Action, Criticism & Theory for Music Education

The refereed journal of the

Volume 10, No. 1
August 2011

Patrick Schmidt
Guest Editor

Electronic Article

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ISSN 1545-4517

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After writing a first draft of this article, a group of colleagues asked me to explain what I meant by "urban music." I tried to avoid answering the question by pointing out that the purpose of the essay was in fact to challenge prevailing ideas of what is urban music in order to expand normative conceptions of urban music education. They pushed back and suggested that I should specify what I mean by the dominant view of urban music. Looking for a concise and presumably "authentic" answer, I went to my nine-year-old daughter, Mercedes Irene. She answered with a heavily inflected "Yo, yo, yo, my name is Joe!" as she lifted her arms sideways into an arch and "popped" her elbows, moving her hands in and out with her middle and heart fingers toward her chest. Since we do not have cable-TV, I suspect Mercedes was imitating the versions of hip hop delivered through the "Pop It!" segments of TVOKids, the children's television programming of Ontario's public television. I wasn't surprised that she connected hip hop and the "yo, yo, yo" expression to the phrase "urban music," but when I asked her, she used the words "rock," "pop," "disco," "rap," and "hip hop" to explain what she meant by urban music. I was surprised by the range of genres my nine-year-old daughter assumed to fit under the label "urban music" and the fact that as a whole, her references were not narrowly racialized, as I had expected.

Incredulous, I decided to take a more "academic" approach, and searched for the source of the term; it turns out Mercedes was actually correct. The term "urban contemporary music" was first coined by New York radio DJ Frankie Crocker in the late 1970s, in an attempt to attract more advertisers and maintain the rating of the very successful New York radio station, WBLS (Barlow 1999, Simpson 2005, Sterling & Keith 2008, Williams 1995, 2000). Crocker, who began his career as a "black power" radio DJ, became program director of WBLS in 1972, and established it as the premiere "Total Black Experience in Sound" radio station. According to black-radio historian William Barlow (1999), the success of the

Gaztambide-Fernández, Rubén A. 2011. Musicking in the city: Reconceptualizing urban music education as cultural practice. *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 10(1): 15–46.
http://act.maydaygroup.org/articles/Gaztambide-Fernández 10_1.pdf

all-black music format "brought in advertising billings, but it also spawned imitators." Barlow continues:

> To maintain WBLS's momentum and ratings, Crocker began to add to the playlist white artists who ranked high on the pop charts and whose sound was compatible with the current black popular music: Elton John, Bette Midler, Boz Scaggs, Hall and Oates. By the mid-1970s, "The Total Black Experience in Sound" had become "The Total Experience in Sound." … This new crossover format would soon become known as "urban contemporary" in the radio industry. (235)[1]

By the mid-1980s, the urban contemporary format was part of the radio mainstream, expanding from stations catering primarily to black audiences, into "[adult contemporary] soft rock operations seeking a youthful audience, including blacks, Hispanics, and White—the 'melting pot' format, as it was also called" (Sterling & Keith 2008, 165).

Descriptions of the urban contemporary format, however, remain strongly grounded on the assumption that it is based on musical styles associated with African Americans, such as R&B, soul, hip hop, rap, and reggae.[2] This association is important because it suggests that the replacement of the term "black" with the term "urban" in relationship to the emergence of "urban contemporary music" as a category had a double effect. It allowed radio stations to attract a wider audience (and thus advertisements) by dislodging the association of a specific radio format with the radical race politics that informed its emergence (Barlow 1999, Simpson 2005). "They call it urban contemporary so they don't have to call it black," explained the once famed R&B radio DJ Georgie Woods: "they change the name from black radio to urban contemporary so that it will attract a lot of white people, so that it can make a lot of money" (quoted in Barlow 1999, 235). At the same time, by mobilizing the term urban, in relationship to black music, the move at once masked while also underscoring the powerful link between "urban" as a particular space inhabited by particular groups and "urban" as a particular set of cultural—in this case musical—practices; while perhaps not all urban music was necessarily black, all contemporary black music was presumably urban.[3]

There are good reasons why rap music in particular has a strong association with the "urban" as a certain space (Forman 2000). After all, as Tricia Rose (1994) demonstrates, it was the particular context of the 1970s postindustrial city that "provided the context for creative development among hip hop's earliest innovators" (34). According to George Lipsitz (1994), early rap artists like Afrika Bambaataa were:

> confronted by the ways in which displacement by urban renewal, economic recession, and the fiscal crisis of the state combined to create desperate circumstances for inner-

> city youths, [and] tried to channel the anger and enthusiasm of young people in the South Bronx away from gang fighting and into music, dance, and graffiti. (26)

I will return to this point later as an illustration of the radical possibilities of cultural practice as a site for immanent transformation. Here, I want to briefly highlight the powerful role that the media has had in manipulating the symbolic content of the term "urban music" for profit.

DJ Crocker may have been the first, but was not the only to realize that the idea of "urban music" could make for profitable media marketing. As the history of the term "urban contemporary" as a radio format illustrate, media outlets have a great deal to gain from the manipulation of terminology and images as these are commodified in order to secure rankings and maximize profit. In his documentary series *Dreamworlds*, Sut Jhally (2007) argues that media corporations play an enormous role in the propagation of a narrow set of images and ideas associated with hip hop, particularly about gender and sexuality.[4] The overwhelming insistence on making connections between rap and violence has translated into a conspicuous overflow of narrow images of rap as the quintessential urban music. Guns, pimps covered in bling, fragments of naked women, sexual violence and exploitation, have become the scope of the imagery in commercial urban music. Mainstream media has had a powerful near monopoly over the construction of images and ideas associated with the phrase "urban music," and in the process, it has "necessarily leavened" its potential as a site for productive expression (Rose 1994, 139).

Even for the most progressive educators, to speak of urban music is to refer to a narrow set of musical genres associated with the umbrella term "hip hop" (e.g. Morrell & Duncan-Andrade 2002, Stovall 2006). The "hip hop generation" is the moniker of an entire segment of urban youth presumed to be adept at breaking, popping, and locking, able to recite along with JayZ, Lil'Kim, 2Pac, Foxy Brown, PDiddy, 50Cent, or Queen Latifah, and to consume hours of MTV and/or BET; rap has become the scope of urban music. But what precisely is this "urban" in urban music? What is it that the term signifies and how does it accomplish the semiotic task of displacing while also underscoring race and class as markers of the urban and, by extension, urban music? Moreover, in what ways is the concept of "urban music" both a constraint and an opportunity for urban music education?

In this essay I want to suggest that music educators—particularly those working in "urban" classrooms and committed to social justice—need to work both *with* and *against* the prevailing narrow conception of the "urban" that shapes the way we think about both urban

music and urban education. Drawing on insights from contemporary cultural and critical race theory, I want to propose an expanded definition of the urban as cultural practice, and point to the possibilities that such a framework might offer for a reconceptualization of urban music education.[5] In order to do this, I will move deliberately between two different ways of framing urban music education, one that privileges "urban music" and another that privileges "urban education." Within music education scholarship, writing about urban music education has tended to focus on the practices of music educators working in the context of urban classrooms (e.g. Allsup 1997, Fiese & DeCarbo 1995, Frierson-Campbell 2006). As such, this scholarship tends to either take for granted or entirely ignore the urban music part of the urban music education equation. Likewise, theorists of "urban music" often take for granted and lack a complex understanding of the music education part of the same equation and often ignore music-making altogether (e.g. Stovall 2006). My aim in this essay is to juxtapose these two ways of theorizing urban music education as a way to rehearse a different performance of the urban in urban music education.

