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Black band for Brown students: a culturally relevant pedagogy?

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Boston University

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF FINE ARTS

Dissertation

**BLACK BAND FOR BROWN STUDENTS:
A CULTURALLY RELEVANT PEDAGOGY?**

by

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B.M.E., Howard University, 1984
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Musical Arts

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work, first and foremost, to Katherine Thomas, Dr. Carole W. Singleton, and Rev Dr. I. Benni Singleton, my great-grandmother, mother, and father, respectively. I would give much for you to have been here to see me finish!

I also dedicate this to all of my professors through all of my degree programs.

Thank you for constantly pushing me!

This is also for my children, E. Atiya (you're next!), Jasmin (my proud daughter!), Samuel (thanks for telling me "You're doing great!"), Daniel (keep making us hear you!), and Joseph (ite extrañamos y te queremos!). I always want to be great for all of you!

Last but not least, this is for every student everywhere who knows what it is to "run it back" not just because "Prof. said so" but because you want to be the best you can be! Especially those who have been and will be members of "my band" – the "Ninth Wonder of the World," the "Pride of the Lone Star State," from the heart of "da Tre," the Ocean of SOOOOOOuuuuuuuul Marching Band!!!!

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I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the Nook Café, where most of this dissertation was written, revised, and at the end presented; a true Rivendell in this presently covid-19 world. And lastly, I would like to acknowledge all of my colleagues who never tired of asking "how's the writing going?" You were the crowd on the side of the course that cheered me on to the finish line. When you read this, I hope you can hear my answer, "It's going just fine!"

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DARRYL MARC SINGLETON

Boston University College of Fine Arts, 2020

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ABSTRACT

Multicultural education researchers have long argued the advantages of culturally based pedagogical strategies for the education of students with non-dominant cultural backgrounds. Gloria Ladson-Billings theoretical framework — *culturally relevant pedagogy* (CRP) — is one strategy that, though including acknowledgement of common characteristics of teachers implementing this critical pedagogy, is identified primarily by its results in students who display the three central tenets of CRP — academic achievement, maintained or enhanced cultural competence, and an understanding and critique of the existing social order. Seemingly in contrast to culturally based pedagogical strategies, I have observed Black band teachers who have engaged Hispanic students with pedagogy patterned after HBCU show-style marching bands.

The purpose of this study was to investigate a Black band director's use of show-style band pedagogy to engage Hispanic students as a possible example of CRP. The research questions centered around the three central tenets of CRP:

1. To what extent does the teacher consider students' culture in the pedagogy in terms of students'
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including

- i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?
2. What reactions do students have towards show-style pedagogy?
3. What perceptions do students have about the impact of show-style pedagogy on their:
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?
4. What nexus exists between the teachers' pedagogical intent in using show-style pedagogy and students'
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?

This was an ethnographic case study executed at an urban high school in Texas with an African American band director and predominantly Hispanic band students. The director was interviewed; band classes, rehearsals, and performances were observed; and student informants along with representative caretakers of those informants were interviewed. Findings included evidence of the three tenets of Ladson-Billings's culturally relevant pedagogy, though not always along the traditional cultural delineators of race, nationality, or ethnicity.

Findings also included band as a culture as a salient theme; another was critique of the status of show-style band in the related milieu of music education and adjudicated scholastic performances. The participating band director was found to have implemented some strategies in alignment with CRP independent

of any consideration for the students' Hispanic background. That finding aligned with Ladson-Billings's own critique that many practices associated with CRP can be conceived of as universal pedagogical goals. The researcher concluded that the implementation of show-style band pedagogy was culturally relevant for the students in the study.

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PART I: APPROACH

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Study

From childhood, I understood that I was Black. I belonged to a group called “Afro-Americans” and members of our race were referred to as “brother” or “sister,” according to race, and those terms were short for “soul brother” and the less used “soul sister.” There were a lot of social rules that I learned. I was aware that they existed because I was supposed to use different rules when I was not around other Blacks. At the time, that meant White Americans. As far as I understood it, Latin Americans and, at the time, “Orientals” were foreigners or immigrants, existing outside of the overall racial dichotomy of America, again, as I understood it.

As part of that understanding, or what I would call now a set of navigational strategies, I was supposed to walk, talk, and prefer according to Black parameters. White America was “them” and they did not like “us,” except for the Whites who were my parents’ friends and colleagues, because they weren’t “*those kind*” of White people. I was Black. I belonged to the Negro race. We were special. Among other things, we were cool, had our own music, our own clothing, had soul, and we were not by any means White. I recognized that I was part of something apart – a *culture*.

“BLACK BAND”

I did not participate as an instrumentalist in marching band until my sophomore year in college. I attended Howard University, which is a Historically Black University (HBCU),¹ considered part of the *Black Ivy League*,² and has been “long considered the Mecca of Black education.”³ Though my high school housed an extensive music program, for that time, with three instrumental concert ensembles, a jazz ensemble, a pep band, a percussion ensemble, and a network of private teachers students could access; there was no marching band. Further, my high school band director had advised us, if at all possible, to avoid joining marching band in college. mentioning on various occasions that he did not enjoy his own college and military marching band experiences. He also expressed his belief that marching band participation would likely interfere with one’s growth as a serious musician. With that understanding, I used an untreated torn cartilage in my knee as an excuse not to march my freshman year.

In order to receive a grade for the marching band class, which was required for my degree plan, I hand-copied music for the band. This was tedious for me as my music calligraphy skills were an unfortunate parallel of my marginal general penmanship. I should note that I attended college before the advent of readily accessible personal computers or music notation software. Throughout

¹. See “HBCU” in Chapter 4.

². An unofficial reference to several HBCU’s that attracted the attendance of African American students that demonstrated consistently high academic performance. See Fleming, *Blacks in College*.

³. Chappell, “Howard University,” 60.

that first football season, I observed members of the band practicing the dance routines and drum cadences for the field shows. What they were doing and the enthusiasm with which they did it inspired me to attend the last game of the season so I could see their performance. Afterwards, I immediately went to the band director and told him I wanted to march. He welcomed me without asking about my “injured knee.” I fell in love with marching band. I found myself relating easily to the music, the physical activity, the “drummer’s culture,”⁴ the aggressiveness of the competition, the spirit of entertainment, and the engagement with the audiences.⁵ It was only after I had been marching a while that I remembered my fascination with an HBCU-inspired high school show band that I had seen several times as a young boy.

Despite a primarily classical background and an emphasis on classical music performance throughout undergraduate school and my master’s program, I found that my love for and gravity towards marching band never faded. That love was for HBCU show band and also corps-style band, to which I was introduced by my college band director. During my undergraduate years I did have the opportunity to march in two large All-American College marching bands, both of which were corps-style. Both groups had members from HBCUs and HWIs (Historically White Institutions) of varying styles.⁶ Though there were many band members from various schools who expressed what I perceived as

4. Certain sections in the band tended to exhibit an outlying subculture within the general culture of the band.

5. See Chapters 4 and 5 for more details about these aspects of band participation.

6. There is more detailed discussion of marching band styles in chapter 4.

biases and prejudices about one style or another, by the end of the four weeks we spent together there seemed to grow a mutual respect as we all learned more about other marching styles. That experience, which included intensive instructional experiences with respected Drum Corps International instructors,⁷ gave me an insider's exposure to some of the foundational aesthetics and principles of corps-style band show design, rehearsal, and performance. During those times I also found that many people I encountered seemed to consider and utilize "show style" and "corps style" as codes for Black marching band and White marching band, respectively, with the primary exception of members of some midwestern HWI bands that also considered themselves to march show style.

My third post as a college music teacher and assistant band director was in the state of Texas. In that state, high school music programs receive a great deal of exposure and investment, bands in particular. The state music educators convention is arguably the largest gathering of its type in the nation, with over 25,000 attendees and over 1,000 exhibitors booths each year.⁸ As I began to interact with band directors at Texas high schools with show style bands, all having a majority minority population, I noticed what I considered a problem. Only two of the more than twenty directors I knew were taking show-style shows to University Interscholastic League (UIL) marching contests.⁹ These bands all marched, performed, and functioned in a manner aligned with HBCU show band

7. Drum Corp International is the entity governing an independent league of 45+ drum and bugle corps and its touring, circuit-style competition.

8. See "Convention."

9. See "University Interscholastic League" in chapter 4.

traditions at football games, parades, and everywhere else except district marching contest. Some chose not to participate in UIL sponsored marching contests at all. Others taught corps-style shows just for contest while performing show style at football games and other performances, requiring their students to concurrently attempt competence in the disparate styles. Directors explained their decisions using phrases like “automatic deduction [of score],” “you just can’t do that,” “as soon as you lift your knee or dance you get marked down.” In more than one case the school principal required UIL contest participation using a corps-style show.

The majority of those directors indicated displeasure on the part of the students at having to learn and perform a corps-style show. Several directors related various strategies to motivate and, in some cases, coerce cooperation. To be fair, in the 1990s there was one school that for several years excelled at UIL contests using corps-style and also at show style Battle of the Bands (BOTBs), but only one. Conversation with directors and students over the years left me with the overall impression that the general expectation of the directors and students of these bands, whether using show style or corps style at contest, was to receive a rating of III at best.¹⁰

I initially thought that perhaps there was an official stance advocating corps style over show style. I would have considered a documented aesthetic bias unjust, but at least explicatory of the situation. However, inquiry revealed that

¹⁰. UIL ratings – I: Superior, II: Excellent, III: Good, IV: Fair, and V: Poor. Consistent ratings of I or II are generally perceived as indicative of a “successful” or “quality” band program.

UIL and TMAA documentation does not specify a style to be used, and further, that there is no preferred style.¹¹ I then attended six consecutive TMAA marching band adjudication workshops over a three-year period. Each workshop was two hours long. In each workshop I heard a phrase indicating that there is no official style for adjudicated marching performances. In each two-hour workshop I heard approximately one hour thirty-five minutes devoted to corps-style band adjudication and fifteen to twenty minutes of content addressing military style marching, with video examples of each style. Over the entire twelve hours of workshops, I heard no more than fifteen sentences that concerned show-style marching band. I found this incongruous with the fact that show-style bands comprise nearly one third of the bands in the two largest school districts in the state.

On two separate occasions I questioned the clinicians about the absence of show-style concepts in the workshop. One indicated that “nobody does that” at UIL contests. Both stated that they did not have the expertise to talk about it. The second clinician I spoke with communicated that it would certainly be a good thing for judges to know more about show-style band. He did not offer any recourse, however. Additionally, I talked to directors who told me of one incident where a TMEA official spoke against the presentation of show-style performances at UIL contests and another where a band was forced by school administrators to

¹¹. See League, “Marching Band Rubrics – Music – University Interscholastic League (UIL)”;

and “Texas Music Adjudicators Association.”

change the style of the band for contests and football games.¹² I was left with the impression of a system that demonstrated, in my view, a pervasive bias against the cultural expression of a significant portion of the student population and presented a tension between the goals of a democratic education and the aesthetics and pedagogical approach used in these band programs.

“BROWN STUDENTS”

Substantial proportions of Hispanic students have comprised my teaching contexts for more than twenty years. In my home city I had been exposed to Hispanic culture though I did not have any great intimate knowledge thereof. Upon arriving in Texas, my exposure and knowledge of Hispanic presence and culture greatly increased. Texas, due to its origins and to immigration patterns, has always had a significant Hispanic population. After five years teaching in Texas, I moved with my family to Mexico as a missionary, working in churches and villages for five years. Once we returned to the US, I spent an additional year traveling several times to Guatemala, prior to returning to teaching college-level band and other music classes. While in Mexico, I also taught music and English to elementary, secondary, and high school students. I was immersed in and navigated the culture in Mexico to the point that many natives that met me, while not necessarily presuming I was from Mexico, did not believe that I was born and raised in the US. Indeed, I easily joked, and often dreamt in Spanish.

¹². See Meyers, “Ball High Band May Drop High-Stepping Style”; Viren and Meeks, “Yates Band Moves to More Formal Style for UIL Bid.”

While on a trip in Guatemala, I was in a car being driven to a church. I heard the sounds of a marching band playing popular music from the US and was able to glimpse sousaphones and quint-toms, also known as tenors or multi-tenors. A member of the ensemble was the child of the person driving so he took me back to talk with them. They were a band associated with a school in the town. They performed in competitions. The competitions did not limit the type of music performed or the style of the marching. What I had heard was part of a hip-hop song by Shawn Carter, whose professional name is Jay-Z; the band also had accompanying dance steps. The director informed me that he gave the students the option to decide what kind of marching band they wanted to be. After researching all of the bands they could find online, including drum corps,¹³ military bands, and Japanese indoor competition bands, they decided that they wanted to pattern themselves after HBCU show bands. Their repertoire included marches, classically inspired works, and popular music of various genres, but their overall style was most aligned with HBCU show style. This caused me to consider what it might be about HBCU show-style band that attracted these students with no apparent cultural connection and, what connection might there be with these students' choice of style and the problem I had identified with band classroom pedagogical practices back in the US.

¹³. "Drum corps" is short for "drum and bugle corps."

CULTURALLY RELEVANT PEDAGOGY AS A THEORETICAL FRAME

Culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP) is a construct defined by Gloria Ladson-Billings as producing academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness in students.¹⁴ The selection CRP as the theoretical framework for this study has roots in my personal journey. I am a Black American male. I have attended, at different times, predominantly Black, predominantly White, and racially mixed schools. I operated outside of school, however, surrounded by Black culture. Due to pervasive language, images, and expression of Black pride in my home and surroundings during pre-adolescence, I perceived everything, including school experiences, through the red, black, and green lens of the Afro-American cultural milieu of the 1960s and 1970s. Songs like “To be Young Gifted and Black” and “I wish I Knew How it Would Feel to be Free” (both songs by Nina Simone) were commonly heard on the car radio, as was “The Revolution Will Not Be Televised” (a recorded spoken word piece by Gil Scott-Heron). In the following paragraphs I detail some of my experiences with academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical awareness. This section closes with information about the impact of those experiences on my teaching and my selection of CRP as the theoretical lens for this study.

Academic achievement was central to the culture in my house and in my family. Both of my parents were victims of segregation and beneficiaries of the Civil Rights Movement in America. They were, however, from radically different

¹⁴. See Ladson-Billings, “Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy.”

backgrounds. My father was born in the rural south two years before the stock market crash of 1929. After various living arrangements throughout his youth that separated him at times from the nucleus of his family, he attended college on the GI Bill after WWII and later earned his master's degree and was awarded an honorary doctorate from his undergraduate alma mater.¹⁵ My mother was a Washington, DC native who attended a private, predominantly White college for women in the 1950s. She went on to earn her master's and doctoral degrees from another HWI. Both parents were adamant about my sister's and my success in school. I clearly remember being placed on extended punishment for dropping from an A- to a C+ not on a report card, but a third-week progress report. I also remember my mother encouraging us that we belonged to the "talented tenth" as written about by W. E. B. Dubois,¹⁶ and that we should carry ourselves as such. Both of my parents taught us that we had to be "twice as good to get half as far" as Whites.

In grade school, I never felt disconnected from Black culture because most of my teachers reinforced my culture at school. As an early adolescent, I took cultural connectedness between home and school for granted. As I progressed from a predominantly Black elementary school to a mixed middle school and then on to a predominantly White high school, I began to encounter challenges while navigating between home, community, and school environments. Perhaps importantly, the elementary school was public in a predominantly Black school

¹⁵. For information on the GI bill, see "About GI Bill Benefits."

¹⁶. See Du Bois, *Selected Essays*.

district, while the middle and high schools were private and Catholic. This was followed by undergraduate work at an HBCU and graduate studies at HWI. Navigating all of those varied environments, and likely because of navigating those varied environments, I developed an acute awareness of how possessing, and demonstrating, what I now understand as appropriate cultural capital in each situation could affect my ability to progress academically and interact socially. Thus, my experiences reflected what Ladson-Billings observed in her research on culturally relevant pedagogy. That is, I could perceive differences in opportunities afforded to students relevant to how one's dress, speech, and even carriage aligned with gatekeepers' standards. In development of the CRP framework, Gloria Ladson-Billings studied successful teachers of African American students, identifying common characteristics of the teachers and common results in the students.

We were told to always be careful around White policemen and to be wary and wise whenever we were in a situation where a White person was a gatekeeper in any sense of the word. My father would refer to "the man,"¹⁷ having never explained the term, with the assumption that I knew what he was talking about. I indeed was familiar with the concept because I had learned it from the movies, television shows, and music of the time. Those mediums, along with my parents, were a primary source of my understanding of Black Americans' status in and

¹⁷. "The man" is a term used as a generalized reference to a person or persons in power. In America, for decades it was commonly understood to refer to White people as generally being in power over Blacks. It is also used, often by working-class people, to refer to those in power over them, usually on the job or in political power.

navigation of American society. My parents talked openly about racial inequities in society and critiqued, sometimes passionately, the negative actions of Whites against Blacks. Despite this, I can say that my parents were not—in any way that I could perceive—racist, and they taught us that all people should be equal, but that just was not how things were. They were also a source of inspiration for how things could, and should, be better. Thus, sociopolitical consciousness was integral to my youth.

In turn, I primarily teach Black urban youth from lower and middle-class backgrounds. I seek to use any insight into or knowledge about my students' frames of reference, including culture, to help them engage in material presented in the classroom. From early in my career, my teaching goals included producing academic success, cultural competence, and critical consciousness in my students. I was, however, unaware of Ladson Billings, her work, or that those concepts were central to her CRP framework.

THE PROBLEM

Educators and scholars have employed the construct *multicultural education* (MCE) from various perspectives, across which the common thread remains the inclusion of more than one culture or cultural perspective in some aspect of the education process. Grant, an education professor and a prolific researcher, conceived of MCE as inherently related to the promises made to American citizens in the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights. MCE takes place in schools and other institutions, but is not a limited academic subject;

instead, it informs the entire curriculum.¹⁸

Gloria Ladson-Billings's *culturally relevant pedagogy* falls under the broader category of MCE. Originally, the theory focused on how Black American children were taught with consideration for Black culture, often by White teachers.¹⁹ Ladson-Billings's grounded theory culturally relevant pedagogy, which promotes using a student's culture as a resource to help the student access course content and achieve in the classroom.

Ladson-Billings articulated three key results for students who experienced culturally relevant pedagogy: First, culturally relevant pedagogy resulted in students who successfully demonstrated that learning had taken place. Second, the design of the culturally relevant learning environment did not compromise the students' ability and desire to navigate successfully within their home culture as a viable and respectable way of life. At the same time, the environment helped each student become a competent participant in another culture. Third, in light of a focus on culturally dominated groups, culturally relevant pedagogy helped each student develop awareness of how their cultural knowledge, and its expressions, were enabled and constrained in the broader society, along with implications thereof for social justice. Ladson-Billings hoped that culturally relevant pedagogy would "find broad applicability" in other cases of mismatched ethnicity between teacher and student, beyond Black students and White

¹⁸. Grant, "Multicultural Education," 171.

¹⁹. For detailed information on the original study, see Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*.

teachers.²⁰

That mismatch exists in Texas, where over 50 percent of public-school students are Hispanic, yet only 27 percent of the teaching force is Hispanic.²¹ Administrators and curriculum developers in Texas have sought to address concerns for effectively educating Hispanic student populations. For instance, some school administrations implement bilingual programs and curricular components relevant to Hispanic culture. This type of strategy aligns with views of multicultural education scholars in general and specifically with Ladson-Billings on educating culturally dominated children.²²

Ostensibly in contrast to culturally based pedagogical strategies, I have observed Black band teachers in metropolitan school districts who have engaged Hispanic students with pedagogy patterned on the traditions of HBCU show-style marching bands.²³ Presumably, this marching style is more associated with the directors' Black culture than with their students' Hispanic culture, and in contrast to Ladson-Billings's theorizing about Black students with White teachers, both students and teachers represent culturally dominated groups. Given this variation from parameters present in the original study, is it possible

²⁰. Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*, 15.

²¹. See Saenz, "Pocket Edition."

²². Nieto described African-Americans, Hispanics, and other minorities as "culturally and linguistically dominated students." I use those terms and derivatives such as "culturally subordinated" to maintain the critical stance of CRP and of this study. Conversely, I also employ the phrase dominant culture in reference to "majority." See Nieto, "Critical Multicultural Education and Students' Perspectives," 179.

²³. In this study, I will refer to this tradition as "show style" (e.g., "show-style band" or "show-style pedagogy.")

to view this situation within the culturally relevant pedagogy framework, especially with regard to developing cultural competence in the students? There must exist some relevance for these students so apparently engaged in such a culturally related activity. However, given the origins of show-style pedagogy in the teachers' culture, have the directors designed their pedagogy with student relevance in mind? And if so, with what aspects of such relevance are the teachers' intentions aligned? There is a need, then, to investigate how Black band directors use show-style pedagogy to engage Hispanic band students. This study focused on that phenomenon in a Texas high school in a metropolitan school district.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE STUDY

The concept of multicultural education arose from concerns about the inclusion and achievement of students from non-dominant cultures. Although multicultural education research in America dates at least to the early twentieth century,²⁴ it became more prominent during and after the Civil Rights Era. Research in the 1960s was focused mainly on Black culture, but multicultural education concerns expanded. For example, in the case of *Lau v. Nichols*, plaintiffs claimed that non-English speaking, Chinese American students were not afforded educational opportunities equivalent to other students. In its decision, The United States Supreme Court relied on the Civil Rights Act of 1964

²⁴. Such as Addams, "The Public School and the Immigrant Child"; and Dewey, *Democracy and Education*.

to establish the rights of students with limited English proficiency to obtain a meaningful education.²⁵ Milestones such as *Lau v. Nichols* helped to establish multicultural education as a field encompassing more than Black experiences. Contemporary multicultural education is concerned with equal and equitable education for all culturally dominated students, so this study's focus on Hispanic students reflects this expansion of multicultural education research.

The emergence of culturally relevant pedagogy has been one indication that teachers' understanding of students and their communities is central to multicultural education. In her research that led to the development of CRP, Ladson-Billings consistently observed various factors that enabled effective multicultural education. Effective teachers in those contexts believed that all students are capable of academic success and placed emphasis on the student's culture not only towards helping the student learn and bridge to a dominant culture, but also as a curriculum worthy of study. They also encouraged a conscious critique of broader institutional and social norms that structure and sustain inequity and inequality.

Ladson-Billings argued that the practices of successful teachers should be studied "again and again."²⁶ However, the body of research literature concerning CRP's application in music education, while growing, is still limited. Abril examined one White, non-Hispanic teacher's journey to bring Mariachi to a

²⁵. *Lau v. Nichols*.

²⁶. Ladson-Billings, "But That's Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy," 163.

middle school and the tensions around learning students' cultures in depth.²⁷ Similarly, Albert observed that the availability of a culturally relevant ensemble contributed to student retention in a middle school instrumental music program.²⁸ In one of the few studies that examined the relationship between a teacher's intention and students' engagement in a multicultural music program, Gurgel found that when the teacher approached students with both warmth and respect, the students were more engaged and interacted spontaneously with the teacher.²⁹ Furthermore, when that teacher presented challenging classroom goals, the students' attention and focus were engaged. In Gurgel's estimation, the teacher believed that all students could succeed,³⁰ a mindset central to the teachers in Ladson-Billings's research. The present study expands on this research in music education, specifically focusing on instrumental pedagogy at the high school level. Further, the cultural mismatch in this study was between a Black music teacher and his Hispanic students—both teacher and students represented culturally dominated groups.

The ways in which teachers integrate their culture and that of their students into their teaching have bearing within the frame of culturally relevant pedagogy. I anticipated that investigation of those factors comprising the

²⁷. See Abril, "Responding to Culture in the Instrumental Music Programme."

²⁸. See Albert, "Strategies for the Recruitment and Retention of Band Students in Low Socioeconomic School Districts."

²⁹. See Gurgel, "Building Strong Teacher–Student Relationships in Pluralistic Music Classrooms."

³⁰. See Gurgel, "Levels of Engagement in a Racially Diverse 7th Grade Choir Class."

participant teacher's pedagogical intent might contribute data useful in responding to the research questions and to the application of the study's findings. One such example I considered while designing the study was the concept of culture, ostensibly integral to any culture-based or culture-considering pedagogy. Flory and McCaughtry, perceived culture as extending beyond race to "socioeconomic status, language, [and] family structure."³¹ Could HBCU show-style marching band pedagogy therefore be viewed as an appropriate way to teach non-Black students, helping them integrate home, school, and community cultures into the academic process? I also considered that perhaps it was not about the style being "Black," but rather that it is not White. Did the director consider it a means for students to achieve in band without assimilating to a pedagogy perceived as pertaining to White culture, such as corps-style marching band? Understanding the motivation behind the pedagogical choice may inform others in their development of pedagogical strategies in their own context.

Ladson-Billings conceived culturally relevant pedagogy as a critical pedagogy, where students experiencing this pedagogy should "both understand and critique the existing social order."³² Due to their culturally-dominated position as Blacks in America, directors' use of show-style marching pedagogy may therefore reflect their personal critique of the social order in Texas band programs. In contrast, by implementing a style of marching that is not predominant in Texas schools, instructors might intend to afford students

³¹. Flory and McCaughtry, "Culturally Relevant Physical Education in Urban Schools," 49.

³². Ladson-Billings, "Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy," 474.

opportunities to examine disparate cultural expressions and their relative positioning in schools and in the broader society.

Although Ladson-Billings described characteristics of culturally relevant teachers, she wrote about culturally relevant pedagogy as an approach rather than a prescribed set of steps. Therefore, as she suggested, the relevance of the pedagogy was ultimately demonstrated in students' outcomes of academic achievement, cultural competence, and capacity for sociopolitical critique. The aim of any pedagogy presumably is students' academic achievement; however, CRP adds the additional facet of promoting measurable success in learning without assimilating to the dominant culture. For those seeking such a result from implemented pedagogy, this study had the opportunity to provide data towards confirming or opposing a view that show-style marching band pedagogy can create an atmosphere where Hispanic students do not sense pressure to assimilate or, as García observed, to leave behind their home culture in exchange for "success in academic and, later, other societal domains."³³

In my view, most intriguing in the present study is that, if show-style band pedagogy is culturally relevant in the Ladson-Billings frame, students should receive reinforcement for the value of their home culture. Stated differently, the student should express family pride, and confidently integrate home and school cultures. Because show-style marching band is associated primarily with Black culture, it presented an unknown value in this study as to whether and how it

³³. García, "Educating Mexican American Students: Past Treatment and Recent Developments in Theory, Research, Policy, and Practice," 380.

may foster cultural competence among Hispanic students.

In addition, culturally relevant pedagogy should theoretically foster what Freire termed *conscientização*, essentially an awareness of and desire not only to resist the status quo, but also to remedy societal inequities.³⁴ Ladson-Billings reported on situations where such critical consciousness was observable as students participated in class, and some cases where they expressed themselves outside of class contexts. In one instance, a class expressed their stand for peace, at a time of impending war, through the display of over 1,000 paper cranes, inspired by literature they studied in class. Another teacher's class activities motivated her students to develop plans for more effective use of city-owned properties, which the students presented to their city council. Elsewhere, through the implementation of a conflict resolution strategy discussed in class, students succeeded in seeking justice after exposure to racial language directed towards them by a counselor at a camping facility.

As the aforementioned examples imply, if Hispanic students' engagement with show-style pedagogy helps them to critique the social order of music in schooling, if they recognize what Allsup observed as "a built-in disconnection between the music taught and performed in school, and the music our students know at home," the students' resistance and remedies are likely to manifest outside the context of the band. Remedies facilitating the navigation of one or more cultural milieus and resistance showing evidence of sociopolitical

³⁴ See Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, sec. Preface.

awareness and relate to the second and third tenets of CRP. While academic success can be observed and measured in the classroom, cultural competence and sociopolitical awareness, while they may start as a result of classroom pedagogy, ostensibly finish outside of the classroom. Therefore, the potential for application of this study's results could be enhanced with the inclusion of both in-class and out-of-class contexts in data collection and analysis as an aid towards identifying any nexus of teachers' intent and corresponding student outcomes, especially concerning the tenets of cultural competence and sociopolitical consciousness.

Just ten years after her seminal report, Ladson-Billings wrote of the need for "reconceptualized views of difference that often are forced to operate in old social schemes." The opportunity existed for this study to contribute to such a reconceptualized understanding of cultural relevance. I sought to do so first by examining a cultural mismatch between Black teachers and Hispanic students, both culturally dominated groups. Secondly, I situated as foundational to the study the identification of relationships between teachers' intentions and students' perceptions and actions, particularly in the areas of cultural competence and critical consciousness. I purpose for this study and I hope for those that follow to continue the example of critique set by Ladson-Billings in her call for reconceptualization. As Giroux and Simon observed, "a critical pedagogy is never finished."³⁵

³⁵. Giroux and Simon, "Popular Culture and Critical Pedagogy: Everyday Life as a Basis for Curriculum Knowledge," 249.

PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS

The purpose of the study was to investigate the use of show-style band pedagogy by a Black band director at a high school whose band comprised a majority of Hispanic students. Ladson-Billings's theory of *culturally relevant pedagogy* served as a lens to examine the connections between pedagogical intent and student outcomes, with four guiding questions that were derived from that framework:

1. To what extent does the teacher consider students' culture in the pedagogy in terms of students':
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?
2. What reactions do students have towards show-style pedagogy?
3. What perceptions do students have about the impact of show-style pedagogy on their:
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?
4. What nexus exists between the teachers' pedagogical intent in using show-style pedagogy and students'
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?

RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY

I began the study leading to this report as culturally familiar with the milieu from long experience with HBCU show-style band and Hispanic culture. I have worked in the general geographic area of the research site for more than twenty years. I marched in an HBCU show-style band, though I have had corps-style marching experiences. Through encounters at performances, visits to their school, their visits to my school, adjudication of their performances, and the steady stream of their former classmates that are my current pupils, the students at the research site all knew me prior to the study by face or by name. Though I am an American Black man, I have lived culturally immersed in Mexico and I am comfortable and fluent navigating among and speaking the language of Hispanics.

MAKING MEANING

The Freireian concept that students should have a part in naming their world resonates greatly with me.³⁶ It calls to my mind the Biblical scene of Adam naming the animals.³⁷ In the account, the animals already existed in their own right, but Adam named them as they were introduced into his awareness and became part of his knowledge. I contend that the existence of language is evidence of humans' social nature and that meaning is a "fundamental aspect of a human social setting."³⁸ Thus, ontologically, I do believe that phenomena exist,

³⁶. See Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

³⁷. Genesis 2:19-20

³⁸. Krauss, "Research Paradigms and Meaning Making," 762.

along with their own attributes, outside of our imposed meanings and values. However, my efforts as an educative investigator are overwhelmingly informed by the contention that our interactions with all phenomenon and any meaning or value ascribed thereto are indeed constructed. That construction, in my view, is mediated by and often dependent upon the context of the person. That context comprises an individual's personal attributes, experiences, and situation, the latter two of which are socially defined.

All three of those components are subject, and presumably likely, to vary between persons or groups and to change over time. That process can change the perspective of an individual or group. Tension can arise when the people at the center of those variable components, processes, and perspectives attempt to make meaning in their lives, essentially name their world, while constrained by language crafted at a fixed point in time and from a particular perspective, neither of which may be their own. When the perspective, or viewpoint, of persons is no longer, or is discovered to have never been served, the description of the phenomenon being viewed may require expansion or change. My understanding of that dynamic is *critique*. Aspects of what I have outlined have been named both *critical constructivist* and *realist*.³⁹ Therefore, for clarity, I elected to describe the ontological and epistemological positions from which I approached this research.

³⁹. See Bentley, Fleury, and Garrison, "Critical Constructivism for Teaching and Learning in a Democratic Society"; Taylor, "Mythmaking and Mythbreaking in the Mathematics Classroom"; and Maxwell, *A Realist Approach for Qualitative Research*.

CRITICAL RESEARCH

Geertz expressed the belief that “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun.”⁴⁰ Perhaps more so than the picture of *suspension*, the image of a spider’s web also carries the connotation of being caught and *trapped*. Even those that believe that culture is in some way immutable would be unlikely to argue in rejection of the presence of change between generations. Thus, continued democratic, equitable education, though the connections between a learner and knowledge learned be constructed or otherwise, requires critique in order to maintain those two qualities.

Despite the avoidance of labels above, I am comfortable stating that this study is situated in what has been defined as a critical research paradigm.⁴¹ Indeed, my motivations from the outset of this project concerned the issues of “epistemology, power, micropolitics, and resistance” that Bhavnani, Chua, and Collins used to define the critical context.⁴² Further, Ladson-Billings wrote of her culturally relevant pedagogy as “[situated in a] critical paradigm”, as it should “develop students that understand and critique the existing social order.”⁴³ I posit, however, that *critical* and *paradigm* have something of a circular relationship. Systems are presumably constructed with some level of permanence in mind, leading to the establishment of a paradigm. Taylor, in a paper

⁴⁰. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures Selected Essays*, 5.

⁴¹. See Guba and Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research”; Krauss, “Research Paradigms and Meaning Making”; and Bhavnani, Chua, and Collins, “Critical Approaches to Qualitative Research.”

⁴². Bhavnani, Chua, and Collins, “Critical Approaches to Qualitative Research,” 2.

⁴³. See Ladson-Billings, “Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy,” 474.

advocating constructivist reform, described the “disempowering perception, common amongst many educators, of a straitjacket fashioned by irresistible societal forces (often referred to as the system).” yet, to maintain relevance for and alignment with evolving contexts, those constructed systems, those paradigms, require critique towards change.

INTEREST IN CRITIQUE, NOT CONFLICT OF INTEREST

As I have mentioned in my personal motivation for the study and as will be explored throughout the report, one focus of this research is critique of some extant paradigms in music education. One of those paradigms is the status of corps-style marching band stylistic characteristics and performance practices as an a priori source of standards against which marching bands are judged, regardless of a band’s style.

In several state adjudication workshops, I have seen and heard first-hand the reinforcement of corps-style aesthetics with the, to my view, somewhat contradictory reminder that “there is no UIL style”; that is, a preferred marching style or set of performance parameters for UIL contests. However, University Interscholastic League rubrics make reference to “characteristic tone quality,” “desirable and appropriate sonority of music.” On the surface, these may be perceived as reasonable and easily agreed upon norms. I would argue that in practice, they are not so easily agreed upon. LeRoi Jones observed that “profound concepts and beliefs of one culture become merely *absurd* fancies for the

other.”⁴⁴ Intensity, also referred to as dynamics, is generally considered a basic element of music, yet I have seen great contention over what is desirable or appropriate in that respect. One of the vignettes included in this report describes such diversity of aesthetic.

Yet, I include that information about band style in this section on my positionality because I find it important to state that, though I teach, clinic, and advocate in HBCU show-style band circles, I like other types of show bands and I am an avid fan of corps-style band. I also greatly appreciate military band, though I may not be as enthusiastic about an opportunity to watch an afternoon of military band shows as I might be for the other two styles.

My interest in critique of show-style band’s status in the music education and state-sanctioned competitive milieu is the culturally respectful, democratic, and empowering music education of students of all cultural backgrounds and aesthetic preferences. As pressure to demonstrate success at state-sanctioned interscholastic activity impacts pedagogical practices and goals for band, the aforementioned status of corps-style band carries importance in achieving the type of education I have described, which might be simply stated as being equitable. For instance, When I was in the final stage of preparing this report, the state sanctioning body approved a bi-annual state level military band contest. No such consideration has been extended towards show-style bands. One might be persuaded to minimize the importance of the disparity in the face of arguments

⁴⁴. Jones, *Blues People; Negro Music in White America*, 6.

about tradition or quality. However, when I asked a judging workshop teacher about the absence of show-style information, his response was, “No one really does that style at contest.”

IN SUMMARY

The initial motivation for this study emerged from my observation of high school bands patterned on HBCU show bands that were experiencing various levels of challenges and disappointments related primarily to their choice of marching style. Interaction with directors and students of such bands and my own positive experiences as a Black American who marched in an HBCU show band contributed to my view of those challenges as a potential injustice.

