Underrepresentation of African Americans in Music Positions at Predominantly White Institutions: A Narrative Case Study

A Dissertation

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Dedication

“The next generation of Davis should be better than the last one.” - Ollie Davis, Jr., father

This work is dedicated to the loving memory of my father. Your quiet strength was a constant example and is a constant reminder of what it means to be an honorable person in all things. You and Mom set the blueprint for me to move on this Earth in love and with honor and respect for myself and others. This study is an extension of my parents’ blueprint for Black and Brown leadership and culture, that I hope will become a greater thought for those in education who seek to understand and move Black culture forward.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES .................................................................................................................. VIII

LIST OF FIGURES ................................................................................................................ IX

UNDERREPRESENTATION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN MUSIC
POSITIONS AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS: A NARRATIVE
MULTI-CASE STUDY .............................................................................................................. 1

| BLACK IN WHITE SPACES ................................................................................................ 2 |
| REPRESENTATION UNDER ............................................................................................... 9 |
| THE R WORD .................................................................................................................... 15 |
| FRAMEWORKS ............................................................................................................... 18 |
| PURPOSE AND QUESTION ............................................................................................ 25 |
| GUIDING TERMS ........................................................................................................... 27 |

CHAPTER 2 .......................................................................................................................... 31

REVIEW OF LITERATURE .................................................................................................... 31

| PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS ....................................................................... 37 |
| WHITE OWNED ............................................................................................................. 38 |
| BLACK PROGRESS: THE INTERLUDE ........................................................................... 41 |
| SYSTEM THAT WORKS .................................................................................................. 50 |
| RACIAL IDENTITY ......................................................................................................... 59 |
| CHECK YO’SELF ............................................................................................................ 72 |
| CODA: DIVERSITY ......................................................................................................... 76 |
| CLIMATE ......................................................................................................................... 82 |
| SUMMARY ....................................................................................................................... 90 |

CHAPTER 3 .......................................................................................................................... 91

METHOD ................................................................................................................................ 91

| QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ............................................................................................... 91 |
| NARRATIVE CASE STUDY .............................................................................................. 92 |
| PARTICIPANTS ................................................................................................................ 97 |
| DATA GATHERING ......................................................................................................... 101 |
| DATA ANALYSIS .......................................................................................................... 104 |
| TRUSTWORTHINESS ...................................................................................................... 106 |
| ETHICS ............................................................................................................................ 110 |
| SUMMARY ...................................................................................................................... 111 |

CHAPTER 4 .......................................................................................................................... 112

MULTIPERSPECTIVES .......................................................................................................... 112

<p>| LAWRENCE: BLOW IT UP FROM THE INSIDE ............................................................ 115 |
| BLACK LEADERSHIP ..................................................................................................... 123 |
| SUMMARY ...................................................................................................................... 124 |
| CHRIS: FREE ME .......................................................................................................... 125 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAXTON: FAITH INTO ACTION</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELLA: FLIP THE SCRIPT</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROSALYN: CAGED BIRD SINGS</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTSCRIPT</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 5</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULTIPERSPECTIVE ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULTIPERSPECTIVE/CROSS CASE ANALYSIS</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORK TWICE AS HARD</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAME ETHOS</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN THE TRAP</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIMITATIONS</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITIONALITY REVISITED/CONCLUSION</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Participant Study Information</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Organization of Cross Case Analysis</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>African American Professors in the United States in 1945-46 and 1946-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Critical Race Theory lens of Institutional Racism operationalized at Predominantly White Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Practical Goals to Counter Institutional Racism Based on Participant Insight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Underrepresentation of African Americans in Music Positions at Predominantly White Institutions: A Narrative Multi-Case Study

I am proud to know that my educational journey as a Black man is personally empowering and symbolic of progress to many who identify with me culturally. The footprints on the stony road I trod, are markers engraved by those who created a path for me. I continue to follow this path, making footprints of my own, bearing a current cultural representation for people in places that have historically practiced exclusion. Yet, the pride and joy that motivates me to push forward is met many times with a feeling of anxiety and frustration. I reflect on my experience in higher education and notice in most cases, I was the only African American in the classroom identified and/or affirmed in person or in curriculum.

Like me, many African Americans have experienced this same invisible solitude. The portrait of many Black scholars in higher education is one that is blurred, seen by many as only a sideshow, affirmed only in targeted color quota, but not in scholarship. The environmental stereotype of urban plight is all that some campus members see in me, but not me (Ellison, 1952). Greater representation of Black and Brown scholars has been the rhetoric used to verbalize all the good intentions of diversity on college campuses, but the outcomes in population, policies, and practices continue to be in opposition (Mayorga, 2014). This epistemological tea leaf that has been intraculturally read and digested in a multitude of African American social and academic circles for centuries. It is a wilderness pilgrimage which Dyson (2017) exegetes that Black folks have come to understand and experience negotiating their whoness—subjectively essential ontology that influences and informs agency (Eldred, 2008) in predominantly White culture. For
this matter of Black lives, this chronicle offers insight into the journey of the African American music scholar. This study also provides justification for a greater representation of African American music scholars in Predominantly White Institutions.

Black in White Spaces

I positioned my whoness to be non-threatening to the established curriculum and pedagogy, in response to Western philosophy which fits others hierarchically into their society rather than sharing a society with equal parts (Eldred, 2008). This type of sorting made coping a prerequisite needed to persevere in the stronghold of the higher education music labyrinth. It is this “peculiar sensation,” as explained by Dubois (1903), that socioemotionally entraps many African Americans in their attempt to upgrade and establish themselves in higher education on any level. Race remains in the forethought of negotiating power and privilege in many institutions of the United States; Black intelligence, however, is an afterthought. Dubois pointed out this tiered system of intelligence which processes a double consciousness:

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. (p.195)

Double consciousness

In The Souls of Black Folk, Dubois (1903) shared two components that characterize double consciousness. The first component, the veil, is the color line that is drawn between races. On both sides of the invisible line are experiences and epistemologies that establish how social groups view the world. On one side of the veil
are the racial oppressors, and on the other side are the racially oppressed (Dubois, 1903; Rawls, 2000). Dubois (1903) described second sight as the way in which the oppressed see themselves from the perspective of the other world, leaving that person with a false sense of self. Dubois, however, points out in second sight that the Black individual has “the gift” to see the degrading structures of Whiteness, while simultaneously rending the fabric of the veil (Dubois; 1903; Lister, 2018). Consequently, the racialized person, internally responding to what is happening externally, produces “twoness”: Blackness constructed behind the veil, and the construct of Whiteness, which consequently, dehumanizes non-Whites (Dubois, 1903; Itzigsohn & Brown, 2015).

**Code switching**

The manifestation of double consciousness to which Dubois may have been alluding was the application of code switching. When Einer Haugen coined the term, code switching was intended to study how a person could blend two languages or dialects together (Haugen, 1953; Harris, 2019). Sociologists throughout the mid to late twentieth century continued to study code switching and its association with linguistic patterns. McCluney et al., (2019) described code switching as an individual or group changing behaviors, language, or even physical appearance in hopes of being treated fairly in either personal or professional spaces. Black scholars, such as George B. Ray (2009), began to suggest that code switching was associated with institutional and/or professional relationships between African Americans and White people. The use of code switching as a cognitive coping strategy, which at times can feel internally dehumanizing, is a mechanism used by many African Americans to both survive and thrive in a predominantly White culture in the United States (Harris, 2019). While some African
Americans find code switching advantageous in gaining power or privilege in the predominantly White culture, many others have experienced tremendous loss, deep scars, and/or death, even if code switching was activated (Harris, 2019).

**Niggarized.** For many Black folks, code switching has not proved beneficial in survival, based on oppressive behaviors enacted in various institutions in our country, such as law enforcement and education. In my own experience with these institutions specifically, code switching to a non-resistant behavior and disposition left me feeling niggarized and traumatized by police officers and academicians alike. The terrorizing feeling of being slammed head-first into my vehicle and then onto the street, handcuffed, and tossed in the back of a police car—for no legitimate reason, was the same feeling I have negotiated in my doctoral studies while attempting to code switch to good Black: friendly, non-confrontational, educated, morally sound, and post-racial (Johnson, 2016).

Despite my “goodness,” there have been targeted acts of terror committed by some White students and professors that Saramo (2017) calls metaviolence, a conceptual strategy of Trumpism that uses language to promote fear, hatred, threats, but also to alienate and enemize. In higher education doctoral classrooms, I have experienced things such as: scholars summarily dismissing my way of knowing, peer saboteurs in small group work covertly belittling my writing skills to my professor, and being told by respectable scholars to be willing to settle or to dismantle my whoness, just to check a systemic box that codifies Whiteness as the greatest and/or only form of intelligence. My second sight is activated by the cultural irrelevance, stereotype threat, and discriminatory microaggressions, and other psychological stressors that I am forced to deconstruct as an
African American music scholar in a colonial construct--while simultaneously attempting to remain focused on my studies.

*Undercover brother.* For many Black scholars, code switching behavior is as natural as an Afro hairdo. Black scholars historically have had to comb through the kinky and sometimes nappy textures of higher education. Code switching, along with coping and ego withdrawal, have been the curl activator, moisturizer, and durag¹ that have produced small waves of African Americans crossing the higher education veil, including first African American Ph.D. recipient in the United States, Patrick Francis Healy. Dr. Healy graduated in 1849 from the College of the Holy Cross, a private Ivy League institution in Worcester, Massachusetts. Because of his fair skin color, Dr. Healy often identified himself publicly as white to avoid negativity based on his true identity in White spaces. He was referred to as the “Spaniard” by the Jesuits with whom he was associated, because of his more olive skin complexion compared to their White skin (Quallen, 2015).

Dr. Healy did not write much about his racial experiences or fully acknowledge his twoness at Holy Cross. Instead, he used his Jesuit training and ministerial duties to code switch from his reality to how the colonial world viewed him, and as a safety net against racial backlash (Greene, 2020). Using his Jesuit priest training, along with his adoption into the veil of Whiteness, his gift of second sight exclusively allowed him to be elevated in the Catholic priesthood, presiding primarily in White spaces, and eventually to become the president of Georgetown University in 1874 (Griffin, 2020).

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¹ A kerchief or piece of cloth worn on the head to cover or protect the hair.
Indeed, pushing the educational boulder uphill requires an inner strength of its
own, and becomes more difficult when met by falling rocks of oppression, raining down
from the top of “Privilege Mountain,” attempting to stratify the African American
scholar. The intersectionality of the Black life matters and these individuals are
constantly adapting for survival in higher education. Many scholars who have sustained a
comfortable level of power and privilege in higher education are attempting to use social
stratification to control Black thought and to rationalize what they believe to be worthy
scholarship, even if it means socially distancing an African American scholar’s
intersectionalities. As an African American who constantly reflects on understanding my
whoness within a racialized construct situated in higher education, I am openly
expressing the courage of my convictions regarding my positionality within this structure
of “scholarship”—I am neither internally inclined nor feeling externally pressured by the
other side of the veil to negotiate my core self. In traditional Eurocentric worldview, there
is a separation of humanness and spirituality, where materialism, individualism, and
objectification of others are all socially acceptable. In contrast, humanity and spirituality
are unified in an Afrocentric viewpoint, meaning that all people and things are connected,
and there is an invisible source of energy that guides and sustains all activity (Schiele,
1997). Using the latter viewpoint to guide this research, the scholar and the human are
one and the same.

Neville (2009) emphasized how copying someone else’s voice only complicates
things for the researcher. Taking ownership of your voice is done by deciding your
position, using evidence to support your position, and writing in a style that is consistent
with your core self (Neville, 2009). A presumption can be made that many Black scholars in Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) experience a similarly compromised position that places their mind, spirit, and more specifically— their voice— in a prism of ego withdrawal, simply to check the boxes of a system that historically pencil-marks the non-white “others” in the category of unpolished or unrefined, while seeking validation to either change the color or permanency of the mark, or possibly risk being erased completely.

**Voice**

The voice used to communicate scholarly knowledge provides another point of tension: What *really* is the most scholarly? This semblance of communication study used throughout higher education is frequently a point of emphasis in research writing and inquiry, but it is not consistently defined. Some researchers would argue that it is a particular style of communicating for a specific academic area (Everett-Reynolds et al., 2012), and others say that it is the thoughts—and the construction of those thoughts— by that particular writer (Wendig, 2012).

Expectations in scholarly voice brought on by many higher education institutions implicate that success in writing and research is assimilating to the style and identity of the academy in which you are studying (Bartholomae, 1985). Rubin (1995) stated that scholarly voice is performative in revealing “idiosyncratic identity,” and that voice provides a view into the connection between the social environment of the writer and the writer’s rhetorical choices. Scholarly voice, substantially, is not burying your own voice in the earth of other researchers’ findings (Brown, 2014), but credibly speaking with
great courage and a spirit of creativity (Gardner, 2010). It is a cultural responsibility of the Black scholar to exist in *that* creative spirit.

**Self-Liberation**

The ontology of anything beyond being Black in a colonial structure situates the Black scholar in an impossible, blemished, and impure “sunken place,” feeling marginalized, lobotomized, and ultimately—silenced (Peele, 2017). The White supremacy agenda has historically conflicted and systemically superimposed itself on Black people through the social erasure of Black customs, heritage, and way of life (Fanon, 1952). To avoid being erased or banished to the sunken place in the hidden archives of PWIs, the African American scholar *must* master double consciousness—being Black for the Blacks, and Black in the White person’s sphere.

Representation of African American scholarly voices in PWIs are a testament to self-liberation. Overcoming centuries of hatred and locating the essence of Blackness within themselves is the active practice of Kujichagulia. Asante (1993) described this concept as the African diaspora being the subject of monumental points of history and social trends instead of continuously being marginalized as the objective doormat of most European exploits. The epistemological tradition of music and its representatives in the African diaspora is a movement that calls for revolution, rebellion, and disruption of systems designed to persecute and erase Black communities (Redmond, 2014). Civil rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer recognized the value of African Americans using their voice to deliver themselves from oppression, which created the opportunity to help others: “If you don’t speak out, ain’t nobody going to speak out for you” (Hamer, as cited in Brooks, 2013 p. 49).
Whiteness is privileged culturally in the United States, because it is established as authentic (Kumashiro, 2002). Marginalized and minoritized communities suffer violently from being othered, due to cultural insensitivity and individual prejudice from the dominant culture. Disruption of colonial tyranny comes through the perspective that is articulated by lived experiences of marginalized and minoritized populations, in their own unapologetic language. Anything beyond that is nothing more than what Dei (2017) calls a “Journey of Compliance,” in which this particular politics of knowledge only reinforces colonial power structures.

**Representation Under**

Merriam Webster (2021) defines underrepresentation as being inadequately represented. Scarpeña's (2020) definition compares closely but describes representation as insufficient or disproportionate. Bamdas (2014) characterizes underrepresentation as denying people open access to higher education opportunities or achievement of academic goals due to institutional, situational, and/or dispositional barriers. In many situations, but specifically in education, De Sutter (2013) indicates there are underrepresented populations that are concurrently being represented equally in other social categories.

Underrepresentation in PWIs is a space of situatedness where Black scholars are experiencing both personal and structural tensions (Powell, Heller, & Bundalli 2011). Sociopolitical factors and administrative policies uninterruptedly act as deterrents against a more equitable characterization and representation of African Americans at PWIs. Devaluing Black life and systemic criminalizing are all part of the White supremacist agenda (Ransby, 2008). Internalized racism, brought forward by external racial trauma
(Bivens, 2005), leads to internalized oppression which stifles the growth of Black scholars, thus causing an inability to be a radical change agent (Joseph & Williams, 2008).

**Situatedness**

An individual's experiences shape the way that they behave and respond to the world around them (Young, 2019). That same individual must try to look at other people's experiences to engage in understanding epistemologies beyond their own (Laird, 2019). Though internalized oppression greatly affects some Black music scholars, there are others situated in the PWI environment that are on the defense, not because of any systemic failures they have processed internally, but in response to the macrostructure of institutional racism, that frames White, colonial microstructural processes that perpetuate racism and downplay racial equity and diversity (Clair & Denis, 2015). Black and Indigenous People of Color (BIPOC) often respond to the hateration\(^2\) by viewing their “existence” as a form of activism in a PWI, which has historically been both a racially homogeneous and hostile space (Logan et al., 2017). This situatedness, according to Young (2019), has always been a space where White people were the hosts, and Black people were the guests.

**Remix**

The requisite skills typically taught in a White, dominant colonial structure of music education are primarily provided by White people. If the structure deems that “Blacks and Latinos lack the keyboard skills needed for this field,” and “music theory is too difficult for them as an area of study,” (Butera, 2016, as cited in McCord, 2016) then

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\(^2\) African American Vernacular English meaning the act or process of hating on something or someone.
either the system that promotes Whiteness in music education is to blame, or White people are impeding the progress of diverse music learning on purpose. This example, from the Afrocentric perspective, implicates that the very existence of Black and Brown scholars operationalized as both faculty and students, in a PWI school of music, is a form of resistance. This ontology includes remixing the White, Western Eurocentric model that has officially playlisted in PWIs for centuries. This playlist has also been used to “other” non-White straight Protestant male musical epistemologies. These racially diverse communities have actively operated throughout history to resist and debunk the deficit narrative (Dei, 2017).

**Workforce Inequity**

A familiar proverb in the African American community says, “You’ve got to work twice as hard to get half as far as a Black person in White America.” Countless stories can be told by many African Americans about the hardships endured, not based on qualifications, but on pigmentation. African Americans have been good enough to entertain the masses, but I dare the general public to think and act on the belief that African Americans are capable of educating the masses. Gould (2015) noted that the oppressed, who are typically the alienated labor, are culturally exploited to provide entertainment for the elitist community. While the dominant social narrative shared by many pundits would have many thinking that society has “overcome,” the biopsy procedure that the United States has undergone in race relations still shows that racism is not an isolated phenomenon, but a metastatic White supremacy cancer that infiltrates multiple facets of our country’s institutions (Donnor & Brown, 2011).
For example, data from the workforce show a tremendous job growth rate in the United States since 2012, but African Americans are still suffering from high unemployment rates, few employment opportunities, low pay, and other obstacles that hinder, deter, or impede employment retention in the workforce (Weller, 2019). A data report from Georgetown University Center for Education and the Workforce (2019) shows that not only are Blacks and Latinos less likely to receive “good” jobs—meaning employment that pays family-sustaining earnings—than Whites, Blacks and Latinos are also collectively underrepresented in good jobs in the workforce overall.

Whites currently hold seventy-seven percent of good jobs, even though they only hold sixty-nine percent of jobs overall. Blacks only occupy ten percent of good jobs, while only having thirteen percent of all jobs. The report also states that an increase in college enrollment among Whites solidifies economic dominance for decades to come. Occupational segregation—where African Americans typically end up with lower paying jobs than Whites, and segmented labor markets—where overqualified Blacks are less likely to be hired than underqualified Whites, are obstacles still facing the Black community (Penner, 2008). An age-old aphorism that still rings true in the African American community: “Last hired, first fired” (Weller, 2019).

*Whiteness in higher education*

The contributions of African Americans to society in many institutions of higher education across the United States of America has been either undervalued or significantly discounted. According to Elpus (2015), eighty-six percent of candidates entering the music teaching profession are White, and only seven percent are Black. Longstanding inertia with regard to systems of oppression continues to satisfy the
appetite of the vestiges of colonial hierarchy, while starving out an entire class of 
humans, causing African Americans to survive as an endangered species, particularly in 
the education workforce. The hegemonic power of Whiteness demonstrates institutional 
racism by reteaching White people not to acknowledge race. Hierarchies are produced 
when the interests of the dominant social class are the focus, thus creating conflict.

Universities such as Harvard, Stanford, Duke, and the University of Illinois Chicago, for 
instance, established racial boycotts against African Americans up until 1964, when the 
Civil Rights Act forced these institutions to not deny admission of students based on race 
(Cross, 2010). Although progress was made in theory and law, multiple centuries of a 
racist society cannot be quickly erased, because the historical centering of Whiteness has 
led to both the physical and social death of African Americans.

**Dirge**

The Black experience in music institutions is rarely explored or examined, and the 
continuous racial and social negotiations that take place both internally and externally 
from the lens of the African American are muted by structures of White supremacy in the 
academy, systemically erasing the subjectivity and representation of an entire race 
(Norris, 2020). The unmarking and lack of acknowledgement of hegemonic systems of 
oppression, in concert with a sociopolitical history of purposeful anti-Blackness in PWIs, 
has rendered Black music scholars to third-world status, and in many cases, social death 
(Norris, 2020).

**Musicological cancel culture.** Non-Western European music is equal to Western 
European music in cultural and musical value. It serves as a counter to the cultural 
dominance of Western European music (Redmond, 2019). Systemically, Western
European music traditions still dominate and silence other genres in music education curriculum (Nompula, 2011). The acknowledgement and greater representation of African American music scholars is invisible, because Black music is not wholly affirmed as scholarly in many higher learning institutions (Southern, 1984). There are many scholars in Western European music circles that view non-Western music as uncivilized and ignoble. The earliest accounts of music documented in Africa around 1067 show that the royal courts of Ghana, for example, incorporated large professional music ensembles for announcing the presence of royalty and for entertainment in various social gathering events (Burnim & Maultby, 2014).

African American music, which has traditionally been associated with spiritual and ancestral affirmations, provides insight into the Afrocentric perspective of handling the harsh and complex realities of being situated in North America (Maultsby, 2006). Radono (2004) suggested that the historical timeline continuum between African music and Black music was not recorded in American music history before the nineteenth century, partly because many musicological experts isolated themselves from Caribbean music and dance, which has a direct diasporic connection with the African music and cultural experience in the United States.

To avoid explaining the moral and social role that Europeans had in African slavery and how that social positioning greatly influenced the ingenuity of African music, many other African diasporic music traditions were also not recognized in Eurocentric forums (Radono, 2004; Currie, 2007). Southern (1984) also acknowledged a problem that exists among musicologists regarding a greater representation of Black music. She stated that Black music is judged with different criterion, that seeks to justify inclusiveness
beyond Blackness, but also quality and goodness—based on standard Western European music traditions (Southern, 1984).

**The R Word**

*Visions of Martin Luther staring at me / Malcolm X put a hex on my future
someone catch me/ I'm falling victim to a revolutionary song /The Serengeti's clone... Every day we fight the system just to make our way/ We've been down for too long, but that's all right/ We was built to be strong 'cause it's our life…*

*Kendrick Lamar, HiiiPower*

The lack of empathy has led to the continuation of dehumanizing narratives and policies in many institutions, as well as the avoidance of naming what the root cause really is—racism (Simon, 2020). Throughout the late 19th and 20th century, medical research in the United States reinforced false narratives that stated the White race was biologically and genetically distinct, while suggesting that African Americans, Chinese, southern and eastern Europeans, and other dark-skinned immigrants were biologically and genetically inferior and more susceptible to disease (Griffith et al., 2007). This belief of inherent inferiority laid the groundwork for a socially discriminant system in science, medicine, and education, which led to an institutional form of social distancing, better known as racial segregation.

**Codification**

Grosfuguel (2011) defines racism as “a global hierarchy of superiority and inferiority along the line of the human that have been politically, culturally and economically produced and reproduced for centuries by the institutions of the capitalist patriarchal Western-centric/Christian centric modern/colonial world system” (p.10). The
The codified nature of racism in the United States allows it to be enacted without a single perpetrator, because racism has been institutionalized in many of the customs and laws, such as Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896 (Menand, 2019), Jim Crow and Black Codes of the early 1900s, (Wieck, 2012), and redlining in African American neighborhoods by the Federal Housing Administration (Rothstein, 2017). Language used by politicians and media correspondents to describe Black people is coded such as: thug, inner city, urban, welfare queen, or Black on Black crime (Lopez, 2016).

**Indoctrination**

Cross (2010) stated that racism and white supremacy have been embedded in the culture of higher education in the United States for centuries. Higher education itself was founded upon competition, which superseded the Constitution, a document that rhetorically supported fair treatment of all people under the law. It was not until 1860 that any abolitionist or antislavery movement was mentioned in an American textbook (Watkins, 2001). Most history books in the United States in the 1800s focused on the American Revolution, European exploration, and presidential administrations (Yacovone, 2018). Symcox (2002) argued that most curricula in the United States that focus on social sciences and humanities are situated so that “Western civilization is set apart from its global context. The criterion should be worded in a way that allows all cultures equal billing” (p.108). African Americans throughout most textbooks in the early 20th century were depicted as “ignorant negroes.” This propaganda continued to be used for decades throughout many textbooks, such as *The History of the American People* (Yacovone, 2018).
American society and the knowledge of African Americans for many years has been controlled through historical documents written and authorized by people other than African Americans. Watkins (2001) stated how Blacks are free—as long as they can be under the rule and politics of Whites. The very idea of sharing power is a threat to the dominant power. According to Fanon (1952), the progress of the African in colonized America, means to master Whiteness, not Blackness. Fanon also stated that “Blacks want to be White, while Whites strive to just be human” (p. 11). It puts the African into a zone of non-being and ego withdrawal, where mastery of Whiteness in language, financial progress, relationship status, and religion is the goal.

Institutional Racism

To be White in the United States is to be normal. Morrison (1992) stated that because of the endorsement of Whiteness in America, “Everyone else has to hyphenate” (p.47). The social construct of Whiteness contributes to socio-political systems of privilege based on race and creates barriers that implicitly and explicitly dominate other racial groups (Guess, 2006). Whiteness is a construct that some White people are content to separate themselves from historically and categorically. Race studies tend to treat being White in America as a given, making non-Whiteness look problematic. According to Owen (2007), the Critical Whiteness Theory (CWT) is stratified by four levels: a) limited perspective on the world; b) a structural advantage over others socioeconomically, politically, and culturally; c) the normalization of Whiteness; d) the invisibility of Whiteness to Whites but high visibility to people of color. Frankenburg (1993) also noted that the lens of CWT shows that Whiteness structuralizes and informs the lived experiences of Whites, as well as non-Whites.
When there is resistance or inaction to change in the face of needed reform, institutional racism is the root cause of that inaction (Jones, 2000). Material conditions (right to employment, fair housing, clean environment, quality education) and access to power (government representation, voting rights, information access, resources) are both affected or infected by institutionalized racism (Jones, 2000). An example of a racist infected society is the legislation of Jim Crow and Black Codes. These laws not only legalized racism, but they also legalized Whiteness, causing both a conscious and unconscious condemnation of anyone who was not White. This condemnation led to discriminatory actions, supported by institutionalized policies.

**Frameworks**

Negativity toward education in the Black community is not a new thought. Racism, both conscious and unconscious, has historically played a major part in the apathy towards American education that many in the Black community have justifiably developed. Unconscious bias and institutional racism are working together to contribute to the social response of the Black community to education in the United States (Puchner & Marowitz, 2015).

**Institutional racism (IR)**

This framework provides a perspective on how institutions of higher learning deter and/or obstruct African Americans from the path of music positions in higher education (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). According to a definition by Jones (2000):

Institutional racism is the differential access to the goods, services, and opportunities of society by race. Institutionalized racism is normative, sometimes legalized, and often manifests as inherited disadvantage. It is structural, having
been codified in our institutions of custom, practice, and law, so there need not be an identifiable perpetrator. Indeed, institutionalized racism is often evident as inaction in the face of need (p. 10).

The nature of Whiteness, which uses conscious biases and disables diversity through normative supremacist recruitment practices, continues to impede the progress of the African American scholar. Some of these practices include perfectionism, power hoarding, quantity over quality, worship of the written word, objectivity, absolutism, and paternalism (Jones & Okun, 2001). Institutional racism provides an avenue for developing a significant knowledge base and understanding towards challenges and strategies associated with African Americans in higher music education. Professionally negotiating the reality of being the antithesis of everything that social norms have historically supported in a White society is a systemic disruption (Arday, 2018).

According to Lopez (1999), institutional racism operates when “key social actors and/or groups inherit and reconstitute racial beliefs that have permeated our society. These beliefs then shape our behaviors on a nonconscious level, thus becoming the societal norm” (p. 1808). Understanding how society affects organizations and seeing how organizations affect people provides a better understanding of how current African American music professors navigate life on campus (Squire, 2017).

Race, wealth, and gender are the primary categories used to hierarchically “sort” people (Cole, 2020). Racism, while being institutional and systemic, is also used as a way of structuring society by class (Sleeter, 2017). Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a conceptual framework offers a way to show how racism is maintained institutionally in higher education. According to Matsuda (1991), CRT is described as “The work of
progressive legal scholars of color who are attempting to develop a jurisprudence that accounts for the role of racism in American law and that work toward the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of eliminating all forms of subordination” (p.1331).

**CRT**

Critical Race Theory (CRT) emerged as a reaction to the slow advancement of policies put in place during the Civil Rights era. Many legal scholars questioned the accountability of government legislators in the 1980s who continued to push an agenda that socioeconomically oppressed people of color. The enactment of CRT by these legal scholars, not only exposed intentional pushback from new civil rights legislation, but also challenged the motives behind racist strongholds found in the United States Constitution (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015).

There have been degrees of improvement for African Americans since the Civil Rights era, but many of those improvements have been reversed by economic trends, sociopolitical shifts, legal cases, government actions, and demographic transformations (Gold, 2016). The election of Barack Obama positively impacted the African American community, yet there were more African Americans incarcerated in 2010, than enslaved in 1850 (Ransby, 2018). A post-racial society was the narrative of the dominant culture, yet the Occupy Wall Street Movement was led mostly by White people. National conversations have evolved concerning the value of Black lives in America, as displayed through the imprudent handling of the cases of Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Eric Garner, Rekia Boyd, and countless others who never made the news (Dixson, 2018). Squire (2017) suggested that public outrage has not promoted an active response from our
institutions of higher education, thus implicating lack of empathy for people of color on college campuses.

CRT as a conceptual framework demonstrates how racism is normal and natural in American society. Ladson-Billings (1998) suggested that racism allows Whites to be the primary beneficiary of civil rights legislation. According to Bell (1980), the theory of interest convergence states that Black people benefit from civil rights only if Black interests and White interests converge, e.g., Brown vs. Board of Education. In this 1954 court decision, the United States had an opportunity to improve their international image among other countries, who were critical of the contradictory posture of segregation juxtaposed to the “all men are created equal” fundamental and documented belief on which the United States was founded (Bell, 1980). The Brown vs. Board of Education decision documented hope and comfort, in the interest of the Black community, that change in the United States was now legislated; in the interest of Whites, however, the decision highlighted an opportunity for the southern United States to shift from a demographic that was deeply rooted in exclusive plantation commonwealth principles to a more industrialized and socioculturally tolerant region (Bell, 1980).