Recasting the "Urban" in Urban Music Education

Perhaps the easiest way to define the term "urban" is in reference to "a geographical area that is densely populated in comparison to areas around" (Foster 2007, 771). This is the definition that the US Census Bureau uses to determine whether a particular census "block" is defined as "urban."[6] Defining the urban as a concrete region allows social scientists to make observations about the material conditions of those spaces, how resources are (unequally) distributed, and how this inequality is enforced through concrete spatial arrangements (Davis 2006, Massey 1993). This materialist approach also helps us see the significance of race in the construction of the urban by illustrating how racialized bodies are distributed in space in ways that correlate with material distribution (Davis 2006). Highlighting the overlap between race and class in the constitution of the urban, this approach helps us "understand the 'urban' . . . as a concrete place, whose racial an economic formation is material" (Leonardo & Hunter 2007, 779).

A materialist conception of the urban is an important starting point because it illuminates at least two crucial characteristics of the urban: proximity and inequality. The density of the city defines the urban as a space of proximity in which bodies are brought into close contact with each other through agglomeration. In urban spaces, we rub shoulders in

subways and narrow sidewalks, we walk in unison side by side with strangers on crossroads, we stand in long lines at grocery stores and fight for parking space. Our movement in the urban space is calculated and organized by the grid of streets and city blocks, lines on the road, signs and lights directing our movement. Yet, this proximity is also unequally distributed; while some people live in small and poorly maintained apartments, sometimes with multiple families, other people live in spacious and luxurious apartments or houses, some times one of multiples homes; while some people survive by taking care of children in multiple families, others hire multiple people to take care of their children and families. This inequality, in the context of relative proximity, is part of what defines the city. However, as Michele Foster (2007) argues, this materialist definition is only partly helpful because it fails to account for the fact that "the spatial location is not fixed to a particular geographic location" (765). A materialist conception leaves out the meanings associated with the idea of the urban.

Zeus Leonardo and Margaret Hunter (2007) suggest that while it is certainly helpful to think about the urban as "real insofar as it is demarcated by zones, neighborhoods, and policies . . . it is imagined to the extent that it is replete with meaning, much of which contains contradictions as to exactly what the urban signifies" (779). Leonardo and Hunter point to the ways in which the urban is imagined both positively and negatively; it is imagined positively through the notion of the *urbane*—the center of civilization, cultural refinement, and progress—and it is imagined negatively—as a place of decay, poverty, and danger. The authors provide a discussion of three different ways in which the urban is imagined: the sophisticated urban space, the urban as a place of authenticity, and the urban as jungle.

The sophisticated urban is characterized by the imagery of the urbane, the cultured, and the civilized. It is illustrated in the imagery of glamour and sophistication that is central to popular TV shows like "Sex and the City." In the sophisticated city, young, energetic, and mostly white and financially stable subjects enjoy the glamour of the urbane. Imagining the urban as a space of authenticity involves the reification of particular conceptions of cultural identity that are attached to specific urban places. This conception of the urban as authenticity can be both a source of positive identification as well as negative constraint. On the one hand,

> For many people of color … urban spaces are home; that is where they grew up or live, where they return to visit family if they moved away, where they go for ethnic-specific groceries or for their own ethnic restaurants, where they get their hair done

> … Because urban areas are home to so many people of color, both literally and figuratively, there is an abundance of images of urban areas as romantic, nurturing, accepting havens from a cold outside (read: suburban) world. (Leonardo and Hunter 2007, 785)

On the other hand, imagining the urban as the source of "authenticity" produces narrow conceptions of what it means to be a "real" Latino/a or to be "really" black. These narrow conceptions of what it means to be an "authentic" person of color do not reflect the experiences of the large majority of people who identify as black, Latino/a, Asian, or with any other "racial" or "ethnic" category. Instead, these notions of authenticity, many of which respond to the narrowly essentialist ways people of color are represented in the media, have a negative effect on the lives of individuals who are "not authentic enough for their own social group, not White enough for the mainstream" (Leonardo & Hunter 2007, 787; see also D. Carter 2008, P. Carter 2005, Gaztambide-Fernández & DiAquoi 2010).

Leonardo and Hunter (2007) offer the racist metaphor of the "urban jungle" to describe how "people imagine their city centers as teeming with Black, Brown, and Yellow bodies, which are poor, dirty, criminal and dangerous. Gangs, violence, and drugs are closely tied to any image of the urban for most people" (789). This imaginary corresponds to the dominant representation of urban music that is dispersed through media outlets and that promotes the notion that, as Leonardo and Hunter aptly point out, "*Blacks are a rap video*, complete with the accompanying expectations that they should behave in such a manner" (786, italics in original). The image of the "urban jungle" is crucial for two reasons. First, it is both the most artificial and narrowly constructed image of the urban, and at the same time it is the most widespread, as it constitutes the central metaphor with—and some times against—which media representations of people of color are constructed and consumed. Second, the image of the "urban jungle" and its attendant "culture of poverty"[7] is central to how many educators and policymakers "view students in urban areas [and] how they think the kids and their families got there to begin with" (Leonardo & Hunter 2007, 789). As Leonardo and Hunter explain, many social scientists:

> Construct behavior in ghettos and barrios as out of control, and that the people living there are pathological and culturally deviant from the mainstream. … Some of these researchers have argued that there is an "under class culture" that encourages laziness, joblessness (read: welfare dependence), victimhood, lack of personal responsibility (thus the Welfare Reform Act), instant gratification (read: illegal activities), irresponsibly sexual behavior, and a lack of family values. (789)[8]

I will return to this image later, when I consider its consequences for how we think about urban education in general and urban music education in particular. Here I want to underscore that the urban is partly constituted in the dialectical relationship between real economic and racial inequality, and the ways in which the urban is imagined.

Materially, the dramatic disparities of wealth articulated in the contrasts between financial centers like Wall Street (New York) and Bay Street (Toronto), and the poverty of the so called "inner city" are obscured when the latter is imagined as the definition of the urban. In this way, the role of wealth and economic inequality in the production of poverty is made invisible and the poor themselves are cast as responsible for their predicament. In turn, urban poverty is racialized, not because there are no poor "whites," but because, in the words of philosopher and critical race theorist David Theo Goldberg (1993), "the *racial* slum is doubly determined, for the metaphorical stigma of a black blotch on the cityscape bears the added connotations of moral degeneracy, natural inferiority, and repulsiveness" (191–2, italics in original). The dynamic overlaps between the material and the symbolic produce what Goldberg calls "periphractic space," in which "the racial poor [are] simultaneously rendered peripheral in terms of urban location and marginalized in terms of power" (188).[9] At the same time, these contradictions open up cracks of possibility that are only rendered visible through the daily lives and practices of the people who inhabit the "urban." Indeed, while the force of material and symbolic conditions circumscribes how the urban is constituted, the space itself is produced through practices that usually reproduce, but sometimes redefine, existing arrangements (Lefebvre 1991).

