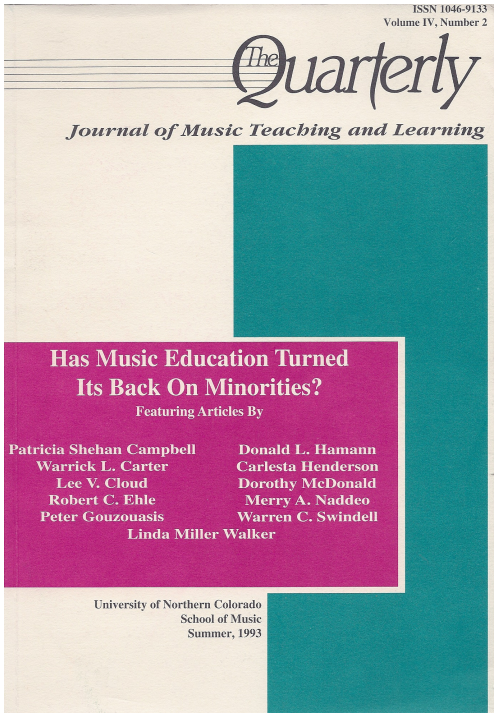

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It is with pleasure that we inaugurate the reprint of the entire seven volumes of The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning. *The journal began in 1990 as* The Quarterly. *In 1992, with volume 3, the name changed to* The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning *and continued until 1997. The journal contained articles on issues that were timely when they appeared and are now important for their historical relevance. For many authors, it was their first major publication.* Visions of Research in Music Education *will publish facsimiles of each issue as it originally appeared. Each article will be a separate pdf file. Jason D. Vodicka has accepted my invitation to serve as guest editor for the reprint project and will compose a new editorial to introduce each volume. Chad Keilman is the production manager. I express deepest thanks to Richard Colwell for granting VRME permission to re-publish* The Quarterly *in online format. He has graciously prepared an introduction to the reprint series.*

Personal Observations On Integration And School Music Programs

By Warrick L. Carter

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As a young aspiring musician, I attended a segregated high school in Charlottesville, Virginia. At that time, Charlottesville had a total population of 30,000. There were two high schools in the city, one white and one black. The black high school was a consolidated school attended by students from both Charlottesville and the surrounding county of Albemarle. Its annual graduating classes were generally 100 or fewer students.

The high school for white students had annual graduating classes of up to 300 students. White students also attended a third high school situated in the county of Albemarle. It was about the same size as the white high school in Charlottesville.

Each of the three schools supported well-developed music programs which included beginning, intermediate, and advanced band programs; various choral groups, and some instruction in music theory and history. The top instrumental programs at the two area white high schools each featured performing groups of 120 to 175 students. The black high school had a top instrumental performing group of between 80 and 90 students. Similar numbers were seen in the choral groups of each high school. Each of the area high schools included 300 to 500 students in music programs.

> [B]lack students were expected to meld with and become a part of the dominant culture—to enter the melting pot—as opposed to joining a pluralistic society ... in which the values, culture, and mores of each group are accepted.

At all the high schools, the quality of the music programs was very high, as evidenced by the "superior" ratings frequently earned at respective "separate by equal" district and state festivals. At the black high school, a career in music was both encouraged and valued. Over 35 members of my class participated in one or more of the school's music organizations. Additionally, five of the 104 students in my graduating class became music majors in college.

These high numbers were influenced by the positive impact of the music instructors at the black schools in my hometown. Quality programs with similar high percentages of student participation, however, were repeated at many black schools throughout the South. Large, successful music programs in black schools were the rule, not the exception. A short list of the more illustrious preintegration southern black high school music programs includes Dillard High School, Ft. Lau-

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derdale, FL; Pearl High School, Nashville, TN; Armstrong High School, Richmond, VA; Parker High School, Birmingham, AL; Howard High School, Chattanooga, TN; Manassas High School, Memphis, TN; Duddley High School, Greensboro, NC; Booker T. Washington High School, Atlanta, GA; Cashmere High School, Houston, TX; Northwestern High School and Booker T. Washington High School, Miami, FL; and Coleman High School, Greenville, MS. Each of these schools, as well as many others, offered complete music programs including theory, various levels of vocal and instrumental instruction, and several vocal and instrumental performing groups.

As was the case in my high school, most preintegration black schools annually performed one or more musicals, jointly presented by the music, art, and drama departments. Since professional musical presentations were frequently unavailable to blacks in both large and small communities, these school programs often became the major cultural events of the year.

Segregation in the South existed as a matter of law, but in the northern and border states it was a *de facto* reality. Whether *de jure* or *de facto*, the results of segregation were the same. Hence, in Kansas City, Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, and other cities, large numbers of black students received a *de facto* segregated education. Like their southern counterparts, these students often had access to very strong music programs. Many of the strongest northern programs were built by particularly influential individuals. Such was the case with the music programs associated with Walter Dyette in Chicago, N. Clarke Smith in Kansas City, LaVerne E. Newsome in Indianapolis, Artie Matthews in Cincinnati, and Henry Grant in Washington, DC, to name a few. In both the pre-integration South and North, black students were afforded the opportunity to participate in very creditable school music programs, and participate they did. For example, during the 1960s, Tennessee's black high school concert band festival drew over 150 bands annually. Many of these bands had 100 or more members. Throughout the South, at both choir and band festivals, these numbers were repeated.

Integration versus Desegregation

During the late 1960s, Jake Gather, then football coach at Florida A & M University (FAMU), was questioned as to why his teams no longer dominated black college football. His immediate answer was, "Integration is a one-way street." Gather explained that most of Florida's outstanding black high school football players had previously attended FAMU because the large white state universities were closed to them. With integration, however, talented black players were offered broader choices of schools, thereby reducing the size and quality of the recruitment pool for historically black colleges and universities. And these black institutions were unable to attract even the least talented white high school players.

I see integration as one of the underlying reasons for the decreased numbers of black students in school music programs. I am not advocating a return to *de jure* or *de facto* segregation; rather, I suggest that we look closely at the positive aspects of those experiences, as described later in this article, and duplicate them in order to achieve increased black student participation in our present integrated music programs, as well as in other school activities.[1]

During the 1950s, when blacks began their organized fight for equality, their interest was not so much in integration but in desegregation. The distinctions between the terms were largely ignored by the larger white population but keenly understood by blacks. According to *The Random House Dictionary* (1986):

> "[D]esegregation" is "the elimination of laws, customs or practices that restrict different races, groups, etc., to specific or separate schools and other public facilities, neighborhoods."
>
> "[I]ntegration" means to bring together or incorporate (parts) into a whole; to make up, combine, or complete to produce a whole or larger unit...to meld with and become part of the dominant culture."

Some black leaders were influenced to change the call from desegregation to integration. This change was a costly one to black students, however, and specifically to black students who participated in music

Because integration frequently relegated former black high school music teachers to elementary, middle, or junior high schools, and because white high school music directors were unfamiliar with black musical traditions, few, if any, of these traditions were continued in integrated high school programs.

programs and other school activities. Because of strong and sometimes violent opposition, the integration of the nation's schools was a difficult undertaking. At schools where integration was initially instituted, black students were treated as less than equal partners in the educational setting.

The most insidious result of integration for black students, however, was the implication that black students should discount most of their previous educational experiences as inadequate and inferior and accept the new environment as correct and superior. Since white neighborhoods were the last to integrate, black students were frequently required to travel from their home neighborhoods and support systems to other less-welcoming communities to obtain education. Hence, for many post-integration black students, the concept of neighborhood schools is an oxymoron. All these factors had negative affects on the participation of black students in school activities, including music.[2]

A desegregated school system would have avoided many of the problems presently facing integrated schools, because desegregation would have allowed black students to enter mixed schools without having to shed their traditions. If the continued fight had been for desegregation rather than for integration, the true meaning of the former term would have evidenced itself in the mixing of races. With integration, however, black students were expected to meld with and become a part of the dominant culture—to enter the melting pot—as opposed to joining a pluralistic society in which the values, culture, and mores of each group are accepted. In such a society, individuals would not be expected to give these up to become integrated into the society.

Valuing Cultural Differences

Integration, on the other hand, failed to recognize the value of black societal patrimony and dismissed black culture as an aberration of "real" culture. In fact, black school music programs were not very different from their white counterparts. Both performed much of the same music, presented many of the same musicals, marched in many of the same town-sponsored parades, and worked toward standard criteria of musical quality. Differences did exist, however, in the speed, style, flair, and rhythm of marching band cadences and music; in general interpretation of music; and in the black high school programs' inclusion of music by African-American composers and of indigenous folk music (spirituals, work songs, blues). Because integration frequently relegated former black high school music teachers to elementary, middle, or junior high schools, and because white high school music directors were unfamiliar with black musical traditions, few, if any, of these traditions were continued in integrated high school programs. Black music teachers who were reassigned to beginning and intermediate music programs necessarily became more concerned with basic music instruction and development than with interpretation. Most of the Afrocentric music materials collected by these music teachers were too advanced for their new students, so the materials were seldom used.

There were some exceptions as to how and where black teachers were assigned. In my hometown, for example, both the elementary and high school band directors from the black schools became band directors at two of the new integrated high schools. Overall, however, the newly integrated school music programs failed to embrace the traditions of the black schools' music programs, sending a silent message to black students: Your music, culture, style, and interpretations are not valued here.

