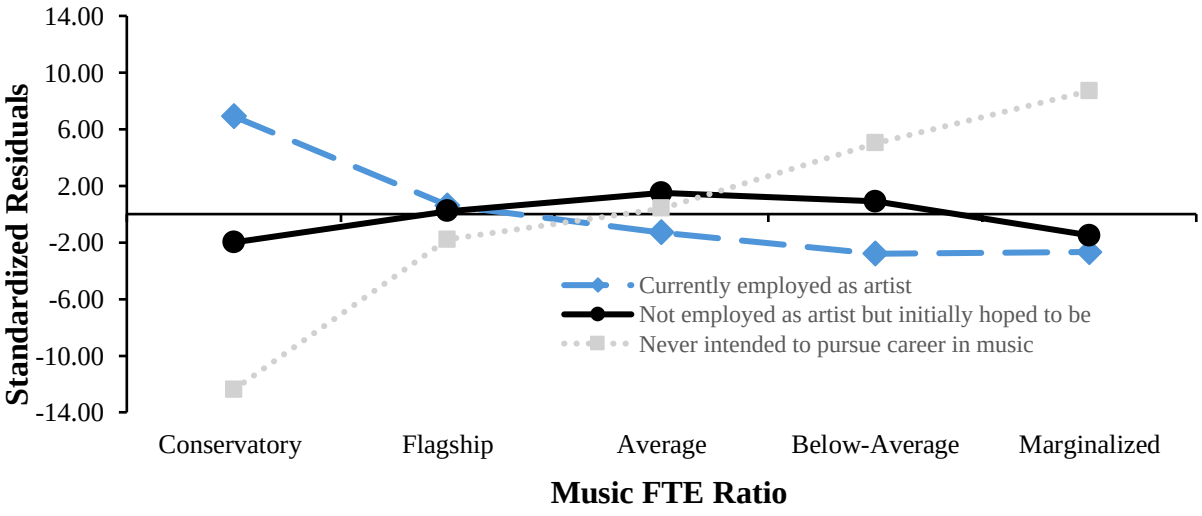
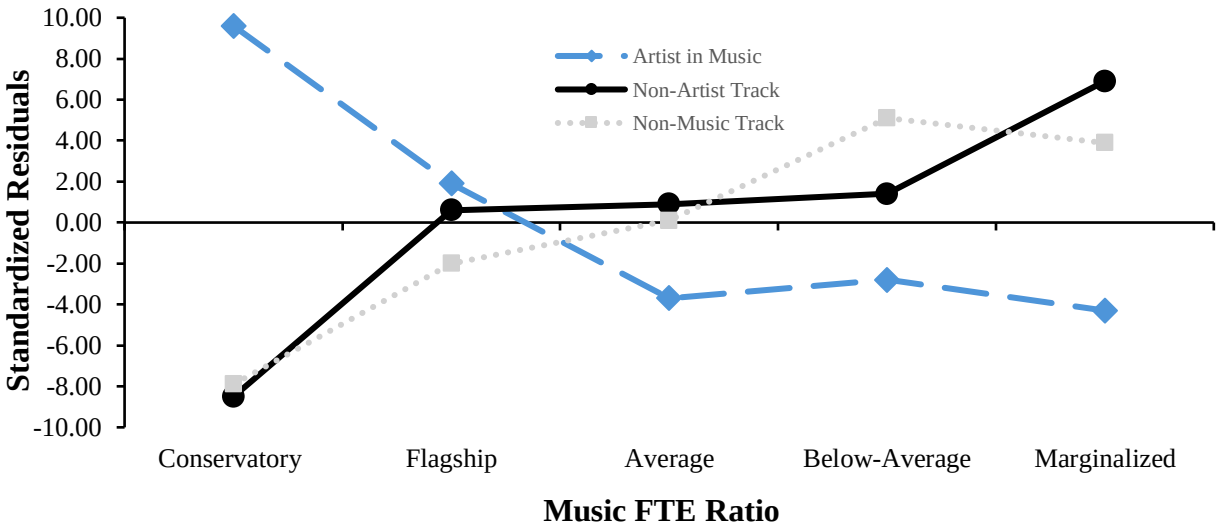


Figure 9.

Music FTE Ratio x Employment Identity



1d. Does a relationship exist between institutional selectivity and graduate employment outcomes?

A Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between Selectivity and Primary Occupation. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (16, N = 11,078) = 291.400, p < .001. More selective institutions matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who reported working primarily in a music-related occupation. Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 23.

An additional Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship with Vocational Intent. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (8, N = 11,426) = 173.462, p < .001. More selective institutions matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who achieved their initial vocational aspirations. Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 24.

A final Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship with Employment Identity. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (32, N = 10,247) = 262.399, p < .001. More selective institutions matriculated a higher proportion of graduates who reported ideal Employment Identities. Details from this Chi-Square analysis are displayed in Table 25.

Noticeable trends can be observed between respondents' career outcomes and Selectivity categories. While it is impractical to display all nine Employment Identities on a line chart, noticeable trends can also be observed between Artists in Music and Non-Artist/Non-Music Tracks. These trends are displayed in Figures 10, 11, and 12.

Across all four institutional characteristics, elite/selective/well-funded programs matriculated a higher proportion of ideal career outcomes. For those who view higher education as a private good (Astin, 1993; Chan, 2016; Friedman & Friedman, 1980) – i.e. that institutional effectiveness can be measured by graduate career outcomes – these findings suggest that Carnegie Classification, Value of Seats, Music FTE Ratio, and Selectivity are reliable measures of institutional performance.

Table 23.

Crosstab – Selectivity x Primary Occupation

		Exclusive	Selective	Average	Accessible	Non-selective
Music-related	Count	1,469	1,258	460	551	363
	Expected Count	1,187.6	1,223.5	581.6	671.2	437.2
	% within Selectivity	45.8	38.1	29.3	30.4	30.7
	Standardized Res.	8.2	1.0	-5.0	-4.6	-3.5
Non-music related	Count	959	1,133	604	644	473
	Expected Count	1,104.2	1,137.6	540.7	624.0	406.5
	% within Selectivity	29.9	34.3	38.4	35.5	40.1
	Standardized Res.	-4.4	-0.1	2.7	0.8	3.3
Music educator	Count	483	586	348	350	230
	Expected Count	578.3	595.8	283.2	326.8	212.9
	% within Selectivity	15.1	17.7	22.2	19.3	19.5
	Standardized Res.	-4.0	-0.4	3.9	1.3	1.2
Unemployed	Count	110	198	91	102	64
	Expected Count	163.6	168.6	80.1	92.5	60.2
	% within Selectivity	3.4	6.0	5.8	5.6	5.4
	Standardized Res.	-4.2	2.3	1.2	1.0	0.5
Retired	Count	187	130	68	166	51
	Expected Count	174.3	179.6	85.4	98.5	64.2
	% within Selectivity	5.8	3.9	4.3	9.2	4.3
	Standardized Res.	1.0	-3.7	-1.9	6.8	-1.6

Table 24.

Crosstab – Selectivity x Vocational Intent

		Exclusive	Selective	Average	Accessible	Non-selective
Currently employed as an artist	Count	2,133	2,013	855	965	688
	Expected Count	1,926.4	1,990.5	944.0	1,087.3	705.8
	% within Selectivity	64.5	58.9	52.7	51.7	56.8
	Standardized Res.	4.7	0.5	-2.9	-3.7	-0.7
Not employed as an artist but initially hoped to be	Count	971	1,029	528	629	363
	Expected Count	1,019.1	1,053.0	499.4	575.2	373.4
	% within Selectivity	29.4	30.1	32.6	33.7	30.0
	Standardized Res.	-1.5	-0.7	1.3	2.2	-0.5
Never intended to pursue career as an artist	Count	204	376	238	273	161
	Expected Count	362.5	374.5	177.6	204.6	132.8
	% within Selectivity	6.2	11.0	14.7	14.6	13.3
	Standardized Res.	-8.3	0.1	4.5	4.8	2.4

Table 25.

Crosstab – Selectivity x Employment Identity

Employment Identity		Exclusive	Selective	Average	Accessible	Non-Selective
Artist in Music	Count	1304	1104	386	503	308
	Expected Count	1080.1	1075.1	502.0	570.6	377.1
	% within Selectivity	42.5	36.1	27.0	31.0	28.7
	Standardized Residual	6.8	.9	-5.2	-2.8	-3.6
Artist/Teacher	Count	338	384	196	207	138
	Expected Count	378.4	376.7	175.9	199.9	132.1
	% within Selectivity	11.0	12.6	13.7	12.8	12.9
	Standardized Residual	-2.1	.4	1.5	.5	.5
Non-Artist Track	Count	130	148	106	101	77
	Expected Count	168.4	167.6	78.3	89.0	58.8
	% within Selectivity	4.2	4.8	7.4	6.2	7.2
	Standardized Residual	-3.0	-1.5	3.1	1.3	2.4
Non-Music Track	Count	70	161	87	91	56
	Expected Count	139.3	138.7	64.8	73.6	48.6
	% within Selectivity	2.3	5.3	6.1	5.6	5.2
	Standardized Residual	-5.9	1.9	2.8	2.0	1.1
Pragmatist	Count	90	123	90	72	48
	Expected Count	126.7	126.2	58.9	67.0	44.3
	% within Selectivity	2.9	4.0	6.3	4.4	4.5
	Standardized Residual	-3.3	-.3	4.1	.6	.6
Unrealized Artist	Count	171	125	52	77	33
	Expected Count	137.2	136.6	63.8	72.5	47.9
	% within Selectivity	5.6	4.1	3.6	4.7	3.1
	Standardized Residual	2.9	-1.0	-1.5	.5	-2.2
Self-Patron	Count	397	351	179	190	158
	Expected Count	382.0	380.2	177.6	201.8	133.4
	% within Selectivity	12.9	11.5	12.5	11.7	14.7
	Standardized Residual	.8	-1.5	.1	-.8	2.1
Unemployed Dreamer	Count	69	121	56	65	37
	Expected Count	104.3	103.8	48.5	55.1	36.4
	% within Selectivity	2.2	4.0	3.9	4.0	3.5
	Standardized Residual	-3.5	1.7	1.1	1.3	.1
Course Corrector	Count	501	539	275	316	217
	Expected Count	553.7	551.1	257.4	292.5	193.3
	% within Selectivity	16.3	17.6	19.3	19.5	20.2
	Standardized Residual	-2.2	-.5	1.1	1.4	1.7

Figure 10.

Selectivity x Primary Occupation

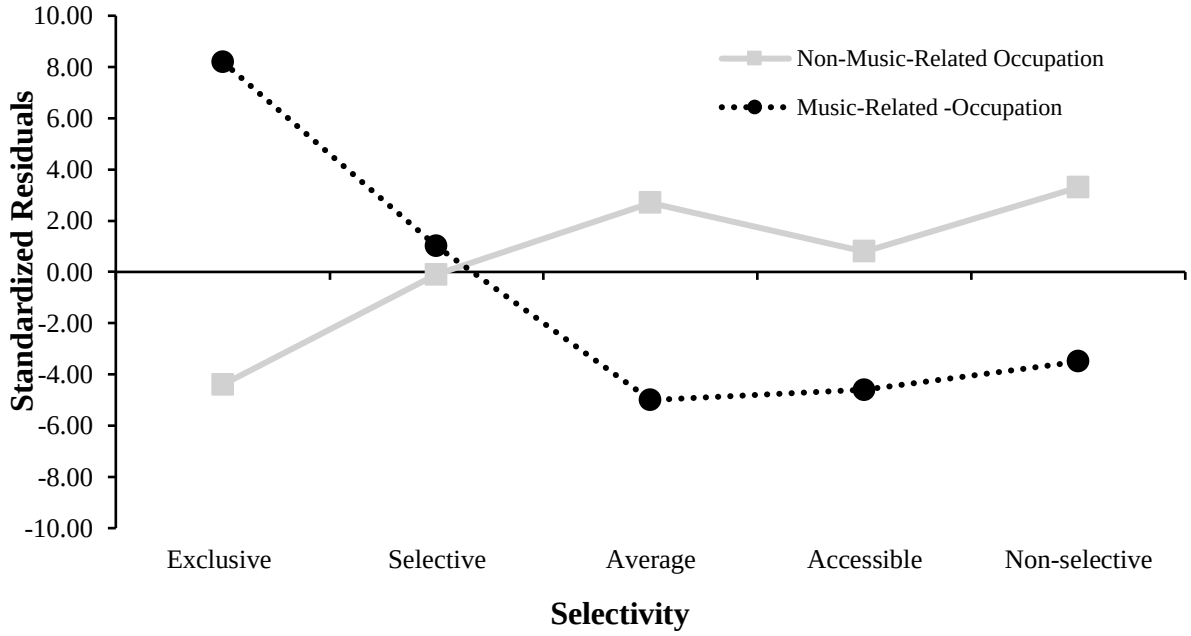


Figure 11.

Selectivity x Vocational Intent

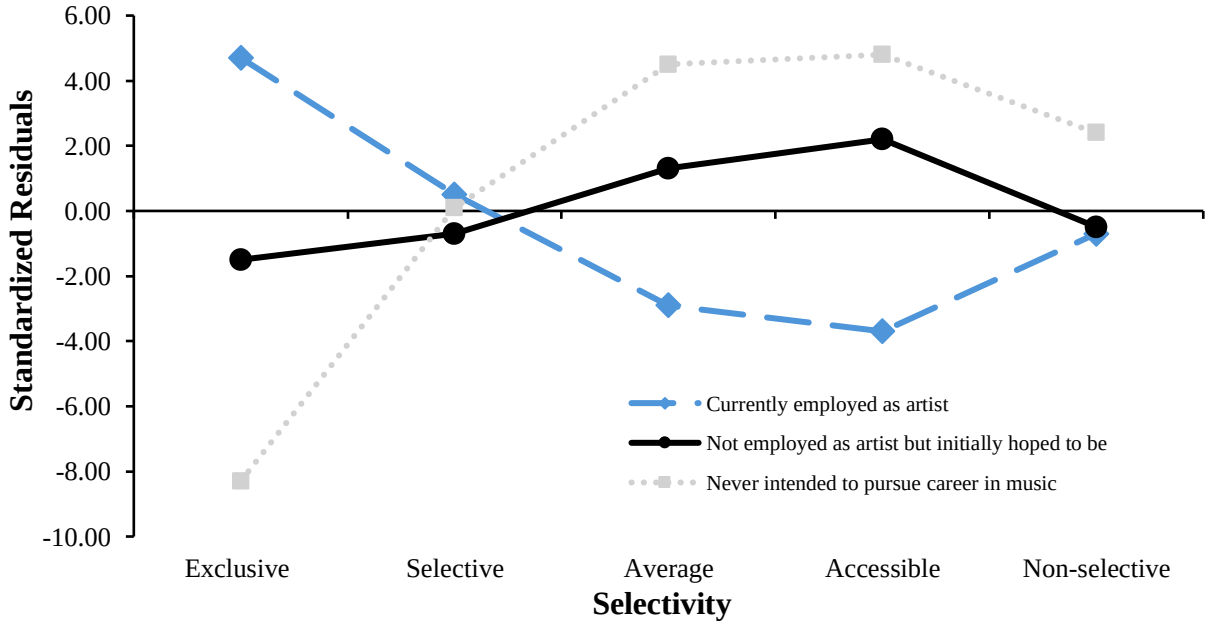
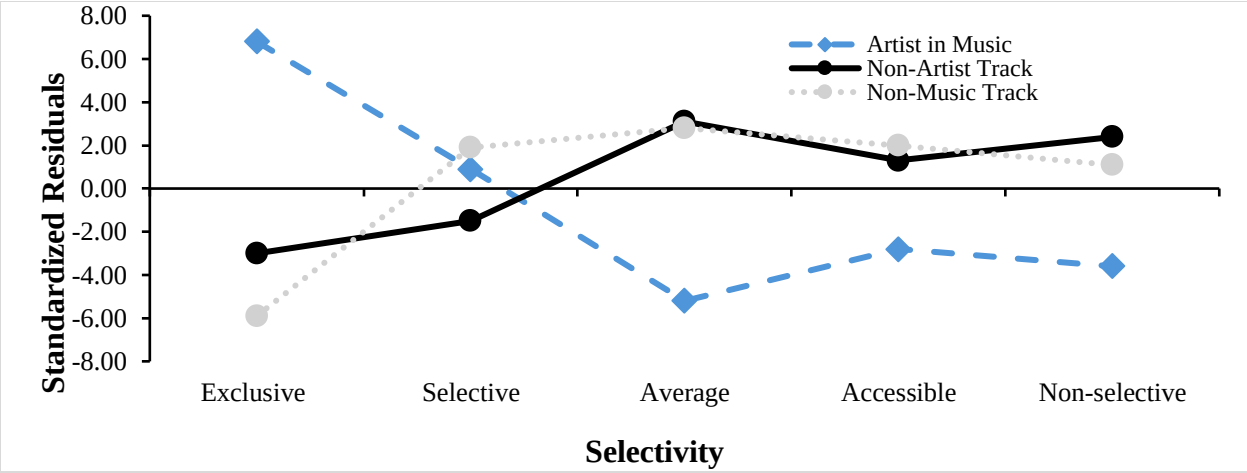


Figure 12.