In his widely cited chapter "Walking in the City," French philosopher Michele de Certeau (1984) brings into view how *the city* is made in and through the daily practices of those who dwell in *the urban*. The city emerges from a modernist "utopian and urbanistic discourse" that orders and ordains through "classificatory operations" that impose a functionalist rationality (94). Yet, for de Certeau, the practices that make the city are open to reinterpretation and transgression, even as they are solidified through repetition. De Certeau makes a distinction between the *concept* of the city (the idea of organized or planned space) and the *urban fact*, by which he refers to the practices that constitute the space that the concept of the "city" seeks to manage. The "city" is a mechanistic organism that manages the excesses and profits of a system that also produces poverty and waste. This is important

because it highlights the link between the excesses of the "sophisticated urban" and the material conditions that limit and dialectically define the image of the "urban jungle."

For de Certeau (1984), the urban space is constituted through "a swarming mass" of footsteps that "cannot be counted because each unit has a qualitative character: a style of tactile apprehension and kinesthetic appropriation. . . .Their intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together" (97). The walker "actualizes" the set of possibilities that the city organizes, "but [s/he] also moves them about and [s/he] invents others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of the walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements" (98). Through the rhetoric of walking, the city is made by the interminable collection of people in search of a place as they "make some parts of the city disappear and exaggerate others, distorting it, fragmenting it, and diverting it from its immobile order" (102). De Certeau helps us understand the intersection between the materiality of the urban, how we imagine the urban, and how we actually interact and in the process produce urban space (see also Lefebvre 1991).

MUSICKING IN THE CITY

Drawing on de Certeau's conception of the city, allow me to take you on a musical tour of the city in which I live: Toronto.

There is a park at the end of my street, where I take my dog for a walk every morning. As soon as I get to the park around 9am, the first music I hear comes from a small boom box playing Shanghai traditional songs to accompany the morning Tai Chi session, sometimes with the backdrop of a city-owned lawnmower. On my way to the subway, I have a choice of two coffee shops, one where the music is usually Canadian soft rock or alternative—Feist, Alex Cuba, or the Barenaked Ladies, and another where the barista is fond of the old New York salsa of the Fania All Star. Once in the subway station, music becomes a private affair. I can't guess what others are listening to, but I can tell you my playlist usually includes: Caetano Veloso, Calle 13, Juan Luisa Guerra, Prince, Gema y Pavel, Mima, Ben Harper, Silvio Rodríguez, Oscar Peterson, Tumi & the Volume, and OutKast—"Take Off Your Cool" with Norah Jones is a personal favorite.[10] The only sound that leaks through my earphones are the three notes of a major chord arpeggio announcing that the doors are about to close and the voice that announces the next stop.

When I walk to the street outside my University building, I can see people carrying trombones, cellos, saxophones, and other instruments on their way to the Royal Conservatory of Music, where a banner of sitar player and composer Anoushka Shankar (daughter of Ravi Shankar and half-sister of Norah Jones) hangs from the roof of the recently minted Telus Centre for Performing Arts and Learning. If I walk south toward Chinatown, eventually I make it to the urban bohemian district of Kensington Market, where the voice of Angela Dimitriou singing modern Greek laïka out of the cheese shop blends with Jimmy Cliff singing roots reggae out of the second hand clothes and hemp shop, and if you are lucky, you can catch folk singer/songwriter Bob Snider busking on Baldwin Street. Just a few blocks south, the Four Seasons Centre houses the Canadian Opera Company and the National Ballet of Canada, and Roy Thomson Hall houses the Toronto Symphony Orchestra.

From their very beginning, symphony orchestras have been an urban institution, even before the orchestra at the Mannheim School. Today, the "Big Five"—New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Cleveland—are all in major urban regions. Indeed, some might argue that a symphony orchestra is necessary for a city to call itself such. Jazz clubs, too, are a quintessential urban space, as are other concert venues, from the grandiose Madison Square Garden, to the local spoken word café. Music conservatories are also usually located in cities, as are arts magnet schools, which are primarily an urban phenomenon (Wilson 2001). And of course, the entire repertoire of rhythm and blues and hip hop styles are typically labeled "urban," whether the music is made by people who actually grew up or live in cities or not. The imagery associated with this music is stereotypically urban.

Despite the narrow image of urban music that corporations have been successful at marketing to great profits, the musical practices that constitute the urban space are as diverse and different from each other as the very people that make the city not only in their walking, but also in their *musicking*.[11] The musical practices refracted through the urban kaleidoscope range from the digital versioning of the remix through the neat opulence of the opera house and the symphony orchestra. Allowing for the full spectrum of musical practices that are present in a city like Toronto requires that we reconsider and perhaps recast what precisely we mean by "urban" music.

The framework presented above for thinking about the urban in terms of the material, the imaginary, and as a practice is helpful in this regard. While it is true that the music of the city includes a large range of genres, it is not true that access to these genres is available to a

large range of people. This is not just a question of having the money to buy tickets to the symphony, but about the ways in which the organization of the city unequally distributes and delimits access to different kinds of music (Atkinson 2007). For Goldberg (1993), this inequality is caused by the spatial circumscription and the "limitation in terms of access—to power, to (the realization of) rights, and to goods and services" entailed in periphractic spaces:

> The process of spatial circumscription may be intentional or structural: They may be imposed by planners upon urban design at a specific time and place, or they may be insinuated into the forms of spatial production and inherent in the terms of social rationalization.

In short, while the city offers a lot of opportunities, it doesn't offer them up just to anyone, anywhere, or any time. And the "circumscribing fences," as Goldberg puts it, "may be physical or imagined" (188). This is important because what is imagined as urban shapes, by extension, how urban music is imagined. In the sophisticated urban, attending a concert at the Philharmonic and dancing at a posh nightclub are part of what constitutes the life of the young and urbane. The urban as authentic insists that certain kinds of music authentically "belong" to particular kinds of people, and to engage anything else would be deemed inauthentic. The music of the urban jungle is the only one that requires the urban label, because anything else—classical music in particular—is simply deemed music, as no label needs to be added to identify what is taken for granted as normal (see Apple 2004, Kumashiro 2009).

Yet, people do not go musicking in the city following the rules of distribution that the urban imaginary prescribes. In fact, people engage musical practices much like they walk in the city, reacting to "an ensemble of possibilities (e.g. by a place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g. by a wall that prevents one from going further)" (de Certeau 1984, 98). New genres that combine musical styles through practices like remix and video mash ups respect no rules; indeed thrive in breaking them (see Campbell 2009). Urban music educators might think about their work in these terms. If what they do as "urban music educators" (both educators of urban music as well as music educators in the urban space) is meant to interrupt the dynamics of marginalization that manifest in the city, it is important to consider the full spectrum of materials, meanings, and practices that define the urban soundscape (Atkinson 2007). But before exploring this further, I would like to say a few things about the implications of the definition above for how we think about urban education.