Chattel slavery, the complete ownership of another human being, their children, and their children’s children (Abolition Project, 2009), was the premium fuel that boosted the plantation economy engine primarily in the southern United States (Timmons, 2020). Slavery has been the narrative for which Blackness in the United States has historically been framed, thus purposefully limiting the acknowledgement of what Blackness truly is in the world presently, and what its possibilities are for the future. The co-opting of Blackness is an attempt to dilute its purity, thus invalidating CRT in the mind of the
White supremacist, and meeting only the interests of those in sponsorship, who seek to have their own social groups’ needs fulfilled whether convergence is possible or not (Hunt, 2020).

Gold (2016) noted that Black progress in integration creates a society of colorblindness, thus creating liberalist views to justify contemporary social order. White women tend to benefit the most, since they have incomes that support other Whites, thus, benefiting Whites in general. According to Carmichael (1966) the fight against injustice is against White supremacy, not for integration. Carmichael’s CRT perspective highlighted a counterattack against White supremacy when he proclaimed that, “We must dismiss the fallacious notion that White people can give anybody their freedom” (Carmichael, 1966/2006).

Using the five tenets of CRT, indicated by Solorzano, Delgado, and Bernal (2001), will support a better understanding of ways to provide more equitable opportunities for African Americans procuring positions in higher education:

1. Centrality of race and racism—All CRT research within education must centralize race and racism, including intersections with other forms of subordination such as gender, class, and citizenship.

2. Challenging the dominant perspective—CRT research works to challenge dominant narratives and re-center marginalized perspectives.

3. Commitment to social justice—CRT research must always be motivated by a social justice agenda.
4. Valuing experiential knowledge—CRT builds on the oral traditions of many indigenous communities of color around the world. CRT research centers the narratives of people of color when attempting to understand social inequality.

5. Being interdisciplinary—CRT scholars believe that the world is multidimensional, and similarly, research about the world should reflect multiple perspectives.

The CRT approach supports analysis in studies that suggest African Americans’ lack of education, experience, and familial support are disadvantageous in the labor market (Gold, 2016). CRT explains how government policies, social structures, and patterns of law enforcement and regulations, and lack of resources—that stem from years of slavery—have contributed to systemically disqualifying African Americans from acquiring jobs in higher education (Gold, 2016).

CRT exposes the very nature of race in the United States, while giving African Americans a space to share their narrative, while resisting White supremacy in the academy (Giles, 2010). White supremacist ideologies are already cloaked in the principles of social sciences and hidden in plain sight as the mainstream epistemology.

BLdon’tM

In 1967, the “music for all peoples” concept, which was developed by the National Association for Music Educators (NafME), formerly the Music Educators National Conference (MENC), was a major part of the school reform and civil rights agenda in music education (Choate, 1967). In 1972, Public Law 92-318 was passed stating the need for multiculturalism in schools (Mark, 1999). The Housewright Symposium in 1999 concluded that educators would need to consider music’s societal
connection if school and community music was to be effective leading up to the year 2020 (Branscome, 2016). Many colleges, universities, and conservatories are initially investing in the spirit of diversity in music learning and equitable representation of diverse faculty (Sarath et al., 2017). In contrast, Michael Butera, the former executive director of NAfME, unhooded his privilege by saying that people of color are not in music leadership positions, because “Blacks and Latinos lack the keyboard skills needed for this field,” followed by an even more preposterous utterance, “… music theory is too difficult for them as an area of study” (McCord, 2016).

The seemingly racist thoughts of Butera not only imply that institutional racism exists in music education, but also infers that there are others, on every level of music education, that support his thoughts. Despite Butera’s bold and heedless confabulation, CRT debunks the notion that Afrocentric music should be categorized in savagery and barbarism (Green, 1998). As a conceptual framework, CRT illuminates how African American spirituals, Dixieland, barbershop quartets, Jamaican griots, ragtime, and other various forms of African diasporic music continue to influence the European sound on the American mainland. These musical offerings have in great lengths been appropriated and/or enculturated into a sound that is neither European nor African, but labeled recognizably as American (Floyd, 2008). In this study, CRT is important, because it provides new and specific language for those who have not directly experienced the oppressive perspective of institutional racism. The tenets of CRT also highlight how institutional racism covertly and overtly influences curriculum, pedagogy, and policies that create a situatedness of the underrepresentation of African Americans in faculty music positions at PWIs.
CRT is not only a theory, but also an active form of social justice. It is a call to action, where greater societal setbacks can be disrupted (Sciullo, 2020). Though CRT has historically challenged institutional racism in the academy, it can now provide groundwork to both eliminate systemic barriers and illuminate pathways for African Americans to attain and maintain music faculty positions in PWIs.

**Purpose and Question**

The purpose of this narrative case study is to elevate the voices of African American music scholars at predominantly White Institutions (PWI) as they share their lived experiences that support greater advocacy and long-term engagement of current African American music scholars, and explore next steps that lead to a more equitable representation of African Americans in future music positions. The research questions that will guide me to a greater understanding of this topic are as follows:

1. What experiences have led African American music professors to conceptualize and perceive the systemic barriers in the advocacy for, and long-term engagement of, African Americans for music positions at PWIs?
2. From the African American perspective, what personal and professional competencies contribute to acquiring and sustaining gainful employment as a music professor at a PWI? What current institutional policies and/or sociocultural practices exist in PWIs from the African American perspective that successfully and intentionally support African Americans in obtaining and sustaining music faculty positions?
3. What academic strategies and/or institutional policies could be considered for implementation at PWIs that will directly counter additional barriers in the long-term engagement of African Americans for music faculty positions in PWIs?

**Significance of this study**

The contribution of this narrative case study will render richly detailed perspectives and insight of the African American experience in obtaining and maintaining music positions at PWIs. Comparatively to this study, Brandell and Varkas (2019) point out that narrative case studies provide an “entrée to information that might otherwise be inaccessible” (p.2). The culture of Whiteness in PWIs advocates for the passive and aggressive silencing of racial equity and diversity (Bistodeau, 2019). There is already an intracultural challenge in discussing about race and racism, and discussions become even more complicated when African Americans must advocate for themselves beyond predominantly Black spaces (hooks, 2006). This case study debunks a convenient narrative of Blackness, which unjustly stereotypes many African Americans as full of rage and unprofessional. Instead, the stories told in this research affirm the intelligence, the purity, and the truth of Blackness in PWIs. Chapter three will further explore the process behind the gathering of the stories shared in chapter four.

This study could potentially lead to more focused action steps in equitable African American representation in music positions at PWIs. Prior research has shown a disproportionately low number of African Americans in the overall teaching profession in both the K-12 and postsecondary level (U.S. Department of Education, 2019; Center for American Progress, 2014; Nicolas, 2014; Williamson, 2011; Burns, 2010; Villegas &
Irvine, 2010). This research will provide an understanding of why the distribution of music positions in PWIs is inequitable, specifically for African Americans.

The contribution of this study will also render insight into the current recruiting and retention policies and practices that have impeded progress toward a more diverse community in higher education music faculty. The White people in charge on various levels at PWIs, along with other beneficiaries of privilege, must be made aware of oppressive systems, because the systemically oppressed and underrepresented cannot articulate for full understanding in a space that their voices are purposefully limited (Brown et al., 2016). This study also could provide strategies for White administrators, faculty, and other persons of financial and pedagogical influence in the institution to stop being the barrier, and to promote a greater inclusion of African Americans in music positions at predominantly White institutions. As the study continues, a more extensive look into the historical, social, and cultural connections of institutional racism and its impact on the situatedness of African American music professor underrepresentation at PWIs will be explored in the next chapter.

**Guiding Terms**

**African American or Black**

The United States Census Bureau (2020) defines these individuals as anyone who has origins in any Black racial groups in Africa.

**Blackness**

A diverse epistemology used by people of the Black African diaspora to embrace their ethnic pride, while navigating and/or negotiating their position in society (Johnson & Joseph-Salisbury, 2018).
**Code Switching**

An individual or group changing behaviors, language, or even physical appearance in hopes of being treated fairly in either personal or professional spaces (McCluney et al., 2019).

**Counternarrative/Counterknowledge**

The sharing and/or retelling of stories and history that challenge the dominant narrative in mass media, which has negatively stereotyped African Americans (Tulino et al., 2019).

**Culture**

Bates and Plog (1980) define culture as a "system of shared beliefs, norms, values, customs, behaviors, and artifacts that the members of society use to cope with their world and with one another" (p. 6).

**Double Consciousness**

This term is a social concept introduced by W.E.B. Dubois which describes a psychological “twoness” African Americans perceive based on their lived experiences in oppression and

**Diversity**

The practice or quality of including or involving people from a range of different social and ethnic backgrounds and of different genders, sexual orientations, etc. (Oxford Dictionary, 2021)

**Equity/equitable**

Fair and equal access to opportunities, support, and tools needed for success in a given environment.
Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI)

Initiative in many circles of education used to create diverse representation and more inclusive environments that lead to more nuanced knowledge and deeper understandings (Aeborsold, 2016)

Ego withdrawal

Lived colonized experience used as a defense mechanism by racially marginalized people to internally abnormalize themselves to fit in the dominant culture (Fanon, 1952).

Inequity

Institutional reproduction of economic, social, and cultural advantages that negatively affect underrepresented populations (Nzinga, 2020).

Intersectionality

According to Crenshaw (1989), the term intersectionality describes how an individual's race, class, gender, and other characteristics overlap or connect with each other.

Intracultural

In this study, intracultural means how Black and Brown people communicate with each other. By definition, the term means exclusive modes of social interaction between members of a relatively specific community (Kecskes, 2015).

Negro

Scholars like Dubois, Washington, and Douglass use the term Negro in their speeches and documents pre-1950 to describe people of African descent living in America. The term "Negro" was used by the census in 1900, and officially used in census forms by 1950 (Memmott, 2010). Since 2013, "Negro" has been eliminated from census classifications of Black or African American.
**Predominantly White Institution (PWI)**

Institutions where White people account for fifty percent of the enrolled and employed population. For this study, PWI also means that White people are overrepresented in institutional curriculum and pedagogy.

**Situatedness**

The way an individual responds to their environment based on previous experiences, while trying to understand epistemologies beyond their own (Young, 2019; Laird, 2019).

**Underrepresentation**

For this study, underrepresentation is the situatedness of African Americans being denied open access to higher education opportunities and outcomes based on institutional, situational, and/or dispositional barriers (Bamdas, 2014).

**White spaces**

A Black and Brown perception of predominantly White neighborhoods, schools, workplaces, and other various institutions where normalizes the absence or marginalizes the presence of Black and Brown people (Anderson, 2015).

**Whiteness**

A codified construct that normalizes, structuralizes, and informs the lived experiences of Whites, while dehumanizing non-Whites. (Frankenburg, 1993).

**Whoness**

In this study, I define whoness as a personal awareness of identity interpreted by a person’s own core beliefs. Eldred (2008) defines whoness as a subjectively essential ontology that influences and informs agency.
Chapter 2

Review of Literature

This narrative multi-case study explores the journey of professional African American music scholars in Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), as well as their perspectives on obtaining and maintaining their music positions. Utilizing Institutional Racism and Critical Race Theory as frameworks, I will describe their experiences. In this chapter, I begin with history and development of an institutionalized racial system in the United States government, and its influence on higher education. Next, I examine how integration in the United States set the tone for educational policy and practice. Then, I focus on the various inequities in society and media, both past and present, and how they have negatively impacted higher education. Perspectives in racial identity and their connection to African American underrepresentation on the both the faculty and student level in schools of music are presented in the next section. Next, the topic of diversity is discussed and what it means for African American music faculty and students in PWIs. Lastly, I examine the character of climate on campus, along with how it affects the academic experience of African American music scholars in PWIs.

The review of literature for this study, like many in music education, does not wholly engage in critiquing prior questionings regarding this area of research (Myers, 2017). Instead, this review uses an amalgam of thought-provoking historical facts, current trends in higher education, and expressions associated with the African American idiom that will be vital canon for further research and inquiry.
Racial system

In the introductory chapter, the last thought taken into consideration was the assumption that institutional racism could be at the heart of the situatedness of the underrepresented population of African American professors of music in PWIs. If meaning is to be made from that assumption, a brief history of the impact of race and racism in the United States in socioacademic constructs must be considered. Race and racism in the United States serve as categorizers of epistemologies: some knowledge is included in mainstream understanding, and other knowledge is excluded or condemned. Bourdieu (1977) contended that knowledge acquired by the upper and middle class is advantageous in a hierarchical society. This meant that if an individual was not born with knowledge that was valuable to the dominant society, then that person must obtain knowledge of the upper and middle class through formal schooling, in hopes of climbing the social ladder. The assumption made by Bourdieu was that schools created hierarchical systems of dominance and inferiority by minoritizing populations through socioeconomic and academic access points (Devine-Eller, 2005). This apparent lack provided a framework for schools to interact with people of color from a deficit model (Yosso, 2005).

Throughout American history, African Americans have recognized race and racism as the great divide and contradiction. Benjamin Banneker directed his frustration in a letter he wrote to Thomas Jefferson that questioned the equality rhetoric that was articulated in the Declaration of Independence, despite the hypocrisy of many of Banneker’s associates still being enslaved (Reed, 2000). Frederick Douglass (1852) orated that African Americans should shy away from familial affections that come with
labeling the writers of the Declaration of Independence as Fathers, considering the deadbeat and abusive actions displayed toward their Negro “children.”

Sojourner Truth (1850) sought to understand how ministers and churches readily accepted the “soul-killing system” of the peculiar institution, since it was “diametrically opposed to the religion of Jesus” (p.36). Carter G. Woodson (1933) continued this theological perspective by showing how White culture projects African Americans as not having a moral or religious connection, and that what is immoral, such as slavery, is justified as righteous by White standards. Jesse Jackson (2001) called out another stereotypical epistemology in which unemployed Black people are labeled as lazy, while unemployed Whites are labeled as depressed. Patrice Cullors (2016) recognized that Black people are criminalized wherever they are in America, and no matter how progressive-minded a white-dominated space may appear to be, racism will reveal itself. With a Critical Race Theory (CRT) lens, these examples, among many others, show how race and racism are centralized and fundamental in how society in the United States is explained and operationalized (Yosso, 2005).

Lorde (1992) defines racism as "the belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance" (p. 496). This definition implicates the institution of racism, and how non-Whites have never been situated to share social, economic, or political power in the United States (Solorzano et. al, 2000). Racism from the perspective of the dominant culture is typically ideologized for the purpose to justify hierarchy. This ideology is not framed as racist, based on their perspective of social order—White is a privilege that is paid for by the “Black tax” (Alexander, 2016; Palmer &Walker, 2020). However, racism does not necessarily require an ideology, but rather
the development of a social construct used to differentiate along color lines (Solorzano et al., 2000).

**Lines Drawn**

The initial relationship between Europeans and Africans began with a centered and equal relationship that focused on trade and commerce. As European slave trade began to develop and the exploration and settling of the New World became dependent on African slave labor, the equality that once existed between the two continents quickly dissipated. African servitude and European superiority soon became the working relationship that was operationalized in the American colonies (Cunningham, 2019). Slave codes were instituted to further disintegrate any equality that existed and further deregulate the humanity of Africans (Cunningham, 2019).

The seeds of inequitable music education were planted early with slave codes. The Stono Rebellion of 1739 in South Carolina, led by an Angolan, brought about the outlawing of drumming among Africans, because it was considered a tool of revolt. Of the 250 slave revolts recorded in the United States, only two of those revolts were associated with drumming (Johnson, 2014). Other elements of African culture were also banned, including the native language (Cunningham, 2014). The racial system institutionalized by the United States government began to materialize in the 17th century, as it placed Blacks and Whites on opposite ends of the racial spectrum. White culture was elevated as civilized and socially adroit; Blacks were labeled as heathens, barbaric, and uncivilized savages (Yudell, 2006: 1864); and newer immigrants were placed in the middle (Turner & Gravenholz, 2017).
MAGA

Racism in the twentieth century has continued to be overtly institutionalized into the twenty-first century, while developing covert nuance (Yosso, 2005). A national data survey from the early part of the twenty-first century shows that many Whites believed that racism was a far less or non-existent issue in the United States and that Blacks and Latinx received much better treatment in society. Conversely, many Blacks and Latinx populations in that same data survey believed the opposite (Saad & Newport, 2001; Brown, 2004). More recently into the 2010s, covertly nuanced racism made its way back into the White House from the transition of the audaciously lighted candle of hope and inclusiveness of Barack Obama to the scintillating torch of hatred and bigotry, conflagrated by the politics of Donald Trump.

In 2017, nearly two hundred-fifty White supremacists marched at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville to protest the removal of Confederate statues. They carried torches and collectively chanted racist and anti-Semitic remarks such as, “Blood and soil,” “Jews will not replace us,” and the strategically nuanced, “White lives matter.” These protestors were met by anti-racist protestors, but it was White supremacist protestor James Alex Fields, who decided to drive a 2010 Dodge challenger—at approximately 23-28 miles per hour—through the crowd of peaceful, anti-racist protestors, injuring thirty-five people and killing one person—who was White (Kendi, 2020). Former President Trump followed up this incident with subtly racist comments by condemning the violence and hatred that transpired, but quickly defending the neo-Nazi and White nationalist agenda by saying there were “very fine people on both sides” (Trump, 2017).
Ma’afa

Much like Shoah, the Hebrew term referring to the Jewish Holocaust, which cost the lives of nearly six million Jews in Europe in the early twentieth century (Garber, 2013), the Ma’afa, the Swahili term for Black Holocaust, has taken five hundred years of countless African lives through the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, lynchings during the Jim Crow era, police brutality, poor housing, and substandard health care (Taifa, 2020). As Black and Brown people continued to be the casualty in the war on drugs which started during the Nixon administration, the collateral damage of that war came in the form of the mass incarceration of Black and Brown people from the Reagan through the George W. Bush administrations (Alexander, 2012). While the franchise of the Black murder porn genre continued to disenfranchise African Americans, the Trump administration refused to acknowledge the existence of White supremacy, as the country watched many Trump supporters put on an Oscar-like performance of scaling the walls like fire ants, and laying siege to the United States Capitol building with little to no resistance, in a “patriotic” effort to overturn the 2020 U.S. Presidential election (Jordan, 2021; Simon & Sidnor, 2021; Jacobo, 2021; Kelly et al., 2021; Lakshmanan & Beard, 2021).

Yes We Can(t)

With the election of Barack Obama in 2008, many people in the United States believed the paradigm was shifting to a post-racial ideology. Patterns of racism continue to be seen that make Obama’s election less victorious in the evolution of race relations and more viewed as an exception or “blip” in the discrimination-disparity continuum (Richomme, 2012). For example, The O’Reilly Factor, a popular political television show in 2015, highlighted a featured segment on the mass shooting of nine African Americans in a Bible study at Mother Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston,
South Carolina, by self-proclaimed White nationalist Dylann Roof. On this show, the story of the shooting was not told from the humanistic perspective of a hate crime against African Americans, but it was scripted into a political platform to defend the Second Amendment (El-Nawawy & Elmasry, 2016).

Another example is the use of multiculturalism as an educational framework to support post-racial ideology. Multiculturalism, however, carries contradictions that attempt to promote social justice, by disregarding ways of being and knowing for many Black and Indigenous People of Color (BIPOC). Obama (2006) himself recognized the error in accepting a victory as a transition to post-racial thinking: “To suggest that our racial attitudes play no part in these disparities is to turn a blind eye to both our history and our experience—and to relieve ourselves of the responsibility to make things right” (p.233).

**Predominantly White Institutions**

The sociopolitical history of the United States, as suggested in the previous section, has centered Whiteness by marginalizing and/or silencing non-Whites. The centering of Whiteness through institutionalized policies and practices, while marginalizing the voices and perspectives of people of color, is exemplified within the United States racial system by Predominantly White Institutions, also known as PWIs (Morales, 2021). White people account for at least fifty percent of the student population at PWIs (Brown & Dancy, 2009). Although the term “predominantly White institution” has been streamlined to only mean that there are more White people enrolled or employed at a given institution than there are non-White people, Critical Race Theory (CRT) shows that the term PWI goes beyond underrepresentation in racial groups, but
also shows an equal lack of diversity in how an institution operates organizationally (Bourke, 2016).

PWI is not a designated classification given to any higher learning institution in the United States. Scholarly research often uses the term PWI to study issues of race in higher education, where Whiteness maintains dominance, and non-Whiteness remains subordinate (Bourke, 2016). According to Benitez and DeAro (2003) there are six categories of Minority serving institutions (MSIs) designated under the Higher Education Act: Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCU), Alaska Native Serving Institutions (ANSIs), and Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Institutions (AANAPISIs). The mission or student enrollment of each school determines the category in which MSIs are identified. HSIs, for example, must have twenty percent of their student population be identified as Hispanic and at least fifty percent of that same population qualify as low-income status (Dayton et al., 2004). HBCUs and TCUs, however, recognize their specific population on a federal level and in their mission statements (Benitez & DeAro, 2003). According to Mackey (2002), structural power and authority, along with cultural advantage brought on by power, are the results of being normalized or unmarked.

**White Owned**

The term PWI is so normalized, that there is no consideration taken into the systemically racist history and policies that have defined these institutions over time (Bourke, 2016). Critical race theorist Leonardo (2013) explained that PWIs are racialized spaces and that the act of detaching academia from the realities of society from which
racism was born is an immature notion. He further states that, "Racial inequality and its vestiges in education are products of historical events, not the least of which are the examples of slavery, cultural and physical genocide, and labor exploitation. These injuries would have been enough, but their reach and influence into daily practices should not be underestimated” (p.159).

There is an inherent right to property that is implicated in the use of the term PWI, along with the continued use of designated terms, such as Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), which were established for African Americans, to be excluded from White spaces (Bourke, 2016). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) showed that denying African Americans access to schooling, followed by segregated schooling, and recently by resegregation through White flight and school choice, are all manifestations of how Whiteness functions as property, meaning that laws provide benefits that create advantages for people simply because they are White (Harris, 1993). This has led to a specific trend, according to Ladson-Billings (1998), that many African Americans who obtain a Ph.D. in education are earning them in educational administration, engaging them as practitioners and not professors, leading to less African Americans becoming faculty in higher education. Legal scholar Cheryl Harris (1993) contended that the law has provided those who are the possessors of Whiteness to have the same privilege as those who own other forms of property. Critical Whiteness Theory (CWT) points out structural advantages, meaning ways that White people look at themselves, at others, and society as a whole. These advantages are assumed, both unmarked and unnamed (Frankenburg, 1993). White supremacy continues to be perpetuated in PWIs through this
property ideology, because the value of Whiteness itself greatly benefits Whites more than anyone else (Hiraldo, 2010).

**HIStory**

PWIs in the United States historically were places that, before 1964, legally excluded people by race and gender. Western Europe, specifically Oxford University and Cambridge University, were the models for PWIs during the colonial era (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997). In the 17th century, the first colleges in the United States—Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary—were all modeled after Emmanuel College, a subsidiary of Cambridge University. School standards and practices for the first PWIs were developed from the Protestant Christian tradition. The original mission of the school was to train and develop young Christian White men for ministry (Geiger, 1999). These institutions served the good of the general public, but were not very accessible beyond White men, who were upper class, and lived in the Northeastern area of the United States.

During the antebellum period of American history, it was Oberlin College who took a progressive stance in abolishing slavery and misogyny. Oberlin provided access for both women and African Americans to attend (Mack, 2010). In 1835, Oberlin College became the first PWI to admit African Americans. Two years later, Oberlin became the first co-educational institution in the United States, by admitting women (Tikkanen, 2019).

**Disparity by despair.** Despite changes from a traditional to a more liberal curriculum supported by the Morrill Land Grant Act in 1862, which provided greater access to higher education in other regions in the United States, colleges and universities remained a territory marked by White men (Geiger, 1999). In the late 19th century after the Civil War, colleges and universities began to expand their student enrollment to
women and racially minoritized populations, but their policies and interests fundamentally catered to the social, political, and economic advancement of White men (Geiger, 1999). The second Morrill Land Grant Act, which came 28 years after the original, mandated that colleges and universities must either be open to integration, or allocate portions of their funding to HBCUs. Many PWIs decided to keep themselves segregated, and in 1894, 16 new HBCUs were opened (Anderson & Kharem, 2009).

Higher education is a microcosm of how the United States aggressively advanced its financial and industrial position in the world through cruel and unfair treatment of others (Wilder, 2013). It was the use of slave labor that contributed to the formation and function of colleges and universities during the colonial era (Bourke, 2016). The wealth generated through Transatlantic slavery, was advanced by PWIs. Many slaveowners and slavery advocates of both Africans and North American indigenous people, are currently celebrated on campus by having buildings named after them (Wilder, 2013). According to Miller (1993), by the late 19th century, most states that offered music instruction in PWIs and/or conservatories were open to African Americans being accepted—as performers that received instruction based on White Eurocentric culture. Unfortunately, it took a hundred years before many PWIs and conservatories across the United States accepted African Americans as faculty members.

Black Progress: The Interlude

For a long time, opportunities for Blacks to be educated in the United States was in great opposition to the oppressor. That opposing mindset toward education, among other things, was understood by many Black leaders, who were willing to work, suffer, and sacrifice for the uplifting of the Black community. Frederick Douglass (1857), who
at the time was anticipating the Civil War, pointed out the cost for freedom when he said, “If there is no struggle, there is no progress” (p.21). Striving to obtain an education was not just for the African American as an individual, but also for others of similar backgrounds. The obligation of the pan-African community to recognize each other’s humanity, choosing life over wealth, and power to the people lies in the African philosophy of Ubuntu, a Zulu term which translates as “I am because we are” (Mugumbate & Nyanguru, 2013). The advent of the Historically Black College and University (HBCU) was a manifestation of Ubuntuism and the result of the institutional racism in American higher education, specifically in PWIs. Although the term HBCU did not exist until the United States Congress amended Title III of the Higher Education Act in 1965 (Arzate, 2013), freed slaves found both social and academic connections in HBCUs, whose primary objectives immediately after the Civil War were basic literacy, refining social protocols, and ecclesiastical training (Bennett & Xie, 2003).

**BTW**

Schools like the Tuskegee Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington, helped establish a foundation in HBCU culture in preparing African Americans with practical and industrial skill sets that would advance the community both individually and collectively (Frantz, 1997). Students at Tuskegee were trained and developed in both agricultural and mechanical arts such as printing, carpentry, shoemaking, and sawmilling, while being nurtured in the virtues of entrepreneurship and self-reliance (Gates, 1998). Washington believed that this social and economic strategy would be advantageous in moving the African American community closer to a respectful position among established White culture, as well as progress toward integration and full citizenship in
the United States (Gates, 1998). He believed that liberal arts education was not a practical way of life for Blacks during that era, and he also thought it might be a disruption to peace, and lead to White retaliation (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Washington was praised by many people for his diplomacy, but he subversively contributed money to court cases to challenge segregation (Wormser, 2002).

**Dubois**

Among other Black scholars, it was W.E.B. Dubois who approached African American progress in education differently than Booker T. Washington. Unlike Washington's childhood, in which he grew up in a slave family, Dubois was nurtured in a more affluent environment (Frantz, 1997). He completed a liberal arts degree from Fisk University, followed by a second bachelor's degree from Harvard (Nickelberry, 2012). He also received a Ph.D. from Harvard, becoming the first African American to do so (Pazzanese, 2018). As a Harvard graduate, he had a different perspective on the socioeconomic progress of the African American. He felt that the advancement of the Black community would be through a small group of Blacks that graduated from prominent higher education institutions. Dubois adopted a particular term from Henry Morehouse called the “Talented Tenth,” which was a small group of Black scholars who studied modern culture, that could be a model to guide the Negro community into a more enlightened society (Dubois, 1968). This was a cohort that Dubois thought would rescue the Black community from laws and policies that perpetuated discrimination, segregation, and violence. Dubois hoped to empower Blacks to think beyond survival, and look toward social and academic prosperity (Nickelberry, 2012). He used his platform as co-founder of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to
create *The Crisis* magazine, which helped to publicize the oppression and injustices taking place throughout the United States by using current events, commentary, artwork, poems, and essays connected to Black history and culture (Rudwick, 1958).

**Black unity**

Washington and Dubois opposed each other’s strategy toward African American socioeconomic progress in the early twentieth century (Gates, 1998). Their perspectives, however, implicate that securing education and fighting for inclusion was important for the African American culture. Washington and Dubois’s educational philosophies harmonize within John Dewey’s philosophy on progressive education (Greco, 1984). Like Washington, Dewey was an advocate of Pestalozzian thinking, which highlights schools being the place to establish moral principles and relevant experiences needed for society (Generals, 2000). Dewey was influenced by Dubois’s approach of true democracy, which embraces pluralism, without cultural assimilation, or cultural diversity without surrendering individuality (Burks, 1997). Washington and Dubois were in favor of moral and financial support of White men in their cause (Fairclough, 2002), but they desired to show that excellence was not solely predicated on Whiteness (Malveaux, 2003).

**“Soul” Searching**

As I closely examined the era of legalized segregation in America, the role of educator carried prominence in the African American community. Education itself was the key resource that the African American community perceived as the pathway to true freedom in the United States in the post-Reconstruction era (Naylor, Nichol, & Brown, 2015).
Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, the largest group of professionals to provide leadership in the African American community were educators (Franklin, 1990). Before the Brown vs. Board of Education decision in 1954, there were 82,000 African American educators in the United States, primarily in the South (Anderson, 2014). Although integration was a positive step in America moving forward from Jim Crow, granting equal protection of the African American under the law also brought forth the dismantling of the cultural capital that education held in the African American community. In the 11 years following the Brown vs. Board decision, there were only 38,000 African American teachers (Anderson, 2014).

**Small Steps**

Opportunities in predominantly White institutions (PWI) for African Americans were made available, but the hiring practices did not change. History shows that Black professors were originally hired in PWIs because of a shortage of faculty due to enlistments to World War II (Fleming, Gill & Swinton, 1978). Their position was not permanent and deemed as probationary during the 1940s. Most of the black professors in PWIs during that time were “visiting” for no more than one academic year.