I experienced meaningful portions of my education as the beneficiary of what can be considered culturally relevant pedagogy, of which HBCU show-style band was an integral part. Thus, I became intrigued by the phenomenon of predominantly Hispanic high school bands that use the style. Given my experience with and understanding of the style as related primarily to the history and culture of African Americans, I began to question what nexus might exist between the ostensibly disparate constructs of HBCU show-style band and students of Latin American descent.

I found the three central tenets of Gloria Ladson-Billings’s theory of culturally relevant pedagogy—academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness—to align with the constituents of the problem I had

identified. Instrumental band pedagogy at the high school level, teacher-student cultural mismatch between two non-dominant groups, students navigating multiple cultural milieus, and a focus on a pedagogy that exists in contrast and possibly in resistance to the mainstream were all components that support the rationale for this investigation. This study expands on the extant body of CRP literature via investigation of HBCU show-style band pedagogy; use of that pedagogy with Hispanic students; and students with a teacher belonging to separate, non-dominant cultures. Those parameters have previously received little or no focus individually or in combination with each other.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

LADSON-BILLINGS'S CULTURALLY RELEVANT PEDAGOGY

Culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP) has its roots in the research of Gloria Ladson-Billings.⁴⁵ Concerned with African American children's poor performance in America's (public) education system,⁴⁶ Ladson-Billings studied successful teachers to identify common themes in their teaching of Black children. Her analysis led to the formation of this theoretical frame.

CRP has at its foundation the idea that culturally dominated students can succeed academically, and further, that teachers implementing CRP are predisposed to that belief. Seeking to identify best practices, Ladson-Billings,⁴⁷ Flory and McCaughtry,⁴⁸ Garza and Garza,⁴⁹ among others, sought out successful teaching situations rather than failing ones to conduct their research. In the course of her research, Ladson-Billings identified previous literature supporting the idea that African American children could succeed in school,⁵⁰ despite a

⁴⁵. Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*. Throughout this report CRP will only be used to refer to the work of Ladson-Billings as the study's theoretical framework.

⁴⁶. See Nieto's "Critical Multicultural Education and Students' Perspectives." Nieto's framework *sociopolitical context* describes the influences brought to bear on learners by social or political factors. The American public education system falls under that category. The sociopolitical context framework critiques the distribution and execution of power along various strata of difference such as race, class, and culture.

⁴⁷. See Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*.

⁴⁸. See Flory and McCaughtry, "Culturally Relevant Physical Education in Urban Schools."

⁴⁹. See Garza and Garza, "Successful White Female Teachers of Mexican American Students of Low Socioeconomic Status."

⁵⁰. See Ladson-Billings, "Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy."

general atmosphere of *deficit* thinking and approaches prevalent at the time. “Deficit thinking” refers to a view that children struggle in school due to factors inherent from membership in a particular group.⁵¹ Various scholars sought rebuttals to the belief that culturally dominated children chronically struggle in school due to such endemic handicaps.⁵²

In her research, Ladson-Billings examined previous frameworks that focused on students’ culture as a pedagogical focus including *culturally appropriate, culturally congruent, culturally compatible, and culturally responsive*. Application of the first three constructs comprised an attempt to align students with mainstream culture. Their home culture, under those lenses, was perceived as an inherent constraint towards their academic success, rather than something to be valued as an asset towards that success. Ladson-Billings dispraised that devaluation, describing those constructs as insufficient to “do more than reproduce the current inequities” in the education of minority children.⁵³ Conversely, the author made positive observations of the synergetic dynamic between home and school cultures implied by approaches labeled *culturally responsive*. Two research teams that employed that term were Cazden and Leggett and Mohatt and Erickson.⁵⁴ These frameworks included elements of

⁵¹. See Valencia, *The Evolution of Deficit Thinking*.

⁵². See Ramírez and Castañeda, *Cultural Democracy, Bicultural Development, and Education*; Delpit, “Education in a Multicultural Society”; Yosso, “Whose Culture Has Capital?”; and Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*.

⁵³. Ladson-Billings, “Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy,” 467.

⁵⁴. Cazden and Leggett, “Culturally Responsive Education”; Mohatt and Erickson, “Cultural Differences in Teaching Styles in an Odawa School: A Sociolinguistic Approach.”

appreciation for and inclusion of students' out-of-school experiences and culture rather than an inflexible adherence to established methods and content. Those elements align with characteristics Ladson-Billings observed in the successful teaching she observed in her research.

In response to scholarly dialogue arising from the US Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols*, Cazden and Leggett reported research findings supporting the need for student-context based instruction,⁵⁵ termed at the time “*bilingual, bicultural education*.”⁵⁶ Based on the finding that the absence of accommodation for non-English speakers constituted a denial of access to public education, the researchers made four recommendations.⁵⁷ First, multi-sensory educational strategies warranted development and implementation. Second, based on the limited research at the time, field dependence (i.e., perceiving or reasoning based primarily on one's surrounding context) versus field independence (i.e., perceiving or reasoning based primarily on one's internally possessed resources) needed further detailed investigation.⁵⁸ Third, patterns of class participation required monitoring given the correlation found between class participation, engagement with content, and learning. The researchers suggested short-term observation and long-term ethnographic research, in selected sites, to foster class participation. Finally, Cazden and Leggett called for all bilingual,

⁵⁵. Cazden and Leggett, “Culturally Responsive Education.”

⁵⁶. Valencia, “Bilingual/Bicultural Education,” 321.

⁵⁷. *Lau v. Nichols*.

⁵⁸. For more on field-dependence-independence, see Witkin et al., “Field-Dependent and Field-Independent Cognitive Styles and Their Educational Implications.”

bicultural districts to “bring the invisible culture of the community into the school.”⁵⁹ Teacher preparation and subsequent capacitation figured prominently in the authors’ outline for successful implementation of bilingual bicultural education. Many scholars refer to teacher education as an important part of promulgating CRP.⁶⁰ Ladson-Billings indicated a desire that CRP “might be considered in the reformation of teacher education.”⁶¹

In another study involving bicultural districts, Mohatt and Erickson did research among the Odawa and Ojibwa peoples in Northern Ontario.⁶² They examined how the presence of sociocultural patterns traceable to the community affected teaching. One of the teachers they studied intentionally incorporated cultural knowledge about the students’ community in classroom practice, also making use of students’ out-of-school experiences to help them access in-school content. They found a positive relationship between this type of culturally “congruent” teaching and student success. The team termed their suggestion for improvement *culturally responsive pedagogy*.⁶³

⁵⁹. Cazden and Leggett, “Culturally Responsive Education,” 34; *See also* Mohatt and Erickson, “Cultural Differences in Teaching Styles in an Odawa School: A Sociolinguistic Approach.”

⁶⁰. *See* Foster, “African American Teachers and Culturally Relevant Pedagogy”; Howard, “Culturally Relevant Pedagogy”; Morton and Bennett, “Scaffolding Culturally Relevant Pedagogy”; Sharma, “Exploring Culturally Responsive and Relevant Pedagogy in Initial Teacher Education.”

⁶¹. Ladson-Billings, “Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy,” 466.

⁶². Mohatt and Erickson, “Cultural Differences in Teaching Styles in an Odawa School: A Sociolinguistic Approach”; Erickson and Mohatt, “Cultural Organization of Participation Structures in Two Classrooms of Indian Students.”

⁶³. Erickson and Mohatt, “Cultural Organization of Participation Structures in Two Classrooms of Indian Students,” 167. Interestingly, the same team used a term negatively critiqued by Ladson-Billings (congruent) yet formalized their suggested framework in a positively

Ladson-Billings's analysis of data collected during her investigation revealed an emphasis on teachers' mindset and approach over the content taught. The *Dreamkeepers*, as Ladson-Billings referred to the study participants as a group, exhibited common salient traits.⁶⁴ All of them had strong belief in their students' aptitudes. Each demonstratively valued the knowledge and perspectives with which their students arrived at their classrooms. The Dreamkeepers sought to develop community learning environments within the classroom, discouraging the recognition of individual achievement to the competitive detriment of others. Howard and Gay count among researchers that have acknowledged the importance of such classroom communities.⁶⁵ In fact, Ladson-Billings found that the Dreamkeepers worked to channel individual excellence towards the common good; they encouraged outstanding students to use their talents to help teach or lead their peers.

The Dreamkeepers also shared similar conceptions about knowledge:

- Knowledge has a fluid nature.
- Knowledge requires critique.
- Service to knowledge and learning requires enthusiasm on the part of teachers.

reviewed way (responsive). Of further note, the researchers' use of "responsive" actually predated the use of "congruent" as the 1982 book chapter originated from a 1977 report.

⁶⁴. GLB titled the extended monograph research report *The Dreamkeepers*. In this report I will employ the term to reference the research participants of that study as Ladson-Billings did in her report.

⁶⁵. Howard, "Culturally Relevant Pedagogy"; Gay, *Culturally Responsive Teaching*.

- Teachers need to create series of links to connect students with content.
- Learning environments require broader approaches to evaluation of achievement.

These concepts of knowledge led the Dreamkeepers towards practices that proactively included elements related to culture familiar to students. Ladson-Billings found that the Dreamkeepers’s conceptions, attitudes, and practices produced common results in their students. Those results formed the three central criteria of CRP:

1. Students must experience academic success,
2. students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence, and
3. students must develop a critical consciousness with which they challenge the current social order’s status quo.⁶⁶

In writing about CRP, Ladson-Billings delimited these three central tenets. She clarified that rather than referring to grades or test scores, “academic achievement” signaled what “students actually know and are able to do as a result of pedagogical interactions with skilled teachers.”⁶⁷ Ladson-Billings distinguished how the construct cultural competence relates to CRP. The term references students’ awareness and reverence for their own culture as they work towards

⁶⁶. Ladson-Billings, “But That’s Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy,” 160.

⁶⁷. Ladson-Billings, “Yes, But How Do We Do It?,” 38.

mastering navigation⁶⁸ in the dominant culture. This conceptualization differs from what Ladson-Billings observed in health and other professions in which practitioners develop a sensitivity and appreciation of the cultures of those they serve.⁶⁹ However, Ladson-Billings's application of the term does align with the context of Goodenough's early use of the term. He wrote that this type of "competence provides a basis for people to identify one another mutually" as persons navigating their social milieu in a common way.⁷⁰ Ladson-Billings used the term critical consciousness, sometimes expressed as "sociopolitical awareness," to describe pedagogy that allowed teachers to guide students to "better understand and critique their social position and context."⁷¹

PERSPECTIVES ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION (MCE)

THE BEGINNINGS OF MCE

CRP falls under the theoretical concept of multicultural education (MCE). Gollnick and Chinn defined MCE as "the educational strategy in which students' cultural backgrounds are viewed as positive and essential in developing classroom instruction and school environments."⁷² Indeed, Ladson-Billings

⁶⁸. Ladson-Billings's writing implies a discouragement of assimilation. Fergus also talked about acculturation without assimilation in "Being a Black Latino." *See also* García "Educating Mexican American Students: Past Treatment and Recent Developments in Theory, Research, Policy, and Practice."

⁶⁹. See Ladson-Billings, "Yes, But How Do We Do It?" For a detailed discussion of cultural competence for a professional serving a constituency, *see* Brown, "Cultural Competence in the Treatment of Complex Trauma."

⁷⁰. Goodenough, *Culture, Language, and Society*, 101.

⁷¹. Ladson-Billings, "Yes, But How Do We Do It?," 41.

⁷². Gollnick and Chinn, *Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society*, 5.

referenced previous approaches to MCE-framed pedagogies that considered students' cultural backgrounds in attempts to increase academic success among culturally-subordinated children in the US.⁷³

Review of literature concerning the history and development of MCE reveals evidence that MCE did not emerge from only one cause, but various. Nor did MCE coalesce as a construct as the de facto successor of a previous movement. Fullwinder identified three component "tributaries" to the eventual awareness for the need of MCE – the racial integration of schools, an upsurge of pride in ethnic customs and traditions, and the recognition of achievement gaps related to racial, cultural, and language differences, and perceived discrimination against them.⁷⁴ Achievement gaps are presumably most objectively measurable when students on both sides of the gap attend school together. However, long before *Brown v. Board of Education* marked the beginning of the process of racial integration in American public schools, cultural integration existed.

Cultural integration had begun early in the public education history of America, due to the country's primarily immigrant nature in its early and developing stages. Volk wrote about multicultural music education in America, including a historical overview of early approaches to education that eventually led to multicultural approaches.⁷⁵ As immigration increased, due largely to the

⁷³. I borrow the term "culturally-subordinated" from Nieto, "Critical Multicultural Education and Students' Perspectives." For the purposes of this study, I prefer its content relevancy and critical tone to the bio-statistical term "minority."

⁷⁴. Fullwinder, "Multicultural Education," 487.

⁷⁵. See Volk, *Music, Education, and Multiculturalism*.

growth of job availability in an increasingly industrialized America in the late nineteenth century, assimilationism was a principal underpinning of the education system. Americanization stood as the predominant educational goal and decision makers often considered assimilation the best course for immigrant and (racial) minority students to advance towards participation in American society at large.⁷⁶ John Dewey, a philosopher and advocate of education reform born in 1859, praised the “assimilative force of the American public school [as] eloquent testimony to the efficacy of the common and balanced appeal,” given that in his view, “common subject matter accustoms all to a unity of outlook upon a broader horizon than is visible...while isolated.”⁷⁷

As early as 1908, this approach was critiqued as educators and social reformers recognized the importance of preserving the cultures of new generations of American citizens. Addams commented that schools should make efforts to help children “realize something of the beauty and charm of the language, the history, and the traditions which their parents represent.”⁷⁸ After racial integration of public schools, researchers in the emerging MCE community continued the critique of assimilationist views, which had led to curricula emphasizing a Euro-American perspective.

^{76.} See Olneck, “Americanization and the Education of Immigrants, 1900-1925”; García, “Educating Mexican American Students: Past Treatment and Recent Developments in Theory, Research, Policy, and Practice.”

^{77.} Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 26.

^{78.} Addams, “The Public School and the Immigrant Child,” 100.

EMERGING STRATEGIES OF MCE

Banks, prolific contributor to MCE literature as author and editor, penned an article recounting the “construction and historical development of multicultural education” as chronicled in selected literature. He identified, most notably in higher education, the clamor for “ethnic studies” that reflected minority students’ ethnic and cultural histories and contributions to the American whole. On the K-12 school front, some members of the education community began to suggest strategies with focus on various objectives towards integrating students’ culture in their schooling. One early trend was referred to as “heroes and holidays.” At selected times, historical figures or cultural traditions associated with non-White segments of the student population were acknowledged and celebrated. However, it was rare for that acknowledgement to result in the inclusion of those figures and customs into the regular school curricula, or into the milieu of historical facts and understanding that comprised general knowledge for school children. Nevertheless, Banks considered ethnic studies an early harbinger of MCE.⁷⁹

A later strategy, considered as an actual part of the MCE movement, focused on use of students’ own culture as a content source in the form of learning traditions, songs, and other cultural artifacts or presenting content in a manner perceived to be in line with students’ home culture.⁸⁰ Banks referred to

⁷⁹. Banks, “The Construction and Historical Development of Multicultural Education, 1962–2012,” 74.

⁸⁰. See Volk, *Music, Education, and Multiculturalism*; Addams, “The Public School and the Immigrant Child.”

this as content integration; just one and the most basic, of the MCE strategies in his typology, discussed below. He observed that many teachers have held to a “widespread belief that content integration constitutes the whole of multicultural education.”⁸¹ He further commented that this belief can have a limiting effect on teachers’ awareness and motivation to implement higher-level MCE strategies. He encouraged a view of MCE as a “way of viewing reality and a way of thinking, and not just content about various ethnic and cultural groups.”⁸² Another critique of MCE implementations limited to content integration concerned authenticity of the material presented. Students in a study by Irvine, when presented with a math lesson expressed in a rap style, focused more on what they considered the poor and out-of-date production of the track rather than the content.⁸³

Eventually statistics began to show an achievement gap between native born, dominant culture Americans and their non-dominant culture and immigrant counterparts. Scholars found deficit-oriented lenses in use to examine and explain the underachievement of immigrant and minority students.⁸⁴ Educators considered different strategies for specific use with particular groups but finding a framework and set of objectives to which all could subscribe proved difficult. Further advancing assimilationist agendas, some concluded that rather than serving as an asset, one's (“non-American”) culture often acted as a

⁸¹. Banks, *Cultural Diversity and Education*, 8.

⁸². Banks, 8.

⁸³. See Irvine, “Relevant: Beyond the Basics.”

⁸⁴. See Valencia, *The Evolution of Deficit Thinking*.

constraint to academic success, and some advocated for voluntary subtractive schooling.⁸⁵

PUTTING “CULTURE” IN MCE

Many have sought to foster appreciation for others' culture as a step towards tolerance and anti-racism. Indeed, Nieto defined MCE as something that should be basic, pervasive, progressive, and integral in all students' education in a way that “rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and society and accepts and affirms the pluralism...that students, their communities, and teachers represent.”⁸⁶ That said, the aforementioned catalysts of MCE of integration, ethnic and cultural pride, and achievement gaps, all tie, in varying levels, to an exclusion or marginalization of non-White culture or cultural products. Thus, not surprisingly, the idea of MCE as a response to racism is a salient theme in the literature.⁸⁷

Not all strategies focused on students' perspectives and experiences. Some approached MCE from the standpoint of developing teachers' cultural competence. Sleeter, writing about her own journey along Helm's Racial Identity

⁸⁵. See “Subtractive Schooling” in Chapter 4. For in-depth information, see Valenzuela, “Subtractive Schooling, Caring Relations, and Social Capital in the Schooling of U.S.-Mexican Youth.”

⁸⁶. Nieto and Bode, *Affirming Diversity*, 208.

⁸⁷. See Nieto and Bode, *Affirming Diversity*; García, “Educating Mexican American Students: Past Treatment and Recent Developments in Theory, Research, Policy, and Practice”; Teel and Obidah, *Building Racial and Cultural Competence in the Classroom*; Fergus, “Being a Black Latino”; Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*; Banks, “The Construction and Historical Development of Multicultural Education, 1962–2012.”

Development continuum,⁸⁸ concluded that teachers must develop cultural competence which should include an awareness of one's own insensitivity to cultural differences and the resulting barriers to effective communication or learning.⁸⁹ Milner, in a study reported on as being centered within Ladson-Billings's CRP framework, outlined the theory's tenets, including cultural competence, in a way that aligned with Ladson-Billings's own writing. However, the researcher wrote about an expansion upon Ladson-Billings's emphasis concerning cultural competence, stating an intent to "shift the focus from the specified focus on students to that of teachers."⁹⁰ Addressing teachers' cultural competence as part of the "knowledge and skill" educators need to be successful,⁹¹ Barrett and Noguera posited that educators must maintain and take into account cognizance of "the intricate layers that come together to make each student unique,"⁹² seeking connections on various levels across the cultures represented in the classroom.

Banks presented five *dimensions* of MCE as a lens set for review and critique of MCE approaches. Banks used this dimensional typology to organize and present a review of literature tracing the history of MCE.⁹³ Six years earlier, Sleeter and Grant executed a similar review and developed a different, though

⁸⁸. See Helms, *Black and White Racial Identity*.

⁸⁹. See Sleeter, "Learning to Become a Racially and Culturally Competent Ally."

⁹⁰. Milner, "Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in a Diverse Urban Classroom," 72.

⁹¹. Barrett and Noguera, "Makin' It Real," 97.

⁹². Barrett and Noguera, 99.

⁹³. Banks, "Multicultural Education."

overlapping set of MCE typologies.⁹⁴ Table 1 presents both typologies in detail.

From one perspective, the MCE typologies referenced above divide broadly into two types: cultures as curriculum versus cultures as pedagogy. CRP leans more towards the latter, although the former plays a part. Although some have sought to remove cultural concerns from the classroom by adhering to basic material that (presumably) precludes the need for cultural consideration, Giroux and Simon argued that the education community must understand that “students' experience of school is intertwined with their lives at home and on the street.”⁹⁵

Table 1. Two Typologies of Multicultural Education (shading/asterisks indicate similarities, or overlaps, between the typologies).

Banks' Dimensions of Multicultural Education (MCE):	Sleeter and Grant's Approaches to Multicultural Education
1. <i>Content integration</i> refers to inclusion of elements of an "other" culture into course content. Content integration pedagogies, while necessary and important to MCE's historical progress, have limited effect or potential towards democratic educational change. *	1. <i>Teaching the Culturally Different</i> approaches MCE from an assimilationist perspective. Initiatives and special classes designed to transition students into the dominant culture see implementation here.
2. <i>Knowledge construction</i> considers and critiques the cultural values and perspectives that drive content.	2. <i>Human Relations</i> strategies foster appreciation and positive interactions between students of different cultures.**
3. <i>Prejudice reduction</i> strategies help children to "develop more positive racial attitudes and values."**	3. <i>Single Group Studies</i> highlight the historical contributions, culture, and related concerns of specific strata of society. Often the group chosen for study exists as a culturally dominated group in the class or school.*
4. <i>Equity pedagogy</i> theories prescribe change in how teachers present material to students	4. <i>MCE</i> re-envision the school's atmosphere, staff demographics, etc.

⁹⁴. Sleeter and Grant, “An Analysis of Multicultural Education in the United States.”

⁹⁵. Giroux and Simon, “Curriculum Study and Cultural Politics,” 228.

not naturally connected to content areas. Finally,	towards a pluralistic image reflective of America.
5. <i>Empowering school culture and social structure</i> describes approaches where reflexive consideration seeks transformation of the entire school's atmosphere towards democracy and equity in all aspects.***	5. <i>Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist</i> adopts a critical stance towards the status quo in education as it relates to cultural concerns, working towards inspiring a critical consciousness in the students.***

CULTURAL CAPITAL

Ladson-Billings, writing in the 1990's, stated that devaluation of African American (male) students' culture posed part of the problem in achieving academically while maintaining cultural competence. She posited that many dominant-culture adults perceive culturally subordinated youth as not "having the cultural capital necessary for academic success."⁹⁶ Operating from an opposing stance, CRP teachers instead value skills and knowledge students bring from home. Ironically, at the turn of the 20th century, Dewey (the aforementioned advocate of assimilation-based education) espoused teachers' awareness and active consideration of students' prior experiences in pedagogical implementations.⁹⁷ Nieto, reporting in the 2000's, described the still-pervasive negative view as a perception that the culturally-dominated do not have the "experiential background of more privileged students."⁹⁸

The concept of cultural and other forms of capital can be traced back to the

⁹⁶. Ladson-Billings, "Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy," 485.

⁹⁷. Dewey, *The School and Society and The Child and the Curriculum*.

⁹⁸. Nieto, *The Light in Their Eyes*, 36.

work of Bourdieu,⁹⁹ who considered education a market where cultural (social, human, etc.) capital serves as currency that can be exchanged for acceptance or advancement in a social system in a way that eventually facilitates the acquisition of material goods. In monetary systems between countries, exchange rates can value one country's currency over another's. In this parallel, the world system represents the dominant culture in a society with countries analogously representing cultures or classes within that society. Bourdieu concluded that dominant entities and strata seek to maintain power structures through self-perpetuating systems that set the capital, its value, and the protocols of transference.¹⁰⁰ Customs of the dominant culture such as language, knowledge sets, and social habits and manners become tokens that identify those who should receive opportunities for the aforementioned acceptance or advancement.

SACRIFICING CULTURE FOR CAPITAL

Ogbu adduced that students sometimes realign themselves culturally to succeed, resulting in *cultural inversion*,¹⁰¹ Such inversion, and sometimes success without inversion, can result in peers accusing students of “acting white.”¹⁰² These students are perceived as forgoing membership, as demonstrated by behavior, speech, and other social indicators, in their home or community culture in order

⁹⁹. See Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*.

¹⁰⁰. See Bourdieu, “Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction.”

¹⁰¹. Ogbu, “Understanding Cultural Diversity and Learning.”

¹⁰². Ogbu, 10. Sometimes simple academic success or alignment with mainstream social values is viewed as acting white. I experienced this personally in middle school.

to advance in the educational system vis-à-vis the dominant culture. They demonstrate, instead, their possession of the cultural capital perceived as necessary for advancement.

Fordham wrote about a perceived stigma associated with success in the Black community. The author found that many adopt what she termed a “raceless persona” in order to effect vertical mobility in professional society.¹⁰³ Ogbu and Fordham lamented the intentional suppression of one’s cultural expression for the sake of advancement in a biased society.

The concepts and results of acting white and presenting oneself as raceless relate to Valenzuela’s construct *subtractive schooling*.¹⁰⁴ Valenzuela researched the academic achievement of Mexican American youth during a three-year ethnographic investigation. Data revealed a disparity in academic success, with first and second-generation students often performing better than their third generation and beyond counterparts. The scholar argued that as students became more exposed to and influenced by an education system geared towards assimilating students out of their home culture and into the dominant culture, academic success declined. The researcher postulated that pressure to assimilate at schools can come to bear on the students in “ways that fracture students’ cultural and ethnic identities, creating social, linguistic, and cultural divisions” among students, between students and staff, and between students and their

¹⁰³. Fordham, “Racelessness as a Factor in Black Students’ School Success,” 55.

¹⁰⁴. See Valenzuela “Subtractive Schooling, Caring Relations, and Social Capital in the Schooling of U.S.-Mexican Youth.” “Subtractive schooling” refers to an intentional, though not necessarily overt, stripping of students’ culture in favor of dominant culture, its ideals, etc.

families.¹⁰⁵

Embedded in the home culture, argued Valenzuela, is infrastructure that promotes academic success when school culture and home culture match, as in the nation of a family's descent. Assimilation on one end and not the other, vis-à-vis school versus home, degrades the infrastructure, resulting in diminished achievement. Based on her findings, Valenzuela argued against any approach to schooling that comprises "assimilationist policies and practices that are designed to divest Mexican students of their culture and language."¹⁰⁶

Considered together, the work of these authors infers a systemic devaluing of any culture not aligned with the dominant culture in a society. In the US, this generally refers to the cultures of people of color. It refers specifically to people of color when taken into account the fact that skin color can be considered an a priori indication of cultural capital possession when other demonstration or markers of such capital may not be forthcoming or even sought by a gatekeeper.¹⁰⁷ Regardless if manifested via biologically-based appearance or by behavior, language, or other indicator, any perceived valuation of one culture's capital in a social market inherently devalues any attempt by representatives of other cultures to obtain benefit in that market. Further, pressure exists for those of the non-dominant culture to demonstratively suppress evidence of membership in their culture, as in acting white, or to actually lose the ability to

¹⁰⁵. Valenzuela, *Subtractive Schooling*, 5.

¹⁰⁶. Valenzuela, 20.

¹⁰⁷. See Sleeter and Grant, "An Analysis of Multicultural Education in the United States."

navigate in their home culture in favor of developing the ability to navigate the dominant culture in a native manner, as in subtractive schooling.

A further danger exists. Addams argued that when students consider their home culture to be detrimental to their social navigation at school or in society at large, a rift can occur in the home at a level that is “never so cruel and so wide as it is between the immigrants who come to this country and their children who have gone to the public school and feel that they have there learned it all [that they need to be successful].”¹⁰⁸ In these cases, rather than embracing their home culture, students, sometimes actively, reject it.

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Ladson-Billings wrote of CRP as situated in a “critical paradigm.”¹⁰⁹ Parsons and Wall argued that authentic implementation of CRP requires teachers to critically reflect on their own perspectives and habits and how they affect teaching practice,¹¹⁰ especially when students come from a different culture than the teachers. Further, according to these authors, CRP teachers must go beyond superficial elements of cultural relevance and incorporate historical and other contexts in their pedagogical approach as they work to “interrogate and disrupt social inequity, a call of culturally relevant pedagogy.”¹¹¹ Nieto also expressed concern that some who considered their practice culturally relevant did so in

¹⁰⁸. Addams, “The Public School and the Immigrant Child,” 99.

¹⁰⁹. Ladson-Billings, “Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy,” 474.

¹¹⁰. Parsons and Wall, “Unpacking the Critical in Culturally Relevant Pedagogy.”

¹¹¹. Parsons and Wall, 22.

“simplistic ways” that fail to effect lasting or meaningful change.¹¹² Similarly, McLaren decried a trend of “domesticated” critical pedagogies ultimately “devoid of social critique.”¹¹³

Ladson-Billings referenced the work of Paulo Freire as influential on her own. Freire, a critical pedagogue, considered that learning content should have relevance for the student.¹¹⁴ He criticized the “banking” paradigm of teaching, where teachers simply deposit the same facts in concepts in students that they themselves were taught, with little or no critique of continued content relevance or effectiveness of pedagogy. He argued that the skills and knowledge learned should benefit, and be desired by, the student in their own context. Education systems typically are disconnected from their (usually systemically mandated) constituents. Freire observed that in a democratic education the students contribute as partners to the process.¹¹⁵ Democratic teachers, having somewhat immersed themselves in the students’ context and developed curricula based on students’ needs, foster an atmosphere where students literally awaken to the importance and relevance of learning the material for their own benefit.¹¹⁶ In effect, the goal of education should be students’ liberation into a world of their own naming rather than assimilation into a society defined and maintained by

¹¹². Nieto, “Profoundly Multicultural Questions,” 7.

¹¹³. McLaren, “Critical Pedagogy,” 3.

¹¹⁴. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

¹¹⁵. See also Giroux and Simon “Schooling, Popular Culture, and a Pedagogy of Possibility”; Howard “Culturally Relevant Pedagogy.”

¹¹⁶. Freire called this process *conscientização*, translatable as critical consciousness or conscientization.

the dominant culture.

Seeking to expand on what they termed “the evolution of CRP among some of the leading scholars,”¹¹⁷ Brown-Jeffy and Cooper compiled a review of CRP literature from a perspective that viewed race and racism as embedded in American society and the American education system.¹¹⁸ These researchers observed that considering students’ culture in teaching practices allows teachers “through sensitivity to cultural nuances [to] integrate these cultural experiences, values, and understandings into the teaching and learning environment.”¹¹⁹ The scholars commented on the observed impact of teachers’ behavior on students in CRP, noting that previous frameworks neglected this perspective. Indeed, Nieto wrote that “teachers’ attitudes and behaviors can make an astonishing difference in student learning.”¹²⁰ Brown-Jeffy and Cooper expressed intentions to “infuse the tenets of critical race theory,”¹²¹ pointing out that CRP and critical race theory frameworks support each other. These reviewers and the authors in the section that follow created frames based on, or using aspects of, Ladson-Billings’s original work, resulting in what I have termed “peripheral conceptions” of Ladson-Billings’s CRP.

¹¹⁷. Brown-Jeffy and Cooper, “Toward a Conceptual Framework,” 66.

¹¹⁸. Brown-Jeffy and Cooper, “Toward a Conceptual Framework.”

¹¹⁹. Brown-Jeffy and Cooper, 67.

¹²⁰. Nieto, *The Light in Their Eyes*, 188.

¹²¹. Brown-Jeffy and Cooper, “Toward a Conceptual Framework,” 71.

PERIPHERAL CONCEPTIONS OF CRP

Brown-Jeffy and Cooper conflated the frameworks of Ladson-Billings, Gay, and Nieto.¹²² The researchers perceived CRP as closely related to critical race theory, arguing that because CRP acknowledges students' backgrounds, race comprises part of each background. Thus, viewing CRP through a critical race theory lens provides insight for CRP's implementation. Similarly, Nieto's *critical MCE* espouses a critical culture-based education focused on resistance and change of societal power dynamics, including racially based dynamics.¹²³

Gay presented the framework *culturally responsive pedagogy*. The scholar proposed that the motivations behind theories titled using terms like culturally relevant, centered, congruent, reflective, synchronized, and others were "virtually identical."¹²⁴ Gay based her framework on her own research and that of others, including Ladson-Billings. In first approaching Gay's framework, similarities to Ladson-Billings's CRP are evident. Gay focused on observed successful teaching practices, defining culturally responsive teaching as incorporating "the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant and effective for them."¹²⁵ Gay's report included characteristics of teacher attitudes towards student potential and referenced the

¹²². See Ladson-Billings, "Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy"; Gay, *Culturally Responsive Teaching*; Nieto, *The Light in Their Eyes*.

¹²³. Nieto, "Critical Multicultural Education and Students' Perspectives."

¹²⁴. Gay, *Culturally Responsive Teaching*, 30.

¹²⁵. Gay, 31.

importance of students' own culture in the educational process. However, CRP has an emphasis on students not only appreciating their own culture but promoting their competent navigation therein. Gay's framework does not focus on this dynamic. It does, however, promote students' acquisition of cultural competence towards other cultures they encounter in the classroom and subsequently in society-at-large. Another primary difference, identified by Sharma, is Ladson-Billings's greater criticality. CRP's tenet of sociopolitical consciousness and dynamic of politicization of knowledge has no direct parallel in Gay's framework.¹²⁶

Various writers presented frameworks based on, expanding on, or including in some way concepts related to CRP. Sharma conjoined Ladson-Billings's and Gay's frameworks into *culturally responsive and relevant pedagogy*.¹²⁷ Flory and McCaughtry developed the *cultural relevance cycle* to describe their vision of effective culture-infused pedagogy.¹²⁸ Using CRP as a focal point, Price-Dennis and Souto-Manning compiled a report that emphasized cultural competence and sociocritical consciousness noticeably more than academic achievement.¹²⁹ Norton and Bentley adduced the construct *home(land) pedagogies*, proposing that the ways of being, doing, and learning from a

¹²⁶ See Sharma, "Exploring Culturally Responsive and Relevant Pedagogy in Initial Teacher Education."

¹²⁷ Sharma.

¹²⁸ Flory and McCaughtry, "Culturally Relevant Physical Education in Urban Schools."

¹²⁹ Price-Dennis and Souto-Manning, "(Re)Framing Diverse Pre-Service Classrooms as Spaces for Culturally Relevant Teaching."

student's homeland should be considered in pedagogy in the new country of residence. The researchers also referenced spiritual connections such as family left behind and language along with other motivational aspects of a person's culture.¹³⁰

All of these researchers cited reported finding difference between students' culture and mainstream culture as a constraining dynamic in education systems. Their findings centered on teachers' awareness of and connection on some level with the student's culture as a locus of palliative, if not curative, strategies to address that constraint. They further shared application of those components as a critical lens for examining common educational practice and the progenitive teacher preparation leading thereto. The various researchers also, stated acknowledgement of Ladson-Billings's work as at least part of the knowledge base they sought to expand upon in some way. However, despite the ostensibly expansive or derivative nature of this later research, the development in the student of sociopolitical awareness with a goal of resulting critical thought or action as a central tenet remains a delineating characteristic of Ladson-Billings's CRP framework.

DEFINING CULTURE

The connection between education and culture is a common theme in education research and logically central to CRP. In the previous section I examined some variances between pedagogies centered on culture or termed

¹³⁰. Norton and Bentley, "Making the Connection."

culturally relevant, the education side of that connection. In this section I examine culture, a term scholars have defined in various ways. Eagleton described culture as a “multifaceted concept” to the point that he sacrificed “any strict unity of argument” in authoring a monograph on the subject,¹³¹ going as far as to label the word’s connotations as “too amorphous.”¹³² Therefore, to engage culturally relevant pedagogy – or any culture-related theoretical framework – as a principal component for analysis or discussion requires a parameterization of the construct *culture*.

Mohatt and Erickson dispraised a view where culture refers primarily to products such as music, visual art, or crafts and fails to encompass intangibles such as habits, manners, and aesthetics.¹³³ Jernigan and Moore summarized the study of cultural products as “surface culture” while “deep culture...embraces attitudes, emotions, impressions, and thought processes of a people.”¹³⁴ They found in their comparison study that students gained more understanding of cultures when class encounters with culture-related material surpassed anecdotal information and progressed to a level of reflection and response. Kashima defined culture as “an enduring and shared system of meaning.”¹³⁵ Writers de la Fuente and Murphy observed, “That is what culture is. It is our making sense of

¹³¹. Eagleton, *Culture*, viii.

¹³². Eagleton, 3.

¹³³. Erickson and Mohatt, “Cultural Organization of Participation Structures in Two Classrooms of Indian Students.”

¹³⁴. Jernigan and Moore, “Teaching Culture,” 830.

¹³⁵. Kashima, “A Social Psychology of Cultural Dynamics,” 107.

the world that we live in."¹³⁶ Along those lines, Goodenough commented on culture as “whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members.”¹³⁷

Race and ethnicity comprise the default descriptors of culture in much of the theorizing and resultant reporting about MCE.¹³⁸ Ladson-Billings apparently linked culture strongly with ethnicity, even naming a chapter "Seeing Color, Seeing Culture."¹³⁹ However, frequent use of the word “community” in that same chapter perhaps leaves room for an enhanced consideration of what culture means in the CRP context. Further support for a wider interpretation exists. In an explication of CRP teaching, Ladson-Billings described cultural competence in terms of honoring "beliefs and practices" and that teachers must "work back and forth between the *lives* of their students and the life of school."¹⁴⁰

Relatedly, Geertz conceptualized culture as a “historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.”¹⁴¹ In a review of Herskovits’ book about cultural relativism, Mead provided an apt summary:

¹³⁶. Eduardo de la Fuente and Peter Murphy, “Introduction: Philosophical and Cultural Theories of Music,” 1.

¹³⁷. Goodenough, “Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics,” 167.

¹³⁸. See Sleeter and Grant, “An Analysis of Multicultural Education in the United States.”

¹³⁹. Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*, 33.

¹⁴⁰. Ladson-Billings, “Yes, But How Do We Do It?” 30.

¹⁴¹. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures Selected Essays*, 89.

“Culture, the total socially transmitted behavior of any identified group.”¹⁴² These latter two descriptions are aligned in the absence of specific traditional demarcations such as race, ethnicity or nationality. In combination, they contain acknowledgement of culture as having historical depth and an evolving fluid quality. As I find those aspects applicable to marching band as an activity and an art, those perspectives frame the primary use of “culture” in this study. Because, presumably, acceptance in a culture results from a person’s navigation thereof without any expression altering “accent,” Goodenough’s observation about navigation in a “manner acceptable to [a culture’s] members” will serve as a touchstone for identifying cultural competence.¹⁴³

HBCU MARCHING BANDS

Marching bands are ubiquitous to American music education. However, the performance traditions of marching bands associated originally almost exclusively with Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the United States existed for a long time apart from common public knowledge, perhaps not an uncommon occurrence among cultural expressions of non-dominant cultures. However, the success of the 2002 movie *Drumline* served to bring the genre into mainstream awareness.¹⁴⁴ Although Clark recently observed that HBCU marching band as a topic of histories and analyses “remains underrepresented,”¹⁴⁵ Lewis’

¹⁴². Mead, “Review,” 1327.

¹⁴³. Goodenough, “Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics,” 167.

¹⁴⁴. Stone, III, *Drumline*.

¹⁴⁵. Clark, “A Narrative History of African American Marching Band,” 3.

research revealed sufficient sources to construct a history of African American marching bands.¹⁴⁶ Before Lewis, Smith executed an in-depth analysis of the history and development of 12 HBCU bands. Smith's report included interviews with directors that today are considered icons in the development of HBCU band style.¹⁴⁷ In addition to investigating the 12 band programs selected for analysis, Smith traced the history of African American college marching bands back through four additional HBCU bands, following HBCU band history to the roots of American college marching bands in the military band tradition of America.

All college bands have roots in the military band tradition, most immediately in America, but also, by definition of "America," in Europe. Nonetheless, Lewis noted that, "By the 1960's, the collective style of Black college marching bands had firmly taken root as a distinctive performance tradition that was unlike their predominately white college band counterparts."¹⁴⁸ One difference between HBCU bands and HWI bands was the side-by-side influence on HBCU bands of written, principally classical, music and non-written music such as early jazz.

THE INFLUENCE OF MINSTRELSY AND EARLY JAZZ

In a paper addressing the relationship between minstrelsy and early jazz, Ostendorf observed the mixed-musical heritage of Black musicians of the time,

¹⁴⁶. See Lewis, "Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum."

¹⁴⁷. Smith, "A Study of the Historical Development of Selected Black College and University Bands as a Curricular and Aesthetic Entity, 1867-1975."

¹⁴⁸. Lewis, "Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum," 31.

having learned to play music from a “text-and-score-oriented culture” but imposing stylized interpretations and improvisations onto music previously played in compliance to a relatively rigid structure.¹⁴⁹ “Jazz,” when the term first came into use, referred at least as much, if not more, to a way of interpreting music in performance rather than to pieces composed in a genre. Syncopation and melodic ornamentation were identifiable alterations made to music that allowed one to tell “whether it was a black band or a white band in the early days.”¹⁵⁰

W. C. Handy was an exemplar of the confluence of classical and vernacular musical influences. Handy, a band leader who relied primarily on written music for his groups’ repertoire, related in his autobiography the occasion where he began to diverge from that structure, inspired by musicians who had already begun to perform what would later be known as jazz music.¹⁵¹ Yet, Handy would become known as the “Father of the Blues” due in no small part to his transcription and arrangement of one of the first published blues songs, “The St. Louis Blues”;¹⁵² an endeavor that, ironically, involved use of his experiences with written music towards the national popularization of a music previously associated with oral transmission and improvisation. During his professional career, Handy at times held a position in the Mahara Minstrels. Ostendorf

¹⁴⁹. Ostendorf, “Minstrelsy & Early Jazz,” 594.

¹⁵⁰. N.B. Young in Jacqui Malone, *Steppin’ on the Blues*, 150.

¹⁵¹. See W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues*.

¹⁵². See Robertson, *W.C. Handy the Life and Times of the Man Who Made the Blues*; W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues*.

observed that many “black jazz musicians learned their trade in minstrelsy”¹⁵³ Minstrelsy, in turn, was cited as a factor in the performance practices of HBCU bands by N. B. Young in Malone’s collection of studies centered around African American vernacular dance.

The content of minstrel performances resonated with young college musicians visually, aurally, and perhaps of most importance, culturally. The developing musicians “began to learn and imitate what the minstrel bands did.”¹⁵⁴ It seems likely that some similarity of function between minstrel bands and college bands may have been a factor. Early HBCU bands such as those at Tuskegee and Florida A&M served, among other purposes, as advertising for the colleges they represented, often accompanying the institutions’ presidents as they travelled on fundraising trips. Minstrel troupe marching bands served a similar purpose, leading the parade for their affiliated shows. In each case the capacity of the band to capture and hold an audience’s attention while demonstrating something of what the entities had to offer an attendee was of high priority. Thus, visual and aural components received emphasis in the preparation and presentation of the minstrel bands as well as those early Black college bands such as Florida A&M.¹⁵⁵

N. B. Young, mentioned above, was a member of the first band in 1910 at

¹⁵³. Ostendorf, “Minstrelsy & Early Jazz,” 592.

¹⁵⁴. Jacqui Malone, *Steppin’ on the Blues*, 150.

¹⁵⁵. See Jacqui Malone, *Steppin’ on the Blues*; Smith, “Historical Development of Selected Black College Bands.”

Florida A&M under the direction of Nathaniel Adderly, grandfather of respected jazz musicians Julian “Cannonball” and Nat Adderly. That band developed into the FAMU “Marching 100,” eventually becoming one of the most-widely known HBCU marching bands through to the present day. That band was possibly the first marching band, HBCU or otherwise, to include dancing while playing as integral to the band’s performance style, a tradition that reflects minstrel band traditions, especially in the presentation of the drum major.

“ARTIST PROFESSORS”

That said, the directors of bands at HBCU’s in the late 1800s and early 1900s were often professional musicians recruited to teach at these institutions of higher learning. Some of these, like W. C. Handy, were veterans of minstrel or vaudeville circuits. Handy worked for a time at the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College as band director and music teacher.¹⁵⁶ Others, like Frank Drye, had professional performance experience and also served in military bands.¹⁵⁷ Drye, a band director at Tuskegee Institute, who became perhaps “the best known black college band director of the twenties,” served in the “Hellfighters” band of the 369th Infantry Regiment during the first world war, discussed below.¹⁵⁸

Years later, novelist Ralph Ellison commented about the nexus of jazz, military traditions, and HBCU marching band. Prior to his writing career, Ellison

¹⁵⁶. Also known as Alabama A&M or AAMU.

¹⁵⁷. See Badger, *A Life in Ragtime*.

¹⁵⁸. Jacqui Malone, *Steppin’ on the Blues*, 151.

attended Tuskegee Institute on a scholarship to play trumpet. He recalled that the Black teachers of military marching drill formations of his youth had “raised a military discipline to the level of a low art form, almost a dance, and its spirit was jazz,”¹⁵⁹ and that jazz as a concept and expressive outlook pervaded the consciousness of Black youth of his time to the point that it informed their performance of written music and other ostensibly unassociated activities and on into “marching and into football games, where it has since become a familiar fixture.”¹⁶⁰

Handy, Drye, and other professional musicians who turned their talents to teaching during the time were products of what Malone observed as a cross-fertilization of experiences from the “mutually enriching arenas” of Black minstrel bands, military bands, dance bands, marching bands and bands that performed for traveling shows and musical theatre.¹⁶¹ In an observation that supports Malone’s analysis, Ellison commented that his contemporaries praised musicians who “had conservatory training as well as a rich jazz experience and thus felt no need to draw a line between the two traditions. Following them, our ideal was to master both.”¹⁶²

Indeed, when James Europe, also trained as a machine-gun operator, was asked to form the Hellfighters band for the 369th, it was with the knowledge that

¹⁵⁹. Ellison, *Shadow and Act*, 11.

¹⁶⁰. Ellison, 10.

¹⁶¹. Jacqui Malone, *Steppin’ on the Blues*, 144.

¹⁶². Ellison, *Shadow and Act*, 10.

he already had experiences that included the organization of orchestras and bands that played classical music, at least one concert group that specialized in contemporary music of Black composers, and the establishment of one of the most successful dance bands in New York City.

THE 369TH HELLFIGHTERS BAND

The Hellfighters, a regimental band during WWI under the direction of James Reese Europe, was arguably the most famous of the Black military bands at the time. In February of 1919, the 369th regiment and band led the first parade up New York's 5th avenue and on into Harlem. This was the first parade, and they the first military units, to pass through the recently constructed victory arch. Observers, commenting on the band's performance noted differences between the Black bands and other bands they had observed. Although the band's repertoire, prior to reaching the Black neighborhoods, comprised "dignified marching music," an observer noted that "if what we along the curbs heard was not jazz, it was the best substitute for it I've ever heard in my life."¹⁶³

Like many military bands, Europe's regiment band played for ceremonial events and social events that were not always connected to military presence in a locale. However, the reputation earned by the 369th was unlike other bands, as reporting about the band demonstrated. Upon the occasion of the aforementioned victory parade, Europe was listed as one of the three main

¹⁶³. Badger, *A Life in Ragtime*, 7. Jazz and blues were genres of popular music at the time, both common in venues where social dancing was common. Blues is still danced to by some today, while jazz is now performed primarily for listening.

personalities that New York's citizens came out to see, alongside the white regiment founder and advocate Colonel William Hayward and Sergeant Henry Johnson, a former chauffer and winner of a French war ribbon with special citation.¹⁶⁴ A New York Times reporter described the musical unit as one that "all Americans swore, and some Frenchmen admitted, was the best military band in the world."¹⁶⁵

Malone observed that Europe's band "stepped to the beat of a different drummer."¹⁶⁶ This statement reflects continued Black assimilation, adaptation, and contribution to marching band performance traditions throughout history, beginning with military bands on the European continent.

AFRICAN MUSICIANS IN EUROPEAN MILITARY ENSEMBLES

The introduction of Turkish "janissary" instruments in the seventeenth century expanded the instrumentation of European military ensembles beyond the then-standard trumpet and side drums,¹⁶⁷ to include instruments such as the fife, bass drum, cymbals, and triangle. This "Turkish music craze" affected first military and then other European music.

The use of Africans, rather than Turks, to play the music emerged and descriptions exist of the Africans introducing interpretations associated

¹⁶⁴. See Badger, *A Life in Ragtime*.

¹⁶⁵. In Badger, 7.

¹⁶⁶. Jacqui Malone, *Steppin' on the Blues*, 144.

¹⁶⁷. The side drum is the precursor of the modern field and snare drums.

specifically with their performance of the music.¹⁶⁸ Farmer, a musicologist contemporary to the early 20th century, wrote of the “black men who played these instruments” that it was “a part of their business to perform all sorts of contortions and evolutions whilst playing their instruments,” referring to the tossing of bass drum beaters in the air between beats and crashing the cymbals in various body positions.¹⁶⁹

Farmer made these observations in Great Britain, where the percussion instruments related to janissary-inspired music were reportedly played only by Africans.¹⁷⁰ Indeed, the first band ever reported to arrive in England with a janissary percussion section comprised German wind instrument players and three African musicians, “two of whom carried tambourines, and the third the Turkish bells.”¹⁷¹ Farmer further reported the observation that the “negro musicians’ agility with fingers, arms and legs was only equaled by their perfect time in the music.”¹⁷² Farmer reported that many of the Blacks who played Turkish percussion and wind instruments in regimental bands had previously served as trumpeters and side, or snare, drummers, inferring the facility of the Africans to learn musical instruments and styles outside of their own traditional

¹⁶⁸. See Powley, “Turkish Music”; Wright, “Ignatius Sancho (1729-1780), African Composer in England”; Farmer, *Handel’s Kettledrums, and Other Papers on Military Music*; Farmer, *The Rise & Development of Military Music*.

¹⁶⁹. Farmer, *The Rise & Development of Military Music*, 75.

¹⁷⁰. See Netto and Schwarzschild, “Black Guardsmen”; “Early African Musicians in Europe”; Farmer, *Handel’s Kettledrums, and Other Papers on Military Music*.

¹⁷¹. Parke, *Musical Memoirs; Comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England, from the First Commemoration of Handel, in 1784, to the Year 1830*, 2:241.

¹⁷². Farmer, *Handel’s Kettledrums, and Other Papers on Military Music*, 46.

music, while bringing what might be considered a musical accent or dialect to newly learned styles.

Eventually, African musicians became a larger part of military band membership across Europe, which sometimes contained instrument sections comprised solely of Africans. Numbering Africans among a military band's roster became so popular that some bands in England strived to achieve "status according to the number of Blacks they employed."¹⁷³

Contemporary military manuals contained guidance for drum majors and regimental musicians towards execution of marching maneuvers in strictly steady rhythm. The Turkish instruments, especially the bass drum and cymbals, were found to be "excellent pace-makers," increasing rhythmic consistency while keeping cadence on the march.¹⁷⁴ Africans were found to be highly skilled technically and stylistically with the Turkish instruments, perhaps because of similarities to traditional African instruments, and their introduced deviances from European military band traditions were accepted and admired.

Additionally, at some point, presumably during or after the period when Farmer remarked how Black musicians "capered rather than marched," drill sergeants of African descent began to change the rhythmic emphases of traditional cadence calling, adding syncopation and beginning a tradition still

¹⁷³. "Early African Musicians in Europe," 167. I do find it disconcerting that then, as now, the dominant culture has controlled the if and how of public acceptance of alternative interpretations of mainstream expressions. It seems the type of adaptations that were approved in the early nineteenth century do not receive the same approval at twenty-first century marching contests.

¹⁷⁴. Farmer, *The Rise & Development of Military Music*, 74.

evident today in America's military.¹⁷⁵ Thus, historical reports seem to support Malone's argument that many performance traditions of modern HBCU bands can be traced back to early HBCU bands, Black minstrel acts, bands like James Europe's Hellfighters,¹⁷⁶ and on further through colonial bands that presumably have their own roots in British military bands where the instrumentation and presentation of marching bands as we know them today was originally established.

HISPANIC EDUCATION

MANY GROUPS IN ONE

Specifically, this study's focus is culturally relevant pedagogy in an urban school with a significant Hispanic population. CRP, like many other American approaches to MCE, has its roots in the education of African Americans.¹⁷⁷ There is a body of existing literature that reports on Hispanic underachievement in the American education system,¹⁷⁸ a topic of obvious concern when considering the widely cited observation that the Hispanic population is the fastest growing group in America and already the largest minority. "Hispanic" does not refer to a singular homogenous group;¹⁷⁹ rather, the term refers in a broad way to one of

¹⁷⁵. Farmer, *Handel's Kettledrums, and Other Papers on Military Music*, 46; See Szwed and Marks, "The Afro-American Transformation of European Set Dances and Dance Suites."

¹⁷⁶. See Jacqui Malone, *Steppin' on the Blues*.

¹⁷⁷. See Celik, "A History of Multicultural Education in the USA: Origins, Approaches, and Misconceptions."

¹⁷⁸. See Duncan-Andrade, "An Examination of the Sociopolitical History of Chicanos and Its Relationship to School Performance"; Nieto, "Critical Multicultural Education and Students' Perspectives."

¹⁷⁹. See García, "Educating Mexican American Students: Past Treatment and Recent

the groups that make the United States ethnically diverse. However, Mexican Americans, the groups with origins in Central and South America, and even those descended from Spain comprise another level of diversity within diversity. Recognizing the heterogeneity within “singular” groups, García noted the necessity of determining which aspects of each culture remain “educationally important.”¹⁸⁰

Fergus, a self-identified “Black-Latino,” wrote about identification of students, and people in general, by culture or ethnicity.¹⁸¹ He observed that people use skin color, language,¹⁸² and other identifiers to categorize according to the beholder rather than the self-identification of the beheld. Pan-ethnic labels such as Asian and Hispanic represent one outcome of this approach, resulting from societal convenience and highlighting a dynamic where teachers and the institutions they represent choose the primary way to identify students. Research literature and media alike identify Hispanics as a growing population with specific tendencies and needs. However, such identification has not globally included the racial and cultural differences within the Hispanic population, which in turn may indicate variances in those tendencies and needs. Involving culture in Hispanic education requires more nuanced understanding of

Developments in Theory, Research, Policy, and Practice”; Fergus, “Being a Black Latino.”

¹⁸⁰. García, “Educating Mexican American Students: Past Treatment and Recent Developments in Theory, Research, Policy, and Practice,” 381.

¹⁸¹. Fergus, “Being a Black Latino.”

¹⁸². “Language” here refers to idiom, accent, and vernacular.

differences within Hispanic populations.¹⁸³

Fergus observed that teachers must understand that “racial/ethnic identification is intimately bound to and constructed from societal and material conditions.”¹⁸⁴ That identification and those conditions contribute to a student’s sense of culture and any strategies developed to navigate therein. However, the culture and context presented in the classroom may frustrate the navigational strategies that students have at their disposal upon arrival. Perhaps an appropriate analogy might be that of conversing in an unfamiliar language; the issue is vocabulary, not intelligence. To carry the analogy further, perhaps the language is the same, but there may exist nuances of dialect or regional slang, etiquette, or other customs. Fergus concluded that we need a wider perspective of factors affecting learning that goes beyond practical or traditionally pedagogical concerns. Towards that same end, Duncan-Andrade examined *Chicano* school performance and the impact thereupon by what he termed their sociopolitical history.¹⁸⁵ The author described a cycle where the perception that a culture’s members are unwelcome in a society leads to a lack of participation in the conventions of that society, for example the political process, which further contributes to disenfranchisement for members of that culture.

¹⁸³. See Ramírez and Castañeda, *Cultural Democracy, Bicultural Development, and Education*.

¹⁸⁴. Fergus, “Being a Black Latino,” 35.

¹⁸⁵. Though used in ways varying by era and geographic locale, Duncan-Andrade employed the term to refer to people of Mexican descent born in the US. See Duncan-Andrade, “An Examination of the Sociopolitical History of Chicanos and Its Relationship to School Performance.”

Duncan-Andrade detailed examples of contributing factors such as the one-sided presentation of conflicts between the US and Mexico and negative perceptions of Mexicans and their culture that such indoctrination can promulgate, such as the battle at the Alamo. He endorsed the presentation of counter-narratives that, more than merely providing balanced information to all students, can contribute to a sense of cultural pride, self-worth, and perhaps most importantly, a sense of belonging in the society at large for Mexican American students. One such example the author cited was the Battle of Chapultepec where six Mexican military cadets stayed at their posts against 200 attacking US troops. The Mexican perspective of the Mexican American war, during which the Battle of Chapultepec was fought, is traditionally absent from American history books.¹⁸⁶

García reviewed research about educating Mexican American students,¹⁸⁷ framing the topic with statistical findings showing the growing Hispanic American student population along with increasing cultural mismatch between teachers and non-White students, with the latter point having proved a salient theme in the literature reviewed. In considering literature on teacher evaluation, the researcher recognized as positive a trend of emphasis on teacher training,

¹⁸⁶. This is not just an American occurrence. In the several history books I examined while living in Mexico, the account of “Los Niños Héroes de Chapultepec” was always highlighted while the Texan perspective of the War for Independence from Mexico, including the account of the Battle at the Alamo, was usually absent. However, the difference remains that there has never been a large presence of ethnic Americans in Mexican schools.

¹⁸⁷. García, “Educating Mexican American Students: Past Treatment and Recent Developments in Theory, Research, Policy, and Practice.”

while noting a gap between how teachers are prepared and what the practical needs are in the classroom. Research indicates that teachers possessing the ability to adapt their skills to those practical needs experience increased effectiveness. Those skills, nevertheless, are often the result of informal rather than “formally acquired knowledge,”¹⁸⁸ the latter of which tends to focus on aspects of teaching that are more readily measured under existing teacher evaluation paradigms.¹⁸⁹

ASSIMILATIONIST GOALS

Regarding early trends in teacher practice towards Mexican-American and other culturally diverse students, García identified repeated evidence of student "Americanization" as a desired goal, supporting observations of other researchers in this review. However, García's research revealed fundamental differences in characteristics of European versus Mexican immigrants. European nations had more industrial, technological, and cultural parallels with America than Mexico,¹⁹⁰ without mentioning the presence of similarities in physical appearance. These comparisons exemplify the different experiences of European Americans and Mexican Americans, with the latter evoking perception by Whites

¹⁸⁸. García, 377.

¹⁸⁹. For a more recent discussion of teacher evaluation and the continued challenge of aligning teacher training, actual needed skills, and evaluation see Cohen and Goldhaber, “Observations on Evaluating Teacher Performance: Assessing the Strengths and Weaknesses of Classroom Observations and Value-Added Measures.”

¹⁹⁰. I consider that enough observable similarities exist to extend these statements to include Latin America as a whole, borrowing Schwartz's idea of *logical situational generalizability*. See Schwartz, “The Changing Nature of Teacher Education.”

as "others."

Ramírez and Castañeda wrote about various Mexican American student concerns. They critiqued the “myth” that all can align with a “national [United States] character.”¹⁹¹ So-called melting pot theories and similar thinking had roots in arguments for justification of empirical rule, or conversely, as validation of [America’s] successful struggles for independence. These writers observed that such frameworks presumed the possibility of creating societal and cultural norms that attract, and function well for, the majority of citizens. The authors reviewed various iterations of melting pot theories, including the “*permissive melting pot*” idea.¹⁹² In this vision various “ingredients” were welcome into the “pot” with the caveat that the product created had a superior nature to any of the previously separate elements. Ramírez and Castañeda observed that the popular version of this vision did not offer inclusion to Native Americans, Mexican Americans,¹⁹³ and Black Americans. Thus, only those whose culture most closely aligned with the dominant flavor, to continue the analogy, had the opportunity to continue free expression and generational transference of their own culture. Meanwhile, others would be encouraged to assimilate, resulting in the suppression and the possible, and perhaps desired, extinction of traditions and expressions that might run counter to the dominant culture.

¹⁹¹. Ramírez and Castañeda, *Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development, and Education*, 3.

¹⁹². Ramírez and Castañeda, 5.

¹⁹³. Ramírez and Castañeda used the term “Mexicans of the Southwest.” Ramírez and Castañeda, 7. They remarked in their work that many Mexicans became co-opted as Americans via treaties annexing Texas and other portions of the Southwest to the United States.

The scholars argued that a homogenous view of Mexican Americans forms a barrier to effective education strategies. Presumably this argument generalizes to other Hispanic groups.¹⁹⁴ In fact, Spaniards represent a heterogeneous group in their own right, combining Latin, Visigoth, Phoenician, Carthaginian, and other origins before they ever crossed the ocean to mix with other ethnicities.¹⁹⁵

HISPANIC “DEFICITS” AND SUBTRACTIVE SCHOOLING

As mentioned previously, Ladson-Billings criticized so-called deficit approaches to educating culturally dominated groups. Ramírez and Castañeda critiqued the related idea of compensatory education. That construct’s proponents suggested that specific preschool experiences would help recuperation from “environmental, cultural, and social deprivation” that hindered Mexican American students’ success.¹⁹⁶ An underpinning for that view, *cultural deprivation*, proposed that certain cultures lack the potential to prepare their children for success in school or even in the dominant culture-at-large.¹⁹⁷

Ramírez and Castañeda advocated the idea of cultural democracy. According to these authors, students should have the opportunity and support to experience both the dominant *sociocultural system* and that which the child navigates in home and community.¹⁹⁸ Mexican American children experience a

¹⁹⁴. See Valencia, “Bilingual/Bicultural Education.”

¹⁹⁵. See Ramírez and Castañeda, *Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development, and Education*.

¹⁹⁶. Ramírez and Castañeda, 10.

¹⁹⁷. See Lipton, “Cultural Deprivation.”

¹⁹⁸. Ramírez and Castañeda, *Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development, and*

bicultural existence¹⁹⁹ and effective public education requires an understanding of students' home cultures. School administration and faculty understanding of and support of students' navigation in the home culture aligns with CRP's tenet of cultural competence.

Garza and Garza studied four White teachers considered successful at teaching Mexican American elementary school children of low socioeconomic status.²⁰⁰ They used CRP and subtractive schooling as analytical lenses for the collected data.²⁰¹ The school officials who nominated the participants attested that the selected teachers "had high expectations for students, were traditional and no-nonsense, and had positive attitudes."²⁰² However, the researchers found that rather than exhibit characteristics of CRP, the participants' classrooms reflected a school-wide paradigm of subtractive schooling and deficit thinking that Garza and Garza described as "insidious."²⁰³

Data analysis revealed the existence of a pervasive assimilationist approach that had as its primary impetus student success on the TAKS

Education. Ramírez and Castañeda described *sociocultural system* as viewable via cultural or social customs or paradigms producing identifiable traits of communication, interaction, learning, and stimulus. This conceptualization parallels common concepts of "culture."

¹⁹⁹. Note that, accordingly, anyone whose home or community culture differs from the dominant culture of the society lives a bicultural, or multicultural life.

²⁰⁰. Garza and Garza, "Successful White Female Teachers of Mexican American Students of Low Socioeconomic Status."

²⁰¹. I discuss subtractive schooling in the section "Multicultural Education" above.

²⁰². Garza and Garza, "Successful White Female Teachers of Mexican American Students of Low Socioeconomic Status," 192.

²⁰³. Garza and Garza, 196.

assessments given each year.²⁰⁴ The scholars reported that in the educational exchange, participant teachers purposely did not value any cultural capital the students brought from their out-of-school experiences. Further, when asked questions about their students' culture, the participants exhibited a superficial understanding, with answers limited to cultural products such as food or language.²⁰⁵

As analysis began, the authors reported that students' academic success in the absence of CRP teaching seemingly "debunk[ed]" the validity and need for CRP and similar pedagogies.²⁰⁶ However, despite participant teachers displaying what appeared on the surface as care for students and belief in student success, data analysis revealed teacher conceptions virtually antithetical to those of CRP teachers. They perceived the students' backgrounds and living contexts as barriers to success and were content with the status quo of their school's culture and pedagogical motivations. For example, the participant Velma indicated "that if she could 'make the students relate' to her, then she could reach them,"²⁰⁷ rather than make any attempt on her part to relate to the students. Additionally, in confessing the likely service-profession destinies of many students, the teacher

²⁰⁴. For years the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills served as the standardized battery used in all Texas schools through 12th grade.

²⁰⁵. One teacher indicated that her "preparation" for dealing with Mexican culture consisted, according to the report, of a bad word list from her Hispanic brother-in-law with the idea, "If they say that, send them to the office" Garza and Garza, "Successful White Female Teachers of Mexican American Students of Low Socioeconomic Status," 198.

²⁰⁶. Garza and Garza, 195.

²⁰⁷. Garza and Garza, 198.

indicated that she must realize "all these kids do not learn at the same level, do not have the same capabilities,"²⁰⁸ again in opposition to the CRP disposition that all students are capable of academic success.

The teachers had high short-term expectations, such as successful test scores, but low long-term expectations, such as career choice and success, for their students. The participants viewed low-SES Mexican American students' challenges in school as culturally, if not ethnically based. According to these participants, parents and community bore the fault for disconnects between home, community, and school. Ironically, the participants commented positively on how low-SES parents do not interfere or opine concerning school, especially contrasted with middle and upper-class parents.²⁰⁹ These views also support the researchers' assessment of the school's atmosphere as reinforcing the type of deficit thinking paradigm criticized by Ladson-Billings.

Garza and Garza concluded that the subtractive schooling in the study site resulted in one short-term and self-serving benefit: Students at the study site scored well on standardized tests.²¹⁰ However, they observed the existence of an education structure whose "accountability system is a large assimilation umbrella" and whose agents, the teachers, failed to "effectively dignify and

²⁰⁸. Garza and Garza, 197. Shockingly, the same teacher said, "Somebody has to work at HEB grocery store. Somebody has to work at McDonald's. Somebody has to work at Dairy Queen, you know. I have to have those people."

²⁰⁹. See Valenzuela, *Subtractive Schooling*. This phenomena supports Valenzuela's observation that immigrant parents and youth have a more positive and proactive approach to school than US born counterparts.

²¹⁰. Before the program ended, TAKS success affected the evaluation and compensation of teachers and administrators, as well as the status of schools, and at times, entire school districts.

respect their students' existence as individuals."²¹¹ The researchers argued that as students grow older, so does the tendency for them not to ascribe to the "White way of knowing,"²¹² and thus academic success diminishes. Garza and Garza noted that elementary school-aged children have a relatively compliant nature and thus teachers run less risk of resistance to the form their learning takes, even referencing the assimilationist efforts of the teacher participants as "relentless" and attempts to understand the students in terms of their home culture as "shallow."²¹³ Further, the stripping of culture takes from students capital that likely will have increased importance in navigating their home and community culture, where many will live and work, as they grow older.

CRP AND CRITICAL MUSIC EDUCATION

THE ABSENCE OF CRITIQUE

Bradley problematized concerns about school music in a racialized way.²¹⁴ The author acknowledged that social justice was receiving greater attention in music education, but those critiques lacked depth and critical impact on how music education is actually manifested. However, the author expressed concern that treatments of social justice issues, though well-intentioned, can lack depth

²¹¹. Garza and Garza, "Successful White Female Teachers of Mexican American Students of Low Socioeconomic Status," 204.

²¹². Garza and Garza, 205.

²¹³. Garza and Garza, 205, 198.

²¹⁴. See Deborah Bradley, "Avoiding the 'P' Word: Political Contexts and Multicultural Music Education," *Theory Into Practice* 51, no. 3 (2012), <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2012.690296>; and Deborah Bradley, "The Sounds of Silence: Talking Race in Music Education," *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 6, no. 4 (2008).

and critical impact on how music education is actually manifested.

Bradley critiqued the coding of discussions about race under terms such as “urban” and “diversity” as an avoidance of the issue at hand that also keeps students from developing sociopolitically, which in turn insulates the (music) education system from further levels of critique. Indeed, the author indicated preference for the construct anti-racism over multiculturalism, as the latter term makes reference to broader concerns not necessarily critical in nature. Bradley claimed that topics deemed inappropriate for discourse (e.g., South African Apartheid) are often euphemized as political rather than racial, or perhaps gender oriented. The negative result for education, wrote Bradley, is that “by subsuming race into the umbrella term *political*, and by associating political talk with the fear of sanctions against teachers, politics and racially charged histories remain socially and pedagogically unacceptable for classroom discussion.”²¹⁵ Linking this tendency to music education, Bradley used the lyrics from “Swing Low, Sweet Chariot” to demonstrate how a song can be bereft of meaning when not presented in context, in this case that of slavery, ultimately contributing “to the ongoing devaluation of the arts in education.”²¹⁶

Another target of Bradley’s critique was the focus of American music education on ensemble performance of music with a European classical music heritage. Bradley argued that students not exemplifying Euro-American values or perspectives find themselves excluded from many school music programs due to

²¹⁵. Bradley, “Avoiding the ‘P’ Word,” 193.

²¹⁶. Bradley, 194.

music programs' inherent "Whiteness," a construct describing the perspective that those traits generated from, associated with, or identified by European descended culture are the norm.²¹⁷ Popular music and other styles of music from around the world seem to remain "marginalized as curricular add-ons, if acknowledged at all."²¹⁸ Arguing that students not exemplifying Euro-American perspectives can find themselves excluded from many school music programs, she advocated for discussion that would address persistent dynamics such as institutionalized Whiteness and other aspects of power in American society.

Bradley identified as a sustaining factor in those dynamics the majority white population of music teachers and students, further explaining that this condition has contributed to the reluctance to talk about race issues in music education as many may feel attacked because of their own position or success.²¹⁹ Dialogue about music education topics frequently includes oblivious or even dysconsciously racial underpinnings that never reach an explicit level of expression.²²⁰ This dynamic, argued Bradley, exists in opposition to a view that "a critical pedagogy is crucial to education."²²¹ In order to effect change, Bradley called for an open and critical dialog about race in music education to include topics such as social justice and critical pedagogies.

²¹⁷. Bradley, 190.

²¹⁸. Bradley, "The Sounds of Silence," 134.

²¹⁹. Bradley, "The Sounds of Silence."

²²⁰. King described dysconscious racism as thinking that "reflects internalized ideologies that both justify the racial status quo and devalue cultural diversity. King, J., "Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity, and the Miseducation of Teachers," 134.

²²¹. Bradley, "The Sounds of Silence," 143.

CULTURAL RELEVANCE IN THE CLASSROOM/REHEARSAL SPACE

In a study related to the aforementioned claims, Bradley presented demographic information indicating an underrepresentation of minority and low socioeconomic students in one district's music programs at different grade levels. Albert similarly conducted a phenomenological investigation into how middle school music teachers in low-SES areas recruit and retain students.²²² Concerning recruitment, four themes emerged, one of which was the availability of a culturally relevant ensemble. In one case, this took the form of a marching band using HBCU-show style expressive format. Albert reported that an ensemble's perception by the general student body affected recruitment, from which can be inferred that an exclusively Euro-classical curriculum is a valid topic for critique in regards to recruitment and continued participation in band as a class providing some aspect of cultural relevancy for students.

Mixon discussed culturally relevant ensembles as curriculum and as pedagogy.²²³ The educator observed that other identifiers such as age, religion, and special interests have strong motivational significance for students similar to ethnicity.²²⁴ Mixon warned that alienation of students and audience can result from "masterworks only" policies.

²²². Albert, "Strategies for the Recruitment and Retention of Band Students in Low Socioeconomic School Districts."

²²³. Mixon, "Engaging and Educating Students with Culturally Responsive Performing Ensembles."

²²⁴. See Shaw "The Skin That We Sing"; Norton and Bentley "Making the Connection."

This view parallels Regelski's observation of "musicianism."²²⁵ The author employed the term to describe a disposition where musical goals, having to do with performance quality on a technical level or perceived musical worth from a Eurocentric perspective, inappropriately outweighed ethical concerns such as student dignity or "significant and lifelong educational and musical" impact on students' lives.²²⁶ Regelski also criticized a state where school music has insufficient ties to the communities schools serve.²²⁷

Writing about those connections between school music programs, students, and their communities, along with the effect that relevance or its lack can have on ensemble participation, Mantie and Tucker declared the existence in schools of a *choir, orchestra, and band paradigm* that is descended from a Western European musical heritage.²²⁸ They argued that this traditional implementation of secondary school music education promulgated two principal constraints on what they described as a democratic, ethical approach to music education. First, secondary ensembles they observed lacked inclusion across the socio-demographics of society, and thus lacked the potential to promote inclusion across cultures. A further effect of that exclusion is "an implicit hierarchy between... 'sanctioned knowledge' (that of the state) and 'indigenous knowledge' (typically that of visible minority groups)."²²⁹ Second, given that the school system

²²⁵. Regelski, "Musicianism and the Ethics of School Music," 7.

²²⁶. Regelski, 21.

²²⁷. Regelski, "Re'connecting Music Education with Society."

²²⁸. Mantie and Tucker, "Pluralism, the Right, and the Good."

²²⁹. Mantie and Tucker, 261.

of a democracy ostensibly serves all equally, any exclusion, be it overtly planned or the unplanned result of a problematic underpinning or implementation, favors one cultural group over another. Analysis of data revealed that the subject school music programs did not reflect the demographics of the communities the schools served. Mantie and Tucker suggested that the “current *monoculturalism* of music education is reflective of a value structure that militates against full participation in school music.”²³⁰ The researchers questioned if offering only one general type of participation experience, the large ensemble, might not act as an assimilating influence, creating “primarily one kind of musical being,”²³¹ subsequently catalyzing the degradation, and possible eventual disappearance of other cultures’ music in society, or at the very least in students’ lives. They also cautioned against presumption of what music students might prefer to learn about and engage in based on stereotypes associated with ethnicity, gender, age, or any other distinguishing identifier.

Various best-practices and perspectives in urban music education were presented in an article by Martignetti, et. al.²³² The researchers identified adjudicated performances and music educators conventions as mediums through which Western European music traditions have been “perpetuated [as] a dominant ideology.”²³³ Subsequently, any music outside of the mainstream focus

²³⁰. Mantie and Tucker, 264.

²³¹. Mantie and Tucker, 264.

²³². Martignetti et al., “You Got To Know Us’: A Hopeful Model for Music Education in Urban Schools.”

²³³. Martignetti et al., 20.

becomes “minimized or largely ignored.” Urban students become victims of a systemic aesthetic bias against musical expressions they find meaningful, even integral to their lives.

Surveying students at two schools that offered music opportunities outside of the aforementioned choir, band, and orchestra paradigm, Dekaney and Robinson used a CRP lens to investigate the nexus of music, culture, and identity in world drumming class students.²³⁴ Their investigation revealed that educators in various schools had established alternative ensembles such as mariachi bands, marimba bands, jazz groups, and gospel choirs, among others, in an effort to provide diverse music opportunities for their students. However, they questioned and sought to identify whether these opportunities actually provided culturally relevant experiences for students.

As a result of their research, Dekaney and Robinson proposed a typology comprising four components. The first, cultural product, is typified by learning a song from another culture but without any further engagement beyond that necessary to execute that particular selection. The second, described as a cultural pattern, is reached by learning about the use and origin of a style. Product and practice, the third classification, concerns the application or recognition of stylistic characteristics in other selections, such as swinging the eight-note in jazz, or the proper application of a clave rhythm in Latin music. Lastly, a culturally relevant experience is achieved when a student approaches the nexus

²³⁴ Dekaney and Robinson, “A Comparison of Urban High School Students’ Perception of Music, Culture, and Identity.”

between the studied style and styles from their own experience and how the understanding of both styles might inform or enhance their navigation of their own or others' culture. The researchers proposed that some teachers may lack the knowledge or skill to facilitate a fully culturally relevant experience for their students, often failing to connect cultural experiences to students' lives in a meaningful way.²³⁵

Fitzpatrick, a teacher and researcher, wrote a detailed guide with recommendations towards application of CRP in the urban music classroom.²³⁶ Fitzpatrick drew upon her own experience beginning as a White teacher in a majority African American high school. Further, like Ladson-Billings and some others in this review, Fitzpatrick examined the characteristics and practices of successful teachers – specifically music teachers in urban settings. Indeed, the author included extensive portions of interviews, providing readers with first-hand accounts of the interviewees' experiences and best practices.²³⁷

Fitzpatrick expressed that the book's principal focus was the presentation of a teaching perspective with a focus on “[meeting] each student where he or she is, [recognizing] the students' prior experiences, and [building] on their strengths.”²³⁸ That viewpoint and the supporting material align with Ladson-Billings's observations about valuing the capital with which students enter the

²³⁵. Dekaney and Robinson.

²³⁶. Fitzpatrick-Harnish, *Urban Music Education*.

²³⁷. See also Fitzpatrick, “A Mixed Methods Portrait of Urban Instrumental Music Teaching.”

²³⁸. Fitzpatrick-Harnish, *Urban Music Education*, loc. 1115 of 2847, Kindle.

classroom and using that capital as a basis from which to scaffold towards learning class content. Indeed, the author explicitly acknowledged the influence of CRP on her own work, providing a detailed outline of the construct and recommending Ladson-Billing's original research monograph to the uninitiated in the concept.

That said, though the critical aspects of CRP were not entirely absent, Fitzpatrick presented recommendations focused primarily on student engagement in making and understanding both familiar and non-familiar types of music. Inclusion of non-traditional ensembles and context-centric music selection for traditional ensembles were among the pedagogical loci discussed by Fitzpatrick and the five interviewees, whose individual specialties included general music, band, choir, orchestra, and mariachi. The perspective invited by the author towards engagement strategies was targeted within, rather than encompassing the whole of CRP, in my view signaled by the author's continued use of construct *contextually specific* rather than culturally relevant.

One recurring difference between Ladson-Billings's CRP and some of the variants constructed by researchers that acknowledge Ladson-Billings work is the emphasis of other elements over the critical elements of CRP. Whether that deemphasis was more a byproduct or an intent of researchers' theory construction, some extant literature provides views of hinderances to implementation of CRP in a holistic way.

OBSTACLES TO CRP ADOPTION

Doyle, in a review of CRP music education literature, observed obstacles to implementation of CRP.²³⁹ Many of those obstacles stemmed from standard practices such as the aforementioned band, choir, and orchestra paradigm. Doyle posited that culturally relevant ensembles often require extra facilities and equipment, specialized training, expanded schedules, and other accommodations that school administrations may be unwilling or unable to provide, especially given the configuration and expense of many schools' mainstream music elements. As mentioned previously, those components generally center around Western European music traditions which, Davis admonished, uncover the "insidious influence of representations routinely exposed as the discursive constructions of ideology and power."²⁴⁰

In a widely cited primer on the history of multicultural music education in America, Volk outlined many MCE approaches and their criticisms already reviewed above, but with a focus on music education.²⁴¹ The author recounted assimilationist practices in music education with European music, especially German, as the considered ideal object of study and emulation in performance. The researcher included other European descent students as victims of this aesthetic coercion as part of the general prevalence of Americanization. Along with the music, and languages, of peoples of color with African, Native American,

²³⁹. Doyle, "Cultural Relevance in Urban Music Education A Synthesis of the Literature."

²⁴⁰. Davis, "Music Education and Cultural Identity," 50.

²⁴¹. Volk, *Music, Education, and Multiculturalism*.

or Latin American ancestry, Irish, Russian, and other cultures' expressions, especially folk music, were absent from United States schools. There was "no official attempt to address cultural differences in any of the schools," whether those of diverse cultures shared classrooms with the emerging United States culture or were segregated. Indeed, Volk found evidence that the musics of some cultures, in one cited case "Negro melodies," should be abstained from for the likelihood of musical and moral corruption.²⁴²

Volk also found in the literature that MCE as a concept has not enjoyed a priori acceptance, with some educators, music and otherwise, critiquing the motivations and effectiveness of some implementations. Fear of a diluted or "splintered" American identity, lack of focus in educational planning, shallow political agendas, and attempts to self-affirm smaller groups at the expense of the societal whole number among concerns of some scholars. According to Volk, lack of authenticity and rigor, and even the encouragement (rather than discouragement) of culturally segmented views and practices are potential negative results of multiculturalism in music education, according to those who challenge the way MCE is practiced. However, as a proponent of multicultural music education, Volk adduced that this approach to education needs expansion, but its use should remain fluid and evolving, and as critical practitioners, educators must continue to "challenge and clarify cultural values" to refine strategies to maintain effectiveness.²⁴³

²⁴². Volk, 27.

²⁴³. Volk, 7.

Writing from a perspective that emphasized the role that students can play in pedagogical planning and implementation, Shaw recognized a view of music as universal, yet taught by each teacher from the perspective of one segment of that universality.²⁴⁴ If that perspective remains fixed, the educator's range of pedagogical strategies may be limited by their background and set of experiences. However, by recognizing their unique perspective as only one of many that exist, with a predisposition of relating personal context to the universal whole, teachers can help students do the same by scaffolding between the segments that each group of students, or even an individual student, has as a starting point and wherever the teacher is trying to help them arrive. The choral educator framed CRP as a matter of inclusion versus exclusion. Infusing Bourdieusian and Freireian ideals in her approach, Shaw remarked that students must maintain a central role in developing pedagogy as "to deny students their own expert knowledge is to disempower them."²⁴⁵ Shaw presented a culturally-nuanced vision of music education that infused CRP in all aspects from rehearsal to program development to stage.

By way of summary, application of CRP in the music classroom and rehearsal space, as presented in the reviewed literature, can be considered, or perhaps more appropriately problematized, in three steps. First, as exemplified

²⁴⁴. Shaw, "The Skin That We Sing."

²⁴⁵. Shaw, "Knowing Their World' Urban Choral Music Educators' Knowledge of Context," 77.

by the choir, orchestra, and band paradigm described by Mantie and Tucker,²⁴⁶ music education in America is Eurocentric in its aesthetic and approach. Second, many students bring a diverse and often non-Eurocentric set of experiences to school with them. As Bradley observed, those students can find their opportunities and resulting experiences limited, if not outright marginalized. Third, in order to successfully engage and teach students, views of what to teach and how to teach must both expand beyond that limited Euro-centric view towards a place where respect of students and their differences can coexist with genuine motivation to experience, explore, and make not just different, but all kinds of music.

IN CONCLUSION: THE CASE FOR CULTURALLY RELEVANT PEDAGOGY

Ladson-Billings pointed out that her Dreamkeepers fostered an atmosphere in which all students' traits and contributions receive ascribed value from the rest of the class, promoting tolerance and appreciation of others' backgrounds and cultures.²⁴⁷ This dynamic places a culture-appreciating MCE approach alongside a sociocritical one.

Ultimately, while CRP represented a perspective that some contemporaries considered distant from common teaching practice, Ladson-Billings expressed how some recognized the approach as "just good teaching."²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶. Mantie and Tucker, "Pluralism, the Right, and the Good."

²⁴⁷. Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*.

²⁴⁸. Ladson-Billings, "But That's Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant

The pedagogue concurred with that assessment, but further indicated the absence of these ostensibly common “good teaching” practices in many classrooms serving African American children, signaling attention to CRP as an effective means to rectify inequity in the general approach to education in American classrooms. As Ladson-Billings focused on work with Black children, a tacit observation remains: Dominant-culture children in America are educated with CRP, minus the sociopolitical consciousness.²⁴⁹

Critique towards identifying best practices for CRP continues. After garnering unsatisfactory results from a special teaching project in which CRP was their underpinning approach, Scherff and Spector researched, reflected, and eventually sought out other educators’ similarly challenging accounts of CRP implementation.²⁵⁰ The authors pointed out that while many think of CRP as a single term, attention should be paid to the implications of the component descriptors “cultural,” “relevant,” and “pedagogy,” especially as to how those terms relate to context. According to the editors, students and their actual—not generalized—context should remain the field from which CRP practices emerge and the field into which they must be grounded. Each teacher must “address CRP as it relates to their particular classroom” as did the authors in their volume.²⁵¹

Pedagogy,” 189.

²⁴⁹. By and large, dominant culture students achieve academic success and maintain cultural competence. The component of sociopolitical consciousness takes a different tack for Euro-Americans, beyond the scope of this work.

²⁵⁰. Lisa Scherff and Karen Spector, *Culturally Relevant Pedagogy Clashes and Confrontations*.

²⁵¹. Scherff and Spector, “Introduction: Clashes and Confrontations with Culturally

One contributor to Scherff and Spector's collection, Nygreen, argued that defining equity becomes potentially oppressive and thus inequitable.²⁵² However, most critiques in the volume center on implementations of CRP that do not align with CRP's tenets in an authentic way, or the need for adjusted perspectives.²⁵³ Paris argued that neither "responsive" nor "relevant," as terms, sufficiently address the need for integration of culture into education design and implementation, and offered the construct *culturally sustaining* pedagogy as an alternative.²⁵⁴ While calling for a more accurate terminology, Paris' expressed ideals seem very much in line with those of CRP. Paris, as did others, expressed a desire that pre-service teachers have a working framework to help them "meaningfully value and maintain the practices of their students" and "support the linguistic and cultural dexterity and plurality" of American society.²⁵⁵

Though not aimed specifically at minority students, a precursor exists for the culturally-oriented pedagogies mentioned in this review as far back as Dewey at the turn of the 20th century.²⁵⁶ Writing about the importance of what children bring to the classroom, the educationalist looked forward to when one might

Relevant Pedagogy," 13.

²⁵². Nygreen, "The Central Paradox of Critical Pedagogy: Learning from Practice in an Urban 'Last Chance' High School."

²⁵³. See Young "Challenges to Conceptualizing and Actualizing Culturally Relevant Pedagogy"; Helmer "'Proper' Spanish Is a Waste of Time': Mexican-Origin Student Resistance to Learning Spanish as a Heritage Language."

²⁵⁴. Paris, "Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy: A Needed Change in Stance, Terminology, and Practice."

²⁵⁵. Paris, 96.

²⁵⁶. Dewey, *The School and Society and The Child and the Curriculum*.

make the observation that “the forms and tools of learning are subordinated to the substance of experience.”²⁵⁷ Making statements that have since become applicable as critique of the deficit theories of later times, Dewey warned against focusing “upon something in the nature of the child” as the locus of underachievement,²⁵⁸ though he did not reference that statement to groups, but to individual cases. Further, Dewey wrote that effective teaching would strategize ways to bridge between the student’s experienced world and content areas presented in the curriculum.

Valencia observed the importance of adjusting teacher practice when “the child's home-cultural experiences differ from that of the middle-class majority.”²⁵⁹ Referring various times to the middle-class majority as the ostensible milieu for which students are being prepared to navigate, Valencia examined and compared characteristics of various bilingual education models. Valencia proposed the construct *bilingual bicultural education* as an emerging curriculum strategy that can address the challenges of teaching multicultural youth. The researcher cautioned against a presumption of effectiveness of cultural approaches based solely on ethnicity, race, locale, or other descriptors. For instance, some Mexican American students, especially those of a middle-class background, can “often [speak] English as fluently as his Anglo-American

²⁵⁷. Dewey, 39.

²⁵⁸. Dewey, 104.

²⁵⁹. Valencia, “Bilingual/Bicultural Education,” 321.

counterpart.”²⁶⁰ Conversely, one might infer certain similarities, including cultural, across ethnic lines in some cases. Generally, Valencia encouraged an approach that considers the specific context and the specific group of students, recognizing that geographic locale and urban-ness likely represent divergent contexts for students of similar ethnic or national origin. On this point, Fitzpatrick further observed that, despite any visually perceived descriptor, a student’s actual ethnicity, cultural background, or any resulting aesthetic preference may not be “readily apparent” and any understanding of context should not be assumed, but rather verified.²⁶¹

Valencia argued that educational objectives should affect pedagogy. For example, despite the national use of English in America, quotidian interaction in a particular region may require little or no English, even for adults. In such areas, an emphasis on mastery of communication in English, especially when a pupil might realize greater knowledge acquisition in their own language, might represent a pedagogical error.

Valencia recognized the importance of considering students’ cultural contexts in the development of pedagogy. However, the majority of educational models included in Valencia’s report centered on language, rather than cultural considerations. The author indicated that some of the nineteen basic models identified were not in use, but were suggestions based on “theoretical

²⁶⁰. Valencia, 322. I find it interesting to note the wide use of “Anglo-American,” especially in literature featuring Hispanic, especially Mexican American, concerns instead of an arguably more accurate “Euro-American.”

²⁶¹. Fitzpatrick-Harnish, *Urban Music Education*, loc. 953 of 2847, Kindle.

paradigms.”²⁶² He did not, however, specify how many fell in that category. At the time of her original study, Ladson-Billings critiqued the paucity in the literature of concrete suggestions that included student’s culture in a substantive way, citing that lack as part of her argument for the need of CRP.²⁶³

Ladson-Billings’s CRP framework, along with hers, and others’, research related thereto, focused more on teachers’ pedagogical perspectives, expectations, and resulting practices than on curriculum. Those perspectives and expectations are presumably influenced by training programs for teachers. Logically, teacher preparation was evident as a salient theme throughout the literature in this review. Ladson-Billings expressed that targeted teacher preparation could positively affect the skills and attitudes teachers bring to bear on what Delpit called “other people’s children.”²⁶⁴ García commented that, although there existed a trend of emphasis on teacher training, there was also a gap between that preparation and practical needs in the classroom. Ladson-Billings observed that the Dreamkeepers developed their practice from instinct and experience, sometimes even defying administrative mandates that proved ineffective in the classroom. Powell and Taylor found that teachers’ experiences and beliefs affected readiness to implement culture-based teaching.²⁶⁵

Finally, the “culture” in CRP remains a nuanced and fluid concept, as one might

²⁶². Valencia, “Bilingual/Bicultural Education,” 325.

²⁶³. See Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*; Ladson-Billings, “But That’s Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy.”

²⁶⁴. Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*; Delpit, “The Silenced Dialogue,” 280.

²⁶⁵. Powell, “Epistemological Antecedents to Culturally Relevant and Constructivist Classroom Curricula”; Taylor, “Culturally Relevant Pedagogy and Behaviors.”

interpret from the literature reviewed above. As race, skin color and hue, ethnicity, and nationality represent common areas along which many draw stereotypical-culture lines, an observation by Goodenough warrants consideration: “People have to learn [culture] as distinct from their biological heritage.”²⁶⁶ Indeed, an activity I have used for over twenty years as an arts appreciation instructor demonstrates this point. For that activity, I instructed each student to write down their responses to questions about preference of colors, movies, and music. I would then read each set of responses and encourage the students to look around and guess to which classmate the preferences belonged. With class size averaging around thirty students, in an average of four to six instances the class would have difficulty identifying the person who wrote the list. Class members often expressed surprise at what they perceived as aesthetic preferences that were incongruent with assumptions or stereotypes associated with dress or belonging to an ethnicity, sports team, or other entity. Over the years, motivated in part by those results, I developed a habit of inquiring about students’ experiences and preferences, rather than presuming based on what I might know about their home town or high school. Thus, in my own teaching practice, and also in the execution of this study, I have purposed to keep in mind the idea that culture is learned so that my conceptualization of culture might maintain its own relevance in my efforts towards effective pedagogy.

²⁶⁶. Goodenough, “Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics,” 167.

Chapter 3

Execution of the Study

ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to investigate the presence of culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP) in a majority Hispanic high school marching band classroom taught by an African American band director. The presence of CRP is identified by academic success, cultural competence, and sociopolitical awareness in students. Ladson-Billings's progenitive investigation was an ethnographic case study that resulted in the grounded theory CRP. Subsequent researchers using this frame, such as Flory and McCaughtry and Richard Milner, continued to employ ethnography for investigation, though they began with an established theoretical framework, rather than developing a grounded theory as had Ladson-Billings.²⁶⁷ Dagaz, though not investigating CRP, selected ethnography as an appropriate choice to identify characteristics in marching band students.²⁶⁸ While considering those precedents, I encountered Erickson's observation about two qualities that, in tandem, indicate that a study is ethnographic. First is the consideration of a social group as a whole. I knew that I would be observing at the least, two overlapping social groups – Hispanics and band members. Erickson's second point was that the "[portrayal of] events, at least in part, from the points

²⁶⁷. Flory and McCaughtry, "Culturally Relevant Physical Education in Urban Schools"; Milner, "Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in a Diverse Urban Classroom."

²⁶⁸. Dagaz, "In-Step."

of view of the actors involved in the events.”²⁶⁹ I knew that the teachers’ and students’ perspectives would be integral to my study. Thus, factoring the weight of the study precedents mentioned above and Erickson’s observations about what comprises ethnography, I chose an ethnographic case study design for this investigation.

Concerning data analysis and reporting, I turned to Ellingson’s conceptualization of crystallization as a strategy.²⁷⁰ Various points resonated with my early thoughts about this study and its eventual execution and resulting report. The author cited “thick description,” a concept associated with Geertz,²⁷¹ as a hallmark of qualitative inquiry. Ellingson’s conceptualization included acknowledgement of the researcher’s self and roles in the research process. Perhaps most striking to me was Ellingson’s stated principle of crystallization as “embracing knowledge as situated, partial, constructed, multiple, embodied, and enmeshed in power relations.”²⁷² That mention of power relations aligned with the critical aspects of CRP.

Ladson-Billings’s work contains a succinct expression of her methodology – she executed the original CRP study by “talking with, observing, videotaping, analyzing, and interpreting the practice of successful teachers of African American students”²⁷³ With the exception of videotaping, that statement outlines

²⁶⁹. Erickson, “What Makes School Ethnography ‘Ethnographic’?,” 52.

²⁷⁰. Ellingson, *Engaging Crystallization in Qualitative Research*.

²⁷¹. Geertz, “Thick Description: Towards and Interpretive Theory of Culture.”

²⁷². Ellingson, *Engaging Crystallization in Qualitative Research*, 10.

²⁷³. Ladson-Billings, “Liberatory Consequences of Literacy,” 382.

the steps followed in the execution of this study. In adapting those ethnographic elements to marching band, I also integrated aspects of Dagaz's methods. Emerson's writing about ethnographic fieldnotes,²⁷⁴ along with Ellingson's conceptualization of crystallization provided principal guidance in data collection, analysis, and reporting. In the following sections I will detail those processes carried out – site selection, data generation and collection, and analysis. Following those details, I will present information about reliability and validity, including how I was related to and situated in the execution of this ethnography.

SITE SELECTION

In order to align with the purpose of this study, the selected site needed to exhibit three characteristics – The population of the band must be majority Hispanic, the band director must be an African American, and the band must use Historically Black College and University (HBCU) show bands as a model for the style of the band. I also had a preference that the community surrounding the school also be majority Hispanic. I considered that reliability of data about Hispanic students' cultural competence might be enhanced in that way. In order to comply with the districts review board policies, I needed to select the school prior to submitting a research application. I had already obtained university approval for the study, pending district approval, as the university review board's

²⁷⁴. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*.

policies did not require a priori naming of the school.

To confirm possible schools,²⁷⁵ I gathered data about the schools and their environs. Texas education offices make demographic and other pertinent data available online and by request. I studied demographic data to reveal information about cultural groups served by the school and to establish context for observations.

At the time of the selection process, four schools in the city and two other schools elsewhere in the state met the criteria. Proximity was one factor in narrowing the choices. Between teaching classes and evening rehearsals, my own job has long hours and I preferred a nearby school that I could get to easily and then return for the rest of my workday. Two school met that need. Two more factors influenced final decision. First, one school had a director with a significantly longer tenure. I considered that pedagogical design, practice, and results would be more established. That consideration would likely have been conclusive on its own. However, the director with less tenure, and his assistant, were former students of mine. I knew that I would already be familiar with and to the students, I did not want the additional level of relationship.

After making the final selection, I obtained school district approval in compliance with the policies of the district research review board, including approval of all consent and permission forms, which can be found in Appendices A through H. Those forms had already been approved by the university review

²⁷⁵. Being a resident in the region, I already had an informed idea about which schools would meet criteria.

board. All key informants signed the appropriate approved forms prior to their individual participation. Classroom observations did not require any specific forms or signatures beyond review board approval as only normal classroom routines and behaviors were observed, in compliance with district policy.

I selected key student informants for interviews as a result of my observation and by recommendation of the director. I purposed to select informants of at least somewhat diverse characteristics though chief criterion were my perception of the student’s engagement and likelihood to be a willing participant. Table 2 shows selected characteristics of the key informants.

Table 2. Selected Characteristics of key informants at time of interview

	Gender	Grade	Instrument	Leadership?
Catalina	Female	12	Flute	Drum Major
Magdalena	Female	12	Percussion	Percussion Section Leader
Naiomi	Female	11	Euphonium	No
Humberto	Male	9	Saxophone	No
Esteban	Male	11	Trombone	Yes
Oscar	Male	12	Trumpet	Asst. Section Leader

DATA GENERATION

Ethnographic case studies rely primarily on field notes from observations, supplemented by interviews with key informants to confirm or challenge inferences made from observation. The study began with an interview of the band director. After that initial interview, observations took place at over thirty band rehearsals and several performances over a two-year period between August of 2017 and May of 2019. During that time, interviews took place with key student

informants, and caregivers of some of those key student informants.

Observations continued throughout the study and comprised the final method of data collection. I collected all data with an aim towards addressing the study's guiding research questions:

1. To what extent does the teacher consider students' culture in the pedagogy in terms of students'
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?
2. What reactions do students have towards show-style pedagogy?
3. What perceptions do students have about the impact of show-style pedagogy on their:
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?
4. What nexus exists between the teachers' pedagogical intent in using show-style pedagogy and students'
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; andsociopolitical consciousness?

This study began with a semi-structured interview of the band director, which addressed the first research question. Indeed, Ladson-Billings own study began with the selection and interview of the teacher-participants.²⁷⁶ The protocol for informant interviews can be found in Appendix G. I recorded all

²⁷⁶ See Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*, Appendix A: Methodology.

interviews on a Samsung Galaxy S8 phone and an iPad for redundancy. The director's interview was transcribed, and the transcription was returned for clarification. My analysis of field notes from band rehearsals and performances did result in new questions for me to ask, which I discussed with the director during the course of the study.

During the approximately forty-five total observations made between August of 2017 and May of 2019 at music classes, band rehearsals, and marching band performances, I looked for evidence of students' achievement, cultural identification, and sociopolitical consciousness, and any other data that I could use to address the research questions. Those performances comprised three football games, one parade, one cafeteria performance, an outdoor spring concert in a school green space, and a drumline competition. The duration of classroom observations sessions ranged from fifty minutes to two hours. Both my schedule and the schedule at the school affected those times. Performance observations averaged two hours in duration. From August to November of both 2017 and 2018, during marching season, I was usually at the site school one or more times each week. During the spring and summer, my visits ranged from once every two weeks to once every four weeks. For the time of the study, no calendar month passed that I did not have contact with the site school's students. Occasionally, as I will detail below, I encountered some of the site school's students at my own school or school-related events.

I made field notes during over half of those classroom observation

sessions. Due to the nature of my status as a college band director and my preexisting relationship with the City High school staff and students, my visits often resulted in some interaction with the band in the form of coaching, giving critiques, assisting with teaching, or simply talking with students or answering their questions about music, college, and the like. The majority of those interactions were with percussionists. Between observation sessions, I added written reflections to some of these notes and also further notes that would aid in thick description of the site and characters to be included therein.

I interviewed six key student informants. I interviewed those informants in groups of two, following Eder and Fingerson's suggestion that adolescents are more comfortable and therefore more forthcoming when they are interviewed in small groups.²⁷⁷ Those interviews occurred after school in the director's office. I used a semi-structured interview protocol, listed in Appendix H. Use of semi-structured interviews was my own choice. The studies that informed my methodology used a range of interview strategies between them. I considered the semi-structured format would provide more readily comparable data while allowing for expansion and clarification of responses, as well as inquiry regarding any uniqueness of informants' contexts. As with the director, I digitally recorded each interview. Student informants had the opportunity to review their transcribed responses for clarification or editing.

In a 2010 study about marching band participation, Mari Dagaz found that

²⁷⁷. Eder and Fingerson, "Interviewing Children and Adolescents."

caregiver interviews yielded important information not necessarily observable in school and from a different perspective than a student's self-report.²⁷⁸ Caregivers can contribute information about home culture, including cultural views on achievement, and their perception of how students living with them align with that culture. Therefore, I interviewed caregivers of four of the key student informants. I was unable, despite various attempts, to interview caretakers of the remaining student key informants. Principal questions came from the protocol listed in Appendix G. Each of these interviews, however, included questions that arose from respondent's answers and comments. As with the directors and key student informants, I digitally recorded caregiver interviews. Given the challenges encountered in scheduling the caregiver interviews, I spent time after each interview to allow for clarification or revision of responses. The one desired clarification occurred to a caregiver at a later date and was delivered via the student. That clarification did not affect interpretation of the data.

In sum, I addressed research questions about directors' intentions by interview, followed by observation, and further follow-up questions as needed. My treatment of research questions about students' reactions and perceptions began with observations, followed by key informant interviews, further observation, and caretaker interviews. The overriding concern of the study was the cultural relevance of Historically Black College and University-influenced, show-style marching band for the observed Hispanic students. Thus, I addressed

²⁷⁸. Dagaz, "In-Step."

research questions concerning the nexus between the director's intentions and students' reactions and perceptions through more comprehensive analysis.

DATA ANALYSIS

PROCESS

In ethnographic research where methods include observations and interviews, data generation, collection, and analysis become symbiotic processes rather than linear ones.²⁷⁹ The data collection was not complete before some analysis began to take place. During those observations where I took notes simultaneously, I notated my real-time responses to observed phenomena. Those annotations served in the production of more complete field notes, which I completed as close to the time of observation as possible. That was usually one to three days later, again due to my own evening rehearsals. Ongoing reflexive analysis of the field notes informed my further observations as well as interviews or informal questions. That reflexive analysis was noted in the field notes and also in the generation of provisional codes to organize data. After achieving what I considered to be data saturation, I ceased further collection, and all field notes and transcriptions of interviews were subject to open and then focused coding. The principal codes used were the three tenets of CRP – academic success, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness.

For the first research question, I collected data generated via the director's interview. I read the interview transcript several times, looking for data related to

²⁷⁹. See Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*.

that question. I developed a color code for data relating directly to that question and highlighted generated data accordingly. I used the margin of the transcripts for codes related to any salient content. To address the second question, I used data generated via observations and student informant interviews. The interview transcripts provided data that I coded in a similar manner to the first question. Information in the field notes became part of the thick description, pertaining both to generated data and the reporting process. I annotated any field notes I found in support of existing codes. Because it concerned student perspectives that required student feedback to establish, I addressed the third question through analysis of student informant interviews and student comments from classes recorded in field notes, recognizing that further interpretation might result from observed actions. Addressing the first three research questions about teachers' intent, student reaction, and student outcomes was necessary before I could address the fourth research question about the nexus of teacher intent and student outcome. All data collected for the study had the potential to be considered in addressing the fourth question. Again, I used annotation of field notes and highlighting of transcripts to code.

PRINCIPLES AS TOUCHSTONES

The principal pillars of the culturally relevant frame served as categories for coding, touchstones for evaluation, and axes for reflexivity in analysis.

Ladson-Billings remarked, "Culturally relevant teaching is not a series of steps that teachers can follow," so culturally relevant pedagogy de-emphasizes design

and formal procedures.²⁸⁰ Thus, in analysis I applied the frame's principles to data about teacher characteristics and approach as well as observed teaching practices.

Academic Achievement

For band students, competence manifests as ability to play music on instruments. However, assessment of competence requires some external standard. I sought to discern via observation and interviews what counted in the band room as "authorized or official knowledge" by which the director gauged achievement.²⁸¹ Further, one focus of key informant interviews with students was to uncover their perceptions of that gauge and how their teacher's practice may have influenced their achievement.

Cultural Competence

Determining the extent of any individual's affiliation with their culture is imprecise. Not only has the construct itself been subject to "theoretical diffusion,"²⁸² but individuals can interact culturally on varying levels. Race, nationality, and ethnicity represent just three planes that may require navigation at any given moment singly or in combination with other components of culture, a multifaceted concept that can "extend...until it becomes identical with our

²⁸⁰. Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*, 29.

²⁸¹. Ladson-Billings, "Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy," 483. Note that while "official knowledge" may carry a negative connotation due to the term's use in educational critique (see Apple, *Official Knowledge*), Ladson-Billings uses it here from a neutral stance.

²⁸². Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures Selected Essays*, 5.

whole common life.”²⁸³ However, I did ask key student informants to self-identify their home culture and culture of reference. I used data from interviews with students’ caregivers to establish more precise grounding for the study in terms of students’ home culture.²⁸⁴

Sociopolitical Consciousness

I examined data collected from classroom observations, student informant interviews, and caretaker interviews for evidence of sociopolitical awareness, a product of CRP that can manifest in and outside of the classroom. Examples from Ladson-Billings’s original study included teachers and students critically discussing current and historical events. Based on those discussions, they subsequently planned and implemented community projects. In 2012, Shaw observed that choices of repertoire can make a sociopolitical statement. I purposed to be aware of evidence of CRP that might be present only in music selection.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

A concern integral to research has ever been the extent to which a reader can trust the interpretation of data. Margaret LeCompte and Judith Goetz investigated how scholars have addressed issues of reliability and validity, both internal and external, in ethnographic research.²⁸⁵ They clarified that reliability

²⁸³. Raymond Williams, *Culture & Society 1780-1950*, 274.

²⁸⁴. Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers*, 31.

²⁸⁵. LeCompte and Geotz, Judith, “Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research.”

refers to replicability and generalizability in laboratory designs; however, such control cannot be achieved in ethnographic research. Rather, reliability here refers to the specificity with which the researcher describes the phenomena of interest, methods of data collection and analysis, the researcher's status in the investigation, and whether multiple researchers in some way agree about what is being observed and analyzed. Validity refers to how closely the interpretation of data represents the phenomena observed and how effectively such interpretation might serve in application to other similar contexts. In this sense, validity is normally seen as a strength of ethnographic research.²⁸⁶

In this study, key data came from researcher observations of the band class, after-school rehearsals, and performances. Further, I interviewed key informants including the band director, some students, and a caregiver for four of those student informants. I selected the informants through a combination of researcher observation and director recommendation. I was interested in assembling an informant pool of diverse characteristics. LeCompte and Goetz encouraged that a “disciplined investigator seeks and maintains contact with a diversity of participants.”²⁸⁷ Spradley observed that when studying complex societies, ethnography has the potential to “show the range of cultural difference and how people with diverse perspectives interact.”²⁸⁸ To that end, I choose year in school, gender, leadership position, and instrument played as the principal

²⁸⁶. See LeCompte and Geotz, Judith.

²⁸⁷. LeCompte and Geotz, Judith, 48.

²⁸⁸. Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview*, 12.

traits for which I sought diversity. Those particular aspects of diversity were readily discernible within the parameters of the school district's permission for research. Interviews with key informants were semi-structured and informants had an opportunity to give clarification pertaining to their interviews.

The next section contains a discussion of *crystallization*, a concept that I applied to frame the data generation and reporting, as well as strengthen the reliability and validity of this study. I will then close the detailing of my methodology for this study with an explanation of my status in the investigation.

CRYSTALLIZATION

Crystallization is a methodological concept that has emerged as an alternative to more narrowly focused strategies addressing reliability and validity such as triangulation, member-checking, and bracketing. Expanding on the work of Richardson and St. Pierre,²⁸⁹ Ellingson conceptualized crystallization as a “rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon” that may make use of one or more of the aforementioned validation strategies.²⁹⁰ Triangulating on a fixed or definitive point tends to reify a single or limited truth. Crystallized texts, the author observed, reflect multiple influences on the researcher during the processes of generating and interpreting data. Rather than seeking to somehow eliminate any influence of the researcher's presence in the research context or the researcher's voice in the report, ethnographic, crystallized texts account for those

²⁸⁹. For information on crystallization, see Richardson and Adams St. Pierre, “Writing: A Method of Inquiry”; Ellingson, *Engaging Crystallization in Qualitative Research*.

²⁹⁰. Ellingson, *Engaging Crystallization in Qualitative Research*, 3.

influences in the construction of field notes and production of the final report. That report, or refracted output of the crystal, addresses validity via a thorough narrative, thickly describing this result of various inputs into the crystal, including in this case detailed vignettes.

Scholars have expounded on reflexivity in the data generation and data analysis processes. Erickson presented reflexive questions designed to help researchers examine their observations and subsequent field notes.²⁹¹ Of particular note to me – as a researcher who lives immersed in contexts similar to the research site – the author made a two-sided observation. The researcher cautioned that ethnographers should be careful to question why phenomena are included or excluded as pertinent data. This reflexive process informed subsequent observations and interviews. Consideration of that dynamic also inspired the level of detail of thick description in the preparation of this report.

Often multiple researchers are engaged in data generation and analysis, but that was not true for this study. Thus, there was no mechanism built into the procedures to confirm the coherence of data analysis. There existed the possibility that familiarity with a context can obscure the existence of pertinent data, much in the manner that one may not notice that they indeed speak with an accent noticeable to outsiders. Therefore, I did consult with a peer researcher who is familiar with music education goals and the study's theoretical framework to examine the codes and categorizes arising from fieldnotes. We discussed

²⁹¹. See Erickson, "What Makes School Ethnography 'Ethnographic'?" *see also* Glesne, *Becoming Qualitative Researchers*, 159–60, 210–12.

recommendations for greater clarity and coherence which, through merging some codes and refining the scope of a few others, informed the analytical process.

RESEARCHER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STUDY'S MILIEU

At the outset of the study I was the associate director of bands at an HBCU in the same city as the site school. Show style marching bands have been central to my daily work for more than 25 years. In my time as a college band director, I have advocated for the genre at the high school level, having identified what I consider an aesthetic bias exercised in some contexts against show-style marching band.

By the study's end I had been appointed the interim director of bands at the university where I work. That school hosts two major events each year that involve middle school and high school students from across the city, the state, and the region. Over any given three-year period, students from every HBCU show-style band program in the city attend one of these events, most particularly a one-day free-to-attend event held each spring. Further, approximately 50 percent of our students come from schools in the city. Thus, most students heavily involved in marching band have met and know the members of our staff by name. Further, I have been an adjudicator at the largest show-style percussion competition in the region seven out of the eleven years of the competition's existence. Two of the remaining years I was the master of ceremonies for the event. The result is that I am known by name, face, or reputation by most high school percussionists in the city. I am also the camp director for each of the band

events mentioned previously, so any band student that has attended any band event hosted by the university where I work likely knows me at least by appearance. Further, many of the students have been taught, at different grade levels, by former students of mine. Many, self-admittedly, promote the infrastructure and guiding philosophies of our program in their teaching.

My familiarity with show-style marching bands and my position on the staff at an HBCU afforded me smooth entry into the research field. There was no period of initial introduction, no effort or time was needed to gain trust or establish an ease of rapport. Though my position as a college band director may have been viewed as one of authority, norms of reciprocity with the band members and key informants were already established. As the band director at the site school was working on his master's degree at the time of the study, I was able to inform the students that I was also working on an advanced degree, and they expressed familiarity with the concept. I carefully considered those aspects of my relationship before entering the field to study, and monitored them through the process of memoing on fieldnotes in order to maintain what Erickson termed "disciplined subjectivity."²⁹²

SUMMARY

I conducted this research using an ethnographic case study design. The tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy as expressed by its originator, Ladson-Billings, provided touchstones for the identification of data and subsequent

²⁹². Erickson, "What Makes School Ethnography 'Ethnographic'?" 62.

analysis, aligned with the research problem and questions. Dagaz's 2010 culture-based study of high school band also served as a procedural reference. Initial interviews had a semi-structured format, allowing inquiry beyond initial questions. I grounded questions for subsequent interviews in data generated as the study progressed. Further, observations informed the design of interview questions. I coded data using the touchstones indicated as principal categories, but I also left room for data-inspired modification or expansion of coding categories and the original research questions guiding this study. Reflexivity figured integrally into the processes of data generation, collection, analysis, and interpretation.

I have a long history with HBCU marching band, the central genre to the pedagogy examined in this study. Through my work, I had a previously existing relationship with the band director and students at the site. Those relationships facilitated the collection of data. Nevertheless, I monitored the influences those relationships might have had on analysis and interpretation of data.

PART II: IMMERSION

Chapter 4

Immersion in the Milieu

In this and the following chapter, I will define terms and provide background information with the goal of assisting the reader in accessing the information in this report as per my experience the field. Terminology can carry genre specific definitions, unique connotations, or may simply exist beyond common or lay knowledge. Therefore, I begin first with some vocabulary.

UIL (UNIVERSITY INTERSCHOLASTIC LEAGUE)²⁹³

The UIL is the governing entity for interscholastic activities in Texas. This body generates rules and policies for academic, athletic, music, drama, and spirit team member and group participation at competitive or adjudicated events. Student eligibility, allowable practice time outside of school hours, use of electronic instruments, procedures for sight reading (at concert band contest) and rubrics for adjudication are just some of the numerous and detailed UIL articles to which schools participating in sanctioned events must abide. The organization was originally named the University of Texas Interscholastic League (UTIL). From 1938 to 1970, The Prairie View Interscholastic League (PVIL),

²⁹³. For more information about UIL, see the webpage “About The UIL – University Interscholastic League (UIL).” For an early history of the organization, see Bedichek, *Educational Competition; the Story of the University Interscholastic League of Texas*.

originally named the Texas Interscholastic League of Colored Schools (TILCS) governed and hosted competitions for majority Black schools. In 1965, after the word “white” was removed from official language in the membership section of UIL documents, talks toward a merger began and the PVIL disbanded in 1970.²⁹⁴

HBCU

The acronym HBCU refers to “Historically Black College or University” but receives general acceptance as referring to singular institutions or as a classification of schools, singular or plural (e.g., “HBCUs”).²⁹⁵

HWI

HWI Refers to “Historically White Institution.” This term has become, in some circles, a replacement for the term PWI – Predominantly White Institution.²⁹⁶ I choose to use this term for its ostensible accuracy and for its parallel structure in comparison to the term HBCU (see “HBCU” in this glossary)

SHOWSTYLE

I use the term *show style* in this study to reference the style that, though often associated primarily with HBCU bands in the Southern states, is considered traditional in HBCU bands across the US.²⁹⁷ While “show style” or “show band” are the terms most used by band directors and aficionados familiar with the

²⁹⁴. For detailed information on the PVIL, see Henry, “The Prairie View Interscholastic League Band Contests from 1938-1970, with an Emphasis on Black High School Bands and Band Directors in Texas.”

²⁹⁵. For an example of usage, see Kennedy, “The HBCU Experience.”

²⁹⁶. Brown II and Dancy II, “Predominantly White Institutions.”

²⁹⁷. See Lewis, “Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum”; Stone, III, *Drumline*.

genre,²⁹⁸ I have heard other descriptors that incorporate the terms “southern” or “traditional.” Note that in the broader population show style or show band can also refer to the style of bands in the Big 10 conference and some other HWI bands. Further, use of terms has changed over the years. For example, the term “military style” as applied to band can refer to differing sets of parameters depending on the region or generation to which the user of the term belongs. For instance, the Ohio State marching band has a visibly military-style uniform and is still referred to by some as a military band. However, especially in comparison with bands like the one at Texas A&M, its performance characteristics fall into the category, again some would consider arguably, of a show band.

Across the general band community that I have come in contact with in over 30 years of experience with marching genres, the three broad categories of competitive marching band include corps (style), military (style), and show (style).²⁹⁹ In a very general sense step style and then music choice are broad markers that delineate the three styles. It is important to remember that there are myriad variations, gradations, and combinations of style elements that make bands unique and many bands are not easily categorized. With this caveat in consideration, Table 3 presents general characteristics that are used for

²⁹⁸. That is, the question “What kind of band is it?” would likely garner the response, “We’re a show band”; or “We’re showstyle.”

²⁹⁹. For examples of these styles, the reader can search YouTube for shows contemporary to this report featuring the following bands, exemplary of the various styles: Corp style-The Santa Clara Vanguard or The Concord Blue Devils; Military style-The Texas A&M Aggie Band; HBCU Show style-The Southern University “Human Jukebox,” The Florida A&M “Marching 100”; Other types of show style-The Ohio State “Best Damn Band in the Land,” The Ohio University “Marching 110.”

classification.

Table 3. General Delineating Characteristics of Marching Band Styles

	Show	Military	Corps
Step Style	High-knee lift, usually between 35°-90°	Military-style “controlled walking” stride	Rolling step from heel to toe with an emphasis on maintaining a motionless upper body.
Step size	Eight steps in five yards, known as 8 to 5 marching	Usually six steps in five yards, known as 6 to 5 marching. Some use 8-5.	Variable step size throughout drill
Drill formations	Geometric, generally symmetrical “patterns in motion,” identifiable objects. Usually formations are created using outlines.	Close-order precision movements moving “east-west” on the field. Formations are usually filled with band members, rather than as an outline.	Frequent use of asymmetrical, abstract formations. Filled shapes and outlines are common
Traditional Music Selection*	Music with popular appeal.	Marches	Concert music

To emphasize, it should not be presumed that the characteristics and performance practices of any marching band are constrained to a set of generalities. I will use HBCU bands as an example. College marching bands, with few exceptions, are associated with college football programs. Those programs are generally divided into athletic conferences. Arguably, the two conferences that are most well-known for athletics and marching bands are the SWAC and the MEAC.³⁰⁰ Of those two conferences, SWAC bands, to date, are considered more traditional and less likely to incorporate corps-style elements. MEAC bands have

³⁰⁰. Southwestern Athletic Conference and Mid-Eastern Athletic Conference, respectively.

sufficient tendency to include corps-style elements that some HBCU band traditionalists consider some MEAC bands, if not the entire conference, to be hybrids of show style and corps style. Even still, the band at Mississippi Valley State University, part of the SWAC, is credited with being the first HBCU corps-style band, though they do not march corps-style at present.

Using “show band,” “HBCU style,” or similar terms to describe a band usually goes further than step style or music selection. It is important to understand the competitive nature of an HBCU show-style band. Ostensibly, any endeavor that involves formal or informal comparison or competition between entities, be they teams of athletes, designers, chefs, or musicians, can result in a level of emotional investment on the part of the participants. The members of HBCU show-style bands from the earliest levels, even elementary school, can display emotional investment as intense any other competitive endeavor. Though beyond the scope of this study, I can personally attest to the extreme degree of identification and investment that can develop on the part of some of these bands’ members. It would be difficult to exaggerate. I can think of only a few social entities voluntarily entered into with bonds of loyalty or instincts to defend that goes beyond the fanaticism of some band members for their band.

HBCU SHOW-STYLE AESTHETICS

HBCU show-style band in its most traditional expressions, exists in contrast to corps-style band as expressed by DCI (Drum Corps International). College show-style bands and DCI drum corps are the highest level of

achievement and emulation for show-style bands and corps-style bands, respectively. An attempt to provide sufficient detail to orient someone completely unfamiliar with one style or the other is well beyond the scope of this document. However, Table 4 provides some basic touchstones for comparison of aesthetic values between the two styles.

Table 4. Comparison of HBCU show style versus corps-style aesthetics

	HBCU show-style	Corps-style
Individual and Group Choreography for Instrumentalists	Derived from popular hip-hop and social dance moves. Usually relegated, but not always limited, to a dance routine segment near the end of the show.	Balletic in nature or derived from modern dance
Volume/ Intensity	High, intense volumes are considered exciting by the audience and emotionally and musically fulfilling by the musicians. Dynamic contrasts are present, often dramatically, but are not a constantly featured aspect of performance.	Wide dynamic contrasts, both dramatic and subtle, are a featured aspect of performance. However, the sound output rarely, if ever, reaches the volume or intensity of a show-style band.
Marching maneuvers/ formation	Normally executed near the beginning of a show. After the drill song(s) Bands generally stand fast in one formation per song for up to three songs during a show.	Marching through constantly changing formations is considered praiseworthy. Standing fast for extended periods of time is discouraged in adjudication rubrics. ³⁰¹
Use of Drum Majors	The minstrel parade tradition of drum majors being the first part of the band to be seen and exhibiting extraordinary showmanship and flair is highlighted. Most bands' field shows include a drum major entrance that can feature	A corps-style drum major's primary role is conducting from a raised platform on the sidelines. A stylized military-inspired salute to the audience or adjudicators is often the extent of showmanship expected, or desired, by

³⁰¹. See the webpage, "Marching Band Rubrics — Music — University Interscholastic League (UIL)."

	dancing, acrobatics, or extravagant flourishes with the mace.	adjudicators for corps-style drum majors. ³⁰²
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Some readers may be able to relate more readily to the comparison of operatic performance versus that of Broadway musicals. Those genres have many common elements and a similar communicative goal, yet the aesthetic values in some respects are quite divergent.

HIGH SCHOOL EMULATION OF HBCU BAND TRADITIONS

Many high school bands that perform in HBCU show style purposely emulate specific performance traditions of college bands. Many have names that are derivative of the names of college bands. Sometimes “Baby,” or “Little” may be placed at the beginning of a band’s name to show the derivation. Examples of this are the “Baby Ocean of Soul” for the “Ocean of Soul” and “Baby Boom” for the “Sonic Boom of the South.” Sometimes names are combined. Style of horn carriage, verbal responses to commands, signature songs, and uniform design are common examples of emulation. Perhaps unsurprisingly, many high school band directors pattern the style of their band after the college band in which they marched. With the easy internet access to video recordings of different bands, it has become common to see one high school band incorporate performance traditions of various college bands.

³⁰². I base this comment on various discussions on the topic at adjudicator’s workshops.

BATTLE

A competitive exchange of musical performances is often referred to as a battle. A battle can occur on various levels of competitiveness and various sizes of constituent parties. Between two “opposing” bands, battles usually occur in the stands. This takes place in what is known as the “0 quarter” or the “5th quarter.”³⁰³ Homogeneous instrumental sections between opposing bands also battle, usually during the game, and occasionally after the game. The music an individual wind instrument section plays is referred to as a “fanfare” or a “callout.” Drum section nomenclature is detailed below. It is not uncommon for tuba or percussion sections to battle after the bands have finished the 5th quarter. Occasionally during rehearsals sections within the same band will “battle” by aiming their instruments at each other, such as mellophones, the marching configuration for F horns, versus euphoniums, a baritone-register brass instrument. Individual battles often occur between members of the same marching band at or surrounding rehearsals. However, between percussionists, individual battles can happen at games in the stands. I have observed that one-on-one battling is more frequent among percussionists than any other members of these organizations.

BATTLE OF THE BANDS

A battle of the bands (BOTB) is a competitive event where two or more bands perform with an expressed or implied goal of “winning.” Some involve

³⁰³. Before pregame and after the end of game, respectively.

each band performing a field show. In others, bands are seated in chairs or bleachers and play music back and forth. Some battles, like the recently held National Battle of the Bands, incorporate both elements. At the college level, a battle of the bands usually has no judges. The internet “band world” discusses, often quite heatedly, the pros and cons of each band’s performance.

At the high school level, most events of this type are judged with a winner being named at the end of the event. Many high school competitions seek to contract college band directors as judges. One of the principal reasons for seeking qualified judges for high school show-band competitions is to convince directors of the validity of the event and to aid the directors in justifying their participation in these events as opposed to those organized by the respective state music education entities. In the city where this study took place, two BOTB events designed specifically for show bands I during the fall of 2019. One was sponsored by a private entity and the other by a school as a fund-raiser. School band directors in North Carolina were unsuccessful in sustaining parallel organization at the state level designed to sanction marching band contests and adjudicated festivals specifically for show-style bands.

A notable difference between show-band BOTBs and corps-style contests are the presence of community elements. It is not uncommon to find dance contests involving audience members, DJs, or local or regional artists taking the “stage” in-between band performances. There is usually an MC who keeps the audience engaged and entertained, often comedically, throughout the event. All

of those components are absent from corps-style contests. Nevertheless, the adjudication element is taken very seriously. A BOTB typically has as a minimum number of adjudicators as follows – three for general band, one for percussion, one for auxiliary. I witnessed one adjudicator’s panel that comprised three for band, two for percussion, one for drum majors, one for dancers, one for color guard and baton twirlers. Trophies in each category are often given out according to the size of the band (e.g., small band percussion, medium band color guard) in addition to overall winners based on the performed show in its entirety. There is no band size differentiation in UIL events at all, or in any corps-style event that I have seen. UIL events at the area and state level differentiate according to the size of the school.

CADENCE (OR “DRUM CADENCE”)

The music that marching band drum sections perform without any wind instrument participation are called cadences. Corps-style bands typically have just a few marching cadences, the ones played when the band is marching. They will also have short cadences to play in the stands between football plays, often eight measures or less. Finally, they may have a few cadences or music specifically designed for competitive performance against an opposing drum section. Those cadences will normally contain at sixteen, if not thirty-two, bars or more.³⁰⁴ HBCU show-style percussion sections will have in their repertoire

³⁰⁴. The majority of drum cadences are created with four counts, called beats, to the measure. Thus, eight measures would comprise thirty-two counts. For those unfamiliar with the concept, consider each count as one tap of the foot or one marching step.

cadences that fulfill those same purposes. However, they will generally have many more of each type memorized and ready to perform. The drummers at the site school had, at the time of the study, a self-reported eight marching cadences and 18 more for the stands and battles. By comparison, my own university drum line typically learns 15–20 marching cadences and 20–30 stand and battle cadences each year. Drum sections also competitively play very short selections averaging sixteen counts or less. These are referred to by many as callouts. Their purpose varies. Though band leaders generally consider the moment the quarterback is calling signals as the only time they should not play, referees have the authority to demand that bands do not play except for when the ball is out of play, or dead. Thus, short music selections by the drum section, or the band, fit in the allowed time. Callouts are also used to signal a challenge to the other drum section to engage in competitive performance.

Another distinguishing characteristic of traditional HBCU influenced drum sections is the continued presence of tenor drum players. Corp-style drum sections typically use a configuration of four to six toms they refer to as multi-tenors or tenors. The majority of HBCU show-style drummers refer to the multi-tenors as “quads,” “quints,” or “sixes” referent to the number of drums in the configuration. “Tenor drum” is reserved for the traditional single tenor drum. A further delineation between show-style drum sections is how the drum is carried and played. “Chest tenor” players carry the drum horizontally on their chest and play both heads of the drum. “Leg” or “downright” players carry the drum like a

snare drum, vertically, and play on the top head of the drum.

ANTHEM

A song that has a special, sometimes cult, popularity or that is a rallying point for a particular genre or interest group. “Sweet Caroline” (a song by Neil Diamond), “Talking Out the Side of Your Neck” (a song by Cameo), and “Girls Rule the World” (a song by Beyoncé) would be considered anthems for frequenters of piano lounges, students at HBCUs with bands, and young adult urban females, respectively.

CULTURAL CAPITAL

This construct, extensively explored by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, references knowledge, habits, and other attributes that contribute to a “system of predispositions” that impact the transmission of tangible and intangible benefits in a society.³⁰⁵

HISPANIC

In this study, the term refers to people with direct family heritage in Mexico, Central America, or South America. Any reference to those descended directly from the Iberian Peninsula is specified.

HISPANIC VERSUS LATINO

Both terms refer to people with descendance in some form from Spain, Mexico, Central America, and South America, with no clear consensus on those of

³⁰⁵. Bourdieu, “Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction,” 72.

Portuguese descent. In a similar way as terminology referencing African-Americans, self-identification, societal custom, and political interests at times coincide and at others times provide competing pressures on the use of one term or another.³⁰⁶ A list of “21 Latino Organizations You Need to Know” comprised seventeen groups with either “Latino” or “Hispanic” in the organization’s name. However, thirteen of those groups used the term “Hispanic.”³⁰⁷ Nather and Giroux observed that while many research entities promote interchangeable use of the two terms, they also found a consensus that when a subject is situated in a particular geographical area the preferred local term should be employed. They noted that “Hispanic” is used more widely in Texas. Further, a 2013 survey found that of people of Latin American origin living in Texas, when given a choice, preferred the term “Hispanic” was preferred to “Latino” by a 6:1 margin ($N = 5103$). The national average was 2:1.³⁰⁸ As the use of this study relates specifically to Texas, and my personal experience is largely situated in Texas, and the majority of data collected for this study contained “Hispanic”; I will primarily use that term.

That said, the terms, though often used interchangeably, for some people carry nuanced connotations. For instance, one key informant referred to her

³⁰⁶. According to birth certificates, my South Carolina-native father was born “colored.” Eight years later, my mother was born “negro” in Washington, D.C. I was later born “Black” in Washington, D.C., and my son was subsequently born “African-American” in Texas. Throughout my life, I progressed through “Afro-American,” “Black American,” and landed on “Black,” except when I’m at a microphone in a room with non-Blacks, or speaking to a class in a formal manner, in which cases I am usually African-American.

³⁰⁷. “21 Latino Organizations You Need to Know.”

³⁰⁸. Lopez, “3. Hispanic Identity.”

culture as Hispanic, but to herself as a “Latina.” Her usage reflected an image promoted, though perhaps not constructed, in media contemporary to this study of an archetype strong, positive, and sociopolitically conscious Hispanic female. In order to afford the opportunity to access any possible nuances in communication, I will use the term “Latino” when referencing the work of authors who employed that term and in the case of direct quotes.

LATINIZATION

A term in use at least since the 1990’s referring to the increased visibility, influence, or acceptance of Hispanic population and culture in the United States.

SUBTRACTIVE SCHOOLING

This construct was delimited by scholar Angela Valenzuela in reference to the intentional, systemic “fracture” of students’ cultural identities, causing a dysfunction in the interaction of factors that, in a culturally congruous context, would support and promote students’ academic success.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁹. Valenzuela, *Subtractive Schooling*, 5.

Chapter 5

City High School

THE SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL BUILDING

The main wing of the old City High School building first housed students in 1937 and did so until its demolition in the fall of 2018. Early that year the student population was moved to a long-term temporary campus located across the street from the original school building. The old school building was demolished and new ground was broken in December of 2018 for the new school building on the site of the original campus.

At the time of the study, three schools serviced the geographic area once served by City High School alone. The eastward-facing main entrance to the school was typical of traditional high school architecture for the city in which it is located. There are various parts of the school building that were added at different times during the school's history. The band complex was one of these areas. It was built on top of the natatorium. There are photos displayed on the walls that indicate that the school's band program predates the band room that was in existence at the beginning of this study. Entrance from within the school required the ascent of a half-flight of stairs. Entrance from the exterior was from a parking lot via stairs which, though ascending in only one direction, seemed to take me up a bit more than a story in height, likely due to the natatorium beneath. The location of the band area was typical in that its exit was located near

the football field. Many schools, and most newer schools that I have observed in the area have double doors that allow the band to march straight out from the band room to and from the area they use for outdoor practice. This band room's location above ground level did not facilitate marching straight out of the band room, despite its juxtaposition to the field.

The school sat within the neighborhood that it served, with the westward back side of the school along the street that separates the residential area from an industrial one. The largest parking lot pertaining to the school was located across the street. The aforementioned football field was situated on the south side of the building. Beyond that was a public transportation hub. Just further south lay an interstate highway and south of that a large HWI university. The school site was bordered on the east and north by single-family homes. The majority of City High School's students lived in those homes. However, as a magnet school, there were many students who chose to attend City High School though they were zoned to other schools.

The band area comprised 7 enclosed rooms and an open space between the main areas. The band room proper was approximately 50' x 40' with the exit to the parking lot situated on one of the 50' sides. Figures 1 and 2 display the school building with the position of the band room, and the layout of the band area.

Figure 1

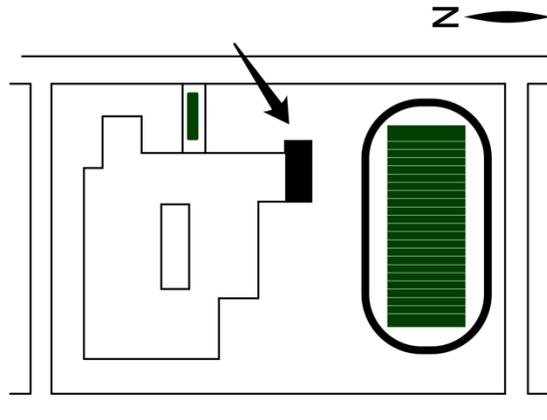


Figure 1. City High School building with band complex (black rectangle)

Figure 2

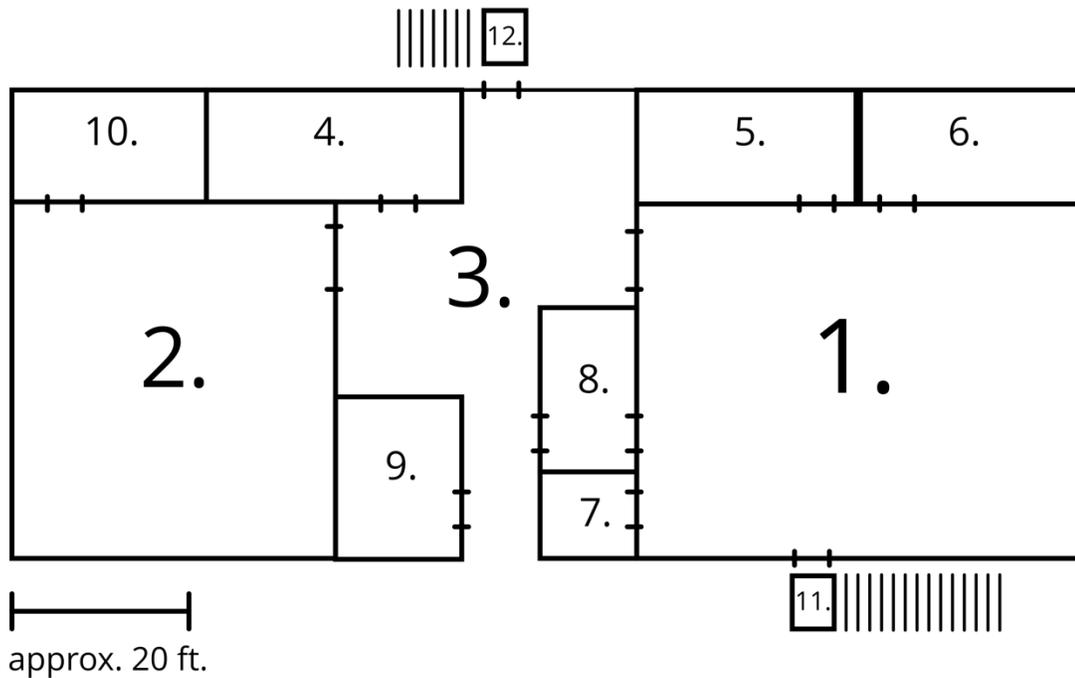


Figure 2. shows the layout of the band area: 1. Main rehearsal area 2. Secondary rehearsal area (usually used by auxiliary squads) 3. Area between rooms (sometimes used for extra rehearsal space) 4. Director's office 5. Percussion storage 6. Wind instrument storage 7. Small rehearsal room (originally designed as office space) 8. Small rehearsal room (originally designed as storage space) 9. Small rehearsal room (originally storage space) 10. Auxiliary Squad Storage 11. Exterior stairs down to parking lot 12. Interior stairs to main building

Table 5. Selected demographic data for City High School from 2014-2019³¹⁰

	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19
School Population	1848	1889	1922	1842	1693
Students Living in Zone	79%	78%	78%	76%	75%
School Building Capacity	1900	1900	2542	2542	2542
% Hispanic	95%	95%	92%	91%	90%
% African-American	4%	4%	6%	8%	9%
% Economically disadvantaged	85%	86%	91%	89%	93%
City HS students zoned to other schools	392	408	431	436	423
City HS-zoned students attending other schools	893	895	913	844	913

THE SCHOOL BAND

The band is integral to school spirit and community pride for City High School and its environs. They are often requested to do community events and maintain a busy schedule outside of football games. They are perennial participants at the city’s Thanksgiving Day and Martin Luther King celebration parades. On display in the band room are trophies earned at parades, battles of the bands, and field-show competitions. The largest trophies, however, are from an annual drumline competition. City High School’s percussion section won first place five of the previous seven years and is considered by many the best drum line, of any band style, in the area.

³¹⁰. “Campus Demographic Reports.”

From observation and as reported by the informants for this study, the band is a respected entity in the school. Other students and teachers are aware of who is in the band and seem to support their endeavors. On one occasion I observed the band performing in the cafeteria as part of an effort to recruit members for the flag team. Many students showed their appreciation via applause when the band performed.

The students in the band are not all of one social or academic type. Some fit the description of a stereotypical “band nerd” or “band geek” but definitely not all. As mentioned previously, I have had contact with many of City High School’s band students. Some graduates of City High School were college students of mine at the time of the study. Unfortunately, that contact has included news of catastrophic events that involved family members. On one occasion my drum section performed at the funeral of a former City High School band member, who did not make it to college, who was killed. It is likely that some of City High School’s band students might become involved in some of the dangerous activities situations common to dense urban areas in America, if it were not for band. I have observed similar situations at many urban high schools and at least two filmmakers have documented such situations.³¹¹

THE BAND LIFE

What follows are vignettes constructed from field notes recorded during observations. The first presents data from observations of rehearsals. The second

³¹¹. Patrei, *Ballou*; Barber, *The Whole Gritty City*.

describes the atmosphere and experience of the band's participation at football games.

REHEARSAL OVERVIEW

During football season, the average band student attends two rehearsals each day. The first is the scheduled band class, then full band rehearsal occurs after school. The two-person band staff has the responsibility of teaching various classes – band, percussion, music appreciation, mariachi, and flag/dance team class. The block scheduling at the school results in different length classes depending on the day. All classes meet every day, but, on the “A” day, half of the classes meet for fifty minutes while the others meet for ninety minutes. Class lengths switch on the “B” day.

At the beginning of the study, the assistant band director, a percussion specialist, taught the percussion class. The head band director usually taught the band class. Some of the students who participate in band do not have a band-related class on their schedule. Many of those students have other required classes that conflict with the band class meeting time. The school houses a magnet program and in order to take the courses associated with the magnet focus there is often no room in students' schedules for band. Others simply were not placed in a band class despite having submitted the request in the class selection process the previous year. When the director becomes aware of these latter cases, he attempts to rectify each issue, but is not always successful. Finally, some students who participate in band at City High do not attend the school. If a

student in the district attends a school that does not have a particular activity, they can participate in that activity at another school in the district. This often happens with charter school students. In fact, the drum major for the band during the second year of the study was enrolled at a nearby charter school and traveled to rehearsals after school every day.

THE TYPICAL REHEARSAL DAY

IN-CLASS REHEARSAL

The students enter the classroom in a steady stream, as they run the risk of being detained if they are in the hallway after the tardy bell. They also chance being at best encouraged and at worse reprimanded, by Mr. K, the head band director, if they are not in place with their instrument by the time attention is called. Even so, Mr. K's voice can be heard, "You have about two minutes!" "We have a lot to do today so hurry up!" and other urgings to either get the students moving or keep them moving towards their seats. Some students come in quickly, retrieving their case from the storage room, and sit down to assemble their instrument and begin warming up, practicing a passage, or playing something that they like. Some of them play quite loudly. Others take a bit more time, but the majority of them are seated, with some still assembling their instruments, by the time Mr. K calls out, "Band, A-ten-TION!" and they respond rhythmically with the initials of the school and cease talking or playing their instruments. A few hurriedly finish instrument assembly.

On the whiteboard is an objective that conforms to the accepted district

format. Today's objective is: "Students will review and discuss performance at UIL contest applying musical terms." The students do a few ensemble warm-up exercises. Then, Mr. K instructs them to put their instruments down. He shows a video recording of the band's performance from a few days ago at the district marching contest. This was the contest administered by the University Interscholastic League (UIL), a state-wide body that governs all inter-school activities of any kind.³¹²

Mr. K asks the class, "What comments do you have for your performance?" He encourages the students not to use general terms such as "good" or "bad" but rather to be more specific, and preferably musical, in the terms they choose. The students begin to respond. "Better than at 'GC'." The student was referencing a pre-UIL contest the band had participated in the Saturday before the UIL contest. "The trombones were loud at the part that was supposed to be soft." "The heart was better." There was a heart formation in the field show. Some students add their affirmations or expansions on what was said. The students continue to offer comments and Mr. K writes them on the board in columns under the headings "What we liked" and "What we didn't like." The majority of students are attentive and engaged in the discussion. Some students are using their cell phones. Most of those on their phones are seated at the perimeter of the room.

Many of those seated around the perimeter are new students to the school. They are not seated with the rest of the ensemble because they have no

³¹². For more information about UIL, see the webpage "About The UIL — University Interscholastic League (UIL)."

instruments to play. They signed up for the class either because they were in middle school band or because they want to learn to play an instrument. Due to growth in the high school band program, instruments were unavailable, and the new students' schedules were not changed for reasons unknown to me. This is an unfortunately common experience at this and other schools in the district.

At the time I began observations, there was an obvious variance in the equipment available at different schools in the district. Budgets in this district are not centralized. Each principal decides the priorities for their school and has a great deal of autonomy as long as they operate within district guidelines. Near the end of the study, the district-level arts supervision structure was changed, and the new music supervisor has been working hard to see that a minimum inventory standard is met at each school in the district.

The discussion changes direction and tone when Mr. K asks about the scores the band received from the judges, which was a III from all adjudicators.³¹³ “I think they cheated us.” “I think we had to work a lot harder than the other bands to get a III.” “The other bands had more different instruments than we do.” “I feel like we weren't wanted at the competition.” “I feel like if they had seen the video from [the pre-UIL contest last] Saturday we would have got a I.” Mr. K's response to the band was, “We work hard. I think we deserved a II but I understand the III.”

³¹³. The rating system used is I-Superior, II-Excellent, III-Good, IV-Fair, V-Poor. A III is generally interpreted as deficient as the judging community is sometimes reticent throughout the state to award IV's and V's. While not a written policy, I have observed several judging workshops and this practice can be readily inferred from the material presented and the attendee feedback.

The discussion then turns towards the other bands whose shows the students observed at the contest. Mr. K creates two more columns on the whiteboard, similar to the first two, but in the new columns he writes the students' comments concerning the other bands. Most of the positive comments refer to the level of execution displayed by some of the other bands and in some cases the discipline that a band displayed. Most of the negative comments concern the style of the music that many of the other bands played. In one case, where a band had incorporated some popular music, comments are made about the level of authenticity at which the band executed the music. The students make comments about their preference in music to perform, communicating respect or appreciation for the other styles but an acknowledgement that "It's not my favorite but they played it well."

After the discussion, the band still has about forty-five minutes to rehearse, due to the block scheduling. They start with a memorized warm-up sequence that includes scales and long tones, then the band tunes using an electronic tuner. After the warm-up, the band begins playing repertoire. The selections are primarily of music that is currently popular along with some older songs from the 1980's and 1990's. Today, three of the ten songs played as memorized repertoire were recorded by Hispanic artists. The band plays these songs without the drum section. The percussion class is during a different period. Their class is taught by the assistant band director who is a percussion specialist, and also one of my former students. The entire band will play together during

rehearsal after school, which occurs every day during the fall and at least twice a week during the spring.

After rehearsing repertoire, they take some time to go over a new dance routine that will be part of the band's halftime show at an upcoming football game at a local HBCU. Before they can finish, a side-effect of the engaging discussion at the beginning of the class period, the period ends. It is four o'clock; the end of the school day. "Ok," says Mr. K, "I'll see you at 4:20. Be on time!" Many students leave their horns on their seats and rush off to get something to eat so that they can come back for practice.

AFTER-SCHOOL REHEARSAL

In the twenty minutes between the end of the last period and the beginning of the after-school rehearsal myriad activities take place. One of these is what Mr. K referred to as "the parade" as students come to him to let him know why they will either be late or absent from the rehearsal after school. Some of these students participate in sports including football, soccer, track, basketball, and baseball. The students have the responsibility of working out their schedules with each activity to the satisfaction of the teachers and coaches involved. Various students I observed divided the after-school time between activities, with a principal consideration being the agenda of each group's practice, such as full-team scrimmages or full-band show run-throughs. Many students have family obligations that require them to miss practice. Caretaking of younger siblings,

assisting with work projects at home or even at a parent's job,³¹⁴ a student's own after-school job, and transportation challenges are only a few of the family circumstances that affect students' attendance at after-school practice. Students also cite class-related reasons for missing some or all of practice. Some attend tutoring and others indicate they need the time to do homework. Some of these do the homework at school because they do not have reliable internet access at home. I observed more cases of students saying they needed to attend tutoring sessions than those indicating a need to do homework.