SCHOOLING IN THE CITY

The "urban" question has been of concern to scholars since the growth of public schooling and the establishment of education as a field of study. Jane Addams (1909), in her essays on the education of immigrant children and her work in inner city Chicago slums, is perhaps one of the first to pursue the question of the conditions that shape urban education and to develop a set of ideas about how to address them. Yet, the schooling of city dwellers was not a challenge unique to Addams' time or to the experiences of the urban poor in the early twentieth century. In fact, the earliest city schools were not public schools or tenement houses serving the urban poor, but independent day schools (often called "Academies") serving the wealthiest families (Sizer 1964). The oldest schools in the United States—one private, Collegiate School (1628) in New York, and one public, Boston Latin (1635)—were founded by and for local elites. In New York City, the member schools of the Ivy Prep League, Trinity School (1709), The Ethical Culture Fieldston School (1878), Poly Prep School (1854), The Horace Mann School (1887), Hackley (1899) Riverdale (1907), and Dalton (1919), were all founded by wealthy elites and today serve primarily the children of the families that can afford the expensive tuitions.

It is crucial to understand that these elite schools are also "urban schools," and that they play a critical role as such. More than urban, these schools may have been described as "urbane," in the sense that they reflect the "sophisticated urban" imaginary that Leonardo and Hunter (2007) describe. But what is often missed is that contemporary interpretations of urban and urbane are intimately linked to each other and in many ways define each other, not by similarity, but by negation. Urban is that which urbane is not; urbane schools provide what urban schools cannot. The interrelationship between elite private schools and poor urban schools is material (e.g. elite private schools spend more than five times the amount of money per pupil than public schools), imaginary (e.g. elite private schools are "sophisticated urban" while urban public schools are part of the "urban jungle"), and is made in practice (e.g. the pathways that lead some children to elite private schools and others to urban public schools are distinct and rarely overlap).

To underscore the connection between elite private and urban public schools, imagine for a moment what might be the policy implications if the wealthiest people in places like Toronto or New York City were required to send their children to pre-assigned urban public

schools. What if elite private schools like those listed above were required to reflect the urban demographic profile of the city, both in terms of race and class? Of course, if either of these were true, the system as we know it would not exist, which underscores the fact that the advantages of some are intimately connected to the disadvantages of others.

This important detail is often missed in the way questions about urban education—and by extension urban music education—are posed, by assuming that the term urban always refers to poor communities, particularly communities of color, that have come to define the image of the "urban jungle." This imaginary has had dire material as well as practical consequences for the lives of children in urban public schools. As Leonardo and Hunter (2007) point out, "because so many people subscribe to the racist notion that urban areas are 'jungles', …many people perceive children in urban areas as hopeless, going nowhere, unworthy, and without value or potential. In a word, they are 'uneducable'" (789). Leonardo and Hunter suggest that this imaginary has produced a wide range of diverging policy responses, most of which have done little to address the inadequacies of urban public schooling. Instead, they argue:

> Re-imagining urban schooling takes a concerted effort to recast its conditions neither as a gift of progress nor its underbelly for some unfortunate people. It requires a radical shift in urban planning, economic base, and schooling infrastructure. But consistent with this essay's thesis, it also necessitates an equally radical questioning of the way educators and concerned people currently imagine the urban form a place of decline to a place of possibility. (797)

Re-Imagining Urban Music Education

Music teachers in urban schools, much like the large majority of educators in the United States, take the "urban jungle" as the dominant image of the urban. The following quote from one music educator denotes this view of "the *nature* of urban life" that afflicts a "growing number of urban centers" where "urban schools are frequently underfunded, understaffed, and over-populated":

> The campuses are often located in economically depressed areas where hope has become little more than a word and where neglect, indifference, decay, and even hatred—toward others and toward oneself—are such daily realities that some might consider them to be part of a normal existence. Sometimes these urban areas are little more than incubators of indifference; they can scarcely be said to be an appropriate environment for children's education. (Hinckley 1995, 32)

In a 1995 article, Richard Fiese and Nicholas DeCarbo report their findings from a study of urban music teachers' views of their experiences in urban schools. Fiese and

DeCarbo observe that the pre-service education these teachers received "prepared them for teaching the 'ideal' student and left them unprepared for the reality of urban schools, where most of the students do not conform to the ideal" (28). While the authors do not take the time to explain how they (or the teachers) imagine this *ideal student*, the imaginary of the "urban jungle" and the related assumptions about race and class are evident:

> According to these urban teachers, more training is required to help prospective music teachers deal with some of the complex emotions of students from *differing* social and economic backgrounds. A particular concern is dealing with students affected by various types of family situations or crises such as single-parent or no-parent households, children having the responsibility for raising other siblings, teenage pregnancies, students ejected from their homes, and custody battles. (28, italics added).

In order to mediate some of the effects of these events in students' lives, the authors argue that teachers "would benefit from increased attention to student *differences*, *differing* life styles, classroom and rehearsal management, and methods for demonstrating to students and parents that they are valued as individuals irrespective of race, economic status, or other external conditions" (28, italics added).

I have italicized the words "differing" and "differences" in order to ask the question: differing from what? Who is this "ideal student" that these urban students *differ* from? This is not just a matter of recognizing subtle differences between the students present within a given urban classroom. Rather, the reference to the "ideal student" reveals that the "reality of urban schools" is constructed in opposition to the normalized ideal implied in most pre-service teacher education. Indeed, poor students of color are implied in how urban students are imagined, while the "ideal" student—and most likely the teacher—is imagined as white and middle-class and surrounded by "external conditions" that are presumed to be conducive to "an appropriate environment for children's education," as suggested by Hinckley (1995, 32) in the earlier quote.

However, approaches to music education in urban schools (as opposed to urban music in schools, as I will discuss later), do reflect a wide range of ideas and images of the urban and of what it means to teach music. I begin this section by highlighting two contrasting approaches that have become central in urban music education, one that I will refer to as the "civilizing" approach, and a second that I will call the "culturalist" approach. Both of these approaches draw heavily on the imaginaries described by Leonardo and Hunter (2007). In the first, the task of urban music educators is to bring the musical glories of the "sophisticated

urban" to *civilize* the "urban jungle," while in the second, the task is to foster the imagined "*cultural* authenticity" of those that inhabit the "urban jungle." The answers provided by the teachers that Fiese and DeCarbo (1995) interviewed are illustrative of these two dominant views of urban music education. The second part of this section discusses a third (critical) and fourth (production) approaches to urban music in schools.