Selectivity x Employment Identity



Research Question 2

Concerning music graduates who no longer work in a music-related occupation, what are the perceptions of the quality of career advising at their respective institutions?

To investigate this question, a series of independent *t*-tests were run to compare various career outcomes with mean scores for a Likert-type item asking about career advising. Career outcomes include Primary Occupation and Vocational Intent. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was run to test the relationship between career advising satisfaction and Employment Identity. The survey item reads as follows: "Please select the option that best describes how satisfied you were with the following aspects of your experience at [INSTITUTION]. Advising about career or further education."

The 3,760 alumni who reported spending the majority of their work time in music-related occupations were more satisfied with the career advising offered by their institutions (M = 2.700, SD = 1.022) than the 3,585 alumni who reported spending the majority of their work time in non-music-related occupations (M = 2.421, SD = 1.015). Levene's test for equality of variances

indicated that the variances were homogenous (p = .210). The effect was significant, t(7,343) = 11.724, p < .001 . The effect size was small, d = .274.

The 6,123 alumni who reported being currently employed as an artist in some capacity were more satisfied with the career advising offered by their institutions (M = 2.667, SD = 1.019) than the 3,272 alumni who reported no form of current employment as an artist despite initially hoping to (M = 2.446, SD = 1.036). Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous, p = .002. The effect was significant, t(6,590) = 9.891, p < .001. The effect size was small to medium, d = .215.

A one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Employment Identity and satisfaction with career advising was significant, F(9, 10,163) = 34.782, p < .001. Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous, p < .001. In light of this, a Welch test was run which also showed a significant relationship, W(9, 2,294.1) = 34.520, p < .001. Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that the satisfaction with career advising was significantly lower with Course Correctors (M = 2.294, SD = 1.012), Unemployed Dreamers (M = 2.468, SD = 1.053), and Self-Patrons (M = 2.475, SD = 1.023) than all other Employment Identities. The effect size was small to medium, η^2 = .030. Table 26 displays means and standard deviations for all nine Employment Identities.

2a. Does a significant relationship exist between perceived quality of career advising and the aforementioned institutional variables?

To investigate this question, a series of one-way analyses of variance were run to compare various institutional variables with mean scores for a Likert-type item asking about

career advising. Institutional characteristics include Carnegie Classification, Value of Seats, Music FTE Ratio, and Selectivity.

Table 26.
Descriptives – Employment Identity x Career Advising Satisfaction

	N	*M*	*SD*
Artist in Music	3270	2.748	1.012
Artist/Teacher	1166	2.723	.998
Self-Patron	1202	2.475	1.023
Unrealized Artist	431	2.510	1.041
Pragmatist	396	2.646	.994
Course Corrector	1743	2.294	1.012
Unemployed Dreamer	327	2.468	1.053
Non-Artist Track	511	2.777	1.003
Non-Music Track	418	2.713	.954
Other	709	2.749	.955

A one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Carnegie Classification and satisfaction with career advising was significant, $F(5, 10{,}972) = 57.281$, $p < .001$. Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous, $p < .001$. In light of this, a Welch test was run which also showed a significant relationship, $W(5, 1{,}762.4) = 56.421$, $p < .001$. Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that the satisfaction with career advising was significantly lower for respondents who attended Special Focus/Arts institutions ($M = 2.281$, $SD = 1.060$) when compared to all other Carnegie types. Graduates of Baccalaureate ($M = 2.817$, $SD = 0.912$) and Regional Comprehensive ($M = 2.838$, $SD = 0.957$) institutions reported higher satisfaction with career advising than all other types except R3 institutions. The effect size was small to medium, $\eta^2 = .025$.

An additional one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Value of Seats and satisfaction with career advising was significant, $F(6, 10{,}893) = 32.248$, $p < .001$. Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous, $p < .001$. In light of this, a Welch test was run which also showed a significant relationship, $W(6, 2{,}725.9) = 33.280$, $p < .001$. Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that the satisfaction with career advising was significantly lower for respondents who attended Super-Elite ($M = 2.480$, $SD = 1.047$) and Elite ($M = 2.504$, $SD = 1.022$) institutions when compared to all other Value of Seats categories. The effect size was small, $\eta^2 = .017$.

A third one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Music FTE Ratio and satisfaction with career advising was significant, $F(4, 10{,}973) = 64.569$, $p < .001$. Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous, $p < .001$. In light of this, a Welch test was run which also showed a significant relationship, $W(4, 4{,}363.2) = 61.422$, $p < .001$. Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that the satisfaction with career advising was significantly lower for respondents who attended Conservatory ($M = 2.300$, $SD = 1.057$) and Flagship ($M = 2.552$, $SD = 0.995$) institutions when compared to all other Music FTE Ratio categories. Graduates of Marginalized programs ($M = 2.770$, $SD = 0.999$) and Average ($M = 2.729$, $SD = 0.999$) reported significantly higher satisfaction with career advising than all other Music FTE Ratio categories. The effect size was small to medium, $\eta^2 = .023$.

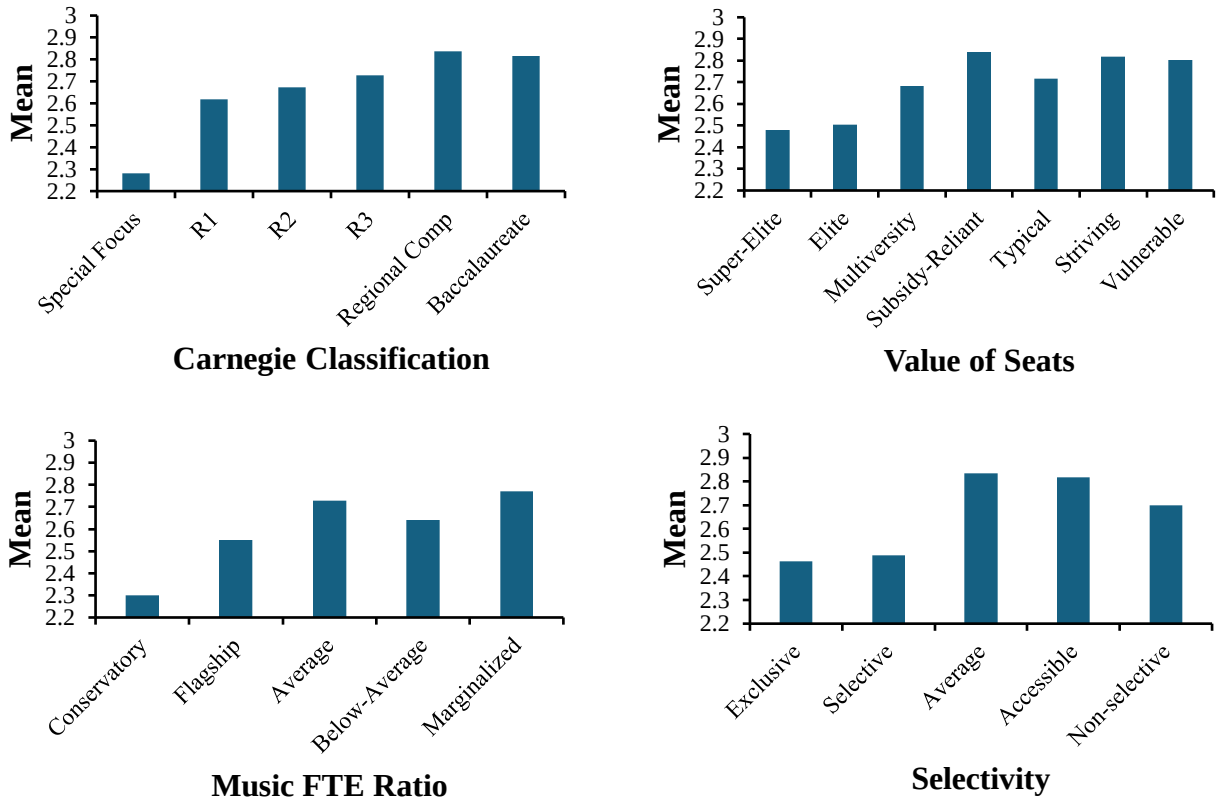
A final one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Selectivity and satisfaction with career advising was significant, $F(4, 10{,}973) = 68.984$, $p < .001$. Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous, $p < .001$. In light of

this, a Welch test was run which also showed a significant relationship, $W(4, 4{,}366.6) = 70.794$, $p < .001$. Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that the satisfaction with career advising was significantly lower for respondents who attended Exclusive ($M = 2.462$, $SD = 1.023$) and Selective ($M = 2.487$, $SD = 1.044$) institutions when compared to all other Selectivity categories. Graduates of Average ($M = 2.833$, $SD = 0.975$) and Accessible ($M = 2.816$, $SD = 0.977$) institutions reported significantly higher satisfaction with career advising than all other Selectivity categories. The effect size was small to medium, $\eta^2 = .025$. The trends for mean career advising satisfaction across all four institutional characteristics are displayed in Figure 13.

The findings for Research Question 2 revealed positive relationships between graduate career outcomes and satisfaction with career advising. Respondents who reported ideal career outcomes were more likely to be satisfied with the career advising offered by their institutions. On the other hand, career advising satisfaction was significantly lower for graduates who attended elite/selective/well-funded institutions.

Figure 13.

Institutional Characteristics x Career Advising Satisfaction



Research Question 3

Concerning music graduates who no longer work in a music-related occupation, what are the perceptions of the relevance of curriculum at their respective institutions?

3a. Are graduates who currently work in a music-related occupation more likely to perceive the curricula as relevant?

To investigate this question, a series of independent *t*-tests were run to compare various career outcomes with mean scores for a Likert-type items asking about curricular satisfaction. Career outcomes include Primary Occupation and Vocational Intent. Curricular areas include

specialized musical instruction, pedagogical instruction, opportunities for internships/work experience, entrepreneurial skills, and holistic education. A one-way analysis of variance was run to test the relationship between curricular satisfaction and Employment Identity. The survey item reads as follows: “In your opinion, how much did [INSTITUTION] help you acquire or develop each of the following skills and abilities?”.

Alumni who reported spending the majority of their work time in music-related occupations were more satisfied with all curricular areas offered by their institutions than the alumni who reported spending the majority of their work time in non-music-related occupations. Levene’s test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous ($p <$ .001). All effects were significant except holistic curricula, $t(7,775) = 1.236$, $p = .217$. The effect sizes were small, with Cohen’s d ranging from .092 to .239. Table 28 displays descriptives, *t*-test results, and effect sizes for all five curricular areas.

Alumni who reported being currently employed as an artist in some capacity were more satisfied with all curricular areas offered by their institutions than the alumni who reported no form of current employment as an artist despite initially hoping to. Levene’s test for equality of variances indicated that the variances for specialized ($p < .001$), pedagogical ($p = .004$), and holistic ($p < .001$) curricula were not homogenous, while variances for internship-related ($p =$ .019) and entrepreneurial ($p = .723$) curricula were homogenous. All effects were significant with *p* values less than .001. The effect sizes were small, with Cohen’s d ranging from .128 to .224. Table 29 displays descriptives, *t*-test results, and effect sizes for all five curricular areas.

Table 27.

Primary Occupation x Curricular Relevance

Curricular area	Primary Occupation	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*	*d*
Specialized musical skills	Music-related	2,503	3.190	.589	7.647	<.001	.214
	Non-music-related	2,583	3.060	.615			
Pedagogical skills	Music-related	4,026	3.078	.946	8.697	<.001	.198
	Non-music-related	3,751	2.888	.977			
Internships/ Work experience	Music-related	3,205	2.666	1.066	9.517	<.001	.239
	Non-music-related	3,146	2.415	1.041			
Entrepreneurial skills	Music-related	3,403	2.299	.701	3.758	<.001	.092
	Non-music-related	3,215	2.235	.699			
Holistic education	Music-related	4,018	3.330	.671	1.234	.217	.028
	Non-music-related	3,759	3.311	.693			

Table 28.

Vocational Intent x Curricular Relevance

Curricular area	Primary Occupation	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*	*d*
Specialized musical skills	Currently employed as an artist	4,271	3.183	.596	8.195	<.001	.218
	Not employed as an artist but once hoped to be	2,243	3.051	.632			
Pedagogical skills	Currently employed as an artist	6,534	3.092	.942	7.205	<.001	.154
	Not employed as an artist but once hoped to be	3,433	2.943	.991			
Internships/ Work experience	Currently employed as an artist	5,303	2.652	1.060	9.598	<.001	.224
	Not employed as an artist but once hoped to be	2,827	2.414	1.077			
Entrepreneurial skills	Currently employed as an artist	5,568	2.311	.703	9.129	<.001	.210
	Not employed as an artist but once hoped to be	2,860	2.164	.692			
Holistic education	Currently employed as an artist	6,532	3.347	.664	6.001	<.001	.128
	Not employed as an artist but once hoped to be	3,450	3.260	.701			

A one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Employment Identity and satisfaction with all curricular areas was significant. Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that all variances – except for entrepreneurial curricula (p = .735) – were not

homogenous, $p < .001$. In light of this, a Welch test was run, also showing a significant relationship with all curricular areas.

Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that Course Correctors were less satisfied with all curricular areas than the remaining Employment Identities, with the exception of holistic education. Non-Artist and Non-Music Tracks reported significantly more satisfaction with all curricular areas than Course Correctors, Unemployed Dreamers, Self-Patrons, and Unrealized Artists, excluding the relationship between Non-Music Track and pedagogical skills ($M = 3.060$) . Unrealized Artists expressed significantly lower satisfaction with entrepreneurial curricula ($M = 2.157$) than Artists in Music ($M = 2.310$), Artist/Teachers ($M = 2.342$), Non-Artist Tracks ($M = 2.407$), and Non-Music Tracks ($M = 2.412$). The effect sizes were small, with η^2 ranging from .010 to .033. Table 30 displays descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for all nine Employment Identities. The trends for mean curricular satisfaction across all five curricular areas are displayed in Figure 14.

Figure 14.

