NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

"Behind the Beautiful Music is a Person": The Intersections of Race and Social Class on the Path

to Careers in Music Education

A DISSERTATION

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Field of Music Education

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this multiple-case study was to examine the lived experiences of current collegiate music education majors, both students from under-represented minorities and their well-represented peers, with attention to racial/ethnic identity and social class. Dyads of current music education students at 8 separate colleges/universities—a student from an under-represented racial minority, and a well-represented peer—completed over 4 hours of individual interviews, using Seidman's (1991) 3 interview protocol for ethnographic interviewing. The central question for this study was: how do collegiate music education students from under-represented racial/ethnic minorities and their well-represented peers at the same institution describe the factors, challenges, supports, and decisions involved in identifying music education as a career goal and navigating into and through a collegiate music education program?

Guiding questions included: how salient is social class to all participants, and what role might the interaction of racial/ethnic identity and social class play in becoming a music educator? How do participants describe the experience of application to, admission into, and matriculation at a collegiate music education program? What individuals and/or experiences do participants describe as influential to their choice to pursue music education as a career? How do participants describe their out-of-school musical experiences and supports, and what connections exist between race, social class, and the relationship between out-of-school music-making and school music?

Using within- and cross-case comparative analysis, themes emerged from the data along racial lines—6 participants were Non-Hispanic/Black, 2 were Hispanic/Mexican, and 8 were Non-Hispanic/White—and along divisions of social class identity—9 participants identified as lower social class (LSC) and 7 identified as upper social class (USC). Most important, intersectional themes also emerged in the relationship between race and social class.

Themes centered around race were: representation, realness, racial identity, and bridging through relationships. Themes emergent in connection to social class were: place, identity formation, and the strength of weak ties. Finally, intersectional themes were: religion, family, and money/access. Implications for research and teaching are discussed, as well as recommendations for the profession with regard to race, social class, and their intersection.

Acknowledgements

The list of individuals who have contributed to my being here, exploring the topics that interest me is so exhaustive that I worry, much like a Oscars speech, that I'll walk off the stage forgetting someone so important that I'll never live it down. Still, this is an expectation, so we must soldier on. My apologies in advance to any one of the surely thousands of people who read this dissertation and feel slighted.

To my Center family, thank you for the human connection—without our weekly checking in, I'm not sure how I would have survived. Hopefully I was even one tenth of the help for you that you all were for me. Patrick, Casey, Adam, and Erica, you're all too individually awesome for words. Brian, thank you for being the sensible one—I'm still not sure how I'm going to keep track of deadlines and other important things without you to check in with. Most importantly, Amanda—thank you for being a great office-mate and an even better friend. You're destined for great things, and I'm looking forward to being able to say, "I knew her when…". Thanks also to Dr. Mary Pattillo, Dr. Ryan Dohoney, and a slew of other faculty at Northwestern whose courses shaped me as a person, and this document specifically.

My committee members, Dr. Steven Demorest, Dr. Sarah Bartolome, and Dr. Maud Hickey: thank you for your insight and your help in thinking through this research. Though I know I wasn't always the most polished, on-the-ball student—we can't all be Brian—know that this is the beginning of a program of research that I hope will mean something, and it's only where it is right now because of your guidance through coursework and throughout this process. Also, a special thanks to Dr. Colleen Conway and Dr. Kate Fitzpatrick, whose inspiration at Michigan was exactly what I needed to set me along this path. I'll never forget the day when, meeting with Kate, she said "you know, you're pretty good at this. You should think about looking into a PhD…" I quite literally wouldn't be here without you both.

Thanks to my mother, who has been a constant source of support through times where it was easy to be proud of me, and times where it most assuredly was not. Dad, I'm not sure what you would have made of all of this, but thank you for seventeen years of fatherhood which, at minimum, made me the father I am today. Ivy, I'm so looking forward to getting this all finished and spending a few months just learning to be your dad. Miles, I'll remember the years leading up to this dissertation not by the books I read or the papers I wrote, but by the bike rides we took and the minutes we spent waiting for the train, listening to a podcast through shared earbuds, and countless other memories. I love you, buddy.

Beth. What is there to be said about a woman who will drop everything and move around the country with you, who will put her own dreams on hold while you work on your own? I don't deserve your patience or your love, but somehow you give them anyway. Right now, you're putting a five-week-old baby to sleep, and when you wake up, you'll help me get a five-year-old out the door to school. Our crazy life can be exhausting, but hopefully you feel like it's worth it. It's a little ridiculous to be so heartfelt in a setting like this when I *should* just say these things in person, but I'm grateful for your love and for everything you do for me and our family. If it's "your turn" now, I say: bring it on!

Glossary

ethnicity An individual's membership in a social group based on factors such as culture, nationality, ancestry, and language. On the 2010 United States census, Hispanic is the only recognized ethnicity.

race An individual's membership in a social group based on factors often tied to physical characteristics like skin color. However, the biological claim to group individuals based on physical characteristics is tenuous, and the 2010 US census recognizes cultural factors with regard to racial identification. As a result, *race* and *ethnicity* are often conflated. When referring to census demographic information, this work distinguishes between the two, but *race* is used more frequently to signify the participants' identification with a social group based on a variety of physical and non-physical characteristics.

social class A combination of the characteristics of socioeconomic status listed below, and an individual's perception of their social status compared to others. Because participants' perception of social status was an important variable, social class is used throughout this work, unless referring to prior research that employed demographic measurements of socioeconomic status.

socioeconomic status (SES) A measurement of social status involving an individual's education, income level, and occupation.

Dedication

For an octopus and a unicorn.

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Prologue Self-Portraiture

I am a straight, White, cisgender male: the epitome of privilege in America. With the exception of a genetic predisposition to overeating and low metabolism, I hit the jackpot in terms of where, when, and to whom I was born, the melanin content of my skin and how that skin is perceived in society, the relationship between how I see myself existing in the world and how that world sees me, and the type of person I choose to love.

Can I even do research like this?

We talk a lot about impostor syndrome in our field—the idea that all of us, especially graduate students, carry around an internalized doubt about our accomplishments and a fear that at any moment, we'll be "found out" as frauds. Nothing activates my impostor syndrome more than doing identity-based research as a non-member of that identity:

An advisor tells me that my voice is needed because people doing this work who also happen to claim that identity might be accused of having "an agenda."

A participant shares a story about a Black student on campus who refuses to let the university use her "Black body" for photographs meant to display campus diversity.

When I tell an African-American professor at our university what I'd like to research, she asks me why we need to encourage Black and brown kids to teach music, since it's a hard job that doesn't pay well, and I don't really have a good answer.

I parlay my experience with a transgender student in my choir from an interpersonal connection to the basis for my master's degree, my first presentation as a doctoral student, and more. It's still an analogy I tell at presentations and in classes. We've talked once since he graduated, and since I left the school. Right now, I couldn't tell you how he's doing.

Also, isn't spending a page of my dissertation talking about impostor syndrome just a way to garner sympathy—the last thing I need and, at worst, patently disingenuous?

These are just a few examples of the types of thoughts that enter my head as I engage(d) in this type of research, centering the stories and experiences of traditionally marginalized populations. I say all of this not to be self-flagellating, or to draw sympathy where it's not warranted or necessary. I've come to accept these thoughts as part of the process, part of the call to *do better*. It would be easy, especially today, to look at my particular privilege and make excuses for it, but it's another thing altogether to realize it's as much a factor outside of my control as any of the multiple layers of identities of my participants and students. I think I've realized that it's the next steps, the doing, that will define my role in this work. I *am* privileged: male, cisgender, White, straight, but my life experiences have led me to feel called to this work. All I can promise is that every day I wake up, with every interview I conduct, every student I teach, every story I hear and share, I will try to do a better job listening, sharing, and collaborating than I did the day before.

Chapter 1. Introduction

The administration does a pretty poor job of tackling issues surrounding that, under the idea that we're all - if everyone just sits down and makes good music together, then the world would be a better place. However, when you stop singing, and when you put your instrument down, behind the beautiful music is a person. These are differences, and if you don't teach people how to acknowledge and deal with the differences in an appropriate and respectful manner, then you're helping create the problem.

—Reuben, 01/29/2018 (URM, USC)

Overview

In April of 2016, National Association for Music Education (NAfME) Executive Director Michael Butera attended a meeting sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) about diversity, inclusion, and equity in the arts. While discussing this extremely important topic informally among guests seated at his table, Mr. Butera was accused of placing responsibility for under-representation in music on the shoulders of the under-represented themselves, suggesting allegedly, that African-American and Latino students lack the keyboarding skill necessary to enter the profession and that, for these populations, subjects such as music theory might be too difficult (McCord, 2016).

While the truth of these statements was denied by Mr. Butera, the pushback resulting from the accusations nonetheless led to his resignation from the organization. Despite a lack of proof about the comments themselves, it is clear from this interaction, from the outcry within the profession, from calls for papers and conference topics since the events in question, and from the reaction among faculty in collegiate music education programs, that issues of representation, diversity, and equity are at the forefront of many minds in school music education and music teacher preparation.

One of the biggest challenges with regard to diversity and inclusion is that, as participation in music education spaces continues over time, those spaces get less and less diverse. The national executive board of NAfME during Mr. Butera's tenure was, and is now, almost exclusively White. The same is true in school music, where a slight under-representation of African-American and Latino students in primary and secondary school balloons in collegiate music education enrollment, making collegiate music programs nationally—and certainly collegiate music *education* programs—predominantly White. These issues of diversity are further complicated when socioeconomic status (SES) or social class is a factor.

These feelings of under-representation are not simply deeply held beliefs by a small group of socially-conscious music educators, but facts supported by research. In a demographic study of secondary school music enrollment, Elpus and Abril (2011) discovered participation levels that demonstrate an under-representation not just of African-American and Latino students, but low-income students more generally. White and Asian/Asian-American students were slightly *over*-represented—White students, for instance, comprised 68% of secondary music students in the study while the White population only accounts for 65% of the overall US population.

Again, these discrepancies become even more pronounced upon entrance into collegiate music education programs, which are overwhelmingly White. Elpus (2015) used Praxis II data, a required test for music teacher licensure in more than 30 states, finding that White students make up nearly 90% of the collegiate music education students passing the Praxis II test, often the final step before graduation with a music education degree. While the study does not include socioeconomic status as a factor, such a jump – from three percent over-representation to nearly 35%, suggests that something—or a variety of things—happens between high school music

participation and graduation with a music education degree that better attracts, or more adequately supports, White and higher-income students.

There are many factors that contribute to a lack of racial and socioeconomic diversity in music education, such as a lack of same-race teacher role models, a dearth of access to resources due to socioeconomic factors such as program cost and geography, as well as systems of stratification that keep certain professions for certain populations. While there are likely countless factors ultimately at play with regard to why a student might choose music education as a profession and whether or not they have the means to achieve that choice, focusing on better understanding tangible issues like same-race role models, access based on socioeconomic status, and stratification systems might help music educators and researchers better understand not only *what* is going on, but how to address it.

Same-race teacher role models.

Research in general education supports the idea that teacher role models play a role in the academic success of students. These teacher role models share some quality with their students, primarily sex or race. Using NCLS-K data, Dee (2004) discovered that male students tend to perform better when they have a male teacher, and female students with a female teacher. This finding is compounded by the structure of American schooling. The vast majority of elementary teachers are female, which Dee (2004) suggests may explain male underperformance in the early years of school, while simultaneously providing insight into why girls might generally perform more modestly in middle school math and science courses.

Likewise, teachers who are a racial/ethnic match for students are a positive influence on the academic experience of minority students (Goldhaber, Theobald, & Tien, 2015). Villegas and Lucas (2004) outlined some of the common arguments for a racial/ethnic match between teacher and student. Namely, the authors described the two common arguments: that minority teachers

can serve as role models for *all* students, and that they may be especially suited for educating minority students, as they may bring a unique cultural understanding of diverse learners.

Analyzing administrative data from third- through 10th-grade students in Florida, Egalite, Kisida, & Winters (2015) found significant positive effects when students were assigned to same-ethnicity or same-race teachers. These results were particularly strong for Black and White students with lower performance scores. In a review of 24 empirical studies on the subject of teacher-student ethnic match, Driessen (2015) cautioned that these studies have yet to come to a consensus regarding the positive effect of student-teacher match on objective outcomes, but the author did note that there is evidence that subjective evaluations, such as selection for gifted programs, are affected by student-teacher racial/ethnic match. Notably missing from these studies, however, is the presence of socioeconomic status as a factor in student success.

Music education researchers have yet to systematically explore the concept of teacher role models, though survey data has demonstrated the importance of the teacher role model in the process of identification as a future music teacher (Bergee, Coffman, Demorest, Humphreys, & Thornton, 2001). As with gender and the structure of American schooling, the realities of student-teacher racial/ethnic match may be all the more pronounced in music education, due to the fact that music students are likely to see only a few music teachers throughout their tenure in primary and secondary schools.

Access based on socioeconomic status.

Research in general education has suggested that for students in lower social classes, experiences in school can be negative from the onset, with low standards and expectations creating a self-fulfilling prophecy for students (Rist, 1970). They may attend schools with sub-standard facilities and programs, and access to a quality education can be challenging (Kozol, 1991).

This lack of access extends to school music, where students in lower social classes tend to participate in school music courses with lower frequency than those of higher social class. In an analysis of Education Longitudinal Study data, Elpus and Abril (2011) discovered that students in the lowest class quartile represented only 17% of the number of students enrolled in music at the secondary school level. Focusing on string programs, Smith (1997) found similarly unequal distribution—of the 14,183 schools in the United State with a string program, 64% were classified as middle-SES and 32% were high-SES, but only 4% of the string programs in the country were housed in lower-SES schools. SES can predict retention in school music programs (McCarthy, 1980) with higher-SES students more likely to continue to participate in music. Klinedinst (1991) found that SES was a more significant factor with regard to retention than both academic status and musical proficiency, and Phillips (2003) discovered that high-SES students were more likely to be exposed to musical activities than lower-SES students.

This social class-based difference extends beyond representation and retention, and into the classroom itself. Analyzing the contest ratings of 4,357 middle- and high-school bands and choirs, Speer (2014) found that lower-SES schools tended to receive lower ratings than schools with higher-SES, which may affect students' experiences, as well as their access to extra-musical activities like honors band/choir or solo and ensemble. However, factors like parental involvement and a positive home environment can affect student participation in these all-state programs (Hickok, 2009). More generally, high-performing programs in lower-SES school districts appear to share qualities such as efficient rehearsal time, constant student contact time, and more.

Systems of stratification.

The sociological concept of stratification—the organization of members of a society in several "strata"—can be a useful tool for understanding why school music attracts and retains

some students and not others. It is important to understand that, to many sociological researchers, stratification is not simply a "feature" of society, but a system that may be designed to inhibit mobility between roles or strata (Grusky, 2007). In music education, stratification can be best understood through a lens of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1993) where overlapping layers of identity—race, class, gender, etc.—represent potential sites for oppression or exclusion that are multiplicative, not simply additive.

This intersectional application of stratification is supported in general education, where researchers have demonstrated that minority students are more likely to be lower-class and to have had negative school experiences (Su, 1996) and, more broadly, that poverty in urban schools with high percentages of Latino and African-American students is almost six times more likely than in urban schools that are predominantly White (Kozol, 2005). While caution is suggested when discussing race and social class, lest researchers assume that *all* African-American or Hispanic students are lower-class—or vice versa—factors like the rising cost of college, an unfamiliarity with the social and educational norms of college, and a lack of merit- and need-based aid might contribute to the gap in enrollment in college for low-income students, especially low-income students of color (Page & Scott-Clayton, 2016).

Music educators have generally examined the issue of under-representation in school music (Elpus & Abril, 2011) in broad terminology such as social justice, equity, and intercultural competence (Calloway, 2009; Emmanuel, 2005). DeLorenzo and Silverman (2016) conducted quantitative and qualitative surveys of Black and Latino music education students and teachers in New Jersey, reporting frequent participant motivations against choosing a career in music. By thinking across and between large- and small-scale levels, Frierson-Campbell (2007) questioned national statistics of music participation, demonstrating that only 40% of secondary schools in Detroit offer *any* sort of music class. Stratification can, as Colwell and Froehlich (2007)

suggested, combine multiple levels into an interactionist view examining cultural influence on individual development.

In a stratified music education system, individuals interact with cultural norms and values before they even set foot inside a school music classroom. Often, these values are passed from parent to child (Ediger, 2008) and a parent's experience with school music provides a link to the types of musical activities in the home (Mehr, 2014). There also appears to be a relationship between parental values, music participation, and scores on standardized testing. Fitzpatrick (2006) analyzed participation in school music and socioeconomic status with regard to performance on a standardized Ohio state test. There were distinct differences in test performance between the four groups (low-SES non-school-music, low-SES school-music, high-SES non-school-music, high-SES school-music) but an analysis of test data from before students self-selected into school music participation demonstrated that this difference was present before school music participation began. At the middle-school level, Smith and Hoffman (2011) suggested that within-school tracking limits participation in school music for minority and low-SES students. This combination of family reinforcement of school structures creates a system where higher-SES, White students have easier access to school music, graduate, and value school music more in the home.

Rationale for the Study

While many music educators share the belief that school music participation generally, and the music teaching profession more specifically, should look more like the demographic breakdown of the country, a program of systematic research on the subject has yet to be explored. In terms of race, music scholars have primarily focused on describing the problem of under-representation (Bergee et al., 2001; Elpus, 2015; DeLorenzo, 2012), or offering suggestions as to how the profession can move to be more culturally relevant (Abril, 2013;

Fitzpatrick, 2012). With regard to social class, Bates (2012) shared a variety of suggestions for teachers working with rural students and students of lower social class, and Albert (2006) collected research on socioeconomic status and school instrumental music participation, but music education researchers have largely examined either race *or* social class or reported the results of large-scale descriptive studies.

Given what general education research suggests about race, social class, and their relationship, there is need for further research that not only explores the racial identity and socioeconomic realities of students who choose to participate in music, but the relationship between race and social class, and how those interweaving identities ultimately contribute to a school music system that privileges and encourages some students to participate, and—even subconsciously—discourages others from continuing to explore school music.

By collecting and analyzing the stories of under-represented minority (URM) collegiate music education students—defined for the purposes of this study as ethnically Hispanic, non-White participants and Non-Hispanic, African American students, who are historically under-represented in higher education and in schools of music—and the stories of their well-represented peers, the profession might better understand how the teacher role model, and other factors, influenced the path toward a career in music education, and how race and social class—and the combination of race and social class—play a role in the development of future music educators.

How might students who have selected music education as a profession, who have successfully navigated a college music education program, and who are nearing completion of their degree, describe the circumstances that led them to seek out and attain entry into a collegiate music education program? What role(s) might race and social class (and their intersection) play in their stories? What qualities are shared within representation categories

regardless of social class, and what qualities are shared within social class identities regardless of

race?

Chapter 2. Review of Related Literature: Representation in School Music Education

Introduction

In the following chapter, I will synthesize and review a limited selection of relevant research in general and music education with regard to representation based on race and social class. The intent is not to provide an exhaustive review of literature on race-based research, class-based research, or intersectional research—doing so would be a large undertaking in a dissertation chapter. Instead, my hope is to elucidate an evidence-based rationale for why it is important that the secondary teaching pool, both generally and in music specifically, accurately reflects the demographic trends of the student population with regard to race and social class.

To that end, the following literature review is organized into three sections. The first two sections present research of race in general and music education separate from research of social class in general and music education. The final section will give an overview of intersectionality and examine systems of stratification in education that might privilege certain combinations of race *and* social class over others.

Race and Music Education

Though issues of race in general education are often connected to other forms of identity such as social class or gender, this section will review literature related to college attainment and teacher workforce in general and music education specifically regarding race.

Race and college attainment.

In a 2015 report from the National Center for Education Statistics (Ginder, Kelly-Reid, & Mann, 2015), researchers discovered, alongside an increase in overall tuition rates at public, private, and for-profit colleges and universities, an under-representation of students of color everywhere except at for-profit institutions. These findings can be confirmed in other national studies (Espenshade, Chung, & Walling, 2004), at the state level (Burke, Davis, & Stephan,

2015), in large cities such as New York (Coca, 2014) and in discipline-specific majors like the STEM fields, where under-representation extends to gender (Smyth & McArdle, 2004).

Despite some promising trends in smaller datasets, such as increased minority student college enrollment and graduation rates among students from Chicago Public Schools (Healey, Nagaoka, & Michelman, 2014), most large-scale quantitative research since the 1970s has shown decreasing college enrollment among African-American and Latino students (Carter, 1990; Eagle & Carroll, 1988; Hill, 1983).

Even after African-American and Latino students enroll successfully at a college or university, smaller-scale quantitative studies demonstrate that issues affecting success continue to persist. They are less likely, for instance, to choose certain major areas of concentration, and less likely to persist to graduation. Staniec (2004) found an under-representation of African-American and Latino science and engineering bachelor's degree recipients (and an over-representation of White and Asian/Asian-American students) similar to more general trends in college-wide graduation statistics. In a longitudinal study of Stanford University freshmen—23% of whom were typically under-represented minority (URM) students, Barr and his colleagues (2008) discovered that, even after controlling for factors like academic ability or SAT score, URM students (and women) were disproportionately less likely to continue premedical studies and to ultimately pursue medical school. Chang, Sharkness, Hurtado, and Newman (2014) found similar trends in their longitudinal study of students with majors in the science, technology, math, and engineering (STEM) fields.

Race and teacher education.

Researchers have also explored motivations for choosing—or *not* choosing—teaching as a possible profession, focusing on the perceptions of high school students, college pre-interns, and in-service teachers. Smith and his colleagues (2004) chose African-American high school

honors students as their respondents. None of the 38 students indicated preference for teaching as their primary profession.

Minority teachers may also be more receptive to constructivist pedagogies like culturally responsive teaching. Mawhinney and colleagues (2012) surveyed African-American pre-service interns at an HBCU before and after an immersion course at an urban secondary school. The researchers discovered that while perceptions of urban teaching were generally more positive after the course, perceptions of urban parents actually decreased. In a survey of 113 teachers and 101 instructional staff, Mustafaa (2016) employed hierarchical regression models to discover, among other findings, a strong connection between minority ideology and culturally responsive teaching.

As questions of diversity in education—from primary and secondary school demographics to college enrollment and teacher diversity—have been a focus of educational researchers for at least 40 years, many scholars have collected and analyzed existing research on the subject in an attempt to discover what we "know" about school and teacher diversity. Some research focuses on current teachers and their reasons for leaving the profession. A 2010 review of 70 studies (Achinstein, Ogawa, Sexton, & Freitas, 2010) found higher current turnover rates for teachers of color than their White colleagues, who are more likely to work in what the researchers deem as "hard-to-staff" urban schools, populated by higher proportions of low-income and minority students.

In a meta-analysis of 34 studies, including 63 attrition factors, Borman and Dowling (2008) discovered that attributes of both the school and the student body affect teacher attrition, as does resource availability such as funds for instructional spending and overall teacher salary. The authors were careful to highlight, however, the importance of teachers of color, and the ways

in which teacher-preparation programs can recruit and support these individuals, including the importance of culturally relevant curricula and questioning the nature of schooling.