THE CIVILIZING APPROACH

One of the teachers in Fiese and DeCarbo's (1995) essay offers the following response regarding strategies that he found effective:

> Since any background in music is woefully absent, any activity involving listening to, performing, or reading about music subjects seems to be effective. Most students particularly respond to performances by professional musicians brought into the school or going to an orchestra hall to hear professional performances. (Teacher quoted in 29)

Given the ubiquity of popular music in the lives of urban youth, it would stand to reason that the music that is "woefully absent" from the lives of his students is a particular kind of music; presumably the kind of music performed in orchestra halls and professional performances. To be an "effective" music teacher is to expose the children of the urban jungle to the (real) music of the "sophisticated urban." For another teacher, listening to "college and professional bands" and attending concerts of the Chicago Symphony are ways to ensure high standards of musicianship, again underscoring that the importance of the *right* kind of music for teaching in urban settings. The views of these teachers are hardly surprising, as they reflect what Lee Bartel (2004) refers to as the traditional "music education paradigm." This paradigm is evident in the way Fiese and DeCarbo (1995) describe the practices of the teachers they interviewed, which include:

> a variety of music teaching experiences providing a wide range of instructional foci, from traditional instrumental and vocal ensemble performance classes (band, orchestra, choir, and piano, for example) and traditional nonperformance classes (general music, music theory, and music history, for example) to selected specialty courses (music for foreign-born students and multicultural music, for example). (27)

Ironically, while it is possible to describe these practices as diverse, they are also strikingly narrow, with a focus on performance that takes a singular and limiting idea of what it means to be a musician as a starting point (Gaztambide-Fernández 2010).

This *civilizing* approach to urban music education takes for granted the hierarchical relationship between various kinds of music, in which "urban music" is hardly considered

music at all, at least not music worthy of the music education classroom. The purpose of music education is to bring the civilizing power of "real" (i.e. classical, or at least professional) music to the lives of urban children. The dominance of this view is most aptly illustrated in the international praise and recognition of "El sistema," the Venezuelan music program developed by José Antonio Abreu, which has been recognized by UNESCO and emulated around the world. For Abreu (2009),

> The spontaneity music has excludes it as a luxury item and makes it a patrimony of society. … The idea is that the families join with pride and joy in the activities of the orchestras and the choirs their children belong to. The huge spiritual world that music produces in itself, which also lies within itself, ends up overcoming material poverty. From the minute a child's taught how to play an instrument, he's no longer poor. He becomes a child in progress heading for a professional level, who'll later become a full citizen. Needless to say that music is the number one prevention against prostitution, violence, bad habits, and everything degrading in the life of a child.[12]

Putting aside the question of whether playing the violin or the clarinet can actually feed the hungry or shelter the homeless—literally, not figuratively—what I want to note here is the underlying belief that as a "patrimony" of human civilization, European classical music can single handedly fix social ills and bring beauty to the presumably ugly lives of the poor, filled with "prostitution, violence, bad habits, and everything degrading." Harking back to the ideas of Matthew Arnold (1869), this view reflects the discourse of the arts and the artist as "cultural civilizer" that has been central to contemporary notions of the arts in education and to the music education paradigm (Gaztambide-Fernández 2008, 2010).[13] In the context of urban schools, this view of music education highlights the "perception of the ghetto as a pathological place marked by a profound disorganization, criminal character, and moral malaise" (Leonardo & Hunter 2007, 780). In this "urban jungle," the cure for the culture of poverty is the culture of the affluent, whom ironically benefit the most from keeping the poor exactly where they are.

THE CULTURALIST APPROACH

For the participants in Fiese and DeCarbo's (1995) study, "incorporating a multicultural curriculum" was a key strategy for improving urban music education; "it was noted that due to the increasing diversity of the urban student population, multicultural education is uniquely suited to the urban environment" (29).[14] Hinckley (1995) describes programs that include:

> gospel choirs, salsa bands, mariachi bands, and synthesizer ensembles [that] capture and nurture the diverse interests of inner-city students. These nontraditional music

> experiences are often very important to urban children, who come from very diverse cultural backgrounds, because these experiences make a connection between their lives and school. (33)

According to Hinckley, these programs should not be seen as a replacement for "regular" (i.e., not "multicultural") music programs; rather, they should be seen as extensions that provide opportunities for developing musical skills like "sight-reading, notational skills, and eventually other types of music" (33). She offers the example of an all African American string ensemble that plays Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven, which presumably are not part of the *diversity* that makes up the lives of urban students outside of schools.

What is imagined in this approach to urban music education is that students in urban schools have neatly bounded and "authentic" cultural practices that teachers can bring into the classroom (Leonardo & Hunter 2007). The recognition that all students have rich cultural lives regardless of their economic condition and that these cultural lives can be an important source of what Luis Moll and his colleagues (1992) have called "funds of knowledge" is important. It represents a departure from the perception that urban students are bereft of musical lives. Yet, as Leonardo and Hunter (2007) point out, what I am calling here a *culturalist* approach tends to project an idealized "image of Blacks, Latinos, and Asians as essentially and one-dimensionally urban" (786).

"The problem with imagining authenticity this way," Leonardo and Hunter (2007) point out, "is that it locates 'real blackness' or 'real Chicanismo' in a particular set of experiences and social locations that are not part of U.S. public school culture" (787).[15] In other words, a culturalist approach underscores the idea that "regular" (i.e., not urban, not "diverse," not Black, not Latino/a) music education is by definition "white," or dedicated to the "traditional" music program, where "traditional" is used in opposition to "ethnic" or "multicultural." Furthermore, a culturalist approach requires a notion of authenticity that freezes the cultural lives of students of color and ignores the dynamic range and variation of cultural practices that urban youth actually engage. While ostensibly a strategy for inclusion, culturalism curtails the ability of students to engage in the practice of musicking by insisting that they embrace the "authentic" representation of what is presumed as the music of their cultural heritage, whether traditionally ethnic or contemporary urban.

While both the culturalist and the civilizing approach might be familiar to music educators, particularly those working in urban schools, the next two approaches have been

much less prevalent in the music education literature. Indeed, part of the critique of the critical approach described next is that the music itself becomes secondary and is often entirely absent, particularly when non-musicians seek to integrate genres like rap focusing only on the lyrics. Because the fourth approach is focused on production, the actual making of music is much more central. However, mainstream music educators have also been slow to embrace this approach, perhaps because it deliberately de-centers the authority of the teacher and undermines "traditional" forms of music education, such as band and orchestra.

THE CRITICAL APPROACH

In his book *Against Common Sense*, Kevin Kumashiro (2009) describes his frustration with the limitations of multicultural approaches to music education. Kumashiro explains; "Too often, we teach and learn about differences in ways that are simplistic and, therefore, comforting" (82). In an attempt to disrupt his students' comfort with a narrow and stereotypical conception of non-Western music, Kumashiro challenged his students by sharing contrasting ways of locating a particular Hawaiian song in the context of Christianity and colonialism. He wanted his students to understand that different histories "can tell us not only that a culture is much more complex than we traditionally think, but also that the ways we traditionally think can be very problematic" (85).

The critical approach to music education seeks to interrupt normative and essentializing ways of thinking about culture, mainly by illuminating how power dynamics shape whether and how particular kinds of music come to be accepted as legitimate and/or authentic. Because cultural practices like music and music education evolve in a social context defined by power relations and inequality, the purpose of a critical approach is to reveal the relationship between these practices and social dynamics of domination and marginalization (e.g. Benedict & Schmidt 2007, Gould et al. 2009, Vaugeois 2007).[16] Music educators have often resisted these critical approaches noting that the music itself can some times become secondary to the critique of the social and cultural context. Furthermore, as Kumashiro (2009) himself points out, some times a critical approach to understanding the social and historical context of the music leaves untouched and unquestioned the specifics of how music itself is taught.