Trends – Employment Identity x Curricular Relevance

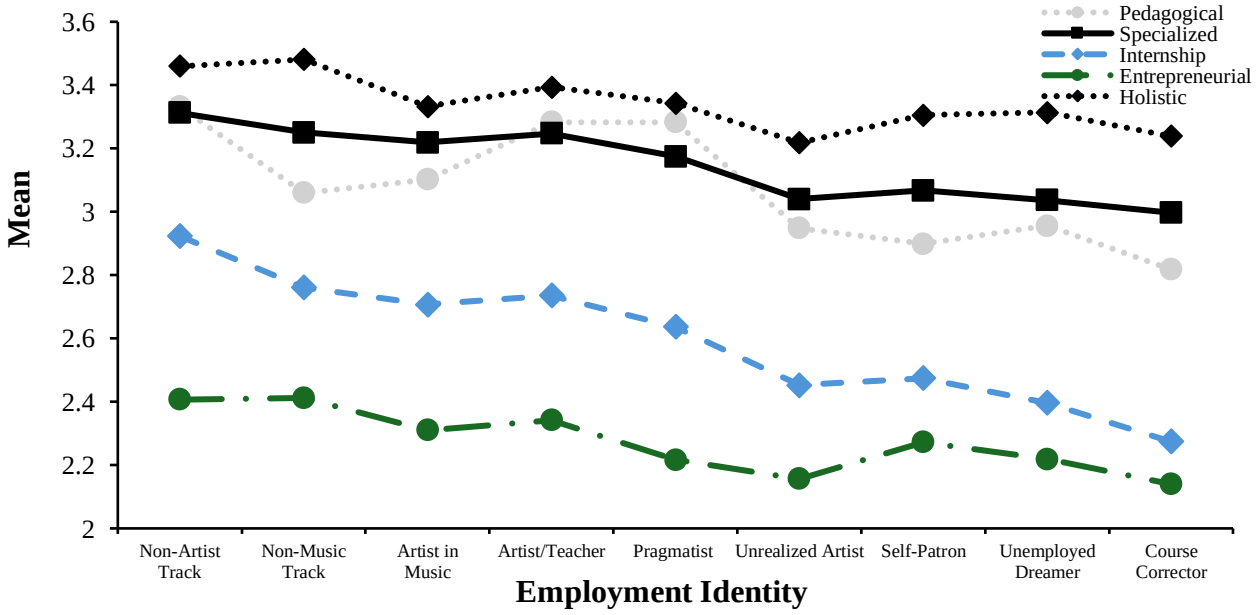


Table 29.

Employment Identity x Curricular Relevance

Curricular Area	Employment Identity	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Specialized musical skills	Artist in Music	2,129	3.219	.585	24.895	<.001	.030
	Artist/Teacher	857	3.247	.582			
	Non-Artist Track	340	3.312	.515			
	Non-Music Track	261	3.250	.536			
	Pragmatist	280	3.175	.588			
	Unrealized Artist	292	3.040	.624			
	Self-Patron	892	3.067	.618			
	Unemployed Dreamer	232	3.037	.619			
	Course Corrector	1,239	2.997	.636			
Pedagogical skills	Artist in Music	3,528	3.102	.943	40.176	<.001	.030
	Artist/Teacher	1,235	3.283	.865			
	Non-Artist Track	550	3.331	.836			
	Non-Music Track	451	3.060	.913			
	Pragmatist	414	3.283	.918			
	Unrealized Artist	444	2.948	.990			
	Self-Patron	1,253	2.899	.974			
	Unemployed Dreamer	343	2.956	.953			
	Course Corrector	1,818	2.818	.995			
Internships/ Work experience	Artist in Music	2,765	2.707	1.062	35.571	<.001	.033
	Artist/Teacher	1,055	2.736	1.048			
	Non-Artist Track	426	2.923	.966			
	Non-Music Track	339	2.761	.988			
	Pragmatist	350	2.637	1.066			
	Unrealized Artist	363	2.452	1.090			
	Self-Patron	1,058	2.474	1.051			
	Unemployed Dreamer	282	2.397	1.093			
	Course Corrector	1,535	2.274	1.038			
Entrepreneurial skills	Artist in Music	2,959	2.310	.703	15.461	<.001	.014
	Artist/Teacher	1,067	2.342	.698			
	Non-Artist Track	454	2.407	.680			
	Non-Music Track	355	2.412	.672			
	Pragmatist	353	2.217	.656			
	Unrealized Artist	379	2.157	.698			
	Self-Patron	1,073	2.272	.717			
	Unemployed Dreamer	278	2.219	.705			
	Course Corrector	1,563	2.140	.689			
Holistic education	Artist in Music	3,534	3.332	.669	13.884	<.001	.010
	Artist/Teacher	1,242	3.394	.624			
	Non-Artist Track	551	3.460	.573			
	Non-Music Track	453	3.481	.597			
	Pragmatist	419	3.343	.615			
	Unrealized Artist	443	3.218	.733			
	Self-Patron	1,256	3.305	.705			
	Unemployed Dreamer	342	3.314	.664			
	Course Corrector	1,816	3.239	.716			

3e. Does a significant relationship exist between perceived curricular relevance and the aforementioned institutional variables?

To investigate this question, a series of one-way analyses of variance were run to compare various institutional variables with mean scores for the Likert-type items regarding curricular satisfaction. Institutional characteristics include Carnegie Classification, Value of Seats, Music FTE Ratio, and Selectivity.

A one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Carnegie Classification and curricular satisfaction was significant for all curricular areas ($p < .001$). Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances for all curricular areas were not homogenous, ($p < .001$). In light of this, a Welch test was run also showing a significant relationship with all five curricular areas ($p < .001$). Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that satisfaction with all five curricular areas was significantly lower for respondents who attended Special Focus/Arts institutions when compared to all other Carnegie types. Graduates of Baccalaureate institutions reported higher curricular satisfaction for each area when compared with all other Carnegie types. The effect sizes were medium to large, η^2 ranging from .023 to .090. Table 31 displays shows descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for the six Carnegie types.

An additional one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Value of Seats and curricular satisfaction was significant for all curricular areas ($p < .001$). Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances for all curricular areas were not homogenous ($p < .001$), with the exception of entrepreneurial skills ($p = .094$). In light of this, a Welch test was run also showing a significant relationship with all five curricular areas ($p < .001$). Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated

that satisfaction with all five curricular areas was significantly lower for respondents who attended Super-Elite and Elite institutions when compared to all other Value of Seats categories. Graduates of Subsidy-Reliant and Striving institutions reported higher curricular satisfaction for each area, but only exhibited post hoc significance when compared with graduates of Super-Elite and Elite institutions. The effect sizes were small, η^2 ranging from .010 to .017. Table 32 displays descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for the seven Value of Seats categories.

A third one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Music FTE Ratio and curricular satisfaction was significant for all curricular areas ($p < .001$). Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances for all curricular areas were not homogenous ($p < .001$). In light of this, a Welch test was run also showing a significant relationship with all five curricular areas ($p < .001$). Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that satisfaction with all five curricular areas was significantly lower for respondents who attended Conservatory/Arts institutions when compared to all other Music FTE Ratio categories. Graduates of Flagship institutions reported significantly lower curricular satisfaction than all other categories regarding entrepreneurial skills ($M = 2.242$) and holistic education ($M = 3.344$). The effect sizes were medium, η^2 ranging from .016 to .086. Table 33 displays descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for the five Music FTE Ratio categories.

A final one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Selectivity and curricular satisfaction was significant for all curricular areas ($p < .001$). Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances for all curricular areas were not homogenous ($p < .001$), with the exception of entrepreneurial skills ($p = .014$). In light of this, a Welch test was run also showing a significant relationship with all five curricular areas ($p < .001$). Post hoc analyses

using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that satisfaction with all five curricular areas was significantly lower for respondents who attended Exclusive and Selective institutions when compared to all other Selectivity categories. Graduates of institutions with Average selectivity reported higher curricular satisfaction than all other selectivity categories, but only exhibited consistent post hoc significance regarding entrepreneurial skills (M = 2.424) and holistic education (M = 3.528). The effect sizes were small, η^2 ranging from .012 to .022. Table 34 displays descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for the five Selectivity categories.

The findings for Research Question 3 revealed positive relationships between graduate career outcomes and curricular satisfaction. Respondents who reported ideal career outcomes were more likely to be satisfied with the relevance of their institutions' curricula. On the other hand, curricular satisfaction was significantly lower for graduates who attended elite/selective/well-funded institutions. This was especially the case regarding the instruction of entrepreneurial skills and opportunities for degree-related internships.

Table 30.

Carnegie Classification x Curricular Relevance

Curricular Area	Carnegie Type	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Specialized musical skills	Special Focus	1,230	2.889	.667	58.358	<.001	.042
	R1	3,742	3.172	.591			
	R2	991	3.216	.568			
	R3	175	3.128	.615			
	Regional Compr.	839	3.276	.575			
	Bacc./Lib Arts	437	3.316	.491			
Pedagogical skills	Special Focus	1,921	2.596	1.050	109.167	<.001	.052
	R1	6,008	3.107	.933			
	R2	1,422	3.300	.824			
	R3	264	3.117	.896			
	Regional Compr.	1,189	3.165	.905			
	Bacc./Lib Arts	678	3.223	.798			
Internships/ Work experience	Special Focus	1,599	2.243	1.057	48.158	<.001	.025
	R1	4,887	2.653	1.069			
	R2	1,214	2.640	1.064			
	R3	213	2.531	1.071			
	Regional Compr.	1,015	2.766	.981			
	Bacc./Lib Arts	523	2.761	.962			
Entrepreneurial skills	Special Focus	1,637	2.091	.721	42.898	<.001	.023
	R1	4,985	2.266	.692			
	R2	1,196	2.399	.703			
	R3	234	2.346	.713			
	Regional Compr.	1,001	2.445	.689			
	Bacc./Lib Arts	575	2.343	.599			
Holistic education	Special Focus	1,913	2.893	.832	169.935	<.001	.090
	R1	6,062	3.395	.620			
	R2	1,430	3.408	.588			
	R3	262	3.393	.547			
	Regional Compr.	1,193	3.434	.570			
	Bacc./Lib Arts	694	3.621	.475			

Table 31.

Value of Seats x Curricular Relevance

Curricular Area	Value of Seats	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Specialized musical skills	Super-Elite	1476	3.065	.629	20.787	>.001	.016
	Elite	2756	3.104	.607			
	Multiversity	669	3.220	.575			
	Subsidy-Reliant	429	3.292	.553			
	Typical	929	3.178	.612			
	Striving	747	3.281	.561			
	Vulnerable	355	3.202	.630			
Pedagogical skills	Super-Elite	2270	2.917	1.000	35.595	>.001	.017
	Elite	4404	2.977	.980			
	Multiversity	1037	3.146	.902			
	Subsidy-Reliant	600	3.258	.858			
	Typical	1473	3.194	.892			
	Striving	1093	3.264	.866			
	Vulnerable	524	3.118	.924			
Internships/ Work experience	Super-Elite	1886	2.519	1.076	19.053	>.001	.012
	Elite	3572	2.494	1.064			
	Multiversity	854	2.746	1.049			
	Subsidy-Reliant	519	2.757	1.061			
	Typical	1216	2.682	1.076			
	Striving	898	2.790	1.002			
	Vulnerable	441	2.653	1.022			
Entrepreneurial skills	Super-Elite	1918	2.227	.721	18.618	>.001	.011
	Elite	3672	2.222	.689			
	Multiversity	875	2.321	.668			
	Subsidy-Reliant	502	2.374	.708			
	Typical	1241	2.296	.712			
	Striving	907	2.450	.686			
	Vulnerable	448	2.367	.690			
Holistic education	Super-Elite	2277	3.239	.753	20.632	>.001	.010
	Elite	4436	3.297	.701			
	Multiversity	1052	3.413	.594			
	Subsidy-Reliant	609	3.389	.596			
	Typical	1470	3.387	.620			
	Striving	1100	3.437	.566			
	Vulnerable	527	3.405	.585			

Table 32.

Music FTE Ratio x Curricular Relevance

Curricular Area	Music FTE Ratio	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Specialized musical skills	Conservatory/Arts	1,301	2.890	.671	62.397	>.001	.039
	Flagship	949	3.200	.570			
	Average	1,974	3.219	.586			
	Below-Average	2,358	3.197	.578			
	Marginalized	832	3.203	.573			
Pedagogical skills	Conservatory/Arts	2,046	2.604	1.053	129.741	>.001	.051
	Flagship	1,540	3.080	.942			
	Average	3,049	3.133	.908			
	Below-Average	3,600	3.215	.877			
	Marginalized	1,247	3.143	.902			
Internships/ Work experience	Conservatory/Arts	1,703	2.249	1.056	61.454	>.001	.025
	Flagship	1,266	2.619	1.081			
	Average	2,488	2.736	1.030			
	Below-Average	2,958	2.634	1.057			
	Marginalized	1,036	2.708	1.037			
Entrepreneurial skills	Conservatory/Arts	1,745	2.098	.722	38.263	>.001	.016
	Flagship	1,292	2.242	.669			
	Average	2,531	2.337	.703			
	Below-Average	3,038	2.329	.686			
	Marginalized	1,022	2.333	.689			
Holistic education	Conservatory/Arts	2,038	2.910	.828	184.946	>.001	.086
	Flagship	1,560	3.344	.641			
	Average	3,041	3.421	.598			
	Below-Average	3,653	3.440	.587			
	Marginalized	1,262	3.465	.571			

Table 33.

Selectivity x Curricular Relevance

Curricular Area	Selectivity	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Specialized musical skills	Exclusive	2,066	3.100	.607	43.454	<.001	.022
	Selective	2,232	3.057	.628			
	Average	1,174	3.292	.539			
	Accessible	1,154	3.239	.617			
	Non-selective	788	3.203	.572			
Pedagogical skills	Exclusive	3,295	2.907	1.006	65.686	<.001	.022
	Selective	3,447	2.977	.980			
	Average	1,635	3.228	.850			
	Accessible	1,881	3.229	.897			
	Non-selective	1,224	3.207	.858			
Internships/ Work experience	Exclusive	2,680	2.519	1.079	37.413	<.001	.015
	Selective	2,887	2.473	1.070			
	Average	1,382	2.794	1.003			
	Accessible	1,505	2.771	1.036			
	Non-selective	997	2.635	1.056			
Entrepreneurial skills	Exclusive	2,764	2.198	.694	31.379	<.001	.012
	Selective	2,896	2.239	.716			
	Average	1,434	2.424	.667			
	Accessible	1,523	2.329	.701			
	Non-selective	1,011	2.319	.686			
Holistic education	Exclusive	3,305	3.242	.721	76.323	<.001	.021
	Selective	3,474	3.272	.720			
	Average	1,650	3.528	.539			
	Accessible	1,894	3.395	.615			
	Non-selective	1,231	3.374	.582			

Research Question 4

Do music graduates who no longer work in a music-related occupation find that their postsecondary music education was worth the cost, despite its lack of alignment with their primary vocation?

4a. What were these graduates' overall levels of satisfaction with their educational experience?

To investigate this question, a series of independent *t*-tests were run to compare various career outcomes with mean scores for a Likert-type items asking about general institutional satisfaction. Career outcomes include Primary Occupation and Vocational Intent. A one-way analysis of variance was run to test the relationship between general institutional satisfaction and Employment Identity. In relation to research question 4a, three different Likert-type survey items from SNAAP 2.0 were used in the analyses:

1. Overall, how would you rate your experience at [INSTITUTION] while pursuing your degree? *(hereafter referred to as Overall Satisfaction)*
2. Please select the option that best describes how satisfied you were with the following aspects of your experience at [INSTITUTION]. Instructors in classrooms, labs, and studios. *(hereafter referred to as Instructional Satisfaction)*
3. If you could start over again, would you attend [INSTITUTION]? *(hereafter referred to as Institutional Choice Satisfaction)*
    a. Unlike the other 4-point survey items used in SNAAP 2.0, this was answered on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'Definitely no' to 'Definitely yes'.

Alumni who reported spending the majority of their work time in music-related occupations were comprehensively more satisfied with their institutions than the alumni who

reported spending the majority of their work time in non-music-related occupations. Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous ($p < .001$). All effects were significant ($p < .001$). The effect sizes were small, with Cohen's d ranging from .075 to .172. Table 37 displays descriptives, *t*-test results, and effect sizes for all three satisfaction items. Alumni who reported being currently employed as an artist in some capacity were comprehensively more satisfied with their institutions than the alumni who reported no form of current employment as an artist despite initially hoping to. Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous ($p < .001$). All effects were significant with *p* values less than .001. The effect sizes were small, with Cohen's d ranging from .077 to .155. Table 38 displays descriptives, *t*-test results, and effect sizes for all three satisfaction items.

Table 34.

Primary Occupation x General Institutional Satisfaction

Satisfaction Item	Primary Occupation	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*	*d*
Overall satisfaction	Music-related	4,084	3.542	.672	7.027	<.001	.159
	Non-music-related	3,797	3.431	.724			
Instructional satisfaction	Music-related	4,042	3.520	.676	3.315	<.001	.075
	Non-music-related	3,772	3.467	.718			
Institutional choice satisfaction	Music-related	4,088	4.209	.973	7.574	<.001	.172
	Non-music-related	3,800	4.030	1.119			

Table 35.

Vocational Intent x General Institutional Satisfaction

Satisfaction Item	Primary Occupation	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*	*d*
Overall satisfaction	Currently employed as an artist	6,623	3.533	.675	6.966	<.001	.149
	Not employed as an artist but once hoped to be	3,504	3.429	.734			
Instructional satisfaction	Currently employed as an artist	6,567	3.517	.688	3.606	<.001	.077
	Not employed as an artist but once hoped to be	3,476	3.463	.717			
Institutional choice satisfaction	Currently employed as an artist	6,627	4.198	1.002	7.174	<.001	.155
	Not employed as an artist but once hoped to be	3,509	4.035	1.125			

A one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Employment Identity and general institutional satisfaction was significant for all three survey items ($p < .001$). Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that all variances were not homogenous ($p < .001$). In light of this, a Welch test was run, also showing a significant relationship with each survey item. Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion showed a partition of significance between two groups. The group with higher means included Artists in Music, Artist/Teachers, and Non-Artist/Non-Music Tracks. The group with lower means included Course Correctors, Unemployed Dreamers, Self-Patrons, and Unrealized Artists. Pragmatists often hovered around the grand mean, limiting the significance of its relationships to only Course Correctors. Instructional satisfaction was an exception to this post hoc significance partition because mean differences were slightly lower, but the groups remained the same. This is reflected in the miniscule effect size ($\eta^2 = .004$). The effect sizes were small, with η^2 ranging from .004 to .016. Figure 15 displays satisfaction levels across the nine Employment Identities. Table 39 displays descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for all nine Employment Identities.

Figure 15.

Employment Identity x General Institutional Satisfaction

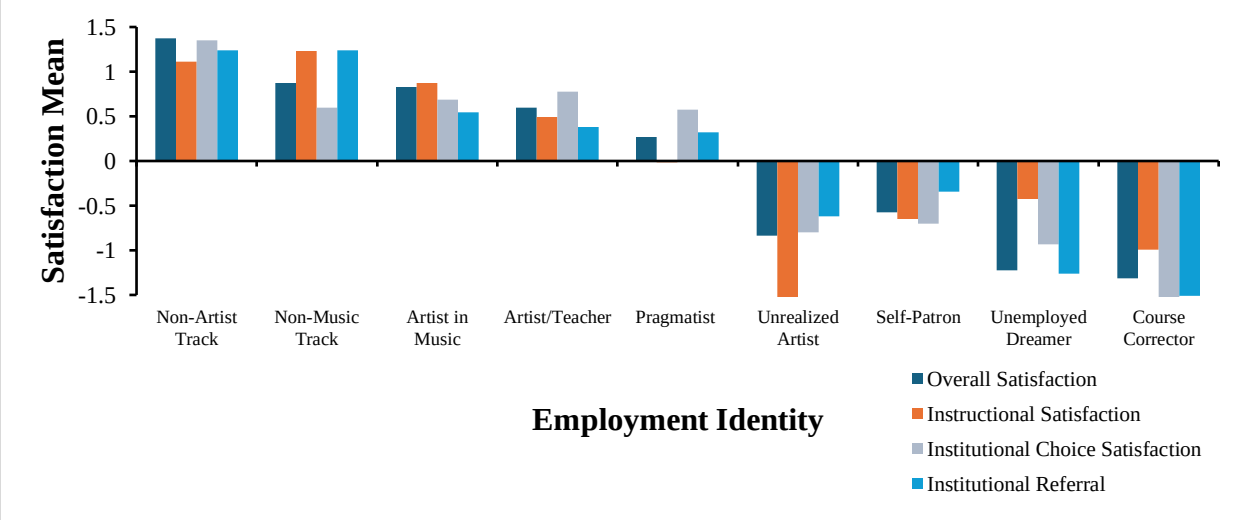


Table 36.

Employment Identity x General Institutional Satisfaction

Satisfaction Item	Employment Identity	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Overall satisfaction	Artist in Music	3,588	3.570	.654	16.024	<.001	.014
	Artist/Teacher	1,254	3.549	.663			
	Non-Artist Track	559	3.619	.607			
	Non-Music Track	462	3.574	.580			
	Pragmatist	422	3.519	.649			
	Unrealized Artist	458	3.419	.736			
	Self-Patron	1,271	3.443	.720			
	Unemployed Dreamer	346	3.384	.776			
	Course Corrector	1,839	3.376	.765			
	Total	10,980	3.508	.688			
Instructional satisfaction	Artist in Music	3,552	3.543	.666	5.192	<.001	.004
	Artist/Teacher	1,250	3.523	.681			
	Non-Artist Track	554	3.556	.614			
	Non-Music Track	447	3.562	.635			
	Pragmatist	419	3.496	.665			
	Unrealized Artist	451	3.410	.723			
	Self-Patron	1,265	3.462	.743			
	Unemployed Dreamer	344	3.474	.732			
	Course Corrector	1,826	3.444	.731			
	Total	10,879	3.507	.691			
Institutional choice satisfaction	Artist in Music	3,590	4.244	.957	17.579	<.001	.016
	Artist/Teacher	1,255	4.257	1.002			
	Non-Artist Track	561	4.337	.904			
	Non-Music Track	462	4.232	.973			
	Pragmatist	423	4.229	1.008			
	Unrealized Artist	458	4.039	1.035			
	Self-Patron	1,271	4.052	1.075			
	Unemployed Dreamer	347	4.020	1.113			
	Course Corrector	1,841	3.934	1.197			
	Total	10,993	4.160	1.036			

4b. Would these graduates recommend this institution to other students like them?

A series of Chi-square tests of independence were performed to examine the relationships between respondents' career outcomes and the probability that they would recommend the institution to another student like them (*hereafter referred to as Institutional Referral*). The relation between Primary Occupation and Institutional Referral was significant, X^2 (4, N = 10,991) = 50.178, $p < .001$. An additional Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship with Vocational Intent. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (2, N = 11,337) = 42.716, $p < .001$. A final Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship with Employment Identity. The relation between these variables was significant, X^2 (8, N = 10,168) = 82.884, $p < .001$.

The details for these Chi-Square analyses are displayed in Tables 40, 41, and 42. Figures 16 and 17 illustrate Institutional Referral trends across the nine Employment Identities. The percentages represent the proportions of alumni who responded "Yes" to the survey item asking if they would recommend their institution to another student like them.

Table 37.

Crosstab – Institutional Referral x Primary Occupation

Primary Occupation		Institutional Referral	
		No	Yes
Music-related occupation	Count	542	3,527
	Expected Count	574.9	3,494.1
	% within Primary Occupation	13.3%	86.7%
	Standardized Residual	-1.4	0.6
Non-music-related occupation	Count	629	3,155
	Expected Count	534.7	3,249.3
	% within Primary Occupation	16.6%	83.4%
	Standardized Residual	4.1	-1.7
Music educator (other than HIED)	Count	242	1,742
	Expected Count	280.3	1,703.7
	% within Primary Occupation	12.2%	87.8%
	Standardized Residual	-2.3	0.9
Unemployed	Count	94	470
	Expected Count	79.7	484.3
	% within Primary Occupation	16.7%	83.3%
	Standardized Residual	1.6	-0.7
Retired	Count	46	544
	Expected Count	83.4	506.6
	% within Primary Occupation	7.8%	92.2%
	Standardized Residual	-4.1	1.7

Table 38.

Crosstab – Institutional Referral x Vocational Intent

Vocational Intent		Institutional Referral	
		No	Yes
Currently employed as an artist	Count	874	5,732
	Expected Count	937.0	5,669.0
	% within Vocational Intent	13.2%	86.8%
	Standardized Residual	-2.1	0.8
Not employed as an artist but initially hoped to be	Count	600	2,889
	Expected Count	494.9	2,994.1
	% within Vocational Intent	17.2%	82.8%
	Standardized Residual	4.7	-1.9
Other	Count	134	1,108
	Expected Count	176.2	1,065.8
	% within Vocational Intent	10.8%	89.2%
	Standardized Residual	-3.2	1.3

Table 39.

Crosstab – Institutional Referral x Employment Identity

Employment Identity		Institutional Referral	
		No	Yes
Artist in Music	Count	445	3,128
	Expected Count	517.3	3,055.7
	% within Employment Identity	12.5%	87.5%
	Standardized Residual	-3.2	1.3
Artist/Teacher	Count	164	1,091
	Expected Count	181.7	1,073.3
	% within Employment Identity	13.1%	86.9%
	Standardized Residual	-1.3	.5
Non-Artist Track	Count	56	503
	Expected Count	80.9	478.1
	% within Employment Identity	10.0%	90.0%
	Standardized Residual	-2.8	1.1
Non-Music Track	Count	46	415
	Expected Count	66.7	394.3
	% within Employment Identity	10.0%	90.0%
	Standardized Residual	-2.5	1.0
Pragmatist	Count	56	364
	Expected Count	60.8	359.2
	% within Employment Identity	13.3%	86.7%
	Standardized Residual	-.6	.3
Unrealized Artist	Count	76	378
	Expected Count	65.7	388.3
	% within Employment Identity	16.7%	83.3%
	Standardized Residual	1.3	-.5
Self-Patron	Count	199	1,067
	Expected Count	183.3	1,082.7
	% within Employment Identity	15.7%	84.3%
	Standardized Residual	1.2	-.5
Unemployed Dreamer	Count	66	281
	Expected Count	50.2	296.8
	% within Employment Identity	19.0%	81.0%
	Standardized Residual	2.2	-.9
Course Corrector	Count	364	1,469
	Expected Count	265.4	1,567.6
	% within Employment Identity	19.9%	80.1%
	Standardized Residual	6.1	-2.5
Total	Count	1472	8,696
	Expected Count	1472.0	8,696.0
	% within Employment Identity	14.5%	85.5%

Figure 16.

Employment Identity x Institutional Referral - Percentages

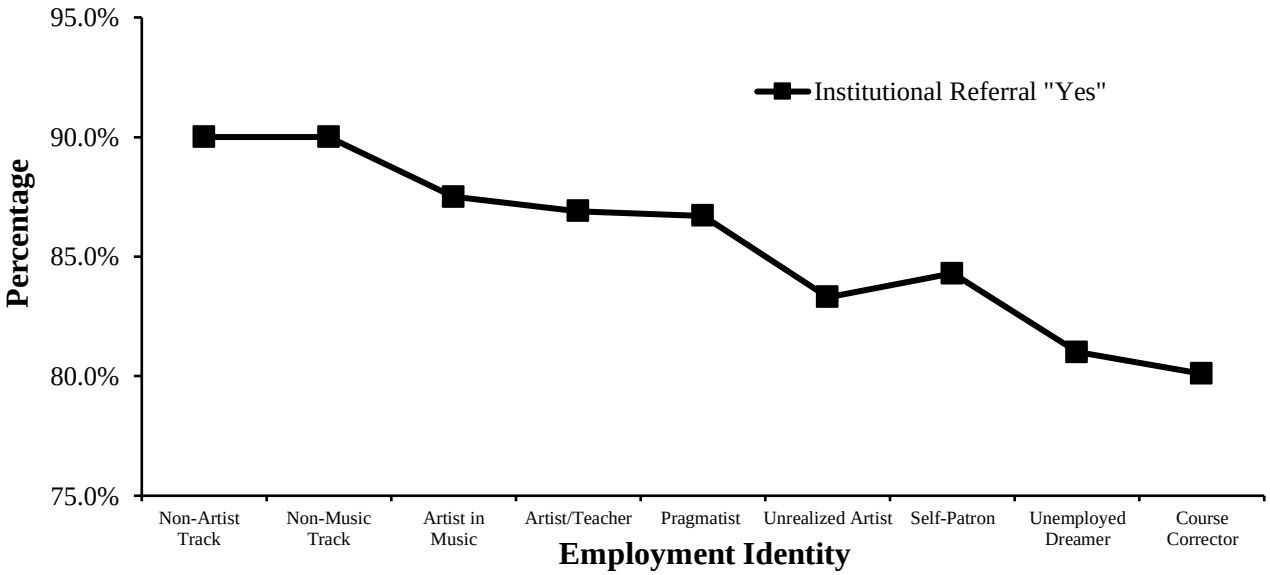
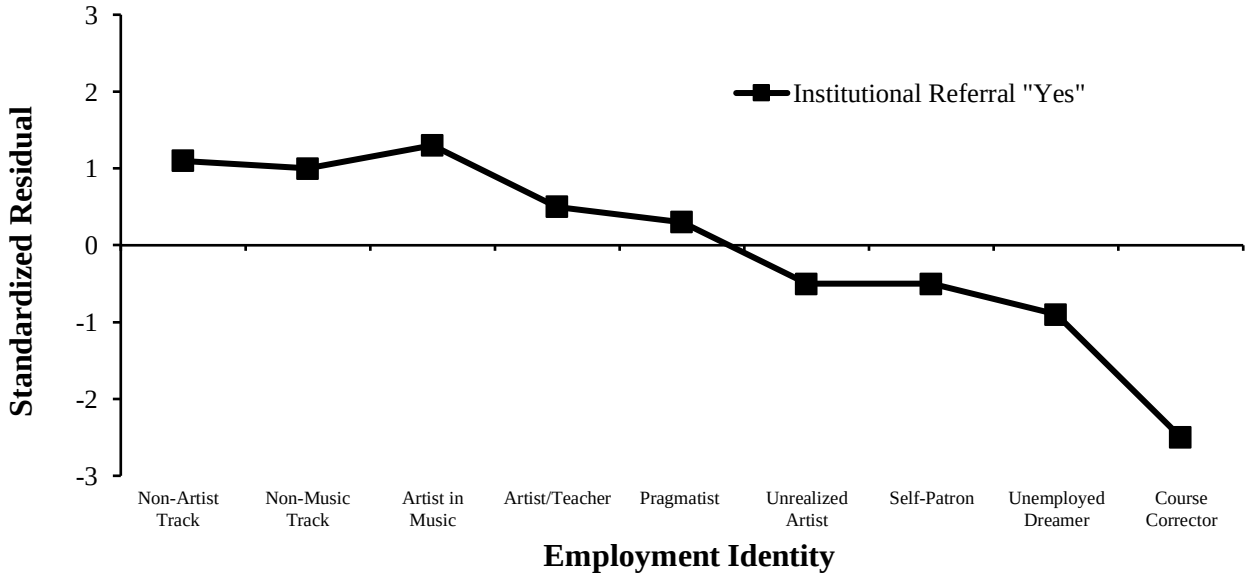


Figure 17.

Employment Identity x Institutional Referral – Standardized Residuals



4c. Does a significant relationship exist between overall institutional satisfaction and the aforementioned institutional variables?

To investigate this question, a series of one-way analyses of variance were run to compare various institutional variables with mean scores for the Likert-type items regarding general institutional satisfaction. Institutional characteristics include Carnegie Classification, Value of Seats, Music FTE Ratio, and Selectivity.

A one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Carnegie Classification and general institutional satisfaction was significant for Overall Satisfaction, Instructional Satisfaction, and Institutional Choice Satisfaction ($p < .001$). Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances for all three survey items were not homogenous, ($p < .001$). In light of this, a Welch test was run also showing a significant relationship with all survey items ($p < .001$).

Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that satisfaction with all three survey items was significantly lower for respondents who attended Special Focus/Arts institutions when compared to all other Carnegie types except R3 institutions. This should be interpreted in light of the extremely small sample size for R3 respondents (N =272) . Graduates of Baccalaureate institutions reported significantly higher Overall and Instructional Satisfaction when compared with all other Carnegie types. Graduates of Baccalaureate institutions also reported the highest mean score for Institutional Choice Satisfaction, but only exhibited post hoc significance when compared with R3 and Special Focus institutions. The effect sizes were small, η^2 ranging from .005 to .019. Table 43 displays descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for the six Carnegie types.

Table 40.
Carnegie Classification x General Institutional Satisfaction

Survey Item	Carnegie Type	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Overall satisfaction	Special Focus/Arts	2,017	3.308	.811	43.693	<.001	.019
	R1	6,282	3.533	.666			
	R2	1,481	3.502	.681			
	R3	272	3.404	.670			
	Regional Compr.	1,240	3.541	.643			
	Bacc./Lib Arts	707	3.690	.547			
Instructional satisfaction	Special Focus/Arts	1,960	3.368	.781	23.251	<.001	.010
	R1	6,164	3.509	.689			
	R2	1,456	3.505	.693			
	R3	271	3.476	.643			
	Regional Compr.	1,212	3.551	.658			
	Bacc./Lib Arts	701	3.659	.578			
Institutional choice satisfaction	Special Focus/Arts	2,019	4.009	1.155	10.924	<.001	.005
	R1	6,293	4.181	1.009			
	R2	1,485	4.188	1.040			
	R3	272	3.960	1.032			
	Regional Compr.	1,236	4.146	1.046			
	Bacc./Lib Arts	709	4.252	.978			

A one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship was significant between Value of Seats and Institutional Choice Satisfaction ($p < .001$), approaching significance for Instructional Satisfaction ($p = .056$), and null for Institutional Choice Satisfaction ($p = .601$). Results from Levene's test for equality of variances were mixed, indicating that the variances for Overall Satisfaction ($p < .001$) and Institutional Choice Satisfaction ($p = .004$) were not homogenous, but the variances for Instructional Satisfaction were homogenous ($p = .023$). In light of this, a Welch test was run also showing nearly identical significance results when compared to the *F* statistic. Welch statistics are reported in Table 44.

Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that Institutional Choice Satisfaction was significantly lower for respondents who attended

Vulnerable institutions when compared with Super-Elite, Elite, Multiversity, and Striving institutions. This should be interpreted in light of the extremely small sample size for R3 respondents (N =272) . Graduates of Super-Elite institutions reported significantly higher Institutional Choice Satisfaction when compared with Elite, Typical, and Vulnerable institutions. The effect size for Institutional Choice Satisfaction was small (η^2 = .005). Table 44 displays descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for the seven Value of Seats categories.

Table 41.
Value of Seats x General Institutional Satisfaction

Survey Item	Value of Seats	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Overall satisfaction	Super-Elite	2376	3.491	.710	0.821	.553	< .001
	Elite	4607	3.503	.709			
	Multiversity	1084	3.526	.646			
	Subsidy-Reliant	639	3.488	.683			
	Typical	1526	3.478	.692			
	Striving	1132	3.519	.628			
	Vulnerable	549	3.497	.698			
Instructional satisfaction	Super-Elite	2323	3.470	.728	2.024	.059	.001
	Elite	4518	3.509	.694			
	Multiversity	1072	3.466	.692			
	Subsidy-Reliant	625	3.510	.689			
	Typical	1498	3.489	.706			
	Striving	1112	3.502	.665			
	Vulnerable	534	3.564	.695			
Institutional choice satisfaction	Super-Elite	2374	4.263	1.009	9.888	< .001	.005
	Elite	4618	4.142	1.067			
	Multiversity	1091	4.160	.969			
	Subsidy-Reliant	639	4.136	1.009			
	Typical	1533	4.033	1.080			
	Striving	1128	4.181	1.011			
	Vulnerable	546	4.002	1.081			

A third one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Music FTE Ratio and general institutional satisfaction was significant for all three survey items (p < .001).

Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances for all survey items were not homogenous ($p < .001$). In light of this, a Welch test was run also showing a significant relationship with all three survey items ($p < .001$). Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that Overall, Instructional, and Institutional Choice Satisfaction were significantly lower for respondents who attended Conservatory/Arts institutions when compared to all other Music FTE Ratio categories. Graduates of Flagship institutions reported significantly higher Overall Satisfaction than all other categories (M = 3.600). The effect sizes were small, η^2 ranging from .006 to .019. Table 45 displays descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for the five Music FTE Ratio categories.

Table 42.
Music FTE Ratio x General Institutional Satisfaction

Survey Item	Music FTE Ratio	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Overall satisfaction	Conservatory/Arts	2,149	3.303	.811	45.591	<.001	.019
	Flagship	1,622	3.600	.643			
	Average	3,160	3.540	.654			
	Below-Average	3,764	3.532	.666			
	Marginalized	1,304	3.498	.647			
Instructional satisfaction	Conservatory/Arts	2,083	3.372	.782	18.579	<.001	.007
	Flagship	1,596	3.555	.656			
	Average	3,092	3.516	.684			
	Below-Average	3,705	3.527	.677			
	Marginalized	1,288	3.499	.681			
Institutional choice satisfaction	Conservatory/Arts	2,149	3.987	1.163	16.198	<.001	.006
	Flagship	1,627	4.213	1.017			
	Average	3,158	4.210	1.005			
	Below-Average	3,772	4.177	1.016			
	Marginalized	1,308	4.101	1.013			

A final one-way analysis of variance showed that the relationship between Selectivity and general institutional satisfaction was significant for all three survey items ($p < .001$). Levene's

test for equality of variances indicated that the variances for all survey items were not homogenous ($p < .001$). In light of this, a Welch test was run also showing a significant relationship with all three survey items ($p < .001$). Post hoc analyses using the Games-Howell post hoc criterion for significance indicated that Overall Satisfaction was significantly lower for respondents who attended Selective institutions ($M = 3.428$) when compared with all other Selectivity categories except Non-Selective. Graduates of institutions with Average selectivity reported significantly higher Overall Satisfaction ($M = 3.595$) than all other Selectivity categories, and significantly higher Instructional ($M = 3.564$) and Institutional Choice Satisfaction ($M = 4.230$) than at least three other Selectivity categories. The effect sizes were miniscule, η^2 ranging from .002 to .007. Table 46 displays descriptives, Welch results, and effect sizes for the five Selectivity categories.

Table 43.
Selectivity x General Institutional Satisfaction

Survey Item	Selectivity	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*W*	*p*	η^2
Overall satisfaction	Exclusive	3,456	3.535	.693	21.226	< .001	.007
	Selective	3,603	3.428	.739			
	Average	1,691	3.595	.621			
	Accessible	1,962	3.499	.676			
	Non-selective	1,287	3.469	.650			
Instructional satisfaction	Exclusive	3,371	3.500	.705	7.038	< .001	.002
	Selective	3,544	3.461	.719			
	Average	1,672	3.564	.659			
	Accessible	1,920	3.514	.689			
	Non-selective	1,257	3.479	.683			
Institutional choice satisfaction	Exclusive	3,461	4.249	1.025	19.195	< .001	.006
	Selective	3,606	4.086	1.073			
	Average	1,699	4.230	.994			
	Accessible	1,964	4.073	1.053			
	Non-selective	1,284	4.058	1.034			

Interaction Effects – Institutional Choice Satisfaction

A series of univariate analyses of variance were run to test for interaction effects between institutional characteristics and Primary Occupation in relation to institutional choice satisfaction. For all four institutional characteristics, Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous ($p < .001$). Interaction effects were found to be null for Value of Seats, $F(24, 10{,}921) = 1.436$, $p = .077$. Interaction effects were significant for Carnegie Classification, $F(20, 11{,}005) = 3.277$, $p < .001$; Music FTE Ratio, $F(16, 11{,}010) = 5.297$, $p < .001$; and Selectivity, $F(16, 11{,}010) = 2.051$, $p = .008$.

While the effects sizes were small (η^2 ranging from .003 to .008), pairwise comparisons show that the effect for Carnegie Classifications was caused primarily by graduates who spend the majority of their working time in non-music-related occupations and who graduated from Special Focus/Arts institutions ($N = 478$, $M = 3.718$, $SD = 1.315$). According to the LSD measurement, this mean was significantly lower than all other Carnegie types ($p < .001$) except R3 institutions ($p = .272$). Graduates who were currently unemployed and attended Special/Focus Arts institutions ($N = 63$, $M = 3.778$, $SD = 1.396$) also reported significantly lower institutional choice satisfaction when compared with R2 ($p < .001$), Regional Comprehensive ($p = .004$), and Baccalaureate ($p = .040$) institutions.

Pairwise comparisons for Music FTE Ratio showed that the effect was caused primarily by graduates of Flagship programs. Those who reported spending the majority of their working time in non-music-related occupations ($N = 481$, $M = 3.929$, $SD = 1.147$) were significantly less satisfied with their institutional choice than all other categories except Conservatory/Arts. On the other hand, graduates of Flagship programs who reported spending the majority of their working time in music-related occupations ($N = 599$, $M = 4.389$, $SD = 0.862$) were significantly *more*

satisfied with their institutional choice than all other categories. Additional significant effects from the pairwise comparisons are seen for graduates of Conservatory/Arts programs who reported working primarily in non-music-related occupations (N = 523, M = 3.692, SD = 1.320). These alumni were significantly less satisfied with their institutional choice than all other categories ($p < .001$). Figures 18 and 19 illustrate the interaction effects for Carnegie Classification and Music FTE Ratio. Respondents who attended R3 institutions are omitted from Figure 18 because the low sample size (N = 251) may cause the mean scores to act as outliers.

Additional univariate analyses of variance were run to test for interaction effects between institutional characteristics (Carnegie Classification and Music FTE Ratio) and Employment Identity in relation to institutional choice satisfaction. For both institutional characteristics, Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous ($p < .001$). Respondents who attended R3 institutions were omitted from this ANCOVA because their small sample size (N = 241) is augmented when divided into the nine employment identity categories (N ranging from 5 to 62)

Interaction effects were found to be significant for both Carnegie Classification, $F(32, 9{,}923) = 1.933$, $p = .001$ and Music FTE Ratio, $F(32, 10{,}163) = 2.742$, $p < .001$. Pairwise comparisons showed that Course Correctors (N = 255, M = 3.635, SD = 1.399) and Self-Patrons (N = 221, M = 3.860, SD = 1.211) who attended Special Focus/Arts institutions were significantly less satisfied with their institutional choice than other Carnegie types. Pairwise comparisons also showed that Course Correctors who attended Conservatory/Arts (N = 277, M = 3.614, SD = 1.401) and Flagship (N = 256, M = 3.797, SD = 1.197) institutions were significantly less satisfied with their institutional choice than all other Music FTE Ratio categories. Artists in

Music who attended Flagship institutions (*N* = 532, *M* = 4.427, *SD* = 0.821) were significantly *more* satisfied with their institutional choice than all other Music FTE Ratio categories.

Figure 18.

Carnegie Classification x Institutional Choice Satisfactions, Controlling for Primary Occupation

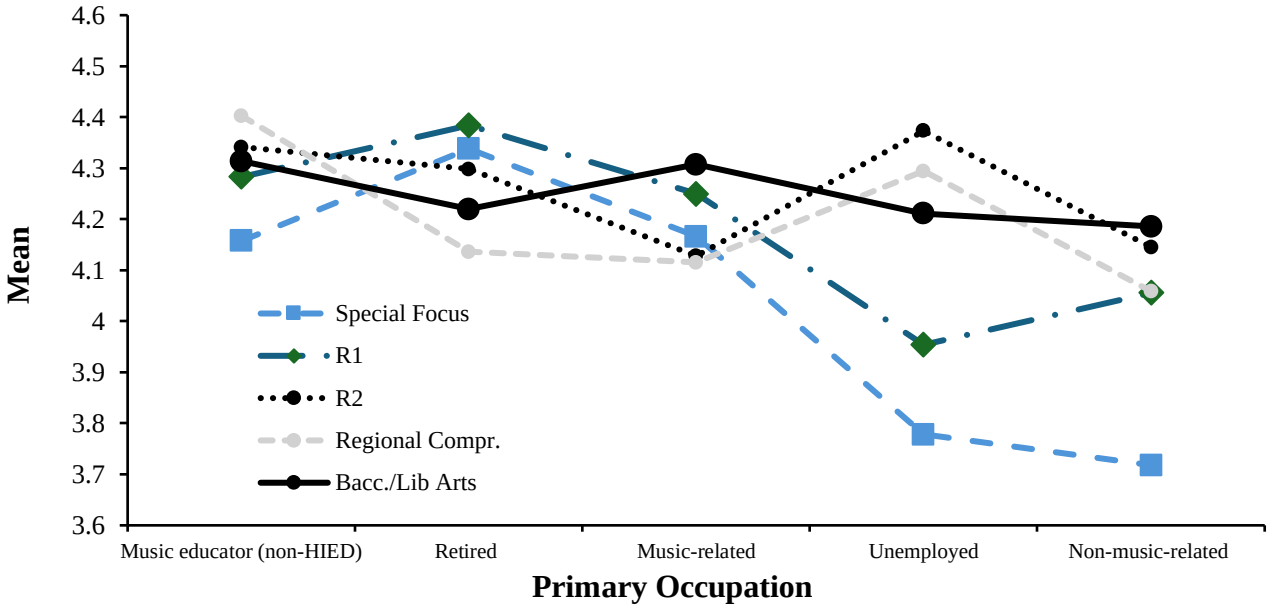
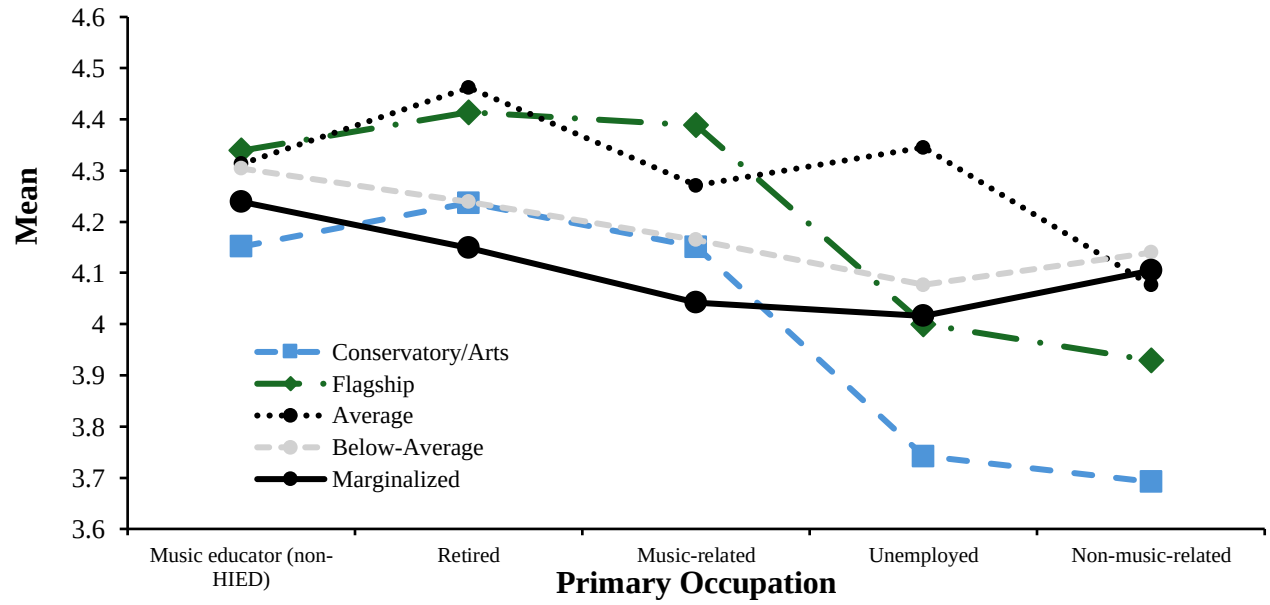


Figure 19.