This message was not the only factor leading to the decline in black student participation. As

mentioned earlier, the music programs at black schools were of great cultural significance in the black communities. The communities took pride in their performances, supported the uniform drives, and helped raise funds for ensemble travel. Since the music groups represented the total black community, student participation was never based on individual ability to purchase instruments. Various school booster clubs, civic organizations, and church groups made it possible for all interested students to participate. The schools' music teachers were integral and important members of the communities, serving not only in the schools but frequently throughout the community as private teachers and music directors of church and civic groups, and so on. In other words, they were the black communities' musical experts. While integration did not change their positions in the black communities, it did remove them from the schools' music leadership and eventually from the education of the black students (see box above).

As integration is a one-way phenomenon, black schools were seldom, if ever, integrated. Many formerly black schools were closed. Some were made into school board offices, and others were converted into community centers or city office buildings. Consequently, black communities were stripped of one of their most important cultural institutions. The close connections that had existed between the black community and its black schools were not possible when the new high school could be reached only by bus or some other form of transportation. Gone was the community's close identity with the teachers, coaches, and administrators, since very few of them were now drawn from these communities. Black students and their parents sensed this disconnection.

Black Students in Music Programs Today

Today's black students are educated in systems that, for many of them, define education as an activity that occurs between two bus rides. As some music and many extracurricular school activities occur before or after scheduled classes, bus travel can be an obstacle for black students' participation. Because black children are placed in what are frequently hostile, physically distant, and culturally biased environments, it is a near miracle that black students participate in any school activities, music included. Given the climate, the fact that some black students do participate is a tribute to their music teachers and also serves as an indication of the continued interest of black students in music.

I return to the personal example of my hometown. As mentioned earlier, over 300 black students annually participated in one or more of the various music activities at my high school. Although the city's black population has greatly increased, today a significantly smaller number participate in the music programs of the three integrated high schools. This decline is not unique to Charlottesville but unfortunately has been repeated throughout the country. Some may argue that the decreases in black student music participation are the result of the changing priorities, tastes, and career aspirations of black students. I, on the other hand, argue that it is the failure of school music programs to provide access to black students and to profit from the many positive role models provided by the successful black music educators of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

Black students are quite active in music outside of the schools' music programs; there are no indications that black students have lost interest in making and learning music. In fact, the numbers reflect the opposite.

Black students have found a variety of nonschool-related avenues through which they can receive music instruction, such as community music schools, churches, music stores, local private teachers, and self-instruction. These "parallel schools," which provide teaching and learning created outside the formal education setting, may be excellent examples of how music education can remain attractive to black students and how music education should be undertaken. Two well known out-of-school programs that have had great results are those offered through Jazzmobile in New York City and the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM) in Chicago. These programs retain many of the qualities that made the preintegration black music programs so successful:

- ease of accessibility
- effective, sensitive, culturally aware and broadly musically trained teachers
- relevant, open, and rigorous curriculum; and
- strong black community identity and/or support.

Preparing Teachers for Minority Populations

In *Methods and Perspectives in Urban Music Education*,[3] I described a number of research studies that had been undertaken to identify the appropriate attitudes, traits, and qualities needed by teachers, including music teachers, for successful work with urban students. Most of these studies have implications for work with minority students, specifically blacks, in urban and nonurban schools. The works of Joyce (1965), Olsen (1967), Goldberg (1967), and Medley (1977), to cite a few, draw different specific conclusions regarding the needs of urban minority students, but all point to several factors which contribute to successful teaching in this environment. The model that best exemplifies this teaching is the "hypothetical model of the successful teacher," proposed by Goldberg.[4] Her 15-year-old model, characterized as having "ordered flexibility," is relevant today. The author states that the successful teacher:

> 1) respects the children in her/his class and therefore receives respect in return;
> 2) observes the cultures of the students, not as a judge, but empathetically from the point of view of the students, understanding the backgrounds from which the students come, their values toward various achievement, and the kind of life style to which they aspire;
> 3) is aware of her/his students' membership in the ethnic group, the history, traditions, and social structure of that group, and how such membership shapes each student's image of her/himself and her/his world;
> 4) knows that the language of her/his students is closely tied to their life style and recognizes its functional qualities for the pupils;
> 5) has a sophisticated understanding of how a child's abilities are assessed and, therefore, a realistic perception of what these assessments or measurements describe and predict;
> 6) meets the children on a person-to-person basis;
> 7) realizes the danger of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of expecting too little of students, and consequently lets each student know that the teacher expects more than the pupil thinks she/he can produce (the standards are never too high or remote, but are within the intellectual potential of the students) (Hicks, Standifer, and Carter, p. 217).