In recent years, some critical education scholars have turned their attention to popular culture as a way to engage students through different forms of curriculum and pedagogy (see

Gaztambide-Fernández & Gruner 2003). Some critical literacy scholars provide an important entry point into the question of what might constitute a critical approach to urban music in education (see Duncan-Andrade & Morrell 2008, Morrell 2002, Morrell & Duncan-Andrade 2002). While music education scholars who theorize urban education, such as the ones discussed earlier, view students in urban schools through a deficit model, critical education scholars who theorize urban music view their students through their cultural assets. In other words, rather than searching for ways to make up for students' lack of dispositions or "external conditions" that might be conducive to an "ideal" music education, critical educators view the cultural practices that imbue their students' life with meaning as assets and as powerful starting points. This requires the recognition that *the lives of all students are already filled with meaningful musical practices.*

Here I want to return to a point made earlier; there are good reasons why rap, as a music genre, and hip hop, as a set of cultural practices more generally, have been strongly associated with the idea of urban music. What the history of hip hop suggests is that it is fundamentally a practice of social and cultural critique. Hip hop emerged as a response to the dynamics of displacement that characterized the urban redevelopment of New York City in the 1960s and 70s (see Chang 2005, Rose 1994).

The displacement of the term "black" with the term "urban" to refer to the music of this cultural movement can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, as noted earlier, using "urban" instead of "black" can be interpreted as a strategy by radio stations for attracting white audiences and expanding the range of musical styles and artists associated with a particular radio format (Barlow 1999). On the other, the move away from "black music" reflects the fact that other youth of color, particularly Latinos/as played a critical role in the evolution of hip hop (Chang 2005, Rivera 2001). Furthermore, the term "urban" highlights that rap music was, and in many ways continues to be, a response to the way racism manifests in policies and urban (re)development strategies that are specifically intended to displace and contain the urban poor (Davis 2006, Goldberg 1993). Critical educators often note this to argue that incorporating urban music *in* education, as opposed to urban *music education,* ought to be, by definition, critical education (e.g. Dimitriadis 2001, Hill 2009, Leard & Lashua 2006, Morrell 2002, Stovall 2006).[17]

Critical literacy scholar Ernest Morrell (2002) contends that popular cultural forms like hip hop, as a form of non-school literacy practice, are an important resource through

which students can make stronger connections to the types of literacy that dominate the school curriculum (72). Furthermore, for Morrell,

> any pedagogy of popular culture has to be a critical pedagogy where students and teachers learn from and with one another while engaging in *authentic* dialogue that is centered on the experiences of urban youth as participants in and creators of popular culture. (73–4, italics added)

The same "politics of authenticity" that Leonardo and Hunter (2007) describe as one of the imaginaries of the urban and that inform the culturalist approach described above are premised in Morell's critical approach. Theorizing hip hop as a form of "culturally relevant pedagogy" often leads to the image that urban youth share some sort of *authentically* urban experience (e.g. Gay 2000). As Leonardo and Hunter (2007) explain,

> Because we view urban spaces as more authentic (e.g. more truly Black, more Latino), being "from the 'hood" takes on a particular status and meaning for many students of color. Being from the 'hood is seen as a positive and "real" experience of blackness or brownness. In other words, it requires both race and class authenticity. … Many Whites and people of color believe that exposure to the hardships of Black or Latino life is a prerequisite for an authentic ethno-racial identity. (787; see also Rivera 2001)

Drawing on postcolonial theory, some critical education scholars have challenged normative assumptions about what it means to be "authentic," particularly through the notion of critical multiculturalism (e.g. May 1999, McLaren 1995, Nieto 2002). For critical literacy scholar Sonia Nieto (2002),

> critical multiculturalism is based on *agency*, that is, the power and ability to create culture. Being cultural beings implies that we are also cultural creators and negotiators and cultural critics, struggling to develop identities that retain important insights and values while also challenging the limitations that both our native and adopted cultures may impose on us. (111–2)

What Nieto suggests is that engaging in the politics of authenticity is crucial and, in fact, unavoidable. First, a conception of shared experience for urban youth can be a source of empowerment for groups that are otherwise marginalized within the school system. Second, it demands the recognition that racism affects and deeply structures the subjective experience of racialized bodies (see Bannerji 2000, Ladson-Billings 2009, Razack 1998), which includes the conferring of privilege to bodies marked by whiteness (see Leonardo 2009, Wise 2005).[18] This is important for understanding the racialization of urban space and the ways in which race inflects the material, imaginary, and practical constitution of the urban described earlier. It is precisely because the term "urban" can, on the one hand, index blackness, while on the

other, encompass multiple (racial) imaginaries, that it makes it possible to, at once, circumvent racism, while at the same time circumscribe racial subjectivity.

Beside the politics of authenticity, the critical approach is also limited by its reliance on the notion that engagement with popular cultural texts such as hip hop can be framed in rational terms, ignoring the complexity of desire and the contradictions of subjective relationships to cultural texts. David Stovall (2006) describes these challenges and the limits of a critical approach to urban music in his account of using hip hop as an attempt to make the social studies curriculum "relevant." While encouraging "those who study hip-hop and its relevance to education to engage and investigate hip-hop's political, social, legal, and economic dynamics" (599), Stovall also notes the wide range of preferences and options students expressed in relationship to the work of different rap artists. Students offered many and often contradicting interpretations of rap lyrics, some of which challenged Stovall's own critical and politicized orientation toward rap. He acknowledges that a critical approach might also incorporate the process of writing and producing rap as part of how students engage urban music in schools.

THE CULTURAL PRODUCTION APPROACH

What Stovall's (2006) experience using rap in the social studies classroom suggests is that students often experience music in ways that cannot be rationalized without dismissing or undermining experiences of pleasure and desire. Media education scholar David Buckingham (2000) has been a staunch critic of the critical approach to media literacy, observing that critical educators often seek to impose a particular and narrow way of engaging media texts. Equally critical of conservative views of popular culture, Buckingham (1998, 2003) has argued that the notion of the "critical consumer" ignores pleasure, desire, and the complex ways in which youth consume and produce media. He observes that while some times youth produce media objects that might, at least at face value, reflect dominant ideologies and power dynamics, this does not mean that they adopt the meanings that adults impose on their work. Buckingham notes that critical educators often miss the multiple layers embedded in the productions of youth, and tend to easily dismiss what they can't interpret, or what they deem not critical enough. He advocates for an approach to media education that centers production, rather than critique, as the necessary space in which to engage youth in a

complex process of exploring not only the social, but also the subjective experiences of cultural practices.