The aforementioned "parade" usually starts in the band room and ends up in the director's office. Meanwhile, in the band room, various students are playing their instruments. Percussionists that have come in begin to "chop." That is their term for playing patterns and rhythms that are as technically challenging as they are able to execute, as fast as they are able to play them. Every day they battle each other as a way of practicing, showing off what they have practiced, and as a way of claiming or increasing their position in the socio-musical hierarchy among the percussionists in the band.³¹⁵

Often, non-percussionists are seen playing melodies from video game music and popular songs on the marimba and xylophone. Sometimes two or more students play together in unison or play an accompaniment, sometimes created by the students. Some students are practicing music from the band's

³¹⁴. Many parents of these students are in effect, self-employed, providing various types of services such as handyman, cleaning, carpentry, et cetera.

³¹⁵. See "Battle" in chapter 4.

performance repertoire, both individually and in small groups. Outside, some students, almost exclusively brass players, are playing loudly, referred to as “blasting” or “yakking.”³¹⁶ Some do this individually, others in groups, and some using this platform to battle each other. There are also many band students socializing in the band room, outside the band room, and in other places on the school grounds.

In contrast to the school day rehearsal, the after-school rehearsal takes place with the active participation of the student leadership. It is the drum major, not the band director, who begins rehearsal. This highest-ranking student leader begins a few minutes ahead of time to encourage students to be in their place. Observation over time reveals a direct correlation between the perceived importance of an upcoming performance and the level of discipline, urgency, and tension of the rehearsals. The least intense rehearsals are for games against schools where there is no strong element of rivalry with the other school’s band.

Rivalries exist at the school level, the band level, and sometimes at the section level, especially in the case of percussionists, tuba players, and dance teams. On some occasions the rivalry is on all levels, with show content and rehearsal intensity reflecting that fact. It is common for student leaders to cite the rivalry as they encourage students to be disciplined and efficient as they go through rehearsal.

By the time the drum major calls attention at 4:20 Mr. K has written the

³¹⁶. “Screaming” is also used, usually in reference to playing notes in the extreme upper register of an instrument’s range.

rehearsal agenda on the whiteboard. The typical football season rehearsal includes a group warm-up tune-up, some repertoire run through, new music read through, sectionals, and then a full-band outdoor rehearsal. Important performance notwithstanding, the band is generally well disciplined, responding to prompts from student-leaders and director alike. The drum major primarily uses the repertoire rehearsal list that the director usually leaves on the board or on the podium, though the student-leader has the liberty to make suggestions about additions or deletions to that list. A typical reason for a change to the list will be a song that the drum major remembers that has not been played recently, or that may not have sounded up to par the last time it was played. Conversely, a song that has been placed on the list may have been recently or frequently performed well and time may be better spent on something else. The band director will often, but not always, acquiesce to the drum major's judgment as the director is not always in the room during repertoire run through. The drum major may also call the band's attention to execution issues or have them repeat a section or an entire song. In this band, the drum major position comes with a great deal of responsibility.

During the learned repertoire portion of the rehearsal the band director can be seen moving between the door to the band room and his office. At the door he listens and watches the band. Sometimes Mr. K will make comments or stop the band to address something that he hears or sees in the rehearsal. Students go to the director's office for various reasons. Many stop through to drop off

permission slips for an upcoming performance off-campus or to ask trip-related questions for themselves or their parents. Others are conducting business related to fundraisers. There is usually some fund-raising activity that has either just happened, ongoing, or coming up soon. One or two come in on discipline-related matters.

Students with low grades or under disciplinary action cannot participate in band performances or activities. Some of these students ask Mr. K to advocate for them, which he is willing to do in some cases. Mr. K, like other directors in this district and in the region, encourages his students to be proactive about their grades and to stay in close contact with their teachers. The students seem to have a desire to not “let the band down” by having a bad progress report and having to miss a show, leaving either a hole in the show or causing others to have to make adjustments. Student progress in all school subjects is graded every six weeks, which has fallen on occasion within a few days of major performances, once even occurring on the day of an adjudicated performance.

Next, the band reads through new music. The director usually takes the podium at this time. Some days he talks through the piece first, sometimes to the point of having different instrument sections try passages before the full band run-through. It is noticeable that the director uses these times to begin establishing a mindset and strategic approach to sight-reading that will be needed during concert season when the band’s sight-reading will be adjudicated.

If the music is primarily for the stands and not for the halftime show Mr. K

sometimes asks the band if they like the arrangement or not. In any case, Mr. K often talks about why he selected a particular piece of music to pass out. He creates most of the arrangements for the band. Some others are purchased and some he acquired from colleges. A few are written by current or former students.

Then the band runs through the halftime show they are working on. The march in place for the drill song and execute choreography when they play the music for the dance routine.³¹⁷ They stop in the middle of the dance routine because they have not learned all of it as yet. The music stands are moved to the side and the students space out to have room to move and they learn more of the dance routine. Then the band moves outside for field rehearsal.

Sometimes the band uses the field across the street because the field next to the parking lot outside of the band room is also used by some of the sports teams. Depending on how much time they have and what exactly they are working on, they may use the parking lot outside of the band room. They usually have three to five minutes to either line up in parade formation to march, or to meet on the field in their starting position “in the hole” to prepare to start a run-through of the show.³¹⁸ This day is an exception, however. Mr. K plans to use a maneuver called a pinwheel in the upcoming show and the band has had trouble executing it in the past. He instructs the students to line up in the parking lot in company fronts of 4 squads each. He then explains the fundamentals of the

³¹⁷. Corps-style and military bands generally execute drill throughout performances. HBCU show band shows typically do not.

³¹⁸. “In the hole” usually refers to a starting position for the show in the end zone.

maneuver and the touchstones with which the students should be striving to align when they attempt each execution. After several tries, one student comes to me excitedly exclaiming, “I did it, I did it!” She went on to explain that she previously had trouble maintaining the proper interval when she was the “swing-man” in a pinwheel but she has finally achieved a level of consistency.

After the band has practiced the pinwheels Mr. K tells the band where in the drill music they will be inserting the new maneuver. The band practices this for a bit. Eventually, Mr. K teaches part of the sequence of the drill the students are learning for the upcoming show. It becomes evident that the scheduled end of band practice is near, as cars begin to enter the parking lot and line the street outside, primarily with family members who have come to take students home. The band returns inside for announcements and dismissal.

GAME DAY

PREPARATIONS

Most of the football games are on Thursday or Friday for City High School. Weekday games in the district usually begin at 7pm. The school day ends at 4:00 pm, so most students do not have opportunity to go home before the game. Football teams in school Districts in Texas with more than one or two high schools play all varsity football games at district stadiums, not on school campuses. Thus, band students ride buses to every game. The district athletic office designates a team as home or visiting for each game and each stadium has signage indicating the home and away sides for game attendees.

The students eat dinner at the school before going to the game. This does not happen at all schools in the area. Some require students to either make some arrangements to get a meal or pay for a meal that is picked up by the band boosters. At City High School, the band boosters provide a meal, with a usual main course of chili dogs or beef nachos. The entire band area is generally crowded. Today has an unusually high level of activity because it is Homecoming. A large number of former band members are in the band room. Many had been at the school for the pep rally earlier that day. Some schools in the district have events where band alumni either perform with the current students or as their own separate entity. Students are moving around eating, retrieving and then dressing in their uniforms, playing their instruments, and talking with current and alumni band members. The majority of the band parents serving food are Hispanic and are female. Some of them do not speak English very well. One of the parents speaks in Spanish accompanied by hand signs to an African-American student to make herself understood, seemingly with success.

After just about everyone has had the chance to get food, the drum major starts moving the instrumentalists towards the band room to warm-up. The drum section has already gathered, which is normal in marching bands, regardless of style, and is playing through some warm-ups and cadences. Two alumni are playing with the current section. There are others looking on. Some are not playing because they do not know the newer material. It is a common practice at HBCU's and subsequently at many high schools where that style is in practice, to

play through the show before getting on the bus to travel to nearby games.

Soon all of the instrumentalists are in the band room. The color guard are in the room across the hall where they normally practice, but when the time comes, they will perform their routines. It is easy to hear the music not only in the band area, but down the hall as well. Some of the dance line is along the east wall of the band room while others are still getting dressed or getting make-up put on. The drum major calls the band to attention and begins sounding the whistles for the beginning of the show. The drum major performs his entrance in the front of the band as some of the alumni cheer him on. The band goes through the show with a great deal of energy. They perform for the alumni, parents and other visitors as if they were at the game performing for halftime.

As soon as the run through is over everyone moves outside. Two former band students are engaged to be married soon and as they met in the band, they asked for a special picture to be taken outside with the entire band. The band, in general, seems excited to do so. Then everyone begins loading the school buses parked in front of the school.

TRAVEL TO THE GAME

I ride the drum bus, mostly out of habit and familiarity with the students. A few students simply sit quietly and ride without talking. Three to five students are occupied on their phones. One student is playing music from his phone on a Bluetooth speaker. As the ride progresses four other students begin to discuss the music and other songs are played as they come up in the discussion. Sometimes

they wait until the end of one song before playing another but most times they do not. Most of the music involves rapped lyrics. One of the songs includes some lyrics delivered in Spanish.

Several students are playing on practice pads. While one or two students have separated themselves from others, there are two groups of three to four students, in different parts of the bus, that are battling,³¹⁹ at times one on one and at others in a turn-by-turn format. A student in one of the battling groups asks me a question about drum battles on the college level. As we begin discussing the topic several of the others are attentive to the conversation. The student that asked the original question is African-American but eventually those now becoming attentive to the discussion include some of the Hispanic students.

When we arrive at the stadium, the students seem to all know what they are supposed to do. Unloading the larger instruments from the back of the school bus appears somewhat tedious as everything must be manipulated between the seats and through the emergency door at the back of the bus. The tight space to load and unload through the back of the school bus is the reason the percussion instruments are not transported in cases. By contrast, the other school's band has an equipment trailer used to transport all of the larger instruments in their cases, flags, and other props. Though there seems to be a steady state of movement on the part of the students the band director is encouraging a greater amount of speed and urgency for the students to prepare to march into the stadium.

³¹⁹. See "Battle" in Chapter 4.

ENTERING THE STADIUM

Like the majority of the show-style bands in the district, the City High School band marches into the stadium and into the stands before cutting off the drum cadence. This is ostensibly an emulation of the way HBCU college bands enter stadiums. The majority of non-show-style bands in the district do not march into the stadium.³²⁰ Despite the amount of time spent preparing at the school, there are still students moving around making last-second preparations such as securing uniform parts with safety pins, securing spats with tape, or touching up make-up. Mr. K is becoming a bit more intense about his encouragement for the students to line up. The extra time spent at the band room has caused them to arrive after the game has begun.

A small crowd that includes some band alumni, parents, and friends of current band members has formed nearby on the concourse of the stadium. Many have their phones out, ready to record video. The band lines up and the drummers begin a cadence. Usually the drum major would call the band to attention, but when the band needs to move quickly (as in this case because they arrived late to the game), the band director or drum major can tell the drummers to simply begin playing. The band, hearing the cadence, will adopt marching posture, dress their lines, cover down,³²¹ get in step, and be ready to move as a unit in approximately 10-15 seconds. This is a common practice among show-

³²⁰. The vast majority of non—show-style college bands that my college band has played against have not marched into or out of the stadiums where they perform.

³²¹. Alignment shoulder-to-shoulder and front to back, respectively.

style bands. The alternative is a process that involves a fall-in command, an adjustment of formation, the adoption of a “parade rest” posture, an attention command, and a step-off whistle. Depending on at least two factors, that alternative can result in the elapse of more than a minute before step-off. The first factor is how dispersed a band is at any given moment. The second factor is the number of component movements and commands involved in the attention and step-off process.³²²

As the band starts marching down the concourse towards the entrance to their seating area, the crowd keeps pace beside the band. Many offer encouragements, “Yeah, let’s see those 90’s!”³²³ “Girl, you better work!” Others, mostly parents, simply cheer and call out the students’ names. When the band enters the seating area, many audience members clap, some stand up and clap.

GAME TIME!

Once the band gets to their place, the drummers almost immediately play a cadence “at” the other band. The battle is on! The other band is in the same district, and like City High School is predominantly Hispanic. However, the other band is a corps-style band. Their director is Hispanic, but attended an HBCU. He is also an alumnus of the high school where he is teaching.

As the game progresses, markers associated with HBCU bands become

³²². For instance, the simplest response to the command “attention” can be one count. Conversely, I saw one band whose call to attention involved three drum major prompts and three band responses, totaling twelve counts.

³²³. This is a reference to the angle of the leg while executing the high knee-lift associated with HBCU show-style band.

quickly evident. Approximately every five to seven game clock minutes, the drumline plays a cadence “at” the section across the field. The band plays songs in the stands with dual intent – to entertain the crowd and to battle the other band. Across the field, the other band plays songs, but not apparently with the same competitive focus as City High School. Table 6 details the music selections played by each band throughout the game with some descriptive commentary.

Table 6. Music Play-by-play Between City High School and The Other Band.

City High School	The Other Band	Descriptive Comments
Warm-up Chorale		
	Latin pop song	The song is in the vein of Ricky Martin or a similar artist from the early 2000s
Band tunes using a tuner app		
	“Concert Spanish” piece	One style of composition associated with drum corps and corps-style marching bands has the feel of a concert band selection with melodic riffs and rhythms that the average listener would classify as having a “Spanish flavor.” ³²⁴
Talking out the Side of Your Neck (Cameo)		This is considered an HBCU band “anthem” that has, in the last ten years, become a popular song for HWI bands to play.
Trap Song ³²⁵		
Hay (a song by Crucial Conflict)		This is a song that many HBCU bands began playing when it was released in 1996. It has enjoyed a long “shelf life” with HBCU show-style bands because of the opportunity it provides for a band to “crank.” ³²⁶
	Pop Song	

³²⁴. I have heard more than one student refer to this style as “Zorro music.”

³²⁵. *Trap* is a sub-genre of rap.

³²⁶. “Cranking” or “Yakking” refers to high volume, high intensity playing. Songs with sustained notes or interesting chord progressions are favored passages for this kind of playing.

Drum Cadence		
	Fight Song	Their team scored.
Drum Cadence		
	Wayward Son (Kansas)	
	Drum Cadence	
	Word Up (Cameo)	
Fight Song		City High School scored.
	Drum Cadence	This cadence was connected to a cheer by the cheerleading squad.
Big Ballin' (Big Tymers)		
ESPN Theme		Like "Hay," the ESPN theme was played by many bands for several years. Not only is it a "crank" song, bands had the hope that their rendition of the music might be featured on an ESPN channel. This was around a time when ESPN started to air HBCU football games on a sparse but regular basis. Many songs that become popular for college bands to play are emulated by high school bands.
Just Got Paid (Johnny Kemp)		
	Fight Song	
	A band chant/routine set to the drumbeat to Humble (Kendrick Lamar)	This song was played a few years prior by the local HWI marching band. High school marching bands adopt many songs, movements, chants, and etc. from college bands. At one time this would be limited by locale. However, access to video recordings of band performances on YouTube and other similar sites have widened the effect.
Drum Cadence		
	A Motown style song	
	Fight Song	
		Austin's band comes down to the sidelines at 3:30 left in the half. Some of the sections go

		through pre-halftime rituals that include stretching, chanting, and other elements.
Halftime Show: I Would Die 4 U (Prince) Hey Song Homecoming Court Presentation Bodak Yellow (Cardi B) Rolex (Ayo & Teo)		Approximately 90% of the crowd in the lower half of the stands on City High School's side of the stadium are on their feet during the entire halftime show. There is enthusiastic applause after each song. When the band begins their dance routine to Bodak Yellow there are many audience members dancing in the stands. There are cheers at the end of the show as the band marches off of the field.
	Halftime Show: Opener – Cha- Cha style selection (includes a trumpet solo passage) Middle – A moderate tempo bolero (includes scenery: a Spanish-style terrace with a bench) Percussion feature	High School corps-style bands in Texas typically perform their UIL contest show at halftime. They add on segments of the show as they become ready. Thus, if one were to view the same corps-style band throughout the season they might see: Game 1: The band stands still and plays the music from the show opener Game 2: The band executes the music and drill from the show opener Game 3: The band executes music and drill from the show opener, then stands still and plays the music from the show middle Game 4: The band adds the drill to the middle of the show The aggregation continues until the show is completed Likely due to the time constraints of halftime, exacerbated by homecoming festivities, the other band only performed their contest show to the end of the percussion feature, effectively 75-80% of the complete show. The percussion feature garnered the most crowd reaction which was limited almost exclusively to the segment of the crowd seated next to the band, presumably comprising band students'

		parents, other family, and friends. Their show, the performance of which that would earn an overall excellent rating (II) at UIL contest four days after this game, did not elicit the level of crowd engagement that City High School's show did. City High School received an overall good rating (III) at the same contest. ³²⁷
Drum Cadence		
Tuba Fanfare		
Tuba Fanfare (P-Funk by Parliament Funkadelic)		One of the section members plays a (possibly improvised) solo over an ostinato bass line during the fanfare.
Drum Cadence		
Drum Cadence "3330"		This cadence originated at the school where I work. The presence of a certified music teacher as assistant band director and percussion instructor makes City High School unique among show-style programs. Nevertheless, despite performing a large amount of original percussion music written by the instructor, the drum section, like many of the show-style drum sections in the area, plays several cadences and has adopted or adapted aspects of college drum sections in emulation.
Drum Cadence		
	A "Spirit" Song	
Drum Cadence		
Cold Hearted (Paula Abdul)		The drum major was on the track in front of the band dancing a previously choreographed routine to this song. It is common for show-style bands to convert elements from previous halftime shows for use in the stands.
Tuba Fanfare		

³²⁷. Possible ratings at UIL contests are I-Superior, II-Excellent, III-Good, IV-Fair, and V-Poor. There are three judges at region contests whose ratings are averaged for the overall score. The other band received ratings of I, II, and II. City High School received III, III, and III.

		At this point, some of the student leaders from the other band come over and sit with their counterparts in City High School's band.
	Uptown Funk (Bruno Mars)	This is the first song the other band has played all night that garnered any audience participation that was visible from across the field.
	Happy (Pharrell)	This song also inspires observable crowd response. Both "Uptown Funk" and "Happy" were released in 2014 and were extremely successful, being certified eleven times and seven times platinum, ³²⁸ respectively. Both songs also were featured in movies, television commercials, and events such as Super Bowl L (Uptown Funk).
Tuba Fanfare		
	Cold Hearted Snake	
"Defense" cadence		This is a cadence associated with a cheer encouraging the team to play tough defense. However, it has evolved into an opportunity for a chest-tenor drummer to play a competitive solo as a part of the ongoing battle with the other drum line. ³²⁹
	Tear it Up (Jeezy)	
"GP" Break down		This is a drum cadence with band choreography as performed by an HBCU in the region. I noticed the school principal recording the band's performance of this routine on his phone.
Redbone (Childish Gambino)		
Nothing but a G Thang (Dr. Dre)		

³²⁸. The RIAA (Recording Industry Association of America) monitors consumption of music via downloads and streaming. Their research results in certifications of Gold (500,000 units), Platinum (1,000,000 units) and Diamond (10,000,000 units).

³²⁹. For an explanation of chest tenor see "Cadence" in Chapter 4.

	Pop Song	
	Pop Song	
	Fight Song	
June 27th (DJ Screw)		DJ Screw is a Texas native who either originated or popularized, as accounts differ, a style called “chopped and screwed.” The band where I work was the first to perform a marching band arrangement of this song in 1997. It has been emulated by various high school bands locally and nationwide. Many schools outside of the area call the song by the initials of the school where I work. As many high schools appropriate songs, section fanfares, and drum cadences via recordings without knowing the name, it is common to refer to the music by the name of the school or band from where it was copied. I have seen one instance where a drum cadence was thusly named at a high school. Despite the fact that the students knew the original name, they were more interested in the emulative aspect of performing the same music as an admired college program.
You Don’t Wanna Go 2 War (Mia X)		This song has become an anthem at City High School. For at least four years their band t-shirts have had printed on the back a line from this song – “You don’t wanna go to war with a soldier”

Throughout the game and especially leading up to and right after halftime, seniors who are marching their last homecoming as a student are taking pictures with their sections, each other, friends, and family. Also, after the halftime show and before going back in the stands, the drum section lines up on the track and plays two cadences for the audience, who express their appreciation through cheers and applause.

THE “INCIDENT”

Data collection began in the fall of 2017. In the fall of 2018, Mr. K and his assistant were put on administrative leave with pay pending the results of an investigation. Accusations of racially-motivated unfair treatment of some students had been made against the director by a band parent. A different type of allegation had been made against the assistant. As a result, the music supervisor from the district office taught the band program from shortly after homecoming through the end of the fall and on into the spring. The director returned to school in March. The assistant never returned and acquired a position at a school in another district. No further action was taken by district officials and the educator was cleared to apply for jobs in the district.

The music supervisor for the school district, Mr. Green, was African American. His bachelor’s and master’s degrees were from two HWIs in the region. He had never participated in an HBCU show-style band. As I knew him personally, I had heard him admit his initial unfamiliarity with HBCU show-style band execution and with the style’s underpinning aesthetic and philosophy. He had made statements, echoed in data collected from key informants, indicating that his perspective of show band traditions was that of someone accessing the style from the outside. This, exacerbated by what most of the band considered unfair treatment of their directors by school district administrators, was a source of tension between Mr. Green and the band.

The students put together the halftime performances for the remainder of the marching season. The band performed at the district marching contest,

football games, and in January at a battle of the bands held annually on MLK day.³³⁰ At the marching contest, they travelled to the event accompanied by parent chaperones and one teacher at the school who was also the coordinator for the flag and dance squads. As the district supervisor who was their temporary teacher was the event organizer, the students performed their field show primarily under their own leadership.

³³⁰. The celebration of Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday.

PART III: RETREAT

Chapter 6

Findings

Throughout the execution of the study, while allowing for other themes that may have emerged, I kept in mind the four questions I originally set in place to guide data collection and analysis:

1. To what extent does the teacher consider students' culture in the pedagogy in terms of students':
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?
2. What reactions do students have towards show-style pedagogy?
3. What perceptions do students have about the impact of show-style pedagogy on their:
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?
4. What nexus exists between the teachers' pedagogical intent in using show-style pedagogy and students':
 - a. academic achievement;
 - b. cultural competence, including
 - i. navigation of and identification with their own culture, and
 - ii. access of another culture; and
 - c. sociopolitical consciousness?

Reflexive analysis began at the outset of data collection and continued through the end of that process. That ongoing process informed further data

generation and collection, especially the key informant interviews. After data collection was completed, I began formal coding of data in alignment with the research questions. I then analyzed the data for what other codes or themes might prove salient. I further refined those codes and submitted them to my dissertation supervisor for feedback, which resulted in further refinement of the final code list. This chapter comprises findings that correspond to the research questions and the other salient themes that emerged.

THE DIRECTOR

WHY SHOW-STYLE PEDAGOGY

Mr. K is an African American. He was born and raised in the same locale as City High School. He attended a predominantly Black high school with an HBCU show-style band. He attended an HBCU and marched in the show-style band his entire matriculation at the university. He originally held a bias against corps-style bands, calling them “boring” and in his view, displaying a lower level of marching skill and effort than show style. However, his high school performed corps-style shows at UIL marching contest because it was, in Mr. K’s words, the “unsaid norm.” Though those contests at the region level, at which his high school performed, were rated and not ranked, Mr. K spoke of their participation as “going against” the other bands. This is typical terminology for show-style band members and references the concept of “battle,” defined previously.³³¹ He reported a general feeling of fear throughout the band as they approached UIL

³³¹. See Chapter 4.

contests. This fear was a result of what Mr. K, during his interview, called an “inferiority complex that had been just kind of passed down and just told to us. Things like, well, all of the other bands are white and so you're not going to do well going against them.” Though Mr. K and his contemporaries had positive experiences performing at football games and community events, the system set in place by the state governing body for the presumably fair assessment of achievement seems to have contributed to those feelings of fear and inferiority.

Mr. K recounted that he never marched in a corps-style band. He teaches show band primarily because that is the way he was taught. After attending professional development sessions where he learned more about corps-style band, Mr. K had a greater appreciation for the style. Subsequently, he attempted to use corps style at UIL marching contest for several years when he began teaching at City High School in 2005. Students were resistive and attendance dropped during UIL contest preparation. Mr. K reported that at the time, he had challenges getting the students to “buy in” to band generally and teaching corps-style shows for UIL exacerbated those challenges. He confirmed that getting students to engage in band teaching show-style shows, especially as opposed to corps-style shows was, “Way easier. Way easier.”

After some years of not going to UIL, Mr. K designed military-style shows for UIL contest from 2014 through 2016.³³² In 2017, City High School band

³³². Military band marching, while distinct from corps style and show style, has points of similarity with both of those styles and can easily be perceived as a point of “middle ground.” Specifically, the marching step style is relatable to corps-style and the fixed-length marching step and some of the standard maneuvers are relatable to show style.

performed with high-knee-lift marching, the most immediately evident marker separating show style from corps style, at UIL for the first time. For several years they had participated in the district marching festival, which is administered according to UIL norms, but is not one of the UIL sanctioned events that can result in a band's advancement to state marching contest. The adjudicating panel for that district festival, on which I have served, usually includes one or more directors or staff members from HBCUs in the region. That is not the case for any other UIL-rule contests in the area.³³³

Mr. K's entire marching career was spent in show-style bands. His decision to use show-style band as pedagogy at City High School was influenced primarily by his own background and familiarity with the style rather than consideration of his students. Out of Mr. K's interest that his program and his students be viewed by the education community as successful and achieve markers of mainstream band-program success, he taught corps-style shows for UIL contest. However, his students disengaged from band, specifically because of having to learn corps-style shows. Mr. K's subsequent decision to eliminate corps-style from his teaching seems to have been based on his desire to engage the students in a way that would be relevant to them based on their response to the pedagogy, not an intentional consideration of their home culture.

³³³. Adjudicator names for contests are listed on the contest website. Further, the community of HBCU band directors is sufficiently small that inclusion on a UIL contest panel would not go unnoticed.

ELEMENTS OF CULTURAL RELEVANT PEDAGOGY (CRP)

ACADEMIC SUCCESS

Mr. K's primary means of assessing his students academically was on their ability to play scales and the band's repertoire. However, rather than comparing ability to a predetermined standard, Mr. K scored students based on achievement over the marking period and uses peer evaluations to grade and motivate students. During an interview, Mr. K related a sample conversation with a student:

Well, okay. Fourteen notes in the phrase and you just got six of them. You're doing a good job. You're on your way. Let's hit seven pitches tomorrow. Then a week has passed and the student they can play the entire song versus with you just teaching me note by note.

Some City High students have been playing their instrument since 5th or 6th grade while others began on their instrument at City High.

Mr. K's approach to grading his students aligned with Ladson-Billings's observation that culturally relevant teachers do not limit assessment of achievement to standardized or even mainstream scales or contexts.³³⁴ However, there was no evidence that students' culture was an influence in Mr. K's approach to assessment. Rather, he indicated that his interest was in helping students see, and be encouraged by, their own progress from point to point in their own

³³⁴, Ladson-Billings, "But That's Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy."

journey, rather than as compared to a standard that likely would not hold the same level of meaning for the student.

CULTURAL COMPETENCE

Mr. K reported taking students' music preferences in consideration when he selects music. This CRP-aligned deliberation places value on aesthetics the students bring to the classroom. Those preferences resulted in music selection including some Latin pop, some hip hop, and some rock. Mr. K proactively tried to determine what music has particular meaning for the community, especially as represented by his students' families and friends who consistently attended band performances. At a spring concert performed in a green space on the school grounds, there were songs that had the audience singing along enthusiastically either played by Mr. K, while serving as DJ, or that the band performed. Those songs that garnered the highest level of engagement were in Spanish. The data supports a conclusion that in selecting music, Mr. K considered the culture of his students and the community his band serves. However, the students' connection with and navigation of their home culture appears to have been a positive byproduct of the band pedagogy, rather than an intentional goal at City High School.

SOCIOPOLITICAL AWARENESS

Mr. K reported that societal issues are talked about "all the time" in the band room, sometimes during and sometimes outside of class time. Many students had a lot to say since the then-recent election of Donald Trump as US

president. A related issue in the news at the time was the kneeling of athletes during the playing of the US National Anthem at sporting events.

One student, just last week, she asked me she was like, "What would you do if we're at the game and during the Star-Spangled Banner, the whole band just sat down or took a knee?" I mean that's a scary question. My response is, "Well, as your director, y'all going to take a knee? Since I'm not a fool, I'm going to take a knee with you. We'll just all have to bite that bullet together and worry about the repercussions later." Small things like that, that kind of helps earn their trust.

Similar to collected data pertaining to academic achievement and cultural competence, Mr. K did not indicate an agenda or specific pedagogical doctrine that he was trying to implement in this area of sociopolitical awareness. Rather, these conversations occurred in his classroom in an organic manner. Some of the topics arose in class and others when students were passing time in the band room. Societal phenomena and pressures affected his students' lives and they felt comfortable talking to Mr. K, a consistent adult presence in their lives, about those issues of concern to them. For his part, Mr. K recognized the benefit of allowing the students to seek feedback from him. That recognition may have stemmed from Mr. K's upbringing in an urban environment as part of a culturally-dominated group.

Data generated in his interview would seem to indicate that Mr. K did not

start with or even consider greatly his students' specific background as Hispanics in designing the band pedagogy at Central High. He sought to include content that his students would be motivated to access, and to shepherd an atmosphere of engagement and empowerment. The result, as indicated by what I observed and what student informants reported, was pedagogy producing results that aligned with CRP.

Though pedagogy initiates with the teacher, Ladson-Billings identified the presence of CRP by the specific results in the students that form the central tenets of the theory, not the intents of the teacher. She admitted that strategies leading to CRP results are for many instructors, "routine teaching strategies that are a part of good teaching" but also argued that these strategies warranted "centrality in the academic success of African American and other children who have not been well served by our nation's public schools."³³⁵ Mr. K did not originally decide to use show-style pedagogy because of his students, but he did choose not to continue incorporating corps-style for UIL contest, despite its mainstream status, in order to maintain the engagement of his students. I consider this an intentional use of pedagogy aligning with CRP.

THE STUDENTS

LEARNING

In the reviewed literature, the first CRP principal indicator mentioned is academic achievement. The students at City High School represented various

³³⁵ Ladson-Billings, 159.

levels of experience and various levels of achievement. However, the range of demonstrated work ethic was narrower and, to my observation, comprised a higher demonstrated level than the range of either experience or achievement. The students visibly enjoyed playing music and worked hard at it, regardless of their experience or level of achievement. On more than 15 occasions of observation that included any part of lunch, study period, or after school when there was no organized group rehearsal, multiple students were practicing either on their own or in pairs. Occasionally there would be groups of three or more.

The students usually worked on music that was part of the band's performance repertoire. However, students often played other music they had heard on the radio, in movies, from television shows, or from video games. Frequently, they picked the music out on one of the mallet percussion instruments in the room, regardless of whether they were percussionists or horn players.

By far, the most intense practicing was done by the percussionists. More than half of the percussion practicing I observed took place in the form of battles. Those battles were generally amicable, but occasionally tensions arose somewhat between participants. I can infer from my observations for this study, which aligned with my own experiences, that this type of aggressively competitive performance, battling, is integral to HBCU show-style band contexts. It also is a primary means by which participants judge their own, and others', musical achievement.

During the spring semesters, many students practiced for college band auditions. One substantive difference in HBCU bands versus their HWI counterparts is the opportunity for scholarships. The HWI near City High School offers students a standard \$1000 scholarship for participation in their marching band whereas at the HBCU where I work, incoming students audition competitively for scholarships ranging from \$1000-\$7000 per year. I am aware of some HBCUs that offer more. Thus, participation in band at an HBCU can weight a student's decision to attend college. College auditions requirements generally comprise scales, a prepared piece of music, and sight-reading. Those skills correlate to the content Mr. K assesses to assign students their grades. Approximately 70 percent of seniors from the City High School band receive band scholarship offers, providing an apparent and additional assessment of band students' achievement as musicians.

The student informants confirmed that the way they are being taught is helping them get better on their instruments. Yet, they have sufficient awareness of musical standards to recognize areas where their progress has not met their own expectations. They considered other factors such as facilities, personal situations, and in one case laziness, as the reason for what they consider as unrealized potential. Informants supplied the following data in an interview:

Researcher: Okay. Have you gotten better at band over the years?

Magdalena: Over the years, yes

Oscar: Definitely

Researcher: Okay. Are you happy with your progress?

Magdalena: Somewhat, I'm not done yet. Like I'm not at my [best].

Researcher: I get that, but are you happy with how you've been progressing?

Magdalena: No.

Researcher: Why not?

Magdalena: Because there has been obstacles that have kept me from actually doing my best. You know? Like I don't know, I'm just not where I wanna be.

Researcher: Like life obstacles?

Magdalena: Yeah.

Researcher: Or obstacles in band?

Magdalena: Life.

LIVING

CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION

All six student informants were asked to state how they identified racially and then culturally.³³⁶ They described that racial and culture identification in nuanced ways. Euphonium player Naomi, born in the US, described her

³³⁶. See Appendix A for interview protocols

upbringing as in a Mexican American home and that she considered herself “completely connected to another country than what I was born in.” However, the word she used to describe herself was not Mexican American, but rather “a young *Latina*.” That particular phrase in the way she used it carried connotations of a sociopolitically aware, strong Hispanic female.

Assistant trumpet section leader Oscar described himself, with a laugh, as “One-hundred percent Mexican!” In contrast snare drummer Magdalena, who was interviewed with Oscar, responded instead, “Hispanic.” Humberto, a saxophonist whose parents are both from Mexico, identified himself as a Hispanic rather than a Mexican American. As mentioned previously, Magdalena’s household manifests traditional Mexican culture. In explaining her answer, Magdalena described the societal perception of the word “Mexican” as potentially negative, “like sometimes some people say it to like make fun or something.” She also considered that she was born in the US, rather than Mexico. Concerning that point of birthplace, Oscar declared that, “the reason why I say Mexican is because I pretty much grew up with the traditions from Mexico. I'm born here, [but] I grew up closer to Mexican culture [than US culture].” Magdalena also grew up in a traditional home, but she later confided that her home had become more of a place to sleep and then leave from to participate in her life at school and, seemingly most importantly, in band. She further indicated that in school she keeps to herself “like in a bubble” but in band she interacts and even leads other students as section leader of the drum line.

Esteban, who became trombone section leader by the end of the study, described himself racially as a “Hispanic from Central America.” However culturally, he identified himself as an “American Hispanic.” And then, though he expressed surety about that statement, he went on to say that his experience in America was more Hispanic American than American because “mostly poverty and less money come from Hispanic American families, rather than white American families. In my opinion I feel like my, mine, is more with Hispanic American.”

CULTURAL TOUCHSTONES IN THE HOME

Cultural competence in the CRP framework refers principally to the maintenance or enhancement of students’ ability to navigate their home or community culture. A secondary dynamic is the enabling of students to function facilely in a second culture, such as the societal dominant culture without losing their native ease in the culture in which they were raised. Addams raised the concern that customs and content learned at school can cause students to view home culture negatively.³³⁷ Ogbu observed that some students adopt the expressions of the culture at school in order to achieve success, often to the suppression of markers connected with the home culture. Thus, I identified cultural markers as touchstones for cultural competence.³³⁸

Food

³³⁷. Addams, “The Public School and the Immigrant Child.”

³³⁸. See Ogbu and Simons, “Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities.”

Food and other traditions emerged as markers mentioned by student informants as important classifying touchstones for their culture. Esteban observed during his interview that, “food, or apparel, or even language can be your culture.” I found that though I was aware of the heterogeneity of Hispanics from various countries and regions within those countries, that in some cases at the community level, the students were navigating a more blended *Hispanic* culture rather than, for instance, a more specifically nuanced Mexican or Salvadoran culture. The students recognized, for example, that some food may be different in the household of a friend, but they did not associate this with a difference in culture, simply a difference in preference between members of the same broad culture. The students in the City High School band are exposed to this homo-Hispanic social environment when they interact with other students at school. Band events also provide opportunities for those blended experiences as the parents of students often bring the food that students eat for dinner on event days. By comparison, the director of the predominantly Hispanic corps-style “other band” described in the vignette in chapter 5 indicated that his students were responsible for the majority of their own event-day meals throughout marching season.

Look, Feel, and Language

There was a recognizable presence of Mexican cultural markers in the two homes I visited. However, the intensity or saturation of those cultural markers varied between the homes. Magdalena’s living room was furnished and decorated

in a traditionally Mexican manner. There were large, framed quinceñera³³⁹ photos, a section of the wall dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe,³⁴⁰ a straw tortilla warmer, and other accoutrement that I remember as being *típico*, typical, from my time living in Mexico. Though all the children in the house were born in the US, only Spanish is spoken in the home. Her mother said that, “*Ella sabe que cuando estamos aquí en la casa, todos hablamos una idioma*” – “[Magdalena] knows that when we are in the house, we all speak one language.” Conversely, Catalina’s mother reported that “We understand Spanish, we do not speak it in our home.” In Naiomi’s home, conversation flowed between English and Spanish almost indiscriminately. A sentence could start in one language, but, arriving at a word or concept that for some reason evoked an association in the other language, the idiom would switch. Often, one party in a conversation would speak in English while the other communicated in Spanish.

Naiomi’s home housed four generations of females from her family. The tendency to speak in one language or another often seemed to be related to which generation initiated the exchange and which generation was being addressed. Though there was no unalterable pattern, conversation initiating from the oldest generation was exclusively in Spanish and most conversation addressing *abuelita*, grandmother, was in Spanish. Naiomi spoke English with an American accent and Spanish with a Mexican accent.

³³⁹. A Hispanic social custom organized by a family when a girl turns fifteen years of age. The event is often as elaborate as a wedding and combines elements of a “sweet sixteen” party and a debutant ball.

³⁴⁰. A Catholic image of a Marian apparition common in Latin American homes.

The primary language spoken at City High and in the band room is English. However, when students were talking among themselves, it was not uncommon for me to hear conversations entirely in Spanish, switching from Spanish to English, “Spanglish,”³⁴¹ or a combination of all three, in some rare instances.

Music and Band

For Esteban and Oscar, mariachi was an initial connection between participation in school band and their own culture. Esteban remembered hearing the music as a child and expressed that he could “associate with that” experience. Part of Oscar’s motivation when he “first picked up the trumpet was because family members are Mariachis and I guess that plays a part of the tradition, Mexican tradition.”

For Naiomi and Catalina, band itself was a cultural marker in the home as they grew up as both had several older family members that attended City High School. Both of their mothers worked at the school. Naiomi’s older sister was in the band. Catalina’s father, her maternal aunt, and her maternal uncle were all drum majors for the City High School band. Catalina herself was drum major for the band in the second year of this study.

³⁴¹. “Spanglish” refers to an evolved hybrid of Spanish and English. *See* Nash, “Spanglish.”

CULTURAL NAVIGATION IN THE COMMUNITY

The neighborhood surrounding City High School is traditionally majority Hispanic. However, some of the population at the school and in the band are “transfer” students from other zones that have chosen to attend City High School for its teaching professions or maritime magnet programs, or for some other reason. Thus, there are variances in the community cultures of the students within and without the school’s zone, which are in some cases different from those in the homes.

Magdalena’s traditional Mexican household, outside of City High’s zone, is situated in a mixed community of various races and nationalities. Magdalena’s mother indicated, however, that they don’t interact much within the community. It is possible that language may be a reason for this. Both of Magdalena’s parents experience challenges communicating in English. Magdalena herself and her sister indicated that their own interactions in the community are not as limited as those of their parents. Additionally, while the front rooms of the house are thickly and traditionally Mexican in appearance and feel, Magdalena and her sister’s rooms show heavy influence of American culture.

Naiomi lived within a mile of the school, inside the school’s zone. Though not so overtly Mexican as Magdalena’s house, Naiomi’s home “felt” Hispanic from the furnishings and floor tiling to the breakfast of eggs, beans, *salchicha*,³⁴² and tortillas I was offered when I visited. As mentioned above, four generations

³⁴². “Salchicha” can refer to hot dogs, sausage, or any similar food.

live under the same roof. While not an exclusively Hispanic phenomenon, it is a common one. Outside the home in the surrounding block, there were parked cars filling the driveways and the streets. In some cases where there was insufficient room in the paved areas, vehicles were parked on the grass. On many of the vehicles were displayed stickers of the *Virgen de Guadalupe*, Latin American sports teams, Latin American national shields, phrases in Spanish, and other Hispanic culture iconography. On porches and in yards I saw an abundance of dolls, tricycles, bikes with training wheels, and other playthings. Some looked as if they were left by children, but others had the appearance of being stored outside because there was no room inside. I detected animal smells, not from dogs or cats, and also tortillas. All of this ambience combined to reinforce the perception of the area as a Hispanic *barrio*.³⁴³

Catalina's mother and father grew up within City High School's zone. They still live on the eastern edge of the school's zone. Catalina's mother reported the following concerning their neighborhood:

“My neighborhood is actually becoming gentrified. And we grew up in the neighborhood, and it has changed tremendously over the last, I'll give it probably 10 years. It was majority Hispanic. And now, it's becoming – a lot more single white individuals, single white and white couples without children are moving into the neighborhood. And even what you would

³⁴³. Neighborhood.

consider Magnolia,³⁴⁴ that has now all of a sudden has become the Avenues. It's not even Hispanic anymore. They're trying to change the name, trying to change the ... I guess the identity, the welcoming of bringing people into Eado.³⁴⁵

The ancestors of both sides of Catalina's parents dwelled in this geographical region before Texas was established as an entity; her mother commented, "As they say, the border crossed us. We didn't cross the border." She described the culture within the home as Hispanic, because of their ethnicity, but mixed, because of the presence of non-Hispanic culture in the house.

Through all of these variations in the prevalent culture found in their homes and neighborhoods, the students of City High School's band appear to navigate their family and community cultures with ease. Oscar's neighborhood, outside of City High's zone, is predominantly African American. His Black experiences are integral to how he thinks of himself to the point that, upon being asked about his cultural identification, he included, "Although I am very connected to Mexican culture. I did grow up with Black, the African American. All my friends from my neighborhood, since I've been about five, six, have been Black. And it's a different culture and also the lifestyle."

³⁴⁴. A nearby historically Hispanic neighborhood.

³⁴⁵. A name brought into use to describe "East Downtown." This name was voted upon by those who wanted to rebrand the area.

IN SUMMARY ABOUT CULTURAL TOUCHSTONES

The student participants talked about home culture. The household members referred to the community culture. However, when questioned about their interactions at school, participation in band seemed to subsume the conversations for the student informants. Nevertheless, on the occasions I was able to observe the school culture, I found a heterogenous culture, especially as manifested in the cafeteria during lunch. Music over the speakers varied from trap music, to Latin pop, to banda. Some students wore shirts, jackets, or carried bags or other items that displayed flags or other Latin American national iconography, but just as many displayed paraphernalia representing various entities and ideas including American sports teams, colleges, and artifacts of popular culture. In a small concrete and green space just outside the cafeteria, one group of students played soccer; nearby another group of students were break-dancing. I heard conversations in English, Spanish, and “Spanglish.” By simply changing the area or object of my focus, I encountered disparate or heavily mixed sets of cultural markers.

BAND AS CULTURE

Naiomi, Catalina, Oscar, Magdalena, Esteban, and Humberto all spoke about band as a lifestyle and a community; something bigger than just a class or an activity. The caretakers I spoke to referred to band, and the perception thereof by their family members participating in band, in a similar manner. The City High band students seem to understand band as its own cultural milieu that they

navigate apart from home, community, and school, even though band as an entity exists in relationship with all three of those environments.

The idea of a school culture or a band culture transcends more traditional classifications such as race, nationality, or ethnicity. Such an expanded view of culture is not without precedent.³⁴⁶ A more inclusive view aligns with Geertz's parameterization of culture as a "system of inherited conceptions,"³⁴⁷ and with Mead's view that a culture can exist in "any identified group."³⁴⁸ The band culture at City High did not display the level of heterogeneity present in the students' comparative home and community lives, nor that of the school at-large. More than a few times, I heard references to "how it's supposed to be" or "what you're supposed to do" in reference to band. While these statements could be interpreted as limited in reference to behavior, there existed evidence in observation of either group acceptance or censure to the point of ostracization extended towards those that did or did not, as Goodenough framed it, "operate in a manner acceptable" to the general band population.³⁴⁹

Band Culture in Action

Catalina talked pointedly about the City High Band culture in reference to an incident that markedly affected the band program during the time of the

³⁴⁶. See Norton and Bentley, "Making the Connection."

³⁴⁷. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures Selected Essays*, 89.

³⁴⁸. Mead, "Review of Cultural Relativism: Perspectives in Cultural Pluralism, by Melville J. Herskovits, Ed. Francis Herskovits," 1327.

³⁴⁹. Goodenough, "Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics," 167.

study.³⁵⁰ The band was temporarily taught by the district music supervisor, Mr. Green, during an investigation into allegations against Mr. K. During that time, tension quickly arose surrounding differences in the “knowledge and attitudes towards” band between the students and the temporary instructor.³⁵¹ However, the specific points of tension correlated most closely with the Jernigan and Moore classification of “surface culture.”³⁵² In working to continue the band’s operations, Catalina, Mr. Green, and another adult, the auxiliary coordinator, worked as key agents to mediate the situation. They cited as rallying points for the students some of the deep culture markers of band, like that of sacrificing one’s own aesthetic preferences or missing another activity or family function in order to contribute to the success of a performance.

Band Culture and Band Style

Though the band culture did not show a high level of heterogeneity among the students at City High School, my observations for this study and extended exposure to band cultures over the years at different schools have revealed cultural differences between bands. However, those differences between bands, and also band styles, manifest similarly to regional dialects of a principal language. Pronunciation, slang, and other markers may aid in identification or classification, but the dialect exists as a sub-classification of the principal

³⁵⁰. For more detail on the incident, see the section, “The Incident,” in chapter 5.

³⁵¹. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures Selected Essays*, 89.

³⁵². Jernigan and Moore, “Teaching Culture,” 830.

language. I posit that this perspective parallels band culture at-large. Extending the analogy, the broader differences between HBCU show style, Big Ten show style, corps, and military might be compared, depending on the specific juxtaposition in question, to Portuguese versus Spanish, Castilian Spanish in Spain versus Latin American Spanish, Mexican versus Argentinian Spanish, or Central Mexican versus Southern Mexican accents.³⁵³ That is, while distinctions exist that the culturally familiar would discern readily, the common roots are plainly evident, with lay persons likely having difficulty with some of the differentiations.

Feelings About Show-Style

The informants also acknowledged touchstones that they perceived as differences between show-style and corps-style band. The principal markers were a demonstrated corporate discipline in performance and higher technical demands of the music, along with performing a wider selection of music genres. Oscar considered those differences sufficiently meaningful enough to say he “wouldn’t mind” being in a corps-style band just for the presence of those two traits. He went on to clarify that if the discipline and music selection were similar, he would greatly prefer show style to corps style. Esteban said that given the choice between attending the school with the best corps-style band or the best

³⁵³. These pairs imply varying proximities of comparison from related but distant in the case of Portuguese vs Spanish to nuanced, as in the accents of Central vs Southern Mexico; essentially, from coarse differentiation to fine, subtle differences.

show-style band, he would choose the corps-style school, commenting that “I feel in my personal opinion corps teach more musicality than show-styles [bands] do.”

Nevertheless, all of the student informants indicated that if they could only do one or the other for the rest of their lives, they would choose show style over corps style. The students described their feelings about show-style band in different words but with similar connotations:

Naiomi: “I wouldn't know how to explain right, but the closest explanation I can get to it is that the members in it, for example this band, there's a lot of African American and Mexican, and that's a lot of soul put into [the] music. And with corps style, they can put soul into it, but it's a certain type of soul that makes you feel calm. Us, it gets us hype, it gets us sad, it gets us happy.”

Catalina: “For me, just personal, I like show-style and drum-corps. And, it's way different. [They're] two different types of bands. But, our type of band, goes back to what she was saying. We show more flashy emotion. We get excited. We're like, "Oh, we're ready for this." And then drum-corps, they give you that warm feeling, that feeling like, "This happened." A show that's trying to show you something. Our shows can show something too, but we give more, "Let's get excited", type of thing.

*Esteban: I think that Show Style brings out more of a...
What do you call it? Your personal personality. 'Cause if you
like dancing or if you like doing that, show-style bands dance in
the field shows or they can dance in parades, but you see most
corps-style [bands] they don't really dance in their field shows.
They do it sometimes but not like every year. Or like [military
bands]. They don't do that because they have to stay like
checked-up all the time.³⁵⁴ Honestly, I feel that this brings out
people's personalities.*

*Humberto: I think [show style] is a good thing because you
learn new stuff and you don't have to just stick to the same
thing over and over.³⁵⁵*

Oscar and Magdalena were interviewed together and had the following exchange about their perception of corps-style band:

*Oscar: "In a way, I feel like corps style limits ones, como se
dice,³⁵⁶ that you want to express more happiness and more
energy because in the show style band like there is moments.
Like let's say when you get to the halftime show, there's usually
dance routines involved and things like that. And I know some
corps style [bands] do similar things but not as intense as show*

³⁵⁴. Strict or rigid physical posture.

³⁵⁵. Referring to the corps-style practice of working on one show, adding a little each week for the majority of the year in preparation for UIL marching contest.

³⁵⁶. "How do you say it."

style band.”

Magdalena: Yeah I agree. You don't get to express, well I have seen a lot of corps that we've played [against] that [when] they get you know like-

Oscar: Crunk.³⁵⁷

Magdalena: Yeah but I don't know, it looks like they're trying too hard, I don't know.

Oscar: In a way they try to imitate what we do, when it comes to that part

Authentic expression and energetic display of emotion were key themes that emerged. Magdalena and Oscar mentioned specifically that corps-style bands incorporate expressions that are an imitation of show-style bands and, thereby, the cultural underpinnings thereof. Throughout the interviews and also in observation there were references to “us,” “we” and other constructs of self-identification that reinforced the idea of a band culture at-large, similar to an ethnicity or nationality and a specific expression of that culture, similar to that of a region or locale, at City High School.

Band Culture Beyond Performance Style

At games, differences between City High’s show-style band and corps-style bands from other schools extended beyond the technique of the marching step or

³⁵⁷. A slang term that references energetic enthusiasm, usually in relation to music or a party atmosphere. For an in-depth discussion, see Holt, “Get Crunk! The Performative Resistance of Atlanta Hip-Hop Party Music.”

music selection. City High's band displayed an aggressive competitiveness parallel to that associated with HBCU college bands. Many of the students wore two stripes of traditional military camouflage "war paint" on their faces. Some had camouflage printed bandanas tied to their instruments. These trappings relate to the motto that has been printed on the back of their band shirts each year since 2009, "You Don't Wanna go to War with a Soldier!" Both the "soulja rag" and the phrase trace back to music that was popular in the late 1990s, when Mr. K was still marching. Released in 1997, "Solja Rag" (a song by Juvenile) and "You Don't Wanna Go 2 War" (a song by Mia X) were cultural anthems among many Blacks in the south who were college-aged at the time.

The band across the field was a primary focus nearly every time City High's band played. After playing, the band members would often raise their instruments in a manner that compares to how warriors of ages past would raise their weapons in the air or clash them on their shields. That aggressive competitiveness was reflected in interviews with key informants. When preparing for football games, other bands were something to be "prepared for" and to be gone "against."

The corps-style band from the school at the double-homecoming game I observed did not display a similar aggressiveness. To my observation, the band director seemed to "allow" the band to "play back" at City High School as an observation of a cultural practice rather than directly engaging competitively. The drum section and tuba section did play selections in a way that somewhat aligned

with the concept of battling City High School, but it did not manifest as something they did on a regular basis. I have attended some football games between two corps-style bands and there was a distinct absence of displayed competitiveness between the bands. That said, I have heard students from corps-style bands mention that they sometimes do things a little differently, such as engaging in competitive musical exchanges, when they play at games where the other school has a show-style band. After halftime at the double-homecoming football game, several of the other school band's student leaders went over and sat in the stands with City High School's band members as they played. I have not seen that practice at any game between two show-style bands.

BEING AWARE

SHOW STYLE VS CORPS STYLE

The students in the City High School band indicated awareness of tension between the show-style and corps-style band communities in the educational and social spheres where they coexist, and particularly where they become juxtaposed, such as at adjudicated band performances and football games.

During a class session when the students were critiquing their experience at the UIL competition held the previous Saturday, one student commented, "I think they cheated us." Another adduced, "I think we had to work a lot harder than the other bands to get a III."³⁵⁸ A third student opined, "I feel like we weren't wanted at the competition."

³⁵⁸. The possible ratings are I-Superior, II-Excellent, III-Good, IV-Fair, V-Poor.

In preparing for games against corps-style bands like the other school at the double-homecoming, students made comments during rehearsal that implied an attitude of resistance. Though the City High School students did not believe they could not compete effectively with corps-style bands in a UIL context, they had every confidence that they could make a good showing against a corps-style band at a football game. Esteban talked about it in this way:

And for like, since we're a majority Hispanic band, I feel like we put more... Like people feel we don't know how to play. And when we come out there and we show them that we can play, and we can compete with all the other bands. White bands, Black bands. Other Hispanic majority bands. It's like there's no difference to what we can do. We're just a different color or a different race.

HISPANIC STATUS IN SOCIETY

A great deal of concern was expressed by student informants and their caretakers about the status of Hispanics in American society. More than one student expressed belief that Hispanics are the object of negative attention in society, at least in part due to commentary and issues surrounding the current US president, Donald Trump. Catalina's mother lamented the current state of affairs surrounding then recent concerns about policies that threatened the residency of some immigrants.

Whether you're an American citizen that doesn't even speak Spanish, or whether you're a student that's undocumented, you're a DACA student.³⁵⁹ You know, the kids at City High School had that scare last year... And I think it's in the back of their minds at all times. You're fighting hostilities right now. And unfortunately, there's a lot of hostilities. The president and the government [have] made it kind of scary for the kids. That's the sad part. Even though my children cannot speak Spanish, it's almost dangerous to send them out by themselves, or it's dangerous to... I'm not even sure ...

Some of the students indicated an acute awareness of racism in society. Naiomi talked about racism as routed in various directions as, “people talk down on the Mexicans, people talk down on the Blacks. We thinking we're better, we talk down on the whites. And, honestly, that just goes back and forth.” She also considered racism a perpetual state: “There's no end to it. And if there ever would be to an end, it's gonna start back up. There's gonna be something new.”

In contrast, Esteban expressed a view that racism as a construct receives more attention than it merits. Regarding the status of Hispanics in society he commented that, “We fit in perfectly, but there's people that are still trying to get more for us for no reason. We don't need it.” He also clarified that the size of the Hispanic population in his home state of Texas weighted this point of view.

³⁵⁹. The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Act was an accommodation for undocumented immigrants who had been living in the US since childhood.

I feel that there's more Hispanics than there is White people. Like in [our city] there's like a two to one ratio, Hispanic to White. Or like a 2:2 ratio... There's way more Hispanics than Blacks. Supposedly that we're minorities, but we really aren't. And people who are saying, "Oh we need to fight for Hispanic rights." I'm like we already have rights. We have everything that we could want."

Being a part of a show-style band has resulted in the bandmembers at City High being exposed to the tension caused by the perceived unequal status of corps style and show style in the music education community, especially as it relates to participation in UIL marching contest. The students recognize and critique that tension, also critiquing aspects of their own show-style experience that they would like to see changed. The students also find the atmosphere in their band room a safe place to discuss concerns related to being Hispanic in America, perhaps because Mr. K also belongs to a culturally dominated group. These attributes align with CRP's tenet of sociopolitical awareness on the part of the students.

Chapter 7

Discussion

CULTURE BEYOND RACE

The two definitions of culture from which I drew the parameters for this study are the learned system of attitudes and actions within a group. The majority of CRP literature reviewed comprises application of the construct culture to race, ethnicity, or nationality. However, Ladson-Billings wrote about a reconceptualization of culture. Norton and Bentley, in an analysis of two studies investigating culturally responsive pedagogies with Puerto Rican and Dominican children, argued that “to realize the full potential of culturally responsive pedagogies, culture must be redefined to include total ways of being around race, class, age, ethnicity, citizenship, ability, and spirituality.”³⁶⁰ Irizzary conducted a study with a population comprised of 50% Hispanic and 28% African American. He reported finding that students “have complex identities because of their experiences with peers of many varied identities, those whose urban roots have resulted in hybrid identities.”³⁶¹

The findings from this study, in support of those from both studies just mentioned, suggest still other ways to parameterize cultural identification. The students all spoke of show-style band as its own culture to navigate. It appeared that the desire to interact in that environment inspired some of these students to

³⁶⁰. Norton and Bentley, “Making the Connection,” 52.

³⁶¹. Irizzary, “Ethnic and Urban Intersections in the Classroom,” 21.

choose City High School over the school, and the associated corps-style band, to which they were zoned.

All of the key student informants in this study had experienced band before high school. All of the key informants had familiarity with corps-style band performances to the point that each expressed some appreciation for the style, and critiqued aspects of their own band experiences, most often the level of performance discipline, that compared unfavorably with corps style. Yet, each student informant indicated a continuing identification with show-style aesthetics and the surrounding culture.

There are majority Hispanic corps-style bands at high schools in City High School's district, but they are traditionally so. That is, before the schools were majority Hispanic, the bands were already corps-style. Those schools are also in more affluent areas. There is one high school, not in one of those more affluent areas, that I considered as a possible site for this study where the band is majority Hispanic and the band director at the time was African-American. Upon his arrival at the school, that director gave the students the choice of what style they wanted to march. The students chose show-style.

The argument could be made that choosing between show and corps style might be a choice for the least irrelevant. It does not seem specious to hypothesize that students of Hispanic descent and raised in Hispanic households might, as a result, be interested in making music that aligns with that background. The middle school and elementary schools that feed into City High

School have had majority Hispanic populations for five years preceding this study, and presumably longer, as reported by the informants interviewed. Thus, it is unlikely, though not impossible, that any strong influence existed for students to abandon aesthetically-expressed culture in the home for a contrasting culture at school.

Nevertheless, a few years before Mr. K's arrival at City High, there were attempts to create a school band patterned after traditional Mexican ensembles that would play mariachi and conjunto music.³⁶² The Hispanic band director who attempted that initiative came to the city where City High School is located from the Rio Grande Valley, an area closer to the US-Mexican border that has been traditionally majority Hispanic.³⁶³ This concept "didn't go," according to Naiomi's family member who was in the band at the time. Catalina's mother recalled, "that [idea] died out real quick." However, those styles of music, especially conjunto, were popular in the community and with many students. Before that time, the band at City High was corps-style, and played music with a strong, "Spanish flavor," said Catalina's mother, who also served as assistant band director at City High from 1996 through 1998. The school marching band became a show-style band upon Mr. K's arrival in 2005.

So, in consideration of these factors, I suggest that the culture in question is not racial or ethnic, but rather the culture of band where the relevance lies. The

³⁶². *Conjunto* refers to an ensemble typically comprising accordion, electric bass, drums, and the bajo sexto, an instrument similar to a guitar but with 10 or 12 strings. The style became popular in the US as "Tejano."

³⁶³. See "Free Maps and Data Links."

students at City High School may have participated in band no matter where they attended. However, of the six student informants who participated in this study, three participate in the band because it was show style, because it was not corps style, or both.

THE RELEVANCE OF BLACK BAND FOR BROWN STUDENTS

SOME RELEVANT TOUCHSTONES

Striving

In considering the relevance of show-style band for these students, one touchstone I see is that of striving. One concept at the core of show-style band culture is the battle. Corps-style competitiveness indeed has winning contests as an object, but the focus is on the adjudication process, more specifically, the adjudicators. When corps-style high schools meet each other at games, their performance goal is the continued perfection of the show they will perform at contest; they generally do not exhibit evidence of making adjustments based on the other band that will be at the game.³⁶⁴ Show-style bands are cognizant of who their “opponent” will be to the point that they often include chants, verbiage in show narration, or other show elements specifically aimed at the other band. When they play in the stands, they often physically turn as a band to focus their sound towards the other band, as was evidenced by City High School on various occasions.

³⁶⁴. In addition to my professional experience, I have four-years of experience as a band parent of a corps-style high school band member.

Striving against others to survive or thrive is not unique to Hispanics. It is not unique to non-dominant cultures either, as segments exist in any group that are less affluent than others. However, striving for equal value and benefit in society pertains, arguably, almost exclusively to non-dominant groups, by definition. The student informants in the study indicated a close identification with show-style band and praised the freedom and relevance of personal expression afforded by the style. They also expressed their perception that show-style band is perceived as “less than” corps-style when it comes to the UIL system. That system is quotidianly conflated with the state education system as it governs all interscholastic competitive interaction, beginning with athletics. Even the name, “University Interscholastic League” carries an implication of athletics and competition.

Belonging on Various Levels

Belonging emerged as a point of relevance for some band students at City High School. Band for many of them is not just something you do, but something you are. The level of that feeling of belonging varied among the students. The strongest evidence was exhibited by Magdalena and Catalina, both students with a weighty amount of responsibility as drum section captain and drum major, respectively.

Though not exclusively an HBCU show-style custom, it seems that more bands in that style have names that have no association with the school mascot than corps-style bands. At least three of the show-style bands in City High

School's district have names that are derivatives, sometimes in combination, of HBCU college band names. The students demonstrate a great deal of pride pertaining to the band.

Another touchstone is that of community. Mantie and Tucker stated that community connection is an underemphasized component in many school ensemble programs.³⁶⁵ The City High School band, and other show-style bands in the district, show evidence of purposeful inclusion of show elements that express the aesthetics of their own generation, and with which audience members can readily connect. In recent years, corps-style bands have included more popular music than previously. However, those selections are often older, “classic” examples of popular music and comprise a minority portion of shows. Of the twelve UIL 5A state marching contest finalist marching band shows at UIL finals in 2019, two shows included one selection of popular music; both songs were ten or more years old. All of the shows included classical music. About half included music from recent television shows or movies, which seems to be the type of connection to popular culture that corps-style bands, perhaps driven by adjudication results, prefer. Current popular music “off the radio,” however, seems to only be played by these bands in the stands, if at all. I posit a reasonable inference, based on the shows that make it to state marching contest, that popular music is not considered an appropriate music choice for garnering favorable scores at UIL competitions.

³⁶⁵. Mantie and Tucker, “Pluralism, the Right, and the Good.”

A UNIQUE CONFLUENCE OF FACTORS

Jazz, a factor that contributed to the development of HBCU show-style marching band,³⁶⁶ is a synthesis resulting from the forced immigration of Africans to America and subsequent indoctrination that was stylized by the indoctrinated slaves. A presumption might be that the Africans had some reticence towards learning to play the music in an authentic European way. However, extant reports of successful progress in the European performance style and music reading seem to imply some level of enthusiasm on the part of the slaves for learning to navigate the unfamiliar musical ambience.³⁶⁷

That said, the Hispanics at City High School found themselves raised in varying degrees of cultural tradition in their homes, but exposed to other styles of music, and other artistic expression, in the larger environs of the community, state, and nation in which they live. Perhaps there is a parallel to how slaves and their descendants included other influences, albeit expressed with their own “accent”, and how these Hispanic students incorporated such influences into their own expanding and fluid cultural base, which may be rightly described as “post-traditional.” Situated in their own context that is beyond both their home culture, community culture, and their school culture, their adaptation of HBCU show-style band may be a result that, like jazz, could only have happened with a particular confluence of events, factors, and experiences.

³⁶⁶. See “HBCU Marching Bands” in Chapter 2.

³⁶⁷. See Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*; Stoutamire, “A History of Music in Richmond, Virginia from 1742 to 1865.”

NEITHER BLACK NOR BROWN IS WHITE

I discussed in the review of literature and elsewhere various assimilationist perspectives that have manifested in America. Regardless of the specifics of a particular paradigm, I suggest that where exists assimilationism also exists the idea of a “better” and an “other” that correspond to a dominant and a non-dominant, respectively – if not oppressor and oppressed. The history of both Black and Brown students in America includes in many cases a history of involuntary or unwelcome immigration.³⁶⁸ In any event, these students are stakeholders in a system of mass education designed by and in support of a culture not historically their own, at least in the same way as their dominant-culture counterparts.³⁶⁹

Music Performance

Clark, Lewis, Smith, Malone, and other sources reviewed for this study confirm that North American marching band has its roots in military bands.³⁷⁰ Thus, the genre has its roots in performance intended to connect with and inspire

³⁶⁸. That is, unwelcome in the destination of the immigration. For a detailed discussion, see Chavez, *The Latino Threat Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. For information on involuntary immigration, see Ogbu and Simons, “Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities.”

³⁶⁹. To be clear, the European underpinnings of American education historically correspond to students of European descent far beyond those of African or Latin American descent. See Ramirez and Boli, “The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization”; García, “Educating Mexican American Students: Past Treatment and Recent Developments in Theory, Research, Policy, and Practice”; and McKoy, Butler, and Lind, “Conceptually Framing Music Teaching and Learning Within the Context of Culture: Implications for Music Teacher Education.”

³⁷⁰. Clark, “A Narrative History of African American Marching Band”; Lewis, “Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum”; Smith, “The Challenge of Urban Ethnography”; Jacqui Malone, *Steppin’ on the Blues*.

audiences in a patriotic, necessarily cultural, and accessible way. In what I propose is paradoxical contrast to that history, Odello wrote that modern “drum corps shows with complex music and esoteric topics have been favored competitively over more accessible shows, sometimes leading to a difference of opinion between competition judges and audiences.”³⁷¹ Note that neither military origins nor drum-corps aesthetics encompass other aspects of meaning that marching band may hold for its participants or audience, especially those who culturally are not focused on the former and not aligned with the latter.

As the drum corps aesthetic is salient in scholastic marching band, there exists pressure to align with that aesthetic. Why? Because high ratings at adjudicated performances, especially in comparison with other bands, and performance of music of the aforementioned complexity now “[serve] as common criteria for identifying successful programs.”³⁷²

Aspects of show-style band do not align with corps-style aesthetics even as aspects of African and Latin American music do not align with European aesthetics, now or historically. I have referenced the comparison of operatic singing aesthetics versus those of Broadway musicals. Here, I call attention to the divergent aesthetics of trumpet performance represented by idiomatically typical performances of “The Carnival of Venice” (Maurice André), “Las Mañanitas” (Vicente Fernandez), “Feels So Good” (Chuck Mangione), and “Salt Peanuts”

³⁷¹. Odello, “Performing Tradition,” 242.

³⁷². Vance, “Findings from the Field,” 36.

(Dizzy Gillespie).³⁷³ Arguably, only the first of those recordings would align with “characteristic” tone, articulation, and execution as included in the UIL marching band rubrics.

From a historical standpoint, Beybey wrote that the African music aesthetic does not align with

Criteria such as melodic perfection, correctness of pitch, finish, or purity of tone. A beautiful [produced sound] (again in the Western sense) may be a mere accident in the context of traditional African music. The objective of African music is not necessarily to produce sounds agreeable to the ear, but to translate everyday experiences into living sound.

Rondón and Vera made observations about documented divergences between the aesthetics of Latin American peoples and the European immigrant-conquerors.

Indeed, perhaps for many, the term “ethnomusicology” still carries the connotation of studying music outside of the Western European art-music tradition.³⁷⁴

³⁷³. An internet video or music library search using both title and artist’s name will guide the reader to mentioned examples.

³⁷⁴. See List, “Ethnomusicology”; Merriam, “Definitions of ‘Comparative Musicology’ and ‘Ethnomusicology.’” Despite describing ethnomusicology as “encompassing all geographic areas and types of music” on their website, a review of contents in the 2018 and 2019 volumes of the journal of the Society of Ethnomusicology, *Ethnomusicology*, revealed no articles and only one of several recording reviews that concerned classical music. A similar review of *Acta Musicologica*, the journal of the International Musicological Society, evidenced the opposite – two articles that were *not* related to classical music.

Music Participation

I consider it a safe claim that evidence of a dichotomous relationship between performer and spectator can be found at contemporary performances of music in the Western European art-music tradition. As stated above, marching band historically has been associated with a type of accessible engagement. Traditional African music-making is highly participatory with audience members engaging with the “professionals” through singing, clapping, drumming, and dancing.³⁷⁵ Latin American music history shows similar tendencies.³⁷⁶ Six years living and traveling to rural towns in Mexico and Guatemala, with some extremely isolated, I have witnessed first-hand the participatory nature of village musicking.³⁷⁷ These traditions do seem to align with a show-style aesthetic of accessibility and audience participation.³⁷⁸ This is not to say that audiences do not respond to corps-style band field shows. I have witnessed that dynamic. I can report, however, that the responses I witnessed seemed to align with the performer-spectator dichotomy rather than the participatory music experience I have described above. Table 6 contains a description of a corps-style band inspiring audience participation – at the performance of music typically associated with show-style.

³⁷⁵. See Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*; Bebey, Bennett, and Bebey, *African Music*; Maultsby, “Africanisms in African-American Music.”

³⁷⁶. See Rondón and Vera, “A Propósito de Nuevos Sonidos Para Nuevos Reinos”; León and Simonett, *A Latin American Music Reader*.

³⁷⁷ See Small, *Musicking the Meanings of Performing and Listening*.

³⁷⁸. Audience participation with show-style halftime performances was described by Lewis, “Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum”; and Jacqui Malone, *Steppin’ on the Blues*.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER INQUIRY

This is the report of an ethnographic case study. I have described the context of the study site, intending to provide readers with information they can apply in some way to other contexts. Further research could target different student or teacher cultural backgrounds or involve other types of ensembles or musical genres. Such research would increase the available base of knowledge, best practices, and other information that can positively impact the music education experience of students of all cultural backgrounds.

Show Band as Part of Equitable, Democratic Music Education

There is an abundance of readily accessible literature including textbooks, theses, and journals concerning corps-style band performance practices, pedagogical advice, and best practices for educators. However, Fuller, Aho, and Lewis may be the only accessible reports documenting HBCU show-style performance practices,³⁷⁹ with McNair's pedagogical dissertation possibly being the only extant "how-to" for a high school director seeking resource material other than their own marching experiences.³⁸⁰ Indeed, I talked with the director of a high school show-style band who confided that he was, "learning how to do this from the students." Certainly, the area of show-band pedagogical resources for current and future educators represents a gap in the literature.

³⁷⁹. Fuller, "A Descriptive Analysis of the Eleven Big Ten Conference Marching Band Programs"; Aho, "A Descriptive Analysis of the Fourteen Mid -American Conference Athletic Band Programs"; Lewis, "Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum."

³⁸⁰. McNair, "Teaching Marching Band in Urban Schools."

Vance examined the relationship between DCI and scholastic-based band pedagogy at the high school and college level as part of his study. I have personally seen evidence that experience in a DCI corps is considered an advantage for those seeking careers as music educators at the high school level, ostensibly because success at adjudicated contests is dependent upon successfully aligning with drum corps practices and aesthetics. In order to become a member of the state adjudicators organization in Texas, a director must have received “sweepstakes” ratings three of the immediately past five years.³⁸¹ Findings in this study included the understanding of corps style as an unspoken but expected norm at contest. A clinician teaching the state adjudicator’s workshop told me that he had no expertise to disseminate appropriate information about show style to adjudicators.³⁸² Writing that presents educational information about show-style aesthetics and pedagogy would be a resource for adjudicating bodies that are the driving force behind show content and thus, pedagogy.

Band as Culture

The relationship between culture and education is fundamental to any examination of any aspect of multicultural education, by definition. Thus, inquiry that results in greater understanding of a culture presumably impacts that culture’s educational contexts. Viewing music ensembles as a culture was

³⁸¹. “Sweepstakes” refers to I’s from all judges.

³⁸². The marching adjudication workshop is only available a few times a year at state-wide music educator conferences. There is only one clinician for the workshop. In approximately 15 workshops across ten years, I have only seen three different people give the workshop.

described by Morrison.³⁸³ Adderly, Kennedy, and Berz expanded on Morrison's work, investigating students' motivations, perceptions of music groups by its members and school community at large, locus of meaning and value for group participants, and the music classroom social climate.³⁸⁴ Those researchers, however, did not focus specifically on band culture, but rather that of large school music ensembles in general. Vance also used aspects of Morrison's work in his study of drum corps culture. His dissertation, however, focused specifically on three DCI ensembles, whose cultural touchstones are likely distinct from scholastic ensembles and show-style ensembles.³⁸⁵ Morrison's themes of Identity, Transmission, Social Dimension, Practical and Personal Boundaries, Organizational Hierarchy, Traditional Song, Traditional Performance Practices, and the Diaspora are, either individually or in concert, potential points of access to study show-style band culture.

In further consideration of the culture of band, I suggest that inferences about culture can be made from examination of history. There exists literature that has examined histories of college band programs. Biggers listed forty such written histories in his own work chronicling the history of the Iowa marching band.³⁸⁶ However all of those histories relate to HWI bands, though some of those programs have show-style marching bands.³⁸⁷ Interestingly, that list did

³⁸³. Morrison, "The School Ensemble a Culture of Our Own."

³⁸⁴. Adderley, Kennedy, and Berz, "A Home Away from Home."

³⁸⁵. Vance, "Findings from the Field," 274.

³⁸⁶. Biggers, "On Iowa! A History of The University of Iowa Marching Band, 1881–2012."

³⁸⁷. HWI show-style bands have some similarities to HBCU show-style bands, but there

not include the history of Tennessee State University's band program, which became available in 2009, contemporary with other histories on Bigger's list.³⁸⁸ Increasing the number of scholarly histories of HBCU band programs, some of which have been in existence 100 years, would help to foster awareness and appreciation of HBCU band programs and their marching components in music education curricula. That awareness and appreciation can impact the pedagogical decisions of future music educators who would enter the teaching force with a broader preparation.

Culturally Relevant Band Pedagogy

This study does not present all sides of this multifaceted context. CRP elements and strategies may manifest differently, if at all, in studies with variations to the marching style and cultural backgrounds of the participants. Student informants in this study acknowledged an awareness and appreciation for other styles of marching band. What thoughts do students in corps-style, or for that matter military, and other types of show-style programs have about the style of their band and its relevance and impact in their lives? What thoughts might they have about HBCU show-style band culture versus their own style? Responses to these questions can inform stakeholders about how to make band programs more inclusive and impactful for more students, which can, in turn,

are distinctive characteristic differences. A clarifying analogy might be to compare zydeco or blues to country music. Instrumentation, song format, and even narrative content are quite similar, but differences are readily apparent.

³⁸⁸. McDonald, "The Aristocrat of Bands."

affect continued and life-long participation in musical activities. As Pugsley stated, “Music should be regarded as a lifelong experience and expression for all members of our society, not merely a school-age experience for a few aspiring professionals for whom our present-day systems seem to be organized.”³⁸⁹

In this study, I found that fluid navigation the HBCU show-style band culture at City High school did not negatively affect student informants’ navigation of home, community, or school cultures. I observed in this study that the students in City High’s band navigate something of a pan-Hispanic culture at school despite various levels of heterogeneity reported in the informants’ homes. Nevertheless, scholars generally warn against assumptions of homogeneity in diasporic contexts, such as those of Hispanic or African descent living in America. In light of that consideration, in a school culture with clearly demarcated national culture alignments, this study’s findings of fluid navigation may be confirmed or challenged.

Research Opportunities In Summary

Findings from all of the above-mentioned research opportunities could inform music education advocacy, pedagogical design and subsequent effectiveness, efforts to support participation in music ensembles in school and beyond, and likely other areas of interest. Potential viewpoints from which those thematic areas can be investigated include varying the school level, type of

³⁸⁹. Pugsley, “The Development of the Music Program in the Community of Jesus (Theology, Chant, Crosslife),” 2.

ensemble, culture of background, and other parameters of a particular study. Such research can also serve to provide the music education community balancing perceptions of show-style band and culture. Recently hazing, an unfortunate aspect of band culture has been examined and linked, via popular and scholarly attention, to show-style bands.³⁹⁰ Further, broader show-style band research can encourage a more balanced view of show-style band culture and pedagogy.

CODA

As a music educator and a researcher, I feel that I must clarify a few points. I have reported, truly in my estimation, about a bias towards corps-style band performances at state-sanctioned adjudicated events. I strongly believe in the existence of that bias and its rippling effects and implications for band programs and their students. I contend that the system of adjudication, and adjudication training, does not accommodate the disparate aesthetics of show style and corps style. Bucky Johnson, the band director at an HWI described show style as, “A crowd pleasing, community-energizing performance...a perpetually upbeat approach,” versus corps style’s “symphonic, controlled sound that utilizes dynamics and a range of mood...motions that ebb and flow with the

³⁹⁰. In response to major events such as a student’s death in one band and the firing of the director of another, authors investigated the hazing culture present in college bands. *See* Jones, “The Role of a Servant-Leadership-Centered Approach on Preventing Hazing”; Silveira and Hudson, “Hazing in the College Marching Band”; Ganellen, “When Marching to the Beat of the Drum Means Beating the Drummer.”

mood of the music.” That said, I recognize that all score gaps between bands of the two styles are not results of that bias.³⁹¹ Many performances of high school show-style bands are indeed worthy of strong critique towards a higher level of execution, within the show-style band genre. However, as Melvin Miles, an HBCU band director observed when interviewed for the same article as Johnson, there are systemic factors affecting the quality of these programs. There also lies fertile ground for further research into areas such as disparities along racial, cultural, or other demographic dividers between middle to high school music feeder patterns; and also the educational and aesthetic underpinnings of band programs, band contests, and adjudication.

While analyzing data and writing this report, I attended a high school battle of the bands. The majority of the parents in the stands were Hispanic. I had the opportunity to view field shows by three predominantly Hispanic bands. All three of the bands performed show-style shows. One performed Latin pop music, some current and some older, for the majority of their show, closing with a rap song for their dance routine. Many of the audience members who, as indicated by the colors they wore, were there for students in other bands nevertheless sang along enthusiastically. When I think of the communal nature of music going back through the ages to before the more modern dichotomy of performer and spectator, I cannot imagine a more undeniable product of a culturally relevant

³⁹¹. Three high schools that I am aware of have garnered an overall rating of “I” at UIL using a high knee-lift show. However, to my understanding, none of those shows included a dance routine, a common element of the style. See McNair, “Teaching Marching Band in Urban Schools.”

pedagogy than students learning how to do something that engages their family and community.

My findings supported this concept of engagement within and beyond the school's physical boundaries. The students I observed in this study seemed to find fulfillment in being a part of the ensemble. Even the individual battles of percussionists were manifested largely in representation of the group. Family members that I spoke with regularly attended band performances. The City High School band is truly a part of and a voice for its community. During the time of this study, the band was selected as the lead unit in an important community parade.

The band carried forth that community connection and pride as, in 2019, City High School's UIL show was 100 percent Latin Pop, the first time they had taken such a show to UIL.

Appendix A

Consent form for Band Director

CONSENT SCRIPT

Introduction

Please read this form carefully. The purpose of this form is to provide you with important information about taking part in a research study. If any of the statements or words in this form are unclear, please ask me. I would be happy to answer any questions.

If you have any questions about the research or any portion of this form, please ask me. Taking part in this research study is up to you. You may keep this information for your personal records.

I am Darryl Singleton (713.313.7192, singletondm@tsu.edu), a doctoral student at Boston University, and I am in charge of this study, which makes me the “researcher.” My research supervisor is Dr. Susan Conkling (617.353.5093, drc@bu.edu)

Why is this study being done?

The purpose of this study is to learn more about Hispanic students’ participation in show style marching bands

We are asking you to take part in this study because you are the director of a show style marching band with a student population that is predominantly Hispanic.

This study is primarily based on observation of instructional practice that will take place during rehearsals and performances of two show style marching bands, but questions will arise during the course of those observations, and we will need additional information from key informants, including marching band directors, a few students, and adult caregivers of those students.

How long will I take part in this research study?

The observations for this study will take place for about six months. I will conduct one formal interview with you at the beginning of the study and several brief, informal interviews at your convenience throughout the remainder of those six months.

What will happen if I take part in this research study?

At the outset of the study I will conduct one semi-formal interview with you. After that I will begin to observe some of your band rehearsals and performances. I will take notes during those rehearsals. If I can make my notes with a hand-held voice recorder without

disturbing your rehearsal, that will make my work more efficient, but I will not disrupt your rehearsals in any way. I will be observing your normal instructional practice.

During the course of the study I will also conduct brief, informal interviews at your convenience. I plan to audio record all interviews as noted below. After each interview has been transcribed, I will give you the opportunity to review the transcription and make any changes you believe are needed.

Formal Interview

This interview will take about an hour to complete. I will ask you questions about your musical and educational background. I will also ask you about your motivations for teaching marching band and your teaching philosophy. I will audio record this interview and transcribe it. After the interview has been transcribed, I will give you the opportunity to review the transcription and make any changes you believe are needed.

Brief Interviews

These interviews will take 20-30 minutes to complete. During these interviews, I will ask any questions I may have based on or inspired by my observations and analysis of those observations. I will audio record the interviews. After each interview has been transcribed, I will give you the opportunity to review the transcription and make any changes you believe are needed.

Audio/Videotaping

I would like to audiotape our interviews during this study. It will not be possible to identify you from the recording. I will store the recording on a password protected hard-drive, and I will label the files with pseudonym for your name and a pseudonym for your school. I will destroy all recordings at the close of this study.

Do you agree to let me audio/videotape you during this study?

_____ YES _____ NO _____ INITIALS

How Will You Keep My Study Records Confidential?

No identifying information about you or your school will be part of the interview transcripts or field notes. All data, whether voice recordings or document files will be kept on a password-protected hard drive in my locked office, accessible only by me. I will make every effort to keep your records confidential. However, there are times when federal or state law requires the disclosure of your records.

The following people or groups may review your study records for purposes such as quality control or safety:

- The Researcher (me) or my dissertation supervisor
- The Institutional Review Board at Boston University. The Institutional Review Board is a group of people who review human research studies for safety and protection of people who take part in the studies.

The study data will be stored on a password-protected hard drive in my locked office accessible only by me. The audio recordings will be destroyed when my dissertation is accepted.

The results of this research study may be published or used for teaching. There will be no identifying information in any of the data. We will use pseudonyms for you and your school.

Study Participation and Early Withdrawal

Taking part in this study is your choice. You are free not to take part or to withdraw at any time for any reason. No matter what you decide, there will be no penalty or loss of benefit to which you are entitled. If you decide to withdraw from this study, the information that you have already provided will be kept confidential.

What are the risks of taking part in this research study?

The main part of this study is an observation of everyday instructional practice, so there are no risks other than those you encounter in your everyday teaching. You may feel emotional or upset when answering some of the interview questions. Tell me at any time if you want to take a break or stop the interview. Additionally, you may be uncomfortable with some of the questions and topics I will ask about. You do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable.

Loss of Confidentiality

The main risk of allowing us to use and store your information for research is a potential loss of privacy. We will protect your privacy by labeling your information with a pseudonym.

Are there any benefits from being in this research study?

There are no benefits to you from taking part in this research. The main benefit of this study is to the music education profession.

What alternatives are available?

You may choose not to take part in this study

Will I get paid for taking part in this research study?

I will not pay you for taking part in this study.

What will it cost me to take part in this research study?

There are no costs to you for taking part in this research study.

If I have any questions or concerns about this research study, who can I talk to?

You can call me or my dissertation supervisor with any concerns or questions. Our telephone numbers and email addresses are listed below:

Darryl Singleton (Mr. D) 713.313.7192 singletondm@tsu.edu

Susan Conkling 617.353.5093 drc@bu.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or want to speak with someone independent of the research team, you may contact the Boston University IRB directly at 617-358-6115.

Appendix B
Student Assent Form
Assent Form

What is a Research Study?

We want to tell you about a research study we are doing. Research studies help us to learn new things and test new ideas. People who work on research studies are called researchers. During research studies, the researchers collect a lot of information so that they can learn more about something. We are doing this study because we would like to learn more about show style marching bands. We are asking you join this study because you attend a high school with a show style marching band program where we are observing rehearsals and performances

There are a few things you should know about this study:

- You get to decide if you want to be in the study
- You can say ‘No’ or ‘Yes’
- Whatever you decide is OK
- If you say ‘Yes’ now, you can change your mind and say ‘No’ later
- No one will be upset if you say ‘No’
- You can ask us questions at any time
- We will also get permission from your parent/guardian for you to take part in this study

What will I do if I am in this research study?

I will observe some of your band rehearsals and performances, but questions will come up during those observations, and I will need extra information from key informants, including a few students, and some adult caregivers of those students. If you decide to be in this study, we will ask you to answer some brief interview questions. You will not be alone when you answer these questions—you will be with at least one other friend from the band.

Audio Recording

We will audio record the interview sessions that are part of this study. This will help us to remember what we talked about in the session.

What else could happen to me while I am in this study?

We will need to ask you some questions. Some of them might be hard to answer, but you do not have to answer any question that makes you feel uncomfortable.

If I join this study will it help me?

This study will help us to learn more about show style marching bands and why high school students like you participate. Although it will not help you directly, it will help music educators overall.

Will I be paid to do this study?

No, we will not pay you to be in this study

What will happen to my information in this study?

We don't plan to tell anyone or share your name or other information about you if you join this study. For anything written down, we will use a pseudonym, or fake name, to refer to you.

There are some reasons why we would share your information:

- If we found out you were in serious danger
- If we found out that somebody else was in serious danger

Taking part in this research study

You do not have to take part in this research study. You can say 'Yes' or 'No'. You can say 'Yes' now and change your mind later. All you n do is tell us you want to stop. No one will be mad if you don't want to take part in the study or if you change your mind about taking part in the study. Your parent or guardian can also decide to have you stop taking part in this study—that is OK too.

Contacts

You can call me or my dissertation supervisor with any concerns or questions. Our telephone numbers and email addresses are listed below:

Darryl Singleton (Mr. D)	713.313.7192	singletondm@tsu.edu
Susan Conkling	617.353.5093	drc@bu.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or want to speak with someone independent of the research team, you may contact the Boston University IRB directly at 617-358-6115.

I will give you a copy of this paper if you want.

*****Parents/Guardians*****

If you do not want your child to participate in this study, please contact the band director or contact me directly at 281.948.6859.

Appendix C

Consent Form for Parents

Consent Form

What is a Research Study?

We want to tell you about a research study we are doing. Research studies help us to learn new things and test new ideas. People who work on research studies are called researchers. During research studies, the researchers collect a lot of information so that they can learn more about something. We are doing this study because we would like to learn more about show style marching bands. We are asking your child to join this study because they attend a high school with a show style marching band program where we are observing rehearsals and performances

There are a few things you should know about this study:

- Your child gets to decide if you want to be in the study
- Your child can say ‘No’ or ‘Yes’
- Whatever they decide is OK
- If they say ‘Yes’ now, they can change their mind and say ‘No’ later
- No one will be upset if they say ‘No’
- You or your child can ask us questions at any time
- We need permission from you as parent/legal guardian for them to take part in this study

If you do not want your child to participate in this study, please contact the band director or contact me directly at 281.948.6859.

What will my child do if they participate in this research study?

I will observe some of the band rehearsals and performances, but questions will come up during those observations, and I will need extra information from key informants, including a few students, and some adult caregivers of those students. If you allow your child to be in this study, we will ask them to answer some brief interview questions. They will not be alone when they answer these questions—they will be with at least one other friend from the band.

Audio Recording

We will audio record the interview sessions that are part of this study. This will help us to remember what we talked about in the session.

What else could happen to while my child is in this study?

We will need to ask your child some questions. Some of them might be hard to answer, but they do not have to answer any question that makes them feel uncomfortable.

If I join this study will it help me?

This study will help us to learn more about show style marching bands and why high school students like your child participate. Although it will not help them directly, it will help music educators overall.

Will my child be paid to do this study?

No, we will not pay your child to be in this study

What will happen to my child's information in this study?

We don't plan to tell anyone or share your child's name or other information about them if they join this study. For anything written down, we will use a pseudonym, or fake name, to refer to your child.

There are some reasons why we would share your child's information:

- If we found out they were in serious danger
- If we found out that somebody else was in serious danger

Taking part in this research study

Your child does not have to take part in this research study. They can say 'Yes' or 'No'. You can say give your permission now and change your mind later. All you need to do is tell us you want to stop. No one will be mad if your child doesn't want to take part in the study or if you don't give your permission for them to take part in the study.

IMPORTANT: *If you do not want your child to participate in this study, please contact the band director or contact me directly at 281.948.6859.*

Contacts

You can call me or my dissertation supervisor with any concerns or questions. Our telephone numbers and email addresses are listed below:

Darryl Singleton (Mr. D) 713.313.7192 singletondm@tsu.edu

Susan Conkling 617.353.5093 drc@bu.edu

If you have questions about your child's rights as a research subject or want to speak with someone independent of the research team, you may contact the Boston University IRB directly at 617-358-6115.

Appendix D

Consent Form for Parents (Spanish)

Permiso para Padre de la Familia

¿Qué es un estudio de investigación?

Queremos informarte en cuanto un estudio de investigación que estamos realizando. Un estudio de investigación es una búsqueda sistemática que nos ayuda a aprender cosas nuevas y a probar nuevas ideas. A las personas que trabajan haciendo estudios de investigación se les llama “investigadores”. Cuando se realiza un estudio de investigación, los investigadores recopilan una gran cantidad de información, de manera que puedan aprender y entender más acerca de lo que están investigando. Actualmente estamos haciendo un estudio para aprender más acerca de las bandas show. Te queremos pedir permiso para que su hijo participe en esta investigación ya que asiste a una preparatoria que posee un programa de banda show. Nosotros vamos a estar allí para observar las prácticas y las presentaciones de la misma.

Cosas que debes saber acerca de este estudio

- Su hijo/a decide si quiere participar en este estudio
- Su hijo/a puede decir “sí” o “no”.
- Lo que decida estará bien para nosotros.
- Si dice que sí, puede cambiar de opinión en cualquier momento y negarte a continuar en el estudio.
- Nadie se va a ofender porque te niegue a participar.
- Pueden usted o su hijo/a hacernos cualquier pregunta en el momento que quieras.
- Necesitamos permiso del padre de familia o guardián legal para que participe de este estudio.

Si no quieres que su hijo/a participa en este estudio, favor de comunicar su prohibición al director de la banda. También me puede contactar directo en el número telefónico 281.948.6859.

¿Qué hará mi hijo/a si participe en este estudio de investigación?

Debido a que voy a observar algunos de los ensayos y presentaciones de la banda y durante esas observaciones siempre surgen preguntas, acudiré a algunos estudiantes y a un adulto responsables por esos estudiantes, para buscar las respuestas a esas preguntas. Si permite usted a su hijo/a participar en este estudio, le haré una breve entrevista. No estará solo cuando le haga la entrevista, estará, al menos, otro miembro de la banda.

Grabación de Sonido

Grabaremos su voz en las sesiones de entrevista que forman parte de este estudio, lo hacemos porque de esa manera podemos recordar lo que se habló de cada una de las personas.

¿Qué otra cosa puede suceder mientras participa mi hijo/a en este estudio?

Pudiera ser que algunas preguntas sean un poco difícil de contestar, pero no está obligado a responder ninguna pregunta que le haga sentir incómodo.

¿Participar en este estudio le generará algún beneficio?

Este estudio ayudará a todos a conocer más acerca de las bandas show y del por qué los estudiantes de preparatoria disfrutan de participar en ellas. Aunque no sea un beneficio directo para su hijo/a, si beneficiará a los profesores de música en general en su labor docente.

¿Recibirá algún pago por tomar parte en este estudio?

No, a ninguna persona se le pagará por ser parte de este estudio.

¿Qué pasará con la información en este estudio?

No mencionará o compartirá ni el nombre, ni la información de las personas que participen en este estudio. Cada información por escrito será identificada con un seudónimo (o nombre falso) en lugar de su nombre real.

Hay, sin embargo, algunas razones por las cuales nosotros compartiríamos su información:

- Si llegáramos a creer que se encuentra en un serio peligro.
- Si llegáramos a creer que alguna otra persona se encontró en un serio peligro.

Participación en este estudio de investigación.

Su hijo/a no está obligado a participar en este estudio de investigación. Puede decir que “sí” o que “no”. Usted es libre dar su permiso y después cambiar de opinión en cualquier momento de este estudio, en ese caso, todo lo que usted tiene que hacer es informarnos que no quiere que continúe. Nadie va a sentirse ofendido si su hijo/a no desea ser parte de este estudio, o si no da usted su permiso para participar.

Importante: Si no quieres que su hijo/a participe en este estudio, favor de comunicar su prohibición al director de la banda. También me puede contactar directo en el número telefónico 281.948.6859.

Contactos

Usted puede contactarme a mí, o a mi supervisor de disertación por cualquier preocupación o pregunta que usted pueda tener. Nuestros números telefónicos y correos electrónicos son los siguientes:

Darryl Singleton (Mr. D) 713.313.7192 singletondm@tsu.edu

Susan Conkling 617.353.5093 drc@bu.edu

Si usted tiene alguna duda acerca de los derechos de su hijo/a como sujeto de este estudio de investigación, o si desea hablar con alguien independiente a este equipo de investigación, puede comunicarse directamente con la Universidad de Boston IRB al número 617-358-6115.

Appendix E

Consent for Adult Caregiver

CONSENT SCRIPT

Introduction

Please read this form carefully. The purpose of this form is to provide you with important information about taking part in a research study. If any of the statements or words in this form are unclear, please ask me. I would be happy to answer any questions.

If you have any questions about the research or any portion of this form, please ask me. Taking part in this research study is up to you. You may keep this information for your personal records.

I am Darryl Singleton (713.313.7192, singletondm@tsu.edu), a doctoral student at Boston University, and I am in charge of this study, which makes me the “researcher.” My research supervisor is Dr. Susan Conkling (617.353.5093, drc@bu.edu)

Why is this study being done?

The purpose of this study is to learn more about Hispanic students’ participation in show style marching bands

We are asking you to take part in this study because a member of your household participates in a show style marching band with a student population that is predominantly Hispanic.

This study is primarily based on observation of normal instructional practice that will take place during rehearsals and performances of two show style marching bands, but questions will arise during the course of those observations, and we will need additional information from key informants, including marching band directors, a few students, and adult caregivers of those students.

How long will I take part in this research study?

The observations for this study will take place for about six months. I will conduct at least one brief informal interview with you. After that, I may need to ask you some follow up questions at some point during the remainder of those six months.

What will happen if I take part in this research study?

I will observe some band rehearsals and performances, but questions will come up during those observations, and I will need extra information from key informants, including a few students, and some adult caregivers of those students. If you decide to be in this study, I will ask you to answer some brief interview questions about your household member who is a member of the band and also the culture and some of the

traditions in your home and community. I may also want to ask some follow up questions, at your convenience. I plan to audio record the interviews as noted below. After each interview has been transcribed, I will give you the opportunity to review the transcription and make any changes you believe are needed.

Audio/Videotaping

I would like to audiotape our interviews during this study. It will not be possible to identify you from the recording. I will store the recording on a password protected hard-drive, and I will label the files with pseudonym for your name and a pseudonym for your school. I will destroy all recordings at the close of this study.

Do you agree to let me audio/videotape you during this study?

_____ YES

_____ NO

_____ INITIALS

How Will You Keep My Study Records Confidential?

No identifying information about you will be part of the study records. The data from these interviews will be kept on a password-protected hard drive in my locked office, accessible only by me. I will make every effort to keep your records confidential. However, there are times when federal or state law requires the disclosure of your records.

The following people or groups may review your study records for purposes such as quality control or safety:

- The Researcher (me) or my dissertation supervisor
- The Institutional Review Board at Boston University. The Institutional Review Board is a group of people who review human research studies for safety and protection of people who take part in the studies.

The study data will be stored on a password-protected hard drive in my locked office accessible only by me. The audio recordings will be destroyed when my dissertation is completed, by university regulation.

The results of this research study may be published or used for teaching. There will be no identifying information in any of the data.

Study Participation and Early Withdrawal

Taking part in this study is your choice. You are free not to take part or to withdraw at any time for any reason. No matter what you decide, there will be no penalty or loss of benefit to which you are entitled. If you decide to withdraw from this study, the information that you have already provided will be kept confidential.

What are the risks of taking part in this research study?

There are no physical risks associated with being in this study. However, you may feel emotional or upset when answering some of the interview questions. Tell me at any time if you want to take a break or stop the interview. Additionally, you may be uncomfortable with some of the questions and topics I will ask about. You do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable.

Loss of Confidentiality

The main risk of allowing us to use and store your information for research is a potential loss of privacy. We will protect your privacy by labeling your information with a pseudonym.

Are there any benefits from being in this research study?

There are no benefits to you from taking part in this research. The main benefit of this study is to the music education profession.

What alternatives are available?

You may choose not to take part in this study

Will I get paid for taking part in this research study?

I will not pay you for taking part in this study.

What will it cost me to take part in this research study?

There are no costs to you for taking part in this research study.

If I have any questions or concerns about this research study, who can I talk to?

You can call me or my dissertation supervisor with any concerns or questions. Our telephone numbers and email addresses are listed below:

Darryl Singleton (Mr. D)	713.313.7192	singletondm@tsu.edu
Susan Conkling	617.353.5093	drc@bu.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or want to speak with someone independent of the research team, you may contact the Boston University IRB directly at 617-358-6115.

Appendix F

Consent for Adult Caregiver (Spanish)

CONSENT SCRIPT

Introducción

Por favor, lea cuidadosamente a este formato. El propósito del mismo es proveerle información importante acerca formar parte de un estudio de investigación. Si algo de lo expresado o si alguna palabra o palabras no le parecen claras, por favor comuníquemelo, yo estoy a sus órdenes para aclararle cualquier duda.

Si usted tiene alguna duda acerca de esta investigación o de alguna parte de este formato, por favor pregúnteme. Tomar parte en esta investigación es su decisión personal. Usted puede conservar esta información para su archivo personal.

Mi nombre es Darryl Singleton (713.313.7192, singletondm@tsu.edu), un candidato a doctorado la la Universidad Boston, estoy a cargo de esta estudio, lo cual me convierte en el “investigador.” Mi supervisora de investigación es la Dra. Susan Conkling (617.353.5093, drc@bu.edu).

¿Porque se hace este estudio?

El propósito de realizar a esta estudio es aprender más acerca la participación de estudiantes en bandas “show style,” que es el estilo típico de las universidades HBCU (universidades sirviendo históricamente al poblado moreno).

Le pedimos su participación en este estudio, debido a que un miembro de su hogar participa en una banda “showstyle” que consta de una población predominantemente hispana.

Este estudio está basado principalmente en la observación de la práctica instruccional habitual que tendrá lugar durante los ensayos y presentaciones de dos bandas “showstyle.” Muchas preguntas surgirán durante el curso de esas observaciones, por lo que necesitaremos de información adicional por parte de informantes claves como lo son los directores de las bandas show, algunos estudiantes y los adultos encargados del cuidado de esos estudiantes.

¿Por cuánto tiempo formaré parte de este estudio de investigación?

Las observaciones para este estudio tendrán una duración aproximada de seis (6) meses. Yo le realizaré con usted al menos una breve entrevista informal y es posible que posteriormente pudiera necesitar hacerle algunas preguntas de seguimiento, en algún momento durante el resto de los seis meses de la investigación.

¿Qué pasará si participo en este estudio?

Haré observaciones de algunos ensayos y presentaciones de la banda. Análisis de las observaciones generarán a preguntas y necesitaré más información de informadores

principales, incluyendo algunos alumnos y algunos miembros adultos de sus hogares. Si decides participar en esta investigación, le pediré a contestar algunas preguntas relacionado al miembro del hogar suyo que participa con la banda y también en cuanto la cultura y las tradiciones de su casa y vecindad. También, hay posibilidad que tendría más preguntas hacerle, en un tiempo conveniente para usted. Tengo la intención de grabar en audio las entrevistas. Después de ser transcrito cada entrevista, le daré la oportunidad revisar las transcripciones y editarlas si percibe usted la necesidad.

Audio/Video grabación

Me gustaría grabar el audio de nuestras entrevistas durante este estudio. No existe la posibilidad de que usted sea identificado a partir de la grabación. Yo voy a almacenar su información en un disco duro protegido por una contraseña e identificaré los archivos con un seudónimo para usted y otro para la escuela. Al finalizar este estudio, destruiré todas las grabaciones realizadas.

¿Está usted de acuerdo con permitirme hacer un audio/video de su entrevista durante este estudio?

_____ Sí

_____ No

_____ INICIALES

¿Cómo mantendrá usted mis registros de estudio confidenciales?

Ninguna información que pueda identificarlo personalmente a usted, formará parte de esta investigación. Toda información proveniente de las entrevistas, será mantenida en un disco duro protegido por una contraseña y permanecerá bajo llave en mi oficina, a la cual solo yo tengo acceso. Yo agotaré todos los recursos que sean necesarios para mantener su información confidencial. Sin embargo, hay situaciones en las cuales las leyes estatales y federales requieren la divulgación de su información.

Reportaje de abuso infantil, si es aplicable:

Si durante su participación en este estudio, yo llegara a tener justificados motivos para creer que un caso de abuso infantil está ocurriendo, mi deber es reportarlo ante las autoridades, como lo requiere la ley. Yo haré todo los esfuerzos razonables para proteger la confidencialidad de su información para esta investigación; sin embargo, es posible que una corte civil o criminal pudiera ordenar que divulgue la información de esta investigación que lo identifica personalmente.

Las siguientes personas o grupos podrían revisar su registro de estudio para propósito tales como control de calidad y seguridad.

- El Investigador (yo) o mi supervisor de disertación.
- El Consejo de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de Boston. El Consejo de Revisión Institucional es un grupo de personas que analizan los estudios de investigación humana, para velar por la seguridad y protección de las personas que toman parte de los mismos.

Los datos de estudio serán almacenados en un disco duro protegido por una contraseña en mi oficina, bajo llave, a la cual solo yo tengo acceso. Las grabaciones de audio serán destruidas, de acuerdo a las reglas de la universidad de Boston, una vez que haya finalizado mi estudio de investigación.

Los resultados de este estudio de investigación pueden ser publicados o usados con propósitos educativos. No habrá ningún dato de identificación personal en los registros de información.

Participación en el Estudio y Retiro Temprano

Formar parte en este estudio es su decisión. Usted es libre de no formar parte de este estudio o de retirarse en el momento que así lo considere. Sin importar lo que usted decida, no habrá ninguna penalidad o pérdida de beneficios a los cuales usted tenga derecho. Si usted decide retirarse de este estudio, la información que usted haya provisto hasta ese momento permanecerá confidencial.

¿Cuáles son los riesgos de formar parte de este estudio?

No hay riesgos físicos asociados a su participación en este estudio; sin embargo, es posible que usted se sienta emocionalmente afectado o alterado al responder a algunas de las preguntas de la entrevista. Hágame saber en cualquier momento de la entrevista, si usted desea tomar una pausa o darla por terminada. Adicionalmente, es posible que usted pueda sentir incomodidad con algunas preguntas o tópicos acerca de los cuales le preguntaré. Usted no está en la obligación de responder ninguna pregunta que lo haga sentir incomodo.

Perdida de Confiabilidad

El mayor riesgo de permitirnos el uso y almacenamiento de su información lo constituye la potencial pérdida de privacidad; sin embargo, protegeremos su privacidad identificándolo a usted con un seudónimo.

Pérdida de Confiabilidad

El mayor riesgo de permitirnos el uso y almacenamiento de su información lo constituye la potencial pérdida de privacidad; sin embargo, protegeremos su privacidad identificándolo a usted con un seudónimo.

¿Existe algún tipo de beneficio por ser parte de este estudio?

No existe ningún tipo de beneficio por el hecho de participar en esta investigación. El mayor beneficio de este estudio es para la profesión de educación musical.

¿Qué otras alternativas tengo?

Usted puede escoger no formar parte de este estudio.

¿Recibiré algún pago por tomar parte en este estudio de investigación?

No le pagaré a usted por tomar parte en este estudio de investigación.

¿Tendrá algún costo para mí el tomar parte de este estudio de investigación?

No hay costo alguno para usted al tomar parte de este estudio de investigación.

Si tengo preguntas o preocupaciones acerca de este estudio de investigación, ¿A quién puedo dirigirme?

Usted puede llamarme a mí o a mi supervisor de disertación por cualquier preocupación o preguntas que usted pueda tener. Nuestros números telefónicos y correos electrónicos son los siguientes:

Darryl Singleton (Mr. D) 713.313.7192 singletondm@tsu.edu

Susan Conkling 617.353.5093 drc@bu.edu

Si tiene usted preguntas relacionadas a sus derechos como sujeto de la investigación o si quiere hablar con alguien que no es integrante del equipo de investigación, puede comunicarse con la Universidad Boston directamente en el teléfono 617-358-6115.

Appendix G

Initial Interview Questions

Initial key informant (band director) interview questions:

1. How do you identify yourself ethnically/racially and culturally?
2. How would you describe your educational experiences in general from elementary through high school? (What about your school music experiences?)
3. How would you describe your educational experiences in general after high school?
4. What part did culture play in your school music experiences (Did you learn about or perform music of cultures other than your own? Did you learn about or perform music of cultures other than your teachers' (or your own)?)
5. How have your school music experiences influenced or affected your teaching approach?
6. Against what standards do you assess achievement in the band classroom?
7. What part does culture (either yours, the students', or some other) play in your pedagogical design/intent?

Initial key informant (student) interview questions:

1. *Do you know what "culture" is? (What does it mean to you?)* (Negotiate a common understanding of culture with the interviewee)
2. How do you identify yourself racially/ethnically?

3. How do you identify yourself culturally?
4. What does it mean (to you) to be a part of that/those culture(s)?
5. What do you think of the style of your band? (Do you like it? Is there another style you would rather do? What attracts you to this/that style)
6. How do you relate being in band to being part of your culture?
7. How long have you been in band?
8. Have you gotten better at it? (Are you happy with your progress? Why or why not?)
9. Do you think the way your director does band is helping you get better? (How? Is there something else or some other way your director could help you get better?)
10. How do you think your culture fits into society? (Discuss and negotiate meaning for this) (What do you think about it?)
11. Does anything in band class put your attention on those things (from question 10)? (Encourage discussion)
12. Is there anything you would like to add about anything we've talked about?

Initial adult caregiver interview questions (with potential probe/follow up questions).

1. What would you say is the culture of this neighborhood? This house? (Probe for detail).
2. What do you think is the majority culture at <school name>?

3. Do you think they understand at <school name> the culture in your home?
(What makes you say that?)
4. How do you think <student> fits in at school? What about here at home?
(Probe for detail)
5. What about the <school name> band? Do you watch them perform?
6. How long has <student> been in band?
7. Do you think band has been good for <student>? (In what way?)(Probe for detail whether positive or negative)
8. What do you think about the band?
9. What do you think about the style of the band?
10. Do you think the style is a good fit for the school? For the neighborhood?
For <student>? (Probe for detail)
11. What concerns do you have for <culture name> in general?
12. Do you think <school name> is preparing <student> to handle those concerns? (from answer to question 11)?
13. Is there anything you would like to add about anything at all?

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