Most of these characteristics are important for all successful teachers, regardless of the student mix. A few of these characteristics, however, are specifically applicable to the integrated and/or minority teaching situations. Numbers 2, 3, and 4 all speak to the knowledge, familiarity, and understanding of the cultures of minority students, and it is in these areas that most teachers fail. This failure is as much the fault of individual teachers as it is the fault of the many teacher-training programs that have prepared them.

Developing Appropriate Skills

In the January, 1970, special report of the *Music Educators Journal*,[5] seven recommendations were made with the intention of improving teacher education programs and subsequently music instruction for minority students. Four of the recommendations dealt with the competence of instruction in teacher education programs, the real conditions of urban and/or inner-city educational settings, the use of modern equipment and materials, and the importance of quality general music instruction. Most of these are now addressed in today's teacher education programs. It is the last three recommendations that have gone generally unattended, however:

> 5) Prospective music teachers should develop skill in communication and the ability

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> to relate to others—students, parents, community, administration, and fellow teachers...
> 6) Knowledge of the widest possible variety of musics—ethnic, rock, soul, jazz, electronic, aleatoric, serial, as well as the historical literature—is essential if music teachers are to meet the demands of urban education...
> 7) Music teachers who aspire to teach in the city should be required to develop in-depth cultural, sociological, and psychological understanding of the students they will be teaching (Hicks, Standifer, and Carter, p. 232).

These three recommendations, when instituted, have lasting impact on the teaching and learning of minority students. Until colleges and universities restructure their teacher education programs so as to prepare prospective teachers for work with and understanding of the various minority cultures in today's schools, school music programs will continue to be viewed as antithetical to and by minority students.

Changing School Music Curricula

Once the appropriate teacher training is instituted, it becomes an easy step to fashion the necessary changes in the public school music curriculum to address the needs of minority students. Some of these have already begun. There are many general music textbooks and song books that now include materials that refer to minority groups. This is an important beginning, but much still needs to be done. In band, orchestra, and choir activities, few inroads have been made. With the exception of the jazz ensembles and jazz and show choirs, very little music performed by school ensembles is drawn from the music of minority communities.

Conductors will rightly argue that very little music is published by minority composers; however, as music publishing is a two-way street based upon supply and demand, conductors must create the demand so that publishers are moved to provide the supply.

Ensemble conductors also send an "exclusionary message" when none of their guest artists, such as conductors, instrumentalists, and soloists, are minority musicians. Contrary to popular belief, there exist a number of highly talented, competent, and articulate minority conductors and soloists, as well as fine instrumentalists. In addition to showcasing musical competence, the use of minority guest artists may help increase minority students' participation in music programs, and, most certainly, will boost their self-esteem. This type of minority inclusion may additionally serve as an important bridge between the schools' music program and specific minority communities.

Conclusion

Regardless of the opportunity for school music instruction, minority students will not participate unless they feel an inviting and supportive environment. Music educators must therefore work to change the climate of school music to be more welcoming for minority students. Although we have little control over the location of our schools, as music educators we do have power over the design of teacher education programs, the curriculum offered in our schools' music programs, and the possibility of these schools' music programs becoming integral parts of the multiple communities they serve. As the current numbers reveal, we have not done a good job thus far, but all is not lost if we start now. Please, no more hyperbole or philosophical papers; rather, we need Herculean deeds and actions to change the situation. If not, school music programs will continue to miss out on the participation of some of the country's best young musical minds. Young minority musicians will continue to make music, but they will not make music in the schools.

Notes

1. As integration became more prevalent throughout the country, it was only in athletics

that black students continued to participate in representative numbers. Granted, there was a decrease in the actual number of blacks participating, but as with previous white schools, many of the third- and fourth-string players were included only to "fill out" the team's roster. Athletic programs, unlike music programs, are frequently motivated by political pressure to win, so many coaches are more concerned with a player's ability than his or her color. Also, athletic programs have embraced the athletic training provided by nonschool programs (i.e., Little League baseball, Pop Warner football, community and neighborhood basketball and track programs). School music programs, on the other hand, have viewed their nonschool music counterparts as negative competition or as lacking in educational value.

2. Although such activities are not part of this discussion, integration also reduced the opportunity for numbers of black students to participate in a myriad of high school activities such as student council, school newspaper, drama clubs, yearbook staff, and so on.

3. Carter, Warrick L. "Teachers for the Urban Students" in *Methods and Perspectives in Urban Music Education*, ed. by C. E. Hicks, J. A. Standifer, and W. L. Carter. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1983.

4. Goldberg, Miriam. "Adapting Teacher Style to Pupil Differences: Teachers for Disadvantaged Children," in *Education of the Disadvantaged*, ed. by A. H. Passow, M. Goldberg and A. J. Tannenbaum. New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston, 1967.

5. *Music Educators Journal* 57:5. January, 1970. (pp. 105-111).