Elsewhere, I have argued that the concept of cultural production opens up a pedagogical space within which,

> urban youth can consider how they wish to identify and self-represent. Cultural production is an opportunity to consider the complexity of the relationships and circumstances that surround students in urban schools and of their own implication in how these evolve and manifest. By placing cultural production at the center of educational experience in urban schools, we open the learning space for the possibility that students may rediscover themselves as social agents. (Gaztambide-Fernández 2007, 36)

The possibilities of a production approach to urban music education are exemplified in the *One World Youth Arts Project*, a studio music program for students at a Toronto public high school (Mantie 2008). Music education scholar Roger Mantie (2008) says the program "utilized computer software to facilitate the creation and recording of original, student-created music that might be described as popular or urban" (473). He describes the students in the program as living "in circumstances many people would consider 'underprivileged': in shelters, on the street, or in abusive households" (473). On the one hand, his description echoes the "urban jungle" image of the city, while on the other, it underscores the structures that leave some students "without advantage," as Mantie puts it, while giving others unwarranted advantage.

By putting students own musical creations at the center of the process, this production approach rejects the premise that music education should be about reproducing the work written by other (usually dead, white, and male) composers whose work is deemed legitimate music. Enabling students to draw on and to combine a range of musical genres, a production approach also avoids the culturalist implication that there are neat boundaries between "authentically ethnic" and "traditional" musical styles. While the production approach does not deliberately privilege a critical understanding of the broader social and cultural context, as Mantie (2008) points out, such reflection can sometimes emerge in the process. For Mantie, the experiences of the participants suggest "a recognition of, and empathy towards, the condition of others. The graduates I spoke with 'discovered' things about themselves through the power of music, and also wanted to use the power of music to try and better the world" (479).

A cultural production approach to urban music education underscores three interrelated dynamics of identification, *inner* exploration and redefinition, *outer* representation and relationships, and *in between* negotiation and reconstruction (Gaztambide-Fernández 2007). Mantie (2008) notes how the process of inner exploration through musical production allows students to reinvent themselves through a process of self "authoring" (Tappan & Brown 1991, quoted in Mantie 2008). When students reinvent themselves in the process of composing their own music, their outer self-representations and their relationships with those around them may also change. This is not, of course, a guaranteed or predictable outcome; the process of musical composition can just as well reinscribe as challenge racial stereotypes and marginalization. Indeed, because curriculum and pedagogy are always relationally and contextually dependent, none of the approaches described in this essay can guarantee a predictable outcome. This does not mean, however, that the goals of a particular approach are insignificant. A cultural production approach to urban music education seeks to open up "possibilities for urban youth to reorganize the symbolic content of their *outer* representations and reclaim new positions in relation to more powerful social groups" (Gaztambide-Fernández 2007, 36). Of course, neither *inner* redefinitions nor *outer* representations can become static, and it is in the very process of cultural production that lays its power as a site for transformation:

> Moving *in between* cultural boundaries that otherwise segregate and ultimately oppress, students who engage in cultural production have opportunities to dismantle those very boundaries. It is cultural production—the active engagement in reorganizing the symbolic content of our social being—that oppressive boundaries can be challenged in the search for social justice. This *in between* process requires the *inner* engagement with direct experience and the production of new *outer* representations. (Gaztambide-Fernández 2007, 36)

Conclusion: Toward a New Cultural Practice of Urban Music Education

At the end of his chapter on the spatial practice of "walking in the city," de Certeau (1984) quotes the painter Kandinsky, who dreamed of "a great city built according to all the rules of architecture and then suddenly shaken by a force that defies all calculation" (Quoted in 110). What would it mean for urban music education to be a force that defies the calculations of an educational system in which some relish in the privileges of the "urbane" while others must contend with the conditions of the "urban"? As I have argued in this essay, to answer this question it is necessary to reconceptualize urban music education in relationship to an

expanded understanding of the urban as a space that is "discursively produced and ordered" (Goldberg 1993, 185). To underscore this point, I want to return to the discussion of the different ways of defining the concept of the urban.

I have described three different approaches to conceptualizing the urban: (1) the material conception focuses on population density and highlights differences in the concrete material conditions that characterize particular demographic regions within the city; (2) the semiotic or symbolic conception focuses on how the urban is imagined and the ways in which race and class are at once highlighted and obscured within these imaginaries; and (3) the practical conception brings attention to the ways in which the city is produced through people's daily practices and routines. This third way of understanding urban space brings attention to the first two by highlighting how those who inhabit the city negotiate and make meaning of concrete (and unequal) material conditions through discursively produced racial imaginaries. This is a crucial insight for reimagining an urban music education committed to social justice because, as Goldberg (1993) insists, "racisms become institutionally normalized in and through spatial configuration, just as social space is made to seem natural, a given, by being conceived and defined in racial terms" (185). This becomes visible when we interrupt narrow constructions of both "urban music" and "urban education" that circumscribe race and class, while circumventing racism and economic inequality. Naming the broad range of musicking and schooling practices that co-exist within the city points to the central role that inequality and systems of oppression play in defining urban space.

Yet, if de Certeau is correct that it is the daily practices of people that make and remake the urban space and that it is also in these practices that transgression is possible, then what would this mean for the work of urban music educators committed to social justice? In the second half of this essay I have described four different approaches to urban music education: (1) a civilizing approach, which reflects the values of aesthetic education and what Bartel (2004) calls the "music education paradigm"; (2) a culturalist approach, which seeks to integrate the musical traditions of different cultural groups as part of music education; (3) a critical approach, which focuses on revealing the oppressive structures that shape different musical practices and how these practices can be a form of cultural resistance; and (4) a cultural production approach, which redirects attention to students' subjective experiences of musical practices through the actual making/composing of music.

While my own bias toward these four approaches is probably evident in the way I have described and critiqued (or not) these four approaches, here I want to underscore that none of them can guarantee any particular outcome. Whether aiming to transmit dominant values, integrate cultural diversity, reveal oppressive structures, or transform subjective experience, when and in what ways students actually engage and experience these approaches is a matter of relationships and context. Perhaps there are ways in which particular approaches—or combinations of approaches—to music education are more or less favorable for a commitment to social justice in particular contexts and with particular students.

At the same time, the main point of this essay has been that a commitment to social justice requires that urban music educators transgress and interrupt the imaginaries that inscribe inequality in the very idea of the urban. These imaginaries are often made manifest in the very practices that constitute traditional approaches to music education in the city, such as the civilizing and the culturalist approaches. This is not to say that such approaches preclude a commitment to social justice. Rather, music educators committed to social justice might engage these approaches while integrating a critical stance toward the underlying cultural logics that inform them (Gaztambide-Fernández 2008). For example, rethinking the very concept of urban music to include the full range of musical practices that co-exist within the city also requires an interruption of the boundary between what is typically considered "art" and "popular" music (Gaztambide-Fernández 2007); what is considered the music of the "sophisticated urban" and the music of the "urban jungle." The sociology of the arts demonstrates that these boundaries are socially constructed and that they represent primarily a justification for inequality (Bourdieu 1984, 1993).