Haygood (1946) stated that six years before World War II, thirty-thousand African Americans had graduated from college, which was a greater number than any other time in U.S. history up to that point. Haygood also compiled a list that totaled forty-five African Americans receiving teaching appointments to schools in the North within the two academic years of 1945-1946 and 1946-1947. Of the forty-five identified, only twenty-two had a regular appointment, while the others were part-time, visiting, or artists in residence.
Figure 1

List of African American Professors in the United States in 1945-46 and 1946-47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Walter Anderson</td>
<td>Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio</td>
<td>(music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percy Hayes Baker</td>
<td>Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina</td>
<td>(biology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carol Beice</td>
<td>Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina</td>
<td>(music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond Brown</td>
<td>University of Akron, Akron, Ohio</td>
<td>(sociology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterling A. Brown</td>
<td>Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York; University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota</td>
<td>(English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren Brown</td>
<td>Hunter College, New York City</td>
<td>(sociology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles W. Buggs</td>
<td>Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan</td>
<td>(biology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Callaway, M.D.</td>
<td>University of Illinois Medical School, Urbana, Illinois</td>
<td>(medical medicine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Chandler</td>
<td>Roosevelt College, Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>(chemistry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgil O. Clyde</td>
<td>Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio</td>
<td>(education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth Bancroft Clark</td>
<td>College of the City of New York, New York City</td>
<td>(psychology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marion Cuthbert</td>
<td>Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York</td>
<td>(personnel and sociology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allisow Davis</td>
<td>University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>(education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Clair Drake</td>
<td>Roosevelt College, Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>(sociology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanner G. Dunkrey</td>
<td>University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California</td>
<td>(education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wade Ellis</td>
<td>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan</td>
<td>(mathematics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Oakland Pax</td>
<td>Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina</td>
<td>(music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madeline Clarke Foreman</td>
<td>William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa</td>
<td>(biology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Franklin Frazier</td>
<td>New School of Social Work, New York, New York; Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York</td>
<td>(sociology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine C. Golightly</td>
<td>Olivet College, Olivet, Michigan</td>
<td>(English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornelius L. Golightly</td>
<td>Olivet College, Olivet, Michigan</td>
<td>(philosophy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice Graham</td>
<td>Roosevelt College, Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>(psychometry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth Hamilton</td>
<td>Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio</td>
<td>(tea room management)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Hayden</td>
<td>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan</td>
<td>(English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roland Hayes</td>
<td>Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina</td>
<td>(music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphonse Hensinburg</td>
<td>New York University, New York, New York</td>
<td>(education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constance Hensel</td>
<td>University of the City of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio</td>
<td>(social science)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelaide Crowell Hill</td>
<td>Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts</td>
<td>(sociology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William A. Hinton, M.D.</td>
<td>Harvard Medical School, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Simon's College, Boston, Massachusetts</td>
<td>(bacteriology and immunology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene Clay Holmes</td>
<td>College of the Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina</td>
<td>(philosophy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Lawrence</td>
<td>Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina</td>
<td>(art)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alain Locke</td>
<td>University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; New School for Social Research, New York, New York</td>
<td>(philosophy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace E. Marr</td>
<td>Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York</td>
<td>(microbiology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred E. Martin</td>
<td>Hunter College, New York, New York</td>
<td>(physics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Nelson Palmer</td>
<td>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan</td>
<td>(sociology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence D. Redick</td>
<td>College of the City of New York, New York</td>
<td>(history)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ira DeA. Reid</td>
<td>New York University, New York, New York; Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>(sociology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estelle Massey Riddle</td>
<td>New York University, New York, New York</td>
<td>(nursing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerald A. Spencer, M.D.</td>
<td>Post-Graduate Hospital and Medical School, Columbia University, New York, New York</td>
<td>(dermatology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olive Streator</td>
<td>Fordham University, New York, New York</td>
<td>(social science)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin R. Sutler, M.D.</td>
<td>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan</td>
<td>(surgery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorenzo Turner</td>
<td>Roosevelt College, Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>(English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Hana Watkins</td>
<td>University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>(anthropology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budlar Whitby</td>
<td>Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan</td>
<td>(social work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forrest Oran Wiggins</td>
<td>University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota</td>
<td>(philosophy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hale Woodruff</td>
<td>New York University, New York, New York</td>
<td>(art)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* On regular appointment.
Throughout the mid-twentieth century, including landmark cases such as Brown vs. Board, and the Civil Rights act of 1964, Black professors still only made up less than one percent of all faculty positions at PWIs. Many White music professors, prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, were concerned with the perceived negative optics that engaging with Black students and faculty would have on their career. Prior to many African American scholars and performers having access to attend schools of music and conservatories, most African Americans either joined HBCUs or started their own music studios (Southern, 1982). Prominent Black musicians such as Elizabeth Taylor-Greenfield, Emma Azalia Hackley, and Marie Selika, are all examples of performers who instituted music studios for the education and accessibility of African Americans in the early 20th century (Du Pont, 2014).

In 1945, Black Mountain College, in North Carolina was the first PWI to appoint two African Americans, Roland Hayes and Carol Brice, to teach music, albeit month-long residencies and not full-time appointments. The hiring of Hayes and Brice by then director of the institute, Edward Lowinsky, signified an intentional effort to integrate the music community of Black Mountain College. Lowinsky’s agenda of racial progress led to non-segregated auditorium seating and repertoire programming at concert recitals (Jones & Harris, 1989).

**Gub’ment Cheez**

Moving forward to 1981, a bill was signed by President Ronald Reagan that provided nearly thirty million pounds of processed cheese, to people on welfare, food stamps, and Social Security, as part of the Temporary Food Assistance Program, which lasted until the mid 1990s (American Presidency Project, n.d.). The consumption of
cheese for a well-balanced diet is a White-centered concept, considering that data have historically shown a high level of lactose intolerance among many African Americans (Arnold, 2018; National Medical Association, 2009; Lang, 2005; Byers & Saviano, 2005). Gub’ment cheese is analogous to many other United States government initiatives, like affirmative action: it exists to help the disenfranchised, but it is a well-intended, White-centric ideology forced upon racially minoritized populations with no regard to the trauma or consequences exacerbated with its consumption. An example of this “good” intention was the affirmative action initiative carried out by President Lyndon B. Johnson's executive order 11246 in 1965, which bolstered the Civil Rights Act by proclaiming: “The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin” (p.339). The affirmative action order was the first time that there was a noticeable increase in Black faculty at PWIs (Turner & Myers, 2000). Although this mandate was met with opposition by some stakeholders in higher education, the population of Black faculty at PWIs doubled from less than one percent to slightly over two percent.

The assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., along with other racially contentious episodes both on and off campus, ignited a revolution of African American social activism and empowerment. There was also a raised awareness among college administrators to provide concrete, actionable steps toward racial equality in both the hiring of African American faculty and the admission of African American students (Du Pont, 2014). The Adams v. California court case in 1977 also was intended to strengthen and support hiring more African American educators through greater and more equitable
government support of teacher education programs at HBCUs (Dupre, 1986).

Unfortunately, newly integrated schools caused all-African American schools to shut down and many school administrators deemed those African American teachers who supported the Civil Rights movement were dispensable during this time.

*Same Ol’ Same Ol’*

Racism and discrimination, unfortunately, were still realities experienced by many African Americans in the United States, especially in the field of education. The influence of racism and discrimination has historically been both covertly and overtly experienced from preschool to higher education (Cokley, 2016). The affirmative action Executive Order required contractors to document their compliance with the U.S. Labor Secretary, which would require all state universities to confirm their respective compliance. Faculty integration in schools of music was explored on a greater level throughout the 1960s and 1970s with the appointments of African Americans at notable schools like the University of Michigan, University of Cincinnati, and Indiana University.

African Americans were now given an opportunity to be hired in higher education following this order, but the societal shift to a more hospitable climate change was still problematic (Du Pont, 2014). Though expectations were elevated among Black people regarding equal opportunity for higher education, White privilege was still a societal standard in PWIs. The circumstance of underrepresentation on campus was a new paradigm shift for Black scholars. Racial equity and inclusion would still be both an ongoing and recognizable challenge (Thompson & Louque, 2005).
System That Works

Meanwhile, many years have passed. Racial inequities in higher education continue. It is not because of malfunction, but because of a system that continues to work for the population for which it was intended originally—White people. Patton (2016) argued that racial inequities in higher education are informed by three components: 1) The establishment of U.S. higher education is deeply rooted in racism/White supremacy, the vestiges of which remain unpalatable. 2) The functioning of U.S. higher education is intricately linked to imperialistic and capitalistic efforts that fuel the intersections of race, property, and oppression. 3) U.S. higher education institutions serve as venues through which formal knowledge production rooted in racism/White supremacy is generated (p. 317).

Blackwell (1981) stated that the most statistically predictable measurement for determining enrollment and graduation of African American students in higher education is the presence of African American professors. The National Center for Education Statistics (2017) reports nearly seven percent of all faculty in higher education are African American, with only three percent of that population teaching at PWIs (NCES, 2017; Allison, 2003). According to the U.S. Department of Education (2018), there are only 1.1 million African Americans included in approximately twenty million students enrolled in public and private colleges and universities in the United States. Only 6.1 percent of all incoming graduate students in 2019 were African Americans (Okahana et al., 2020). Out of the nearly 190,000 African American students enrolled in graduate schools in the United States, seventy percent of those enrolled were women (Okahana et. al, 2020).
Menace 2 Society

Social constructs exist because humans agree that they should (Bainbridge, 2020). Equity and justice are not natural. They are constructs manifested from the human imagination. Human beings, however, can apply equity and justice to any social or natural construct, if they choose, whether the rest of nature understands or not (Reimer, 2007). It is human consciousness that causes reflection on things that are unfair and unjust and the ever-greater critical consciousness to rid ourselves of these things.

The underrepresentation of Black scholars in higher education is a social construct that could be attributed to the entrapment, and possibly recruitment of African Americans, particularly males, for prison through systemic inequities and injustices. Davis (2016) illuminates the sociocultural darkness of the prison system in the United States by saying they are filled with people whom society failed. Disproportionate rates of incarceration are producing societal abnormalities that leave strains on communities of color (Mauer, 2011). According to statistics (Moore, 2015), there are more African American men in prison in the United States than the total prison population of India, Canada, Argentina, Lebanon, Japan, Germany, England, Finland, and Israel combined. There are 161 million women of all races in the United States. Women make up about 200,000 of the currently incarcerated. There are approximately 18 million African American males in the United States. African American males alone encompass about 745,000, which is nearly four times the number of women of all races incarcerated in the United States (Sentencing Project, 2016).

Inequitable criminal justice policies and socioeconomic disparities also contribute to the modern-day exploitation of the African American. Many compare the modern-day
United States prison system as an extension of the “plantations” of the past. Poverty is
geographically concentrated in predominantly African American and Latinx
neighborhoods. Because of this disparity, the African American and Latinx population
are both arrested and victimized in property and violent crimes at 3.7 times higher than
the rate of Whites. Tonry and Melewsky (2008) have stated that 80 percent of the African
American overrepresentation in prison is due to the higher number of arrests, based on a
given crime. The data show that 95 percent of the 3,500 police precincts across the
United States arrest African Americans at a higher rate than any other racial group
(Ghandnoosh, 2015).

Policing policies that are intended to be racially unbiased tend to harmonize with
a socioeconomic system that creates racial disparity. The war on drugs, for example, is a
conflict that affects all races. Whites make up nearly two-thirds of the drug users in the
United States, but African Americans are arrested at nearly four times the rate of Whites
and comprise fifty-seven percent of the state inmates that are incarcerated for drug
offenses (Ghandnoosh, 2015).

The promotional recruitment package for the American prison system is working,
based on the higher levels of recidivism among African Americans. Despite African
Americans having lower statistics in drug addiction, situational poverty, mental health
diagnoses, and other various risk factors that drive recidivism, they are more
reincarcerated than any other racial group (Berry et al., 2017). Studies suggest that the
greatest predictor of recidivism, according to Kennedy (2017), is racism and implicit
bias—or plainly put—being Black.
Mass Media

There is a greater representation of African Americans portrayed in media today, but the deficit model in which African Americans are characterized by media gatekeepers remains problematic (Kumah-Abiwu, 2019). The misrepresentation of African Americans as unintelligent and at-risk has contributed to Blacks being underrepresented and devalued in many institutions of the American social order (Howard, 2014). American media has often depicted Blacks, especially males, as buffoons, criminals, and sex-craving animals who lust after White women. This design, which dates back to the days of slavery in the United States and is still perpetuated today, was created to maintain the narrative of White superiority and Black inferiority (Diuguid & Rivers, 2000).

Images in media and advertising continue to perpetuate racial stereotypes and prejudice (Brister, 1995). The primary roles played in many popular music videos and popular songs are limited to sexual objectivity of Black females and Black male dominance, aggression, and materialism (Ward, Hansborough, & Walker, 2005). The stigmatization of the African American, as portrayed by the media, has poisoned the imagination of the public, and African Americans are overrepresented in the media by negative behaviors (Nogueara, 2003). The influence of media promotes negative statistical norms of urban communities throughout the United States such as generational poverty, crime, and mass incarceration, causing what is seen and heard to become both authentic and socially “normal” (Alexander, 2012).
**Images Past and Present**

Dong and Murillo (2007) suggest that Whites develop stereotypes of Black people when they are solely dependent on the negative stereotypes that are portrayed in the media. The more negative images that exist, the greater possibility for White media consumers to construct negative stereotype images of Black people. Hollywood culture has long impacted popular culture around the world. Much of Hollywood media culture is imported from global customs, which are then repackaged and exported to various media outlets for global consumption. Many irregularities in image portrayal of African Americans are created, largely because of who has historically been the dominant social, economic, and cultural power among Hollywood executives (Jenkins III, 2015).

Media tends to create negative images of Black people, rather than reflect, fully understanding that the self-esteem of the collective identity of Black people could be greatly harmed (Tan & Tan, 1979). Hollywood in the early 20th century used characters like Stepin Fetchit, and movies and TV shows like *The Jazz Singer*, *Gone With the Wind*, and *Amos ‘n Andy* to depict African Americans as house Negroes, maids, mammies, field hands, and minstrels (Collins, 2000). Black actors or characters in blackface on film and TV were portrayed as illiterate, nurturing white families, lazy workers, and often “shucking and jiving,” a slang term connected to acting deceitfully (Schilling, 2017). D.W. Griffith, the film director of *Birth of a Nation*, portrayed a fake spin of the Civil War, in which the Ku Klux Klan are the heroes, saving White America from Black people. The Black people depicted in the film were White actors in blackface. The film went on to become the most popular film nationwide in 1915, and was a featured film shown at the White House for President Woodrow Wilson (Ramirez, 2020).
Frederick Douglass, the most photographed public and political figure of the 19th century, was well aware of the importance of the narrative of the African American being told through visual images. Along with his abolitionist oratory, he weaponized his portraits as positive images to counter the negative caricatures of Black people that existed in 19th century media (Ramirez, 2020). W.E.B. DuBois, much like Douglass, understood the power in pictures, as he showcased major accomplishments within Black culture, along with portraits of himself and many other Black scholars in his Exhibit of American Negroes in the 1900 World's Fair in Paris (Ramirez, 2020).

Hollywood has now replaced most buffoonery and blackface images for 21st century characters in movies and TV shows like Training Day, The Help, The Wire, Wild' n Out, Black Ink, Real Housewives of Atlanta, and Love and Hip Hop. Characters portray thugs, drug dealers, jezebels, pimps, and sapphires with brash attitudes and no regard for themselves or others (O’Neil, 2009; Wanzo, 2006). This media strategy has assisted in shaping the image of the African American to the dominant culture--and intraculturally (O’Neil, 2009).

Exposure to media, along with lived experiences, has caused people to create images in their minds of how a role model looks (Doloff, 1999). YouTube, Music Television (MTV), Video Hits One (VH1), Black Entertainment Television (BET), and various social media outlets have shaped and molded minds into what Black culture is. In a national survey of adolescents from ages 8 to 18, African Americans watch more than 5 hours of TV a day in comparison to Whites, who watch 2 hours and 47 minutes a day (Foehr, Rideout, & Brodie, 1999). Images impact those who view them the most.
Therefore, African American children and teens are at a greater risk of influence (Ward, Hansborough & Walker, 2005).

Counter images created by Black sociopolitical leaders have been key to reframing the mainstream American consciousness toward African Americans. Ida B. Wells and the NAACP, used the current technology of her time to find images and wrote newspaper articles that were connected to multiple lynchings in the United States, hoping to influence the American consciousness. Mamie Till, mother of Emmitt Till, allowed photographs of her son's mangled and bloated body in an open casket to be used to turn the attack on her son against the attackers, thus creating a fresh stream of consciousness toward lynching in the United States (Ramirez, 2020). Most recently in 2020, images of Black murder surfaced through social media that may have done more help than harm in how Black people are portrayed through mass media. The murder of George Floyd was recorded live and published by a local citizen, which ignited a revolution across the entire world to stand up against racial oppression (Ramirez, 2020).

**Images of educators.** Within today’s media-influenced society, many people have constructed images of professional educators that are based on personal experiences (Doloff, 1999). White privilege is regularly promoted in media content, as Whites are typically portrayed in positions in which they are leading or in charge. Everyone else, specifically African Americans, are usually subjects or followers (Entman & Gross, 2008, p. 97).

Mass media and popular culture have authenticated personal experiences with professional educators by depicting them through fictional characters and tactical edutainment. Valued personal and professional traits such as problem solving, teamwork,
and negotiation are situated in a protagonist, who in the end, always seems to balance love and justice. Social indicators are cleverly and explicitly embedded into the other role-playing characters. Human imagination allows additions to the characteristics of what an effective or ineffective teacher appears to be (Doloff, 1999). From these images, the human produces concepts constructed from experiences (Cronin, 2017). The most common image that an African American has experienced of a music educator, according to the Center of American Progress (2014), is a White female. The constructed image of an African American working in any educational institution is someone employed in food service, transportation, or custodial services (Nicolas, 2014).

**Entertainers not educators.** There is a significant amount of research that exists on African Americans as musicians and performers, but very little attention has been given to African Americans as music scholars and/or pedagogues. For example, Roland Hayes, whose biography about his singing career, *Angel Mo' and her Son, Roland Hayes*, was the first African American book of its kind. This biography, however, bordered on the line of minstrelsy, greatly because the editor, MacKinley Helm—who was White—used racial epithets that supported the narrative of being naturally Black and poor, but having immense talent, and being morally and financially rescued by White people (Du Pont, 2014).

Nettles (2003) notes several African Americans such as Marian Anderson, William Warfield, Paul Robeson, and Leontyne Price, who are all widely categorized as performers, but are far less acknowledged for their career as educators on the collegiate level. William Warfield (1976), in fact, who was the first African American voice faculty at the University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana, noted in his book, that there were little to
no African American students on campus when he initially joined the faculty, but he
endeared himself as a mentor, affectionately known as "Uncle Bill," to the first African
American vocal performance doctoral graduates. He felt that his tenure provided comfort
to African American music students on campus, as well as providing a smooth and safe
pathway for doctoral students to succeed in the music department.

**Exclusion**

The American academic profession is inherently tribal and territorial. Schools are
separated by gender, religion, race, and intracollegiately by subject. As subject areas
begin to disperse, so does the faculty that teaches it, thus potentially creating both elitism
and exclusion within the faculty ranks (Staten-Ward, 2005).

Cross and Bruce (2002) have stated that most of the African American faculty in
higher education teach at HBCUs. In most traditional institutions in the United States,
such as banks and schools, the model used over the centuries has resembled the culture of
White, middle class, Protestant, heterosexual men (Gollnick, 1996). Most members of
these institutions stay in positions of power that cater to their social needs, which tends to
exclude people of color (Weaver, Baker, Gillespie, Bellido & Watts, 2010). Since many
educational and financial institutions appear to be less open-minded about policy and
curriculum development, it can be inferred that intentional decolonization will not
happen, because African Americans are not wanted (Tugend, 2018).

**SOM Exclusion**

African Americans are also academically excluded on purpose in schools of
music (SOM) so that the current power structure can remain intact. Floyd (1982)
indicated that research centered on Black scholarship in music must intensify because of
the disrespect and exclusion of music from Black heritage in scholarly writings, school curriculums and practice, and from the general public—which unfortunately, is common. Though tokenizing of Black music heritage is a reality, it is more of a symptom of the despondency that Western musical traditions have toward any musical ways of knowing beyond the historical Eurocentric model (Floyd, 1982), which according to Crawford (1975), is a "closed, unified, almost monolithic system...It becomes difficult to get far enough from it to see it as anything else, or to see anything else as important next to it" (p. 5).

Racial Identity

In 1964, amidst intense racial strife in America, Malcolm X expressed an important thought on Black unity. He said the following:

“There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers' solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves” (Declaration of Independence, 1964, 5:03).

To understand the situatedness of underrepresentation, one must understand the boundaries of institutional racism that professionally and emotionally marginalize African Americans in higher education (Jackson, 2018). As Kynard (2015) says, oppression could never work if it were invisible, unarticulated, or unfelt by those it targets” (p. 3). Mental trauma from years of slavery, followed by years of powerlessness, coping, and lack of recognition is an old chestnut that African Americans have endured
for centuries. Instead of the people being discouraged by political challenges, people learn how to “get by” or make the best of an almost impossible situation. Because mass media authenticates knowledge regarding the narrative of most people, the African American community is not positioned to equitably share and control its own narrative. Much of this unresolved conflict has defined the African diaspora in both the past and present and has evolved into one key issue: identity crisis. Who are we? Who are we not?

Who We Be

Ogbu (2004) says that collective identity is how a social group thinks of itself, and it is expressed through cultural symbols that reflect values and beliefs. This collective identity is formed through events like warfare, forced labor, mass emigration, and enslavement. Since the early 15th century, the human experience of Africans living in the United States of America has been a collective series of traumas. Years of slavery, dehumanization, prejudice, legalized racism, economic disparities, and a variety of social inequities have left the historically African American community battered physically and mentally from collective violence inflicted by Whites (Halloran, 2019).

African Americans have higher rates of poverty and racial injustices that have intergenerationally affected economic and social wellness. Though life expectancy in comparison to Whites in the United States is similar, the quality of life is significantly lower (Halloran, 2019). For many African Americans, collective identity is usually formed by these given external forces, and the reaction to those forces. In turn, the dominated culture has been forced to react and resolve these societal barriers which include:
1. Involuntary incorporation into society: Usually these minorities do not become minorities by choice. Rather they are forced into minority status against their will by conquest, colonization, enslavement (e.g., Black Americans) or arbitrary subjection to the status of a pariah caste (e.g., the Burakumin of Japan).

2. Instrumental discrimination: e.g., denial of equal access to good jobs, education, political participation and housing.

3. Social subordination: e.g., residential and social segregation, hostility and violence; prohibition of intermarriage; requirement of the offspring of intergroup mating to affiliate with one group with no choice. In some cases, oppressed minorities are forced against their will to assimilate into the dominant group, although this assimilation usually results in marginalization.

4. Expressive mistreatment: e.g., cultural, language, and intellectual denigration (p.4).

Negative race relations, prejudice, and systemic oppression have extended intergenerational trauma, and continue to play psychological warfare on the African American community (Halloran, 2019). Coping with terrorism over time has led to a variety of adaptations in behavior such as apathy, loss of identity, self-inefficacy, and learned helplessness (Alexander et. al, 2004). It will take more than a few years to chip away at the systemic trauma that has been coated and cured on the collective identity of African Americans for nearly four centuries.

**Blackness**

As macrocosms of Whiteness are perpetuated in many institutions across the United States, it is equally as important to proclaim that there is an episteme of
Blackness: a way of knowing that is developed experientially, collectively, and intergenerationally (Johnson & Joseph-Salisbury, 2018). It is essential for Black survival, and it helps many in the African diaspora to “navigate and negotiate their position in society” (p.144).

The African diaspora makes up one-sixth of the world’s population: nearly 150 million in the Americas, 50 million in Eurasia and North Africa, and 800 million in Sub-Saharan Africa—which equals out to be 1 billion (Manning, 2009). When describing the diaspora, Manning exclaims that it “involves migration and settlement in various lands, but remaining connected to the homeland” (p.5). West (2002) highlighted the complexities of being in the African diaspora, living in America, and the lack of understanding that exists in socio-academic forums:

“In certain circles, there are pundits and commentators who don’t understand the intellectual legitimacy of the study of the experience of people of African descent and what a challenge it poses in terms of our understanding of what it means to be human, what it means to be modern, what it means to be American” (The State of the African American Professoriate, 2002).

**Black polylith.** Although Blackness is a source of pride, Black people cannot escape the reality that being Black is a sorting tool that historically cannot be avoided beyond Black spaces, regardless of any cohort or intersectionality that exists beyond race. There is not a privilege afforded to African Americans that provides allowances to identify heritage and current understandings of ethnicity without always having a constant psychological and emotional connection with the history of African Americans in the United States (Cunningham, 2019). Since the narrative of African history has been
rerouted by slavery, Asante (1998) advocated “viewing Blackness through the lens of Afrocentricity, which emphasizes ethnic pride within the African community more than cultural exchange beyond the African community” (p.7).

According to Asante (1998), Afrocentricity is a shift in thinking that focuses on how the Black African could survive without White people, versus reacting to a constructed environment designed to support White people’s needs. The goal of Afrocentricity is to centralize the African experience, based on African history--while removing Europe. It makes Africans the subject, and not the object, with African knowledge being authentic based on its origin and location. The African experience throughout the diaspora cannot be limited to slavery, but the way in which Africans identify their Blackness does not always trace back to the motherland.

Racial mixing, economic and trade expansion, industrialization, advanced religious insight, and family restructuring all laid the groundwork for a newer outlook on Blackness across the world. Gilroy (1993) argues from the perspective that Africans are a minority population in the north Atlantic and that counterculture from Afrocentricity was created as a reaction to Western European culture in Britain and the United States. His hybrid perspective reflects that of W.E.B. Dubois, who was a proponent of double consciousness. In this case, Blackness cannot be reduced to a particular nation or personality type.

Gilroy emphasized the value of music as a form of expression that de-centers language as the tool of colonial mastery. Music serves many tasks, including articulating political attitudes, shared experiences, and expression of discontent about socio-political issues in the dominant culture (Leung & Kier, 2008). Music, as a badge of identity,
promotes power in resisting authority, and allows themes of freedom and politics (Schwartz & Fouts, 2003). Gilroy explained that the multifaceted badges of identity from jazz, reggae, rock, hip hop and other forms of Black musical expression display how people across the diaspora can testify to their Blackness--without having to say it.

**Becoming black.** According to the Nigrescence Theory, Cross (1978) suggested that African Americans develop their identity of Blackness psychologically based on experienced acts of racial discrimination and/or White supremacy. This “conversion” experience happens in five stages:

1. Pre-counter- the nature of the old identity or frame to be changed.
2. Encounter- a shocking experience that disconnects the person from their old-world view.
3. Immersion-Emersion-the vortex of psychological metamorphosis, the period of transition in which the struggle to destroy all vestiges of the “old” perspective occurs simultaneously with an equally intense concern to clarify the personal implications of the “new” frame of reference.
4. Internalization- the resolution of conflicts between the “old” and “new” worldviews.
5. Internalization-Commitment-This “ideal person” has not only incorporated the new identity but is struggling to translate personal identity into activities that are meaningful to the group (p. 16-18).

The first stage of the Nigrescence Model in its original form was perceived by Cross (1991) to be a deficit model, because it was framed in a way that discredited the current way of being for African Americans individually and collectively. Cross revised
the model so that the pre-encounter stage was not a demeaning phase, but an unconscious and/or insignificant factor in a person's life. The fifth stage was also revised to show a more proactive and confident commitment to make progress for the individual and the entire race (Cross, 1991).

The process of becoming Black is a realization that many African American scholars undergo as faculty and students at a PWI. Othering by oppressive systems and people leave Black scholars in a position in which they must negotiate who they are and what they represent in a White space. The conscious and unconscious battle for individual and collective freedom for the African American is an ongoing version of psychological warfare with institutionalized racism (De Walt, 2009).

**Unapologetically Black**

The rotting stench of racism reeks of pain, heartache, and empty, fragile statements of absolution from “woke” White people. That is not the sweet savor of Blackness, a stream of consciousness in which most Black people find individual and collective joy (Perry, 2020). Collins (2020) declares that, “Blackness in America is greater than the sum of its parts, crafted from struggle and resistance, birthing joy in the process.” Blackness is a thing. According to L’Phee (2017), Blackness is an awareness of your individual history, in concert with a shared experience among other Africans, when combined will shape the future of the entire race. Langston Hughes balked at the notion of devaluing your skin color just to fit in:

One of the most promising of the young Negro poets said to me once, “I want to be a poet—not a Negro poet,” meaning, I believe, “I want to write like a white poet”; meaning subconsciously, “I would like to be a white poet”; meaning
behind that, “I would like to be white.” And I was sorry the young man said that, for no great poet has ever been afraid of being himself. And I doubted then that, with his desire to run away spiritually from his race, this boy would ever be a great poet. But this is the mountain standing in the way of any true Negro art in America—this urge within the race toward whiteness, the desire to pour racial individuality into the mold of American standardization, and to be as little Negro and as much American as possible” (The Nation, 1926, p. 692-93).

From Hughes’s perspective, I can see how Carter G. Woodson took it upon himself to write his own textbooks for the Africans in America. Throughout the early 20th century, many textbooks in American school curriculum often referred to African Americans as “coons” or “Sambos” across most subject areas, in all parts of the United States, not just in the South (Zimmerman, 2004). Books such as Bauer and Peyser’s How Music Grew from Prehistoric Times to Present Day (1925), and other music textbooks characterized African Americans as “darkies,” and other racial slurs (Zimmerman, 2004). Many blackface minstrelsy folk songs, often composed by Stephen Foster, were also found in music textbooks, with text that included “darky” and “nigger,” which was quite common (Shaftel, 2007). Woodson’s countering of negative stereotypes through his textbooks provided a template to develop and amplify the true, unedited Black narrative, instead of autotuning it to fit the highly formatted Eurocentric institutional mixtape.

_Darker than Blue_

The narrative Carter G. Woodson’s literature depicted much more than Africans taking punishment from the colonizer, but a counter-knowledge that highlighted the civic achievements and heroic exploits of the African in America (Brown, 2010). Woodson
published literature such as the *Negro History Bulletin* (1937) as a place for children to study Black History, and as a resource for the Black community to learn about their history and culture. He also published school textbooks such as *Negro Makers of History* (1928) and *The Story of the Negro Retold* (1935), which provided elementary and secondary aged children with greater and fresher intracultural understandings of Africa and the African American (King, Crowley, & Brown, 2010). Woodson’s counternarrative and counterknowledge ideologies are precursors and canonical to Critical Race Theory (CRT), because they show the uniqueness in the voice of color, debunk ideological myths that suppress, and neutralize White stories that have been weaponized to oppress (Rocco, Bernier, & Bowman, 2014).