Other researchers have chosen to highlight the experiences of pre-service educators. Quiocho & Rios (2000) collected the results of qualitative empirical research between 1989 and 1998 involving pre-service and in-service minority educators and, using descriptive synthesis methods, illuminated the large number of obstacles standing in the way of minority educators fully realizing their teaching goals. In a later review of literature, Guarino (2006) reasserted—through combined analysis of national demographic data and a variety of smaller-scale studies—that individuals entering the teaching force are more likely to be White, and more likely to be female.

Race and teacher preparation.

Given the current state of the education profession in terms of diversity, one common avenue for scholarship in the field is advocating for better preparing current and near-future teachers for diverse settings. Delpit (2003) suggested that educators move beyond standardized testing and one-size-fits-most instruction if they wish to truly educate low-income and racial minority students. Other scholars have suggested more drastic shifts in teacher education programs, from decentralizing university faculty as the prime expert (Zeichner, Payne, & Brayko, 2015) to moving on from preparing White pre-service teachers altogether and focusing more directly on populating the profession with teachers of color (Sleeter, 2001).

Still other scholars have focused their work on the issues and needs surrounding current and future teachers of color. Dupre (1986) outlined a variety of problems faced by future Black teachers, ranging from lack of funding to the need for vast curricular reform. Operating under a critical race theory framework, Rogers-Ard and her colleagues (2012) focused on two programs designed to address barriers students of color face as they attempt to enter the teaching

workforce, advocating for a reworked teacher evaluation model that focuses less on standardized testing scores and more on school, district, and university level information as well as self-perception as criteria for defining teacher effectiveness.

Au and Blake (2003) used qualitative data collection methods to profile three pre-service teachers of color—one Japanese American and two teachers of Hawaiian descent—in order to understand the salience of factors like race and social class on their ability to teach in a culturally diverse district. Unlike many studies, which focus on members of one under-represented racial/ethnic group or on minority teachers more generally, Su (1997) compared interview responses between White and minority preservice teachers, discovering that many minority teachers considered social justice to be a primary component of their responsibilities in the classroom, while a study of college students of color (Ramirez, 2010) used group interviews to discover perceptions about teaching.

Framed on the concept of racial microaggressions, Bryan and Browder (2013) profiled one African-American male kindergarten teacher, exploring his interactions with peers as an under-represented individual based on race and, in elementary school teaching, based on gender. In a similar case study of one working-class, African-American female educator, Knight (2002) employed an intersectional framework—discussed in greater detail in the following theoretical framework section—which allowed the researcher to understand how race, social class, and gender all were—individually, additively, and multiplicatively—factors in the development of a teacher focused on social justice education.

In a narrative inquiry involving three pre-service teachers transitioning from coursework into student teaching, Morrison (2013) employed Positioning Theory, drawn from social constructivism and the work of Vygotsky (1962), which seeks to understand identity development with regard to an individual's position in the world, as opposed to relying simply

on their inner thoughts. A similar case study, detailing the experiences of 10 Latino pre-service

teachers going through student teaching in a variety of urban and suburban school districts

(Weisman & Hansen, 2008), used sociocultural scaffolding to understand the ways in which

student teachers by combining academic learning with sociocultural connections to students and

teachers.

  Diversity research in music education.

  Research of diversity in music education has followed a similar trajectory to general

education research, ranging from large-scale quantitative studies to scholarship advocating for

more diverse music classrooms to qualitative explorations of diversity, but is relatively new and

less developed. Large-scale demographic and survey data (Bergee et al., 2001; Elpus, 2015;

Elpus & Abril, 2011; Hewitt & Thompson, 2006) have demonstrated an over-representation of

White and Asian/Asian-American individuals at nearly every level—from secondary student

enrollment to the teacher workforce, as well as music teacher educators—and a subsequent

under-representation for African-American and Latino students.

  Like in general education, scholarship in the field has often focused on preparing existing

and near-future (White) music teachers for success in urban music settings (Frierson-Campbell,

2007; Sands, 2007). Other studies have reported on success in developing culturally diverse

university-school partnerships (Soto, Lum, & Campbell, 2009), While cultural competency is an

important first step in addressing the gap in access for secondary music students, DeLorenzo and

Silverman (2016) suggest that even culturally-competent music teachers may exhibit

unintentionally stereotypical thinking and may therefore hold under-represented minority

students to lower standards than their White peers. This concept is echoed in general education

research, which demonstrates that minority teachers are more likely to hold minority students to

high standards (Goldhaber et al., 2015).

Social Class and Music Education

This section of the review of literature will focus on social class, a term used in social science research to describe the combination of an individual's socioeconomic status (SES) and their perception of their social status compared to others (Diemer et al., 2013). While SES is more often used to quantitatively describe an individual's education, income level, and occupation and is applied to programs such as federal free-and-reduced lunch subsidies, I use social class here—and throughout this work—intentionally, in an attempt to speak more broadly about the subject. Bornstein and Bradley (2003) defined SES as the "relative position of individuals, families, or groups in stratified social systems" (p. 2), a definition that will be useful in the following section where a very similar definition is used for "stratification," a concept that extends beyond social class and into other forms of identity. Still, inasmuch as it is possible to separate one identity trait from another, this section seeks to summarize music education research with regard to social class or SES.

General education researchers have suggested that for students in lower social classes, very early experiences in school, coupled with teachers' low expectations and standards create a self-fulfilling prophecy for these students (Rist, 1970). Kozol (1991) visited low-SES schools, describing the sub-standard conditions and equipment he witnessed and urging more public knowledge about the unequal nature of educational qualities with regard to social class in American schools.

Music education researchers have explored these inequalities in school music programs, often examining participation and retention of low-income students. Smith (1997) used public directory information to classify 14,183 schools with string programs into one of three SES groups. The researcher discovered that 64% of the programs were classified as middle-SES, 32% as high-SES, and only 4% as low-SES. Elpus and Abril (2011) found similar under-

representation of low-SES students in their analysis of the 2004 Education Longitudinal Study. While the highest two SES quartiles were over-represented, students in the lowest quartile were significantly less likely to participate in school music, representing only 17% of the total number of enrolled music students in secondary music programs.

McCarthy (1980) examined how individual and group ensemble instruction, as well as student demographics, affected achievement and retention of fifth- and sixth- grade instrumental music students in an urban school. Classified as low-SES based on geographical boundaries, the author found that SES significantly predicted retention, as higher-SES students tended to participate in school instrumental programs longer than lower-SES students. Similarly, Klinedinst (1991) conducted a similar study of 205 beginning instrumental students in an upper-middle class school district. After being rated by three independent judges, SES was found to be a more significant factor affecting retention than musical proficiency or academic status.

Using federal free-and-reduced-lunch records to define SES, Phillips (2003) collected data on home musical environment and SES from 2,180 eighth graders, finding that high-SES students were more likely to have "greater exposure to musical activities" than their low-SES peers (p. 92). While it is possible that the researcher's definition of music activities was influenced by a bias toward school-based music or skewed to favor classical musicianship, Phillips suggested that higher income levels may mean easier access to private lessons, as well as registration fees, uniform fees, instrument costs, and more.

Nierman and Veak (1997) used an experimental study design to explore whether SES (as well as aptitude and method) affected the attitudes of 531 fourth-grade students toward music. Using federal free-and-reduced-price lunch status to assign SES status to each school, the researchers randomly selected three low-SES, three middle-SES, and three high-SES schools to participate in the study. One of three interventions were assigned on a per-school basis—an

experimental group received recorder instruction, one school received demonstration instruction supplemented by video, and one school acted as the control. While there was no significance among groups in the low-SES schools, the middle-SES schools showed a more positive attitude toward music—even the control group—suggesting that family influence and other factors outside of school contribute to a student's music attitude.

These SES differences also extend beyond representation and perception of music and into school-level analyses. Speer (2014) analyzed the ratings of 4,357 middle- and high- school bands and choirs at a state-level competition in Texas, finding that lower-SES schools tended to receive lower ratings at these contests than schools with higher-SES. Chappell (2013) examined the music participation records of 1,052 students at Title I and non-Title I schools, suggesting that students with remedial needs or whose school structure only allowed for one elective choice may demonstrate lower enrollment rates.

Music education researchers have also discovered that circumstances outside of SES can mitigate the effects of SES on music participation. Examining SES and music participation in Alabama, Hickok (2009) found positive home environment and parental involvement in school activities to be higher for student participants in All-State Choir and Band programs, while Iliff (2018) conducted interviews and observations at low-income schools with high-performing music programs, suggesting strategies such as constant contact time with students, efficient rehearsals, high director musicianship, and others.

Race and Social Class: Intersectionality, Stratification, and Music Education

The final section of this review of literature will synthesize research on intersectionality, research on stratification, and their applications in music education. By better understanding these sociological concepts and how they have been actualized in general and music education

research, we can examine not only research and pedagogy involving race or social class, but work that involves the two in combination.

Intersectionality.

A feminist sociological theory with roots in the work of Crenshaw (1989, 1993), intersectionality is the concept that "multiple dimensions of social life and categories of analysis" exist within each individual (McCall, 2005). As an example, the experience of an African-American female cannot be summed through the experiences of all women, nor through the experiences of all African-American individuals. Crenshaw (1993) asserts that African-American women experience discrimination at a level beyond what can be accounted for through either race or gender. Their experiences are not additive (race + gender) but instead multiplicative, where layers of individual identity compound to increase the potential for injustice and mistreatment. In the previous sections, I have attempted to focus on race and social class as separate factors, but in this section, I will report research that involves multiple layers of identity, or that specifically mentions intersectionality.

In general education, studies involving pre-intern teachers demonstrate that minority education majors are more likely to be from low-SES backgrounds and are more likely to have had negative experiences in past school experiences (Su, 1996). Ríos and Montecinos (1999) presented 28 summer teacher-training institute attendees with a set of six theoretical scenarios that would address multicultural education in a public school. The results indicate that these students—largely Latino and African American *and* lower or lower-middle SES—value the importance of critically engaging with multicultural education in the classroom, as opposed to continuing with "business as usual."

There are likely a variety of reasons why certain minority groups remain under-represented in college enrollment and the teaching profession, and a multitude of possible

solutions. Some education scholars eschew empirical data, choosing instead to offer thoughts and possible solutions to address issues of diversity in college attendance, in preparing existing pre-service and in-service teachers for diversity in rooms, and in attracting and supporting teachers of color. Simpson (2001) offered a range of possibilities for the lack of diversity in collegiate demographics, from overall family socioeconomic status (SES) to group values, cultural capital, and academic preparation. African-American and Latino students may come from educationally underserved communities and may therefore enter college less academically prepared than their White or Asian-American peers.

Indeed, poverty in urban schools with high African-American and Latino student enrollment is nearly six times more likely than in urban schools with primarily White students (Kozol, 2005). Factors such as rising college costs, a lack of understanding of what need- and merit-based aid is available, and other factors may contribute to the gap in college enrollment for low-income students, regardless of race (Page & Scott-Clayton, 2016). Arroyo & Gasman (2014) presented a conceptual model for encouraging success in Black college students, framed as a non-Eurocentric design drawn from HBCUs. While Banks (1988) acknowledged the low academic performance of African-American and Latin-American students, he suggests caution in models that lump all minority students into groups based on cultural deprivation, offering instead a hypothesis that accentuates within-group difference and relies as much on social class as it does on race.

As it becomes more and more clear that neither music participation (Elpus & Abril, 2011) nor music education enrollment (Elpus, 2015) in US public schools accurately represents the demographic makeup of the United States as a whole, music educators have begun to examine the concept of social justice as applied to race and social class. In a study profiling an urban middle school, Calloway (2009) used observations, focus groups, and interviews with teachers

and administrators to demonstrate a repeated need for equity with regard to race, social class, and gender in the music program, as well as the need for a sequenced music curriculum which would allow for better transfer between middle school music students and a selectively enrolled Arts high school. Analyzing audio interviews, classroom assignments, and autobiographies, Emmanuel (2005) used intercultural competence—the concept that individuals need to understand their place in a culture in order to teach effectively—to examine how the beliefs and attitudes of pre-service music education students changed through immersion in a culturally diverse music internship.

A small number of qualitative researchers have explored the issue of racial/ethnic and socioeconomic diversity in music education schooling and teaching (Carlow, 2004). DeLorenzo and Silverman (2016) used quantitative surveys and semi-structured qualitative interviews to explore the experiences Black and Latino music education students and teachers in New Jersey. While the small response rate and participant number precludes the findings from being generalized outside of urban music education students and teachers in that area, participants reported many motivations against choosing a career in music, and other suggestions for addressing the lack of college students of color in music education programs.

One question that arises, however, is the degree to which race and social class factor into issues of diversity in music education. While sociologists have explored the similarities that lower-, middle-, and upper-class African-Americans share regarding their experience of race in the United States (Pattillo-McCoy, 1999), some music education scholars (Bates, 2012) have been critical of social justice research in music education that focuses too strongly on race and not on social class as an important determinant of access to secondary and collegiate music education.

Often, the role of music education in schools is understood more generally through a lens of social justice, as either a site of change or a tool for the perpetuation of injustice (Koza, 2008). Jorgensen (2007) discussed the barriers to learning music in school and, though she does not use the term "intersectionality," she cites numerous avenues through which an individual may gain or lose access to a music education, such as physical characteristics like height and weight, or personality characteristics like intelligence, introversion, and sensitivity. Frierson-Campbell (2007) used National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) data to discuss equity in music education through a lens of social justice. She finds striking examples of inequity beneath a surface that appears positive. As of the 1999-2000 school year, ninety percent of public elementary and secondary schools, for instance, offer some sort of music instruction. By going beyond the macro view, however, Frierson-Campbell showed that national survey data cannot demonstrate the actual inequities present in many low-income, high-minority school districts. In Detroit, for instance, only 40% of secondary schools offered *any* sort of music coursework. Colwell and Froehlich (2007) stressed the importance of combining the macro- and micro-views into an interactionist view, which looks at cultural and subcultural influence on the development of individuals.

Concepts of equity and social justice can be difficult to reconcile in music education scholarship, however, because the terms are used interchangeably and in a variety of ways. Researchers have examined the day-to-day social justice in a music classroom (Boyer-White, 1988) and presented equity statistics as they relate to minority access--or participation in--school music settings (Elpus, 2011). Social justice research sometimes focuses on issues of race—or uses socioeconomic status as a proxy for race—and ignores issues of social class and geography. Bates (2014) was critical of this "cosmopolitan" approach, which focuses on Western art music and the multicultural music of city centers and ignores, or attempts to remediate, rural students.

The sociological foundations of stratification.

Stratification—the organization of society and the workforce into several "strata"—is generally understood as an undeniable part of society, though there has been disagreement over time as to whether stratification functions as a motivating factor for career motivation and mobility, or as a system by which inequality is perpetuated. Broadly, stratification involves the social systems and processes that help a society decide which goods are desired and valuable, the rules in place in society to distribute those goods based on occupational roles, and the mechanisms that allow for—or inhibit—mobility between roles (Grusky, 2007). As American society moved through the industrial era, much of the sociological writing on stratification posited a system where education, working conditions, and income come together to organize individuals in a society based on merit. Tumin (1953) summarized this system, where certain occupations in a society are more valued and require special skills. These occupations can only be filled by a certain number of people in the society, and so an educational training system is necessary to train *some* members of society for those positions. Tumin was critical of this assertion of "functional importance" to some occupations, since the rules for what is or isn't important or valued are less than clear, especially over time.

As the realities of society in the late 1980s demonstrated that this social mobility was more theory and less reality (Urahn, Currier, Elliott, Wechsler, Wilson, & Colbert, 2012), sociologists such as Bourdieu and his contemporaries suggested that, rather than open systems that allow for easy social mobility, stratification levels might best be understood as closed groupings with distinctive cultures that discourage intrusion from members of an out-group (Grusky, 2007). Geographic segregation, such as urban ghettos or sparsely-populated rural areas, actively work against social mobility between stratified groups (Reardon & Bischoff, 2011). Pais, South, and Crowder (2012) confirmed this in an analysis of geographically-linked data

from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics. While White members of an urban geography may be able to convert income into neighborhood quality, Black and Hispanic individuals were less likely to make similar positive geographic moves, even under the same conditions. Extending this geographic inequality to rural Appalachia, White (2007) suggested that accounting for race *and* social class is the only path toward understanding stratification in the diverse settings that constitute America.

Stratification research in general education.

Collins (1971) reviewed these "functional" and culture-based theories of stratification and demonstrated how education researchers have actualized stratification in their field. Education is increasingly a factor in the potential for social mobility, which makes understanding how some are afforded access to a quality education at the expense of others of utmost importance. Again, the functional theory posits stratification as a way for the educational system to prepare students for the job requirements they are most likely to need after graduation. Under this model, low-SES students with less access to resources are consequently less likely to achieve difficult, high paying jobs, and should be prepared by educators for occupations that match their perceived potential. Drawing from Weber (1946), Collins suggested a "conflict theory," similar to the cultural theory espoused by Bourdieu, involves groups which actively work to keep occupations and stratification "levels" under their purview. For Collins, conflict theory in education meant that the primary purpose of schooling, rather than skills-matching and preparation, is to mark membership in a particular group. To this end, he uses struggles between status groups—as opposed to within groups—as evidence that stratification systems are perhaps not as "functional" as the previous model suggests.

Confirming a "once controversial" theory of theirs—that the relative uninhabitability of IQ demonstrates that intelligence has little to do with the maintenance of economic status,

Bowles and Gintis (2002) offered detailed calculations to demonstrate that, even if intergenerational IQ transmission was reduced to zero, correlation of income between generations would remain high. Their research highlights cultural and personal elements, suggesting that socialization into stratified groups is the ultimate outcome of schooling in an educational system where schools themselves are stratified. Schools influence which potential models students are exposed to, which shapes their individual and cultural development and prepares them, even subconsciously, for some jobs over others. Students in well-resourced, high-SES schools might be prepared to be independent thinkers while students in struggling, low-SES schools might be rewarded for discipline and punctuality (Rist, 1970).

Sociological research in music education.

While sociological research in music education has not sufficiently engaged with the concept of stratification as it pertains to the structure of American music education, music philosophers and researchers have explored similar topics over the years. Often this research falls into some combination of macro-, meso-, and micro-level understandings of music education's role in society. Macro-level studies (Elpus & Abril, 2011; Smith & Hoffman, 2011) are readily available, and micro-level studies of individuals and their interactions are increasingly common. Meso-level studies, such as Salvador & Allegood's (2014) examination of inequality in Detroit public schools, are less common, though they have potential to provide insight into both large- and small-scale interactions (Johnson, 2004). Moving beyond these three levels of examining social concerns, Wright (2014) suggested combining these perspectives with integrated perspectives from other disciplines, including anthropology, philosophy, and psychology. Paul and Ballantine (2002) referenced stratification directly, connecting feminist music-making perspectives to conflict theory. They are critical of conflict theory, maligning its reliance on the macro level of society. The authors offered an important contribution to the field of music

education sociology through their focus on interaction theory, which—echoed in Colwell & Froehlich's (2007) equally influential work for music educators interested in sociological concerns—focused on interaction theory, the development of self-concept through interactions with peers and teachers.

Enculturation.

Even prior to interaction with the educational system, individuals are exposed to cultural norms and values. These values are most often passed from parent to child (Ediger, 2008). When the musical norms and values of a parent are reinforced once a child enters school, that child is at an advantage compared to peers whose cultural norms and values may not match with those reinforced in a school setting. Other advantages present at a young age include access to reading materials at home, better clothes, and quality nutrition.

In general education, the perpetuation of stratification due to family structure is clear. McLanahan and Percheski (2008) reviewed national longitudinal data to demonstrate that children whose mothers are in the bottom educational quartile are not only nearly twice as likely to live with a single mother—increasing economic stratification—but more likely to remain in that lower educational quartile. Interestingly, the racial differences perceived in the meta-analysis can't be accounted for solely by the mother's educational attainment, suggesting that something else is causing such startling inequality based on race and social class. Similarly, Kohn and Schooler (1983) outlined a difference between middle- and working-class parents, especially fathers, as it applied to the values they consider important to pass to their children. The authors connected this to needs of the workforce, society as a whole, as well as sense of self. Children then enter the primary school system with a certain set of values that may not be reinforced.

These ideas are echoed by Lareau (2002) in her case study work with working- and middle-class families. Families with higher income, regardless of race, stressed a "concerted cultivation" where children's schedules are full of cultural-capital developing sports, music, and other activities, while lower-class children are allowed more free, unstructured time and taught to respect and defer to authority figures, including teachers. By examining the systems of stratification in music education through the lens of cultural capital one might begin to more clearly understand how some individuals gain access to music education at all levels, and how some do not. Cheadle and Amato (2010) applied this case study model to the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Kindergarten Class (ECLS-K) and discovered empirical support for her findings. In fact, the authors found reason to suspect that White families statistically more likely to attend to the "concerted cultivation" model than their non-White—but high-SES—peers.

This appraisal and transmission of cultural values by parents to their children is echoed in music education. Mehr (2014) surveyed parents of 4-year-old children about how frequent music activities occur in the home, and about the musical experiences of the parents. He found a generational link between parental past participation in music and musical activities in the home. Parents who valued music enough to participate at a younger age reported a belief that there are strong nonmusical benefits to music participation, and so they emphasize music in their homes. While research into this intergenerational musical link, and the subsequent need for access to music instruction for underprivileged children, often focused on cognitive benefits such as language development (Kraus, Hornickel, Strait, Slater, & Thompson, 2014), the relationship between cause and effect—whether students who study music perform more strongly academically, or whether students who perform strongly are more likely to study music—is difficult to answer. Rather than focus on the perceived cognitive benefits of music, it might be beneficial for music education research to focus instead on whether earlier—and better—access

to school music education increases an individual's likelihood to pursue music as a potential career. Elpus (2017) used National Endowment of the Arts survey data to connect school music participation with adult music participation and patronage, and similar methods might be employed to understand the connection between early music participation and music career pursuit, regardless of social class, race, or geographical considerations.

Bourdieu (2003) detailed how the accumulation of "cultural wealth" and the transmission of that culture from generation to generation is reinforced by the educational system. Those with access to higher levels of education value activities such as the theater or music, and those values are passed to their children. Since these individuals also often attain material success, these valued activities are seen as "high" culture. Students at St. Paul's School, an elite private school, were described as "omnivores," consuming all forms of music from popular rap to classical music (Khan, 2011).

A 1970 study by Rist demonstrated how a mismatch between student and teacher social class reinforces the social caste system, even as early as kindergarten, when teachers place students in groups that often reflect their social class and then focus on "smarter" middle-class students, which perpetuates social class-based stratification into first-grade and beyond. It is easy to see, through concepts such as the conflict theory of stratification and the systems in place which privilege certain values for certain individuals (based primarily on social class) how the American education system, populated by middle-class teachers, perpetuates a scheme that provides for some students and not for others.

Fitzpatrick (2006) used participation in a music ensemble and socio-economic status (SES, defined through eligibility for the federal free or reduced-price lunch program) as factors with which to examine performance on a state standardized test in Ohio. She found distinct differences between the four groups (high-SES music students, high-SES non-music students,

low-SES music students, and low-SES non-music students). The highest performing group was the group of students who were high-SES and who participated in music; they outperformed their high-SES peers who chose not to participate in music. In fact, though the sample size wasn't necessarily large enough to truly compare to the high-SES/non-music group, the low- SES students who participated in music showed scores equal to the high-SES/non-music group, and much higher scores than the low-SES/non-music group, who were the lowest.