Context also matters a great deal for whether and in what ways music educators engage these approaches differently. Music teachers in "urbane" (i.e. elite private and public) schools might engage these approaches in ways that expose privilege while at the same time challenging students to explore their subjective experiences through different musical practices. However, while working with students in privileged schools is important, this cannot overshadow the critical importance of engaging marginalized students in under-resourced schools through music education. Goldberg (1993) underscores the importance of these "'given' peripheral places as sites of affirmative resistance":

> It is in the final analysis only on and *from* these sites, the social margins, that the battles of resistance will be waged, the fights for full recognition of freedoms, interests, claims and powers, for the autonomy of registered voices, and the insistence

> upon fully incorporated social institutions, resources, *spaces*. After all … not only to move from but equally to transform one's space and its representations—may well be to change one's world. (205, italics in original)

Both the critical and the cultural production approach to urban music education explicitly seek to interrupt the "dislocation, displacement, and division" implied in the periphractic space that produces racial marginality within urban geographies (Goldberg 1993). "Without guarantees," to quote cultural theorist Stuart Hall's (1986) famous words, music educators engaging these approaches can deliberately seek to open up opportunities for a process of inner redefinition through which multiple selves *might be* explored and expressed in an attempt to change the "given." Through these approaches, music teachers can invite students to recreate images of themselves without re-circulating dominant relations. While the means are not always the same (because they are not equally available or necessarily appropriate), when students "compose" their own musical practices, these inner manifestations have the *potential* to be shared with outer worlds in an attempt to reconfigure common relationships based on hierarchical social orders. To put it otherwise, it is possible to jump the circumscribing fences of periphractic space, because "the inevitable gaps in urban order nevertheless provide the soil for cultural proliferation" (Goldberg 1993, 188).

To engage in this cultural proliferation, the new cultural practice of urban music education requires that *all* students be allowed—and encouraged—to defy the "authentic," by "dubbing" the material, "remixing" the imaginary, and "mashing-up" the practices of every day life that constitute the urban. This approach to urban music *in* education is already evolving in places like São Paulo (Pardue 2007), Toronto (Campbell 2009, Mantie 2008), Philadelphia (Hill 2009), and San Francisco (Akom 2009).[19] It is high time for music educators working in urban schools to embrace a new cultural practice of urban music education, or risk continued irrelevance in the lives of urban youth.

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Notes

[1] Barlow argues that Crocker's music programming responded mainly to the demands of the market. However, Kim Jefferson Simpson (2005) argues that Crocker had a much more nuanced view of the very purpose of radio music. She quotes an interview with *Radio and Records* to argue that Crocker's "programming decisions had to [do] with his audience's self image in relation to white audiences" (245), as opposed to a narrow concern with marketing and advertising.

[2] See for instance the definitions offered in popular sources such as Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Urban_contemporary &oldid=324451650) and

Encyclopedia Britannica (http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/619429/urban-contemporary-music).

[3] Even musical practices associated with the past and the rural south, such as blues and spirituals, are often subsumed under the label urban, in part because these styles were crucial precursors to the evolution of the general category of "rhythm and blues" or R&B.

[4] See also Byron Hurt's 2006 documentary, *Hip Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes*.

[5] I use the term "reconceptualization" purposefully in reference to the reconceptualist turn in curriculum studies (Pinar 2000). Reconceptualist curriculum theory has had little influence in music education in general.

[6] Michele Foster (2007) quotes the 2005 US Census Bureau, which "defines an urban area as: 'Core census block groups or blocks that have a population density of at least 1,000 people per square mile … and surrounding census blocks that have an overall density of at least 500 people per square mile.'" (771).

[7] Anthropologist Oscar Lewis (1963, 1966) coined the term "culture of poverty" to describe the life of slum dwellers and immigrants from Puerto Rico and Mexico. Lewis was the first to propose the thesis that poor communities remain poor because of their cultural values, attitudes, and behaviors (see also Moynihan 1965). This began a tradition of "blaming the victims" that continues to this day (see for instance Payne & Ellis 1995).

[8] Leonardo and Hunter (2007) cite several examples of this tendency. Some of the most significant contributions to this view of the urban poor come from D'Souza (1996), and Murray (1995). Most recently and quite famously, this image is at the heart of the conceptions of poverty put forward by Ruby Payne (see Payne & Ellis 1995).

[9] Periphractic refers to the overlapping material and symbolic processes that produce the relationship between the center and the periphery of a given space. For Goldberg (1993), material and symbolic dynamics circumnavigate each other in ways that reinforce inequality and the dominant relationship of centre over periphery.

[10] Rattling off the content of my iPod might be interpreted by a cultural sociologist as an attempt to claim my status as an upwardly mobile middle-class academic by mobilizing a particular kind of cultural capital defined by "omnivorous" consumption (Bryson 1996).

[11] I borrow the term musicking from Christopher Small (1998). Small first introduced the term in his 1987 book, *Music of the Common Tongue*. The term should not be confused with David Elliott's (1995) "musicing."

[12] The quoted text comes from the transcript of Abreu's lecture for the TED Prize in 2009. Both the video and the transcript are available online at: http://www.ted.com/talks/jose_abreu_on_kids_transformed_by_music.html

[13] This conception of the arts has been particularly central to the notion of music education as aesthetic education, developed by thinkers like Bennett Reimer (2003) and Harry Broudy (1994).

[14] Whether multicultural education is "uniquely suited" for urban elite private schools is an open question (see O'Neill Grace 2006). Whether it is relevant at all in rural schools is entirely absent (see Ayalon 2003).

[15] I would add that the same can be said of Canadian schools (see Dei 1997, Gaztambide-Fernández & Guerrero 2011).

[16] The works cited are recent examples of how this critical approach is taken up in music education scholarship. The broader literature is too extensive to cite here. For a discussion of what it means to do "critical" education scholarship, see the recent dialogue between Michael Apple and Zeus Leonardo (2010), reviewing Jean Anyon's (2009) *Theory and Educational Research: Toward Critical Social Explanation.*

[17] This is perhaps most eloquently developed by those who have theorized the notion of hip hop pedagogy (e.g. Pardue 2007, Rice 2003), or more specifically, critical hip-hop pedagogy (see Akom 2009, Hill 2009). For a review of the literature on hip-hop in educational research, see Petchauer (2009).

[18] Rejecting the notion of an authentically black, Latino, or urban experience requires this parallel recognition. Some post-structuralist scholars tend to confuse these two, arguing that any analysis of the systemic ways in which racism affects racialized bodies is inherently "dysfunctional" and ensnarled in identity politics (e.g. Pinar 2009).

[19] For examples of how different music educators approach and frame their practice through a commitment to social justice, see the chapters in Gould, Countryman, Morton, & Stewart-Rose (2009).

About the Author

Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández's scholarship is concerned with questions of symbolic boundaries and the dynamics of cultural production and processes of identification in educational contexts. He draws on cultural studies, postcolonial and feminist theory, and critical sociology to inform curriculum and pedagogy as encounters with difference. His current research focuses on the experiences of young artists attending urban arts high schools in Canada and the United States. He has published books and articles on the arts in education, elite schooling, curriculum theory, and popular culture. He is currently an Associate Professor in the Department of Curriculum, Teaching, and Learning at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto.