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Where are the women? And other questions, asked within an historical analysis of sociology of music education research publications: Being a self-reflective ethnographic path

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Where are the women? And other questions, asked within an historical analysis of sociology of music education research publications: Being a self-reflective ethnographic path

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Abstract

This article presents a meta-analysis of one area of sociological literature in music education: Where are the women and “others”? Where do we raise concerns about social values? Institutional Ethnography provides the basis for the meta-analysis, presented in two historical periods, pre-1960 and 2007-2012. A short story of an actual experience, functioning as a metaphor for this research study, is woven throughout the paper. The work of women who influenced John Dewey’s oft-cited oeuvre is summarized. Then we return to music education sociological studies before 1960, Vanett Lawler, and Max Kaplan. “Where are the women?” places misogyny and racism onto the institutional ethnography map. Nine themes appear in the 2007-2012 articles with two becoming much more prevalent than any of the others: social theory and social justice. These two themes are examined within the problematic and the structure of music education’s ruling relations. Directions for future sociological research in music education are proposed. Keywords: music, education, women, misogyny, racism, social theory, social justice, feminism, gender, institutional ethnography

Introduction

History is a series of stories—narrative, in our current lingo—told from a viewpoint in order to examine and analyze our experiences in this world. Social theories within history and philosophy developed into the discipline of sociology at the end of the 19th century. From the mid-20th century music education uses some sociological tools to improve itself. The webs of these interacting disciplines tangle in confusion, so that in music education we often do not know exactly what we are discussing. It is

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time for a meta-analysis of our sociological literature. My initial intention was to seek clarity out of one small puzzle (Where are the women? Where are the “others”? Where do we raise concerns about social values?), within the history of sociology of music education, but it became nearly impossible for me to make sense of this field without self-reflection. After all, as a music education professor I am implicated.

This paper’s structure meanders purposefully, in order to portray the web and tangle of the field. It portrays my reflections on a good three decades as a music education researcher. My research path meanders, too, and provides another reason for this meandering structure. Although meta-analysis of refereed scholarly articles is employed, I do not suggest that this analysis is completely inclusive and without bias. No such analysis can be wholly bias-free. The initial intentions and questions relate to women, “others,” and concerns for social values; therefore, the sociological literature examined is limited to these areas. It is still possible that there are relevant articles that I did not find. I accept that responsibility and further discuss my choices in section three, *Articles Published 2007–2012*.

This Introduction outlines the theoretical framework of Institutional Ethnography as the basis for my historical account and meta-analysis. I tell a short story of an actual experience that becomes a metaphor for this research study, and that story is woven throughout the paper. Search terms, methodology and limitations are identified and explained in more detail.

Section two, *Articles Published before 1960—or how to find the right club...*, presents a chronological account of articles included and the rationale for excluding some from the study. The work of the women who influenced John Dewey’s oft-cited oeuvre is summarized. This study then returns to music education sociological studies before 1960, Vanett Lawler and Max Kaplan. The story metaphor returns and I map the auto-ethnographic research path within this section. Because this auto-ethnographic research map is the path that I travelled from Kansas to Oregon to New York to Manitoba to Ontario, it is obviously centered in North America, with an early emphasis on the United States (where I grew up, studied, and worked during my first 30 years) and Canada (where I now work and live).

Section three, *Articles Published 2007–2012—or ¿Quiénes son las mujeres?* (Who are the women?), places misogyny and racism (that are difficult to talk about because they appear to be undocumented and un-scholarly anxieties) onto the institutional ethnography map. Nine themes appear in the 2007–2012 articles studied with two becoming much more prevalent than any of the others: social theory and social justice. These two are examined within the problematic and the structure of music education's ruling relations.

Section four, *Gender, Race, Class in Alphabet Soup—¡La Avispa! (The Wasp)*, speculates about the *mélange* of the present, its instability and fluidity, full of potential. Directions for future sociological research in music education are proposed.

Examining sociology of music education as an institution and simultaneously reflecting on experience within that institution led me to use institutional ethnography, shaped by Canadian sociologist Dorothy E. Smith, for the theoretical framework of this project. Doing institutional ethnography means starting from inside the institution as people live it and examining the social relations within a problematic mediated by texts and rules that inform and possibly constrain our actions. Here a text is not limited to literal text, but the definition expands to include still and moving images, objects of exchange, forms, communications, procedures defined and understood within the institution, and so forth. Something seems out of order in one's life or contrary to the published rules and texts. It is something that emerges as puzzling, so that the researcher asks, what does this mean? This emergent puzzle is the problematic at the centre of institutional ethnography. According to Campbell and Gregor, "One way of describing research in institutional ethnography is to say that to understand our lives, or the lives of other people, we must find the actual determinations of those life conditions and 'map' them" (Campbell and Gregor 2002, 17). A crucial factor in such a map is the way texts function, how people act on them or act because of texts, how texts act on people and what results from these social actions. Ruling relations, another important term used to expand the concept and functions of power, function within the map. Ruling

relations do not conceptualize power as only domination or relationship between state and individual, but also as a way to identify and map the social relationships.

Ruling relations demonstrate the connections between the different institutional relations organizing and regulating society. Ruling relations combine state, corporate, professional and bureaucratic agencies in a web of relations through which ruling comes to be organized. (Frampton, Kinsman, and Thompson 2006, 37)

In utilizing institutional ethnography to provide a theoretical frame for this study, I, as all institutional ethnographers,

... cannot stand apart from what they know and what they learn about the world. This is because (according to the social organization of knowledge) they *enact* the world they inhabit and know about, in concert with other people, and, of course, with the technologies that people operate. (Campbell and Gregor 2002, 23)

Consequently, my presentation of this historical analysis moves from text to experience to analysis to relationships and actions, all the while creating, resisting and replicating. Therefore, I begin with a short story of actual experience in actual lives:

I had been in Costa Rica for several weeks. I enjoyed the climate—What matter a scheduled (12:30-1:30 p.m.) daily rain shower, when compared to a Canadian winter? I studied Spanish intensely con una profesora y la televisión, los libros, y estaba hablando con la gente en el mercado y con mis amigos. I lived in a neighbourhood and walked everywhere. On my walks, I started to recognise and talk to people. En español, claro qué sí! Soy gringa, pero I was beginning to adapt and take in my social context on a deeper level. One evening mis amigos said we should go to a club, a particular club called La Avispa ([The Wasp](#))—the oldest continuously operating gay bar in San José, run by the same lesbian who opened it decades earlier. (As is the case with similar bars I knew as a young woman in The States, this bar is working class, definitely not chic. On the Canadian Prairies in my early 30s, I found that the country western bars tolerated lesbian women, although not gay men.) We arrived after 9 p.m., a time I now often curl up with a book or pull out my knitting. No one was there except the employees and one or two young men who appeared to my aging eyes to be twelve-years-old. Two large screens played American music

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videos; however, the loud music was not American pop, but primarily reggaeton and soca. A huge dance floor, mirrored disco ball, changing light patterns, at least two bars and three levels, and no one was there! ¡Aiii! We left and walked to el Gran Hotel. We ate on the patio before returning to the bar 90 minutes later. Now some people were dancing, but only men. This is a lesbian-owned bar, pero, ¿dónde están las mujeres? This refrain became our little joke, where are the women? As the evening continued, more women arrived, as did more of every sort of person. I was fascinated by the clothing, the shoes, the transvestites, the tough ones, the sweet ones, the prostitutes, the ethnic diversity, the music, the incredible dancing! (The DJ blended in some merengue and salsa, which I could comprehend.) The more I watched and danced, the more I became aware of a local gay culture more inclusive than any community I had yet seen on the streets or en la Universidad. Perhaps I was the only gringa, and definitely the oldest female, but I did not feel separated from the experience. I participated at least as much as I observed.

These four hours of one evening provide a loose metaphor for a history of sociological research in music education, an initial mapping of the problematic, texts, and ruling relations. It is up to me to demonstrate this to you. I promised you a staid meta-analytic classic court dance but you will get an auto-ethnographic pounding disco beat. Throughout this paper, I will move between the gay bar metaphor and sociological research in music education.

I return to the meta-analysis of the primary text sources, which are research studies in the sociology of music published in English in peer-reviewed academic journals available to me through the databases available through the university where I work. Since these databases are North American, primarily U.S. (even though this university is in Canada), I know I have missed publications that fall outside these parameters. The search included many terms, but not all of the possibilities that could fall within the tangled sociology of music education web.

Search Terms and “Music Education”		
Educational Sociology	Social Action	Social Capital
Social Change	Social Class	Social Cohesion
Social Democracy	Social Development	Social Exclusion
Social History	Social Identity	Social Integration
Social Impact	Social Justice	Social Learning
Social Learning Theory	Social Media	Social Mobility
Social Network	Social Norms	Social Participation
Social Planning	Social Power	Social Problems
Social Psychology	Social Reproduction	Social Responsibility
Social Science Research	Social Sciences	Social Theory
Social Welfare	Social Work	Sociocultural
Sociology of		

Table 1: Search Terms Used to Locate Articles

Table 1 shows the terms used in the search. In each case, the term listed above was linked with “music education.” As the data pool grew, I made the decision to exclude books from the detailed research and focus only on journal articles. Although sociology of music education appears to be one of the newer areas of music education research, as evidenced by recent books explaining the basic principles of the field (e.g., Froehlich 2007, Wright 2010), it has a rich history. Some of the research practices of sociology of music education date back to the 1930s and ‘40s, e.g., the work of American sociologist Max Kaplan. I found that early works I knew existed were not showing up in the searches by subject term, so I did a specific search for articles published before 1960.

My original plan was to analyze selected 5-year periods for comparison; however, the volume of publications meant that I must be more discerning. The 2007–2012 period includes more than enough articles for meaningful analysis, but since the driving force to my interest in “others” in the sociology of music education relates to research I previously did on U.S. composer-ethnomusicologist-teacher, Ruth Crawford Seeger, which first alerted me to the sociological research in music and music education going on during her lifetime, I could not ignore the 1930s-40s. I altered the original plan again. The problematic of the missing women and others

was shaped by the texts. To make this study manageable, I closely examine publications dated 1933–1960 as one group of 19 articles (See Appendix A) and compare this series most briefly to the 2007–2012 group of 46 articles. (See Appendix B.)

Articles Published before 1960—or how to find the right club...

I categorized about 35 articles published before 1960 as addressing sociological issues in some way, based on the search terms; however, through closer examination only 20 were actually relevant. Many of the articles I discarded focused only on curriculum or psychology or were reports of books published. This is understandable during this era when the idea of music education as a separate sub-discipline within both education and music was establishing itself. All of the publications were from the United States. Publication options in that era were limited. I suspect that other countries' publications from that era are not archived in the American scholarly databases my university's electronic search engines employ. In addition, music educators were not expected to be scholars, so the incentive to publish did not exist. Thus, this examination is limited and selective. I asked, what focal points appeared during these 30 years? Was sociology of music education in the early decades a place for raising concerns about societal values, the relationships between self and others, us and them? ¿Y donde están las mujeres?

I begin with a chronological summary of issues and terms from these articles. You will notice archaic language, sexist and racist language, a predilection for a limited, nationalistic and elitist music education. But, there are some surprises. I share quotations that in many ways sound familiar to the 21st Century. “Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.” Characteristic terms and ideas found in these early publications include democracy and citizenship, community music, heritage that is common or diverse, music as a leisure or recreational activity, creativity, contrasts of educational experiences between rural and city locations, concerns about providing quality music education to all students. These themes remain current today, even as we forget that they were contemporary 60-80 years ago. As well, these

themes demonstrate the problematic as bounded by the ruling relations of publication in professional journals.