Music FTE Ratio x Institutional Choice Satisfactions, Controlling for Primary Occupation



Interaction Effects – Overall Institutional Satisfaction

A series of univariate analyses of variance were run to test for interaction effects between institutional characteristics and Primary Occupation in relation to overall institutional satisfaction. For all four institutional characteristics, Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous ($p < .001$). Interaction effects were found to be null for Value of Seats, $F(24, 10{,}908) = 1.138$, $p = .290$, as well as Selectivity, $F(16, 10{,}998) = 1.032$, $p = .418$. Interaction effects were significant for Carnegie Classification, $F(20, 10{,}993) = 2.321$, $p < .001$, as well as Music FTE Ratio, $F(16, 10{,}998) = 1.885$, $p = .017$.

While the effects size was small ($\eta^2 = .004$), pairwise comparisons show that the effect for Carnegie Classifications was caused primarily by graduates who spend the majority of their working time in non-music-related occupations and who graduated from Special Focus/Arts institutions ($N = 476$, $M = 3.162$, $SD = .904$). According to the LSD measurement, significance was measured as $p < .001$ compared to R1, R2, Regional Comprehensive, and Baccalaureate institutions, and as $p = .003$ compared to R3 institutions. Graduates who reported being currently unemployed and attended Special/Focus Arts institutions ($N = 64$, $M = 3.219$, $SD = .951$) also contributed to the significant effects when compared with Regional Comprehensive ($p < .001$), R2 ($p = .003$), and Baccalaureate ($p = .035$) institutions.

Pairwise comparisons also showed that the effect for Music FTE Ratio was caused primarily by graduates who spend the majority of their working time in non-music-related occupations and who graduated from Conservatory/Arts institutions ($N = 521$, $M = 3.154$, $SD = .896$). According to the LSD measurement, significance was measured as $p < .001$ compared to all other Music FTE categories. Graduates who reported being currently unemployed and attended Conservatory/Arts institutions ($N = 67$, $M = 3.209$, $SD = .978$) also contributed to the

significant effects when compared with Average ($p < .001$) and Marginalized ($p = .028$) programs. It is important to note that, when compared with other Primary Occupation categories, standard deviations are high for respondents who reported being unemployed ($SD = .768$) or working primarily in non-music-related occupations ($SD = .724$). Figures 20 and 21 illustrate the interaction effects for Carnegie Classification and Music FTE Ratio. Respondents who attended R3 institutions are omitted from Figure 18 because the low sample size ($N = 252$) may cause the mean scores to act as outliers.

Additional univariate analyses of variance were run to test for interaction effects between institutional characteristics (Carnegie Classification and Music FTE Ratio) and Employment Identity in relation to overall institutional satisfaction. For both institutional characteristics, Levene's test for equality of variances indicated that the variances were not homogenous ($p < .001$).

Interaction effects were found to be null for Music FTE Ratio, $F(32, 10{,}154) = 1.165$, $p = .239$. Pairwise comparisons did show some interaction effects, particularly for Course Correctors ($N = 277$, $M = 3.112$, $SD = .912$), Unrealized Artists ($N = 116$, $M = 3.181$, $SD = .891$), and Self-Patrons ($N = 239$, $M = 3.222$, $SD = .877$) who attended Conservatory/Arts institutions. These respondents reported significantly lower Overall Satisfaction mean scores when compared with all other Music FTE categories. The only exception was Unrealized Artists who attended Marginalized programs ($p = .059$).

Interaction effects were significant for Carnegie Classification, $F(40, 10{,}145) = 1.463$, $p = .030$. This significant effect was largely caused by the erratic trend of means from R3 graduates, whose small sample size ($N = 241$) is augmented when divided into the nine employment identity categories (N ranging from 5 to 62). An additional ANCOVA was run with

R3 respondents omitted. These interaction effects for Carnegie Classification were then found to approach significance, $F(32, 9{,}913) = 1.430$, $p = .055$. Pairwise comparisons showed this effect to be caused primarily by Course Correctors ($N = 254$, $M = 3.118$, $SD = .916$) and Self-Patrons ($N = 220$, $M = 3.227$, $SD = .888$) who attended Special Focus/Arts institutions. These respondents reported significantly lower Overall Satisfaction mean scores when compared with all other Carnegie types.

The findings for Research Question 4 revealed positive relationships between graduate career outcomes and general institutional satisfaction. Respondents who reported ideal career outcomes were more likely to be satisfied with their education than those reporting sub-ideal career outcomes. On the other hand, general institutional satisfaction was significantly lower for graduates who attended elite/selective/well-funded institutions. This was especially the case within Carnegie Classification and Music FTE Ratio.

Figure 20.

Carnegie Classification x Overall Institutional Satisfaction, Controlling for Primary Occupation

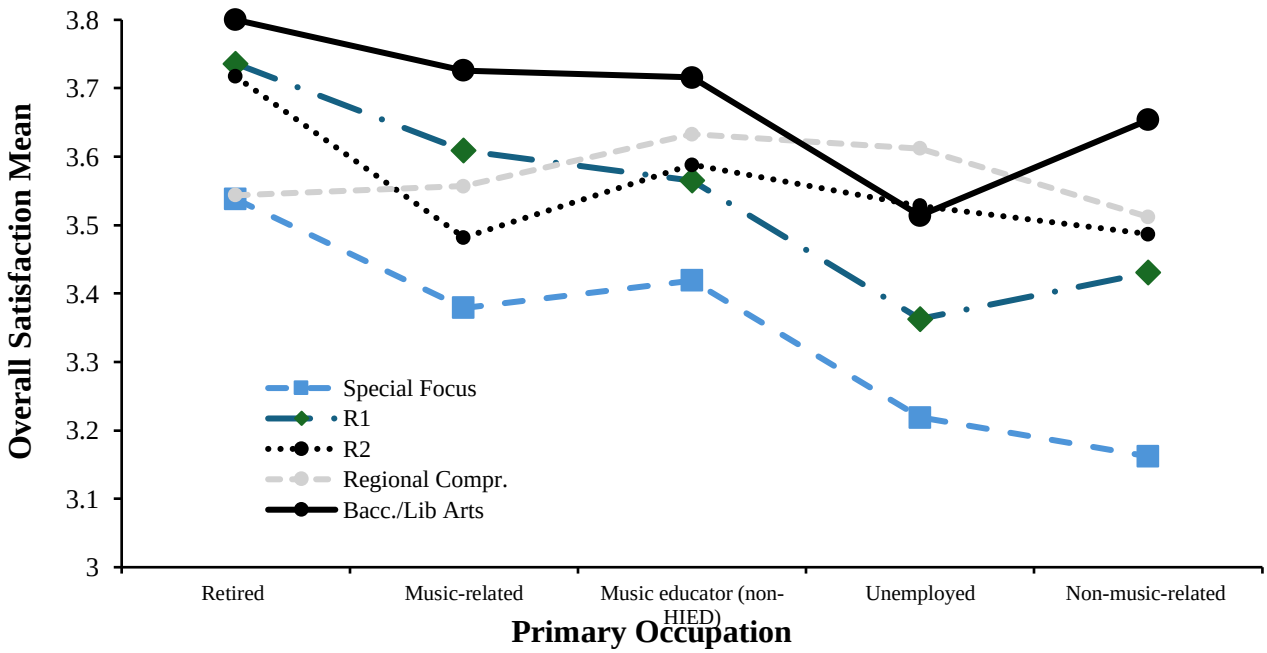
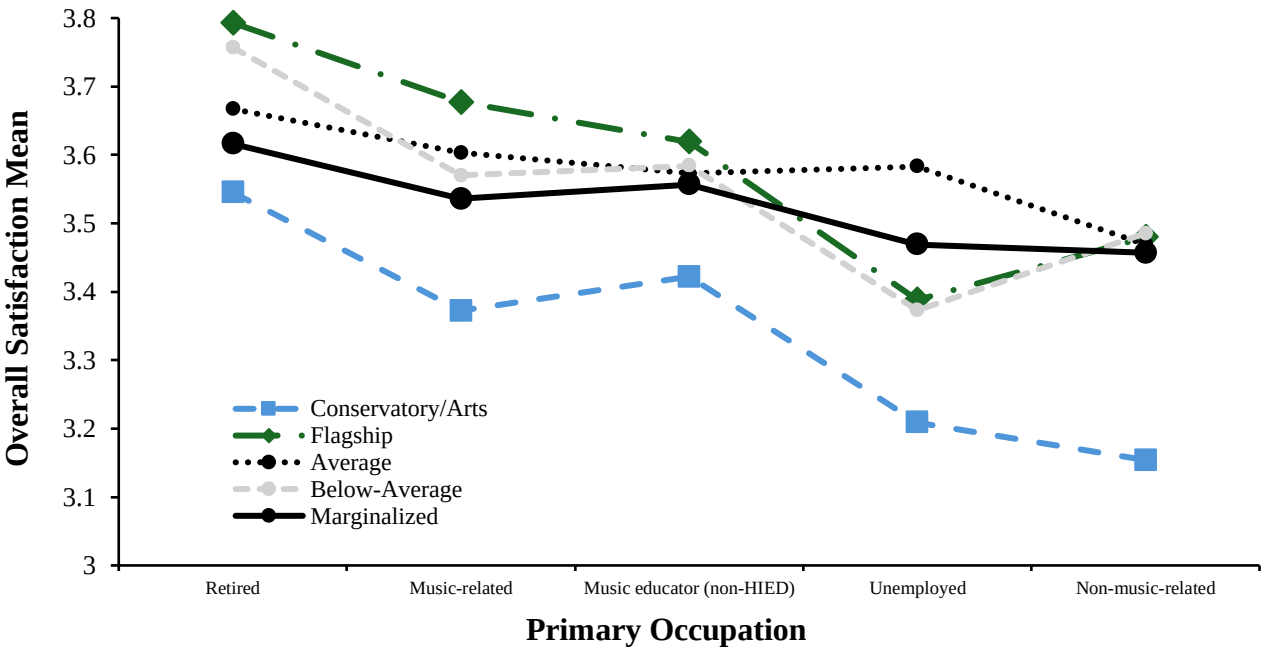


Figure 21.

Music FTE Ratio x Overall Institutional Satisfaction, Controlling for Primary Occupation



Summary

The findings of this study revealed consistent results in relation to respondent career outcomes. For all three career outcomes measures (Primary Occupation, Vocational Intent, and Employment Identity) respondents with ideal career outcomes reported higher satisfaction with institutions' career advising, curricula, and general educational experience. These ideal career outcomes also exhibited positive relationships with the four "predictors" of institutional effectiveness (Carnegie Classification, Value of Seats, Music FTE Ratio, and Selectivity).

While these results may seem intuitive, other findings were quite counter-intuitive. The same elite/selective/well-funded programs that produced more ideal career outcomes also exhibited lower alumni satisfaction with career advising, curricula, and general educational experience. While findings across all research questions produced statistically significant

relationships, the practical significance was small to medium for Carnegie Classification/Music FTE Ratio and negligible for Value of Seats/Selectivity. Potential explanations for these counter-intuitive findings are explored in Chapter 5.

Chapter Five

Discussion

Career Outcomes of Music Graduates

This study sought to investigate the effectiveness of American higher music education by comparing graduate career outcome metrics (Primary Occupation, Vocational Intent, and Employment Identity) with institutional characteristics (Carnegie Classification, Value of Seats, Music FTE Ratio, and Selectivity). Multiple Chi-Square analyses revealed that, within the sample provided by SNAAP, graduates of elite/selective/well-funded music programs are more likely to secure a sustainable career in their desired field.

Significant trends can be seen across all four institutional characteristics, but the strongest relationships were exhibited by Carnegie Classification when compared with respondents' Primary Occupation data. For example, 52.4% of Special Focus graduates reported working primarily in music-related occupations, compared to only 24.2% of those attending Regional Comprehensive institutions and 25.1% of Baccalaureate. Differences were similar for Music FTE Ratio categories, particularly between alumni of Conservatories and Marginalized programs. Detailed crosstab statistics are displayed in Tables 14 and 20, and line graph trends in Figures 1 and 7.

The other two career outcome grouping variables – Vocational Intent and Employment Identity – provide additional levels of nuance by considering students' vocational aspirations when first enrolling at their postsecondary institution. While Vocational Intent trends are similar to Primary Occupation, graduates of Baccalaureate, Marginalized, and Non-Selective institutions exhibit a significant U-turn at the end of the trend line. This is likely caused by the higher

percentage of students who never intended to pursue a career in music despite enrolling in a music degree. For example, within the Music FTE categories, only 1.8% of Conservatory graduates never intended to pursue a career in music, compared to 19.1% from Marginalized programs (ΔZRESID = 21.1). This trend is also visible across the other three institutional characteristics.

An additional level of nuance was added by merging Primary Occupation and Vocational Intent responses to generate nine different Employment Identities (for descriptions of each identity, see Table 10). Clear trends can be seen for Artists in Music across all four institutional characteristics, with elite/selective/well-funded institutions producing a significantly higher percentage of such alumni when compared to other categories. The reverse trend is true to some extent with Course Correctors, Unemployed Dreams, and Unrealized Artists (particularly in that elite/selective/well-funded institutions produce a smaller percentage of such alumni), but the relationship across other categories is not as strong as seen with Artists in Music.

Similar to Vocational Intent, the trend is consistently strong for Non-Artist and Non-Music Tracks. In fact, these two identities can be interpreted as a binary division of the Vocational Intent response "never intended to pursue a career as an artist." Many of the Non-Music Track alumni were likely double majors who intended to pursue a career related to their other degree, while the Non-Artist Tracks likely aspired to secure careers in the music industry outside of performance, composition, or teaching. The results for these groups were similar to their parent grouping within Vocational Intent. For example, within the Music FTE categories, only 0.7% of Conservatory graduates reported a Non-Music Track identity, compared to 7.1% from Marginalized programs (ΔZRESID = 11.8). Only 0.9% of Conservatory graduates reported a Non-Artist Track identity, compared to 10.5% from Marginalized programs (ΔZRESID =

15.4). These trends are also visible across the other three institutional characteristics. Detailed crosstab statistics for Employment Identities are displayed in Tables 16, 19, 22, and 25. Select trends are displayed as line graphs in Figures 3, 6, 9, and 12.

In some ways, the findings above are as expected. Highly selective institutions are by nature predisposed to matriculate more talented – and therefore more successful – artists (Baumer & Angeles, 2001; Rogers, 1988; Wilson, 1946). The same could be said about institutions who spend more on education-related expenses and are less tuition dependent (two of the primary metrics folded into the Value of Seats categories). Institutions with a high Music FTE Ratio will likely be entrusted with more financial resources to invest in world-class faculty, elite administrators, and state-of-the-art facilities (Gumport, 1993). In other words, such institutions should be expected to demonstrate comparatively high institutional effectiveness through the proportion of graduates who secure sustainable careers in their desired fields. While the data shows significant needed improvement for these institutions (barely half of these graduates reported spending the majority of their working hours in music-related occupations), they seem to be doing a better job than most.

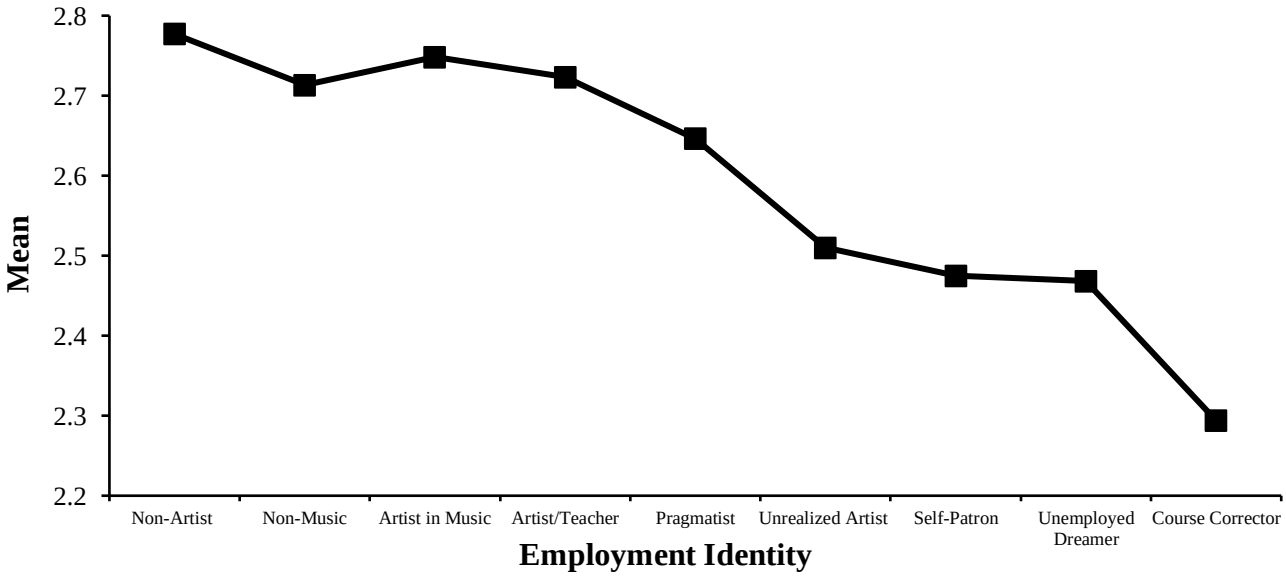
Alumni Satisfaction with Career Advising

Analyses revealed positive relationships between graduate career outcomes and satisfaction with career advising. The effect sizes were largest for Primary Occupation (d = .274) and Employment Identity (η^2 = .030). The difference in mean scores was 0.279 between graduates who reported spending the majority of their working hours in music-related occupations versus non-music-related occupations. The largest mean difference was seen between Non-Artist Track and Course Correctors (ΔM = 0.483). The difference between Artists in Music and Course Correctors was similar (ΔM = 0.454).

A noticeable partition of satisfaction scores can be seen in the middle of the nine Employment Identities, with four categories distinctly on each side of the sample mean. Artists in Music, Artist/Teachers, Non-Artist Tracks, and Non-Music Tracks exhibited significantly higher levels of satisfaction with career advising than Course Correctors, Unemployed Dreamers, and Self-Patrons. Unrealized Artists were also below the sample mean, but did not exhibit post hoc significance compared to the top four groups. Pragmatists hovered around the sample mean, potentially caused by their conscious pivot to a more stable career in teaching. It could be hypothesized that Pragmatists take more personal more responsibility for their vocational pivot than Course Correctors, who seem more likely to hold their institution responsible. This partition is illustrated in Figure 22 by the sharp drop between Artist/Teacher and Unrealized Artist.

Figure 22.

Career Advising Satisfaction x Employment Identity



Intuitive logic might lead to the conclusion that, if elite/selective/well-funded music programs are sending a higher percentage of their graduates into sustainable music-related

occupations, then they will likely matriculate alumni who are more satisfied with the provided career advising. The data from this study revealed the opposite conclusion. Career advising mean scores were significantly lower for the institutional categories that delivered more music-related career outcomes. Analyses of variance reported significantly lower mean scores for programs of Super-Elite/Elite Value of Seats ($p > .001$, $\eta^2 = .017$), Conservatory-level Music FTE Ratio ($p > .001$, $\eta^2 = .023$), Exclusive/Selective Selectivity ($p > .001$, $\eta^2 = .025$), and Special Focus Carnegie Classification ($p > .001$, $\eta^2 = .025$). Similar to the nuanced trends observed for Employment Identity outcomes, graduates of smaller music programs – Marginalized programs and Baccalaureate institutions – exhibited significantly higher mean scores than all other types in their category. These trends are illustrated in Chart 13.

This counter-intuitive trend could be related to two causes. First, smaller music programs like Baccalaureate/Liberal Arts colleges and Marginalized programs are well-known for their low faculty-student ratios and high faculty accessibility (Austin, 1990). These traits can lead to a higher frequency of informal/extra-curricular interactions between faculty and students, interactions that allow space for transparent and personalized career advising (Gaunt et al., 2012). Such interactions with faculty have been found to increase student satisfaction with their education (Gallup, 2015; Guskin, 1994). Faculty workloads may also be more manageable at Baccalaureate and Regional Comprehensive institutions, who tend to place more emphasis on teaching and less on research – with the exception of Striving institutions (O'Meara & Bloomgarden, 2011). These teaching-focused work environment may give some faculty – especially applied music faculty – more margin to engage in traditionally unbundled job duties like advising (Gehrke & Kezar, 2015).

The surprisingly low career advising satisfaction for graduates of elite/selective/well-funded programs could also be caused by students' heightened expectations. Many scholars agree that modern students are holding their postsecondary institutions increasingly responsible for improved employment and salary prospects (Astin, 1993; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Gallup, 2015; Moore, 2016; Rogers, 1988). This phenomenon may be more salient for students who work tirelessly to be admitted to highly selective and prestigious institutions. In other words, if the top music programs are unable to help the most talented artists secure sustainable careers in their fields of choice, then who can? Is the promise of American higher music education truly empty (Lee, 2014b; Mok & Neubauer, 2016; Taylor & Cantwell, 2018)? Speaking specifically to career advising, these disillusioned graduates may feel that their postsecondary education did not deliver on their obligation to provide a realistic picture of the job market.

Aside from the above inferences and hypotheses, it is important to note that career advising mean scores for *all* employment and institutional groups were below 3 (out of 4). This suggests a low quality of career advising across American higher music education. Do some applied faculty feel unqualified to engage in advising and therefore choose not to (Beeching, 1996)? Are scholars like John Honey (1972) correct in their cynical claim that faculty in their ivory towers lack a relevant and realistic picture of the job market because of their "isolation from real-world affairs" (p. 27)? How prevalent are instances of ethical fading such as lies of omission among music faculty and administrators (Moore, 2016; Rogers, 1988; Tenbrunsel & Messick, 2004; Wilson, 1946)? There is no data from SNAAP 2.0 that can be used to investigate these questions. What the data does show is that, across all grouping variables, career outcomes are sub-par and career advising is less than ideal in the eyes of most music alumni.

Alumni Satisfaction with Curricular Relevance

Respondent satisfaction was generally high regarding holistic education (M = 3.331, SD = 0.674) and specialized artistic skills (M = 3.150, SD = 0.608). Satisfaction was generally low regarding entrepreneurial skills (M = 2.278, SD = 0.701) and internships/work experience (M = 2.597, SD = 1.064). These results align with claims from the literature that American higher music education may be overemphasizing performance (Gaunt, 2010; Rogers, 1988; Slaughter & Springer, 2015) and underemphasizing skills that are becoming increasingly salient in the modern job market (Bennett, 2007, 2009; Trevino, 2014b).

Standard deviations were relatively small for specialized musical skills and relatively large for internships/work experience. This implies that there is consensus among music graduates about the relatively high quality of specialized artistic curricula, but a range of views concerning the lack of opportunities for internships/work experience. These standard deviations do not change when comparing internship satisfaction across institutional types, individual institutions, major, or cohort – implying that respondents may have held different definitions about what constitutes "degree-related internships or work" when completing the survey.

It is important to note that, with the way the survey items were asked, inferences cannot be made about respondents perceived importance of entrepreneurial skills, pedagogical skills, or holistic education. Respondents were simply asked how much the institution "helped them develop or acquire" these skills. The questions regarding internships and specialized artistic curricula instead asked how "satisfied" respondents were with "opportunities" to develop these skills (SNAAP 2017 Codebook, 2017).

Analyses revealed positive relationships between graduate career outcomes and satisfaction with curricula. Among the five curricular areas (specialized musical skills,

pedagogical skills, internships/work experience, entrepreneurial skills, holistic education), the largest effects were observed for internships/work experience and specialized musical skills. The largest mean differences were observed among the nine Employment Identities, most notably the differences between Non-Artist Track and Course Corrector regarding satisfaction with opportunities for internships (ΔM = 0.658), pedagogical curricula (ΔM = 0.513), and specialized musical curricula (ΔM = 0.315).

Like respondents' satisfaction with career advising, curricular satisfaction mean scores were significantly lower for the institutional categories that produced a higher proportion of music-related career outcomes. This finding again poses an apparent contradiction, as respondents with music-related career outcomes reported higher levels of curricular satisfaction. Analyses of variance reported significantly lower mean scores across all curricular areas for programs of Super-Elite/Elite Value of Seats, Conservatory-level Music FTE Ratio, Exclusive/Selective Selectivity, and Special Focus Carnegie Classification (all significant differences). Graduates of Baccalaureate institutions exhibited significantly higher mean scores than all other Carnegie Classifications.

Like career advising, the surprisingly low curricular satisfaction for graduates of elite/selective/well-funded programs could be caused by students' heightened expectations for employment-related returns-on-investment. To investigate this effect, a series of univariate analyses of variance were run to check for interaction effects between Primary Occupation and institutional characteristics. Most results were null, but significant interaction effects were found when comparing Carnegie Classification with holistic education and Music FTE Ratio with entrepreneurial skills. Graduates of Special Focus and Conservatory institutions reported significantly lower curricular satisfaction than other institution types if they worked primarily in

a non-music-related occupation. This again implies that students who attend elite/selective/well-funded institutions – but have less than ideal career outcomes – are likely to be more critical of their postsecondary education than students who graduate from other institution types.

General Institutional Satisfaction

Analyses revealed positive relationships between general institutional satisfaction and graduate career outcomes. The largest mean difference was observed between Non-Artist Tracks and Course Correctors when measuring for institutional choice satisfaction[4] (ΔM = 0.403). For this metric, Course Correctors reported the only mean score below four across all career outcome groups (M = 3.934, SD = 1.197). While all significant ($p < .001$), the effects for the three general satisfaction items were small – the largest being observed for institutional choice satisfaction when compared with Primary Occupation (d = .172) and Employment Identity (η^2 = .016).

A more noticeable effect was observed when measuring for institutional referral – measured as the likelihood a respondent would recommend the institution to another student like them. 10.0% of Non-Artist and Non-Music Tracks, along with 12.5% of Artists in Music answered 'no' to this question, compared to 19.9% of Course Correctors and 19.0% of Unemployed Dreamers (ΔZRESID = 9.3). It is interesting to note that the smallest observed proportion was reported by Retired respondents (7.8%, ZRESID = -4.1).

The relationships between career outcomes and general institutional satisfaction were as expected (Dumford & Miller, 2017; Xu, 2013), but respondents who attended

[4] Institutional choice satisfaction is the only survey item in this study that used a 5-point Likert scale instead of a 4-point scale.

elite/selective/well-funded music programs once again tended to report lower general institutional satisfaction. Analyses of variance revealed significantly lower mean scores across all three survey items for programs of Conservatory-level Music FTE Ratio and Special Focus Carnegie Classification. Results for Value of Seats and Selectivity did not align as clearly with the findings from career advising and curricular relevance, but this is not surprising since effect sizes for these institutional characteristics have been comparatively small throughout the study. Graduates of Baccalaureate institutions again exhibited significantly higher mean scores than all other Carnegie Classifications.

Some contradictory results emerged for these analyses. For example, alumni of Vulnerable institutions reported significantly lower Institutional Choice Satisfaction than other Value of Seats categories. This implies that, if given the chance to "start over," respondents' satisfaction with career advising and curricula may be outweighed by their sub-ideal career outcomes. Similarly, alumni of Flagship programs reported significantly *higher* Overall Satisfaction than all other Music FTE Ratio categories (means were also highest for Instructional Satisfaction and Institutional Choice Satisfaction, but not at a significant level). This result implies that alumni feelings of overall institutional satisfaction encompass more variables than just career advising and curricular relevance.

Lack of Transitive Equality

Despite these contradictory results, comparison of general institutional satisfaction with Carnegie Classifications/Music FTE Ratio categories still exhibits lack of alignment with the trends for career outcomes. The transitive property of equality states that if A = B and B = C, then A = C. In the context of this study, one might therefore conclude that if elite/selective/well-funded music programs are sending a higher proportion of graduates into sustainable music-

related occupations (A = B), and those who work in such occupations are significantly more satisfied with their education (B = C), then these music programs will likely matriculate alumni who are more satisfied with career advising, curricula, and their overall education (A = C). This does not seem to be the case (A ≠ C).

Heightened Graduate Expectations

As discussed previously, low levels of satisfaction reported by graduates of elite/selective/well-funded programs could be caused by respondents' heightened expectations for increased employment and salary prospects (Astin, 1993; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Gallup, 2015; Moore, 2016; Rogers, 1988). To investigate this effect, a series of univariate analyses of variance were run to check for interaction effects between Primary Occupation and institutional characteristics.

Results were null for Value of Seats and Selectivity, but significant interaction effects were found when comparing Carnegie Classification and Music FTE Ratio with Institutional Choice Satisfaction and Overall Satisfaction. Graduates of Special Focus and Conservatory institutions reported significantly lower satisfaction if they were working primarily in a non-music-related occupation or being unemployed. This was also the case for Course Correctors, Unrealized Artists, and Self-Patrons. These results once again imply that students who attend elite/selective/well-funded institutions – but have less than ideal career outcomes – are likely to be more critical of their postsecondary education than students who graduate from other institutional types.

Respondents who attended Flagship programs present an important asterisk to this conclusion. While those working primarily in music-related occupations were significantly *more* satisfied with their institutional choice than similar graduates from other Music FTE categories,

those working primarily in non-music-related occupations were significantly *less* satisfied than their counterparts at other institutions (except Conservatory/Arts). The same was true when comparing Artists in Music and Course Correctors. These results could have a number of potential causes requiring further investigation, but in this context it is a reminder of the complexity that is inherent in the variables being studied.

Disproportionate Percentage of Non-Artists

Another potential cause for the apparent lack of 'transitive equality' is the large percentage of Non-Artist and Non-Music Tracks attending smaller/less-selective/lesser-funded programs. These respondents reported having no initial aspirations to pursue an artistic career. This could be one of the reasons that they consistently reported higher general institutional satisfaction than other categories. With their disproportionate sample size, they could potentially weight mean scores in a positive direction for the institutional types in question. Across all institution types, the most disproportionately large percentages are observed for Non-Artist Tracks in Marginalized programs (10.5%, ZRESID = 6.9), Non-Music Tracks at Baccalaureate institutions (10.4%, ZRESID = 6.6), Non-Music Tracks in Below-Average FTE programs (6.5%, ZRESID = 5.1), and Non-Music Tracks at Regional Comprehensive institutions (7.2%, ZRESID = 4.1).

To investigate whether these disproportionate percentages were actually weighting overall satisfaction higher for such institutions, descriptives and pairwise comparisons were analyzed from the previously run univariate analyses of variance. These numbers showed that none of the top four disproportionate categories listed above exhibited higher mean scores compared to other institutional types. This leads to the conclusion that graduates of smaller/less-

selective/lesser-funded programs are more satisfied with their education for reason(s) other than a disproportionate percentage of alumni who never intended to pursue an artistic career.

Teaching-Focused Institutions

A more likely potential reason is that such institutions tend to prioritize teaching over research (Austin, 1990). It seems intuitive that institutions who devote a majority of their resources towards teaching are more likely to produce graduates satisfied with the quality of their education. Scholarship in the field of higher education supports this notion (Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Gallup, 2015; Winston, 1994). In studying student perceptions of college worth, Gallup (2015) express the claim this way:

> Supportive and motivating relationships with professors and mentors are crucial to undergraduates' college experience. All universities need to strongly emphasize the quality of the interactions faculty members have with students to maintain their promise of a valuable college education to prospective undergraduates. In many cases, quality interactions mean finding innovative ways to make professors more accessible and students' interactions with them more meaningful. In the longer run, it may mean shifting the institution's culture to give faculty members more incentive to hone their teaching practices or to make a talent for engaging students and supporting learning outcomes a more important part of hiring criteria for educators (p. 9).

The data provided by SNAAP supported this position, showing that respondents who attended Baccalaureate and Regional Comprehensive institutions were more satisfied with faculty and instructors than all other Carnegie types. This was also the case regarding satisfaction with holistic education. Additionally, respondents attending these institutions reported feeling significantly more connected to their institution at the time of survey completion ($p < .001$). That

these effects were only observed for Carnegie Classification – as opposed to Music FTE Ratio or other institutional characteristics – implies that this effect is largely caused by the proportion of emphasis institutions place on research versus teaching.

Elite/selective/well-funded institutions stand on the other side of this effect. This study shows that possessing more resources and prestige does not automatically transfer to having more satisfied graduates – or even a higher quality of education. What seems to be more important is the kind of work environment created for faculty. These elite institutions tend to cultivate a rewards system for faculty that emphasizes building a national reputation, procuring grants, and producing published research (Austin, 1990; Gumport, 1993; Terosky & Gonzales, 2016; Winston, 1994). This is of course not true for all institutions and music programs under these headings – hence the large standard deviations present in some of the analyses – but the data reveals this effect as a consistently significant trend across various unique institutional effectiveness metrics. Friedman and Friedman (1980) with the following observation:

> There are good teachers in city and state colleges and universities…. But the rewards for faculty and administrators at the prestigious government institutions are not for good undergraduate teaching. Faculty members advance as a result of research and publication…. As a result, even the most famous state universities—the University of California at Los Angeles or at Berkeley, the University of Wisconsin, or the University of Michigan—are not noted for undergraduate teaching. Their reputation is for graduate work [and] research (p. 176).

Limitations

Institutional type and characteristics played a significant role in this study, but it must not be assumed that the participating institutions are necessarily representative of all institutions in

their category (i.e. not all music departments in Liberal Arts colleges are the same). To mitigate the reduction of validity I employed four different grouping variables for institutional type, but findings should still be generalized with caution.

While the overall sample was robust in size, it was dominated by only a handful of institutions. The provided data included 72 institutions, but half of the sample attended one of nine. Because of this, nearly all analyses violated Levene's test for homogeneity of variance. Equal sample sizes across participating institutions would increase the validity of the findings. Future research could test this by reducing the sample provided SNAAP using stratified random sampling.

The study of graduates' employment identities is an enlightening categorization, but it should be conceded that much of their story is missing. Employment Identity is an oversimplified construct. Findings should be interpreted in light of the vast amount of missing information concerning respondents' vocational aspirations and career outcomes.

Comparison of the Primary Occupation groupings – graduates who spend the majority of their working hours in a music-related occupation and those who do not – should also be interpreted in light of the likelihood that response rates for the second group are significantly lower than the first. Graduates who do not work primarily in a music-related occupation may be less likely to stay connected with their institution, check outdated email addresses associated with the institution, or be connected with professional organizations that make it easier for institutions and researchers to find valid email addresses. This is more likely to be true with Employment Identities like Course Correctors who don't work in music at all. Alumni from these groups may be underrepresented.

Because the Likert-type items in the SNAAP questionnaire are classified as self-report data, respondents' reported institutional satisfaction may be subject to biases in either the positive or negative direction. This could include non-educational/extra-curricular experiences that they associate with the institution, undue credit/blame attributed to the institution for the individual's career outcomes, or the lack of available data to control for individual personality characteristics and life choices. Some of these confounding factors could be further explored through qualitative inquiry.

The choice to use preexisting data is additionally limiting because I was not able to tailor the questionnaire to my research questions. While many of the survey items do directly address my questions, others are only tangentially related. On the other hand, using preexisting data provided a larger sample than I could have reached myself. The most notable limitation is that career advising is only addressed by a single survey item. The 2022 SNAAP questionnaire includes more items related to career advising, but the data will not be available for sharing until 2025.

Implications for Practice

It is impractical to think that we as faculty members and administrators can single-handedly transform the landscape of higher education – or even the values of our individual institutions. Searching for the perfect institutional work environment is also arguably idealistic and may result in a cycle of repeated disillusionment and chasing the wind. For these reasons, it is important to revisit the thoughts of George Rogers (1988): "My suggestions, therefore, focus on the root of the problem, which is *under our control*: the advising of students and the relevance of their college curriculum" (p. 112, emphasis mine).

No single institution type or characteristic sat atop the trend line for every metric, but each had their own strength from which we can draw a practical lesson. Selective institutions produced consistently better career outcomes because the students they admitted exhibited clear potential for success in a buyer's job market (Baumer & Angeles, 2001; Rogers, 1988; Wilson, 1946). Smaller programs like Baccalaureate institutions and Marginalized departments produced more satisfied graduates – graduates that would recommend the institution to another student like them – because their faculty to student ratios tend to be comparatively low (Austin, 1990). These same institutions have more satisfied graduates because they implement a rewards structure that emphasizes the teaching of undergraduate students over research (Austin, 1990; Gumport, 1993; Terosky & Gonzales, 2016; Winston, 1994).

In my practice I hope to draw from these strengths by 1) being more selective when admitting students to degrees that are related to over-saturated job markets, 2) taking care not to bloat enrollment levels beyond what the institutional infrastructure can effectively support (i.e. preventing students from falling through the cracks), 3) "finding innovative ways" to keep faculty-student ratios and teaching loads at a level that "make[s] professors more accessible and students' interactions with them more meaningful" (Gallup, 2015, p. 9), 4) protecting the margin in my personal schedule, positioning me to be available and accessible to students outside of the classroom, and 5) organizing resources under my purview in a way that prioritizes teaching and learning over research and prestige.

Heightened Graduate Expectations

Another practical implication from these findings is the need to accept a relatively new reality – the reality that students (especially those who attend elite/conservatory institutions) expect their college education to help them secure sustainable careers related to music (Gallup,

2015; Moore, 2016). Accepting this reality may necessitate an internal audit of our curricular and advising structures, as "institutions have an ethical responsibility to represent the career opportunities and challenges associated with their degrees, particularly if they are marketing their degrees based on vocational outcomes" (Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015, p. 274).

Regarding career advising, applied faculty should first accept what is generally agreed upon by scholars – that music students look primarily to faculty (especially applied teachers) for realistic career advice (Austin et al., 2012; Bennett, 2009; Gallup, 2015; Gaunt et al., 2012; Guskin, 1994; Slaughter & Springer, 2015). A top-down solution for this might involve administrators finding innovative ways to fold the advising role into documented faculty workloads. Though often feeling already overworked (Gehrke & Kezar, 2015; Pifer, Baker, & Lunsford, 2016), faculty should consider auditing their personal schedules to create margin for such interactions. This could be as simple as a weekly 30-minute coffee break with one student, rotating through the applied studio each semester.

Overemphasis of Specialized Artistic Curricula

When auditing our curricula, the findings from this study invite us to ask if we are overemphasizing "artistic technique" and "opportunities to perform, exhibit, or present" artistic work (SNAAP 2017 Codebook, 2017). Mean scores for specialized artistic curricula were higher than all other curricular areas (except holistic education) across all career outcomes and institutional types. Even Course Correctors were more satisfied with the instruction of these skills than the most satisfied Employment Identities were with entrepreneurial skills and internships/work experience. Additionally, there was very little variance across respondents, with standard deviations being noticeably lower than all other curricular areas.

Even alumni with sub-ideal career outcomes reported receiving plenty of instruction in specialized artistic areas, implying that this curricular structure may not be as effective as we think. The emphasis of this curricular area is certainly not making graduates more satisfied with their education, and employment rates for the most elite institutions still barely reach 50%. Many scholars agree that more emphasis should be placed on degree-related internships (Bennett, 2016, 2009; Gallup, 2015; Miller et al., 2017; Seymour & Ray, 2014; Trevino, 2014a), pedagogical skills (Austin et al., 2012; Bennett, 2007, 2009; Rogers, 1988; Trevino, 2014a), and entrepreneurial skills (Bennett, 2007, 2009, 2016; Miksza & Hime, 2015; Slaughter & Springer, 2015).

Unfortunately this solution does not fit well in a section about practical implications, as adding more courses to an already saturated curriculum is largely impractical (Bennett, 2008; Branscome, 2013; Campbell et al., 2014). Innovative administrators might consider cutting the number of courses devoted to specialized artistic skills, but this could put their program in violation of accreditation standards. It might then be worth experimenting with the suggestions offered by the College Music Society's *Task Force for the Undergraduate Music Major*. In their manifesto on curricular reform, Campbell et al. (2014) advocate for an option-rich curriculum. They suggest streamlining the core music curriculum to allow students greater freedom for exploring "an expanded slate of options" (p. 10). This non-traditional solution would give students the option to explore curricular areas of interest outside specialized artistic skills. The task force acknowledges the risks of this approach, particularly in relation to accreditation standards and external perceptions of academic rigor. In response to this, they suggest implementing "carefully designed proficiency protocols…that balance choice with developing high degrees of rigor and skill" (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 11).

Finding an effective solution for curricular reform is a more complicated task than improving career advising, but an equally imperative one. I believe that most decision-makers in American higher music education truly desire to improve the career outcomes and institutional satisfaction of their graduates – to help them secure a worthwhile return on their investment. Implementing effective reform that successfully tightens alignment between curricular structures and the job market will require creativity and courage. For some administrators, this may require becoming more aware of – or coming to terms with – the shifting realities of the modern employment landscape (Bennett, 2007; Branscome, 2013). For all stakeholders it would require thoughtful, collaborative creativity along with the acceptance of calculated risk.

Prioritizing Non-Artists

The final and least popular implication is the call to direct more resources toward the education of Non-Artist/Non-Music Tracks and non-majors. Respondents reporting Non-Artist Track and Non-Music Track employment identities were clearly more satisfied across career advising, curricular relevance, and general institutional satisfaction metrics (regardless of institutional type). Many music programs have successfully implemented this type of reform by expanding degree offerings beyond performance to fields like Music Business/Music Industry Studies and Commercial Music (Moir & Hails, 2019; Parkinson, 2017; Trevino, 2014b). Others (especially smaller programs like Baccalaureate institutions) keep their programs open to the Non-Artist track by offering a general, non-specialized BA in music.

Many smaller programs do direct resources toward the non-major musician, but often out of necessity. Music major enrollment may be low, so they aggressively recruit non-majors to their ensembles or teach more Music Appreciation courses to fill faculty workloads. George

Rogers (1988) discusses this method of academic reform, but from a framework rooted more in intentionality and thoughtfulness:

> How shall we retain present numbers of college music faculty while guiding undergraduate music students in a more realistic direction?.... It might mean broadening the academic offerings for nonmajors beyond the traditional music appreciation course, perhaps to include music fundamentals, piano, guitar, jazz history, related arts, non-Western musics, or courses involving popular music and culture. Working with nonmajors can help music faculty keep their world in perspective and provide a challenge for their motivational and teaching skills. Perhaps more importantly, such courses take music from a specialist milieu into the educational mainstream. Such a focus on making the nonmusician more musical might ultimately result in a somewhat more human and aesthetically aware society - one in which the arts would be supported to a greater degree than presently. Broadening our efforts and focusing less on the performer, in other words, might help provide exactly the situation in which the performer could prosper (p. 115-116).

For those looking to take big risks and/or contend with prevailing trends, prioritizing Non-Artist/Non-Music Tracks and non-majors may be the most effective solution to the problem. Some scholars have gone so far as to suggest reducing the number of postsecondary music performance graduates (Bennett, 2007; Branscome, 2013; Rogers, 1988; Wilson, 1946), and the prioritization of Non-Artists positions administrators to do so without jeopardizing the livelihoods of current faculty members. Certain institution types – especially those struggling with enrollment and therefore feeling forced to settle for entirely non-selective admissions

policies – should carefully consider this approach in light of the consistently higher satisfaction of Non-Artist and Non-Music Track graduates.

Many of these practical implications are under the control of faculty and administrators, but pressures within and outside of our institutions (such as neoliberal rewards structures, market-like competition, or accreditation standards) will almost certainly attempt to sway our decisions in a direction that does not directly benefit the student (Giroux, 2002; Manns & March, 1978). This is especially true when student success priorities collide with individual and institutional self-interest (Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Mitchell et al., 2018; Moore, 2016). Gumport (1993) summarized the dilemma this way:

> Among studies on university decision making, especially in the face of diminishing resources, two enduring tendencies are commonly cited: (1) impracticality of shared governance between faculty and administrators, and (2) *self-interested behavior among all participants, in particular faculty, under scarcity conditions* (p. 287, emphasis mine).

Of course difficult decisions must be made in the face of such diminishing resources – decisions that on the surface may not look student-centered, but are made to ensure the survival of the institution and the long-term success of its students. I do not envy those in such difficult decision-making positions. Even so, I think they and all institutional decision-makers can learn from the trends and correlations revealed in this study to find more creative ways – more counterintuitive ways – to ensure that music students leave our institutions not only with high career prospects, but also fine and satisfied memories of their days on our campus.

Directions for Future Research

I knew when deciding to take a quantitative approach to these questions that the numbers would not tell the whole story. Humans are too complicated to be boiled down into statistics

alone. For this reason, future investigations of this issue should focus on qualitative data. There are many such studies with a qualitative element, but they only interview graduates with music-related career outcomes (Bennett, 2007, 2009; Bennett & Bridgstock, 2015; Creech et al., 2009; Mills, 2004; Slaughter & Springer, 2015; Trabucco et al., 2016). Future research should focus on music graduates who generally embody the employment identities of Course Correctors, Unemployed Dreamers, Unrealized Artists, and Self-Patrons. It is the largely hidden and untold stories of such graduates that need to be amplified in order to truly improve the effectiveness of our institutions.

Future studies should also investigate a potential relationship between age/graduation cohort and institutional satisfaction. Respondents categorized as 'retired' reported remarkably high satisfaction with career advising, curricular relevance, and general institutional satisfaction. This raises the question whether further analysis would reveal a downward trend of institutional satisfaction over the years. Such a finding would align with scholarship claiming that the quality of American higher education – and the general public's satisfaction with it – have been in decline since the 1960s (Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Weerts, 2016; Winston, 1994).

The grouping variables from this study should also be compared with job satisfaction metrics. While only tangentially related to institutional effectiveness, understanding the relationship between Employment Identities and job satisfaction could help faculty and administrators better advise their students. This is especially true for Employment Identities that have not been frequently studied – Course Correctors, Unemployed Dreamers, Unrealized Artists, and Self-Patrons. A study of this nature would likely reveal interesting discrepancies between intrinsic and extrinsic forms of job satisfaction, especially in the context of music-related versus non-music-related occupations (Heslin, 2005; Miller et al., 2017).

In summary, future research directions should continue to investigate the experiences of music graduates who do not (or no longer) spend the majority of their working hours in a music-related occupation. Such research is needed not only because these alumni deserve for their stories to be told, but also because practitioners need to fully understand the costs of failing to deliver on the 'promise of higher education.'

Conclusion

These findings and implications lead me to the conclusion that the most effective postsecondary music programs will embody high admissions selectivity, low faculty to student ratios, and emphasis of teaching over research. The data reveal that such an approach to American higher music education, paired with realistic career advising from faculty and tight curricular alignment with the job market, significantly increases the likelihood that music alumni will secure sustainable careers in their fields of choice and consider their postsecondary music education to be worth the cost. Because higher education has fully transitioned from a public good to a private commodity (Chan, 2016; Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Weerts, 2016), students invest far too many resources to justly receive any other outcome. Shifting responsibility to the student is an unethical attribution of blame (Jones, 1991; Newman, 2020). Students must of course take responsibility for their own lives and decisions, but so should we. Together let's make the right decision. Let us be innovative and courageous, taking calculated risks for the sake of our students. Let us fight to improve outcomes for the outliers. "Turbulence is inherent to change" (Campbell et al., 2014, p. 7). I intend to embrace this turbulence, and sincerely hope you will join me.

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