**Black Owned**

Being aware that Whiteness is the ideology that shapes hegemony, counternarratives challenge and disrupt Whiteness (Salisbury, 2013). Milner and Howard (2013) state that employing counternarrative in CRT deconstructs assumptions that have traditionally characterized the knowledge base of people of color as deficit thought. Counternarrative also constructs a larger, and more nuanced database of understanding that activates an authentic platform for marginalized voices (Milner & Howard, 2013).

According to Evans (2020) any iteration of Black intelligence used in White spaces will be used against Blacks, which is both a signal to both the duality of being Black, and more specifically, being a Black scholar. Being scholarly, while Black, is not a new phenomenon, as Black scholars have previously been subjected to faculty tone policing, academic journal gate keeping, and the attempted Whitesplaining of what Blackness is (Reid-Brinkley, 2019). Observing Black people is not the same as being
Black. The conversation of Blackness should rest and rule in the language and narrative of Black scholars, because non-Black scholars using the Black experience to produce scholarship that benefits them socially, economically, or academically in a climate that promotes Whiteness, is slavery (Evans, 2020).

Whiteness

Ansley (1989) whose definition of White supremacy is often quoted, describes White supremacy as “... a political, economic and cultural system in which Whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of White superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of White dominance and non-White subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings” (p.1024).

Whiteness has a characteristic of being invisible among Whites because of the privilege that has historically been attributed to it. Thus, Whiteness is apolitical, instead of being considered a social rank (Shirley, 2003). Whites will then attempt to identify their Whiteness as what they are not, which is a form of White privilege, since Whites do not have to explain who they are, nor understand their position in race relations (Shirley, 2003).

A primary example of Whiteness being made invisible in education curriculum comes from the early to mid-twentieth century. Implications of racism in any form in school textbooks were eliminated to keep the narrative focused in a way which the tale of the hunt glorifies the hunter (King, 2014). This means the humanistic characteristics of Whiteness needed to remain in an elevated position, while Blacks remained second-class citizens or “cursed” (Mills, 1998; Woodson, 1933). Many White educators and historians
in the mid twentieth century attempted to deemphasize the belief that racism existed in textbooks by arguing that if there were any indication of messages that exposed Whites negatively in newer multicultural textbooks, then it could potentially cause mental harm to Whites. The result of this curriculum debate led to textbooks celebrating racial diversity, while still downplaying racism (Johnson & Joseph-Salisbury, 2018).

White supremacy has used White enlightenment to codify intellect (Mills, 1997). That is, if intellect is White, then the university--considered to be an intellectual space--is a White space. The racial order of White space requires the epistemologies of BIPOC to be inspected and approved by Whites (Suarez, 2020), who have situated themselves as racially enlightened or “woke” (Foste, 2020). Though some Whites feel they have earned a woke police badge, there is a level of defensive response that still exists in being White. A greater effort of quiet listening for understanding needs to take place, even if the Black struggle is not fully understood (Engelthaler, 2020).

For some people, the pressures of wokeism create more drowsiness to systemic change. Music scholars, like Leef (2020), opine that being “woke” and pressured into promoting social justice in schools of music contributes to educational malpractice by attempting to eliminate standard theories and curriculum simply because the architect of these treatises are White males. Ewell (2020) counters this position of hegemony by reminding us that music curriculum in higher education, specifically theory, is so deeply rooted in White supremacy and that it has corrupted both our pedagogy and analysis of music. It is only through challenging White intellect and enlightenment that Whiteness as a hegemonic stronghold can be made visible, thus offsetting a dominant racial ideology
that has historically and systemically constituted microaggressions on marginalized and racially minoritized populations (Woodall, 2013).

**White sanctification.** The position of hegemonic Whiteness can be seen in middle- and upper-class Whites, because of the economic placement that they hold, which provides them more of an authoritative situatedness in American society (Hartigan, 1997). Unlike other racial identity constructs that affirm the multiverses that exist intraculturally, Whiteness is a boundary driven construct. Phrases like "we're not that" or "we're not them" are often used by Whites to distinguish themselves from other races.

Whiteness also has boundaries used to show economic and cultural differences within the race. (Shirley, 2003). Terrell (2020) denotes that the term "trash" indicates a substandard situation, practice, or person. He continues by saying that "yellow trash," "red trash," "brown trash," or "black trash" are already associated with trash in the English language. This makes White trash the only term that can be standardized, because "trash" can be removed, and White remains (Terrell, 2020).

Critical Whiteness Theory (CWT) recognizes that Whites seek to normalize culture and practices when they feel a perceived threat to their dominance, which could also change based on situation or context (Frankenburg, 1993). The distinguishing of hegemonic Whiteness from White trash is a structural tool used to purify Whiteness as a whole and to sanctify it from other races. White trash marks Blackness as inferior, based on the superiority complex of Whiteness, and the access to power that comes with it (Shirley, 2003).

**White power.** BIPOC are not the minority. They are minoritized when Whiteness is powered. The minoritizing of African Americans in social constructs, including
colleges and universities, is not attributed at birth. In every social context, BIPOC are not the minority. They are only tagged as a minority in structures where Whiteness is promoted and represented disproportionately (Harper, 2012).

Operating in institutional spaces where Whiteness is perpetuated on a macrolevel is a reminder of how African Americans are “othered.” Racism, particularly in academia, is discussed as an overt, and not a covert behavior. We see, however, propaganda showing up on campuses nationwide, such as the “It’s Okay to Be White” campaign, a verbal hate crime with intentions to ignite race wars, but also serves to guide institutional racism into an unmasked and invisible mainstream; so, for a person or entity to be called racist is inconceivable (Black, 2014). Les Black (2014) continues to support this thought by saying, “For many academics the face of racism is that of the moral degenerate, the hateful bigot. So, it is unthinkable that such an ugly word could be directed at a genteel, education and liberal don such as themselves” (p.145).

**Divide and conquer.** Whiteness is a construct that attempts to nullify the fluidity of Blackness, meaning that only certain behaviors and certain intercultural activities within the African American community would be considered normal. The product of this authenticity factor is an ideology that Fordham and Ogbu (1986) described as "acting white." It is an oppositional frame that is used as a tactic by White supremacists to divide and conquer Black people, such as slave masters separating the field slave from the house slave (Johnson, 2003). Other points in American history, "acting white" has emerged as a theme to both standardize the culture of Whiteness and bastardize Blackness. Johnson provides examples of this calculated dysfunction subterfuge generated by Whiteness: “Booker T. Washington’s call for vocational skill over W. E. B. Du Bois’s “talented
tenth”; Richard Wright’s critique of Zora Neale Hurston’s focus on the “folk” over the plight of the black man; Eldridge Cleaver’s caustic attack on James Baldwin’s homosexuality as “antiblack” and “anti-male”; urban northerners’ condescending attitudes toward rural southerners and vice versa; Malcolm X’s militant call for Black Americans to fight against the White establishment “by any means necessary” over Martin Luther King Jr.’s reconciliatory “turn the other cheek; and Jesse Jackson’s “Rainbow Coalition” over Louis Farrakhan’s “Nation of Islam” (p. 4).

Check Yo’self

The cultural norms of Whiteness do not cater to the identity or the safety needs of Black scholars. Research has shown that a host of negative sociocultural issues could develop for African Americans in a PWI, because they must negotiate their way of being, customs, and ethnic based values, while trying to assimilate into campus norms (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). For a greater representation of African Americans in PWIs, the dismantling of Whiteness means recognizing its characteristics and its characters, balancing the scales of power among those same characters, and a historical and cultural analysis of the institution itself, pinpointing racist practices and other policies that promote Whiteness (Ortiz, 2017).

Whiteness in North America is a reproductive system that continues to birth a racist status quo. Social justice requires that White people must come to terms with how this system of oppression functions (Bradley, 2007). This process may appear difficult for White people, but the work of anti-racism requires more than an awareness of White privilege. It requires an acknowledgement of one being complicit in the system of Whiteness, regardless of good intentions (Bradley, 2007). It also means recognizing the
resistance that some White people have in acknowledging their own privilege (Solomon et al., 2005).

**Tacet**

In schools of music, a greater representation of African Americans means decentering the standard of affirming Whiteness through classical music traditions, while expanding to more global and non-White traditions (Koza, 2008). Only one official language of music has been permitted on most college campuses: Euro-American classical music. Knowing any other kind of music is not wholly affirmed or allowed. At many schools of music genres are discounted that favor non-White people (hip hop, reggae, rhythm and blues, gospel, jazz, soul). Performance practice for most schools of music is nothing more than an affirmation of Whiteness, specifically classical art song, while trying to use melodic and rhythmic quality as an assessment tool to “colorblind” the evaluation (Koza, 2008).

**D.C. al Coda**

Despite the efforts in sowing seeds of rhetoric, task forces, special endowments, targeted BIPOC cluster hiring initiatives, and overall investment in diversity programming on campus (Stewart, 2017), the soil for pursuing African Americans as music scholars is still not as fertile as the soil for prison recruitment. Much like the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was expected to bring forth immediate change, the profusion of diversity statements and the support of the Black Lives Matter Movement (BLMM) made by campuses across the United States has produced little to no change (Flaherty, 2020). Some universities have consistently stated the myth pertaining to the lack of African American candidacy, but only eleven percent of scholars of color were actively pursued
concurrently by multiple institutions (Greene, 2018). Nunes (1991) acknowledged that college music programs have not been genuine in their attempts to recruit students and faculty of color. He points to reasons such as culture, socioeconomic status, and universal acts of systemic racism. Prior research by Berry (1990) also pinpointed issues of low recruitment numbers of African Americans into college music programs including:

1. The failure of institutions to offset the lack of college preparation. Some music programs that exist have a stigma of being remedial; therefore, students fail to request help.
2. Many music programs lack a “critical mass” of minority students and faculty who can act as role models and make new students and faculty feel at home.
3. Whites sometimes expect minority musicians to behave according to prejudicial stereotypes.
4. Black music students often complain that professors treat them like remedial students.
5. Many minority students who are first-generation collegians fail to get enough emotional or financial support from home.

*Underfunded*

Studies suggest that African Americans are more than likely to not receive funding for research as a professor, if they have not been exposed to a collaborative network of research or funding at the pre-doctoral level (Belgrave et al., 2019). Tierney and Rhoads (1994) have pointed out in previous research that although one-third of all doctoral students receive assistantships, only one-fifth of those assistantships are awarded to racially underrepresented populations. Murakami (2020) exclaimed that underfunding
students of color was acceptable a half century ago, and that higher education on the whole has not made fully impactful steps to upgrade from the nineteenth century model of funding, which only supported certain classes of people. If people of color are not provided proper funding, then anticipatory socialization into socioacademic focus groups, cannot develop any further, because the financial access to graduate school is inequitable, thus leading to continued underrepresentation within those groups.

Checklist

The rhetoric of diversity becomes problematic when diversity itself becomes an item to be checklisted in overall school climate. This perspective of diversity then becomes tokenism, which Wijaya (2020) describes as a forced appearance of equality that symbolizes inclusion for the sake of optics, but it lacks the authentic behaviors of inclusion. The Society of Music Theory, for example, is eighty-three percent white, and one percent black. Black music scholars are currently forced to negotiate the inherent challenges of Ph.D. music programs that are systemically racist with the continuous traumatic events that are happening in our nation, including but not limited to the murder of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Ahmaud Arbery to the inequitable reaction to predominantly White supremacists committing insurrection on the United States capitol (Boyd, 2020).

For da’ culture

Previous research by Floyd (1988) shows an ongoing concern of music administrators for the underrepresentation of African American music students and professionals:
"There are a number of reasons for the concern expressed, ranging from the sincere desire of individuals in the profession to provide equal access to participation on ethical and moral grounds, to the necessity of music administrators to meet institutional affirmative action requirements" (p. 5).

He also stated an urgent need for more African Americans to aspire to careers in classical and opera music, to go along with a more equitable search, advocacy, and hiring of those who are already engaged in those particular genres. Based on Floyd’s insight, the underrepresentation of African Americans is not from a “lack of keyboard skills” or music theory incompetency, as Butera suggested (2016). For the long-term engagement of African Americans in this process, according to Floyd, it is necessary to have "sound planning to rectify the scholarly, curricular, and personnel problems that confront us today and that will cause catastrophic harm in society and in the Academy in the future if they are not addressed." (p.5)

**Coda: Diversity**

The positive overtones of diversity, and its many permutations, have become essential in tuning the key fundamental in many of our society’s institutions—equality. Music education in the United States has a lens of diversity that tends to connect more by extracting repertoire that includes a variety of cultures, but rarely does diversity include the people from which cultures are extracted (DeLorenzo, 2012). The inequities of this reality continue to use diversity as a blanket to cover up institutional racism (Naylor, Nichol, & Brown, 2015). PWIs seek to target a more diverse representation of people through diversity statements, initiatives, and centers on campus that focus directly on diversity issues. Many PWIs, however, fail to address the historical, social, and economic
advantages that Whites have gained from the labor of people of color, specifically African Americans (Nelson, 2020). The language of diversity is used to show intentionality, but the institutionalizing of diversity remains in the lens of Whiteness, as most diversity initiatives at PWIs are controlled by White administrators, predominantly White committees, and White ideologies (Ahmed, 2012).

Diversify

The constant, and sometimes unfocused overuse of the diversity tuner has contributed to society’s ear fatigue. The term diversity is used so much on all education platforms, that it is starting to sound unintentional, or perhaps “intentionally” unintentional. The more common the term diversity becomes, the less it is needed. PWIs can then warp the definition to mean something more palatable to Whites (Fiorentino, 2019). When used contextually for university initiatives, the term diversity stemmed from a trendy phrase used in the 1970s, "diversify the student body." This phrase was adopted to increase the Black and Brown faculty and student population (Nelson, 2020). The legal implications of diversity in higher education were challenged in the court case of the University of California v Bakke in 1978.

Allen Bakke, a White medical student, sued the University of California for reverse discrimination, which he pointed out was a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fourteenth Amendment clause of equal protection. His argument was that his test scores and grades were higher than minority students who were admitted into the medical school, while he was rejected (Lotha, 2019). The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Bakke was to be admitted and that it was unconstitutional to have racial quotas as a basis
for admissions. It was also determined by the Supreme Court that race could be factored in as criterion in the admissions process (Lotha, 2019).

**Racial Capitalism**

Although affirmative action was now operationalized, this court case was the beginning of higher education adopting the concept of racial capitalism, which Leong describes as “the process of deriving social and economic value from the racial identity of another person” (2013, p. 2152). The structure of racial capitalism is framed to show that the representation of African Americans in PWIs is based on the value of how it will benefit Whiteness, instead of valuing the identity, perspective, and lived experiences of African Americans (Leong, 2013). Nelson (2020) supports this idea by pointing out that PWIs may appear to be promoting and actively engaged in diversity, but White supremacy will not allow diversity to be normalized on campus. The structural order of PWIs, which is typically led by White majority in administration and a board of regents, will only allow "enough" diversity to appear that they are inclusive (Leong, 2013; Milem et. al, 2005), but will affirmatively deactivate diversity to preserve Whiteness (Nelson, 2020).

Racial capitalism, in turn, demonstrates institutional racism by reteaching our academic stakeholders not to acknowledge race. When college campuses commit to promoting diversity, it is often framed to look at marginalized groups, but never at the root cause of issues of race. Listening to the voices of Black and Brown students, yet ignoring Whiteness impedes the progress of most diversity initiatives, partially because of White fragility— the fear of Whiteness being called out, and perhaps the fear of exposing White people as the problem (Cabrera et. al, 2017).
Limited Emic Understanding

Although research has indicated the problematic situations that come with underrepresentation or lack of racial diversity among faculty and students on campus, there is limited study and perspectives associated with the socioemotional well-being of these marginalized populations. Taking the lived experiences of this population into consideration from a historical and cultural perspective, it is prudent to approach this research assiduously, based on possible emotional trauma that comes with the Blackness in predominantly White spaces (Jackson, 2018). The academy’s understanding of diversity must continue to evolve and bring forth a transformation of both the process and product of the institution of higher education, which requires countering against the barriers which have historically excluded populations of people from opportunities to succeed in higher education (Musil, 1996).

Sellin’ Wolf Tickets

Many higher education institutions tend to create committees and initiatives that put on a front of action, but quite often, they end up doing very little. Reports from various task forces will be made known to the public, and then many administrations put forward every effort to either save their image, or bury the issue (Hickson, 2019). There has been little to no progress made to increase African American faculty in colleges and universities in the United States (Kim et al., 2013). Although African American student enrollment is increasing in colleges and universities, African Americans among the faculty ranks are decreasing (Thomas, 2016). Only five percent of all full-time faculty are African American. Seven percent of all African American higher education faculty are tenure track professors. Based on this trend, it will be a century or more before the
percentage of African American faculty resembles the percentage of African Americans in the workforce. Pledges were made by universities to increase the racial diversity of faculty, but percentages dropped between 2006 and 2016 by one-half percent (Hechinger, 2018).

Trower (2003) highlights five challenges that negatively affect African American higher education professor hires:

1. Experiencing overt racism or being pigeon-holed.
2. Discrediting research, especially minority-focused issues.
3. Bearing the burden of tokenism and feeling the need to represent an entire race by working harder but getting half as much.
4. Feeling the need to represent one’s race on multiple committees and mentoring/advising many same race students, which leads to spending a large amount of energy on unrewarding activities that do not lead to tenure or promotion.
5. Suffering from the negative consequence of being perceived as an affirmative action or targeted hire.

According to the U.S. Department of Education (2011), White faculty has increased by eight percent since the 1980s, but White students have decreased by seventeen percent during that same period. Milem (2003) posited that a more diverse faculty could lead to the following results: (1) approaches to learning and teaching that are student centered, (2) variegated offerings in curriculum (3) greater focus on race/ethnicity and gender studies (4) community and volunteer services that engage faculty of color. With an increase in racial diversity on campus, it is important for
colleges and universities to be cognizant and actively engaged in hiring practices that promote diversity, if their desire is to remain relevant in American society (Maydun, et al., 2013 p. 69).

**Valuing diversity**

Incorporating fairness to all in policy can be elusive at times, but it is always threatened, and in need of rewriting (Clarke, 2014). White supremacy is baked into educational policy through the allocation of sublime Eurocentric values identified as “quality” to the dominant population (Clarke, 2014), thus “devising inequality” for marginalized populations (Au, 2009). Changing legislation, however, is not the cure against racism and White supremacy, because laws can be interpreted and administered differently, based on the consciousness of the administrator.

Diversity on the surface is a trending value strategy used in marketing and promoting many PWIs in the 21st century, although many policies and practices continue to be inequitable for social, cultural, and racial groups, and policies are administratively progressed without any interest in changing (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). Many higher education institutions are not recognizing that diversity itself is meritorious, but rather maintain the status quo, because the lived experience and epistemologies from non-dominant cultures demotes their historically and socially exclusive learning and teaching constructs (Stanley, 2006). The path to anti-racism and/or true racial diversity on campus, is the affirmation of diverse intelligent thought, meaning the institution of Whiteness would no longer be the dominant epistemological perspective (Patton, 2016).
Climate

It is easy to create sameness when everyone is the same. White males are no longer the only social group represented on college campuses. Monoculturalism is a presumption of Whiteness formulated to produce sameness. It can be described as a singular scholarly perspective that is normalized across all organizational aspects of a PWI (Gusa, 2010). The monocultural approach affects policy, research methods, pedagogy, and course content (Gusa, 2010), which are all things that affect campus climate.

Dependency on sameness in today’s diverse environment is no longer relevant or proper for a positive and healthy campus climate for faculty and students. (Harper & Quaye, 2009). According to Turner, Myers Jr., and Creswell (1999), climate is described as “the quality of respect and support afforded to women and minorities on individual campuses and in individual departments” (p. 40). There are specific ways in which institutions currently measure climate among faculty: 1) the total amount of women and people of color in junior and senior faculty, 2) the dispersing of White and non-White in faculty and administrative positions, and 3) the equitability of duties assigned to faculty. The attitudes, behaviors, and ideal benchmarks collectively agreed upon by faculty, administration, staff, and students-- in regard to showing honor and due diligence towards the needs and potential of each individual-- is where institutions can begin to measure climate (Hurtado, 1992).
Campus Climate

It is the campus climate that influences educational outcomes, such as retention, persistence, and academic achievement (Jackson, 2004). Ncube et al. (2018) highlighted that academic experiences do not translate into positively charged, inclusive experiences. Eighty-four percent of college presidents report a positive climate of race relations on their campus, but only a quarter are confident in race relations at other campuses (Mayhew et al., 2016). Faculty of color can be made to feel unwelcome and excluded based on toxic departmental climates, along with pre-existing conditions that have been institutionally neglected, perpetuating racist macro- and microaggressions (Dutt-Ballerstadt, 2020).

Positive and Healthy

A positive campus climate, one in which social groups feel comfortable, improves the performance and retention of both faculty and students (Hurtado et al., 1998). It is not, however, the same as a healthy climate, in which all people are respected, and dialogue from different perspectives between the campus and local community brings about impactful change (Rankin, 2001). Diversity is an aspect of climate, as you cannot initiate an inclusive environment without conveying a healthy and positive climate (University of California Study Group on Diversity, 2006). Inequities on campus, both past and present, must be corrected before climate on campus can truly be inclusive (Kirwan, 2004, p. xxi). The University of California vs. Bakke decision in 1978 brought attention to how scholarship can be conceptualized for all faculty members, by saying that higher education institutions must be permitted to create an actively engaging learning space and learning experience that provides greater epistemological
understandings. This comes to fruition only in an environment that impactfully promotes diversity (Foster, 2009).

Other definitions of campus climate have been customized to fit specific campus environments, based on values and beliefs that are unique to that campus (Hurtado et al., 1998). Regardless of the context, universities must have a clear understanding in their definition of campus climate if they intend on all campus members to feel a sense of belonging (Foster, 2009). While there are many universities that have definitions in which they use, the definition operationalized by the University of California (2014) will serve as a foundation for understanding campus climate in this study. Their definition states that "the current attitudes, behaviors and standards of faculty, staff, administrators and students concerning the level of respect for individual needs, abilities and potential." This definition shows that a healthy climate, that has a holistic perspective, flourishes when the traditions, wishes, and rights of individuals are duly honored, which is the definition of respect.

**Belonging**

For African Americans, a sense of belonging on campus is a significant shortcoming at PWIs, and it is quite noticeable on the doctoral level. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2010), African Americans make up only 6.1 percent of doctorates obtained. With an increased focus on racial equity and inclusion, the climate for race relations has become chilly (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Negative experiences in PWIs leave African American scholars feeling unsupported and excluded from campus. Those same feelings are augmented when there is no support from academic peers and/or faculty (Simpson, 2008). Racial microaggressions at PWIs
support a negative and unhealthy racial campus climate for African Americans, creating feelings of a lack of belonging and uncertainty, while trying to remain in good standing both academically and/or professionally (Solorzano et al., 2000).

**Started from the Bottom**

Research has shown that many African Americans from various socioeconomic backgrounds believe in the achievement ideology (Ainsworth-Darnell & Downey, 1998; Cook & Ludwig, 1998; Datnow & Cooper, 1997; Ferguson, 1998; Ford et al. 1994; O'Connor, 1997; Tyson, 1998), which Ford (1992) describes as a belief that through education, individuals can have social and academic success with hard work and effort. Anyone who supports this as a societal norm, according to Ford, will have a greater chance of success. Lloyd (2017) suggests that although people in the African American community widely support the notion of scholarly achievement leading to social success, they are marginalized through social inequities. The implication is made that achievement ideology only helps the dominant majority, and requires the racially minoritized to assimilate (Mehan et al., 1994). Hegemonic systems in schooling position the dominant group higher on the social ladder, and racially minoritized groups are made to accept lower positioning (Valdez, 2000). Dominant cultural PWI norms, typically catered to the White, middle class, are racial stressors which quash Blackness—considering that Black folks have only “kept it real from the jump” (Graham, 2013). Other racial stressors, such as lack of respect and low scores on end of course evaluations, contribute to a poor campus climate for African American faculty members. Being ignored, singled-out by colleagues from other racial backgrounds, overlooked for promotion despite being more than qualified, and accused of exaggerating emotionally when it comes to issues
involving race are also racial stressors manifested from achievement ideology. It also suggests a lack of intercultural competence that exists at PWIs (Pittman, 2010).

Maydun et al., (2013) describes intercultural competence as an active response to negotiating double consciousness on campus, because it shows how the African American scholar displays the ability to prosper cross-culturally without compromising their native values and beliefs. African American scholars leverage White spaces (i.e., PWIs), through intercultural competence, by always presenting an intraculturally connected self-efficacy that is both authentic and sophisticated (Madyun et. al, 2013).

African Americans must negotiate social, historical, and cultural barriers that factor into their relationships with Whites in general. In this century, the African American scholar is challenged to negotiate how to fit in a historically White space, as well as establish their identity, and what it contextually means to be an African American scholar in a PWI (Logan et al., 2017). A critical lens on the value of the African American scholar in a PWI is necessary, because funding, control, tenure, and most importantly, the affirmation of whoness are important to both recruitment and retention (Davis, 2002).

Jackson (2018) states that marginalization is the negative intracultural aftermath when populations are underrepresented in higher education, because it dismantles any image that may exist for professional identity and prosperity on campus. Higher education must display a desire to incorporate diverse cultures into their institution to eliminate the ignorance of cultural values and beliefs. Universities must balance between the culture of the school and the cultures of people (Abdul-Raheem, 2016). An increased sense of belonging is advantageous to underrepresented groups, because it supports
persistence in coping with the heightened academic challenges that already exist in a doctoral program. (Shavers & Moore, 2019).

**Now ‘we here’**

There is a “folk theory” of discrimination that suggests history will never allow for the same equitable opportunities for African Americans as Whites, leading to eventual negative results (Ogbu, 1987). Despite the many obstacles that African Americans face, “the story stay the same...” (Graham, 2013)--there is always the belief that survival and success are possible (Noguera, 2003). Once African American faculty have been hired, the tenure system, according to Braddock (1978) brings about extra burdens associated with being Black in a White environment, and a lack of appreciation of Black intelligence.

Professionally, when racial discrimination exists covertly, it comes in the form of “restructuring,” a combination of lack of resources to complete tasks, and instability in job duties (Pilkington, 2013). Braddock (1978) says that Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) have historically neglected the proven needs of African Americans. Underrepresentation of African Americans in higher education positions is also attributed to them choosing HBCUs over PWIs. According to Ehrenberg and Rothstein (1994), there are multiple reasons for this choice: (a) differences in ability and type of training compared with their HBCU counterparts, (b) inadequate recruitment of HBCU undergraduates by graduate programs in major research universities, (c) discrimination against Black students, and (d) a desire to continue their education and career in an environment supportive of minority concerns. It is also noted that African American faculty at HBCUs have reported better working conditions such as longer probationary
periods, certain tenure track positions, and higher pay, to go along with an intrinsic desire to uplift and promote other African American faculty and students.

African American faculty make up less than five percent of all tenure track positions in all higher education institutions in the United States. If non-tenured track positions are included, African Americans still only make up six percent of all faculty in higher education (Pittman, 2012). Braddock (1978) also emphasizes that for most tenure positions, the criteria are teaching, research, and service, with research given the most consideration in most major universities. There is a greater emphasis on research than teaching. African American faculty, which are often known as role models for teaching, spend more time formally and informally teaching, which creates a competitive disadvantage regarding time, since it is assumed that African American teachers must take on more sociocultural concerns regarding race in a PWI (Braddock, 1978).

Although there is a clear pedagogical disconnect that impacts African American faculty disproportionately, many university faculty support teaching effectiveness (Braddock, 1978). In music education on all levels from a non-Western Eurocentric perspective, teacher effectiveness is not solely based on research. It focuses more on artistry and knowledge transference, teacher experience in music-making within a given tradition, the sociocultural aspects of the music experience, and the teacher’s ability to adapt to the learning styles of each student to equitably meet their needs (Lundquist & Sims, 1996).

Chitlins

In the southern United States during the slavery era, soul food cuisines, such as chitterlings (cooked pig intestines) or “chitlins,” were developed by the African slaves.
The White slave master would eat the desirable part of the meat, e.g., ham or roast, leaving the African slave to settle for table scraps and leftover cuts (African American Registry, 2021). Silver et. al (1987) noted that African American faculty at PWIs, in comparison to White faculty, have less opportunities to achieve tenure, with lower salaries, and are not as supported socioemotionally at work, which leads to feelings of isolation, and very often have racialized encounters on campus. Faculty of color also have difficulty finding professional, emotional, and mentoring support networks as new faculty, which contributes as a major factor in feelings of isolation, and eventually attrition (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994).

Lack of support is a bi-product of already being a marginalized population in the field of education and research. Faculty of color are typically relegated to either non-tenured or specialized targeted minority positions (Epps, 1985). Tenure track positions are overrepresented by White males involved in research, because research is more prioritized in most PWIs, whereas faculty of color tend to be more focused on service, and White women more involved in teaching. This trend speaks to a higher attrition rate among women and people of color (Olsen, 1991).

Bauer (2000) suggested ways to support advocacy for, and long-term engagement of faculty of color in higher education schools of music: allotted time separate from duty responsibilities to develop a published work, mainstream financial support for research and scholarly projects, materials and resources needed to initiate contemporary pedagogical methods, and incentives for those individuals who express interest in student development on the administrative level. When BIPOC are not recruited and retained in schools of music, combined with a lack of professional support and fewer resources,
Koza (2008) describes this as an "access conundrum," which is an explicit denouncing of people whose ways of knowing and performance practices are not Eurocentric. McKoy (2009) and Shaw (2012) also support more diverse and contemporary pedagogical methods that intentionally promote community cultural wealth, which could impactfully support a greater representation of African American faculty in music positions at PWIs.

Summary

The underrepresentation of African Americans in music positions at PWIs shows an overrepresentation of White people in increasingly diverse communities in the United States. The continuation of White people telling Black stories in institutional music spaces is an exacerbation and the sociocultural practice of systemic racism, and an imperialist stance that proclaims that Black culture matters, but Black lives do not (Brown, 2020). Music in higher education must continue to free itself from false narratives and counter prejudices that misrepresent gifted and talented African American music scholars as students or professionals, simply because of the color of their skin (Hayes, 2020).

Schools of music in PWIs must evolve from the “luxury of ignorance,” which is a characteristic of Whiteness, noted by Howard (2006). The supplanting of racist policies and practices in schools of music, combined with the elevated voices of racially minoritized populations, assists in dismantling barriers that are currently obstructing a greater representation of African Americans for music positions in higher education. It also leads to a more equitable philosophy of music being produced by humans, and musical knowledge that transcends a single dominant narrative (Bradley, 2015).
Chapter 3

Method

This study investigates the unique social, academic, and cultural perspectives of African American music professors that are currently operationalized in a PWI. In this chapter, I share my selected option for research method, as well as the rationale behind my selection. Secondly, I share my guideline for selecting participants. Then, I explain the method for collecting data, analysis of data, and the process of constructing the narrative. Finally, I provide safeguards for trustworthiness and ethical research.

Qualitative Research

This section is not an attempt to defend the use of qualitative research to study phenomenon, but rather to mindfully describe how I approached my research (Wolcott, 2009). A qualitative approach is appropriate for this study, because it gives value to the events that the participants experience in real time and settings. The researcher, according to Patton (2002), gains understanding of the phenomenon in a real life setting without compromising the essence of the phenomenon, as experienced by the participant. Yin (2011) provided five characteristics of qualitative research:

1. Studying the meaning of people’s lives, under real-world conditions.
2. Representing the views and the perspectives of the people in the study.
3. Covering the contextual conditions in which people live.
4. Contributing insights into existing or emerging concepts that may help to explain human social behavior.
5. Striving to use multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source alone (pp. 7-8).
Creswell (2003) described qualitative research as a form of study in which the researcher “identifies the essence of human experiences concerning a phenomenon, as described by the participants in a study” (p.15). McMillan and Schumacher (2006) emphasized the importance of qualitative research being about how the participant understands and shares their perspective on a social phenomenon. Creswell (2007) carefully crafted a definition of qualitative research using multiple sources: “Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting” (p.15).

Creswell (1994) also suggested that scholars tend to define or describe qualitative research by comparing it to quantitative research. A key difference between the two is that quantitative research requires more cases and less variables, whereas qualitative research needs fewer cases, but inquires about more variables (Ragin, 1987). This concept is important for this research, because each participant, although they share an independent variable of racial identity, has constructed an aggregate of their own epistemological assumptions based on both past and present location.

**Narrative Case Study**

The most appropriate method for this research is the narrative case study approach, because social, cultural, and historical concepts are shared across each case, but the understanding of these concepts derive from first-person accounts (Denzin, 2001). Gilgun (1994) defines a narrative case study design as an instrument that is used to
provide a deeper inquiry about a social issue, to gain a greater understanding of the stages in a given process, and to contextually analyze a phenomenon.

My inquiry into the experiences of the participants is guided throughout this study by my research questions: What experiences have led African American music professors to conceptualize and perceive that there are systemic barriers in the advocacy for and long-term engagement of African Americans for music positions at PWIs? From the African American perspective, what personal and professional competencies contribute to acquiring and sustaining gainful employment as a music professor at a PWI? What current institutional policies and/or sociocultural practices exist in PWIs from the African American perspective that successfully and intentionally support African Americans in obtaining and sustaining music faculty positions? What academic strategies and/or institutional policies could be considered for implementation at PWIs that will directly counter additional barriers in the long-term engagement of African Americans for music faculty positions in PWIs?

**Case Study**

Some scholars consider case study to be an examination of the object, and others deem it as a methodology. A case study, however, is the investigation into a system, bounded by time and place, using multiple sources of information that produce thick context and cogent connections (Creswell, 2007, p. 61). Case study is a design that allows the research to develop an in-depth analysis of events, processes, and activities experienced by multiple participants (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The case study also allows the researcher to explore a unique phenomenon that shows an even greater contextual relationship within the research (Yin, 2003). According to Yin (2003), real life
events can be characterized meaningfully and holistically using the case study design. Yin opposes the idea that case studies are not generalizable from the scientific viewpoint, but he supports the notion that “theories derived from case studies can be generalized, instead of statistical samples” (p.10).

Case study is necessary when a more intimate appreciation or understanding of a social phenomenon, in its natural context, is required. This contrasts with experimental design, in which the researcher attempts to have control over the participants’ perspective and other confounding variables (Crowe et. al, 2011). For this study, a case study design is more conducive to listening and understanding the lived experiences of the participants, as well as gaining information in far more detail in human behaviors that may appear unethical using experimental design (McLeod, 2019).

**Narrative**

In this case study, the narrative pathway allows the storytellers to give their own sociocultural perspective, along with values, beliefs, feelings, and choices that represent and make meaning of their lived experiences, knowing that every individual’s experience is connected contextually to a greater meaning (Etherington, 2011). Stauffer (2012) states that narrative inquiry targets how people understand their own experiences and construct their identities based on those experiences. According to Bruner (1987), narrative inquiry emphasizes the uniqueness of circumstances, seeks the meaning of those circumstances, and convinces through authenticity and realism.

Trahar (2006) gives an overview of narrative research, in which the participants’ experiences, and how they make meaning of those experiences, should be the area of concentration. Suggestions made by Trahar (p.28) include the following:
1. Focusing on participant’s experiences and meanings given by them to that experience.

2. Showing concern with representation and voice.

3. Observing the personal human qualities of participants and researchers.

4. Allowing the exploration of the research activity itself as a story.

The stories of current African American music professors in higher education gives insight and character to the lived experience. All participants have a voice, as the narrative is both phenomenon and method. The stories of these professors are also aesthetic and artistic, and will be viewed three dimensionally:

1. Temporal- past, present, and future

2. Personal-social- inward feelings, hopes, reactions; outward- existential conditions

3. Place- specific concrete physical boundaries of inquiry landscapes.

Stories generated through the participants for this narrative study are vital, because the subjective matter within the story is negotiated by the participant as the story is being unpacked. The narrative itself is a reconstruction of the participants’ lived experience, told to a particular person (i.e., the researcher) at a specific time and place, for a specific purpose, which all greatly influences how the story is told (Etherington, 2013). Using the three-dimensional model, lived experience will be the data that emerges from each narrative. The experience-centered approach represents human experiences that are both sequential and meaningful, which allows events to be categorized in themes instead of structures (Squire, 2008).
**Cultural Pluralism**

A qualitative characteristic acknowledged in this study is pluralism. Kwan (2018) describes cultural pluralism as a situatedness in which a minoritized group can uphold and affirm their unique cultural identities, values, and practices with an understanding that these things are consistent with larger societal laws and values. The narrative of the music educator in the United States has been identified only from a nationalized perspective. People come to know the world in various ways, which leads to diverse thought and unique ways of being (Bruner, 1986). Musicing provides an idiosyncratic way of experiencing the world that leads to different approaches to internalizing and interacting with the environment (McCarthy, 2007).

Music education scholarship takes on a similar pluralistic approach in the United States, considering regional influences. For example, Northern and Southern schools tend to focus on knowledge-based curriculum, while Eastern and Western schools emphasize experiential learning (Dansereau, 2018). This study takes into consideration that each participant’s viewpoint may be regionally influenced, which could possibly impact career aspirations, philosophical and pedagogical perspectives, and/or social interactions (Dermendzhieva & Doikov, 2017).

**Black experience.** Assuming there is a collective consciousness shared intraculturally, the Black experience is not a monolith (Liz-Ikie, 2020). The experience centered approach supplies multiple stories that support a culturally pluralistic society, instead of summing the experience of all educators into one framework (Säfström, 2012). My experiences of being an African American, along with the participants’
perspectives produce a conversation analysis in which the dialogue between the participant and the researcher tells its own story (Bold, 2012).

This narrative case study has ethnographic qualities. The power dynamics of African American culture as it relates to predominantly White culture, is a cultural perspective that CRT framework exposes in this method (Atkinson et al., 2001). Because of my own cultural interests in this study, there will be moments of cultural representations that are uniquely African American and can only be described in a form that is meaningful within the African diasporic culture. It would be difficult to gather participants together in the same place and time to collect sufficient data. Using ethnographic techniques infused with the narrative will suffice.

Brandell and Varkas (2010) support the use of narrative case study, because it allows the researcher to describe a case that has multiple variables. Narrative case study also gives flexibility to look at a case through multiple frameworks. Once the data from a narrative case study is analyzed, another possible theory that can be formulated, and could potentially challenge certain assumptions that exist in current research and praxis. This process, coupled with the review of literature, helps to actively inform the design, and fulfill the purpose of this study.

Participants

Prior to the beginning of the study, I submitted my research for approval to the University of Minnesota International Review Board (IRB). The IRB has an ethical responsibility to oversee research completed by faculty and students at the University of Minnesota that involves human participants. An IRB review is required to ensure the safety, privacy, and informed consent of participants in the research. On February 19,
2021, I submitted my study to IRB for approval. After an initial review, I was asked to make revisions in my consent and recruitment letters so that the document stated that the University of Minnesota was represented in conducting the research. On March 5, 2021, my study was fully approved by the IRB (see Appendix A).

**Sampling Method**

According to Campbell et al. (2020), the logic for sample selection "needs to be aligned from an ontological, epistemological and axiological perspective with the overarching aims of the study." (p. 653). Through purposive sampling, five self-identified African American professors from classified PWIs were selected for this study. According to Lavrakas (2008), purposive sampling, also known as expert sampling, is a method whose aim is to “produce a sample to be representative of the population. This is often accomplished by applying expert knowledge of the population to select in a nonrandom manner a sample of elements that represents a cross-section of the population” (p. 419).

Purposive sampling relies on the researcher's knowledge of the field, as well as the relationship the researcher has with targeted participant networks. This type of sampling, which is often associated with qualitative research, normally yields a small sample size. With the use of Internet and social media as a networking and recruitment tool, larger sample sizes of hidden populations can be engaged that would not have been as accessible otherwise (Barratt et al., 2015).

The use of purposive sampling enables the recruitment of participants who are willing and able to share valuable insight, knowledge, and experiences. These participants can inform the researcher’s inquiry into specific subject trends that have been
tried both successfully and unsuccessfully, as well as provide implications for future research (Frey, 2018). Although purposive sampling typically contends with subjectivity, it also provides the most favorable data based on the frameworks of this study. The researcher’s own understanding of the nature of the population also help to define the sample selection (Guarte & Barrios, 2007). The depth of information is increased when purposive sampling is employed, because the participants who are selected for the study are likely to yield data that is both suitable for the current research and applicable for future research (Kelly, 2010: 317).

In a case study, the sample size is small, usually a sample of one, unless you are doing a multiple case study, which is realistically manageable with three to four distinct cases. For this reason, purposive sampling is appropriate for this study. Employing purposive sampling allows the phenomenon to be the focal point of study, while gathering rich information that leads to a greater understanding of the phenomenon (Schoch, 2020).

Having a direct cultural connection in this type of research is advantageous. It allows the researcher to recruit participants with whom they are already familiar, followed by more recommendations of other potential participants (Roulston & Martinez, 2015). The researcher must also select participants who conceptually match the topic under study. Taking into consideration that the researcher seeks to understand the response of a given population sample, it is important that the participants reflect the population in the study (Drew et al., 2008). African American music professors participating in this study, have a wide range musical backgrounds (e.g., instrumental, choral, education, musicology, performance), and they represent universities from
various regions of the United States that include the Upper Midwest, Ozark, Northeast, East Central, and Pacific West regions.

Criteria

In my initial application of purposive sampling, I researched the academic publications, creative activity, and/or documented work history of potential participants, using official school websites, and other web-based tools such as professional webpages. I also used social media pages with professional website links, and published videos that showed the participants leading rehearsals, performances, workshop seminars at regional, national, and international music conferences, and classroom lectures and discussions. All this information was utilized as a qualifier for selecting participants. After I completed an initial search for participants via media resources, I followed up by contacting eight potential participants using a scripted recruitment letter. Each participant was contacted using their professional university email, personal phone call or text, or direct messenger on Facebook. Of the eight participants that were recruited, five accepted the invitation. The specific recruitment approach employed the following participant criteria:

1. Self-identify as African American
2. Must have a terminal degree (Ph.D, DMA, Ed.D) applicable to teaching music courses in higher education.
3. Currently employed as a full-time music professor at a PWI.
4. At least four years of college teaching experience, at least one academic year in current position.
5. Current academic rank of instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, or full professor.


Data Gathering

Creswell and Creswell (2018) noted that gathering data is a process that requires using recruitment and sampling to set boundaries, gathering information through interviews, artifacts, and observations, and setting protocols for gathering the same. Data were gathered over a period of three months primarily through semi-structured interviews done through audio or video conferencing (i.e., Zoom, phone). I collected informal moments from phone calls, emails, and other modes of communication in my research journal.

Interviewing

The most common way of collecting data in qualitative research is the interview (Jamshed, 2014). It can be described as the direct link between two individuals (Glesne, 2013). Interviewing is a crucial component of this research since the conversation is purposeful and was used as the primary source of data. According to Oakley (1998), interviewing in qualitative research is a strategy employed that goes beyond recording only, but also invites challenging, defending, and goal accomplishment for the researcher and the participant.

According to DeMarrairs (2004), qualitative interviews are used when researchers want to gain in-depth knowledge from participants about a particular phenomenon,
experience, or sets of experiences. Using interview questions and follow-up questions, or probes, based on what the participant has already described, the goal is to construct as complete a picture as possible from the words and experiences of the participant. This can only be accomplished when the qualitative interview is open-ended enough for the participant to provide a depth of knowledge on the research topic. The intent is to discover that person’s view of an experience or phenomenon of study (Demarrais, 2004).

I gathered stories from each participant through semi-structured interviews. One interview per participant, which lasted approximately 60-75 minutes, took place through either a videoconferencing platform, i.e. Zoom, or by phone. In this semi-structured interview, questions were based on an interview guide created by the researcher with questions based on topics that needed to be explored for this study (Jamshed, 2014). There were “open-ended textured” questions developed by the interviewer, which provided both a socio-cultural context and fluid communication from the participants. Questions appeared unstructured to the participant, but that was done purposefully to obtain raw data that could be interpreted for data analysis.

The interview questions were created with the research questions in mind, but were designed in a way to maintain an interpersonal connection between the participant and the researcher. The interview questions were also framed so that participant could freely communicate their thoughts or feelings, without any forced prompt from the researcher. It was my intent as a researcher to gather rich data, but to also create a space to elevate and liberate the voices of the participants. The interview questions were as follows:
1. How much college teaching experience do you have? How long have you been a professor in higher education? How long have you been in your current position?

2. What factors led you to apply for your current position?

3. What personal and professional experiences directly prepared you for teaching in higher education? Your current position?

4. What factors have influenced you to remain in your current position?

5. Describe and give specific examples of challenges you may have encountered structurally, racially, or culturally as a Black/African American music professor working in higher education. at a Predominantly White Institutions (PWI)?

6. Give examples of ways you counter and/or negotiate these challenges?

7. From your perspective, what can be done structurally, racially, and/or culturally to better understand and support the experiences of current African American music professors at PWIs?

8. What advice would you give to prospective African American professors who seek music positions at PWI?

Throughout the interview, I used the probing technique by asking for specific examples that provided greater understanding of each participant’s lived experience (Flybyrg, 2011). Interview matching, according to Persaud (2010), could solicit more candid responses from the participants, since race, and the lived experiences of being Black, are commonalities shared by the participants and the researcher.

For this study, I sent the transcripts to the participants as a form of member checking. This process occurred before data analysis to ensure the perspectives and
meanings of each participant were safeguarded, and that my own subjectivity did not interfere with the trustworthiness of this narrative case study (Birt et al., 2016).

**Data Analysis**

**Interview Data Analysis**

Data analysis is an important research process, which focuses on making meaning of the available information that will help to answer the research questions (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Creswell and Creswell (2018) provide a step-by-step process for data analysis:

1. Organize and prepare the data.
2. Read or look at all data.
3. Start coding all of the data.
4. Generate a description and themes.
5. Represent the description and themes (pp. 194-195).

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) suggest using three tools for coding narratives: broadening, burrowing, and restorying. In the broadening process, I generally described each participant from their socio-cultural perspective. During the burrowing process, I focused on more specific data such as feelings, understandings, dilemmas, and impactful events experienced by the participant. In the last phase, each “story” told was processed for understanding and summarized immediately after each interview.

**Coding**

For this study, I used a Box Drive cloud folder for the purpose of having a case study database, which is a place recommended by Yin (2014) to manage and archive all data. I completed an initial coding from the first read of each participant’s interview
transcript. I transferred the initial codes and memos to a codebook on an Excel spreadsheet. The initial codes were then placed on poster sheets, layered with color-coded Post-it Notes which contained initial codes and memos from the participant’s responses to each question from the interview guide.

Next, I developed within-case data from the Excel spreadsheet and poster sheets to organize each transcription and create other node sets to use for inductive codes, which came directly from the data. Contrasts in contexts and perspectives were also analyzed. Although both personal and academic experiences may flow together, there were instances where data showed qualities based on the uniqueness of each participant’s experience. Small sections of phrases from each participant were used to synthesize codes from each interview. With the use of *in vivo*, emotion, and process coding, phrases can be determined as significant in capturing and preserving the meaning of the participants’ thoughts (Saldaña, 2016).

Following the first round, eclectic coding was incorporated as a hybrid way to capture various concepts and themes that could be explored (Saldaña, 2016). Some of these hybrid methods included concept coding, value coding, emotion coding, and subcategories of narrative coding which include characterization, purpose, and spoken features. Those codes were sub-categorized to fit the *a priori* code in MindMup, a web-based software for mind mapping (https://app.mindmup.com). In Mindmup, I created a separate node derived from the research problem, using the *a priori* code, taken from the theoretical framework: Institutional Racism.

The codes for each participant that emerged from the Excel spreadsheet and poster sheets were then categorized and inserted into Mindmup. Explanations were given
for each participant in summarized form. A thematic report from each interview was
taken back in a follow up meeting with each participant to provide context, clarification,
and ethical integrity.

Collectively, the data was synthesized using a thematic approach, using
MindMup as a central base to categorize. Based on results from the within case analysis
of each participant, those themes were summarized to show similarities in the narratives
of each participant, and retexted in the form of a pseudonymous cross-case analysis. The
sampling method, a detailed description of the participants, interview transcripts, data
analysis, saturation, and interpretation yielded a thick description (Geertz, 1973) in the
final narrative, as well as thematic connections for future implications.

**Trustworthiness**

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) stated that the trustworthiness of the researcher who
is collecting and analyzing the data is equally important to the reliability and validity of
the data itself. The operationalizing of academic scholarship is centralized in the cogent
thought of the scholarly researcher--not the method, design, or analysis (Merriam &
Tisdell, 2016, p.260). Trustworthiness is taken into consideration through all phases of
content analysis, including preparation, organizing, and reporting (Elo et al., 2014).

One of the strengths of qualitative research is validity, because the researcher
employs multiple strategies to ensure that their findings are accurate from all viewpoints,
meaning the researcher, the participants, and the reader (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In
the spirit of this qualitative research, I used triangulation, member checking, thick
description, clarification of my own subjectivity, and peer debriefing.
Triangulation

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), cross checking and comparing multiple sources of data such as interviews, documents, notes, and artifacts is the process of triangulation. Denzin (1978) also recommends using theories as an alternative frame of reference for understanding and making comparisons between the participants’ accounts. The evidence from those combined sources can be used to build and coherently justify themes in the study, which supports validity (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In this study, I triangulated the data from the interviews with the review of literature and the perspectives of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Critical Whiteness Theory (CWT).

Member checking

In qualitative research, member checking involves following up with the participants individually to assure that the refined or thematic summary of their transcription is accurate (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). It is the most essential way of ensuring that there is not a misinterpretation of the participant’s words or actions, as well as identifying the researcher’s own biases or misinterpretation of the interview experience (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Lincoln and Guba (1985) advocate for member checking for its ability to enhance cogent scholarly thought, considering that credibility fundamentally exists when transcribing or seeking to understand phenomena.

To ensure trustworthiness, I emailed the refined transcript to each participant encouraging them to clarify and edit their statements wherever they deemed necessary. Following the final edits, I shared each participant’s story via email, and I gave them an opportunity to check the interpretation of meanings and themes that emerged from my analysis. The final cross-case analysis was not shared with the participants.
**Thick Description**

Engaging in rich, thick description allows the reader to experience the thoughts and feelings that the researcher portrays in the study (Phillips, 2008). When the phenomenon can be described in detail, to the extent where the reader could make generalizations that are transferable to other settings or situations, then external validity is accomplished, attributed to the use of thick description (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, data were collected from interviews and email correspondences to create a rich, thick description for each participant’s story.

**Peer Review/Debriefing**

The research should elevate and inspire awareness for many people, other than just the researcher. If someone else is truly interested in the flow and direction of the research, inquiring about the content and context of the study, validity is a characteristic that can be attached to the research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Lincoln and Guba (1985) define peer debriefing as “a process of exposing oneself to a disinterested peer in a manner paralleling an analytical session and for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind” (p. 308). The debriefer analytically probes to find hidden biases and assumptions that the researcher may have either missed or ignored, as well as test emergent theories to see if they are defensible in a neutral setting (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

For this study, I met with my advisor bi-weekly to discuss findings in writing, data collection, and analysis. I also met with peers informally, welcoming them to challenge my reasoning. I also invited music research and writing experts to provide feedback on the content and flow of this study. For example, to support the internal and
external validity of the study using the participants’ narratives, I was encouraged to minimize my voice during the interviewing and the retelling of the stories if the participants’ voices are to be maximized. The reader could then make their own generalizations from the stories clearly and without interruption. I was also given feedback to make a more compelling argument in how amplifying of the Black voice can be justified as a tool to expose, and ultimately counter institutional racism. Using counsel, my advisor, colleagues, and peers all recommended that Black voices in this study could be elevated by asking specific life and career questions to the participants, showing greater specificity when providing evidence to support my theoretical framework. They also provided me both academic and emotional support to overcome my personal fears associated with affirming Black perspective in spaces where Black voices have historically been diminished and/or silenced. The combination of all these tools for feedback helped me to process data with greater efficiency and reflexivity, adjust my interview questions and research procedures as needed, and make allowances for future research implications.

**Researcher Subjectivity**

The formulating of the research problem and questions, as well as how information is gathered to answer those questions, is shaped by the researcher’s own assumptions and experiences (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, because I am a research tool, I must divulge my subjectivity regarding the phenomenon in this study.

The role of the researcher in this study involved a balance of concept and process. The concept of self-awareness, meaning being actively engaged in the research process, keeps the researcher cognizant of how the social aspects of this study can be included as
an experience of both the researcher and the participants (Palaganas et al., 2017).

*Reflexivity*

In qualitative research in music, not only are research questions answered and data interpreted, but there is also an “insider” view and greater understanding of specific cultural phenomenon and social traditions that may exist (Matsunobu & Bresler, 2014). The researcher must continuously examine and critically think about how various assumptions and social backgrounds can affect the research process. Reflexivity supports the trustworthiness of the research by highlighting the viewpoint of the researcher in reaction to the participants’ shared perspective, and continuously has the researcher considering the process of affirming meaning throughout the entire research process (Ngozwana, 2018). I recognized in this qualitative research that my own personal assumptions greatly influenced the first chapter of this study, and possibly the trustworthiness portion of this chapter. This understanding, that I recognized, has kept me aware of the reflexivity needed for this study.

*Ethics*

To ensure an ethical approach in this study, I shared a detailed letter with each participant that explained information about the research, and I asked the participants in each scheduled interview to record a verbal consent to participate in this study. To secure the confidentiality of each participant, a pseudonym was given, and any private information that could identify them was modified. Participants were given a copy of their interview and story to read and make edits as needed. Any changes/edits that the participants made for the sake of interpretation, are included.
Summary

This chapter gave an overview of my choice for using narrative case study as the research design. It provided detail into participant selection, method for gathering data, analysis of data, and the process of creating narrative for each participant. Finally, I gave a layout for procedures pertaining to trustworthiness, ethics, and confidentiality. The next chapters will include each participant’s narrative, a cross-case analysis, discussion, and implications for future research.
Chapter 4

Multiperspectives

The purpose of this qualitative study is to elevate the voices of African American music scholars at Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) by sharing their lived experiences to support greater recruitment and retention of current African American music scholars. This study also explores next steps that could lead to a more equitable representation of African Americans in future music positions. The narrative case study method was appropriate for this study, because it allowed the voice and perceptions of each participant to be explored through the inquiry approach, thus leading to thick, rich description as told emically. This chapter provides a detailed, multiperspective within case analysis from the interviews of five African American music professors who currently work at higher education PWIs across the United States.

This chapter was written in the spirit of both W.E.B. Dubois and Booker T. Washington. Dubois’s hyperopic lens supports the ideology of empowering the Black community past survival mode by using higher education as the vehicle for the Black community to propel upward and prosper independently (Nickelberry, 2012; Dubois, 1968). Washington’s myopic lens focuses on the essential social and professional skills that African Americans need to interculturally survive both socially and economically in a racially minoritized American society. (Gates, 1998; Frantz, 1997; Washington, 1895). The participants’ stories should be interpreted with an emmetropic lens of personal uplift and prosperity for Black culture, alongside a mindset of surviving and succeeding as a Black in the astigmatic culture of Whiteness. You should visualize each participant’s trek into the other side of the veil—the White side. Their experiences include reactions toward
many racialized themes from their childhood, time spent in undergraduate and graduate, studies, and their current experiences on the job.

It was neither the participants' nor the researcher's position for the reader to fully understand the Black music professor experience in the PWI, because PWIs have had centuries to do that already. There is also a wide swath of the literature in Chapter 2 that supports these studies, and there are other outlets of knowledge available for understanding the African American experience in PWIs. Elevating the voices of the storytellers was more important for them than the researcher or reader, because whether intercultural observers are willing to understand the journey or not, the participants are self-empowered, self-liberated, and will forever own their story emotionally, mentally, and in many cases, spiritually. As a researcher that is emically sensitive, I honor the participants for their courageous conversations, but I also walk carefully out of respect to their whoness, and what they are willing and able to personally divulge for others to study.

This section begins with a brief overview of the participants and their total work experience in higher education, along with their work experience at their current location. Each participant met the criteria which was outlined in the previous chapter. This means that all participants racially identified as African American. All the participants have a terminal degree, and they are employed as full-time professors with at least four years of college teaching experience and at least one year in their current position. They have an academic rank from Assistant Professor to Full Professor, and they are teaching at a school with classifications ranging from Postbaccalaureate to Research Doctoral.
Table 1

Participant Study Information

*Total years of experience includes the 2020-2021 school year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>US Region where you currently teach</th>
<th>Higher Ed Teaching Experience</th>
<th>Years at Current Position</th>
<th>Tenured?</th>
<th>Teaching experience beyond Higher Ed?</th>
<th>Area of Expertise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes/3.5 years</td>
<td>Band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>East Central</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes/5 years</td>
<td>Music Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paxton</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Ozark Region</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes/10 years</td>
<td>Choral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ella</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Upper Midwest</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes/4 years</td>
<td>Music Education, Jazz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosalyn</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Pacific West</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Musicology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 presents the teaching credentials of each participant based on the region of the United States where they teach, their number of years teaching in higher education and their current institution, their current tenure track status, teaching experiences at other levels of education, and their area of expertise as it pertains to their position. In addition to meeting the criteria, there is another commonality that all participants share: The participants are not originally from the city or region in which their job is located. Their places of work range from 300-2000 miles from their places of origin. This may initially be viewed as insignificant, but teaching, while Black, in spaces that are socioculturally unfamiliar could be viewed as a great challenge. The participants also have an average of seven years of higher education teaching experience, and nearly four years at their current position.
The interview question guide focused on the personal and professional experiences of each participant leading up to them obtaining their current music position, as well as real time encounters, negotiations, and contexts that each participant currently faces as an African American professor of music. To provide the reader with an introduction into the cultural space of each storyteller, I selected lyrics from various African diasporic artists that helped me to encapsulate the spirit of each participant and their stories of representation in the professoriate. Following these musical iterations, I present multiperspectives from the enclave of these Black music professors operationalized within the exclave of PWIs.

**Lawrence: Blow it up from the inside**

*Crushing every system that belittles us, antidote to every poison they administer,*

*Switch it like time signatures, colours in my area tend to cover the perimeter.*

- Yugen Blakrok, *Opps*

Lawrence has four years of work experience in higher education, and is currently the Associate Director of Bands at University A. He also teaches conducting, wind repertoire lab, and music appreciation. He previously taught for five years in K-12 public school and has five years of experience as a teaching assistant (TA) while working on two masters’ degrees and a doctorate in higher education.

**Faith and Family**

Lawrence's situatedness as an African American who was able to navigate and elevate himself into the academy has triggered a feeling of cultural responsibility, from both the spiritual and the ancestral perspective. Notably, his personal faith is a driving force behind much of his professional decision making. Lawrence expounds on his faith-based decision making: "My previous job was a private institution. There were some very
strong ideals that disagreed with how I personally agree with the responsibility of education, and the private school conflicted with my concept of what Christianity was."

Alongside his spiritual beliefs, Lawrence credits his upbringing and lessons from his parents for teaching him how to code switch to survive and thrive: "We know that talking and dressing a certain way and looking a certain way amongst certain people makes them more comfortable. It's a shame, but it's part of the fabric of what makes America, and it's in music education everywhere." His mother greatly influenced and guided his footsteps through the veil: "My mother integrated her school in North Carolina in the late 60s. She was one of the first Blacks to go to her school. She was spat on by peers, etc. I was raised to speak well and dress well. I was the ‘OshKosh’ kid, so I think my mother was ensuring that her Black child will not be seen in a way other than what success is and what success was." She was an encouraging life force for him, providing him with affirmations that built his confidence: "She was always telling me, 'You are a handsome Black man; you're an intelligent Black child...’ I was not allowed to bring Bs home. I might as well fail the class, and for Cs, I was crucified. But it was that level of excellence that was instilled but yet also telling me about understanding racism and having the talk--which is not about sex--it's about when you're pulled over you need to be aware of this and that."

**Second Sight**

The paradox of being in a place that he could potentially succeed, but that conflicted with his whoness was a determining factor for Lawrence to transition to a more socioculturally sustainable opportunity, even if financial stability was uncertain:
I wanted to grow and do things and be able to shape music education in a different way. It's about who you know, who you are associated with, who you're affiliated with, where you work, what you do, and what you produce. All of that has a direct relationship to what your career experience is. I took a pay cut, but I gained a national sort of presence, because I was with a school that was respected at a higher level within the profession. Literally overnight things changed as far as that was concerned. So, it was a move that was necessary.

The concept to which Lawrence was alluding is one that I was intrigued to hear aloud, since this particular idiom is not openly communicated in music academy circles:

Even though it's music education, this is the music industry in many different shapes and forms. That's what guides a lot of my decision making, with what I do, how I do it, what I say, where I say it, and how it works. I think it is something that is known, though no one talks about it, and no one teaches how to navigate with that mindset. We are part of the music industry definitely.

**Career Capital**

Lawrence's industry mindset suggests that he is focused on the competency of building career capital, which Todd (2015) describes as skills, connections, credentials, and other resources used to increase a person's viability in the job market. He is a naturally gifted musician, whose musical talents extended far beyond traditional concert band:

I've been a musician all of my life. I started playing the piano at the age of two, was playing at church by the age of four with the children's choir, and have done it ever since. One of the successful aspects of my career has been that I'm still a
practicing musician, as well as a conductor. In my life I've only taken no more than three years where I was not a church musician at the same time. So, I'm doing the field like I'm part of the industry at that level. I'm doing the contracts, I'm showing up for the gigs, I'm playing for the musicals in the pit. I'm playing for other people's weddings and playing at church. I'm the director of worship. I'm constantly doing this professionally. I think it gives me a unique sense of how to inspire people, and a unique knack of working with people, and that's what's critically important.

**Hustle Hard**

Work ethic is something that distinctly emerges from Lawrence's grind. He even admits to calling himself a hustler, because his competencies extend beyond the so-called traditional path, but they also inform and complement what he does in higher education. Part of that hustle is ensuring that he markets and promotes himself through his own business:

I do custom apparel. I have a T-shirt business, design my own things that I wear, I do graphics for different things like websites or whatever. There's so many skills going on. So it's not just being a jack of all trades and master of none. That's not it. It's actually being really good at a lot of things in order to make it happen. So you figure it out and do it in excellence.

The reputation that Lawrence has developed as a versatile musician has gained the respect of his students, as well as credibility:

My students respect my hustle. And to hear me play, and for it to often be in styles and genres outside of band...you can hear my concepts of phrasing,
musicianship, style, articulation, and you can hear what kind of musician is inside. It gives you a level of credibility with them, that you're not just this person who waves a baton at them, but you're a practicing musician. I think it goes really far.

**Belonging**

Lawrence believes his strengths are valued by the institution, and his personal values are acknowledged and affirmed through institutional policies and supportive faculty, creating a sense of belonging:

University A school of music has a great mission that's connected to the strength of music education and the strength of music performance that I truly value...and awesome colleagues, I mean they're really great people. We are able to collaborate. You know, instantly I felt welcomed. I was able to quickly find a niche that's like 'this is my thing, this is my brand and how I do this.' The students appreciate it, and the faculty are very, very much appreciative of what I contribute to our environment and our brand.

**Pandemic**

Studies by Oppel et al. (2020) show that the COVID-19 pandemic has exposed and exacerbated a host of socioeconomic inequities. African Americans, Latinx, and Native American communities across the United States are affected by these inequities greater than any other racial groups. Some of the major categories in which these social groups are negatively affected include, but are not limited to quality health care, affordable standard housing, and job security and safety. Lawrence feels that racism is the other pandemic in which COVID-19 has exposed human selfishness and lack of concern for the othered, even beyond color lines:
University A is predominantly White, but it's like the haves and have nots. It's the students that had the internet at home versus students that didn't have the internet. And just because you have internet at home doesn't mean that you have the top speeds or whatever...

And still, equity in higher education on various levels appears to fall on racial lines, according to Lawrence:

We do not have equity as far as representation when it comes to people of color in the academy as professors, deans, or administrators. I think that dealing with bias and racism, the largest representation in higher education would be people who identify as white--make diversity issues not as important of an issue now. And even if it is important, the expediency to change is different, as through my eyes versus someone else's.

**Quarantine**

As Lawrence continues his thought, it dawns on me that he is not just talking about racism creating slow change, but the infestation of racism throughout the structural confines of higher education is a resistance to change:

It's in the policy, it's in the people, it's in the location, it's everywhere. It's in the books, the nooks, the music...you can't turn anywhere and not find something that has been affected by that. And a lot of people don't have the lens to see it through that space, because it doesn't affect them in that way.

Because of the stronghold of institutional racism, Lawrence is forced to quarantine himself in a place of double consciousness, to protect himself as an African
American music professor in higher education. His survival, however, does not come without a plan of revolution that he calmly shares with an empowering tone:

I either can choose to be angry and choose the position of let the system fix itself on its own, or I could assimilate into the system, meaning just sort of exist and make myself fit in a comfortable sort of means for the system itself, or I could blow it up from the inside. I choose to blow it up from the inside.

**Priorities**

Lawrence believes that the lack of urgency for change comes from the various intersections that have been prioritized on campus, thus leading to racial equity becoming less important. While Lawrence feels that his colleagues can sense or directly observe oppression, he must live the oppression:

There are people that may have unique things that they are championing and fighting for--that because it doesn't personally affect me on a day-to-day basis, it may not be at the top of my list of things that I'm waking up ready to hit the floor, protest, and fight for. That really, really, really is a problem, and the longer I stay in higher education, I realize just how saturated of a problem that is because racism is everywhere. You can't turn over a rock and not find it.

**Fluidity**

The academic rigor that exists in many PWIs, according to Lawrence, tends to neglect, and in many cases, omit the ontology and epistemology of Blackness. He suggests promoting counterknowledge and counternarrative that addresses the trauma that Whiteness has caused to all scholars, and also as a corrective course of action for African Americans that provides restitution from the Ma'afa:
In the Grout book, theory books, you don't really see Black musicians introduced unless you are really reading the footnotes. Scott Joplin is introduced, but there's like centuries of Black musicians that were doing classical music that we don't know about or won't know about just because of who's telling the story. I am championing the idea of fluidity and musicianship. Race is fluid, sexuality is fluid, and career paths are fluid. Everything is fluid except for music education. Lawrence's idea of fluidity correlates to his own versatility as a career musician, being a master of many things:

It just music, whether it's gospel, jazz, classical...the 12 notes don't change. How they're used changes, a little bit, but really, it's just whether or not I want music to taste a certain way. The 21st century musician can play in multiple venues, and not just survive, but thrive in multiple different styles because that's how you make money.

Relevance

Lawrence hopes that schools of music can make the pathway more relevant for today's musician, particularly those with African diasporic music backgrounds. This shift could lead to a greater interest from the Black community in what schools of music can offer them musically:

Give me a church job, and I can make just as much as my college professorship being a church musician. That's a real thing. If you want to do both now you've doubled your salary, but then also look at the sociocultural experience that you have. You get to actually enjoy not only the music and the art, but the people that
you're making it with. A lot of resources and textbooks don't teach that mindset--being more inclusive and more holistic to what I believe music is.

**Black Leadership**

Race, Lawrence believes, has historically been used as a tool for gatekeeping in leadership. He is calling for more Black and allied voices in administrative leadership. According to Lawrence, "We just need more people to be at those tables, because it takes a certain type of person to be willing to speak in the middle of a wilderness about this, that most people don't necessarily understand emically."

Lawrence believes the affirmation of Black leadership begins in the K-12 sector, by providing opportunities for K-12 students of color to see themselves as the leaders and bearers of culture. Lawrence uses a superhero to confirm his point on avenging systemic racism and supporting counternarrative:

I didn't need academia to validate my musicianship, because I going to my Wakanda to enjoy my Blackness and my people's excellence elsewhere. But that's a privilege, though, because a lot of people don't have that space in order to be affirmed. So we have got to affirm Black and Brown children from the beginning that they belong in this thing, from first grade to college.

**Liberation**

The mindset to which Lawrence alludes points to the oppressor needing to be liberated. This power redistribution process not only includes the affirmation and equalizing of Blackness as intelligence on campus, but also a collective White acknowledgement of and direct action against institutional systems that oppress Black and Brown people:
Don't put me in a cohort of Black and Brown people and say that it fulfills your diversity initiative, because the issue is the system, not me. You need to have a diversity thing with non-Black and Brown people in a room. Fix them. Fix the system, because the Black and Brown people are not in the places in some cases to fix the system. FIX THE SYSTEM. It's easier for people to say let's help the Black people instead of let's help the non-people of color not be so darn racist. People that have racist ways or biases have to do personal work. They have to do a lot of personal work, but they also can't do it by themselves.

While antioppression and antiracism are currently trending themes in many academic circles, Lawrence thinks that the work requires both an awareness of racism and White privilege:

They (White people in higher education) are not even aware of all the ways that they are racist or biased. So it has to be checked by somebody else who can say 'okay Karen, this is the reason why this was a problem...' There's a lot of work to be done, because being the largest representation comes with a large amount of ideals, and those other voices don't end up permeating policy, procedure, decisions, curriculum, all of it.

**Summary**

Lawrence has relied heavily on faith and family to endure both the COVID-19 pandemic that has affected communities globally, and the racism pandemic in higher education. Some institutions, as Lawrence suggested, are not prioritizing the racism pandemic, which has led to variants of racism that infect curriculum, pedagogy, policy, and overall campus climate. Hence, Lawrence has taken precautions by quarantining
himself. He creates his own career brand, which combines his musical epistemology with other sustainable career options beyond his institution.

The fluidity that Lawrence has regarding his own career is an access pathway. Lawrence’s hustle brand translates into a fluid template for his music students to follow. It is a respectable position he has developed for himself within the music professoriate. He believes his career is a model that supports a sustainable 21st century career in music. He implicates that more Black musicians would be interested in PWIs if schools of music offered more career/culturally relevant learning opportunities.

Lawrence speculates that lower cases of racism throughout schools of music could happen if the vaccine of Black leadership-- through counternarrative and counterknowledge-- is fully accepted, produced, and duplicated in PWIs. Systemic oppression in PWIs, in Lawrence’s opinion, is enslaving White people. He believes that the system of Whiteness makes Black people the blame for their situatedness. Lawrence is led to think that the system must be re-evaluated internally, and White people in power at PWIs must have personal and professional development in antiracist practices. He also believes that an increase of Black leadership liberates Whites by making them aware of systemic racism and White privilege. Lawrence concludes his thoughts by saying that the work required to develop awareness of the blind spots that exist within Whiteness culture could lead to critical consciousness, antiracism, and a greater representation of African Americans in schools of music.

**Chris: Free Me**

*It's time to step out on faith, I've gotta show my faith*

*It's been illusive for so long, but freedom is mine today*
I've gotta step out on faith, it's time to show my faith

Procrastination had me down but look what I have found, I found

Strength, courage, and wisdom

And it's been inside of me all along...

- India Arie, Strength, Courage, and Wisdom

The doctoral journey, according to Batchelor & Di Napoli (2006) is one in which your epistemology and ontology go through a metamorphosis. This change allows the doctoral student to shape both their voice and their character. Typically, this transformation takes place by the influence of new readings and close encounters with great thinkers and mentors that can provide both professional and personal guidance.

Chris is a second year assistant professor at University B, where she is the Coordinator of the Music education program. She teaches various music education courses, and she supervises music education student teachers. She previously taught music for four years in K-12 public school, and she has previous experience as a teaching assistant (TA) in higher education.

Help Me

Chris indicated that one of the more important steps in her journey to the professoriate was going through the academic and social challenges that came with being a doctoral student. Although she had a relatively strong family and friend support system outside of campus, along with a spiritual foundation that guides her now, she did share that there was "friction" while completing her Ph.D. with the constant shadow of being the only, or one of the few African Americans in the program. Chris did express that her socio-emotional state of being was not taken into consideration by her mentors at the
The learning gap at times was very steep because there were assumptions made by her professors that students were expected to know certain things, such as, how to set up a study. These moments of feeling behind made Chris internally feel unprepared for the process, while there were other moments that she felt that she excelled. Chris expressed a need for guidance during the difficult times of the process:

What could have helped me in some of those times that I wasn't really ready was having educators to listen to me say 'here's how I'm feeling' and maybe it's not we're gonna change the process for me, but it's that I get to express to you 'here's what I feel, how I feel not ready,' and you can say 'here's what you have done and here's how this prepares you.' That would have helped me to just have a talk back or listening session.

**Tokenized me.** As a PhD student, Chris also felt the weight of the heavy token placed in her hand to be the spokesperson for any issues of race in her classes:

The only times that race came up was when the students of color brought it up. And so I felt like the only reason you would talk about this because I’m here? Wait a minute...that doesn’t feel right and why do I have to free ME?

Chris also explains that the template of the isolated and oppressed people freeing the oppressor continues to be perpetuated even as a professor. The administrative barriers presented to many professors regardless of race, but as a Black person, the "hoops" that Chris describe create an entrapping feeling that Black and Brown people having to work twice as hard:

You want me to balance my service *and* my teaching *and* my scholarship, but everyone wants me to sit on their *DEIA* committee, and I'm tasked to do the
'diversity' thing. I am forced to make a decision that's harder for me than some of my colleagues.

As I listen to Chris share about the constant pressures of being a culture bearer, though it is quite inspiring, it is very difficult. This cultural responsibility is one that Chris understands is necessary in negotiating systemic barriers that exist for African American music professors at PWIs:

To think that there aren't many that look like me. That identify like me. Yeah, there's some pressure there for sure. I think no one would lie to you and tell you, oh no I don't feel it...no I feel pressure everyday, because if I screw up, that doesn't just reflect on me.

**Mentorship**

Chris indicated that her positive experiences as a teaching assistant (TA) were important tools for gaining experience teaching music in higher education:

Actually getting to teach some courses, on my own so that not only did I have that on my CV or resume, but I actually had the experience, so that when I get out here in a position it's not necessarily starting from zero. I have this experience to say 'oh, I've put this class together, I can do this class too.'

The mentorship process in becoming a college professor seemed to benefit Chris. She was also able to apply her experience in the K-12 classroom to her new journey as a higher education professor:

I'm taking stuff that I learned in the K-12 classroom and I'm bringing it to higher ed and then on and on until it's like how we mentor future teachers. We get them through the first year, all the way through the fourth year giving them more
teaching time. It's like that gradual release thing. And so I think that, overall, the sequencing for me was important.

**Language of Diversity**

As Chris started applying for higher education music positions, she was greatly influenced to apply to certain schools, because of the intentional language of diversity that appeared in the school mission statement, along with the job description:

I liked how it read on paper, but you know, sometimes you read things and they sound good, but let me dig a little deeper. So that was the case with this school. They had a diversity statement and said that they are advocates in DEI. I was like, 'oh me too.' That seems good so that was the step in the door.

Chris realized that diversity rhetoric has become commonplace for many universities, but there was something unique about University B:

I had no idea this place existed. They were looking for someone and they really pushed in their job description. They indicated that this is at the forefront of importance to us. So I said, let me apply. Let me take a look at it. And that was what made me interested in it.

Chris believes that it helps to have vicarious models in the department in which you are applying. Her department has created a culture that embraces Black affinity within a predominantly White space:

I believe we are still in the minority in the university as a whole, but in the music department, we have, I think the highest percentage of black faculty on campus. So that means that I can walk down the hall, and we can 'cut up,' laugh, and talk about stories or be 'in it' musically.
Black Enough

At times, Chris felt intracultural support was counterproductive. She also takes into consideration that many of her ways of musicing that she learned outside of campus were undervalued. In the end, her ability to adapt to culturally dissonant musical spaces, along with her connection to close relatives, fictive family, and faculty who share Blackness are key factors in both her personal and professional whoness as a Black professor of music on campus:

I grew up in the church as far as musicianship and identity. We were doing lots of musical stuff that I didn't see in school until...sometime in high school, maybe college. By then, I had kind of internalized that I need to let that part of me go in order to be successful over here. Then matriculating through degrees...You want to talk about culture, I know that at least in my family and my community, there's this understanding, 'Yes, we want you to do well in life.' But there's this sort of mistrust with schools like, 'okay so you're going to get that PhD. You must think you're better than us' mentality. Like, you got all this book smarts but where are your street smarts?' I'm just call it, are you Black enough?!? I've definitely dealt with that my entire life. And then, especially going off to get a PhD like 'who do you think you are?' I'm just trying to make it out y'all. Our folks support whatever they think is best. I do receive some love, but that love sometimes comes with a little bit of hurt. As far family goes, not everyone can make every step of the journey. So, making peace with that is the large step. Your "folks" folks might not understand what you’re doing. But when I say family, I mean chosen family,
however that means to you. I have very close friends that I established when I got into my PhD program that I see every year, and we visit each other. That's family.

Co-conspirators

Navigating the current system is a support mechanism that Chris has been afforded through White, co-conspirators in the school of music:

You know I had a mentor who reached out to me and said 'Hey I think you could write something to go into this, but look at it and see if you're interested.' And here I am. We're on the other side of that now. It's about to get published. And so those gatekeepers like sitting there and saying 'I recognized my privilege to be here and I'm going to bring in some of these people who need to be heard. I think all of that support really helps and helps me believe-- like yeah, I'm supposed to be here.

Power of belief

It is that support system for which Chris advocates for all Black professors, combined with a strong faith base and self-confidence:

Whatever faith system you got, lean on that. My faith is definitely evolving. What good can I do now? I may not always be able to give you my money, but I can show up in different ways, so that's where my faith resides--just trying to do good. That plus your support team can get you anywhere. You're supposed to be doing exactly what you're doing, and if you weren't, that door wouldn't have been open. That's what keeps me going.
In-house Rebrand

Chris stated previously that she is inspired by the fact that there is a diverse community of people among the faculty. She does believe, however, that it is problematic that the student population in University B school of music does not mirror a similar diversity. She does not place the full responsibility on her White colleagues and administrators to promote a more racially diverse population. She believes there is an intracultural responsibility for Black people to re-invest in education as cultural capital, "If I want to see more students that look like me, or perhaps identify like me, then that onus of that job is on ME and people who look like me."

On campus, Black leadership and discussion groups can be useful in elevating the Black voice, but also having Whites in administration who value and are willing to co-conspire. Both academic and institutional norms could be established that support Black scholars on campus. Chris explains that "Black faculty associations are great, because across the university we can get together and talk about things that we see and experience and that's important. But we also need more people to be at those meets."

Counternarrative and counterknowledge can be affirmed and elevated in these forums:

It's important to remember that Black is not monolithic. My experience is not necessarily yours. You will find similarities across the board, but everyone's context is different. If we work together to put those stories together, ask more questions, tell more stories...I think that's where we make differences.
Admin Support

Along with storytelling, Chris believes that the Black agenda should be fortified at these meetings and heard by representatives from administration:

I think Black faculty should be getting together to discuss things: what changes you want to see, but also that we are able to communicate with upper administration. There needs to be some representation at some of those meetings that say 'we hear you, we're working with you, we support you.' People who are not us, have to show up to be allies.

While the Black community continues to do intracultural work, Chris knows that there are some systemic changes that need to take place within White politics and policy. She said, "I appreciate my seat at the table, but I feel like we can expand the table or do away with the table and just y'all (White people) come quickly...more quicker than what is happening."

No More Patience

Incremental change and patience are tenets that Chris understands need to happen in certain instances, but Black and Brown people have been told to be patient for centuries, and Chris is ready now:

One mind I understand that solid stuff takes time. If it happens real fast every time, it's probably superficial. I get it. At the same time, haven't we always taken incremental steps? Maybe it's time to flip the script and try something else.

Chris recommends research:
You know people love doing studies, so let's do a study on what happens when we speed this up or just try something different. Because history tells us that if we don't change anything we get the same thing. That's either faith or insanity.

Critically conscious administration is key to building trust with Black scholars on campus:

Senior administration people, you have to listen, come in with a pen and paper, and then don't just show up, but let me see the action. Let me see the fruits of your labor. And then people start to believe you are a person of your word, that you actually care about these things, and then we get some movement. I don't think we can expect people to believe and trust that these administrative people have our backs when we are seeing the same things.

**Summary**

The story of Chris’s journey as a music professor provides insight for the need of social support for African American scholars on campus. Chris acknowledged that she felt supported in the academic challenges and the opportunities to gain teaching experience through her TA responsibilities. Unfortunately, her social and cultural well-being were neither nourished or affirmed through on-campus support systems.

The greater priority made by Chris’s professors in her on-campus experiences was to ingratiate herself with a system of learning and teaching that discounted her humanity, which diminished her Blackness. She and her other Black classmate interjected their ways of knowing and being into class discussions, tokenizing her experience as a PhD student. Chris was aware of her tokenized positioning. She used her gift of second sight to position herself in a place that intentionally promoted diversity and showed action
based upon their mission statement. According to Chris, her school of music is the most racially diverse department in the entire university.

On the White side of the veil, Chris survived and succeeded in her doctoral studies, but at a cost: Her career choice has led many of her blood relatives to question her Blackness. Chris has had to personally reconfigure who she calls family, based on who has been supportive of her during the journey. Her family transcends blood relatives. It also includes, close friends and allies, as well as co-conspiring White professors who have used their keycard to provide access to collegial opportunity doors which have historically been guarded heavily by White supremacy gatekeepers. Moral support from her co-conspirators, combined with her personal faith and self-confidence, has led Chris to believe in herself, and other potential Black scholars. This particular engine of inspiration drives Chris to believe that the situatedness of Black underrepresentation is an interstate traffic jam in which some of the entrance ramps to the highway of the professoriate can only be opened intraculturally.

Chris believes that Black affinity groups, forums, and associations will bolster a counternarrative and counterknowledge needed to support a greater representation of Black professors. She also thinks that these same groups should invite school administration to listen to the conversations and show genuine, immediate support in their actions. Research seems to be an easy path for administration to show their action, according to Chris. Having data to support rhetoric helps to build relationship and regain trust, which could lead to a greater, more positive response from the Black community.
When Sunday comes, my trouble gone, as soon as it gets here, I'll have a new song. When Sunday comes, I won't have to cry no more.

-Donald Lawrence, When Sunday Comes

Starck et al., (2021) suggest that although colleges and universities deem that diversity is educationally useful, there still is a failure to adopt diversity as morally right. The marketing of diversity is designed to attract White people, since the primary language of most diversity statements is not legally binding (Starck et al., 2021). In other words, there is no real need to take diversity action seriously, because moral receipts could be considered as relative and not absolute.

Paxton is in his 7th year in higher education, all at University C, a Research One institution. He is the Associate Director of Choral Activities and an Assistant Professor, where he conducts two large choral ensembles and teaches various choral music education courses. He previously taught for 10 years in K-12 urban and rural public school districts across the United States.

Faith and Family

Paxton acknowledged that his faith and family give him social balance and a moral center. The frustration that he feels as an advocate of diversity is the need for his colleagues to go beyond their moral compassion and take action. Being the only Black faculty in the department gives Paxton the notion that his colleagues and his administrators are not actively engaged in advocating for a greater representation of African American professors of music:
As the only Black faculty in my department, I have experienced this crisis whereby people, I feel like I have to work twice as hard to be considered half as good, right. My teacher evaluations are impeccable. My student evaluations are impeccable. My research is award-winning. My choirs are singing at regional and state conferences. But I had to do all of that to be considered even half as good as my colleague who hasn't done half the things that I've done.

Perseverance manifests from the Spiritual fruit that Paxton carries with him daily. It is important to point this out, because Paxton understands that regardless of what the institution does, his faith is not dependent on any academic or institutional policy that University C decides to implement:

My faith teaches me that, if it is for me, then it is for me, and that God will take care of me. And so I'm not going to be scared because I'm scared somebody doesn't like me, right? I've never really operated in fear that way in higher ed.

Teaching K-12

The ontological GPS that Paxton uses to navigate was finely calibrated before arriving at a PWI by using his K-12 teaching experience as a pinned reference for his career path as a choral conductor and researcher. His prior experiences allow him to confidently drive through the many detours that could occur in higher education, while keeping his destination in focus:

I will tell you, my undergraduate music education experience, while it taught me conducting, theory, classroom management...it taught me all these things that you're supposed to learn to be a good music teacher, most of the training that I got was on the job. When I taught high school, there were things that I did not learn in
the classroom that I learned on the job. Like, discipline looked different in that particular school. Organizational skills, trip planning, how to administer your core program, how to choose literature. Those are things I had to learn by trial and error. It was in my PhD program that I began to really analyze why it was that the experience that I had in undergrad that prepared me for the job.

As a high school teacher, Paxton was engaged in a form of experiential learning of his own. During that process, he learned that his pedagogy did not align with the local districtwide curriculum guide. Paxton's unique perspective on curriculum caused him to evaluate what music education could be, and how he could develop his own curriculum:

When I was teaching in the district, the music education curriculum was one size fits all. It was all kind of cookie cutter curriculum, which implies, or which expects that you will go out and that every school is the same, and that's simply not the case. Because the first school I taught didn't fit the cookie cutter mold, I ended up flying solo for a lot of the time and building my own way of teaching. Now, because I was able to do that, I'm now able to write about it and better prepare my music education students for what the world is going to look like.

**Double Standard**

Paxton's experiences at University C suggest that constant racial minoritizing is a part of White supremacy culture that trickles down to students, just like faculty. White privilege is exercised among many of Paxton's students, who treat him unfairly compared to other White professors with the same credentials:

A couple of my students received grades that they thought that they should not have received raked me over the coals on my attendance policy. This is unfair,
and this is the most strict attendance policy that we have ever seen.' These same students sitting in the flagship ensemble with the director of choral activities, who is White, who by the way I copied his attendance policy verbatim. These students who are raking me over the coals abide by the same attendance policy in another class and don't say a word. Sometimes a student will ask me a question. I'll give an answer, and then they'll go to my White colleague to ask the same question, get the same answer, and then they're satisfied, as if somehow, I don't know what I'm talking about. The challenge is I didn't get the same benefit of the doubt that people who don't look like me get.

**Identity for Sale**

The advocacy for and long-term engagement of Black professors in higher education is not supported collectively by all Black professors on the University C campus. Paxton suggests that many Black professors on campus are "selling out" to maintain their own status:

Black people in higher ed, particularly at a place like where I am, they fall into this rut of, 'Yes, I want to be a game changer. Yes, I want to level the field. Yes, I want to do this.' But then when it comes time to either speak up or save your job or preserve your whatever clout or whatever you have, then people choose their jobs, and I get that, but at some point, I feel like we got to stand up for right, no matter what.

**Mirror to window**

Paxton understands that an equal representation of African American professors in music will take time. His way of using his critical consciousness and dismantling
systemic oppression is by influencing his students to transition from looking in the mirror at their own musical experiences, to looking out the window at other musical epistemologies beyond their own. Paxton does this by providing space and content for his students, mostly from White and rural backgrounds, to make their own meanings of what it means to be a music educator beyond their traditional understandings:

I know what my music education was like, but I also know that my music education experience is not the only way or the only experience. I am excited about that opportunity where I teach, because it was all of those experiences as an undergraduate, teaching in an urban school, and then doing research on different methods of teaching that have impacted the way that I teach the future teachers now at University C. I have been very fortunate where I am. I'll tell you, there's not a lot of diversity where I am, but because of that, I'm able to really bring to light a lot of the things that I wouldn't be able to do in a place that was saturated with diversity.

**Game On**

Paxton implies that future Black professors must employ game ethos when entering the profession. He recommends expanding your options when seeking higher education teaching positions. Paxton advises future professors to "Apply for everything, literally everything. And then, if you get a bunch of yeses, then you have a bunch of yeses to choose between."

He also highlights that the interviewee has a right and responsibility to ask specific questions:
Make sure you're asking tough questions like, 'Where does your university stand in terms of DEIA? What are you doing to actively engage students of color? Faculty of color? What resources exist in your department that will be supportive to what I am doing here? What does diversity look like in your department?' You have to do that research on your own, but also ask those questions in your interview.

Paxton recommends seeking out other Black professors on campus:

If you're at a PWI, it is important to find people who have your back. I immediately reached out to Black faculty members who had been there a while. This is from chancellor, vice chancellors, associate deans, to faculty in other departments. Seek out community who can help guide you through things like promotion, tenure, and mid tenure review.

**Reward and Risk**

Although many of experiences in higher education that Paxton has shared have been rewarding, he is very aware of the risks in the game of -isms:

Keep your eyes open and see things for what they are. I am a consummate optimist, but I have enough lived experience to understand that, as Maya Angelou says, 'When people show you who they are, believe them.' And my mama would say, 'Believe them the first time.' I like to believe that people's intentions are pure, but I also believe that people can't help what's in them will come out. When you start to see glimpses of racism, and glimpses of all the other -isms, then be ready and not afraid to call it out, and to address it, because it will only get worse.
Changing the Game

In schools of music, Paxton thinks that exclusion of Black people happens when exclusion of various Black forms of musicing are not honored:

I saw a Facebook post recently where someone was talking about how (Black) students come to us at PWIs, and because they may not be able to sight read or because they may not do music literacy or music learning or music acquisition the same way, that does not necessarily mean that they are less musically apt. The kid who comes to you playing gospel music who can hear chord changes and tell you exactly what those chords are, or who can listen to a piece of jazz music and tell you exactly what those chords are, exactly what those changes are...But because they can't sight read a Bach etude, we want to say that we don't want to accept them into our program.

Shift

Paxton sees the good intentions of DEI work at University C, but the impact of the work is something that he has yet to fully realize. A primary barrier seems to be that diversity is limited to allyship. Being just an ally should shift to co-conspiring action that leads to real change. Paxton shared frustration that he is openly dealing with right now:

One of the challenges that I experience perpetually is this: I have learned that everybody wants to say that they're on the right side of history in terms of diversity, equity, and inclusion. We have a meeting every time something happens. George Floyd happened, and we end up having these meetings, and then we bring Ibram X. Kendi books. We start reading books and reading various
things in our faculty meetings and those kinds of things, and then we go right back to doing the same thing.

**Outside source**

Paxton shared a thought regarding how PWIs can shift their culture in a more impactful way. He believes the game of -isms can be changed by fully adopting and embracing diversity through training for faculty and administration by DEI agencies not affiliated with the university:

> It takes faculty to first understand the students. We have Black students who feel alienated because of the way that we teach them, because of the way in which we push to the side their learned experiences and their lived experiences. If we can have faculty members, stakeholders, deans, and department chairs see it from the point of educating the student, and if they can see where we're going wrong in terms of the student, I think that it will be more easily transferable to how they treat fellow faculty members. Because the student experiences are not so far removed from Black faculty members experiences. In terms of Black faculty, it may mean bringing in somebody from the outside to help facilitate these conversations, because it's difficult to advocate for yourself, right?

Allyship and professional development from an outside source would break up the oppressive silos that may exist within the institution and support a culture shift towards a healthier campus climate:

> It's one thing for me to say it, it's another thing for an outsider to come in. And it's another thing for an outsider ally, someone who looks like them to say, 'Here's where you're jacking up.' So, I think we need more opportunities like that for non-
Black people to come in and say, 'Listen, you are undervaluing your Black faculty. Here is where you're doing a disservice.' And so forth and so on.

**Summary**

The story of Paxton’s journey is centered around his faith and family. These two entities greatly influence his personal decisions, and they inform how he should professionally act in his role as a DEI advocate on campus. Paxton’s ideology allows him to advocate for himself, as well as for other Black scholars who may choose not to be as engaged as he is regarding DEI.

Paxton’s pedagogy and curriculum in higher education were significantly impacted by his teaching experiences in secondary public school. He has used his own experiences to develop guidelines and curriculum for his current music students to create their own career path. Despite his innovative approach, Paxton’s efforts are still met with resistance. Paxton shared moments in which he was marginalized and racially minoritized by faculty, administration, and students. He also presents a thought that the pressures of being Black in a White space have led many of his Black colleagues to fully support DEI initiatives, just to keep their own status. The combination of these two issues produces the veil of double consciousness for Paxton, and possibly indicates a collective identity crisis that exists within the Black scholar community.

Lack of intracultural support could be slowing down an already slow progression for Paxton. He counters this intracultural barrier by implementing his own understandings into his curriculum and pedagogy. He also uses other global perspectives and practices to illuminate musical ways of knowing for his primarily White and rural student population. Though Paxton has received a wide range of recognition for his work as a Black music
professor, he still experiences microagressions from faculty and students. He is treated unfairly despite using the same policies and procedures as his White colleagues. Paxton’s Black colleagues see this, and they are unwilling at times to support him in his efforts to fight for equity and diversity on campus. From Paxton’s perspective, he understands the fear or apprehension from his Black colleagues. He thinks that some of them are more interested in protecting their own brand instead of fighting for the collective African American uplift.

Along with fighting for curriculum and pedagogical respect for non-Whites, Paxton has also turned his attention in the DEI fight to future Black professors. He recommends a combined game ethos of applying for multiple jobs, DEI inquiry during the interview, and seeking out Black mentorship on campus. Although Paxton believes these tenets of game ethos could lead to survival, he is more than aware that great risk is involved when operating on the White side of the veil. PWIs could change this cultural narrative internally by seeking external DEI professional development, which Paxton believes, could lead to a positive and healthier school climate for Black scholars.

**Ella: Flip the script**

*I'm holding on to my freedom, can't take it from me, I was born into it, it comes naturally, I'm strumming my own freedom, playing the God in me, representing His glory, I hope He's proud of me, I'm living my life like it's golden...*

~*Jill Scott, Golden*

In 2020, Sharde' Davis, an African American assistant professor at the University of Connecticut, and Joy Melody Woods, a PhD student at the University of Texas at Austin, created a hashtag on Twitter called #BlackInTheIvory. This hashtag was created
in reaction to the murder of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and the protests that followed as a social space for Black scholars to share their experiences of racism in higher education. As protests began to happen worldwide, stories of feeling unwelcome, racial microaggressions, police brutality and other acts of racism on college campuses began to show up in greater numbers on the Twitter hashtag. As of June 2020, #BlackInTheIvory hashtag had been used in nearly 6,000 Twitter accounts (Springer, 2020).

Ella is in her eighth year in higher education, which includes six years in Research One institutions. She is currently an Assistant Professor at University D, where she teaches undergraduate and graduate music education courses, as well as jazz pedagogy. She previously taught for four years in K-12 public school. Also included in her higher education teaching experience is one year of teaching in community college.

**Location**

Ella's experience of being #BlackInTheIvory is initially conceptualized simply by location. She expressed cultural dissonance, because she feels her job location is not the ideal place for her to live and settle, due to the lack of racial diversity:

"This is not the place that I would've chosen as a Black woman personally, because I rarely, if ever, see Black people, particularly on campus, especially in the school of music."

She feels unsafe, based on the physical space and its lack of cultural relevance:

There's nothing in the school of music that I see on any of these walls that lets me know that I'm in a safe space. I don't see any previous or current Black scholars who've been in this space, to let me know that they existed here, or that the school
of music truly celebrates them in the work that they've done, and their contributions to this university and this community.

Lose Yourself

Ella thinks that while many people could be impressed at her credentials by looking at where she has taught, Ella's humanity tends to be challenged and/or ignored in these same ivory spaces. Thus, her won-ness leaves her in space of double consciousness, drifting constantly to both sides of the veil, as she negotiates between dealing with White supremacy culture, while continuing her work as a culture bearer:

It is truly challenging to be where I am because I'm giving up something. I'm giving up something that's really important, and part of that is my, mental health and well-being. And so, I have to find ways to negotiate that and deal with that. Whereas the majority of my colleagues don't ever have to consider that. White colleagues, that is. White people. So, I'm just here working. This is not my dream job.

WS Culture

Even in a large music faculty, it appears that the promise statements for more racial diversity have not been kept, as she is still the only African American in the faculty. More manifestations of White supremacy culture that Ella experienced led to mistreatment, unfair job practices, surveillance, sabotage and isolation:

I felt like I was being policed heavily by my own colleagues. I also endured, literally, the silent treatment. No one spoke to me. Everything shifted after I got a letter, after two years about my performance. And it was three pages of nothing
but, here are all the things in which you screwed up. And there was one sentence where I did good.

While enduring the silent treatment, Ella continues to share how this toxic culture led to forms of violence authorized by music administration:

I found out from another colleague what was going on. I wasn't going crazy. They were literally told not to speak to me. And I came to find out that the chair told them to do that. After I had a meeting with the chair, I was told that I could not speak to anyone on campus about the situation or about our meeting. I was harassed at Christmas gatherings by a drunk colleague. I've learned that when White people have an issue with you, they talk amongst themselves, and they create this construct/response to how they're gonna handle you and how they're gonna deal with you.

Ella's experiences of racism are clearly conceptualized based on the manifestations of White supremacy culture that have inflicted trauma institutionalized through the erasure of Blackness from the physical environment, the lack of action that supports diversity rhetoric, and the sanctioning of normative behavior that has historically victimized Black and Brown people:

How can you be Black in America and not know some of these tendencies, cultural triggers, and racist things? Let's call it for what it is. Some of this stuff I knew by just living in America. Every organization that I've been a part of, both civilian and military, it's riddled with those sort of habits that White people have, and it's also riddled with racism. But then, some of these things I learned being a professor. I completed my doctoral work at one of the most progressive schools in
the country. Then I come here, where the central focus is the Western canon, or Western aesthetic. You kinda don't fit.

Pathway

Ella credits her pathway and current job placement to her time as a K-12 public school educator, and her positive and incentivized doctoral student experience:

Teaching in high school or public school, but also going to a school like Z University and working with the professor over there...and doing post doc at another university. But also, it was a visiting assistant professor position. So, I was able to work on research while also engaging in what could potentially look like a tenure track position.

Though this scenario points to the institution being intentional with moving diversity forward, Ella, as mentioned in the previous question is taken aback when it comes to the true motivation and long-term investment in Black and Brown music professors in PWIs:

The institution itself is a very messy place, a very complex place. It's something to be a Black professor and to teach in these schools. And to teach predominately White students, all...the...time. It's sort of like being at a concert. It's one thing to see the concert going on and you're part of the audience, but to be in the backstage, behind the curtains and seeing all the mess that's happening...

Yellow Brick Road

Ella, in her vivid imagination even compares being a professor in a PWI like being in the Wizard of Oz:
Dorothy and all of her friends are all excited and they're like, 'oh we're gonna get to Oz and everything's gonna be alright, and then you realize that it's just an old White man behind the curtain. He's doing his thing, and you can't get to where you need to be because the old White man, the Wizard, is still behind there jacking up stuff, but he's setting it up for people who look like, think like, and possibly move throughout life like him.

So, while some prospective African American scholars continue to follow the yellow brick road, Ella has suggested that along the way, there are some key competencies that will be beneficial. She exercises her faith regularly:

I understand that this job is not my provider. And when I tell people that, they don't get it. 'Cause I'm like, God provides for me. At the end of the day, this job will come and go, and I will come and go. I understand that. This job is not my provider.

She also endorses self-care and loyalty to self:

I learned that I don't reveal all of who I am to my colleagues. They gotta earn that. And if you don't earn it, okay, we're good colleagues. It would seem like the universities would have you in mind. That's not always the case. You gotta come in these spaces loving yourself, putting yourself at the top of the list.

**Mind Power**

It is vital for a Black professor in a PWI, according to Ella, to be able to psychologically place yourself in a position of power:

When people begin to flip the script...for example, I am in my third-year review, but so is University D. So, I'm looking at the three years that I've been here and
I'm saying, has University D provided me opportunities to thrive and to do the work that I do? Have they fulfilled their part of the bargain for my time here? What Ella is implying here is game ethos, or simply playing the game, and knowing the rules:

It appears like people are on your side, but they're not, and I think that goes back to understanding people's nature is like playing chess. Part of being a Black professor, I've learned and still learning that you have to be three or four moves ahead of the game. Know as much as you can about the space in which you are either interested in or the space that is interested in you.

They Know

There are some things, I'm just like, fuck it, I can't. The institution will pull everything from you in order to sustain. And if that means you fall at the wayside, or you are collateral damage in that process, then so be it. That's what I've learned.

This is the framework from which Ella, and perhaps many other African American professors, socioemotionally operate within a PWI. As a starting point for improved academic strategies and institutional policies, this is the trauma from which PWIs must begin their process of systemic change. Ella's obvious frustration is not because institutions are not able to counter systemic barriers of oppression, but rather the willful ignorance and lack of accountability that exists. "Black scholars have been existing in these spaces for decades. PWIs already know what they need to do. But the question becomes, well, they're asking themselves, what do we want to do..."
Though PWIs on the surface support DEI, interest convergence still frames many of these policies, as Ella emphasizes, "...and how can we negotiate, navigate through this thing where we still come out on top? I don't think a lot of these institutions are ready to give up or give in to anything. Things only change when our interests align with those of the dominant space, in this case, White folk."

Schools of music across the United States have not changed much, and they know it:

Look at the faculty, within the last thirty years, there has been zero growth from one Black faculty (see Appendix B). And then that's just in NASM accredited schools. THEY'VE KNOWN THIS! They know they need to diversify; they know they need to be inclusive. They know Black professors by far in comparison to their White counterparts do most of the heavy lifting, along the lines of diversity, inclusion, recruitment, providing resources, and God knows what else...and they get no credit for it. It is not included in their tenure; it's merely included as service.

Ella is indicating that Black professors are working twice as hard to get half as far, but she is suggesting that PWIs should make more critically conscious choices, because they already know what to do, and be willing to dismantle the construct of racism in White space as a system, not a convenient patchwork:

So, my advice to these schools is, do what you say you're going to do. And when it comes to this perception of your traditions will be threatened, understand that's an internal thing. Nobody's trying to threaten you. They want a prescription. They want a mathematical problem that at the end of it; they still control the outcome.
Holla

If Black narrative and storytelling remains a fear among predominantly White culture, a Black exodus is potentially on the horizon in Ella's opinion, which would be detrimental to PWIs. White power could be non-existent if there are no Black people to dominate on campus:

We all might say to hell with these PWIs, we goin' home. And if and when we choose to do that, PWIs will be in trouble and rightfully so. Just think about the trillions of dollars. Black scholars, athletes, administration...if and when we decide to go home to HBCUs, it's gonna be game over.

Summary

The situatedness of Ella being #BlackintheIvory has contributed to her feeling unsettled and in physical and mental danger at her job. She experiences little to nothing in the town that she lives or the institution in which she works that has connection to her intersectionalities of race and gender. Despite her years of experience as a music educator, her presence in the school of music feels tolerated, and not celebrated.

To survive in a White space, Ella sacrifices her mental health and wellness. She believes that her White colleagues do not have to make this negotiation, because White supremacy culture insulates their whoness, while isolating and trivializing her. Ella’s Black life does not matter to them, based on incidents of sexual harassment, surveillance, and other macro- and microaggressions permitted by school of music administration. She has internalized these tornadoes of White supremacy on campus as both institutional, and as American as apple pie.

Although Ella finds great value in her previous teaching experience and her doctoral studies, she compares her career as a professor in a PWI to a nightmarish fantasy
far from home, riddled with obstacles of deceit, wickedness, and false manipulation. As Ella is able to “ease on down the road,” her system of survival and gift of second sight in “Oz” is fueled by her spirituality. Her faith soothes her mind, provides her courage to continue her work, and guards her heart through self-care from any ongoing emotional trauma manifested by White supremacy culture. She is psychologically empowered in White space by recognizing her own worth, and by holding Oz accountable for following through with their contractual obligations.

Ella knows that schools of music at PWIs must be accountable now because the data show that schools of music are fully aware of their historical shortcomings regarding equitable representation of African American professors. Ella anticipates a “brand new day” where Black scholars may completely exit PWIs if White supremacy culture continues to control the narrative. If that happens, Ella believes that PWIs will suffer and/or cease to exist.

**Rosalyn: Caged Bird Sings**

*March through the streets 'cuz I'm willing and I'm able*  
*Categorize me, I defy every label*  
*And while you're selling dope, we're gonna keep selling hope*  
*We rising up now, you gotta deal you gotta cope*  
*Will you be electric sheep? Electric ladies, will you sleep?*  
*Or will you preach?*

-Jonelle Monae, Q.U.E.E.N.

Frye (1983) compared systemic oppression to the wires on a bird cage. Each wire represents a form of oppression that keeps the bird trapped inside. You cannot ignore the
other wires on the cage because it implies that the other wires do not exist. Looking at the entire cage, however, gives an indication of all the barriers that have kept the bird trapped.

Rosalyn is in her seventeenth year of higher education, with five years at University E, a Research One institution. She is a Full Professor that teaches Global Jazz Studies and Musicology. Her primary studies and research focus on the intersectionalities of music, race, and politics.

**Presenting Her Rep**

When Rosalyn first sought out her current position, the school of music was not originally interested. Her communication skills were key to obtaining her position:

The school of music said that I wasn't ideal for this position because I was already tenured. But if they saw that I was interested in the school that maybe something else would work out, and sure enough something did work out. So, I didn't actually apply to my current job. It was just a series of conversations that happened between colleagues of mine here at University E and those who would become my colleagues in the school of music and saying that she's interested in moving the University E. I gave a job talk for both musicology and ethnomusicology, and through a series of negotiations, came to be hired in the musicology department in the fall of 2016.

Since Rosalyn's days as a graduate student, she has been very active in social justice, where she organized a student union that focused on racial justice. Being a musician at heart, the synergy of using music to bring about social justice made for an epistemology and pedagogical mindset that was autonomous and self-driven, not
dictatorial and scripted. Her versatility has forced the University E School of music to rethink perspective on musicology and music learning in general:

I don't have a music PhD. I have a Black studies PhD. I've always thought interdisciplinarily. I've always been invested in transgressing disciplinary boundaries. The ethnomusicology versus musicology division doesn't make sense to me. I understand how it could to some others based on method. But I do both in my work. I know a lot of people who do both in their work. Both and then some, and so they are ultimately artificial.

In a Cage

Full professorship gives Rosalyn freedom that she believes to provide her with a situatedness to advocate for all kinds of people, whether it be by gender, race, class, or any other categories of diversity. Despite her large wings, she still experiences states of captivity inside the cage. She says that "Rank has not protected me individually from all of the racism, sexism, and ageism and things that come along with institutions." Rosalyn sarcastically expressed that within her own department, she was mistaken for a student and marginalized because of her area of study, which centers around the intersectionalities of African diasporic music and social movements. Rosalyn gives her perspective, "It's fine when I enclose it in my articles and books, but when I bring it into a faculty meeting or into a town hall or in conversation with colleagues and administrators, then it is a problem."
Domestic Terrorism

From Rosalyn’s perspective, the constant threat of terrorism experienced by Black people on campus is a reminder and reflection of race relations both on and off campus:

Just being a Black person on this campus, not only in the school of music, but on the wider campus, the constant potential for interaction with policing forces is a toll. It's a tax that we have to pay. The constant fear of being pursued, of being surveilled, of being disappeared without anything like due process is something that I carry with me, even as I recognize I am still very privileged in that space. Racism continues to be a cage wire. Rosalyn points out that her institution seems to be unaffected or unbothered:

It's been a really difficult year, especially in the wake of last spring's rebellions, to be in a school of music where so few people actually consider race or consider identity intersectionality as an animating element of their work because they don't think about such things.

Unsupported

Using her power and position to protect and care for the community during these times of unrest, Rosalyn does not feel the University E School of Music reciprocates any type of empathy to diverse communities:

It's been really hard actually to find much community, find much support, but certainly to find any real responsiveness or care around those most vulnerable amongst us. And to have met with some significant pushback, actually from colleagues and administrators in the school of music around responding
proactively and in just ways to the rebellion, to the conditions that facilitated or provoked the rebellion has given me a lot of pause and has been definitely one of those animating elements in me reconsidering this career.

**Division**

Rosalyn's social activism in her local community provides her with perspective which signals that there is division between the institution and the local community:

I think it has to do with a number of different factors. One is that the institution is not meeting its mandate as a public good. This is a state institution that is meant to be inclusive, open, egalitarian, accessible. It has actually worked against those investments, worked against its stated mission. It has to do also with geography. Our school is located in a part of the city that is not accessible to people most impacted by practices of dispossession. At my first job, in a predominantly BIPOC community, I had no concern about whether or not I was going to see a Black person or an identifiable working person on my route to work or in walking around campus. That was never a question for me. That is always a question for me now.

**Resegregation**

My wonderings led me to inquire how a school located in a very racially diverse metropolitan region could be so segregated in today's society. Rosalyn expediently and veraciously answered:

Because the surrounding neighborhood is so insular, is so elite, is so financially resourced that not only have they kind of individually and as a community decided to develop themselves as an enclave, but also have used their influence in
the city to thwart efforts by people to access that part of the city. They've used their resources to lobby against expansion of public transit. There's no subway that goes out there. A number of bus routes have been canceled in the neighborhood. All of these things have made it such that it's intentionally inaccessible and that is in complete contradiction to what the state system is intended to be or advertised to be.

**Rise Above the Cage**

The systemic oppression that Rosalyn faces has been useful for her survival on campus. Her gift of second sight has led her to a greater understanding of her situatedness. She is subjected to the entrapment of the cage, but her wing strength and flexibility allow her to breakthrough and rise above the cage:

Even if I'm mistaken for a student, occasionally, I'm most often recognized as a faculty member or at least someone who's supposed to be here, unlike displaced people who may be on campus or people who may be read as such, e.g., Young Black men and women on campus, students who may be concerned about being undocumented, things such as that. So there's this odd sensation of both being of the institution, witnessed as of the institution while at the same time being entirely peripheral to this.

**Spreading Her Wings**

Leading courageous conversations with her colleagues, according to Rosalyn, speaks to the importance of an unapologetic disposition and boldness necessary for both her type of work and for being Black in a predominantly White space:
I can't imagine being in that space any other way. It's just not sustainable for me without actually speaking my peace around not only my unique circumstances individually, but the circumstances of the people most vulnerable.

Rosalyn understands the disruption in relationships that her swag entails, but also recognizes the bigger picture of academia:

I think the culture of disagreement is something that the academy is meant to be staked upon, that we argue with each other, that's the flow of ideas. But, when it's around certain stakes and ideas that people may be reticent to acknowledge about themselves, when they are being called on the fact that they don't live the politics that they claim. That is something very, very different, and people take offense at that and can act out over it.

**Kujichagulia**

In those moments of "act out," white fragility, or cancel culture, Rosalyn believes that self-knowledge is critical to survival:

Know who you are and don't sacrifice that for anyone. You have to walk into these spaces with full knowledge of that first, to really stand in your own body, and knowledge and investments, regardless of what you may face in those institutions, because you will face a lot. You will face daily challenges to what you think you believe or who you think you are, because the effort is really to mold you to their standards and specifications.

In that molding, Rosalyn indicates that the process does not take her Blackness into account. Her activist background ensures that her scholarship remains in concert with her humanity:
I think it is an antiquated notion of objectivity that we somehow are entirely separate and distant from whatever we're writing about, when that is never the case. Never, ever, ever. Even those White ethnomusicologists who go into central Africa to study various communities there that we expect on the surface, they're so differently removed. And they may be culturally, but that person's relationship to those other people is absolutely influence, infected by, sometime overcome by who they are as a single individual. Their reading practices, their politics, what they think is important and what is not important has everything to do with who they are as a person and an individual.

**Black Empowerment**

The wisdom in Rosalyn's perspective of Blackness resonates beyond the institution and reverberate as the soundtrack to maintaining core self:

I think how these institutions win ultimately is when their employees identify so strongly with it, that they concede ground to it. That they will become different people for the sake of retaining their relationship with the institution. We are who we are regardless of location, job or no job. I'm still going to be who I am. And that's what should be valued by these institutions. They presumably hire us because we're distinct. Because they appreciate something about who we are. It's not because we're number seven XY off the assembly line.

**Black Collective**

When Black voices are activated, Whiteness is deactivated. Rosalyn highlights that connected social activism among Black and allied non-Black scholars on campus creates connections that position Black and Brown people not to wait for the dominant
culture to give you change, but to be proactive and take control of your own collective
destiny:

We have various faculty collective on campus, student organizations, and
community organizations as well as regional and statewide efforts. Organizing
has been really important just to recognize that I have colleagues elsewhere in the
institution, people who think similarly or who are willing to look out for and be
challenged on what they think and believe.

Black affinity spaces, take Blackness off the margins and create an expansive
community that can be intraculturally affirming and shows intentionality in prioritizing
pluralism:

I think they have to give us the space and resources to tell our own stories. I think
so often the Black experience becomes diminished and parochialized based on the
imaginations of White folks, that they see us a certain way. And if we deviate
from that imagination, then we are either retrograde, or we're disruptive, or we are
criminal or all of these things, when in fact, we shouldn't be measuring ourselves
by their imagination. We have our own. And we have a long tradition of
expression of those imaginations. And, to be resourced enough to actually express
them without consent is what we need.

BLM in SOMs

Even while Rosalyn thinks that the current understandings of traditional musicing
in PWIs should transcend band, orchestra, and choir, she still believes that those
traditions should be led by more racially diverse populations:
We have to be able to build capacity. There has to be more Black faculty and people working in the choirs, and in the bands and orchestras, because if we are able to actually move through our purpose in these spaces, then we can't be only surrounded by and answerable to White folks. It has to be far more capacious than that. And, we have to have a flexibility to do in the moment, what needs to be done. They need to allow us to be our improvisational jazz people selves. They have to allow that. And it's not even...I hate the word allow, as if they're giving us permission. I don't need your permission.

**Quota Removal**

As the so-called numbers could possibly increase, Rosalyn detests the long-known policy that diversity has a quota, "We're not timestamped, we're not cherry picked because we meet a certain quota that once we hit 10% representation on the faculty, that's it, no more hiring."

From Rosalyn's viewpoint, policies and rhetoric in university administrations that support quotas make diversity and inclusion problematic on the surface:

> It's the Martin Luther King language of integration into a burning house. What is the point? I don't want to be welcomed into this backwards, capitalist war making machine. I want to actually create its alternative. And in that process, it means that you have to be uncomfortable. It means that you have to change, not me.

**Summary**

Rosalyn’s story points to a mindset of seeking victory against all odds. Her career has consistently been centered around social activism, but her current job placement was not necessarily what her university originally sought. Rosalyn’s savvy communication
skills allowed her to talk her way into a position where she could continue her work as a social justice advocate, while using music as an agent to promote social justice in the musicology department at her school.

She acquired the rank of full professor, but her cachet has not eliminated any of the ill wills that have attacked her intersectionalities. She has experienced racial, sexual, and ageist microaggressions on campus from colleagues, while dealing with domestic terrorism from the police off campus. According to Rosalyn, many of the aforementioned issues were exacerbated because of the civil and political unrest throughout the United States in 2020, in response to the abuse and murder of African Americans by the police. Rosalyn feels that her university, along with the surrounding community, has turned a blind eye to communities of color, and are socially inactive and/or resistant to necessary change. She also sees how purposefully the surrounding community has put forth a concerted effort to segregate themselves and deny access to the public. Her school community’s inaction and resistance have led Rosalyn to wonder if being a music professor at her university is worth the tribulation.

Rosalyn continues to survive and bear culture on the White side of the veil. She fights the good fight, despite resistance, by using courageous conversations in collegial spaces to bring about social change. Her positionality invokes White fragility at times, but Rosalyn’s gift of second sight allows her to invoke her game ethos of Kujichagulia. She is more than secure within herself to continue the fight for Black intelligence. She does believe the fight can be strengthened within Black collectives on campus, and not waiting for predominantly White groups to control the Black narrative.
In schools of music, the Black epistemologies and ontologies could be acknowledged and affirmed when there is a greater population of Black leadership in the current large ensembles on campus. Rosalyn thinks that this could happen when school administrations eliminate practices that focus on number quotas, meaning hiring enough people of color just to meet a benchmark. Rosalyn believes the continuation of this practice is false diversity, and that this system of operation should be re-evaluated.

Postscript

As a researcher, I am humbled by the participants’ willingness to allow me entrance into some of their innermost and sacred thoughts. While exiting this sanctuary to reflect on the homilies and testimonies heard, it must not be forgotten that the thoughts of these five crusaders should be taken into consideration with care and understanding by those who read this study. Moving into the final chapter, each participant’s perspective should not be viewed as just a negative venting session. Their epistemological and ontological Blackness must be affirmed as positively valued intelligence which could provide next steps that support equitable representation of African American music professors at PWIs.
Chapter 5

Multiperspective Analysis, Discussion, Implications

The purpose of this qualitative study is to elevate the voices of African American music scholars by sharing their lived experiences at predominantly White institutions (PWI). By elevating their voices, next steps can be explored that lead to a more equitable representation of African Americans in future music positions.

In this study, the participants represent a sample of an already small population. The data show that African Americans occupy only ten percent of jobs in the United States that pay family sustaining earnings, and thirteen percent of all jobs (Georgetown University Center for Education and the Workforce, 2019). Only seven percent of the teacher workforce in the United States are African American, and only six percent of that population are higher education professors (Elpus, 2015; Pittman, 2012). According to data from the National Association of Schools of Music (NASM), only five percent of music professors are African American (2017).

The participants, among other African American professors, are surviving the sociocultural challenges of being Black in the United States, but also teaching—while Black. Their feet sojourn on the stormy PWI road—the White side of the veil—absorbing various onslaughts from the electric rod of systemic oppression. Somehow, these participants remain true to the Black side of the veil, and they continue to step with spiritual and ancestral intensity. They are overcoming the moral ambiguity of music education in the United States, by disrupting oppressive systems that distort the character and promote the normative and structural situtatedness of African American underrepresentation in schools of music (Matthews, 2016).
PWIs across the United States are venturing into racial equity as a progressive stream of consciousness. Schools like the Clemson University and the University of North Carolina are renaming buildings on campus that were named after racially violent segregationists during the colonial era (Harris, 2015). Greater discussions on race and racism are happening on campuses like the University of Missouri and the University of Wisconsin-Madison among students and faculty, particularly in the wake of the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis (Kolodner, 2020). It does not mean that operational systems at PWIs have changed (Cheffen, 2017). The perpetuation of ubiquitous inequalities on campus that have historically and are directly affecting African Americans, consciously or unconsciously, is characteristic of institutional racism (Gooden, 2014).

In observing each participants' credentials, curriculum vitae, and bios, they all have a wealth of teaching, research, and/or service experience. Their credentials could be comparable, or arguably better, than the curriculum vitae, bios, and resumes of many college professors across the United States. Yet, all the participants are experiencing a fair share of unfairness. Some of these inequitable on-the-job experiences include a negatively charged campus climate, collegial exclusion, cultural dissonance, heavy, unbalanced workloads, and negotiating policies and practices that perpetuate anti-Blackness. For the cross-case analysis in this study, I will explore the aforementioned factors, along with other societal, cultural, and administrative themes that emerged from the data.
Multiperspective/Cross Case Analysis

Cross case analysis allows the researcher to examine the similarities and differences of individuals, as well as aggregate information that could lead to generalizations and theories (Mathison, 2005). Merriam (1998) also stated that ideas can be built across cases, that could lead the reader to make generalizations. The cross-case analysis is included in this chapter instead of the previous chapter, to remain vigilant to the main purpose of this study, which is to elevate the voices of the participants. Any other positions presented beyond that of the participants would be both a distraction and contradiction to the heart of this study. In this cross-case analysis, I have not prioritized my own generalizations, but rather present illuminations using the perspective of the participants, which might be generalized by those who read this study (Schofield, 2002).

Table 2

Organization of Cross Case Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Emergent Themes and Subthemes</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 1. What experiences have led African American music professors to conceptualize and perceive the systemic barriers in the advocacy for, and long-term engagement of, African Americans for music positions at PWIs? | • African Americans working twice as hard  
  • Limited support  
  • Subtle discrimination  
  • Ego Withdrawal  
  • Criminalized |
| 2. From the African American perspective, what personal and professional competencies contribute to acquiring and sustaining gainful employment as a music professor at a PWI? What current institutional policies and/or sociocultural practices exist in PWIs from the African American perspective that successfully and intentionally support African Americans in obtaining and sustaining music faculty positions? | • African Americans activating game ethos  
  • Perseverance  
  • Second Sight  
  • Faith  
  • Family  
  • Self-care  
  • Career capital  
  • Kujichagulia  
  • Universities activating game ethos  
  • Intentional DEI language in policy and practices |
Much like the multiperspective within case analyses, I used the research questions as an organizational tool for providing clarity in the cross-case analysis. The table above shows how cross-case analysis is organized. There are three sections in this analysis. In each section, I discuss the themes and subthemes related to the three research questions. The in-depth journey that each participant shares are stories of wins, losses, ties, and undecided contests on the White side. Each of these stories allowed the researcher to conceptualize themes that are suggested in this chapter. The illuminations are introduced with themes that emerged from the multiperspective within case analysis, accompanied by lyrical excerpts from various musical artists that provide musical context for each theme.

**Work Twice as Hard**

*I go to the movie, and I go downtown, somebody keep telling me, don't hang around…* - Sam Cooke, *A Change is Gonna Come*

Landmark decisions such as Brown vs Board of Education and Executive Affirmative Action Order 11246 legally provided African Americans equal opportunities to obtain education or employment at predominantly White institutions by deregulating racial discrimination (Turner & Myers, 2000). Despite these rulings, various, sometimes
subtle forms of social segregation and racial discrimination appear to emerge and remain on campus. These actions, or perhaps inactions, produced a similar thought among the participants, as they all unpromptedly expressed the aphorism of "working twice as hard to get half as far in America."

**Limited support**

Race and racism, as pointed out by Yosso (2005) are the benchmarks and the deficit models that have been used to create systems of oppression. Using race and racism as a central focus, the participants have experienced working in a PWI with limited, and sometimes no academic, social, and/or emotional advocacy from various on-campus support systems. Critical Whiteness Theory (CWT) shows that the structure of Whiteness produces a limited perspective on anything that is not Whitecentric (Owen, 2007). The participants, especially Lawrence, implicated a lack of care and understanding in their daily journeys in oppression, which can only be seen, but not understood by White colleagues. CRT illuminates how Whiteness is normalized, and tends to problematize non-Whiteness (Owen, 2007). The possibility of the changing the campus climate of Whiteness is doubtful if the powerful and privileged on campus do not engage in progressive dialogue or resist the changes that diversity initiates (Telles & Mitchell, 2018). Lawrence’s lived experiences with race and racism both on and off campus have informed his pedagogy, curriculum, and his social interactions in the academy. He has internalized a tug of war between himself and the collaboration of normative, structural, and geographical systems that are directly or indirectly supported by racism.
Subtle Discrimination

The internal struggle and lack of on campus support that Lawrence is experiencing is one that Chris recognized in her pre-doctoral experiences. Learning the system of music education as framed by her institution was prioritized to a greater extent by her mentors. CRT recognizes in music education that musical epistemologies beyond Western European music traditions are ignored, silenced, or dominated (Nompula, 2011). There appeared to be no concern with Chris’s whoness, unless she made it a topic of discussion among her cohort/colleagues, leaving her feeling tokenized. CWT shows that the oppressive structures of Whiteness are invisible to Whites, but highly visible to non-Whites (Owen, 2007). CRT reveals that the African American scholar experience in a PWI is niggarized by forced code-switching to a non-confrontational, conformed, and post-racial situatedness (Johnson, 2016). This feeling of isolation only adds another job to Chris's pressure cooker workload: fulfilling her academic duties as a professor, along with being a culture bearer--while negotiating her own intersectionalities in a White space.

Paxton's brand of pressure cooker is comparable to Chris and the other participants, because of his responsibilities as a DEI spokesperson in his department, compounded by his normal duties. His pressures, however, come from a different place, perhaps like Lawrence. Paxton hears and sees the words that could initiate small steps toward racial diversity, but those words from Paxton's perspective are interpreted as a blip in the discrimination-disparity continuum (Richomme, 2012).

CWT attempts to control the narrative by purifying Whiteness, making it apolitical with no need for justification (Shirley, 2003). CRT suggests that although
Paxton, as well as the other participants, are operationalized as Black scholars in PWIs, White privilege still remains the social benchmark (Thompson & Louque, 2005). Paxton's claims are justified, because he is working twice as hard in being accepted as equal among his colleagues and his students. He is racially minoritized through microaggressive behaviors by White students and faculty in the music department, despite his credentials and accolades as a music scholar. He has personally witnessed and endured a double standard between himself and his White colleagues regarding department-shared grading and attendance policies for students. The discrimination that Paxton has experienced on campus has unfortunately served as a model for many other Black professors on campus, who have chosen self-preservation over collective uplift, as expressed by Malcolm X (1964).

**Ego Withdrawal**

According to DeWalt (2009), being a Black scholar in a White space produces psychological warfare in which the Black scholar must negotiate their whoness with the systems of oppression that surround them. To a large degree, all participants have experienced this psychological warfare, which according to Ella, manifests through feelings of cultural dissonance from being Black in a White space, followed swiftly by feelings of isolation from a lack of belonging both physically and culturally. CRT implicates that Black lives are intentionally devalued by White supremacy (Ransby, 2008), creating mental trauma for Black scholars, and causing them to internalize oppression (Joseph & Williams, 2008). CWT shows the intentionality of Whiteness and privilege being used to dominate other social groups (Guess, 2006). Most of the participants, especially Ella, expressed discomfort, leading them to acknowledge that
they are socioemotionally withdrawn from the job. Incidents of harassment and retaliation endorsed by music department faculty and administrators, who are all-White, gave Ella cause to put her loyalty for the institution on pause.

**Criminalized**

Discriminatory acts of racism, sexism, and/or ageism are being experienced on campus by the participants, notably from one of the tenured professors in this study--Rosalyn. Terrorism from the local police and cutting off public transit to the university are acts of segregation happening around Rosalyn off campus, reflecting the racial inequities she experiences on campus. CRT recognizes that reconnaissance happens to Black professors through tone policing and intelligence gatekeeping (Reid-Brinkley, 2019). Rosalyn, Ella, and Paxton alluded to similar surveillance happening to them in their workspace.

This form of criminalizing, along with the inaction and loud silence of their respective faculty and administrators to systems which directly oppress non-White people, supports the assumption that there are schools of music that are complicit with White supremacy. CWT shows the need for Whiteness to remain in the dominant or elevated position (Mills, 1988). The Black tax paid by all the participants through limited academic and moral support, doubled workload, oppressive policies, dehumanizing norms--met by both silence and silencing--have led these professors to conceptualize that there are systemic barriers to a greater representation in the recruitment and/or retention of African American music professors at PWIs.
Game Ethos

No matter what the name, we're all the same pieces in one big chess game...-

Chuck D, Rebel Without a Pause

Blackness, as noted by Johnson and Joseph-Salisbury (2018), is a collective, experiential, and intergenerational epistemology that is necessary for Black people to survive in White spaces. It is an ethos required to persevere in the "game" that is played at PWIs, as described by the participants. Game ethos, according to Agostino (1981) is the "set of unofficial, implicit conventions which determine how the rules of that game are to be applied in concrete circumstances" (p.17). Double consciousness is an example of game ethos that is activated by each participant. African Americans employ double consciousness to negotiate their position in White spaces, and to show their ability to progress in adversarial territory, without compromising their Blackness (Madyun et al., 2013).

Gameplay

Rosalyn acknowledges the peculiar sensation that she experiences: being a Black professor and culture bearer on campus, being recognized intraculturally as a Black representative on the White side of the veil, but also having second sight to persevere on that side in the name of Black and Brown culture. Paxton's ethos of double consciousness is based on strategy that he developed through his faith and family. He has the expectation that a variety of things beyond his control could change during gameplay, but his strong belief and value center keep him activated.

Ella's game ethos of faith and self-care support her perseverance. With her Blackness and her other intersectionalities now centered, CRT provides a lens that shows
her increased self-awareness to navigate through PWIs (Johnson & Joseph-Salisbury, 2018), which she describes as the Wizard of Oz. Chris recognizes that her faith and family game ethos was developed in her pre-doctoral experiences on campus. She advocates that faith put into action gives her stability in the several phases of the PWI game, which include research, teaching, and service. Double consciousness is supported in her PWI space, because she has African American and White professors in the school of music who support, affirm, and acknowledge her whoness.

Chris's university has also employed their own game ethos by using intentional DEI language in their job description to encourage Black and Brown scholars to apply for positions. Nelson (2020) indicated that many schools use diversity as a rhetorical way to entice BIPOC, but eventually backtrack once a quota has been met. CRT shows that Chris was motivated to accept her position in her department because of the affirmation of her value and whoness in the language of the job description (Davis, 2002), and greatly because they had the highest number of Black faculty on campus. She felt that it challenged the narrative of White dominance in schools of music, and it also gave her a certain level of assurance that the rules of the game were possibly changing.

Career capital is an active second sight strength that Lawrence uses as game ethos. His musical talents not only inform his pedagogy and curriculum on campus, but they also provide another career and source of income off-campus. His ability to hustle and flow as a musician and entrepreneur increase his market value for future work opportunities, and it provides credibility with his students in the music classroom. CWT is a lens that shows how Lawrence adjusts his own way of doing things, partly based on the structures of Whiteness in which he operates (Frankenburg, 1993). CRT shows that
his perspective on what a music professor could be goes beyond the monocultural pathway that is formulated by many PWI schools of music (Gusa, 2010).

**Kujichagulia**

CRT also shows that the participants actively apply the epistemology of Kujichagulia, the Afrocentric knowledge of self (Asante, 1993). The participants activate Kujichagulia as game ethos to liberate themselves, create pedagogical autonomy, and to increase their chances of advancing in the game. Rosalyn used her fluid communication skills to obtain a job in the school of music, even when she was not initially a prospect. She credits her Kujichagulia as the defense against her institution's attempt to acculturate her. Ella "flips the script" in her yearly reviews. She holds her university accountable for providing her with the tools, facilities, and other supports necessary to fulfill her job duties, just like the attention that is given to her job evaluation by the university. Paxton has taken pedagogical experiences in his previous K-12 position, and he created an entire curriculum for the music education students at his university. Lawrence uses the musical knowledge he developed off campus to create leverage for himself on campus. Chris leans into her support system, specifically her White co-conspiring colleagues to clear the pathway of gatekeepers who could impede her advancement in the game.

**Gameboard and Strategy**

CWT shows that White supremacy mutes any racial or social viewpoints connected with the Black experience in music institutions (Norris, 2020). CRT highlights that the game ethos of the participants shows a conscious effort to be non-compliant to the "Journey of Compliance," as described by Dei (2017). In this journey, colonial structures are reinforced, leading to the continued situatedness of African American
underrepresentation in higher education music positions, pedagogy, and curriculum. The structural makeup of the PWI has historically been centered to promote Whiteness, and silence/marginalize non-Whiteness (Morales, 2021). Nompula (2011) called attention to the White Eurocentric structures in music learning spaces that continue to dominate and silence other ways of knowing musically. CRT acknowledges that the situatedness of underrepresentation of African Americans in music positions correlates to their absence in curriculum and pedagogy.

To counter these barriers from the African American perspective, the personal and professional game ethos that contributes to a greater representation of African American music professors in higher education include perseverance and the gift of second sight in double consciousness, family, strong belief and value center, career capital, and Kujichagulia. University policies that include intentional DEI language as game ethos are a signal to current African American music professors that a real counter to underrepresentation of African Americans in music faculty positions can happen. The next impactful step is to urgently prioritize administrative, curricular, pedagogical, and on-campus climatic shifts that substantiate DEI policy language. CRT supports this process and/or counter, by questioning the longstanding inertia existing in many institutions and committing to active social justice in policy reform (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015).
Institutional Restitution

*Four hundred years of history couldn't be more wrong, a reckoning’s coming, march on march on...* - *Vince Gill, March On*

Black and Brown people have taken a lot of punishment from systems of oppression for a long time. The Ma'afa has extended through multiple centuries of social injustices and inequities throughout the African diaspora (Taifa, 2020). CRT points out that the hegemonic systems that continue to promote White supremacy throughout America's institutions have led to the physical and social death of African Americans (Norris, 2020).

**Accountability**

Throughout four decades of campus climate research, a commonality among most studies is that higher education must become accountable for changing the functionality of the system, instead of trying to change the personality of Black scholars (Telles & Mitchell, 2018). With centuries of unaccounted trauma, insidiousness, terrorism, and psychological warfare (Halloran, 2019; Alexander et al., 2004), Ella's reaction to sharing strategies that could counter barriers of systemic oppression is understandable. Why should Black scholars be inclined to help the institution that has benefitted from dehumanizing them? Ella, along with the other participants, believe that the answer to countering barriers of institutional racism lies within the culture of Whiteness. Ella shared that accountability among White leadership is willfully deficient regarding diversifying beyond White culture at PWIs. Institutions that are accredited by the National Association of Schools of Music (NASM), according to Ella, have known--for
at least three decades now—that their data show that underrepresentation and the inequitable treatment of African American music professors still exists.

McIntyre (1997) exclaimed through a CWT lens that White people communicate using language that insulates them from being or feeling responsible for any part of institutional racism. Whiteness, through the lens of CRT, is mostly invisible and unimaginable for many Whites who have prospered from systemic privilege, or those who are either unable or unwilling to see their social positioning as an unfair advantage (Shirley, 2003). Both Lawrence and Rosalyn mentioned that Whites find it easier to pinpoint the issue of oppression, but they shift the blame to someone other than themselves. These two participants think that diversity initiatives are created to hold "burn victims" accountable, instead of the people and/or system that started the fire.

Paxton noted that professional development in DEI training for school of music leadership on every level would be a positive step in dismantling oppressive systems that affect both Black faculty and students. He also said that professional development and evaluation of diversity initiatives would need to come from an allied outside source beyond the institution. Rice (2020) emphasized that DEI training should always be facilitated by a trained professional, alongside a data driven assessment of company culture. He also points to five significant benchmarks of any DEI policy:

1. Recruitment and ongoing retention policies that focus on representation at every level.
2. Careful assessment of pay gaps based on data, and policy for rectifying gaps in earnings.
3. Commitment by top executives to creating an actively anti-racist workplace.

4. Company policies and business practice based on racial justice that are value driven, and not simply virtue signaling.

5. Philanthropic contributions to causes rooted in racial equity and justice.

**Blackness Affirmed**

Although segregation is no longer legal, the informality of segregation is still prevalent, making the need for Black affinity groups essential (Lacy, 2004). CRT reveals that the impact of Whiteness can be seen, felt, and heard through the lens of the racially oppressed (Kynard, 2015). Each of the participants indicated that Whiteness can be decentered if Black counterknowledge and counternarrative are centered and/or elevated. According to the participants, this could happen when there are opportunities for African Americans to have autonomous affinity spaces on campus, as well as more Black capacity in current PWI music ensemble personnel and leadership. Rosalyn also advocates for more African American representation in school leadership on every level. Chris anticipates that this could happen at a more accelerated pace if current school administrators collectively shift from a latent state of awareness to an active manifestation of critical consciousness. This development could also trend in the direction of more trust from the African American community. Rosalyn and Lawrence recommend that schools of music should affirm Blackness through more inclusive sociocultural music performance practices beyond the traditional conservatory model. They also suggest implementing a holistic curriculum and pedagogy that connects music learning to 21st century music industry careers.
CRT suggests that White fragility not only impedes the progress of racial diversity, but it ignores the root cause and characters of racism (Cabrera et al., 2017). Ella stated that White fragility could lead to a great exodus of the current African American scholars from PWIs, which could negatively impact the financial stability of these institutions. She also implicated that a mass exodus could put an end to White supremacy at PWIs, since African Americans would no longer be situated to be dominated.

**Summary**

The cross-case analysis has provided an emic perspective of the participants’ experiences on the White side of the veil, also known as Predominantly White institutions (PWI). The pressures of “working twice as hard to get half as far” were connected with examples of limited support, subtle discrimination, moments of ego withdrawal, and acts of terrorism that left the participants feeling criminalized on campus. These behaviors, which are characteristic of institutional racism, were normatively and structurally sustained by mostly White students, faculty, and administration at PWIs. There were also intracultural instances in which some of the participants expressed limited support from friends, family, and colleagues within their own sociocultural circles.

The participants reacted to institutional racism by activating various forms of game ethos. By activating these special traits, the participants are able to survive and advance along their journey at their respective PWIs. Also, there are universities that have activated their own forms of game ethos to advocate for equitable representation of African American music professors.

The counter to institutional racism in PWIs is the implementation of institutional restitution. The participants believe that Whites faculty and administrators at PWIs must
be collectively accountable and acknowledge Whiteness as problematic. PWIs must also affirm Blackness in policy, leadership, and in overall capacity. Finally, PWIs must review the effectiveness of current DEI policies and practices.

**Discussion and Implications for Future Research**

The process of labeling human beings based on race has brought forth and exposed the ugliness of humankind (Bradley, 2015). Peculiar institutions and practices of human slavery, abuse, prejudice, and discrimination are manifestations of human labeling. There are those who have benefitted financially and/or socially from labeling people, which has caused hierarchies and great social advantages over the less powerful. Race is one of the main categories or constructs that is primarily used in universities across the United States to create and sustain academic, social, and economic injustices for people of color, i.e., African Americans (Dei, 2000).

School is an institution in which a society is offered formal instruction that is deemed necessary by its sponsor (Jorgensen, 1997). School music in the United States has been cultivated in Whiteness, because the primary sponsors that have dominated and created their position of power and privilege have been White (Bradley, Golner, & Hanson, 2007). Whiteness will continue to be produced, even beyond White people, if White narrative and knowledge continue to dominant culture at PWIs.

**God Don’t Like Ugly**

There is a colloquialism used primarily in African American church culture that says, “*God don’t like ugly.*” This phrase refers directly to how humans treat each other in words and deeds. The Anglican church used their Biblical interpretation of the story of Noah and one of his sons, Ham, to justify Black slavery throughout the world for
thousands of years. It provided an ideology for the American so-called settlers to establish their culture and government (Henderson, 2003). The church and state, however, are not the only institutions who benefitted and profited from racism. Universities completed the “trinity” of beneficiaries by taking profits from slavery and plantation industry, and funneling them into university accounts, creating internal networks for the elite, subjugating Black and Brown people to a permanent on-campus underclass, and providing a socioeconomically and spiritually supported ideology for violence (Wilder, 2013).

The World Health Organization (WHO), describes violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation " (p. 4). Intimidation, threats, and the compromising of a person’s mental, physical, and social wellness are included in the description. The WHO (2002) also categorized three types of violence: Interpersonal, self-directed, and collective. As a point of emphasis, collective violence is the active use of violence by people who identify as members of a group against another group or set of individuals in order to achieve political, economic, or social intentions. These acts of collective violence can include “terrorism, genocide, human rights abuse, and organized violent crime” (p.5).

Hardeman et al. (2018) identified institutional racism (IR) as a public health crisis, and further implores for the need to develop a valid and reliable tool to measure institutional racism, since there are none that exist that quantify the social, mental, and physical inequities that racism produces. For this study, I used the definition by Jones
(2000) which characterized IR as normative and structural, to provide continued
discussion of the analysis from the research questions.

**In the TRAP**

In many neighborhoods across the United States, both urban and rural, there are
places of business that are known for illegal drug sales and distribution called trap
houses. This place gets its name from the ideology that once the dealer engages you in
the illegal drug business, whether you are buying, selling, using, distributing, or
soldiering, you are trapped. One of the great disadvantages in the trap business is that the
dealer and their local business associates normally do not have control over production
and mass distribution of a product, nor do they control variables that could potentially be
life threatening (Balaji, 2009).

In this study, TRAP refers to the interrelation of Theory, Research, and Practice.
CRT is a framework that allowed me to test the Theory of IR through Research, which
could generate findings and themes to support IR that could serve as a foundation for
future Practice (Hutchings, 2015), specifically developing next steps in a greater
distribution of African American music faculty at PWIs. Also, in this study, CRT allowed
each African American music professor to have cultural control of their own stories by
highlighting normative and structural indicators of institutional racism (IR).
As CRT strives to unearth institutional racism (IR), the system of scholarship is revealed to only produce and support more White supremacy, thus creating a premise for the Black scholar to counterattack those weaponized ideologies and redirect the narrative from the sociocultural myths that currently exist about African Americans (Ferguson, 2015). Solorzano and Yosso (2002) also shared their perspective on CRT, and the importance of both the story and the storyteller: “White privilege is often expressed through majoritarian stories; through the bundle of presuppositions, perceived wisdoms, and shared culture understandings persons in the dominant race bring to the discussion of race” (p.28).

Figure 2 shows the breakdown of IR at PWIs. IR is categorized as normative, which Jones (2000) described as an “inherited disadvantage” (p.10). Meier and Cain (2015) describe normative as a behavioral expectation based on a determined position.
The stories from the participants suggest through CRT that they react to the normative that exists in PWIs by activating game ethos. They also experience moments where they feel that they are working twice as hard to be respected as a human on a basic socioemotional level. From the structural viewpoint of IR, it is described by Jones as a codified and mostly invisible custom, law, or practice. CRT highlights a premise of CWT which advocates for a socioeconomical, cultural, and political advantage over people of color (Owen, 2007). The data show that the structure of Whiteness has generated a codified system of inequities targeted to deter or impede African Americans music scholars in PWIs. In their stories, participants spoke of structural issues such as: the lack of socioemotional mentoring in pre-doctoral experiences, isolation and surveillance authorized by music administration, sociocultural exclusion in both curriculum and pedagogy, and a lack of immediate and/or direct policy changes associated with diversity, equity, inclusion, and access (DEIA) based on unwillingness and/or fear.

**Figure 3**

*Practical goals to counter institutional racism based on participants’ insight*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional Restitution</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>White acknowledgement and accountability for the Ma'afa</strong></td>
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</table>

**R and P**

Figure 3 provides insight from the selected participants, presenting practical goals that could be used to strategize countering barriers of *institutional racism* that disengage current and prospective African American music professors from PWIs. The following
detailed goal insights can be summarized, suggested, and described as *institutional restitution*:

1. White acknowledgement and accountability for the Ma'afa.
   a. More inclusive sociocultural music practices in schools of music (SOM).
   b. More relevant 21st century music industry career curriculum.
   c. Expose and problematize White fragility as a weaponized tool of racism.

2. Affirming Blackness in leadership, policy, and spaces.
   a. Elevate counterknowledge and counternarrative through Black affinity spaces.
   b. Black leadership and personnel in current traditional ensembles at PWIs.
   c. Black/Allied leadership in administration.

3. Re-evaluating the effectiveness of current music department and university-wide diversity initiatives.
   a. Shift from awareness to critical consciousness in curriculum, pedagogy, and school leadership.
   b. Allied outsourced DEI professional development for SOMs.

These actions could greatly support PWIs actively and impactfully engaging in a more equitable representation of African Americans in music professor positions.
Limitations

There are three limitations that emerged from this study: the need for more qualitative interviews with a greater representation of diverse social identities; the perspective of an upper administration representative was not included; the development and implementation of a universal quantitative tool to measure IR could support the qualitative data.

Limited Number of Participants

More participants would lead to a wider range and more understandings of the Black experience. Five qualitative interviews were conducted based on a purposive sampling method by the researcher. Qualitative studies, by definition, do not focus on large numbers of participants for a fully comprehensive testing of a hypothesis (McMillan & Wergin, 2010). Although many themes in the interviews were repeated, more voices in the interview would have established a broader representation and even more saturation of the data.

Impact on Participants

Based on my submission to IRB to conduct this study, I was not aware of any foreseeable risk to the participants. Although participants fully consented to engaging in this study, asking participants to share intimate stories and conversations that could be painful, traumatic, and at times uncomfortable, is not an easy ask. Storytelling can be liberating when the participant feels comfort and safety from the listener, but a variety of emotions could be triggered by revisiting past experiences. What could have been triggered through the interviews is not fully known.
**Missing Administrative Voice**

The participants in this study contained a wealth of experiences as professors in higher education and beyond. Considering that the study engaged in dialogue regarding administrative strategies, there were no administrators that participated in this study. Focusing on administrators, specifically current Black administrators, would be a great extension for this research in the future.

**Developing a Universal Quantitative Tool**

Educational research and reform are primarily driven by quantitative research. Since not all quantitative methods are applicable in CRT, statistical colorblindness leads CRT researchers to question the methodological approach that could limit further research and practice. (Sabian, 2018). CRT looks to deconstruct and expose social inequities. A universal quantitative tool could make the invisibility of racism visible, insofar as the measurement tool does not decontextualize the participants’ narrative, and considers the historical, social, and political perspective of African Americans.

**Positionality revisited/Conclusion**

There is nothing wrong with any African American music scholar who aspires or is currently engaged as a professor at a PWI. Institutional racism is designed to make the "inner me" the enemy. This construct in PWIs has socially and historically framed African Americans as the problem. This "problem" concept of fixity that Bhabha (1994) describes as

…the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is the paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition. Likewise, the stereotype, which
is its major discursive strategy, is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always ‘in place,’ already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated…p.94).

The inner me of the participants in this study, and many Black professors in PWIs, can be viewed as both Duboisian and Washingtonian. The diversity of their philosophies speaks to both the beauty and polythetic essence of Blackness. Although both men were on opposite ends on the field for the battle of equality, they were both on the same side fighting for the same purpose: the uplift of the African American from the situatedness of subhumanity (Johnston & Watson, 2004).

Washington (1895) understood the importance of emphasizing business, economics, and self-help for social equality in the United States. His ideology speaks closely to each participants' perception on struggle, survival, and prosperity:

The wisest among my race understand that agitation of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house. (p.583-587).
Dubois's ideology coincided with Washington's, but Dubois (1940) believed the academically elite among the Black culture would ultimately be prepared to respond to the collective socioeconomic uplift of African Americans:

I believed in the higher education of a Talented Tenth who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization. I knew that without this the Negro would have to accept white leadership, and such leadership could not always be trusted to guide this group into self-realization and to its highest cultural possibilities (p. 70).

The desire for more information regarding the participant's perspective could be implicated for future research; the desirous need for the ingredients of this secret sauce, however, could also implicate either the continued appetite of appropriation of Blackness by White folks, or the music box of institutional racism that has lullabied woke White people to sleep. The marginalized non-White person then becomes an “accidental victim,” who endured hardships because they were in the wrong place at the wrong time, instead of purposeful prejudice and systemic inequalities. The victim is criminalized and isolated, and blamed for their own plight (Maurantonio, 2017). CRT suggests that apathy among some Whites regarding racial equality is a factor in the underrepresentation of African Americans in any talent or skill based academic space (Brown et al., 2019). Some Whites find it easier and acceptable to admit their disinterest in racial equality. This insidiousness is potent because it absolves White people from any responsibility for racism. Racial inequality exists then as a meritocracy, and not a conflict of interest (Brown et al., 2019).
While I acknowledge the intracultural complexities harvesting within the African American community that exacerbate underrepresentation, this study has provided me a more focused second sight in recognizing the seeds of Whiteness, planted and cultivated to produce "strange fruit" on campus. My internal inclination to remain true to my core self in scholarship, as explained in the first chapter, is still a value that I uphold. The external pressure, however, can be felt from Whiteness, because the study itself must go through a rite of passage that has historically awarded the mastering of Whiteness (Fanon, 1952).

Because of my conviction of Blackness in a White space, I expect some institutional resistance to the perspectives, findings, and themes that have illuminated from this study. Obama (2006) exclaimed that freedom is supported by laws which provide equality, but “the powerful and privileged have often exploited and stirred up prejudice to further their own ends” (p. 274). For that reason, critical responses have been historically produced to fight institutional resistance which highlight race; however, gender, class, sexuality, and ability are also connected within this same struggle for freedom (Davis, 2016).

The pride I feel to represent my culture, trusting in a higher spiritual power, and the everlasting hope I have for racial equality in higher education are my sustaining forces in the struggle for representation of African Americans in schools of music at PWIs. In the present and future, those sustaining forces allow me, and others in our interconnected struggle, to use our existence and scholarship as activism. Disrupting institutional racism at schools of music in PWIs will lead to an equitable representation of African Americans in music positions.
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Appendix A

IRB Study Information

EXEMPTION DETERMINATION

March 5, 2021

Keisha Hamans
hams311@umn.edu

Dear Keisha Hamans:

On 3/5/2021, the IRB reviewed the following submission:

Ongoing IRB review and approval for this study is not required; however, this determination applies only to the procedures described in the IRR and does not preclude the need to review any other procedures. If, during the course of the study, any additional procedures are added to the research protocol, an amendment to the IRB is required.

In conducting this study, you are required to follow the requirements listed in the Investigator Manual (IRIR-0243), which can be found by navigating to the IRIR Toolkit Library on the IRIR website.

For your convenience, you may want to read the Declaration of Compliance which is in PHAR0000012 (Fairview Health Systems Research IRR-0012122, Gillette Children’s Specialty Healthcare PHAR0000012).

Sincerely,

Jad O’Keefe, MS
IRIR Analyst
INFORMATION SHEET FOR RESEARCH
Underrepresentation of African Americans in Higher Education Music Positions at Predominantly White Institutions

You are invited to be in a research study to gain an understanding of the primary barriers in advocacy for and long-term engagement of African Americans in music positions in higher education from the perspective of current African American music professors in Predominantly White Institutions (PWI). You were selected as a possible participant because you identify as a person of African or African American descent who currently is a music professor at a Predominantly White Institution (PWI), with at least four years of college teaching experience. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by: Adrian Davis, PhD Candidate, Music Education, University of Minnesota

Procedures:
If you agree to be in this study, I ask you to do the following things:

You will be contacted by me to schedule an interview at your convenience. The process includes one scheduled interview no longer than 60 minutes. The interviews and observations will be audio and/or video recorded, based on your personal preference.

The interview will be transcribed and submitted to you for confirmation or alteration. During the analysis stage of the study, the researcher will follow-up with you for a brief video/teleconference interview or email exchange. The research will be complete by 9/1/2021.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report that I might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers will have access to the records. Your identity will be confidential and known only to the principal investigator and student researcher. Pseudonyms will be used in published materials and/or conference presentations. The name of schools and cities will also be confidential. All data will be stored in password-protected Box Drive with access restricted to the student researcher and advisor.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.
INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY – MUSIC PROFESSOR

Date

Dear Professor:

I am asking you to participate in a University of Minnesota research study to gain an understanding of the perspective of current African American music professors regarding the advocacy for and long-term engagement of African Americans in music positions at Predominantly White Institutions (PWI).

This study consists of a 30-60 minute interview. If you choose to participate in this study, the interviews and observations will be audio and/or video recorded, based on your personal preference. You may, at any time, choose not to participate. Your responses will be anonymous, and the name of schools and cities will also be confidential.

If you have questions about this study, please contact Adrian Davis, student researcher, at 612.772.6889, or by email at davi1452@umn.edu. You may also contact Keitha Hamann, Advisor, School of Music, at 612.624.9819 or by email at haman011@umn.edu. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher or advisor, you are encouraged to contact the University of Minnesota’s Research Participants’ Advocate Line at 612.625.1650.

We are sensitive to the many demands placed upon you as a music professor. We hope you will consider participating in this study in an effort to make a valuable contribution to the profession of music teaching, as well as a contribution to promoting racial equity and diversity in higher education.

Thank you for considering this request.

Sincerely,

Adrian Davis, Ph.D. Candidate
Keitha Lucas Hamann, Ph.D.
## Appendix B

**NASM HEADS Data**

### NASM Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Populations</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American and Alaska Native</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Ethnicity Unknown</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Population</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>7,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>56,837</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Adopted from the National Association for Schools of Music’s Heads Data Surveys. All groups are rounded and may not equal the actual population or 100%.*