Writing in the 1933 *Music Educators Journal (MEJ)*, Ernest G. Hesser, Director of Music, Cincinnati Public Schools has much to say about the projected change from the Great Depression to a more abundant society.

On one side of the scale, then, we have unemployment, dissatisfaction, financial insecurity, idleness, pauperism, and increased crime. [There] are many who, because of increased responsibilities and decreased income, have lost their homes and used up their savings, thus finding themselves set back financially a decade or more. And there are hosts of young people, trained and eager to work, who are baffled at the outset of their life careers because of lack of employment. (Hesser 1933, 21)

Speaking from a specific Ontario-Canadian perspective, this description seems not so different from our current experiences. Graduates of our music education program go overseas to get jobs. The 2008 financial meltdown and loss of high-wage unionized manufacturing jobs mean that schools do not hire teachers, particularly in the arts, physical education or libraries, and universities do not hire professors in the humanities. With yet another retirement at the university where I work, what was once the best music education degree-program in Ontario is reduced to one professor with no plans to hire and the mythical assumption that online courses and already-hired part-time contract instructors will continue to provide a thriving education. Again, my musings about the past (1933) in relation to the present (2013) begin to show how the ruling relations shape the work we do as music educators and our experience of that work within the institution of music education.

Moving on to discussions of citizenship and democracy in education, we read a most nationalistic rhetoric that is all the more so with its claim that rhetoric is not the case:

It is truth and not mere rhetoric when we declare that the schools furnish the best hope for a citizenship which can save and continuously improve and strengthen democracy in America. (Myer 1941, 28)

Myer continues this discussion of citizenship education as virtuous and necessary for democracy. Remember, he speaks within the context of Europe engaged in World War II:

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We teach them the framework of government, inculcate a spirit of loyalty, teach obedience. All this is good. All this is necessary, and I would not withhold attention for a moment from the virtues of patriotism, devotion, loyalty, obedience to law. No nation can live without them. They are among the essentials. But they are as essential in a dictatorship or an absolutism as in a democracy; as necessary in Germany as America. In addition to these virtues there are virtues which a democracy alone requires. The citizen in a democracy, in addition to patriotism and loyalty and a spirit of obedience, must have the power of wise decision. (Myer 1941, 28)

At this point Myer breaks with nationalism and writes in terms not so different from current discussions of democracy in education. While I notice many undergraduate students at my university do not want to hear contradictions or discord or be different, and would gladly follow the given rules, the ability to think critically and evaluate is one practice we professors sustain in contemporary education. In making this comparison, I note that today's undergraduate degree in Canada is comparable to the high school diploma of decades past. Here Myer says of the high school graduate:

He (sic) must be practiced in controversy. He not only obeys the laws but makes them. So he must be able to look out upon the land, see its problems, hear a thousand discordant voices calling for contradictory solutions. He must hear these voices, add his own to the chorus, then make up his mind in the light of reason and evidence. In the inevitable welter and confusion of ideas inherent in the practice of democracy, he must be able to stand on his own feet, be his own man, and act as a well-informed, courageous and independent citizen. (Myer 1941, 28)

We may excuse the sexist language as being of that time and assert that “man” and “he” did actually include women and all of humanity. However, to do so is to move back into a past once proven to be as sexist and racist as the language indicates. When we deny the impact of sexist language we negate the struggles of all of those who went before us. The ruling relation that diminishes sexism and racism to personal problems becomes apparent. Consequently, and to bring the discussion into the present, we therefore need to ensure that we cite the women, as carefully and as frequently as we do the men.

Myer, then the Director of Civil Education Service of the United States and former National Director of the Discussion Group Project of the National Association

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of Secondary-School Principals, wrote about democracy during the height of the progressive era initiated by John Dewey. Nine months later, after the Pearl Harbor bombing and the entry of the US into World War II, women would become the major domestic workforce in the US. If we go back to when John Dewey was writing prolifically about education, roughly 1900–1940, and look carefully, we find many women who influenced him and some whom he acknowledged.¹ ¡Las mujeres están aquí! Yet, we do not pay tribute to these women, and we may not even know their names. Chronologically by birth year, they are:

Ella Flagg Young (1845–1918): Fifty-years-old and an educator with 33 years' experience when she arrived at the University of Chicago to do graduate studies. She was the first female president of the National Education Association, the first female school principal in Chicago, and the first female superintendent of Chicago district schools.

Anna Julia Cooper (1858–1964): Born in slavery, Cooper fought to take courses reserved for men. She was an educator, principal, and author. Her book, *A Voice from the South by a Woman from the South*, articulating black feminism in 1892, was well-known in its time. Cooper was the fourth Afro-American woman to earn a PhD (but she did this at age 65!), and a public speaker against racism and in support of civil rights for Afro-Americans and women.

Eleanor Smith (1858–1942): Musician, suffragette, social worker, and educator, Smith began teaching music at Hull House in 1890, where the first community settlement music school was established in 1893, financed by Mary Rozet Smith. Smith taught music to children and adults at Hull House until her retirement in 1934. At the same time, she was head of the music department at Chicago Normal School. John Dewey invited her to teach at the University of Chicago (1902-1905).²

Alice Chipman Dewey (1859–1927): An educator, Chipman married John Dewey in 1886. She was the principal of the University of Chicago Laboratory School.

Jane Addams (1860–1935): The first female public philosopher in the U.S., she lectured frequently in John Dewey's classes at University of Chicago. Addams

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was a social worker by profession, who founded Hull House and served as its administrator. Hull House was the first settlement house in the U.S. and a model of cooperative living. It was a safe place for women to live and a place where it was OK to be lesbian. Jane Addams had two monogamous partnerships during her life at Hull House, first with Ellen Gates Starr and then Mary Rozet Smith. Addams was a founding member of several human rights organisations: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). She was a pacifist and one of the Nobel Peace Prize winners in 1931.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935): Although not so significant in education per se, Perkins Gilman was a significant feminist author (*The Yellow Wallpaper*) and lecturer for social reform.