This study would be a significant piece of evidence for the importance of music participation, but for the fact that Fitzpatrick included scores in fourth, sixth, and ninth grade. Even in fourth grade, before formal instrumental music instruction begins in schools, the distance between these groups is apparent. This means that rather than music *causing* the higher test scores, some quality in a student (or in a family) that induces the choice to participate in music likely also creates the circumstances, regardless of socioeconomic status, where a student can succeed in school. These participation choices are then reinforced at the family level through access to expensive instruments and private lessons (Costa-Giomi & Chappell, 2007) and at the school level through access to a variety of resources.

Smith and Hoffman (2011) posited that within-school tracking at the middle school level serves to limit minority and low-SES music participation. If qualities that privilege music participation, and resources to prepare children for school music, exist in the fourth grade and earlier, school-level choices—such as remedial classes that often take the place of music courses—only serve to stratify students once compulsory music education ends in the middle school years. Further research into this educational exposure might focus on meso-level policies to encourage minority and low-SES student participation in music courses, even if remedial classes are necessary. Additionally, school- or district-level programs that encourage culturally-relevant pedagogy might be examined to better understand whether these types of curricula are

better able to match musical values with students and families and keep students participating in school music.

Professional mirroring.

As mentioned in a previous section, research in general education supports the idea that teacher-student racial matching has positive benefits for student achievement. Dee (2004) suggested that implicit bias may make teachers treat students who share their racial and ethnic background more favorably. In an analysis of the administrative data of North Carolina 5th grade students, Clotfelter and his colleagues (2006) used regression analysis to demonstrate that, after controlling for factors such as race and ethnic matching between teacher and student, experienced teachers are more likely to be assigned to more advantaged students, which may perpetuate inequality. Even teachers who focus on social class- and race-based equity in the classroom can suffer from the presence of deficit narratives perpetuated by other staff, and even parents themselves (Pollack, 2012).

Though some music research has touched on issues of professional mirroring through the racial matching of teacher and student, this topic has yet to be explored in great detail. McCall (2015) shared stories of the perseverance of eight African-American male graduates from HBCUs transitioning to graduate work in music education at Predominantly White institutions (PWIs) and while issues of racial similarities and differences between student and teacher permeate the experience of each participant, this was not the primary focus of the study.

Self-identification.

As students continue through a school music education system, many will begin to self-identify as a musician, and some may begin to self-identify as a teacher. This process is not universal—students may report the influence of directors and peers as early as adolescence (Mills, 2010) or develop a strong identity as a music teacher over the course of the college music

education experience (Jones & Parkes, 2010). Identity is reinforced not only by parent influence, but through socialization with peers and exposure to teaching opportunities. Bouij (2004) suggested a model for music teacher identity that places broad or narrow musical knowledge as well as professional roles as musician and teacher on a continuum. While musician and music-teacher identity is a relatively well-researched area in music education, the question remains whether systems of inequality already in place prior to identity formation make it more likely for certain students to develop a more salient identity as either a musician or a music educator, or to navigate the multiple identities present in a content-based teaching field like music education.

Grooming.

Coupled with student self-identification as a musician and music educator, certain students are groomed for entry into a collegiate music program, based on strong performance skills or a "natural" inclination toward teaching. In general education, researchers have demonstrated the importance of cultural resources—from participation in the arts (Dumais, 2002) to general skills and habits reinforced in school (Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, & Shuan, 1990)—to student academic success. Coleman (1988) analyzed the development of social capital into cultural capital and its effect on the high school sophomore dropout rate. Students at higher-quality schools, where positive social skills and habits are supported and high-end cultural experienced are cultivated are not only less likely to drop out of high school, but more likely to attend college (Roderick, Coca, & Nagaoka, 2011).

In a large-scale survey of the factors influencing collegiate music education students' decision to pursue the profession, Bergee and his colleagues (2001) discovered that parents, secondary music teachers, and private lesson instructors—as well as school-based activities such as concerts, honors ensembles, and small ensemble events—weigh heavily on students' decision-making process. Walker and Hamann (1995) detailed the ways in which race and years of

secondary ensemble participation affected high school students' perceived interest in music at the collegiate level. Though the study groups Asian students with African-American and Latino students despite a relative over-representation of Asian students in school music (Elpus & Abril, 2011), the researchers suggested recruitment of minority students into nonperformance classes may increase collegiate participation in music courses.

The cultivation of a "college-going culture" can have positive effects for low-SES students in urban school systems (Roderick et al., 2011) but many barriers—completing applications, fees associated with the application process, financial aid, and others—affect college attendance rates (Hobson-Horton & Owens, 2004). Even seemingly uncontrollable factors such as school population size can affect success in secondary school and acceptance into post-secondary education (Lee, 2006). Overlarge schools, often in urban centers, and small, often rural public schools show lower levels of learning and overall secondary school success.

Cultivation of weak ties.

In sociology, weak ties are the interpersonal connections that allow for transfer between social groups. Granovetter (1973) analyzed existing research into strong ties, such as an Italian community in Boston's West End that was unable to develop relationships with out-group members to stave off gentrification of their neighborhood and suggested that weak ties facilitate stronger opportunities for social mobility. An example of a strong tie might be the close-knit, almost familial bond of an Amish community, whereas an example of a weak tie might be a father calling a friend from college to secure an internship at a law firm for his high-school age son. While these weak ties sometimes begin at the high school level, such as guidance counselors at elite college preparatory academies developing relationships with collegiate admissions officers (Persell & Cookson, 1985) these relationships continue to develop through college and into securing an occupation.

Smith-Lovin (2007) extended the concept of weak ties to the notion of "weak identities." Individuals having to navigate multiple identities—like a Latino collegiate music education student from a rural area student teaching in an urban center—are statistically rare but may be important sites for social change. She posited that individual interactions contribute to macro-level structures of community, meaning that individuals with salient multiple identities are less able to segregate those identities in a given social situation. This may ultimately point out flaws in groups that are unable to accept individuals with these "multiplex" identities (Smith-Lovin, 2007).

Re-entry.

Labor market discrimination and cultural mismatch may contribute to lower hiring rates for non-White job seekers, regardless of educational attainment (Rivera, 2012). Audit studies have demonstrated a potential hiring bias based solely on perceived race (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2003; Pager, Bonikowski, & Western, 2009). In these studies, researchers send identical applications, differing only in superficial ways such as the lack or presence of a stereotypically "ethnic" name, to similar jobs and track which applications receive contact from employers.

Music researchers have demonstrated that unconscious bias—based race and gender—does affect music preference (McCrary, 1993; North, Colley, & Hargreaves, 2003) and preference based on perceived match or mismatch in the performance of stereotypically White or African-American music (Elliott, 1995; Morrison, 1998; VanWeelden & McGee, 2007). More directly, other intersectional barriers prevent equal access to the job market after graduation from a music education program. Elpus (2015) used Praxis II data, a required test for music teacher licensure in 30+ states and found that White students pass this test at much higher rates of success. Non-White students often took the test multiple times, which carried with it an

additional out-of-pocket expense, and those students appeared to achieve teacher licensure much

less often. This may explain, among a host of other factors, why White, often high-SES students

ultimately make up nearly 90% of collegiate music education graduates entering the workforce.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Self-Portraiture

Portraiture, a method of phenomenological representation, seeks to paint a "picture" of individual experiences to counterbalance a qualitative researcher's charge to present compelling stories with the need for transparency about the collected data (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2016). Grounded in feminist theory, portraiture assumes that feeling and empathy are natural parts of the process of inquiry; in feminist theory, truth is a social construction that involves the researcher, the participant, and the interpreter as active in meaning-making (Steinberg & Cannella, 2012). In addition to more standard vignettes of participant experiences, I engaged in self-portraiture throughout this document in an attempt to be transparent about the experiences that led to my interest in the topic and how I engaged with the data. This transparency was present during participant interviews, where I attempted to connect my experiences with those of my participants, to offer myself to them as more than simply a neutral interviewer.

Throughout this work, I have included written self-portraitures to allow the third stakeholder in portraiture, the audience, an opportunity to understand better my relationship to the participants and my potential motivations for entering into the research (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1997).This self-portraiture allowed me to be reflexive about the research process, to build positive relationships with my participants, to foster trust, and to explore the interesting and important moments "goodness" in interactions with my participants (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2016).

Theoretical Framework

Before detailing the theoretical framework that I carried into the research, a brief review of theoretical frameworks in qualitative research on student and teacher diversity is warranted. Though no one frame has dominated this area of music education research, similarities can be drawn to general education in terms of the primacy of culturally responsive teaching as a

framework (Carlow, 2004; Gurgel, 2013; Lehmberg, 2008). McCall (2015) employed cultural

capital theory and community cultural wealth to explore the motivations and perseverance of

eight African-American music education majors as they transitioned from undergraduate work at

Historically-Black Colleges (HBCUs) to graduate work a Predominantly White Institutions

(PWIs). Since her study focused solely on African-American males at HBCUs, these theoretical

frameworks allowed her to approach the issue of diversity without resorting to some of the

deficit-focused narratives prominent in early general education diversity research. In fact, the

participants in the study come from a variety of backgrounds, some from low-SES

neighborhoods and some raised by parents who both attended college. Nonetheless, the findings

of her study indicate that these individuals employ social, cultural, and academic capital in order

to facilitate transitions between HBCUs and PWIs.

In general education, researchers examining social justice, diversity, and equity often

employ theoretical frameworks such as critical race theory (Sleeter, 2017; Solorzano, Ceja, &

Yosso, 2000; Yosso, 2005) and community cultural wealth (Achinstein, Curry, Ogawa &

Athanases, 2016; McCall, 2015) in order to examine the accrual of cultural capital among

members of the dominant culture and non-members, usually in terms of race, and to construct

counternarratives which present minority students and teachers through a positive lens. The

question of theoretical framework when crafting an emergent qualitative study is a difficult one.

To that end, some scholars don't report frames employed, or purposefully conduct research

without a pre-conceived framework (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012). Nonetheless, it is important to

better explicate both the existing trends in this type of research, as well as my inclinations toward

a theoretical framework synthesis as I enter into this research.

These frameworks are important and worthwhile for critically examining diversity and

equity with regard to race, and (Milner, 2007) cautions against educational research that doesn't

consider issues of race as salient factors. Critical Race Theory, however, is rooted in juridical examinations of injustice toward people of color, and scholars stress the importance of remaining true to the framework's roots as a tool to dismantle White supremacy (Ledesma & Calderón, 2015). In a study attempting to exploring the interaction of race *and* social class in collegiate music education enrollment, the general framework of sociocultural theory provided a more suitable framework for examining not only the persistence and success of under-represented students, but the sociocultural similarities and differences they share with peers at their institutions. Still, as it remained important to examine multiplicative layers of identity and their effect on access to school music education and the pursuit of music teaching, I incorporated intersectionality into my outlook and framework for understanding. In the following sections, I will briefly detail the foundations of each frame of understanding.

Sociocultural theory.

Sociocultural theory (Lantolf, 2000), stemming from the work of Vygotsky (1962), posits that the things people do, the activities they choose to participate in—and those they avoid—are intricately connected to the way individuals see themselves. While the term originated in linguistic studies, the theory has grown to include not only the language used in interactions with others, but many other ways in which the way individuals interact with the world can shape their identity.

Sociocultural theory in education begins with the idea that, in order for identity to develop in a school setting, individuals require a variety of types of resources: material, relational, and ideational (Petchauer, 2012). Material resources include the organization of the physical environment, and the artifacts in the environment—and how those resources affect individual development. In music education, this might include material resources at home or at school, such as access to quality instruments and other physical items necessary for musical

success. Relational resources are the positive and formative relationships with others in context

that provides connection to the practice itself (Nasir & Cooks, 2009). Musically, a mentorship

from a secondary music teacher or the relationship cultivated in private music instruction serve

as examples.

Finally, ideational resources include one's relationship to the practice in question, as well

as one's thoughts about what is valued. This might include familial thoughts about the practice,

as well as identity construction within the practice in question. Ideational resources, however,

can be positive *or* negative in an educational setting, where the risk of stereotype threat (Steele &

Aronson, 1995) is greater in instances where there is an economic mismatch between student and

teacher (Boser, 2011). Essential to sociocultural theory as it will be used in this study is the idea

that access to resources can lead to success in skill development.

In educational research broadly, scholars have employed sociocultural theory as a way to

unpack how an individual's circumstances and experiences help them shape their position in the

world. Sprow (2010) used sociocultural theory to help understand how factors such as ethnicity,

gender, and Latino culture shaped the ways Latina women learned in an adult financial literacy

seminar. Collecting the stories of seven English faculty members at a community college and

how the advancement of technology has changed their teaching, Schone (2015) discovered that,

despite the financial implications of adapting to new technology, faculty members reported

improved teaching.

Educational researchers have also connected sociocultural theory to concepts of

constructivist learning and teaching (Jaramillo, 1996). Northedge (2003), in fact, links

sociocultural theory and constructivist practices to future success in encouraging diverse student

participation in school, as opposed to strictly subject-focused or student-led teaching strategies.

As mentioned in the review of literature, some studies in general education and teacher diversity

share similar sociocultural and constructivist frameworks (Morrison, 2013; Weisman & Hansen, 2008). While Wilson (2013) took a more direct cue from linguistics in her application of sociocultural theory to a study of teacher interns and their in-class writings, her study provides a strong definition of sociocultural theory as the combination between human action and the cultural, institutional, and historical situations in which the action occurs.

Intersectionality.

While sociocultural theory allowed for the examination of race and social class in collegiate music education participation, it was important to combine this framework with the concept of intersectionality in order to understand how race and social class interact with each other to create the situation in which each individual participant is acting. A feminist sociological theory with roots in the work of Crenshaw (1989, 1993), intersectionality is the concept that "multiple dimensions of social life and categories of analysis" exist within each individual (L. McCall, 2005). As such, the experience of an African-American female cannot be summed through the experiences of all women, nor through the experiences of all African-American individuals.

Crenshaw (1993) asserted that African-American women experience discrimination at a level beyond what can be accounted for through either race or gender. By adding social class as a factor of interest, even more complexity is introduced, and it was important to consider this complexity as not simply additive, but multiplicative, as various layers of identity, many systemically oppressed individually, combine to represent a disadvantage that cannot be explained through simple addition. Trahan (2011) underlined the importance of at least three layers of identity, urging researchers to consider issues of race, social class, and gender in doing qualitative intersectional research. In fact, Grant and Zwier (2011) offered an expanded intersectionality framework which introduced, alongside race, gender and social class, issues of

ability/disability, heteronormativity, geography, and other factors. The question of "how many identities" is an important one and attempts for this work to join the body of intersectional research in education while only focusing on two factors (race and social class) may be met with skepticism. To address this, I also attempted to probe for questions of gender and sexuality, remaining sensitive to those and other layers of identity during the coding process. In the recommendations and implications chapter, I will do my best to be critical about what my study does and does not offer in terms of intersectional research.

Purpose and Guiding Questions

The purpose of this multiple-case study was to examine the lived experiences of current collegiate music education majors, both students from under-represented minorities (URM) and their well-represented majority (WRP) peers, with attention to racial/ethnic identity and social class. The central and guiding questions for this study were as follows:

Central Question: How do collegiate music education students from under-represented racial/ethnic minorities—and their well-represented peers at the same institution—describe the factors, challenges, supports, and decisions involved in identifying music education as a career goal and navigating into and through a collegiate music education program?

Guiding Questions:

1. How salient is social class to all participants, and what role might the interaction of racial/ethnic identity and social class play in becoming a music educator?

2. How do participants describe the experience of application to, admission into, and matriculation at a collegiate music education program?

3. What individuals and/or experiences do participants describe as influential to their choice to pursue music education as a career?

4. How do participants describe their out-of-school musical experiences and supports, and what connections exist between race, social class, and the relationship between out-of-school music-making and school music?

Research Design

This study employed a multiple-case study design (Merriam, 2009) to collect and analyze data from a variety of participants. Using this multiple-case study model permitted for more stories of success in collegiate music education to be told and allowed for a more compelling interpretation of cross-case data. Though other data sources were explored, such as college-level data and personal demographic information, interviews were the primary means of data collection. Spradley (2016) detailed the necessary qualities of a successful ethnographic interview, from rapport with participants—who he and other anthropologists call "informants"—to different types of interview questions. Details about the interview structure and protocol are included below.

Participant sampling procedures.

After securing the approval of Northwestern's Institutional Review Board to conduct the study, I reached out to colleagues at other institutions about potential interest in study participation. Though there is evidence to suggest that a host of identities are under-represented in school music education (racial identities, religious identities, identities based on ability, etc.) the operant definition of *under-represented* for this study comprised Non-Hispanic/Black and Hispanic, Non-White collegiate music education students. As these two groups represent the two largest racial/ethnic minority groups in the US, this allowed for a broad search while still remaining specific enough to focus the data analysis. Though it was not always possible, I searched for students in their Junior or Senior academic years who, with some amount of

experience at their respective colleges/universities, would be able to speak on college-level topics of diversity.

Since Black and Hispanic/Non-White individuals represent a much smaller portion of the undergraduate population at most universities, making identification of willing participants more challenging, I first sampled for participants from under-represented minority groups. Though social class—an individual's socioeconomic status coupled with that individual's *perception* of their social status—was not part of the sampling strategy, it was a primary part of the interviewing and data analysis process. Secondary identity factors, such as gender and sexuality, also arose. This sampling strategy identified eight URM participants—six Non-Hispanic/Black and two Hispanic/Non-White participants. Both Hispanic participants identified as racially Mexican, so in order to maintain consistency in referring to race vs. ethnicity, that is how they will be referred to in this document, as opposed to "Hispanic" or "Latino/a/x."

Although social class is a more subjective quality than socioeconomic status (Diemer, Mistry, Wadsworth, López, & Reimers, 2013) and can change over time, participants self-identified their social class before beginning interviews, and then that identity was further refined in conversation throughout the interview process. I attempted to communicate with faculty from a variety of public and private colleges and universities to find students who represented not only the two racial/ethnic groups in question, but a variety of income levels as well. For grouping and analysis, participants were then assigned to one of two social class groups—lower social class (LSC) and upper social class (USC). Participants in the lower social class group most often identified as having been or currently identifying as lower- or lower-middle class, while students in the upper social class group identified as middle-class or higher. Of the under-represented minority participants, five self-identified as part of the lower social glass group, and three more closely aligned with the upper social class group.

Participants self-identified their social class out of three choices (low, middle, high) and then, after initial conversations, five (lower, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle, upper) more detailed categories. Social class was difficult to operationalize, especially based on self-reporting, so participants' social class was inferred over the course of the interviews and refined, with the participant's input. Some participants expressed difficulty choosing one social class to represent themselves at different stages of their lives. This phenomenon is explained in more detail in Chapter 6.

After identifying an under-represented minority participant at a particular institution, I re-opened recruitment at that college/university to identify a well-represented majority peer. This second, rolling round of sampling identified (by design) eight White participants, with social class identities of two participants in the lower social class group and six in the upper social class group. By bounding the study using dyads as cases—one under-represented minority participant and one well-represented majority peer—at the same institution, I was able to include how each participant made sense of university-level supports and experiences in the data collection and within-case analysis. University informants assisting in participant identification were instructed not to match participants on any factor outside the bounds of the project—attending the same university and within the racial/ethnic categories—meaning that participant similarities, such as social class or sex, are coincidental.

Participants

Participants were 16 current undergraduate music education majors grouped into dyads at eight different public or private colleges/universities. In each dyad, one participant is a member of an ethnically/racially under-represented minority, and one participant is a well-represented majority peer. Participants were primarily juniors or seniors in their respective programs at the time of the interviews, and all were music education majors. One participant, Caitlin, was

sophomore, while one participant, Samuel, was a transfer student with an associate degree

working on his graduate teaching certification, an extension of the bachelor's degree in music

education in his home state. Participants' ages ranged from 20 to 29 years old, and they

comprised five female and 11 male participants. A table of participants with demographic

information can be found in Table 3.1, while site-level characteristics are located in Table 3.2.

Participants and sites are described in more detail in Chapter 4.

Name	Race	Social Class	Sex	Year in School
Site 01: The University of the Midwest				
Aarón	Mexican[1]	Lower	Male	Senior
Claire	White	Upper	Female	Junior
Site 02: Norwich University				
Xander	Black	Lower	Male	Junior
Luka	White	Upper	Male	Junior
Site 03: Thornton State University				
Gabriel	Black	Upper	Male	Junior
Trevor	White	Upper	Male	Junior
Site 04: Walker University				
Elijah	Black	Lower	Male	Junior
Lindsey	White	Upper	Female	Senior
Site 05: Ambrose University				
Terek	Black	Lower	Male	Junior
Violet	White	Lower	Female	Senior
Site 06: Great Lakes University				
Reuben	Black	Upper	Male	Junior
Caitlin	White	Upper	Female	Sophomore
Site 07: State University at San Domingo				
Samuel	Mexican[1]	Lower	Male	Certificate[2]
Alex	White	Upper	Male	Junior
Site 08: Coastal State University				
Carina	Black	Upper	Female	Junior
Max	White	Lower	Male	Junior

Table 3.1: Participant information.

[1] Both Aarón and Samuel identify as ethnically Hispanic. All other participants are ethnically Non-Hispanic.

[2] Samuel is a transfer student with an associate degree currently working on his state teaching licensure, a required graduate-level extension of the bachelor's degree involving education coursework and practicum teaching experience.

Site	Region	Division	Type	Population[1]
The University of the Midwest	Midwest	East North Central	Public	34,000
Norwich University	Northeast	Middle Atlantic	Public	50,000
Thornton State University	Midwest	East North Central	Public	39,000
Walker University	Midwest	West North Central	Private	5,000
Ambrose University	Midwest	East North Central	Private	15,000
Great Lakes University	Midwest	East North Central	Public	30,000
State University at San Domingo	West	Pacific	Public	31,000
Coastal State University	South	South Atlantic	Public	30,000

Table 3.2: Site-level information.

[1] Undergraduate population.

Interviews

Between October 2017 and May 2018, I spoke to each participant virtually or in-person at least three times over the course of approximately one month per participant, employing Seidman's (1991) three-interview protocol. While most participants completed these interviews within the three-interview structure, three participants—Luka, Samuel, and Max—needed a fourth interview due either to the depth of their responses or to connection issues during the interview process. Seidman's (1991) three-interview protocol for qualitative social science research involving multiple participants allows for a balance between gathering a surface-level amount of data about a large number of participants (breadth without depth) and gathering deep information about a small number of participants (depth without breadth). The structure of the interviews, each of which were approximately 60-90 minutes in length, was as follows:

Interview #1: *Focused Life History*. This interview was focused on understanding as much of the participant's life history as possible in 90 minutes, with respect to the overall central/guiding questions of music participation. This open-ended interview relied on the participant to reconstruct salient, concrete events in their lives. Participants described the role of music in the early years of their lives, their parents' relationship with music, and their early

school music experiences, expanding upon in- and out-of-school musical experiences and teacher

relationships, as well as the role of social class and race in their school culture from elementary

school until high school.

Interview #2: *The Details of Experience*. This interview was focused on the concrete

details of the participant's *present* experience as a collegiate music education major. Beginning

with their impetus and motivations to pursue a degree in music, I asked participants to

reconstruct details of auditioning for music programs, their early years as an undergraduate

music education major, their relationships with fellow students and faculty, their experiences in

collegiate general and music courses, and their thoughts about campus climate with regard to

race and social class.