Mary Whiton Calkins (1863–1930): She was an educator, a philosopher, and a psychologist. Harvard denied her the PhD she had earned, solely because she was a woman. She was the first female president of the American Psychological Association (APA).

Emily Greene Balch (1867-1961): Like Addams, she was a founding member of WILPF. Remarkably, Balch became a full professor in economics and sociology in 1913 after only seven years of employment. Also a pacifist, Wellesley fired her on the basis of her anti-war activities during World War I. Balch was active in the League of Nations, editor of *The Nation*, and a Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1946.

Mary Parker Follett (1868–1933): As a social worker and speaker on democracy and political philosophy, Follett developed the concepts of "win-win", "transformational leadership", and "power with" to replace "power over". She moved management theory into the fields of organizational theory and organizational behavior, and wrote several books on these topics, including *Creative Experience* (1924). Harvard also denied her a PhD because she was a woman.

Lucy Sprague Mitchell (1878–1967): Sprague Mitchell was a feminist and educator who became the first Dean of Women at University of California-Berkeley in 1903. Later she founded Bank Street School in New York City in 1918. She knew of

Dewey from Chicago, but first worked with him at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Elsie Ripley Clapp (1882–1965) was the editor of *Progressive Educator*. She identified the importance of linking school with community and studied with John Dewey at Columbia University and Teachers College, Columbia University.

Many of these women deserve more attention when we refer to John Dewey. Just as Charles Seeger had no interest in education until prompted by his wife, Ruth Crawford Seeger, John Dewey showed no interest in philosophy of education until these women talked with him about what they were doing in the places and schools where they taught. Jane Addams, Ella Flagg Young, and Alice Chipman Dewey, directly instigated, influenced, and encouraged his writing on education. These three women, the first generation to influence Dewey, were experienced educators, social activists, and thinkers. The second generation of women we should remember and cite includes Elsie Ripley Clapp and Lucy Sprague Mitchell. Clapp commented on drafts of Dewey's work and contributed original ideas, as demonstrated by this portion of a 1911 letter from Dewey to Clapp:

So great is my indebtedness, that it makes me apprehensive—not, I hope that I am so mean as to be reluctant to being under obligation, but that such a generous exploitation of your ideas as is likely to result if and when I publish the outcome, seems to go beyond the limit. (quoted in Seigfried 1996, 92)

Dewey publicly acknowledged Clapp for her contributions to *Democracy and Education* (1916), but only in the introduction. Dewey did not attribute to her any particular ideas in the body of the text. According to Seigfried, “it is also clear from letters that Clapp helped Dewey with the content of the courses in which she assisted” (1996, 92), pointing out that Clapp would meet with Dewey before his lecture periods to discuss the content of the class. At his retirement in 1927, Dewey suggested that Clapp should be appointed to teach his courses at Teachers College, but she was not offered the position by the college. She went on to do important work with rural education in a project with Eleanor Roosevelt. It behooves us to engage the work of these women for specific understandings of children, women, and

education in social change, probably more than we engage John Dewey's, because they were the ones who demonstrated to Dewey that pragmatic philosophy must be more than theoretical, must be applied and must work within the practice of education, if it is to be meaningful.³ We need to generate greater curiosity in our history, so that we then increase our imagination about what could be possible in the future, as we continue to live our 21st century lives.

Remaining cognizant of the women who influenced Dewey while returning to music education sociological studies of the 1940s makes women's absence in music education more acute. With the exception of Eleanor Smith, these women made their contributions to general educational thought, typically, so we now look specifically at music during the 1940s. We find the following appalling quotations from a 1942 "Study of Social Background and Music Ability of Superior Negro Children" by Albert Sidney Beckham, Bureau of Child Study, Chicago Board of Education:

Unlike most inquiries of racial differences this study is concerned more with intra- rather than inter-racial difference in musical aptitudes. In reviewing the literature of this problem, one is indeed aware of the dearth of studies of musical aptitudes based on various levels of intelligence. Racial and national intelligence rest now on a fairly sound scientific basis. The progress of inter- and intra-racial studies in psychology must necessarily depend on the psychologist's attitude and his willingness to include the opinions, the theories, and the discoveries of sociology, anthropology and biology in his conclusion. (210)

No attempt has been made to separate these groups in reference to full-blood or mixed blood. After reading the literature on this phase it appears that such attempts too frequently yield unjustifiable results. Then too, a separation into groups based on color would be useless when we consider that at least three-fourths of the Negro population is mixed, according to the anthropologists Herskovits and Hooton. (211)

The teachers' opinions of musically superior children corroborate test results. The musically superior picked by the teachers outrank the intellectually superior. Intelligence was not an important factor in making high musical aptitude scores. Age as a factor was only slight. (216)

These words are among many examples discussing "certain types of groups, such as Negroes in your schools" (Myer 1941, 48). In addition to the flagrant racism, Beckham's study had no bearing on the social except in the title, social background.

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We learn nothing of the students' social background from this study. We do not expect to see such blatant sexism and racism in today's research. In general, we applaud ourselves for making our language and thinking more inclusive. Yet, if we truly are more inclusive, where are the citations of men and women of color, the non-European and non-American, the non-English speakers within our references to form our arguments for inclusivity and liberation? Let us not lose sight of the pioneers among women, people of color, non-Europeans and non-Americans as we engage in our contemporary interruptions and emancipatory projects.

Articles published during the period of the U.S. participation in World War II are absent from my study (remembering that the data bases I was using did not include early articles from other countries). Music education in the U.S. suddenly switched gears from 1942 until after the McCarthy HUAC (U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities) hearings. During this decade, all music education in the States focused on the war effort and patriotism; therefore, there is little to no concern extended to sociology of music, per se. However, in conjunction with patriotism, there was a resurgent interest in folk song, which draws me back into the self-reflection on my research path and the work of Ruth Crawford Seeger. In St. Louis at the 1944 Music Educators National Conference (MENC, now the National Association for Music Education—NAfME), Pete Seeger and Alan Lomax performed folk songs arranged by Ruth Crawford Seeger, *American Songs for American Children*. Several years ago, Pete Seeger told me that a music teacher shook his fists at him and Lomax, yelling that they would ruin everything this music teacher had tried to accomplish.

One woman was at the heart of U.S. music education for more than 35 years, Vanett Lawler (1902–1972). She organized the 1944 concert at MENC—because Ruth hated doing those kinds of things and Pete and Alan could not be bothered. Ruth's daughter, Peggy Seeger, told me Vanett was such a close friend of Ruth Crawford Seeger that she was at the Seeger house when Ruth died in 1953. Lilla Belle Pitts, another close friend of both Ruth Crawford Seeger and Vanett Lawler, was an MENC President for two terms and Teachers College-Columbia University music education professor. Both Vanett and Lilla Belle were organizers and promoters of

music education. Still, a decade later, Vanett Lawler did publish articles on music education as a means of increasing international understanding.

Vanett Lawler hoped to be a concert pianist at one point in her life but turned to business administration as a career. Her decision had more impact on American music education than could have been imagined. She went to work for the Music Supervisors National Conference in 1930. This organization became the MENC in 1934 (and then NAfME in 2011). Lawler worked as Executive Secretary for MENC until her retirement in 1968. While still employed by MENC, Lawler was seconded to the Music Division of the Pan American Union (PAU) 1942–44, where she became Charles Seeger's executive assistant. Charles Seeger served MENC on the editorial board of the *Music Educators Journal*, on the Folk Music committee, and by encouraging music educators to learn from musicologists, and musicologists to participate in education. From her assignment at the PAU, Lawler went on to work for UNESCO in 1947, with a particular focus on Latin America. She also assisted Charles Seeger with the International Music Council (1949–1951) and the founding of the International Society for Music Education (ISME) (1953–1955). The Seegers, Lawler, and Pitts epitomized the intellectual and professionalized approach to progressive education.

About the time Ruth Crawford Seeger died and Charles Seeger's interest in music education declined, Max Kaplan, bona fide sociologist and musician, completed his dissertation, "The Musician in America: A study of his (sic) social roles: Introduction to a sociology of music" (1951). He then contributed to MENC for a few years. On April 17, 1956, Kaplan addressed the Music and Community special session of MENC the next time the biennial meeting was held in St. Louis. At that time he was an assistant professor of sociology and music, University of Illinois, and chair of MENC Commission VIII—Music in the Community. Music education in the community was his mission. He identified three objectives of the Commission at the beginning of his lecture:

- 1) Nature of social changes in the community which may affect both his (sic) work in the classroom and his conceivable roles in the community.

2) Suggestions on ways in which a community can develop a balance between the development of its unique values and advantages with the models or stimulation from regional and national factors coming into the home.

3) Certainly, a third objective of the Commission is to provide a theoretical framework and a technique, whereby the musical profession, untrained as it is in the social sciences, can still learn to know its community, to observe and assess its resources, and thus to create a more intelligent perspective of its own professional relationship to it. (Kaplan 1956a, 67)

In the next section of his lecture Kaplan focused on definitions of community:

The next general problem is the nature of "community." When we speak of the relation of music or the teacher to the "home," to "professional groups," etc., much depends on whether we are talking about Oshkosh or New Orleans, a rural or an urban area, an industrial or a resort city, a slum area in Chicago or the Gold coast. Quite aside from the normal accumulation of data which will come from a variety of communities, it will be of great advantage if we can stimulate several studies of total communities, in order to observe specific variables which seem to pertain under given conditions. (Kaplan 1956b, 48)

... function and social integration of music and art in the changing society. (Kaplan 1956b, 48)

Life then will perhaps be longer than our own; is not our ultimate objective to make it increasingly richer and significant through the common heritage and possessions of the arts? (Kaplan 1956b, 49)

The three objectives Kaplan outlined and his concerns for understanding what we mean by community are not so different from ideas current in music education, although we would not likely be aiming for a common heritage. How much deeper would be our understanding had music education integrated these ideas 55 years ago? How were Kaplan's texts acted upon? What ruling relations minimized his thinking?

During that same year as Kaplan's Music and Community address at MENC, Lawler's article, "How music can promote international understanding," promulgated four "facts" she believed to be significant for US music educators to understand in order to increase international understanding:

we can be satisfied that there are certain irrefutable facts relative to music and international understanding, particularly in reference to the schools: (1) music is getting around the world; it is more mobile than at any other point in history; (2) music is a powerful force for the communication of ideas, positive and negative, and cannot be isolated from its effect on people; (3) the system of education in the United States is unique from the standpoint of the inclusion of music as a part of the general education of boys and girls; (4) the music educators and the administrators in the schools in their roles as teachers and citizens have the opportunity and the responsibility of utilizing the music program in the schools as an important instrumentality in the teaching of international understanding. (Lawler 1956b, 139)

Thus, here are two competing issues of local community and global relationships within music education in 1956.

Bringing these texts back to actual experience in the institution of music education, I remember reading about Vanett Lawler in the *MEJ* when I first joined MENC as a newly minted music educator. She had retired, but there would be references to her in the publications. She was the one who started the *Journal of Research in Music Education (JRME)*. When she died in 1972, I read her obituary in the *MEJ* (Gary 1972). Then, I did not realize what impact her leadership and her connections with the Seeger family would have on my research interests. I mean, it would be another two years before I knew I had research interests, and it would be ten years before I developed the confidence to quit my job as a school music educator and dive into research. But, ¿donde están las mujeres? / where are the women was the question I began to ask and the one that prompted me to develop the confidence. Or, maybe the prompt was simple stubbornness. In 1973 I told my music history professor that I wanted to do research on women composers and he replied, “Don’t bother; there aren’t any. Study the wives of the great composers.” Not too long afterwards, I completed my Master’s degree, which included a document of recordings of music composed by women. I wrote a letter to Angel Records because I discovered they had misattributed a duet written by Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn. No reply. At my oral exam, one of my examiners wanted to know where I obtained this discography, because I had not cited the source. I calmly told him that I was the compiler and he should have realized that from the citation form I used, listing the library where each recording could be found—if it was not in my

collection—and the recording data for each and every selection. The examiner withdrew his plagiarism charge. Here are the women!

I return to the initial question raised in my abstract: Has sociology of music education always been the place for raising concerns about societal values? YES! Therefore, engaging the social relevance of music education should not be a major challenge to the profession, yet we know that it is. Although I have not yet engaged in the detailed historical research necessary, I surmise that a clearer picture will be found in the basic conserving attitude and elitism that dominated North American music education during much of the post-World War II era and into the late 20th century. Even though the major emphasis was on “classical music” and “high quality music,” some attention was paid in journals and conferences to teaching creativity and creatively, music from different cultures, popular music, and jazz throughout the 1970s–1980s. This was the era when I taught music in schools and then became a music education professor. For a musician-teacher, scholarly work is always both theoretical and applied. We practice: For musicians, practice is what we do because it is what we do. My research is political for these same reasons of practice: It is what we do, but this time theorized and not uncritical.

Articles Published 2007–2012—or ¿Quiénes son las mujeres? (Who are the women?)

Going back to the story: I had been in Costa Rica for several weeks.... I started to recognize and talk to people on my walks. ¡En español, claro qué sí! Soy gringa, pero I was beginning to adapt and take in my social context on a deeper level.

I had been a music professor in Canada for several years. I enjoyed teaching and research—what matter the hectic schedule when compared to the life of a freelancer or the regulation of a schoolteacher? While living and working in The States, I did not fit into music education, as a woman, a lesbian, a feminist, a political activist. I did not have the right kind of voice or adopt the music education dance-steps. By birth a Dixie chick, born south of the Mason-Dixon line in Kansas, and, as Natalie Maines says of herself, “I was born outspoken. It followed me my whole life” (as cited by Hiatt 2013). However, in Canada, I found a voice that could not have developed in

The States (where I had to be an elementary music education specialist). I found that it was not so dangerous to be different on the Canadian Prairies. As I began adapting and growing in my Canadian context, I was most cautious about displaying American imperialism and privilege. I learned to sing and dance Canadian. Just as the working class La Avispa patrons allowed me space, as different as I was, so did Canadians. [No, not really an appropriate metaphor because I am white, English-speaking, well-educated, and employed—in other words, privileged. Even though I am an immigrant in Canada, I am not a person of color, not Spanish-speaking, not from the southern hemisphere, not lacking education, not earning poor wages. I wonder . . . do we use immigrant as a code word for person of color?]. So, I found space in the Canadian Prairies to be myself because no matter how different you are, everyone is necessary to survival of the community. Yet, with music education dominated by the American (U.S.) model, being outspoken was more like Natalie Maines' experience. In other words, why don't you just shut up and sing? I learned after the fact that writing feminist liberatory theory in music education was scary stuff. The misogynistic vitriol surprised me. I vanished into ethnomusicology for survival—emotionally and intellectually. In fact, it has only been since autumn 2012 that I have returned to specific music education associations.

Over the years, Elizabeth Gould, Cathy Benedict, Julia Koza and I have discussed this problem of the disappearing women.

... As an act of outrage, it has everything to do with liberal democracy(ies), and should be read in relation to that. Further, it explores “surface effects” of events beneath and behind specific circumstances (Deleuze, 1990), and consequently assumes and is a precursor to explorations of those events. (Gould 2008)

Privately, we feminists speak of the women of my generation and earlier who were damaged by the brutality of the field, the blatant sexism, racism and homophobia. I wonder what practical change can be observed in music education. Gould raises concerns about citation and memory. Benedict does her all to place radical women scholars in music education as women, revolutionaries, and historical moments. Koza reminds us that, although difficult, we must carry on with this work. Do we have an impact? Publicly, no. Privately, yes, huge.

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We see change in the way scholars use characteristic terms in research. For example, it appears that social justice, agency, gender and ethnicity (or variants of these terms) are focal points or themes in recent research throughout the five years 2007–2012. Political terms such as resistance begin to enter the professional vocabulary. Earlier we saw a period during which sociological terms crossed over or blended with philosophical or psychological terms in music education research rather sloppily, such that any serious critical work could be named sociological or philosophical with little theoretical basis. Today, we see interest in using these theoretical tools appropriately within music education in integrative, practical and interdisciplinary ways. Ruth Wright suggests, “We need to integrate sociology and philosophy to capture phenomena. The time for divides is over. Now we need to combine and integrate sociology and other areas.”⁴ Yet, challenges remain as we attempt integrative models. Gender becomes a substitute for male or female, still used as a binary construct, at a time when we have learned that neither sex nor gender is binary. With very few exceptions, music education scholars thus far continue to avoid overtly political research named anti-racist or critical race theory, feminist or womanist, or class-based. Nonetheless, Hildegard Froehlich notices, “Power is always present and variable. The question is how we become aware of it and how we govern it.”⁵ The crux of ruling relations is that we are not often aware nor do we understand how we participate in what governs us, or how we could come to govern power instead of being governed by it. While *¿dónde están las mujeres?* is the problematic for this study, it has yet to become a more general problematic within the sociology of music education.

Table 1 (located on page 5 above) itemizes 34 search terms used to find the articles examined for this section of the research. The original total listed 480 articles, including duplications across categories. Next, I limited contemporary research to the five years 2007–2012, which cut the number in half (see Table 2).

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Year	
2007	43
2008	15
2009	21
2010	49
2011	44
2012	47
Total	219

Table 2 Articles published 2007-2012

Eliminating duplications and focusing on articles that actually utilized the categories within the inquiry itself, further limited the study. I was not interested, for example, in articles that listed “social justice” as a keyword, but did not engage in research on or about social justice as a central premise. These categories (see Table 3), probed against their theories and research practice help us understand what we have gained, as well as what we might have lost, misplaced or ignored throughout the past 60-80 years of sociological research in music education. While Table 3 identifies nine themes found in the 2007–2012 articles, the two themes of social theory and social justice were the most frequently used with social justice being used in 30 articles and social theory in 19.

Themes found in 2007–2012 articles		
Agency	Social Change	Social Norms
Community	Social History	Social Science
Citizenship & Democracy	Social Justice	Social Theory

Table 3 Most common terms 2007-2012

Of the 19 articles using the social theory category, only nine were studied in depth. This is because one was a book review, four were primarily focusing on learning theory rather than sociological theory, two were primarily philosophical in nature, three were primarily psychological, and two mentioned music only in passing.

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Both social theory and social justice were significant themes in four articles. Baszile “contends that an important part of re-imagining the relationship among education, social justice, and hip hop culture is beginning with a critical awareness of how the curriculum of hip hop culture counters the hegemony of the official school curriculum” (Baszile 2009, 6). Gaztambide-Fernández “offer(s) a different starting point for thinking about and envisioning the intersection of music education and social justice by considering what different views of ‘the musician’ as a fundamentally social agent imply for music education” (Gaztambide-Fernández 2010, 65). In a subsequent article he

... suggest(s) 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. (Gaztambide-Fernández 2011, 17–18)

The fourth article firmly speaks to the social justice theme. Pulido (2009) concludes:

As one of few avenues for youth to explore these issues, many youth considered hip hop music an important source of critically rac(ed) knowledge and highlighted the absence of critical perspectives in many of the schools they attended. Even more revealing, youth indicated that their world views would be significantly different without the points of view offered by this discourse. For these reasons, I contend that hip hop music marks a space for youth to speak to relations of power and to challenge hegemonic discourses about Latina/o youth education and cultural deficiencies in ways they are not afforded within the spaces of many of their classrooms and society. Finally, their uses of hip hop further underscore how decreased opportunities for youth of color combined with economic restructuring, the erosion of civil rights, and an increasingly hierarchical educational pipeline make hip hop music a viable educational discourse for many Latina/o youth. (82)

These four articles are examples of research outside the dominant model of music education, coming from equity studies and education studies with an emphasis on urban environments. All three authors critique education and the uses of music within education. These three suggest different ways of analyzing music education

that appear to me to advance social justice. The authors advance a case for social theory or social justice that takes the issues into a critical realm, so that the present and variable power are interrogated.

Rosita Sands (2007) takes the critical interrogation of power into teacher education, advocating change in curriculum that leads to mapping the ruling relations for our students:

The curricular focus I am advocating represents just one step towards addressing justice and equity issues in music education programs; it nevertheless provides a critical space for initiating and framing this discussion. This step must not stand alone. It must be accompanied by careful discussion and interrogation of rationales and justifications for teaching from more inclusive and more critically-informed perspectives. While this might seem self-evident to those who are adamant about the need for change in the discipline of music and/or music education, my twenty-plus years of experience in the field have shown me that students who decide to pursue careers in music education do so largely because of meaningful prior experiences in school music programs. Very few enter the profession wanting to change it or even being cognizant of a need for change. Fewer still are inclined to question the appropriateness of their experiences in pre-collegiate and collegiate music curricula. Therefore, we must seek to help students see the inequities that curricula often embody and understand the historical contexts, underlying values, and power structures that create and sustain these inequities. (56)

Sands succinctly outlines the challenge we face with students and colleagues who do not see inequities or have an interest in change. She states clearly the problem that the ruling relations of music education present to us and encourages us to unmask those relations in our own work. To me, these approaches are the most exciting and authentic response to the problematic *¿Dónde están las mujeres?*

DeLorenzo (2012) gently encourages practitioners to become familiar with anti-racist pedagogies as she questions why Latina/o and black youth are under-represented in school orchestras. She states, “Perhaps it is time to approach music teaching with a larger purpose in mind: that social justice is as much a part of our job as teaching music itself” (45). Gooding (2009), Levy and Byrd (2011) and Shaw (2012) also use the gentle approach, but without the solid basis provided by DeLorenzo. Similarly, Frierson-Campbell (2007) presents the results of a survey by

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the US Department of Education and stresses the need for additional research data to support educational reform, before concluding:

Whatever our perspective, the equitable distribution of a socially just music education for all students is in question. This is especially true for those schools that serve our nation's neediest students, where overburdened teachers and administrators strive to keep up with the latest political demands, and at the same time provide services to an ever more diverse student body. (264)

Many articles follow this vein of gently prodding music education into social justice. For example, music education in prisons is a new theme to social justice in our disciplines: Lee 2010; Abrahams, Rowland and Kohler 2012; and, Henley, Caulfield, Wilson and Wilkinson 2012. Heuser (2011) "describes a middle-school band program in which students teach instrument lessons to similarly aged children in a homeless shelter." Several articles examine cultural settings outside of the U.S. (Choi 2007, Harrison 2010, Ivaldi and O'Neill 2009, Kartomi 2008, Zdzinski 2007). The problem with the gentle approach is that the ruling relations are not revealed, so we are still stuck with unacknowledged but fundamental issues that maintain inequality and oppression within music education. The remaining articles listed in Table 4 challenge the status quo, unmask the ruling relations, encourage understanding of the problematic ¿Dónde están las mujeres? They do not tend to be gentle, but more confrontational as in the first 4 articles by Baszile 2009, Pulido 2009, and Gaztambide-Fernández 2010 and 2011.

Social Theory	Boyce-Tillman 2009	Lubet 2009	Benedict 2011
Social Justice	Kindall-Smith, McKoy, and Mills 2011	Baxter 2007	Benedict and Schmidt 2007
Bradley 2007	Gould 2007a and 2007b	Vaugeois 2007	Baxter 2010
Bradley 2011	Lubet 2011	Gould 2012	

Table 4 Social Theory & Social Justice studies that unmask ruling relations

Each article does not address all of the issues within social justice, but addresses at least one of those issues well, while acknowledging the context and complexity of the

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problem. How we work with these texts to shape our ongoing movement towards a more equitable music education will indicate our ability to recognize the problematic (¿Dónde están las mujeres?) and understand the ruling relations with which we comply.

Gender, Race, Class in Alphabet Soup—¡La Avispa! (The Wasp)

What excites me and encourages me is that all is now in flux. We have gender, race, class, LGBTQ, ethnicities, language differences, challenging geographies—all making up an alphabet soup. Through many venues such as conferences, online groups, and other technologies, encouraging discussions take place across thousands of kilometers/kilometres/miles and many nationalities. Many scholars are beginning to dismantle older models and search for inclusivity and freedom from oppression. We are seeing new models for music education in disability studies, in prisons, in immigrant (refugee) centres. Although music education research sites have existed throughout the world, at least since the founding of the International Society for Music Education (1953), it was conceivable for the U.S. to exert dominance for a time. This presumption is no longer imaginable. I still hope to see more anti-racist or critical race theory, more feminist and gender studies (including lesbian, gay, transgender), and more class analysis of music education, as well as more research emerging from the cultures of the south and developing countries. Increased representations in all of these areas will give us a rich alphabet soup with all the letters and la avispa with some sting.

What evidence do these sociological research publications exhibit of differences among various schools of thought in Europe and North America, or among different languages? Where does the rest of the world fit in, such as Latin America, Asia, or Africa? In conclusion, we look at historical changes (or lack thereof) against the backdrop of current interest in sociology of music education. In the spirit of learning from southern cultures and non-anglophones, I propose we consider the points raised by contemporary ecofeminists. Marciel Mena López suggests that, “Globalization is an excuse for ending diversity” (2011, 229). We need to be aware of how our own practices, however well-meaning, can dominate others if

we do not get out of the way and listen authentically, carefully and patiently. She suggests,

One must come up with new analytical categories that do justice to the body and its subjective aspects, as is the case with compassion and care –these two ethical imperatives must be approached from an intercultural perspective. (López 2011, 232)

Taking a radically different stand, ecofeminists affirm the integral principle that all is interrelated . . . Ecofeminists put an emphasis on people, especially on poor women who suffer from monetary inflation; this is why they struggle against inequalities and for balanced relations. In their search for all the basic elements of life, they propose a radical reconstruction. (López 2011, 233)

Perhaps we can make sense of the many texts in our worlds of music education by considering a radical reconstruction where we respectfully understand the maps we are making of our social interactions and life conditions. It's time to join forces in this great project of another possible world.

<p>La profunda irracionalidad de nuestra relación con el medio ambiente tiene causas tanto económicas como ideológicas. La globalización neoliberal revela la desmesura de un sistema económico que requiere crecer sin cesar para mantenerse. Toda consideración social o ecológica que implique alguna limitación del lucro es desestimada en nombre de la eficacia y la libertad.</p>	<p>The deep irrationality of our relationship with the environment has both economic and ideological foundations. Neoliberal globalization reveals the excesses of an economic system that requires constant growth to maintain itself. Every social or ecological consideration that imply some limitation of profit is rejected in the name of efficiency and freedom.</p>
<p>Desde muy diferentes ámbitos, numerosos hombres y mujeres luchan hoy por dejar atrás las ideologías del mercadocentrismo, el antropocentrismo y el androcentrismo. Buscan un nuevo modelo de relación con la Naturaleza, más igualitario y sostenible, más empático, inteligente y solidario. Son conscientes de los peligros y las posibilidades del Antropoceno y han decidido redefinir el futuro de la humanidad. Es hora de sumar fuerzas en este gran proyecto de otro mundo posible. (Puleo 2013)</p>	<p>From different fields, many men and women today struggle to leave behind the ideologies of market-centred, the anthropocentric and androcentric. They look for a new relationship with nature, more equitable and sustainable, more empathetic, intelligent and caring. They are aware of the dangers and possibilities of the Anthropocene and have decided to redefine the future of humanity. It's time to join forces in this great project of another possible world. (trans. Author)</p>

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The story: As the evening continued, more women arrived, as did more of every sort of person. I was fascinated by the clothing, the shoes, the transvestites, the tough ones, the sweet ones, the prostitutes, the ethnic diversity, the music, the incredible dancing! (The DJ blended in some merengue and salsa, which I could comprehend.) The more I danced and watched, the more I became aware of a local gay culture more inclusive than I had yet seen on the streets or en la Universidad. Perhaps I was the only gringa, and definitely the oldest female, but I did not feel separated from the experience. I participated at least as much as I observed.

This is my hope for music education: May more of every sort of person arrive and participate. May we enjoy and celebrate all the artifacts of diversity and dance incredibly together! May we become more inclusive and equitable. May we participate as much as we observe. May we join forces in this great project of another possible world. “Es hora de sumar fuerzas en este gran proyecto de otro mundo possible.”

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Notes

¹ Most of this information on these women can be found in Whipps (2013).

² Since Eleanor Smith is the only music educator among this group, I suggest some sources for more information about her. Her papers are held at the University of Illinois, Chicago in the Eleanor and Gertrude Smith archive, <http://www.uic.edu/depts/lib/specialcoll/services/rjd/findingaids/ESmithb.html>. Two dissertations related to her life and works are listed in the references, Green 1998 and Elrod 2001.

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³ Personally, it seems to me to be a lack of imagination that keeps us in music education coming back to John Dewey, when other educationists now look elsewhere for theoretical foundations.

⁴ In discussion at the 8th International Symposium on the Sociology of Music Education, Hedmark University College, Hamar, Norway from June 16-19, 2013.

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