Interview #3: *Reflection on the Meaning*. This final interview was focused on the

participant's meaning-making of issues of race and social class as they relate to becoming a

music education major and/or teacher. While the first two interviews were focused primarily on

reconstructing a life-history or illuminating details about the present, in this interview I asked

participants to reflect on their experience and provide insights, using details from the first two

interviews as context. Though I asked each participant similar questions concerning the role of

diversity in their future teaching and their thoughts on encouraging non-White students to pursue

music, this interview was also tailored to each individual. Interview protocols are included in

Appendix D.

Data Analysis

Interviews with each participant totaled nearly five hours per person, generating over 80

hours of audio, as well as over 160 pages of single-spaced notes in an 8.25x5.75in notebook.

Interview audio was transcribed, and entered into *MaxQDA*, a qualitative data analysis program,

where it was read through multiple times and coded for themes. Handwritten interview notes

were also transcribed and entered into *MaxQDA*, providing an expanded account of the

interviews and a secondary coding source. As a White, male music researcher, the question of

representation was in the forefront of my mind, both generally as someone embarking on

qualitative inquiry and more specifically as someone attempting to collect and share the stories

of non-White students. To this end, my first round of coding centered the interviews with the

non-White participants. Table 3.3 is a sample list of codes from first-round coding.

Code Structure	Quotation	Participant
CLASS	"parents really couldn't afford to pay"	Samuel
CLASS: IDENTITY	"lucky enough to be poor"	Xander
CLASS: IDENTITY	"financially things were hard"	Elijah
CLASS: IDENTITY	"weren't super well off, but we also like, weren't struggling"	Terek
RACE: COLLEGE: CULTURE: CAMPUS	"I feel tokenized"	Terek
RACE: COLLEGE: CULTURE: CAMPUS	"polarization"	Carina
INTERSECTION: SYMPATHY	"I don't know the struggle"	Carina

Table 3.3: Sample coding.

Second stage coding procedures (Saldaña, 2016) involved organization of under-

represented minority participants' codes into categories, and then coding of interview transcripts

with well-represented majority participants and written notes of interviews with all participants

into code categories. Continued analysis of codes and code groupings allowed for reduction of

codes to allow themes to emerge. While interview questions concerning the audition process and

matriculation on their campuses allowed for within-case analysis, cross-case analysis *between*

dyads proved to be more fruitful, as themes developed along racial, social class, and

intersectional lines.

Trustworthiness.

Trustworthiness was achieved through multiple methods, in order to allow outside observers to assess the accuracy of the data presented and themes developed (Creswell, 2013). First, member checking ensured that participants were given the opportunity to review themes and individual contributions for accuracy. One of the intentions of Seidman's (1991) three interview protocol is to develop a relationship between the participant and researcher, and our rapport allowed for refinement of individual data as well as clarification of initial interview information. Participant profiles created an opportunity to better understand participants' experiences and engage the reader, and I consulted the participants as those profiles were constructed to allow for participants to assess whether my understanding of their experiences was valid. Negative case analysis also allowed for refinement of the working hypothesis and a more thorough understanding of the bounds of each theme—and the project as a whole—and will be reported in chapters 4-6 as it occurred. Critical examination of my personal identities and biases shaped the data analysis, and self-portraiture used throughout this work will serve as an honest report and assessment of the reflexivity of my role as a researcher and the bias inherent in any data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2013).

Chapter 4. Site Descriptions and Participant Profiles

Introduction

As the data from 16 participants across eight sites began to collect, I found myself dreading the task of simplifying the amazing, individual stories of these participants. Through three interviews and initial member checking, the participants had spent more than five hours with me over the course of a month or more, and they each entrusted me with their truth. An easy out as a researcher would have been to abandon the idea of incorporating individual vignettes in favor of methods like compositing, in an attempt to simplify the work of interpreting and presentation, and to make the job of keeping track of participants easier for the reader. Still, this felt like a disservice—to the participants, to me, and to the reader—that ignored the multiplicity of identities and uniqueness of each individual story.

All names are pseudonyms, and details of participant experiences have been changed or generalized to protect the anonymity of each participant. Still, given that race and representation were such important factors in the impetus for this research, I felt it was important to include some amount of information about each participant's self-perceived identity. To that end, participants created personal avatars on a freely available avatar creation website, getavataars.com—those avatars are included below. Participants were told that they did not necessarily need to produce an avatar that looked exactly like themselves, but these images still provide some insight into how each participant sees themselves, as well as providing the reader with another level of information about each participant. What follows is are the eight dyads, organized by college/university, with a brief summary of details about each site (also anonymized), as well as each participant's avatar, some basic background information, and a vignette intended to compliment the other information provided.

The University of the Midwest

The University of the Midwest, a large land-grant institution in the Midwest, is a sprawling campus with nearly 34,000 undergraduates that participants described as still having a welcoming atmosphere, which some may consider surprising given the size—physical and population-wise—of the university and the school of music. A university-level research focus is reflected in the school of music, which still maintains a well-respected music teacher preparation program in the state.

Aarón.

Age: 21

Race: Mexican

Social Class: Lower

Year in School: Senior

Instrument: Trombone

Aarón grew up in a neighborhood of Chicago, where he went the same school as his cousins. The schools in his neighborhood were strangely divided, seemingly based on racial segregation: though there was a school closer to his house, he and his cousins had to cross a highway to get to his majority-Hispanic school. Since his parents are without legal status in the United States, Aarón is very tied to his neighborhood and hopes to find a teaching job close to home.

The boombox was almost always on at Aarón's house, either the one in the living room or the one in the dining room. When he was growing up, Aarón could expect to hear power ballads in Spanish, Banda music from the southwest coast of Mexico or, if his mom was controlling the radio, Mexican boy bands from the '70s and '80s. Those musical preferences are

still imprinted strongly in his mind. Though money was tight, and he wasn't sure how his parents would respond, Aarón asked to join the band in 5th grade, settling on the trombone. Dad worked two jobs while mom stayed home, but they made it work. Aarón excelled at his instrument and, with the help of some influential music teachers, auditioned for and made state honors ensembles, and attended a summer music camp that would prove to be transformational on his path to a music education career. Though he's excited to get a job, he really wants to find one close to home—especially in today's political climate, his parents could risk deportation at any time, and he wants to be there for them.

Claire.

Age: 22

Race: White

Social Class: Upper

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Voice

Claire is one of seven siblings, all of whom have sung in choir at school. Claire's first musical memory is singing "Ave Maria" at her church—in fact, to hear her mom tell it, those were Claire's first words. Up until her parents' divorce at 12, the church was a big part of her life. Though her connection to the church has changed over the years—Claire and her brother are "totally atheist" now—her connection to music hasn't. Claire's mom was a music teacher, and Claire remembers enjoying listening to her give lessons at a young age. Claire has been involved in school music since elementary school, and she even taught herself guitar to learn some Taylor Swift songs—and compose some of her own.

Claire also loves musical theater, appearing as Sandy in *Grease* and Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz* at her school. Though Claire's grades were good enough to get into an engineering program—she was almost always enrolled in honors and AP courses—an experience working with an Honors Choir director in high school made her realize how great a choir could sound, and how much she wanted to teach music.

Norwich University

With an undergraduate population nearly 50,000 people, Norwich University is the largest university in the study. It is also one of the oldest, not just in the study, but in the country. A public institution in the Middle Atlantic region, Norwich University prides itself on its research, and on the connection its music students have to teaching and performing all along the Northeast of the United States.

Xander.

Age: 20

Race: Black

Social Class: Lower

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Voice

Xander is a larger-than-life personality who has always loved his music classes. Many of his music teachers, especially the most important ones, were more like parents in their relationship. He will also be the first person to tell you that he has a hard time focusing. An "excitable human being," his tangents into seemingly disconnected topics during our interviews always proved to be valuable.

Growing up as a Black kid with a single-mother, Xander felt the need to stand out, but he also experienced pressure to work harder than anyone else. He knows that no matter how hard he works, to some people he'll always be like the kid from The Blindside—a charity case—or a failure reinforcing a negative stereotype. Xander grew up in a family of musicians and has strong ties to Gospel music, but he wonders why that's become the only path for Black musicians. Why can't we have a Steve Reich of Black choral music? Where's the Black Morton Lauridsen?

Luka.

Age: 22

Race: White

Social Class: Upper

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Voice

To say that Luka's parents prepared him for life as a musician is a bit of an understatement. His mother, a professional singer for many years, sang a season of *Messiahs* while she was pregnant with him. His ability to name Baroque composers in grade school shocked his teacher, and while his parents didn't push classical music on him, their connections proved to be crucial as he pursued piano and voice lessons, and ultimately as he prepared for college auditions.

Still, while his parents could have enrolled him in a private school like many of the children in his neighborhood, his attending a racially-diverse public school shaped his outlook on where he sees himself teaching after college. Luka does his best to recognize the privilege that got him to where he is and the experiences that prepared him for a future as either a professional musician or a teacher.

Thornton State University

As a public research university in the Midwest, TSU prides itself on advancing knowledge in an extremely wide variety of areas. With its affordable in-state tuition and 39,000 undergraduate students, the university has grown in the past few decades to be well respected for its balance of academic rigor and affordability. This balance extends to the school of music, where students receive a well-rounded education in performance on their primary instrument and a forward-thinking music education degree.

Gabriel.

Age: 20

Race: Black

Social Class: Upper

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Voice

Labeling Gabriel's musical interests is a challenge. Growing up, he could count on listening to Kirk Franklin, or hearing Israel Houghton's "You Are Good" on the way to school in dad's car. As he got older, he explored rock and punk and lots of other genres, but right now he can't stop thinking about pop a cappella. He came back to his International Baccalaureate school after winter break one year and a friend had brought in a Pentatonix arrangement. The rest, as they say, was history. He became a leader in his school, forming an a cappella group and running rehearsals for choir when his director wasn't at school. Now he spends his summers—and, if he's being honest, a lot of his time on campus—singing in and coaching pop a cappella groups, and he hopes to bring that to wherever he ends up teaching.

Trevor.

Age: 20

Race: White

Social Class: Upper

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Clarinet

Trevor's parents are *not* musicians. While he remembers listening to music regularly at home—his dad is a self-described "audiophile"—performing music didn't *click* for him until church. There, he would explore instruments like the organ, a skill that would develop into a job later in high school, when he became the accompanist for a neighboring church. In school, he chose the clarinet, and his self-motivation, coupled with a developing love of classical music (due to a service that delivered classical CDs each month) put him on a path toward music performance and teaching.

Growing up in a rural town, Trevor spent a lot of time in the car. Driving to and from school. Driving to his clarinet lessons. Driving to community orchestra rehearsals in the evenings. Trevor and his twin brother shared a car and, even though his brother wasn't quite as musical, they made it work between rehearsals and sports. Even though he often had to make his own way, Trevor persevered and is excited to be developing his skills as a clarinet player and teacher in a collegiate setting.

Walker University

A private, non-profit university with multiple locations across the United States—and the world—Walker University's main campus of 5,000 undergraduates sits in the Central Midwest.

Walker is located directly adjacent to a major urban center, which gives the school a comfortable, academic focus and a connection to the community at large. Founded as a Catholic school, the music department has a strong history of choral singing, but its instrumental ensembles have a growing reputation in the region over the last few decades.

Elijah.

Age: 20

Race: Black

Social Class: Lower

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Voice

Every morning when Elijah was little, his mother would sing a song she wrote for him, called "Happy Elijah." It always helped get his day started off right. As a member of the Baptist church, he feels like singing is a part of his culture. Still, even though he did band and choir and sang in church, Elijah wasn't sure whether music was a viable career, especially given the financial situation at home.

He thought about medicine and history teaching, ultimately joining the Army Reserves so that he could afford to go to a real, four-year college. Now, he splits his time between classes, on- and off-campus jobs, and military exercises every few weekends. He can't wait to teach, and he knows he'll give his all wherever he ends up.
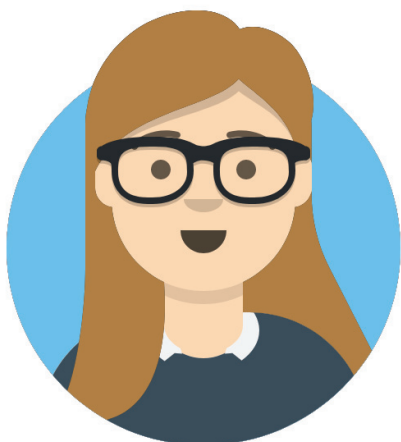
Lindsey.

Age: 21

Race: White

Social Class: Upper

Year in School: Senior

Instrument: Voice

The only musical person in her family, Lindsey was always singing and dancing. Every Sunday, Lindsey's grandparents would take her to church and she would sing in the children's choir. Though she admits it was very small – sometimes only a handful of children participated – she loved the experience. Her love of music developed and extended into the classroom, where she was active in both band *and* choir in her diverse, suburban neighborhood.

A section leader in choir and drum major in band, she seemed to be destined for a future in music, but self-doubt about her skills meant that she was considering a career in engineering. At commencement her junior year—the band and choir both performed—her directors asked which music education programs she going to was considering apply to. Stunned, Lindsey replied that she was going to go to college for engineering, but her teachers had other ideas— over the next year, they'd work with her personally to make sure that she had everything she needed to pursue music and prepared for her life as a future music educator.

Ambrose University

Ambrose University is a private, Christian university housed in an urban center in the Midwest. The university's mission is to educate students for successful lives grounded in service

to the community. Though the school of music is small, it is strong, graduating skilled performers in addition to music educators prepared to teach in a variety of school settings.

Terek.

Age: 20

Race: Black

Social Class: Lower

Year in School: Male

Instrument: Flute

Growing up in a very religious family in Southwestern Texas, Terek never imagined he'd be attending a school in the middle of the Midwest. Still, he knew he'd be doing music. Ever since a young age, when he first heard the pianist in his Baptist church, he involved himself in as much music as possible. Church choir. School choir. School band, where he learned to love the flute that would take him all the way to the Midwest. A local community band, where he refined his skills and gained insights into the profession he couldn't get in school. Even though he couldn't afford private lessons, he took matters into his own hands and taught himself techniques and repertoire to prepare for college auditions.

Though moving from Texas to the Midwest was a bit of a culture shock, Terek always knew he wanted to live and go to school in a major metropolitan area. The hard work paid off, and now he was getting the opportunity to discover for himself what his role as a Black man doing music in higher education could be.

Violet.

Age: 21

Race: White

Social Class: Lower

Year in School: Senior

Instrument: Voice

Musicality seemed to skip a generation in Violet's family. While her parents—divorced since she turned twelve—wished they were more musical, her granny was a concert pianist, and she fostered an initial love of music in Violet and her older sister. A natural leader, Violet struggled with labels in school, and her music teachers often exacerbated matters by placing additional responsibility on her shoulders. Often described as "bossy," Violet has always been drawn to leading. Her mother tells stories of her walking around with a clipboard, pretending to be the teacher at her Montessori school when she was three-years old.

Violet has also always been drawn to music, ever since her grandmother first played for her and her sister. Still, she had to work hard to convince her parents that studying—and teaching—music was the right financial decision. Possessing strong musical skills coupled with a work ethic that spanned both school and the after-school jobs she had starting at a young age, Violet did what she could for her family while finding the right words to convince them that a career in music was more than a waste of money.

Great Lakes University

Attracting an undergraduate population of nearly 30,000 students from around the state, the country, and internationally, Great Lakes University is a destination university in the Midwest. A public research institution, the university has a strong academic reputation, and the School of Music's competitive audition process attracts strong musicians looking for a program that prepares them for music teaching while still providing opportunities for improvement on students' primary instrument.

Reuben.

Age: 20

Race: Black

Social Class: Upper

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Voice

Reuben was born in Pittsburgh, where many of his family still lives. When Reuben was younger, he moved with his family to the south side of Chicago. Though he still visits his extended family in Pittsburgh—his uncles are both professional jazz musicians—he flourished in the gentrified neighborhood his parents chose, a neighborhood full of middle-class Black families, as well as a large population of White families and a growing Hispanic population.

Reuben sang and played keyboard in his local Baptist church, played in the school band and toured with the locally- and nationally-acclaimed men's choir in his middle school, which gave him opportunities to learn a variety of quality repertoire, perform at state and national competitions and invitationals, and explore a multitude of musical styles that would inform his

musicianship as he entered college. He turned this well-rounded musical upbringing into a successful college audition and the beginning of a career in music making and performing.

Caitlin.

Age: 20

Race: White

Social Class: Upper

Year in School: Sophomore

Instrument: Voice

When they were younger, Caitlin looked up to her cousin Amanda. When her family moved back to her dad's hometown, where her grandma and cousins all lived, she followed in Amanda's footsteps. Amanda played the viola, so Caitlin chose the viola. Amanda did show choir at their high school, so Caitlin did too. Show choir was a lot of work—the fake hair, the fundraising, the traveling to competitions. But Amanda and her other cousins did it, and Caitlin loved singing, so it was an easy decision. While she considered other careers—English teaching, or maybe even law school—teaching and performing music was always high on her list.

At some point, Caitlin's connection to classical music actually ended up surpassing Amanda's—after school choirs and youth orchestras led to spending the summer singing on the campus she'd end up attending, rehearsing and performing in the classical choral ensemble. Though Caitlin still has two years of classes left before she student teaches, she's looking forward to finding a great school.

State University at San Domingo

With a campus of 31,000 undergraduates, State University at San Domingo is one of the most racially diverse universities in the Western United States. A public university, the low tuition cost of SUSD attracts students as much as the quality of academic programs. The School of Music offers strong programs in classical and jazz performance as well as a forward-thinking music education degree coupled with the state's graduate-level certification program.

Samuel.

Age: 29

Race: Mexican

Social Class: Lower

Year in School: Certificate

Instrument: Saxophone

Samuel is a good saxophone player, but his heart belongs to the guitar. Ever since he was a kid, forming a garage band with his friends was on the front of his mind. So much, in fact, that he may have lost his motivation for high school, going to continuation school after he should have graduated, before attending a local community college as an excuse to keep playing. While he hesitates to describe his high school friends as "bad influences," they certainly made it easy for him to focus on other things besides school.

After a few years working full-time and supporting himself, Samuel decided to go back to music, transferring his community college credits to the local state university in near his hometown. He is excited to continue his studies, to keep practicing the saxophone, finish college, and pass on his love of music to students; hopefully with a little guitar mixed in.

Alex.

Age: 20

Race: White

Social Class: Upper

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Voice

Alex grew up in the church. His mom was on the praise team, in charge of leading the congregation through each Sunday's songs, and he followed in her footsteps. In fact, he still goes to the same church—he was recently hired as a praise intern to help out with music during the service.

Alex loves music, he loves teaching, and he loves the church, but the connection between all of them hasn't always been that obvious. The praise music he plays on any given Sunday doesn't really sound much like the music he made in school growing up, even though his parents sent him to a private Christian school. In fact, after a semester at college, he transferred to a private Baptist school that promised him a better connection between religion, music, and teaching, but that hadn't worked out. For now, he's focused on becoming the best music teacher he can be, while still staying connected to the music and service projects each weekend at church.

Coastal State University

Coastal State University is one of the largest public universities in its state, a public research university in the South with nearly 30,000 undergraduates. While campus programs in the sciences push innovations in their respective fields, the music program at CSU is similarly

innovative, offering traditional majors and ensembles while seeking to prepare future educators for the music rooms of the future.

Carina.

Age: 21

Race: Black

Social Class: Upper

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Violin

Carina is used to being one of the only Black students in her classes. Though there were other non-White students in her magnet school, they didn't tend to be in the same honors classes she was enrolled in. Her parents, wanting to cultivate Carina's ties to her identity, kept ties to the neighboring, primarily Black town, and they supported her continuing her violin training by joining a community orchestra in the town.

A chance encounter at a grocery store set her on a path where she had a community orchestra to reinforce her school music learning, and she used that opportunity to refine her musicianship skills and prepare for her future as a music teacher. These ties to the community, plus her school orchestra and private lesson instruction, provided her with a well-rounded music education and prepared her for her future as a music teacher.

Max.

Age: 20

Race: White

Social Class: Lower

Year in School: Junior

Instrument: Bassoon

Max's strongest musical memories are spending time with his dad, learning the guitar. Though he didn't do it professionally, Max's dad was a *great* guitar player. As soon as Max was old enough, he asked his dad to teach him. This usually involved dad showing him a song and then telling him to come back when it sounded good.

When he realized there wasn't a guitar class in middle school, Max was crushed. He took up the saxophone, and then the bassoon—his high school band director said being good at the bassoon was a sure ticket to a full-ride scholarship. This would have been huge for Max and his family who, though they weren't super poor, could definitely use that help. Still, Max's first love will always be that guitar. Though he doesn't play it much now, whenever he needs a break from the stress of college classes, private lessons, ensembles, and working three jobs to pay for school, he knows the guitar is there for him.

Chapter 5. Race and Music Education

From the African-American standpoint, people get very excited if you do the medical

field, or lawyer. It's like "oh, you know, you should make a lot of money," but it's like

"why?" Do you plan to live some super extravagant lifestyle? Do you really need that

money? If you want that lifestyle, that's fine, but not everyone does.

—Carina, 02/20/2018 (URM, USC)

Self-Portraiture

Fall, 2013. It's my fifth year of teaching, but my second year at Ypsilanti High School.

Last year was difficult, a first year in a lot of ways, but that's to be expected given the history of

the program and how much the current upperclassmen loved their past director. Still, I'm excited

to hit the ground running this year, to have the opportunity to really build the choral program into

what I know it can be.

After choir one morning, three girls come up to me and one says: "can we do some

Gospel music?" The school and its neighborhood are both predominantly African-American—

though the choir program doesn't necessarily reflect this—and many students spend their

Sundays at one of the Baptist or AME churches in the area. It's a busy passing time, and I'm

preparing for the next class, so my stress level tends to be high. Still, I want to encourage the

students to know they can come up to me, and to be invested in their choir program. I turn

toward the girls, put on my most positive face, and respond: "Sure! Just bring me the sheet music

and I'll take a look at whatever you want!"

The girls look at each other, puzzled, and leave to head to their class. Unable to "read the

room," in the moment, I congratulate myself in my head for being such an open teacher, willing

to work with students to honor their culture. It isn't until many years later that I'd realize how

dismissive I was of those students and the musical traditions they had been exposed to at home

and in church, since many Gospel music traditions employ rote learning and don't use printed sheet music. My attempts to be open, colored by my cultural experiences, were actually a dismissal.

Introduction to Race-Aligned Themes

The participants in this study, regardless of race or class, shared a number of commonalities. This should come as no surprise, since the experiences leading up to seeking out a career in music education (in America) are likely to be somewhat similar. Most participants, for instance showed an interest in music at a young age, and for the most part, they reported positive experiences with school music. Many served as section leaders, drum majors, or student conductors in their secondary ensembles.

Entering college, participants reported being involved with chapters of the National Association for Music Education (NAfME) and the American Choral Directors' Association (ACDA), often holding leadership positions in one—or both—organizations. Still, participant experiences also varied along racial lines. This chapter focuses on themes that emerged along lines of race. It can be challenging to separate race and social class, especially given the realities of income inequality in the United States. While the majority of racially under-represented participants in the study identified themselves in the lower social class grouping, there were three non-White participants who identified in the higher social class group. Likewise, most (six) of the White participants self-identified in the higher social class grouping, while two were more closely aligned with the lower social class group. As such, there was an overbalance of lower social class identity among the non-White participants in the study, and the opposite within the White participants. While class was not a part of the sampling strategy, it is worth noting, that this distribution of participants is in line with research on income distribution and the likelihood that non-White (especially Black) individuals in the United States are more likely than their

White peers to be raised in lower income quartiles, and less likely to be upwardly mobile

compared to the income attainment of their parents (Urahn et al., 2012).

The themes presented in this chapter are those that crossed boundaries of social class and

were grouped more naturally around race. This involved coding and reviewing data from non-

White participants separately from their White peers, and then analyzing those codes for

similarities across and within divisions of social class. Therefore, these themes describe the

difference of experience in the selection and attainment of a degree in music education along

lines of racial identity. Table 5.1 is included to demonstrate from which participants themes

emerged, and their status as under-represented minority (URM) or well-represented (WRP)

participants. Negative examples are also marked in Table 5.1 and explained in this chapter so

that the reader can assess the accuracy of the thematic groupings which, like all research, is

shaped by my experiences and bias as a White music educator and researcher. Those themes

were: *Representation*, *Realness*, *Racial Identity,* and *Bridging: Relationships*.

Participant (RACE)	Representation	Realness	Racial Identity	Bridging: Relationships
Aarón (URM)		X	X	X
Xander (URM)	X	X	X	X
Gabriel (URM)	X	N	X	X
Elijah (URM)	X	X	X	
Terek (URM)		X	X	
Reuben (URM)	X	N	X	X
Samuel (URM)			X	
Carina (URM)	N		X	X
Claire (WRP)	X	X		
Luka (WRP)	X	X		
Trevor (WRP)		X		
Lindsey (WRP)	N	X		
Violet (WRP)	N	X		
Caitlin (WRP)		X		
Alex (WRP)	X			
Max (WRP)	X	X		

Table 5.1. Coding Matrix: Race

Representation

When I look at my classroom, and the settings that I'm most fluent in… that's not a

diverse setting. I think it even exacerbates the fact that I feel tokenized in a lot of ways. I

think that's one of the biggest differences in our experiences is that I feel like I have to

answer lots of questions for a lot of people who are curious, but other people don't think

have to think about that.

—Terek, 12/13/2017 (URM, LSC)

One of those differences was *representation*: how White and non-White participants

experienced and perceived the representation of minority individuals in their schools and music

programs. Based on their experiences in primary and secondary school, non-White participants

and their White peers experienced representation differently, and those experiences shaped their

outlook through college, both in terms of representation on campus and in their Schools of Music.

Non-White participants.

In primary and secondary school, non-White participants rarely mentioned having non-White teachers. Aarón never had a non-White teacher, while Gabriel recalled only one Black teacher in his entire International Baccalaureate school. This lack of representation in primary and secondary school sometimes led to difficulty with classroom interactions. Even as far back as elementary school, Elijah recalled often being singled out for punishment and spending a lot of time outside of the classroom for offenses that, in his estimation, his White peers were engaging in but not receiving the same repercussions.

Though Reuben didn't recall the same type of discipline personally, he was able to notice a difference in teaching style between the White and non-White teachers in his primary and secondary school experience. Reuben was an exception to the pattern of low representation in primary and secondary school teaching—his neighborhood on the South Side of Chicago was largely middle-class Black families and there were quite a few Black teachers throughout his time in primary and secondary school. To Reuben, his White teachers displaying an "innate prejudice" that sometimes affected their teaching. His general sense was that the White teachers, especially older ones, were more likely to display biases against non-White students, even if those biases were unintentional and subconscious. His non-White teachers, however, displayed more of a parenting teacher style that was supportive of all students.

The transition from high school to college brought new challenges and opportunities for non-White participants. Carina and Xander both described their colleges as much more diverse than their previous education experiences. This transition brought with it an added opportunity for representation, primarily at the university-wide level. Terek, who was used to being one of

the few Black students at his secondary school in Texas, described a general education course at

Ambrose University that was new in terms of who *took* the class as much as who taught it:

> (T)hat was majority Black, filled with Black students, and so it felt way different. It
>
> was… the setting was absolutely different. My professor was Black, and that was crazy to
>
> me. I was like, "oh my goodness, I have a Black professor!"
>
> *—Terek, 12/13/17 (URM, LSC)*

Non-White participants, however, often reported being one of the few minority members

of their music departments. During one of our interviews, Gabriel recalled that he was one of

only six Black vocal/choral music education majors in the School of Music at Thornton State—a

school with nearly 300 students in the program—while Terek noted that he was not only one of

the few Black students, but one of the few students of color in the music school at Ambrose.

More generally, non-White participants described their Schools of Music as less diverse

than the campus as a whole. Gabriel, already used to being one of the few Black students in a

school setting, noticed that trend continue at Thornton State. Walker University's School of

Music was also mostly White, according to Elijah. For Terek, while diversity and inclusion is a

campus-wide goal at Ambrose University, some students have accused the School of Music of

not reflecting those university-level goals.

Moreover, non-White participants discussed being asked to represent a "diverse" voice in

groups and committees. Terek and Reuben both reported being asked to serve in this capacity at

their respective institutions. As non-White members of their Schools of Music, their opinions

were sought out by campus administration looking for a representative sample of students.

Reuben served as the student representative on a search for a new Dean in the School of Music at

Great Lakes University. He had been active in volunteering in the Dean's office and helping out

with the School of Music, so when the opportunity came for the selection of a student liaison on

the search committee, the interim Dean's office asked him to help, and Reuben was glad to help.

Last year, Terek was asked to be a part of the Dean's committee on diversity in the

School of Music at Ambrose. Though he was happy to be given the opportunity to participate

and to lend his insights to such an important task, he nonetheless felt like his time was being

utilized in a way that his White peers didn't have to worry about—on top of his jobs and other

responsibilities, this committee represented one more way that his valuable time was pulled away

from his studies and his time practicing on his instrument.

White participants.

Prior to college, White participants tended to describe experiences with race based

largely on the circumstances of their school setting. Trevor's school in rural Illinois was largely

homogenous, while Claire reported a growing Hispanic population in her town and within her

school. While there were a few non-White students at her secondary school, Violet didn't attend

the same school as a Black student until college.

These settings affected how White participants experienced their primary and secondary

schools. Luka attended public schools throughout his pre-college experience, and he reported a

nearly equal balance of White, Black, and Hispanic students in his school. Of the White

participants, Max mentioned the greatest amount of student racial diversity, with a very high

Black population at his school. Max was quick to mention that he got along with everyone, but

he did mention a few negative interactions that led me to believe there were some underlying

racial tensions at his high school.

For the most part, White participants reported not only a lack of music educators of color

in primary and secondary school, but very few experiences with non-White teachers in general.

The exception to this pattern was Alex, whose high school choir teacher was Black. I asked him

whether or not this was a formative experience—essentially, would his musical experience or his pursuit of music teaching have changed with a different music teacher—and although he hesitated, he did ultimately decide that having a Black music director was important for his experience as a musician:

> I don't want to say it was different to have an African-American choir director. No, you know what? I will say that, because we had never sung gospel before and… because he was from Tennessee, so like, actual gospel too, which was really very different from the stuff that we'd done before.

> *—Alex, 03/12/2018 (WRP, USC)*

White participants generally only reported the race of their teachers when prompted, and as such, the "whiteness" of their teachers became a piece of background information, something to be "assumed" unless otherwise noticed. As such, White participants didn't mention teacher race as an important factor in their identity development as a music teacher. Whether this is accurate, or simply an internalization of the importance of same-race teacher mirroring, is unclear. Where there was some call for mirroring among White participants was in terms of gender. Violet expressed a desire to have had more female faces in her secondary music program, and she used that desire as a source of empathy for her non-White peers.

> It would have been nice to have a female choir director, or a female band director as opposed to both male. Just speaking from a personal stance, people do want to see themselves in their role models, where the people they look up to, I would imagine, somewhat represent who they are as an individual, and if we don't have that for half of the country's population then I think we're doing them a disservice.

> *—Violet, 02/20/2018 (WRP, LSC)*

It's clear from the experiences of non-White and White participants that representation in primary and secondary school, as well as in college, can have a profound effect on students in terms of their disposition toward school and school music as a career. The overwhelming preponderance of White teachers, however, mean that White students are much more likely to encounter someone who looks like them, and also much more likely to perceive that as the "default" in school music education.

Realness

Going beyond representation in the primary, secondary, and collegiate education setting, participants also experienced "realness," or the *authenticity* of race-based interactions, differently. As participants became more aware of racial differences through secondary school and into college, they also tended to notice on different levels the ways in which those interactions, and the mission of diversity on many of their campuses, was reinforced (or not) through actions at both the university level, and in their music schools.

Non-White participants.

In primary and secondary school, the experiences of non-White participants were shaped by the relationship between the makeup of the overall student body, and the makeup of their peer group. Aarón's secondary school was about 50% Hispanic students, but he noticed a large amount of "racial dissonance" resulting in his Hispanic peers being under-represented in honors and Advanced Placement classes. Carina and Gabriel mentioned being the only non-White student in honors courses. Though there were other Black students at her school, Carina was frequently the only student of color in her honors classes. At Gabriel's International Baccalaureate high school, he was also one of the few Black students, especially in his honors classes.

This was not always a perfect system, with non-White participants hearing about campus-wide diversity without actually seeing it. Elijah explained that, although Walker University lists diversity and inclusion as one of the school's primary goals, he doesn't see as much evidence on campus. This lack of diversity had direct consequences for the academic success of non-White participants. Reuben felt that it was important for him and his Black classmates to always "mind (their) P's and Q's," always "ready to receive an education," since they wouldn't be afforded the same leeway in terms of classroom dress and decorum as their White peers. In his classes, Aarón said that for the most part, it was his White peers at the University of the Midwest who participated in classroom discussion. In fact, Aarón often worried about being asked to speak for his entire race, choosing instead not to participate in these classroom activities.

While non-White participants perceived more opportunities to discuss issues of race in college, they often questioned the authenticity of those discussions. Xander noticed an increased number of these conversations at Norwich University, but also couldn't help but point out that the relative lack of Black students made those conversations difficult or, at the very least, fairly superficial. Non-White participants also discussed more direct racial interactions, where they or their peers had been a part of specific instances of racial unrest. Aarón detailed the most direct examples of racial tension. To him, it "can get ugly" at the University of the Midwest—one of his Hispanic friends got spat on by an old woman, and he also described a personal experience walking home one night, wearing a Mexico flag coat, when two men in "Make America Great Again" hats yelled at him.

With their position in the school of music, non-White participants had a unique perspective on diversity in their schools of music, and their campuses at large. While White participants spoke about campus events and issues more broadly, non-White participants were more likely to notice not only a lack of diversity in their music departments, but a mismatch

between university-stated diversity goals and the realities of campus. Reuben disagreed with

language on the website for his school's music education department:

> I think there's definitely a lack of diversity in this department, where it's almost all White.
>
> I think I am… no, there are three, I think there are only three Black undergrads in the
>
> whole department… two freshmen and myself. There are probably about the same
>
> percentage of Asian population, no Indian that I know of, so the whole thing of diversity
>
> is that they put that there, because it's kind of not that.

<div align="right">

—Reuben, 02/10/2018 (URM, USC)

</div>

The experiences of non-White participants also allowed them the perspective to perceive

of a lack of authenticity not just in diversity initiatives on campus or the makeup of the faculty

and student body, but in the ways in which non-White composers were integrated into the

curriculum. Non-White participants tended to dig more deeply into the ramifications of what

type of repertoire is chosen as representative of a particular race and/or social class. Xander grew

up in the church and was comfortable with Gospel music, but he expressed concern that gospel

and spirituals were the only types of music associated with Black composers. He wondered

openly during our interviews about where we might find the "Steve Reich of Black choral

music," or a Black Morton Lauridsen, both composers who are respected for their compositions

regardless of their race.

White participants.

For many White participants, thinking about the "realness" or authenticity of racial

statements and interactions began in late high school or upon entering college. Like their non-

White peers, White participants perceived an increase in discussions about race on their

campuses since the elections of 2016. However, these reports tended to stay at surface level, with

participants noticing increased racial tension or describing the visibly increased diversity on

campus, without actually participating themselves. Claire, active herself in Greek activities at the University of the Midwest, noticed that White students tended to be over-represented in the campus's "official" Fraternity/Sorority life. Walking around the campus of Thornton State, Trevor noticed a variety of visibly demonstrated subcultures, a sentiment echoed by Max as he walked through Coastal State University's campus. He reported noticing an increase in identity-based clubs forming in the wake of the election, though he wasn't sure if it was just his own noticing given the heightened racial tension. Luka discussed not only seeing Black Lives Matter and Muslim Alliance meetings but hearing discussions around campus about putting together a huge meeting of allies to support each other.

The one White participant able to reflect on diversity through direct experience in college was Violet, whose role as an orientation leader on campus, coupled with the social justice mission of Ambrose University, allowed her a rare position to be critical of the "realness" of the university and the School of Music. An interaction during a campus photo shoot had a profound effect on how Violet understood diversity initiatives on her campus:

> We also were doing photo shoots for orientation… "apply to be an orientation leader!" and my office specifically reaches out to people of color. I get that we have to have an image… but this one girl was like "your office is just using me for my Black body, you don't care and you're literally just using me to pose me and to make it look like we're more diverse," and I was shook… I was like, "no, that's not true, Ambrose is diverse! What are you talking about?" but now I'm like "she's so right!"
>
> —*Violet, 02/02/2018 (WRP, LSC)*

In their respective Schools of Music, White participants were much more likely than their non-White peers to positively discuss issues surrounding representation and diversity. Violet, and Samuel both described working with music educators at their respective schools who, though

not persons of color themselves, worked to incorporate diversity into their lectures and classroom interactions. Lindsey mentioned that, though the faculty at Walker University is predominantly White, conversations about race happen "all the time" at the school. Max, whose political views were more on the conservative side, perceived the school of music as "very left-wing."

Having a non-White music teacher at the collegiate level also tended to have a strong impact on White participants. Norwich University had recently hired a new assistant choral director, and Luka noticed how his presence had begun to change the culture of the school, both directly in coursework and indirectly among his peers. White participants empathized with the experience of non-White students, but they spoke less in specifics and more in terms of a hypothetical understanding of what it must be like to be non-White on their campus. Max's experience working with the choral conductor at Coastal State University, who is Black, allowed him to come to conclusions similar to Xander's about the role of Black composers in classical choral repertoire.

> His whole philosophy, on at least choral repertoire… we have a Black composers' concert, and he thought that he should showcase music composed by African-Americans that did not fit the stereotype. So, gospel music, he didn't perform that. If you went and performed something by Eric Whitacre, or if you heard something that's like, "wow, this is… this is Eric Whitacre" then come to find out it's by a Black composer, that's what he was basically trying to merge together, and saying that this style of music doesn't have a specific color you know? It's just music, and it should be showcased as such.
>
> —*Max, 04/24/2018 (WRP, LSC)*

While White students were less likely to be critical of the "realness" of their colleges and schools of music, experiences in college could help develop their ability to understand how calls for diversity and diversity in practice might not always align. Non-White participants, by contrast,

relied more on their personal experiences to shape their perception of the authenticity of diversity initiatives on their campuses.

<div align="center">**Racial Identity**</div>

Non-White and White participants also experienced their racial identity differently. For non-White participants, racial identity showed a great amount of variance from person to person, and the strength of a participant's racial identity could drive decisions like which college to attend. For White participants, racial identity was largely a "hidden" trait. This aligns with work in whiteness studies (Sleeter, 2001) and in music education scholarship that encourages reflection about the danger of whiteness as "default" in school music education (Koza, 2008).

Non-White participants.

There was a great amount of variance among non-White participants in terms of how they experienced their racial identity. The two Mexican participants, Aarón and Samuel, provided a great example of this phenomenon. Aarón spoke only Spanish at home, and a Latino/Latina studies course in college only strengthened his ties to his Hispanic (and specifically Mexican) heritage. Samuel, however, had a very different experience with his racial identity—while he mentioned that his parents listened to Mexican *banda* music at home growing up, and he remembers attending parties in the neighborhood with connections to Mexican holidays and cultural celebrations, he doesn't feel as much of a connection to his Mexican heritage.

The same was true for the six Black participants, who experienced their "blackness" differently. Carina, for instance, expressed a relationship with her African-American culture that was quite different than many of her peers. While her parents involved her in activities in the (predominantly Black) neighboring town, her town and the magnet school she attended were predominantly White, especially in her honors classes. In college, most notably in her classes outside of the school of music, she wrestled with the question of what it meant to be "Black":

I felt as if I almost had to stand in a certain position, like some people would be like "well

if you don't do this, that and that, you're not really African-American… you're not really

Black." That was the first time I started to get that sort of thing. And even though some

people sometimes say it jokingly, in the more recent years I take it a little bit more

offensively, even if people are like, "oh, you talk White," even though I've heard that

actually a large amount of my life, I don't like it because in a sense it's almost like erasing

a little part of you.

—Carina, 02/20/2018 (URM, USC)

Other non-White participants, however, felt strong ties to their racial/ethnic identity.

Terek and Reuben both toured historically Black college/universities (HBCUs). If it weren't for

the financial aspect—none of the HBCUs he visited could offer him enough money compared to

the Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) he applied to—Reuben may have chosen an HBCU

to continue the exploration of his connection to his African-American culture that began in his

neighborhood in the gentrified south side of Chicago, and in his Baptist church.

White participants.

Examining the experiences of White participants under the same lens of racial identity,

one begins to see how whiteness becomes the default in our profession. As mentioned in the

representation theme, I often had to prompt the White participants to mention the race (and

gender) of their teachers. This was most true for elementary school, where the default was

"White" and "female"—participants described their elementary music experiences differently,

but most only mentioned their elementary music teachers' race/gender if they fell outside of the

perceived default. This "default" extended to personal perceptions about race, where a White

researcher asking questions to White participants didn't uncover the same variety of racial

identity, whiteness instead becoming the "default" racial category. Sleeter (2017) outlines three

tenets of whiteness that pervade education, one of which—color blindness—was certainly

present not just in the early musical experiences of the White participants in this study, but in

their critical analysis of those musical experiences as part of this study. Music teacher

preparation courses might help future teachers question not just what the default is in our

profession, but *why* it is the default.

Bridging: Relationships

> I think in some ways you know, if a student would be willing to you know, just maybe
>
> take voice lessons with you afterwards, so that you can prepare them for their auditions
>
> or, you know find… go the extra mile to find resources within the community to get the
>
> student you know, some… maybe some basic intro to theory or things like that.

—Reuben, 02/10/2018 (URM, USC)

Despite the statistical disadvantage, the lack of representation, and the inauthentic ways

in which school experiences matched school policies, the eight non-White participants

persevered, identified music teaching as a career goal, and successfully entered a collegiate

music education program. One important question remains: *how?* A possible answer to this

question can be explored through the final theme centered on race: the *relationships* fostered in

school music serving as a bridge into the profession. Though this theme is inter-related to the

theme of representation, as non-White participants who had non-White teachers often developed

strong relationships with them, the two are distinct due to the fact that regardless of teacher race,

the relationships developed with those teachers were important to participants and their

development as musicians and teachers.

Non-White participants.

In a system that may privilege White students' success, non-White students reported

strong personal connections with primary and secondary music teachers, regardless of the race of

those teachers. Xander recalled a middle school music teacher as "the bomb diggity," and described another music teacher as more of a "third mom" than a teacher. For Aarón, his middle school band director, Mr. Kowalski, was open and warm not just in class, but in interactions with his parents. A Salsa music fan, Mr. Kowalski was learning Spanish, and Aarón remembers how "huge" it was hearing Mr. Kowalski try to communicate directly with his parents—they understood English just fine, but they didn't speak it well—instead of talking to them *through* Aarón like so many of his other teachers.

As mentioned earlier in the *representation* theme, very few of the non-White participants mentioned having many experiences in elementary and high school with non-White teachers, at least in their general education classes. However, many non-White participants *did* mention having a music educator of color as a teacher. In fact, four of the eight non-White participants mentioned having at least one *music* teacher of color, and when there was a racial/ethnic match between the student and the teacher, it could be profound. The general music teacher at Xander's second elementary school was a Black woman, as was Reuben's. In fact, Reuben's middle school band director was also Black, and Reuben described him as a "phenomenal musician." Gabriel's middle school choir director, a Black male, was respected enough in the district that he and his parents knew about him before Gabriel got into sixth grade. Gabriel considered him an outstanding educator, who took him and his classmates to state and national honors choirs as well as state-wide youth art festivals, even going so far as to give private lessons to students at no additional charge. This director would prove to be directly responsible for Gabriel's pursuit of music and music teaching.

For some non-White participants, the strong positive relationships noted in high school continued into college. Elijah's collegiate choir director, though not Black himself, serves as his advisor, and he has become an important mentor, going above and beyond the scope of the music

classroom. He recruited Elijah for a church singing position, and even hired him to babysit his son. Elijah considers him more of a friend than a professor. Xander was drawn to the choir director at one school, a Black male, and though he didn't ultimately audition there, having a model was profound. Reuben's choir director at Great Lakes is Black, and their relationship is one of closeness, positivity, and preparation for the profession. Though mentorship of this nature was rare among non-White participants—collegiate music education lacks a large number of non-White teachers—the mentorship provided for non-White students approaching college, as well as the simple existence of an individual in the profession with whom they shared a

White participants.

While White participants sometimes noted influential teachers, those relationships were frequently more complicated. Violet *loved* her high school choir teacher, but he was problematic, often making decisions in class that seemed purposefully directed at making her life more difficult. Beyond simple microaggressions—like the time he mentioned she needed to work harder since she didn't have the "natural talent" of another girl in choir—his classroom policies meant rehearsals were often tense, especially for someone already struggling with being labeled "bossy." Using a chair system similar to a school band, members of each section could "challenge" their peers to become the first chair. Violet, due perhaps to her skills in music theory and piano, was the "star" chair and couldn't be challenged. Still, these relationships could be very beneficial, as White participants were more likely to have secondary music teachers who knew the barriers into collegiate music education. For instance, Lindsey's band and choir teachers all worked with her starting in junior year to prepare her for her college auditions.

When White participants mentioned a relationship with college faculty, that relationship was quite a bit more nuanced and, at times, strained. Luka had a "huge fall out" with the director of choral activities at his school. Trevor auditioned for the marching band, but he was told by his

private instructor that he wasn't allowed to participate, for fear that unhealthy playing would compromise what they were working on in their lessons together. It may be that the White participants, already working within a system that is set up *for* them, were able to navigate that system without a strong mentor figure and, in fact, able to question authority in a way that non-White participants could not.

Discussion

The themes along racial lines—*representation, realness, racial identity,* and *bridging: relationships*—paint a picture of the differences in experience among participants. Given what we know about the under-representation of non-White students—particularly Hispanic and African-American—in education fields, it isn't particularly surprising that non-White participants reported very few experiences with non-White teachers and felt a general sense of under-representation in school music. What struck me through the interview and analysis process was how profound same-race interactions could be to non-White participants. This finding aligns with the logic outlined by researchers like Villegas and Irvine (2010), who reviewed the empirical reasons for encouraging more non-White teachers in the workforce. Though some studies focused more on overall academic outcome of non-White students, using test performance as a metric (Egalite et al., 2015) others indicate that students have a more positive school experience when they have experiences with teachers who are a racial/ethnic match.

What remains challenging is to consider how best to encourage a more diverse music teacher workforce. Two challenges come to mind: geography, and the structure of school music education. When collegiate music education students graduate and enter the profession, they must decide which areas of the country to seek employment. Often, job seekers might cast a relatively small net, searching around the immediate vicinity of their hometown or college location. For Aarón, this desire to be close to home took on another level of necessity, as he felt

tied to his parents, whose lack of English-speaking skills and immigration status meant that he needed to be close enough to home to assist if needed. This connection to home and family is supported by research in educational psychology and may be more pronounced for non-White participants for whom the strength of family connections is an important part of academic success. Villareal (2011) interviewed twenty Latino/a beginning teachers, discovering that participants' relationship with family was a strong force in performing well in school and seeing teaching as a possible profession.

This impetus to stay close to home, coupled with the structure of American music education, might do more to reinforce racial segregation in school music programs than it does to remedy it. Considering how many teachers an individual is exposed to in total from primary through secondary school, exposure to a non-White teacher is plausible. However, a student who stays in one school system may only have two or three music teachers, and if those teachers are drawn to schools like the ones they came from, small ecosystems of representation might develop but stronger overall representation in the profession might not. Reuben came from a middle-class, primarily Black school, and he was one of the few non-White participants who reported having quite a few non-White teachers. His music educators, many of them Black themselves, were strong musicians and educators who prepared him well for the profession, but if he chooses to seek out a position at a school similar to his, this ecosystem of music student to music education student to music teacher might stay closed.

We could look to Aarón's experience in middle school band, then, as a solution, where teachers hoping to understand how to be more culturally responsive might encourage different-race students to still consider music as an occupation. Though he had no non-White music teachers, his middle school band director's desire to learn Spanish, and his willingness connect with Aarón through familiar music, was profound. As a middle school teacher in a

predominantly non-White school, I remember awkward conversations with students and their

non-English-speaking parents at conferences, where the student was required to take on extra

duty as a translator.

Likely, the answer to addressing racial diversity in our profession involves both

educating White music education students to be more prepared to teach in unfamiliar settings and

being purposeful about recruitment beyond non-White students. Many scholars have written

about the importance of culturally responsive pedagogy in preparing future music teachers

(Emmanuel, 2000; Koza, 2006; Tuncer, 2008) but we must also be critical if that is the only

strategy for addressing under-representation in our profession. Research in general education

(Cox, 2010) indicates that a few courses in culturally responsive teaching likely does little to

change the outlook of future teachers, or their opinion about where they might teach upon

graduation.

Finally, as more non-White music teachers enter our profession, and we continue to

improve our ability to teach music to diverse populations, we should consider that the

experiences of non-White students aren't monolithic. When embarking on this project, I had a

sense of how challenging it would be to understand individual participants with regard to social

class, but I was ill-prepared to understand the multiplicity of experiences around ethnicity and

race. Involving six Black participants in the study uncovered just as many personal relationships

with a Black/African-American "identity," and the same was true for the two Hispanic/Mexican

participants. Research suggests that this racial salience is most likely understood as a

combination of universal racial/ethnic properties and cultural experiences on an individual level

(Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). These experiences with identity

development ultimately led to a heightened perception of racial issues in participants' schools of

music, university campuses, and understanding how non-White students make sense of their

race/ethnicity will allow music educators to be more nuanced in their instruction and avoid, for

instance, asking non-White students to sit on diversity committees to "speak for" their peers.

Ultimately, paying respect to student diversity is an important consideration for educators

and researchers looking to encourage more equitable participation in school music and collegiate

music education. However, the experiences of the participants in this study underline the

importance of understanding the nuance of racial and ethnic diversity. Only by better

understanding the nuance across as well as within identity classes can we expect to serve more

students and organically grow a student population and teacher workforce that more accurately

reflects the racial and ethnic diversity of the country.

Chapter 6. Social Class and Music Education

I have to pay my own bills, I have to pay my own rent, and have to buy my own
groceries, and all the things that if I don't work, I don't have. So, I think for me, that
experience is like… I have to be on all the time. I have to be super busy… part of me
wants to, but there's a larger part of me that *has* to.

—Terek, 12/13/2017 (URM, LSC)

Self-Portraiture

I'm the son of a nurse and a police officer. Growing up, it was easy to think of myself as
middle class, leaning on their blue-collar jobs as proof. When I was younger—very young—we
lived in apartments or small houses, and my parents relied on family friends and babysitters to
help take care of my brother and I as they worked in their respective, very demanding fields.

Still, as I got older, things changed. My mom went to school, got her MBA, and worked
her way through middle and upper management at the hospital. My dad was promoted from
within the force, from detective to sergeant, then lieutenant and ultimately to captain. With more
money came a less chaotic life with more free time and, perhaps obviously, more possessions.
When my dad died my junior year of high school, his pension—passed to his spouse—coupled
with my mom's position as CEO of a regional hospital in the area, put us in the best financial
position of our lives right as I was entering college. An academic scholarship cut the tuition costs
in half at my undergraduate university, but otherwise the college costs were covered by my
mom. I vaguely remember a conversation about a small loan taken in my name—$3000 sounds
right—in an attempt to help me understand how to safely accrue and pay off debt, but even that
loan was ultimately taken off of my shoulders.

I worked, but mostly for spending money and fraternity dues. My cell phone was paid

for. The more I talked to these participants, the more I realized that what I thought was a middle-

class experience was anything but.

Introduction to Social Class-Aligned Themes

As mentioned in Chapter 4, operationalizing social class for the purposes of this study

proved to be difficult. While an individual's *relationship* with their ethnicity/race might change

over time, it is generally considered to be a fixed, inherent trait. Social class, however, is not

nearly as rigid. Parents divorce or lose jobs. Family members provide inheritances. Academic

and need-based scholarships shift the chances of graduating from college debt-free. While SES is

somewhat clear, an individual's perception of their social status compared to others is more fluid

(Diemer et al., 2013). Though it would have been possible to incorporate data-driven

assessments of SES based on education, income levels, and other indicators, those ideas seemed

obtrusive and not in the spirit of a qualitative study more interested in participants' self-

identification as part of different categories.

Most participants, given three options for social class— "low," "middle," and "high" —

self-identified as "middle." This aligns with research on social class identity, that suggests a

"middle class identity bias" is prevalent in many Western countries (Curtis, 2013). As

conversations continued, participants described experiences that seemed outside the norm for

what might be considered middle class (in both directions) and so further refinement of social

class identity occurred in consultation with participants. The resulting distribution of social class

might be considered more in terms of a continuum with many contributing factors such as

parental income, access to generational wealth, necessity to work to support oneself, and more.

Participants also expressed that their social class had changed over time. After Claire's

parents divorced when she was twelve, living on a single income proved to be difficult and her

family went through some "lean" times. However, an inheritance from her wealthy grandmother

set up to pay for her grandchildren's college put Claire in a position to graduate college debt-

free. Max's father owns his own business and does fairly well, so Max labeled himself as middle

class. However, his need to work three jobs to pay for college—indeed, his paying for college

altogether, as opposed to relying on parents to pay—ultimately led Max and I to describe him as

"lower-middle" class.

It is not the intention of this qualitative study to provide an exact, detailed record of the

parental income, debt to wealth ratio, or other information for participants. In the end, I asked

participants to describe themselves out of five categories— "low," "low-middle," "middle,"

"upper-middle," and "high." This allowed for a more nuanced conversation with regard to social

class. For analysis purposes, I placed participants into one of two groups: a group comprised of

participants identifying most strongly as lower social class (LSC), which included participants

who described themselves as something below middle class, and an upper social class group

(USC) comprised of participants who self-identified as middle or upper-middle class. This

informal classification of students allowed for nearly equal distribution of participants into

groups—seven participants in the lower social class group and nine in the upper social class

group, and for themes to develop along lines of social class. What follows in this chapter are the

themes that emerged along lines of social class: the role of place, participants' identity as both

musician and teacher, and the strength of weak ties in connecting participants to career

opportunities.

Place

Participants described growing up in suburban, urban, and rural areas around the country.

One of the most salient themes with regard to social class was the role of place in the shaping of

participants' experiences. Where someone happens to be born, and where they grow up, is a

factor that is largely out of one's control, but it nonetheless has a number of ramifications on an individual's school experience, as well as their outlook toward college music education programs. Participants growing up in rural areas, for instance, described difficulties with the realities of travel.

Lower social class participants.

Beginning with early school experiences, the distribution of individuals with regard to place and geography shaped participants' experiences in school. Participants in the lower social class group, regardless of race, were more likely to report having attended more ethnically diverse schools, as well as schools with diversity of social class. This could be an opportunity to learn from fellow peers and teachers in a diverse setting, but it was not without its challenges: Max described a culture in his middle school where class and race dominated the discourse, often becoming a source of contention—or at least something noticed—among students:

> I always heard the "n word" thrown around a lot, even from White people, which always
>
> surprised me. I never noticed a race issue. Like, people didn't get along with each other.
>
> If anything, it was just because of personalities clashing. I never heard anyone say "well,
>
> I'm not going to hang out with him because he's Black," or vice versa.
>
> *—Max, 02/28/2018 (WRP, LSC)*

For participants in the lower social class grouping, the distance to musical opportunities could be a deterrent. When Max, who grew up in a rural area of his state, settled on majoring in music education and needed to find a private lesson instructor, his dad—ever the pragmatist— put things into perspective for him:

> I remember just talking with my dad all the time, and he was like, "well you know, if you
>
> really want to get good, you should learn how to play classically and start taking

lessons," and when you don't have a car or money to take lessons, and the closest

professor is like 50 miles away, that kind of shoots that in the butt.

—*Max, 04/05/2018 (WRP, LSC)*

This role of place extended to the college search, where participants in the lower social

class group were much more likely to list proximity to home as a factor influencing their

decision to attend their school. Violet visited a college out-of-state, but she quickly realized how

difficult it would be to get home without a car. Elijah and Aarón also expressed a desire to be

close to home, though for Aarón, the decision was for his parents as much as it was for him to

keep costs down. He is a citizen, but his parents are illegal immigrants, so he felt an obligation

and a desire to stay relatively close to home—he can be from his college apartment to his

parents' place in just under three hours—in case he needed to help them stay safe and in the

country.

Terek provided a counter-example, the only participant from the lower social class group

for whom proximity to home was *not* a factor during the college search. He described the

reputation of the music program as the main factor in his decision process. In fact, he toured a

school near his hometown and had a fantastic audition, but he decided to pass on the offer to

attend because it was clear the faculty wanted him to help grow the program. Ultimately, he

chose a school that was quite a bit farther away from home than any of the other participants, one

of only a few to cross state lines to attend college. Still, Terek acknowledged how surprising it

was that he ended up at Ambrose University:

People ask me "why did I choose Ambrose?" They got me, I guess. I got one of those

mailings in the mail from Ambrose. I remember vividly, it was February of junior year, I

had a plastic box *full* of these correspondence from schools, and every day I would come,

and my dad would bring the mail, and I remember he handed this one to me this

particular day, and I looked down, and it said, "Ambrose University." I remember

throwing it down on the floor and saying to myself, "what are the odds that I would

actually go to this school, specifically? Like what are the odds that I would actually

apply, get in, and move to <the Midwest>. Like, what are the odds?"

—Terek, 12/04/2017 (URM, LSC)

Upper social class participants.

Place was as much a factor for upper social class participants as it was for their peers in

the lower social class group. Participants in this group were more likely to mention and attend

more segregated, homogenous schools. These institutions tended to be predominantly White,

though the school in Reuben's gentrified neighborhood was majority Black with African-

American teachers and administrators. Caitlin's school, by contrast, was not only predominantly

White but, due to her town's history of racial segregation through programs like redlining and

White flight, had a similarly racially charged atmosphere in secondary grades:

<My town> can be a little problematic in terms of race, and class especially. I think

especially with the dynamics between <my town> and <the large urban center>, and just

because it is primarily an affluent community, and a very White community that has been

historically White… I'm trying to remember specifically the laws that they came up with

to keep Black people out of <my town>. I can't remember specifically, but there

definitely were some.

—Caitlin, 04/28/2018 (WRP, USC)

Parental decisions about school options could have an effect on the experiences upper

social class participants had with diversity in school. Primarily because of their Christian views,

Alex's parents decided to send him to a private, Christian school in the area. This school was

predominantly White, with a student population that didn't necessarily match the surrounding

community. Luka's socioeconomic status would have made it easy to attend a private school in the area, but staying in the local public school appeared, by his best estimation, to be a purposeful decision on behalf of his parents. Growing up near an army base with a large, highly heterogenous itinerant population of military children, Luka experienced diversity in a way he likely wouldn't have in a private school.

For upper social class participants living in rural areas, travel to musical opportunities outside of school might be more of a possibility than their peers in the lower social class group. Trevor—who grew up in a rural area like Max in the lower social class group—mentioned that having a car, even one as old as the one he shared with his twin brother, was a necessity in order to get to private lessons, as well as the youth orchestras he played in throughout high school. Identifying just above the line between the lower and upper groups, Trevor explained that without a car, he would have had no chance at progressing musically to the extent that he did.

When it was time to apply for college, participants in the upper social class group were more likely than their peers in the lower social class group to describe things like the school's academic reputation or musical pedigree as the most important factors influencing the college search. Lindsey and Claire were both considering careers outside of music education, so it was important that the schools they applied to have a good mix of academics and music:

I only sent applications to schools where I could do both music and academics, because I initially planned on being a dual degree with Music Ed and English, which I ended up dropping, because I wanted to do performance as well.

—*Caitlin, 04/21/2018 (WRP, USC)*

Gabriel was drawn to the collegial atmosphere of his university as much as he was the in-state tuition, as compared to the more cutthroat reputation of the larger, more academically rigorous college closer to his home. Alex, however, did express a desire to stay close to home

despite his identity on the lower edge of the upper social class group. This might actually be an additional function of social class with regard to geography, however. His state has one of the highest costs-of-living in the country, so his out-of-pocket costs for room and board would have been relatively high if he hadn't lived at home.

Identity Formation

Another theme mediated primarily by social class was the difference in experiences of participants in terms of identity formation as a student, musician and a teacher. Lower social class group participants, for instance, were more likely to have a strong negative identity as a student. Participants also experienced differences in the development of their musician and teacher identities along lines of social class. Some reported identifying as a teacher first and musician second, while others identified primarily as a musician—academic experiences and access to private instruction seemed to influence that identity formation along lines of social class.

Lower social class participants.

In terms of identity as a student, participants in the lower social class group were much more likely to describe themselves as bad students, both in secondary settings and into college. Xander claimed that he "sucked" at math—and at psychology courses at his university—and Elijah detailed trouble adapting to middle school, spending quite a bit of his time in the principal's office. Samuel had perhaps the most drastically negative image of himself as a student, an identity that ultimately contributed to his not being able to finish high school on time:

> When I was in junior year, I got a schedule where I was there from zero period to fourth period, and I was done at lunch and kind of just went home… I stopped caring about school, and I just start doing things outside of school that were not good… making bad decisions. It just started a snowball effect to where I was pretty much not at school by the

end of my senior year, so actually, the end of my senior year I had to go to a continuation school because I wasn't going to be able to graduate on time. Then even at the continuation school I didn't quite finish there, I had to go on to adult schooling to finish my high school diploma.

—Samuel, 12/14/2018 (URM, LSC)

Violet's experience was contrary to the experiences of the other students in the lower social class group: an incident in high school involving a lost mallet bag set her on a path focused on academic perfectionism, to the point where her father recently expressed to her his excitement that she was almost done with school, so she didn't need to work so hard and be so stressed about earning good grades.

When it came time to decide on future career goals, participants in the lower social class group, reported considering majors such as medicine, communications, and business. These decisions were often motivated by money and mediated by parents. Violet described having to convince her parents to let her attend her college of choice by convincing them about the job prospects as a performing arts administration major, a program that her parents could more easily understand as having the potential to generate income after college:

I had this existential crisis when I was like, "I don't know who I am… I want to do music, but I can't." I looked more into Ambrose and they offered the performing arts management degree, which is a Bachelor of Music with a built-in minor in business, and so I was like, "look at this, it's music *and* business!" and they were like "Ok!" So that's what I originally went to school for, all the while knowing that I wanted to be music ed. But you got to start somewhere, I guess.

—Violet, 02/02/2018 (WRP, LSC)

Though she ultimately dropped that major and did choose to major in music education, she needed to be mindful about how best to convince her parents that becoming a music teacher was a worthwhile project, even if it didn't generate the same income level as other jobs.

In terms of identity development as a musician and a teacher, participants in the lower social class group seemed slightly more likely to have developed a stronger teacher identity. According to Violet's mother, she would walk around her pre-school classroom at the age of three, "teaching" her peers by telling them to do a variety of things. Samuel described a strong connection to wanting to become a teacher, despite working hard to improve his saxophone skills:

> From the beginning, I've always wanted to be a music teacher, and when I was doing the performance stuff it was just to be the best player I could be, not necessarily because I wanted to be a professional, you know? So, that's a little bit of the difference between me and a majority of the other students, actually. I'm actually a little bit of an anomaly.
>
> *—Samuel, 01/11/2018 (URM, LSC)*

This difference in the process of identity development as a musician/teacher may be accentuated by whether a participant has access to private instruction. Participants from the lower social class group very frequently described not being able to afford lessons. Both Xander and Elijah mentioned this, though Elijah shared that his teacher gave him lessons intermittently after school, using pre-recorded audio clips. Max took guitar lessons with his father, but never took more than one or two lessons over the course of his high school career on bassoon.

Upper social class participants.

Participants in the upper social class group were much more likely to describe themselves as academically strong. Gabriel said that school always came easy, and Trevor shared that he loved school all his life. For many participants in this group, however, the honors and AP

courses that helped develop a strong student identity also meant not experiencing some of the diversity they might have experienced in general education courses in their high schools. Carina described herself as a "school-conscious kid" who was one of the only people of color in many of her honors courses. She described this tracking of students based on academic ability as something that "set in pretty harshly—that made a pretty clear dividing line."

As upper social class group participants continued to identify as strong students academically, complete with access to honors and AP courses, they were more likely to consider academic majors besides music, or music majors besides music education. Claire and Lindsey were both initially looking at schools for their engineering program, and Caitlin thought she might go into (non-music) teaching.

For the upper social class participants, it was slightly more common for an identity as a musician to develop before a teacher identity, and to be stronger. In fact, these participants more frequently considered music performance as a possible career goal. Luka entered his collegiate program as a double-major, though extenuating circumstances with his health—he contracted mononucleosis his sophomore year and missed more than a month of school—meant that he ultimately dropped the performance major. Trevor and Caitlin both reported exploring the possibility of going straight into graduate school for performance, while Reuben is enrolled in organ performance courses while he pursues his music education degree.

Again, this difference in identity formation may be a product of more confidence on one's primary instrument through the added benefit of private instruction before college. Participants in the upper social class group more frequently described regular, long term private lesson instruction, like Lindsey:

I think I remember starting voice lessons - when did I actually start? I may have actually started in between seventh and eighth grade. Since I wasn't doing choir in middle school,

I wanted a more concise outlet for singing, and so I talked to my parents about it and we

found a voice teacher that some friends of mine from church liked to use. So then, I was

with that teacher for about two years, and then once school started, she stopped doing

lessons because she had just had a baby, so then I found a new voice teacher from some

other recommendations and stayed with that voice teacher all through high school.

—Lindsey, 02/05/2018 (WRP, USC)

It's possible, then, that access to regular private instruction from a quality teacher aided upper

social class group participants with their identities as musicians and helped them feel more

confident in considering a double-major in performance.

The Strength of Weak Ties

Stemming from the work of Granovetter (1973), weak ties are the loose bonds socially

mobile individuals use to secure educational and workplace opportunities. As discussed, the

college application process with participants, as well as their experiences preparing for

intern/student teaching and the workforce, it was clear how the connections made by participants

in the upper social class group appeared to better prepare them for the school music system as it

stands now.

Lower social class participants.

Though participants in the lower social class group were very active musically, they

reported much less exposure to co-curricular activities like solo and ensemble, honors festivals,

and other activities that might reinforce musical and social concepts introduced in class and

provide an opportunity for professional networking. When those activities did occur, they might

still be influenced by racial or class-based discrimination. Aarón attended several honors

festivals in his high school band, but that exposure came with several racial micro-aggressions,

often coming from the other directors themselves. In fact, Aarón was one of the few participants

in the lower social class group who *did* mention loose connections that could be considered

"weak ties"—his high school band director was friends with a local businessman, who provided

scholarships to select students to attend summer music camps.

Some participants in the lower social class group reported being less prepared by their

teachers for entry into a collegiate music education program. Terek had to take it upon himself to

seek out information on preparing for auditioning, reaching out to other music teachers and

private instructors in his area for their tips and recommendations. When these participants *were*

groomed for audition and entry, that grooming might be incorrect or based on information that

could be considered "incorrect" in collegiate schools of music. When he mentioned wanting to

audition for music schools, Xander's music teacher's husband worked with him to prepare "O

Sole Mio" and "Nessun Dorma," two songs not normally sung by a developing young tenor

voice.

This rush to prepare for college auditions toward the end of high school was shared by

other participants in the lower social class group. Rather than relying on a private studio

instructor to prepare him for his college auditions, Elijah struggled to prepare for his auditions

once he decided to pursue a degree in music. His high school music teacher did what she could

to help in such a short amount of time, helping him pick repertoire for his auditions and giving

him a voice lesson after school, even though she knew he wouldn't be able to pay. In that one

lesson, they chose repertoire that he would continue working on in his own time, and they went

over the basics of a collegiate music audition—how to sing with an accompanist, and what else

to expect in the audition. Terek and Max circumvented this relative lack of preparation for

collegiate auditions through their participation in local community bands, where they connected

with semi-professional local musicians and retired teachers to help assist with repertoire

selection and other audition details. Ultimately, Terek took matters into his own hands, preparing

a binder of all of the repertoire he had learned, organized by which pieces he would need to play at which audition.

Xander shared how important his experiences in theater ended up being in preparing him how to carry himself and work with an accompanist in an audition. Though Alex and Claire, both members of the upper social class group, each spoke similarly about their musical theater training, Xander's experience closed a gap in his knowledge—he couldn't afford private lessons and might have otherwise missed out on those "audition comportment" lessons.

Upper social class participants.

Participants in the upper social class group were more likely to have been directly groomed for the profession, by their music teachers and other experienced musicians. Lindsey's music teachers were shocked when she told them she wasn't going to be majoring in music in college, and they not only convinced her that she was making the wrong decision but worked with her to remediate her piano skills and music theory knowledge to prepare for her auditions. A note from the judge on Trevor's score sheet from solo and ensemble in middle school instructed him to look into purchasing a better, professional instrument.

Participants from the upper social class were more likely to report involvement with honors ensembles and other outside-of-school opportunities for school music traditions to be reinforced. For some participants, these experiences were integral to their identity as a music teacher. Claire auditioned for honors choir in high school, and she got to travel to the state conference to rehearse and perform with peers from around her state. She was floored by the experience, from the "real basses" of the large group to how impressed she was by the director, a well-respected female educator from the area. Claire came home, excited to tell her mom that she wanted to pursue a degree in music teaching. These opportunities also became sites for weak ties

to develop, as upper social class participants made introductions to practicing teachers they hoped to connect with for intern teaching.

These participants also more frequently reported additional exposure opportunities beyond honor choirs and bands, such as attending the symphony and participating in out-of-school classical music ensembles. Lindsey's grandparents took her to symphony concerts, while Trevor, Caitlin, and Carina all participated in youth orchestras in their communities.

Discussion

By examining social class separately from race, this study adds to a relatively small body of research in music education examining the role of social class in determining access to school music and undergraduate music education. While music researchers have used publicly accessible income data to determine overall school music participation (Elpus & Abril, 2011) or the effect of socioeconomic status on ensemble festival rating (Speer, 2014), socioeconomic status sometimes operates as a proxy for race, despite the likelihood that the two, while interrelated, are distinct and affect students in a variety of ways.

The role of place, for instance, is under-researched in music education, especially with regard to rural music students. While general education scholars have explored the changing state of education in rural areas (Dempsey, 2007), there are very real issues that music educators must wrestle with if they wish to support lower social class, often rural students. Both Trevor and Max both struggled to arrange private lesson instruction in their rural hometowns and Max, for whom owning a car and purchasing gas money wasn't an option, had to choose not to take lessons. These findings align with scholarship advocating for better supports for rural music education students (Bates, 2011).

It is also important for music educators to understand the differing ways that identity formation occurs with regard to social class. In this study, lower social class participants

described themselves as poor students or, like Elijah, experienced discriminatory punishment. While his experience might be explained by his being a black male and therefore being subjected to higher than normal rates of punishment and suspension (Davis, 2017) researchers have for decades underscored that many of these prejudices exist as early as in the kindergarten classroom, and they may be more convincingly aligned to social class then to race (Rist, 1970).

Finally, music educators should continue thinking about how weak ties in our profession contribute to particular students getting the skills they need to teach while others lack access to those ties. Granovetter (1973) outlines how isolated communities of strong ties work to prepare individuals to work within that community, not outside of it. The goal of weak ties may be to assist the transition from education into the workforce but, over time, systems of weak ties also work to prop less-prepared individuals *within* that group into leadership positions, as opposed to encouraging crossing between social groups. In this study, higher social class participants were more likely to have had private lessons in high school, and to have participated in opportunities like honors festival and solo & ensemble. Systems that mitigate some of the travel requirements or provide a stipend for travel to these events might address some of the inequalities present in school music education with regard to social class.

Chapter 7. Race and Social Class and Music Education

Everyone sees color, everyone sees a difference in class. Everyone. You can't ignore

poverty, you can't ignore differences, and even in sexuality and things like that because

one, you just don't want to be ignorant of what front of you, and two, it's just the world

you live in, you really have to face and own up to things and find ways in which you can

talk about them.

—Reuben, 02/10/2018 (URM, USC)

Self-Portraiture

I graduated from my undergraduate institution with a degree in vocal performance. Like

many performance majors, I moved back to my hometown area after graduation and got a job

outside of music. I worked a series of jobs, and one summer the business I worked for was

cutting back on employees. Since I was let go through no fault of my own, I was eligible to

collect unemployment benefits, which I collected for three months.

The moral difficulty was that, though I was an adult and had a legitimate claim to be

collecting unemployment, I also had a family with access to wealth to support me through that

tough summer. My mom paid for my rent for three months and gave me some spending money.

There was a long conversation about what was the best plan—and I know she was likely unsure

about whether to support her adult son in this way—but ultimately, we decided that it would be

best to get some help from her and still collect unemployment while I searched for other work.

This was, strictly speaking, not exactly legal.

Walking into the unemployment office, I felt a decent amount of guilt. The amount I was

collecting was a drop in the bucket in terms of governmental expenditure, but it still felt wrong. I

expected that, at any minute, someone in the trail of bureaucracy would find out what I was

doing. Even during the bi-weekly phone calls I had to make into an automated system to declare

any income and attest that I was looking for work, I was sure someone would come onto the line and say, "we know what you're doing." Instead, the experience was completely painless. I was treated pleasantly at the office, had no issues with the automated system, and collected my checks according to the laws in my state.

Looking back, it's hard not to see this experience as anything but the culmination of my race and social class working together to protect me in a way that others might not be. While there is some amount of stigma connected to receiving unemployment benefits (even for legitimate reasons) that negativity is heightened for African-American unemployment collectors—imagine the "welfare queen" images weaponized in the 1980s alongside racially-motivated drug sentencing to incarcerate a generation of Black and brown men and dehumanize their family members. I, on the other hand, felt no racial stigma as I walked into the unemployment agency, and my social class status provided a flexibility that others in my situation couldn't access. Reflecting on situations like these has given me an opportunity to understand just how much of one's day-to-day experiences are mitigated by both race and social class, interacting together.

Introduction to Intersectional Themes

As mentioned in previous chapters, intersectionality is a concept rooted in Black feminist thinking that suggests layers of identity (race, social class, gender, etc.) are multiplicative rather than additive. Crenshaw (1991) brought this concept into public discourse through the law, where she argued that an African-American woman's experience of marginalization/oppression couldn't simply be expressed as a function of her experience as a woman combined with her experience as African-American. Instead, her experience should be understood as more complex than simple addition, the potential for marginalization increase multiplicatively by her identity as both a woman *and* African-American collectively.

In this chapter, I will present themes that emerged along intersectional lines, where participants described experiences that seemed to connect to other participants not only in terms of race or social class, but through the two working together. Those themes were: participants' experience with *religion* and music performance, the role of *family*, and the relationship between *money and access*.

Religion

Many participants mentioned interactions with denominations of the Christian church while growing up, and most of those who did mentioned some amount of music-making, at least congregational singing. Non-White participants, however, were much more likely to report religious experiences focused on music-making, particularly involving Black Gospel traditions. Xander, Gabriel, Elijah, Terek, and Reuben all mentioned involvement in the Baptist church, most of them singing in the choir. Terek sang in the youth chorus, and the male chorus with his dad every fifth Sunday. He would go on to lead the youth music-making with a friend, and he would attend large youth conventions in the summer that involved over 400 youth singing gospel hymns and contemporary worship songs together.

Adding social class as a factor, however, affected to what extent the music-making happening inside the church corresponded to the music-making happening in school. At Reuben's church on Chicago's gentrified South Side, middle-income parents found resources to volunteer at his school, and his teachers all attended his church. Of the non-White participants, Reuben's music-making in church most closely aligned with his school music-making. His church choir not only sang in the three-part rote tradition of gospel music but also read and performed octavos of classical and gospel songs as well. This connection allowed Reuben to reinforce his church musicianship skills in school, and vice versa. There has been a tangible payoff to this alignment of racial background and socioeconomic status at his university, where

he is employed at a historic Baptist church. In fact, many of the musicians and congregants are current or former professors at his university.

While many White participants were active in the church, they described church music as having a less important role in their lives. Violet only sang hymns with the rest of her congregation at the Catholic church she attended with her family, and although Lindsey recalled performing in the youth choir at her church, she clarified that it was only a handful of children and not extremely musically rigorous For Alex, church became as much a source of social growth as it was of musical growth. While his private Christian school was predominantly White, his church attracted a more diverse cross-section of his hometown. In fact, his youth group organized Compton Days, a yearly excursion to the neighboring city of Compton to tend to lawns, fix up houses, and generally support the neighborhood. Paralleling the ways in which Luka's public school experience facilitated his better understanding of racial and social diversity, the combination of Alex's whiteness and his upper social class meant that his parents had the resources to make purposeful decisions about where he went to school and how he experienced his community.

Family

The role of family was also a strong intersectional theme, as participants from various race and class combinations differently experienced their relationships with close and extended family, and to what degree family musical experiences transferred to school music opportunities. Non-White participants in the lower social class group, for instance, were more likely to describe their parents as overprotective. Though Terek's mother sometimes overstepped her boundaries— even going so far as to accept a college enrollment invitation on his behalf without consulting him—Terek recognized that her intentions were to prepare him for the world:

My mom is a very protective parent, and she's always - even when I was younger, she's

always been reminding me of the fact that I am an African-American male in this society

and that, in order to get ahead, you have to be educated, and so she's a very big proponent

of that.

—Terek, 12/04/2017 (URM, LSC)

Non-White participants in the lower social class group were also more likely to report family

hardships like divorce, though Claire—whose grandmother's generational wealth put her firmly

into the upper social class group, but who might otherwise have identified as a member of the

lower social class group—also mentioned her parents' divorce as an important part of her

childhood.

Parental educational attainment was also aligned closely with the combination of race and

social class. Non-White students in the lower social class group were more likely to report that

they were first-generation college students, while other participants with different combinations

of race and social class—with the exception of Violet, whose sister was the first member of her

family to go to college, making her first-generation—had at least some family members who had

attended college. Both of Carina's parents, in fact, had advanced degrees. This likelihood that

White, upper social class participants had parents who were college graduates might be

considered an additional leg up with regard to the institutional knowledge necessary to secure

entry into college.

As lower social class, non-White participants *did* begin to consider careers after

secondary school, those ideas were challenged by parents on the grounds that majoring in

music—even music education—didn't provide the necessary financial stability. Xander had

initially wanted to major in musical theater, and his mom firmly said no. Violet described a

similar situation with her parents and her intended major at Ambrose, and Max had a number of

practical conversations with his dad about the feasibility of majoring in music, but most White participants did not describe difficulty convincing their parents about their intended major, regardless of perceived social class.

When the parents of non-White, lower social class participants did help with the college application/enrollment process, they were more likely to be unfamiliar with the intricacies of applying for and attending college. Terek, the son of a working-class Black father, reflected on his dad's desire to help with the college application process:

> For him, me going to college was like "I didn't get the opportunity to go, so I want you to go, and I want you to do whatever is necessary" and my dad knows… when I was applying to college, when I was going through this whole process, and even now, it's hard for him to really grasp what's going on, you know? He really wants to know all of the things, and so some of the questions are like, "wait what? I don't understand."
>
> —*Terek, 12/04/2017 (URM, LSC)*

With regard to parental music-making, both non-White students in the lower social class group as well as White students in the upper social group often described their parents as "non-musical," or as having limited experience with school music in middle and high school but generally just being listeners. Luka's parents, however, were directly involved with classical music. A solo and choral performer for much of his life, Luka's mother set a musical example for her son as well as providing access to a surprising amount of professional connections throughout his early life:

> At any of these places… there would always be somebody that goes like, "oh Olivia, I haven't seen you in ages! Oh Bill, I haven't seen you in ages."
>
> —*Luka, 02/17/2018 (WRP, USC)*

Non-White participants in the lower social class group also mentioned direct family music-making, but family music-making was aligned with race as well as social class, meaning a participant in the lower social class group might not feel the same connection between the types of music made at home and at school. To these participants, parental music-making was largely disconnected from the type of music reinforced in school. Aarón's father and uncle are semi-professional DJs, and he regularly helps them with events like birthday parties and weddings. Elijah's dad is also a DJ, and he has "everything" on CD, while Xander's mom performed off-Broadway, as did Reuben's grandmother and uncles.

Participants in both social class groups mentioned relationships with grandparents as important to their musical development, though those musical memories were more often classical with White participants. Some of Violet's first memories were sitting with her "granny," a classical pianist while she played for and with her and her sister. This was a sentiment shared by Caitlin, who also has strong memories of playing piano with her grandmother.

More generally, upper social class, White participants more frequently mentioned siblings and cousins having gone through school music programs, and extended family members who were involved with school music. Lindsey's cousin played saxophone, while Caitlin's cousins were very active in school music, from instrumental ensembles to the school's large show choir program. Growing up, Caitlin's desire to follow in her cousin's footsteps extended to musical activities: "My cousin Amanda is two years older than me, she played viola, and I just really loved Amanda. I wanted to be exactly like her. So, I thought I would play the viola, too" (Caitlin, 03/17/2018; WRP, USC).

Clearly, the role of family was important to most participants. Those relationships could also dictate an individual's connection to school music, as parents or grandparents influenced

early musical experiences, or through siblings and cousins having already enrolled in school music ensembles. In this way, we see another avenue through which the population of students already represented in music—White, upper social class individuals—can access resources to entrench itself into school music in subsequent generations.

Money and Access

Finally, race and social class intersected with regard to access to opportunities, especially as it related to money. Participants shared a number of similarities regardless of racial/ethnic identity, as well as ones based on social class—they were leaders in their school music programs, in multiple ensembles, section leaders, student directors, and drum majors. This is in line with the findings of Bergee and his colleagues (2001), who found that college music education majors frequently reported having been given opportunities to lead rehearsals in secondary school. Upper social class participants, however, were more likely to value activities outside of the school day such as sports or community theater. More specifically, White participants in the upper social class group chose activities outside of school that reinforced their in-school music learning. Caitlin was a member of multiple youth orchestras throughout her middle- and high-school years, and she also participated in an extracurricular youth choir run by her middle school choir director.

Non-White, lower social class participants described having to fundraise for school music fees, or simply not being able to do every event, sometimes having to go on a payment plan in order to afford certain items. Xander recognized that his parents did the best with what they had, but he was unable to attend a trip to Disney World because it simply wasn't within their financial means, even with fundraising. Upper social class, White participants empathized with lower-class participants, but they were able to pay for new instruments with generational wealth and

didn't discuss needing to fundraise. Luka discussed using funds given to him by his grandmother to purchase a new French horn:

> When I got in middle school, seventh grade, my grandmother passed away, and the money that I think she left me in particular… I'm not totally sure on this, but I'm pretty sure that money was put towards getting me a Conn 8D, which is one of the best French horns that there is so that was big. My parents were like, "you need to keep playing this if you want to get this," and I was like, "yes," and I did all the way through high school.
>
> *—Luka, 02/17/2018 (WRP, USC)*

The exception was Caitlin, who reported quite a few extra costs for show choir in her high school. Still, she noticed that few of the students in the program actually had to fundraise, even though their costumes could cost hundreds of dollars, multiple times a year.

The necessity to work in high-school or in college also fell generally into social class categories. Violet got a job in high school as soon as she was old enough, and she hasn't stopped working since. Max works three jobs, one at a local business and two on-campus, in order to pay for college, and Aarón works a weekend job for spending money. Intersectionally, however, White participants in the upper social class group were more likely to have access to jobs that could be considered professional practice. Claire directed the children's choir at a local church, and in high school Trevor was the organist for one of the churches in his neighborhood. Now, he has a job singing in a church choir, as does Luka. Lindsey worked with a local children's choir all four years of college:

> I am an ensemble assistant, so I help with rehearsals and do all the sheet music and take attendance and all of that stuff. But over the years, since I've worked with the same ensemble for all of college, and have gotten closer with the director, she lets me do

sectional rehearsals, she lets me teach the music reading class. She keeps saying that if

she ever needs to be gone, that I can just do the rehearsal, and things like that.

—Lindsey, 02/16/2018 (WRP, USC)

Exceptions to this distribution of paid church singing opportunities to primarily White,

upper social class participants were Violet, who also reported a weekly church gig despite her

lower social class identity, and Elijah, who received a similar opportunity to sing at a church near

campus. The church choir, which his college choir director runs, offered a "scholarship" for him

to sing each week, an opportunity that had very real ramifications for Elijah's ability to pay for

the upcoming semester at college.

In fact, while upper social class participants reported paying for college with both

academic and need-based scholarships, and through loans, lower social class, non-White

participants were the only ones to discuss real financial hardships paying for college. If it weren't

for the church job he was offered, as well as a connection his choir director made to a church

member who needed odd jobs completed around his house during Winter break, Elijah would

most likely have had to take a semester off from school, even after his stipend from the Army

Reserves and the jobs he works on campus. Terek reported similar difficulties, until a scholars

program—created to encourage non-White college students to persevere through undergraduate

coursework and into graduate school—drastically changed his financial outlook. Xander actually

went to his administration to inform them he would be unable to pay for the upcoming semester,

and he ended up being able to access a seldom-used program at his university where students can

request a financial reprieve but still sign up for classes.

For the lower social class, White students, generational wealth substantially mitigated

their financial woes. Violet's tuition is covered by federal and state financial aid (FAFSA) and

university-level scholarships, and her spending money on campus is provided through extra

money her grandparents saved for her and her sister for college, a generational wealth Violet is quick to admit as her own personal privilege. Claire shared a similar story, that an inheritance from her grandmother to pay for her tuition, room, and board changed her outlook on her finances from considering herself lower-class in high school to firmly middle- to upper-class in college.

Discussion

Situated in this study as the combination of race and social class, the intersectional themes here represent the multiplicative mixture of identities that likely combine to create the most difficult path to school music education. As such, it is extremely important that music educators understand the ways in which these identities interact and how best to remediate experiences for students who may be least likely to continue participating in school music or to seek out a career in music education.

The role of the church in participants' lives, for instance, varied along both racial and social class lines. By targeting not simply the gospel music programs that look the most like secondary school and collegiate music, we might understand the way that different populations of "non-traditional" musicians learn, and how we can encourage a stronger connection between that style of music-making and what is valued in school.

More broadly, members of the profession might be more reflective about how race and social class interact to create a system that privileges one combination of experiences over the other. Luka, who identified as a member of the upper social class group and whose mother was a classical performer, was very honest about his privilege and how he had been "groomed" for a career in music, but the question remains: how to address this discrepancy? Some issues are largely out of the control or purview of the school music teacher: Scholars have suggested, for instance, that within-school tracking in middle school—where certain low-performing students

are assigned extra math or English at the expense of ensemble classes—limits minority and

lower social class participation (Smith & Hoffman, 2011). Still, there are options within a music

teacher's control that could help encourage more school music participation, especially in the

case of Intersectionally under-represented students. It behooves us to explore those options and

work to understand how best to serve the largest number of students interested in participating in

some form of music.

Chapter 8. Implications and Recommendations

Summary

What makes the executive director of a national music education organization believe that certain racial/ethnic groups over- or under-perform on musical tasks? Why is our field predominantly White and middle-class? We might turn to Koza (2008) for a simple, succinct answer:

> Stringent and restrictive notions of what constitutes musical competence, together with narrow definitions of legitimate musical knowledge, shut out potential teachers from already under-represented culture groups and are tying the hands of teacher educators at a time when greater diversity, both perspectival and corporeal, is needed in the music teaching pool (pp. 145-146).

Koza urges us to listen for whiteness, but I believe we also need to be listening for *middle-class-ness* (and, most importantly, their combination) if we are to truly understand how the field can be more representative of the multitude of people and experiences in the United States.

Synthesis of the Findings

While this study's design—as well as its selection of only race and social class as primary characteristics—limit its intersectional reach and its generalizability as a representation of experiences outside of the ones contained in this text, the most important takeaways from this study are the intersectional findings themselves. That is, how does the combination of race and class work to exclude certain non-White, lower income students from school music, and how did the participants in this study who fall into that category persevere? For this reason, in the following synthesis section, I will begin with the intersectional findings.

Intersections.

In the intersection between race and social class, participants experienced and applied religious activity and music-making in different ways. While many participants mentioned interacting with church and church singing, Black participants nearly all mentioned a strong involvement in the Baptist church. Intersectionally, social class changed how those participants felt their church music-making connected to their music-making at school, with non-White, lower social class participants feeling the largest disconnect between church music-making and school music.

Participants felt the influence of family in contrasting ways. Non-White students in the lower social class group described more often their being first-generation college students, and their parents were less likely to be familiar with the college application process. Non-White participants were more likely to describe their parents as overprotective, while lower social class, non-White students reported family music-making that was largely disconnected from the ways music was reinforced in school. Lower social class, White participants, in contrast, reported more connections to extended family who participated in school music, or to parents who were classical musicians.

Between racial and social class lines, participants experienced money and access to experiences in different ways. While nearly all participants were leaders in their secondary programs, they experienced fees associated with participation in different ways, with non-White participants from the lower social class group sometimes being unable to take part in school trips. Upper social class, White participants accessed generational wealth to purchase instruments, and they used similar generational wealth to bridge the gap to a debt-free college experience, while lower social class, non-White participants were much more likely to work several jobs, and they described difficulties figuring out how to pay for college each semester.

Race.

While it is most important to understand the experiences of non-White participants who identified as lower social class, the overall under-representation of non-White students in school music (Elpus, 2011) urges music researchers and teachers to consider next the findings that pertained to race, across lines of social class. These findings might help us understand how to better support non-White students and their perseverance in a system that may not be designed for them.

Along racial lines, participants experiences representation differently. Non-White participants were unlikely to report having had a non-White teacher. This led to difficulties for non-White participants in school, including unequal punishments compared to their White peers. White participants, by contrast, often attended more racially homogenous schools, and they experienced whiteness as the "default" in educational and musical settings. In the transition to college, non-White participants were more likely to experience stronger representation at the university-wide level, though schools of music largely remained predominantly White.

Due to their experiences leading up to college, participants experienced "realness," or the authenticity of race-based interactions, in different ways. Non-White participants began noticing the racial motivations for some interactions at their secondary schools, and non-White participants in secondary honors and advanced placement courses tended to notice a mismatch between the lack of diversity there compared to their other classes. These differences extended into college, where non-White participants detailed feeling like they needed to be on their best behavior so as to not contribute to a racial stereotype. White participants noticed racial interactions on their campuses, but they were much more likely to report those opportunities positively, or to simply be speaking hypothetically through observation, as opposed to directly experiencing racial disharmony like their non-White peers.

Participants experienced different salience of racial/ethnic identity. The racial/ethnic identity of non-White participants was not monolithic. Indeed, some participants felt no strong ties to their racial identity. White participants only discussed their race when prompted, which suggests that the perceived "default" status of whiteness might help well represented White students in unseen ways.

Finally, participant interactions with teachers could be a path to bridging the gap of representation in the field. Whether taught by White or non-White teachers in their respective secondary schools, non-White participants tended to have more positive, nurturing relationships with teachers along the path to music education. When non-White students *did* see someone who looked like them reflected back, when they realized that "music teacher" was a profession accessible to them, it could be a profound experience.

Social class.

It is important, finally, to understand the findings as they pertain to participants in lower social classes across racial/ethnic identities. While music researchers and teachers should be careful to first work toward accepting non-White students, especially those from lower social classes, we must also consider that social class can dictate a student's success in school music regardless of race.

Along lines of social class, place affected participant experiences in secondary school. Participants in rural settings described difficulty traveling to private lesson instructors and other musical opportunities. Geography was an important part of the college job search, with lower social class participants expressing a desire (or need) to stay close to home for family and funding reasons. School demographics also shaped participants' experiences, with participants in this group describing more racially diverse school settings.

Participants also felt their identities as student, musician, and teacher differently. Lower social class participants described themselves as having struggled in school more often, while upper social class participants reported enrolling in honors and AP courses, which had an interesting side effect of erasing much of the school-level diversity through tracking. Participants in the upper social class group were more likely to describe considering other high-difficulty majors like engineering, while lower social class participants more often reported considering other majors as a way to placate parents or identify ways to make money outside of music. Access to private lessons appeared to have an effect on participants' identity as a musician and teacher and, for some participants, helped shape their desire to pursue a double-major in performance along with their music education degree.

Weak ties were actualized differently to connect participants to career opportunities. Upper social class participants were more likely to be groomed by their music teacher for the profession, either directly or through exposure to opportunities like summer music camps and honor bands/choirs. Across racial/ethnic identities, participants who identified as part of the lower social class group were less likely to report access to honors ensembles and state festivals, where school music was reinforced, and future connections were made.

Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Research

As mentioned previously, the first limitation to this study is scope. There is a balance between participant number, rigor, and resources, and for the purposes of a solo dissertation study, this number of participants and this interview structure felt right. Future research might employ a longer interview period, incorporate more participants, or involve methods such as observation or home-stays. All of these are employed in Lareau's (2002) excellent ethnographic examination of race and social class in general education, a paragon in the field.

Second, the study seeks to join the ranks of intersectional work while only incorporating two identity factors—race and social class. Many in the field would question whether this could be considered true intersectionality research (Grant and Zwier, 2011). While I did my best to consider other forms of identity, such as gender and sexuality, a set of sixteen participants with twelve men and only four women (and a male researcher) makes looking for gender difficult. Future research might more clearly operationalize multiple levels of identity, especially in quantitative studies where those differences can be sampled for intentionally.

Likewise, my participant sample is limited in terms of geography (primarily Midwest) and in terms of racial diversity. The six African-American participants in the study allowed for a broad range of experiences and a better understanding of the nuances of what it might mean to be Black in America. The same cannot be said for the two Hispanic participants who, as intriguing as they are, cannot begin to describe the multitude of Hispanic identities. Further research is needed in music education to understand how Hispanic students navigate their social identities in secondary schools and through college (Ethier & Deaux, 1994).

Recommendations for Teaching

Practicing teachers might take suggestions from each section of themes; those based on race, on social class, and on the intersection of race and social class.

Intersections.

Honor and understand how students make music outside of school. Lower social class, Black participants in this study grew up making music in the gospel church, but that style of music (and music-making) was largely not honored in the classroom. This creates a scenario where music educators might evaluate students as "not musical" based on an inability to read sheet music or a knowledge of classical music pedagogy. Instead, finding avenues to honor the music-making happening outside of school can be important to connecting with students. If

learning about an unfamiliar style of music is difficult, one might consider bringing a community

member to the classroom to teach a style of music that might otherwise be ignored.

Use parents and extended family as a resource. The non-White participants in the lower

social class group described overprotective parents. This hyper-vigilance is sometimes the only

way for parents of color to negotiate academic success for their children (Vincent, Rollock, Ball,

& Gillborn, 2011). Working with these parents to encourage participation in the music classroom

may help the students feel connected to the social class. This may involve justifying the

importance of the program to the parent but having overprotective non-White parents on the side

of the program as opposed to against it may be an important step to encouraging diverse

participation.

Race.

Take care in asking non-White students to volunteer on committees and be sensitive to

student experiences. Some non-White participants expressed feeling "tokenized" or otherwise

burdened by being asked to be part of diversity committees. Often these students are already

working multiple jobs or serving their schools in other ways. Faculty of color experience similar

burdens on college campuses, often at the detriment of their personal careers (House, 2017).

Likewise, non-White participants spoke much more directly from experience when discussing

racial issues on campus. Sensitivity is recommended when talking about these subjects, because

while some students may be speaking in hypotheticals or abstracts, others may not.

Seek out and support non-White students. Nearly all of the non-White participants who

ultimately chose music education as a career referenced a supportive, parent-like music teacher.

This may involve going "the extra mile" to assist that student in preparation for lessons,

auditions, and other opportunities. These relationships often extend outside of the normal hours

of social class. Time is clearly limited, and one cannot spend extra time with every student, but

targeted attention to students "on the margins" might pay dividends for their engagement and subsequent connection to music education. Identifying educators of color in your area—assuming you are not one—and facilitating an opportunity for professional mirroring might also prove fruitful for students desperate to see someone who looks like them on front of them as an educator and music teacher.

Honor the complexities of racial/ethnic identity in the classroom. Non-White participants in the study had quite different conceptions of their personal relationship to their ethnic heritage/culture. Getting to know students individually and not essentializing any one experience as "*the* Hispanic experience" or "*the* Black experience" will help students feel more comfortable in your classroom. Likewise, troubling the repertoire—choosing Black composers, for instance, who *don't* compose in the Gospel tradition—and making that choice explicit to students, will help White and non-White students alike understand that there are multiple versions of identity.

Social class.

Understand student needs with regard to geography and demographics. Some study participants expressed challenging experiences with regard to geographical location. Students living in rural areas, or students who drive in to suburban areas to take advantage of higher-quality schools (Kozol, 1991) might have legitimate difficulty leaving school for the day and coming back or getting to school on the weekend for an activity. Likewise, the unique demographic breakdown of each school colored participants' relationship to race and social class, so it is helpful to know that students come into our classrooms not as blank slates, but human beings mediated by their experiences.

Honor multiple paths to musicianship and student-ship. Lower social class participants described themselves more often as struggling students, an identity that can have negative effects up to and including the decision to drop out of school. For some students, elective classes are

their one opportunity for a good grade. This is not an excuse to make music class an "Easy A," but instead a chance for the educator to understand that students internalize these "bad student" identities from the first days they walk into school (Rist, 1970) and it can be difficult, but not impossible, to find and then help students recognize their strengths in music class. Likewise, lower-SES students might come to the music classroom with a very different self-concept about their musical ability than higher-SES students who have been exposed to the type of music valued in school. Demonstrating for students the diversity of potential in music and being patient and willing to help students catch up may help keep a student in music class.

Conclusion

The participants in this study, one way or another, persevered through school music, found a desire to pursue music teaching as a career, and secured access into a collegiate music education program. For some, we might point to a system that is set up for them. For others, income factors or racial/ethnic mismatch—or both—made that path somewhat difficult to follow. This does not mean that we should ignore the White students currently in our music education programs who happen to be part of a higher social class. Over the short term, they will be the ambassadors taking messages of social justice back into school music programs. Still, better understanding their peers from lower social classes, and non-White students along the spectrum of social class, will allow for work in representation to continue. Experiences within racial/ethnic identity are not monolithic, and neither are they among social classes. Understanding how students differ with regard to race and class, and how the combination of race and class works to create a system that privileges school music for one group and not for others, will help us better work to correct this inequality. By fostering more diversity in the profession, we may realize a future of music education where a national organization like NAfME doesn't need to rationalize a lack of diversity among its membership but instead can work to make school music and music

teaching more relevant and representative of the country. Over time, this may help create an

American school music field that more closely matches the diversity of and nuanced experience

of the nation at large.

Epilogue

One Year Later: An Update

Data collection for this dissertation began almost exactly one year ago, in November of 2017. In that time, I moved across the country with my family—a family that is now four people instead of three—to start a new position at Florida International University in Miami. On the first day of school, I walked into my first class as a college professor—my Introduction to Music Education class—to greet 29 undergraduate music education majors, 80% of whom are ethnically Hispanic. I have a lot to learn about the community and the countless variations of ethnic identity, but I'm excited to "put my money where my mouth is" and translate research into practice, working to diversify the profession one student at a time.

My participants have also changed since our initial interviews. Some are beginning their senior year in their music education program, others are looking forward to student teaching, and some have graduated and gotten jobs. This "check in" is to offer one last portrait into the lives of my participants, to whom I am indebted beyond measure—where they are now, and where they might be headed in the future.

Aarón graduated in May, and he took a position teaching middle school band in a Northwest suburb of Chicago. Though his ethnicity and Spanish fluency were likely a factor in his being offered the job—the community has seen a growing Hispanic population over the last few years—he is nonetheless extremely excited to be teaching 6th grade band, as well as co-teaching the 5th grade band with the lead teacher. Most importantly, the job is a 25-minute commute from his parents' house, where he still lives. This allows him to keep an eye out for his mom and dad, who are both still in the country and safe. He continues to explore his Mexican heritage, having just applied for and received his dual Mexican citizenship.

Claire had a hard time finding a job in the suburban setting she's used to, so she ended up moving to a rural area in her state to start a position teaching high school choir. The school is predominantly White, with a mix of low- and middle-income students, and there are a lot of things to like about the position. The students are great, she directs three choirs, and teaches voice lessons. She has an accompanist. The band teacher is also fairly young and is becoming a friend as much as she is a colleague. Still, there is a "culture of mediocrity" that Claire is having a hard time adjusting to. In her judgement, the sports teams are bad, as are the extra-curricular groups, and she's trying to change that as much as she can. State-level honors choir opportunities haven't been part of the culture of the school, and since they were such a big piece of Claire's experience with becoming a music teacher, she and the band director are pushing to get more students involved in those opportunities. She's pretty sure she won't stay too long at this job, and that freedom has allowed her to feel more comfortable to discuss diversity in class, or to choose repertoire that helps start those conversations. A Spanish lullaby became an opportunity to validate the identities of the Latinx students in her classes, and she tries her best to look for other, subtle ways to show her students that she's an ally.

Xander made the decision to stop pursuing his music education degree. After changes to his state's teacher licensure required all students to do a full year of student teaching—a development that would have meant a fifth year of tuition—and an unsuccessful attempt at his college's upper-division music education jury, Xander has chosen to focus on voice performance. He's fairly convinced he'll pursue alternative teacher licensure and find a teaching job that way, though he's also been accepted into a student internship program in art management at a prestigious music performance hall.

Luka is living in a house near campus, in the beginning of his "super-senior" year. At this point, he's not sure whether he'll go right into teaching or pursue performance or graduate

school, but he's excited for what the future holds, and he knows that no matter where the short-

and long-term plan takes him, life will involve music and teaching.

Gabriel has gotten more involved in student government in his senior year, helping steer

his university through a particularly troubling time in the media. He continues to be involved in

contemporary a cappella, learning more about live sound and working with high school students

at summer a cappella camps. As he gets closer to graduation, however, he's been thinking more

about graduate school or, because of his experience in student leadership, applying for law

school. He went back to his middle school to work with his former music teacher in May, so he

is still definitely thinking about teaching, and about being an influence on the next generation of

students—minority and otherwise.

Trevor continues to explore both performance and education. He was part of a chamber

music residency program with a visiting quartet this spring, and he attended an orchestra

academy in California run by his private instructor. He also made some money this summer

working with marching bands for the first time, after a connection on an instrument-specific

Facebook page posted about a job opportunity. Soon, he'll prepare auditions for graduate

programs in performance, and once he hears back, he'll know whether or not he'll head to

graduate school or send resumés out for teaching jobs.

Elijah got a promotion at one of his on-campus jobs, which means more pay and less

time sitting at a desk at one of the dorms on campus. In addition to this job, he got a paid

internship at a local church, working with the youth band and conducting the youth choir. In fact,

Elijah is so busy with work and school that he's beginning to question whether he's *too* busy to

balance everything. Still, in his music program, Elijah is excelling. He led a reading session and

took part in a conducting master class at his state choral directors' conference, and he's making a

point to go to more symphony concerts and do more score study and analysis. In February, his

Reserves unit was sent to a neighboring state for three weeks—he had intended to keep up with class assignments, but the internet connection there was spotty. Luckily, his teachers were very understanding, and he was able to do make-up work when he returned.

Lindsey got a job teaching choir on the west side of her state, in a mostly rural, predominantly White area. The school is in a region with a strong Christian identity—a small Baptist college sits near campus, skewing the population of the town toward young college students during the school year. Lindsey is also working at a church in the area, preparing the music for their weekly services. A few years ago, the church merged with a predominantly Black church in town, so there has been a melding of musical traditions which means that Lindsey has had to work on learning by ear and not relying so much on the sheet music. She's started to incorporate more rote learning and ear training into her daily routine at school, something that's benefitting her *and* her students.

Terek is in the middle of his student teaching semester, and then he'll finish up his coursework this spring before graduation. He was placed in a diverse magnet school in Chicago with a strong music program, and he will also get a chance to student teach 7th and 8th grade general music. Terek will graduate and obtain his teaching license, but an experience working with a music education researcher over the summer, coupled with the gifted scholars program at his university, has given him a chance to think more about going right into graduate school. He assisted with a project bringing instrumental music into underserved communities, and he found the work extremely rewarding.

Violet is the newest PK-8 general music teacher at a school in a community of Chicago with a somewhat negative reputation in terms of violence and education. She was hired as part of an initiative to retain quality teachers, and she is looking forward to the opportunity, though her advisor actually recommended that she *not* take the job. According to her advisor, while

positions at challenging schools in difficult neighborhoods can be rewarding—especially for

someone looking to bring the social mission of their university into the "real world"—but the

adjustment to the first year of teaching can be rough even in the most comfortable school district.

Still, Violet worries she'd settle into a more suburban, White, and/or higher-SES district and lose

the desire to leave for a school with students who "need" her more, so she took the job and is

doing her best to settle in and give her students the music education she knows they deserve.

Reuben just began his senior year, and he's preparing for a *very* busy year. He'll give a

30-minute half-recital on the organ, and a full hour-long recital split between solo voice and

conducting a group of students he selected and rehearsed independently. He already knows

where he'll student teach, at a majority-Black K-8 school doing general music and choir, as well

as at a public arts magnet high school, where he'll work with a variety of choirs. Right now,

however, Reuben is most focused on getting into a graduate program in choral conducting. While

his mentor has transitioned into the Director of Choral Activities job, a new faculty member in

the department has been extremely helpful in mentoring him through the process, and he'll begin

sending out applications very soon.

Caitlin is starting her junior year in the music department, though she's only currently

enrolled in one upper-level music education class, a course about teaching general music

methods to secondary school students. She continues to focus on developing both her teaching

skills *and* her abilities as a performer, and while she might consider attending graduate school in

the future, right now she's leaning toward teaching once she graduates.

Samuel is teaching K-8 instrumental music at a predominantly Hispanic school close to

where he grew up. In fact, Samuel described it as "100% Hispanic." He's teaching band, but also

developing a guitar program after a classroom teacher offered to donate the thirty guitars he

purchased to the program. Samuel is learning to really love the program. The students respond to

him as a Hispanic male teacher—though there are surprisingly few non-White teachers in a district with so many non-White students. He still gets some questions about his heritage—are you *really* Mexican? — and accusations that he doesn't look or sound the way students expect. Still, he's noticed how strong a role music plays in the lives of his students and their parents, many of whom are professional or semi-professional musicians in the community. Unlike other schools where students enroll in music classes to pad their list of achievements for college, these students have strong ties to their heritage and its music.

Alex has decided not to pursue music teaching after he graduates. He's still planning his recital this year, and still performing in two choirs. This decision, though, means he won't enroll in the extra year at his school to get his teaching credential. What it *doesn't* mean is that he won't be involved with music. His interest in digital audio has only grown, so he's planning to look into ways to develop a career in performance, songwriting, and sound engineering. He'll go out for auditions and apply for internships and see what opportunities present themselves. Whatever the next step is, he has faith that it'll be the right one.

Carina worked hard this summer to complete her general education classes, so she's enrolled this fall in mostly music electives: classes in arts administration, chamber music, and others. This doesn't mean she's not busy. Between her senior recital. teaching certification tests, and networking within the school of music, she has a lot to accomplish this semester, her last on campus before student teaching. Recent changes to the teacher placement process mean that she should hear where she's placed fairly soon, but as long as she's working with school-age orchestra and/or band students, she'll be happy. From there, she'll find a job and after a few years, she'll likely pursue a master's degree.

Max traveled this summer to present and perform at a conference about progressive music education, and he is in his last semester on campus before beginning his intern teaching.

He is still working three jobs, and the question of income has become an important topic as he heads toward his internship. His university only allows for placement in a three-county area surrounding the school, so ideally Max would move back home and still be able to keep two of his jobs while managing a busy schedule student teaching. He'd do one of his on-campus jobs remotely and transfer his off-campus job to a branch in his hometown. While he can't call his shots for where he's placed, he can try to pull some strings. Hopefully everything works out, because the alternative—staying on campus and paying rent money–isn't ideal.

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Appendix A. Institutional Review Board Approval

Institutional Review Board Office
Northwestern University

NORTHWESTERN
UNIVERSITY

Biomedical IRB
750 North Lake Shore Drive
Rubloff Building, Suite 700
Chicago, Illinois 60611
312-503-9338

Social and Behavioral Sciences IRB
600 Foster Street
Chambers Hall, Second Floor
Evanston, Illinois 60208
847-467-1723

APPROVAL OF NEW STUDY

DATE: October 25, 2017

TO: Dr. Steven Demorest

FROM: Office of the IRB

DETERMINATION DATE: 10/25/2017

APPROVAL DATE: 10/17/2017

EFFECTIVE DATE: 10/25/2017

EXPIRATION DATE: 10/16/2018

The Northwestern University IRB reviewed and approved the submission described below:

Type of Submission:	Initial Study
Review Level:	Expedited
Expedited Category:	- (6) Voice, video, digital, or image recordings - (7) Behavioral research/social science methods
Title of Study:	Understanding Issues of Race and Class in Successful Collegiate Music Education Students
Principal Investigator:	Steven Demorest
IRB ID:	STU00206044
Funding Source:	Name: School of Music
Grant ID:	
IND, IDE, or HDE:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Demorest Race, Class in Music Education Recruitment Document.docx, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Demorest Race, Class in Music Education HRP-582, Category: Consent Form; • Demorest Race, Class in Music Education HRP-583, Category: IRB Protocol; • Correspondence_for_STU00206044.doc, Category: Correspondence; • Demorest Race, Class in Music Education Interview Protocol.docx, Category: Interview.
Special Determination(s):	

In conducting this study, you are required to follow the requirements listed in the Northwestern University (NU) Investigator Manual (HRP-103), which can be found by navigating to the IRB Library within the eIRB+ system.

NU IRB approval does not constitute or guarantee institutional approval and/or support. Investigators and study team members must comply with all applicable federal, state, and local laws, as well as NU Policies and Procedures, which may include obtaining approval for your research activities from other individuals or entities.

For IRB-related questions, please consult the NU IRB website at http://irb.northwestern.edu. For general research questions, please consult the NU Office for Research website at www.research.northwestern.edu

Appendix B. Recruitment Letter

Colleague Name,

I'm recruiting participants for my dissertation research study, and I'm writing to see if you'd help that process. The study (title and IRB number are included at the bottom of this e-mail) will explore race and class in undergraduate music education, in an attempt to better understand the factors that influence the path toward a career in music education.

I am looking for an under-represented minority (URM) student (Hispanic, non-White; non-Hispanic, Black) who would be willing to speak to me about their path to becoming a music education major, reflecting specifically on race and class. We would meet electronically three times (based on their availability) for 60-90 minutes over the course of three weeks to one month. From there, we will identify a well-represented (non-Hispanic, White) student at your institution to reflect on their path over the same time frame of interviews.

Though there is no compensation for participation in this study, I hope that understanding the intersection of race and class with regard to attainment in music education for URM students and their peers will be an important contribution to the profession.

Would you consider forwarding this message to a currently enrolled, junior or senior music education major at your institution who identifies as a URM student? If they are interested in participating in the study, they can contact me directly by e-mail.

Thanks so much,
Jacob Berglin

Study Title: Understanding Issues of Race and Class in Successful Collegiate Music Education Students
IRB Number: **STU00206044**
Principal Investigator:
    Steven Demorest
Contact Information:
    Jacob Berglin
    jacob.berglin@u.northwestern.edu
    269-806-2293

Appendix C. Demographic Questionnaire

Note: *this questionnaire was administered using Google Forms using a confidential participant ID numbers.*

Berglin Dissertation Demographic Questionnaire

Thanks so much for agreeing to be a part of my dissertation research! This brief survey will help me learn a little bit about you before our first conversation and provide a foundation for us to reflect on as we talk about your journey to being a music education major.

Initial information.
- Age (in Years)?
- Primary Instrument?
- Teaching Area.
    o Band
    o Choir
    o Strings
    o Other

Parental education.
- Father's Level of Education.
    o Some High School
    o High School Graduate
    o Some College
    o College Graduate
    o Advanced Degree
- Mother's Level of Education.
    o Some High School
    o High School Graduate
    o Some College
    o College Graduate
    o Advanced Degree

Demographic Information
- Ethnicity: Hispanic origin?
    o No
    o Yes: Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano
    o Yes: Puerto Rican
    o Yes: Cuban
    o Yes: Other
- Race.
    o White
    o Black, African American
    o American Indian, Alaskan Native
    o Asian, Asian American

- o Other
- Gender Expression
  - o Male
  - o Female
  - o Transgender
  - o I prefer not to disclose.
  - o Other
- Sexual Orientation
  - o Heterosexual
  - o Gay
  - o Lesbian
  - o Bisexual
  - o I prefer not to disclose.
  - o Other
- Given the options below, what best describes your family's finances growing up?
  - o Low Income
  - o Middle Income
  - o High Income
- Given the options below, what best describes your family's geographic location growing up?
  - o Urban
  - o Suburban
  - o Rural
- Is there anything else you want me to know about you and/or your background?

Appendix D. Interview Protocols

Note: *These interviews employed a semi-structured, open format. Attached are sample questions to guide each interview.*

Interview #1: Focused Life History.
- What was music like in your home? How did your parents interact with music?
- What are your earliest memories of school music?
- What were your experiences in secondary school music?
- What were your listening habits outside of school? Did you have outside-of-school music-making experiences?
- Did you take private lessons?
- How salient do you feel issues of race and class were in this space? Was racial or class identity discussed in class?
- What made you want to become a teacher? What past experiences did you have as a "teacher"? Counselors, tutors, etc.
- What individuals were influential you on your path to identifying music education as a career?

Interview #2: The Details of Experience.
- Describe the process of applying for college. Where did you apply? What was the audition process like? Where did you get in? What factors influences your decision about where to attend?
- What courses have you taken within/outside of the music department?
- Describe a typical day on your campus.
- How salient are issues of race and class to you on a daily basis in college? How often do these issues come up in the classroom? In the music classroom? More informally on campus?
- Describe your experiences as a pre-service teacher.

Interview #3: Reflection on the Meaning.
      The final interview was focused on the participant's meaning-making of issues of race and class as they relate to becoming a music education major. Questions varied from participant to participant, but some sample questions are provided.

- What is your job as a music teacher?
- Do you think you'll discuss issues of race/class in your music classroom? If so, in what ways?
- What part of your job, if any, is encouraging students to pursue music education in college?
    - What role do under-represented minority students play in this part of your job?
- What are your thoughts on school music diversity initiatives like beat making/rock bands?

Appendix E. Sample Coding Table

Theme: "Self-Taught": Student, Musician, and Teacher Identity
Student Identity

Category	Sub-Category	Code	Participant	Notes
Lower Social Class				
IDENTITY	STUDENT	"Suck" at math, writing.	Xander	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	"Sucks" at psychology.	Xander	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	Had trouble adapting.	Elijah	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	Always in principal's office.	Elijah	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	Problems in Catholic school.	Elijah	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	"If I get like a B on a test, I'm always like \<gasp\> 'my world…'"	Violet	WRP
IDENTITY	STUDENT	"develop like a depression."	Samuel	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	"started to lose focus in school."	Samuel	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	"stopped going to school."	Samuel	URM
Upper Social Class				
IDENTITY	STUDENT	School always came easy.	Gabriel	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	Know all materials/ace tests.	Gabriel	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	7th grade (gifted track).	Reuben	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	School-conscious kid.	Carina	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	In mostly honors and AP classes, with mostly White kids.	Carina	URM
IDENTITY	STUDENT	Loving school all his life.	Trevor	WRP
IDENTITY	STUDENT	Good student, lots of activities.	Trevor	WRP