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CITY WITH LIFTED HEAD SINGING:
THE PRACTICE AND POLITICS OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

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ABSTRACT

City With Lifted Head Singing: The Practice and Politics of Music Education in Chicago

“City With Lifted Head Singing” explores the practice and politics of music education in Chicago within the context of urban neoliberalism: how intersecting layers of both formal and informal cultural policy shape, and are shaped by, on-the-ground music pedagogy, with a particular focus on music programs at the boundaries, and therefore on the peripheries, of the public, private, and nonprofit sectors. The dissertation is an ethnography of cultural policy in practice, examining the ideological, political, and day-to-day effects of the 2012 Chicago Cultural Plan and the 2012-2015 Chicago Public Schools Arts Education Plan.

In this dissertation, I argue that Chicago’s 2012 cultural policy interventions were primarily about positioning Chicago as a global city. Arts education in this context is a mechanism for bringing Chicago closer to global-city status through training children in the practices and behaviors of citizens of the global city. In a neoliberal context in which policy interventions must be justified in terms of economic utility, both policymakers and practitioners frame music education as a response to either of two problems (or to both): first, the problem of unevenly distributed access to music education; and second, to a broader set of “urban problems” in which music education is believed to be able to intervene. This problematization of the city, explored in the dissertation’s second chapter, shapes the ways in which music education programs are conceived and run, and the terms on which philanthropists and foundations relate to programs and their administrators, administrators to teachers, and teachers to students and their families. The “solutions” to these “problems” center around music education’s purported ability to effect social mobility by training students in middle-class behavior, as described in the fifth chapter. The fundamental logic of problematization also provides the ideological and

financial grounds on which Chicago's music teaching workforce has been privatized and destabilized; the 2012 cultural policy interventions did not initiate this shift, but merely officialized it. In the third chapter, I examine the rise of the figure of the "teaching artist" and dissect, via ethnographic case studies, what the teaching artist's newfound prominence means for both teachers and students. The fourth chapter, a companion to the third, describes the working lives of music teachers as they become destabilized. I argue that music teachers' work experiences are shaped by the competing archetypes of the craftsman, the professional, and the amateur, and that the tensions among these archetypes in practice explain many facets of Chicago music teachers' working lives, especially the emotional and ethical labor that they are asked to provide in addition to teaching musical skill attainment. Finally, in the fifth chapter I connect discourses around class and "classical music" to discourses around citizenship. I argue that the performance of music associated with the upper classes is discursively and politically tied to the performance of social mobility and thus, in theory, to actual social mobility. I conclude by questioning the utility of the rhetoric of problematization, offering alternative intellectual and political ways forward that integrate music education into holistic concepts of urban education.

To Matthew, who knows a lot about music education by now. Thank you for listening.

CHICAGO

Hog Butcher for the World,
Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat,
Player with Railroads and the Nation's Freight Handler;
Stormy, husky, brawling,
City of the Big Shoulders:

They tell me you are wicked and I believe them, for I have seen your painted women under the
gas lamps luring the farm boys.
And they tell me you are crooked and I answer: Yes, it is true I have seen the gunman kill and go
free to kill again.
And they tell me you are brutal and my reply is: On the faces of women and children I have seen
the marks of wanton hunger.
And having answered so I turn once more to those who sneer at this my city, and I give them
back the sneer and say to them:
Come and show me another city with lifted head singing so proud to be alive and coarse and
strong and cunning.
Flinging magnetic curses amid the toil of piling job on job, here is a tall bold slugger set vivid
against the little soft cities;
Fierce as a dog with tongue lapping for action, cunning as a savage pitted against the wilderness,
Bareheaded,
Shoveling,
Wrecking,
Planning,
Building, breaking, rebuilding,
Under the smoke, dust all over his mouth, laughing with white teeth,
Under the terrible burden of destiny laughing as a young man laughs,
Laughing as an ignorant fighter laughs who has never lost a battle,
Bragging and laughing that under his wrist is the pulse, and under his ribs the heart of the people,
Laughing!
Laughing the stormy, husky, brawling laughter of Youth, half-naked, sweating, proud to be Hog
Butcher, Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads and Freight Handler to the
Nation.

Carl Sandburg, 1914

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: HARMONIZING THE CITY

On January 22, 2014, students at Ames Middle School in Chicago’s Logan Square neighborhood staged a protest in their multipurpose room. Chicago Public Schools (CPS) had decided to close Ames, a neighborhood school, and replace it with the Marine Leadership Academy, a selective-enrollment school run by the United States Marine Corps. On that day, a representative from CPS and students from another existing Marine school were hosting a question-and-answer session for current Ames students. Rather than asking the logistical questions that CPS staff expected, the students waved signs, chanted, and asked, again and again, “Why fix something that isn’t broken?” Across the hall, teacher Cara Sawyer rehearsed Ames’s orchestra, the Logan Square iteration of the People’s Music School’s El Sistema-inspired Youth Orchestras program. A number of orchestra students had, like their peers across the hall, put neon-green duct tape over their mouths, emblazoned with protest messages against the transformation of their school into the Marine Leadership Academy.¹

This action was particularly poignant given that the orchestra—run as a partnership between People’s, a nonprofit community music school, and Ames’s Elev8 program²—would be shut down when the school transition occurred. On the March 18, 2014 Illinois primary ballot,

¹ “Labor Beat: Ames School Referendum,” last modified March 5, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UeZrrR8EzLc>.

² Elev8 is a national program that provides integrated services (e.g., health care) at public schools in neighborhoods that typically have poor social outcomes of various kinds. The program is philanthropically supported. In Chicago, a number of schools on the south and west sides participate in the local Elev8 programs; these schools often have additional resources and infrastructure to provide extracurricular activities such as music programs due to the Elev8 funding that they receive. Elev8 “Elev8 History,” accessed May 19, 2015, <http://www.elev8kids.org/what-do-we-do/history>.

residents of the eight precincts surrounding the school's attendance boundaries had the opportunity to vote on an advisory (i.e., nonbinding) referendum: "Should Ames Middle School be maintained as a neighborhood school, rather than being converted into a military high school?"³ The referendum was put on the ballot in response to the protests, one of which was described above, around the January announcement regarding the school's transition. The orchestra played a prominent role in rallies leading up to the date of the election, and its positive role in the school community was frequently highlighted by the Logan Square Neighborhood Association (LSNA) as part of its campaign to justify Ames's continued existence as a neighborhood school.⁴ Sixty-nine percent of the electorate voted "yes" on the referendum, but CPS continued to move forward with the school transition.⁵

In Logan Square, as in Chicago as a whole, the teaching and learning of music hovers uneasily around issues of education, place, space, and urban citizenship. At the January 22, 2014 protest, Ames's young musicians were *not* in the multipurpose room challenging the CPS representative; they were across the hall, rehearsing, with tape over their mouths in solidarity with their friends, anxiously waiting to hear whether their school would be closed and on what terms. In subsequent months, this orchestra was used strategically as a symbol of all that was good and worthy about Ames and its community. Its representative value increased precisely because it was somewhat set apart from—spatially, financially, administratively—yet intimately associated with, the school itself and the broader neighborhood. One might argue that Ames was

³ Aricka Flowers, "Chicagoans Push For Ballot Referendums On Ames Middle School, Minimum Wage (UPDATED)," *Progress Illinois*, December 18, 2013, accessed May 19, 2015, <http://www.progressillinois.com/quick-hits/content/2013/12/18/chicagoans-push-ballot-referendums-education-minimum-wage>.

⁴ Albert Oppenheimer, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, June 3, 2014.

⁵ Ben Joravsky, "Will CPS reverse itself on Ames Middle School?" *Chicago Reader* via Logan Square Neighborhood Association, March 25, 2015, accessed May 19, 2015, <http://www.lsna.net/news/2904>.

framed as valuable in its existence as an average neighborhood school *because* it was not the average neighborhood school. Its students' musical engagement elevated Ames' profile and gave the school a unique sort of cohesiveness. But the orchestra did not survive the eventual transition to the Marine Leadership Academy because it was not integral to the *institutional* life of the school. That is, despite stakeholders' subjective attachment to the orchestra, its peripheral institutional status (i.e., run by a nonprofit subcontractor) made it fragile and dependent on the goodwill of the school administration.

As at Ames Middle School, the viability of music education in Chicago—and in countless other American cities—is precarious yet enduring, beloved yet easily discarded, integral yet peripheral, and always embattled. This dissertation, “City With Lifted Head Singing: Music Education and Urban Citizenship in Chicago,” examines these tensions and places them within the context of twenty-first-century urban neoliberalism. Actors within the field of music education—students and their parents and communities, teachers and program administrators, policymakers and philanthropists—are operating within a set of constraints that stem from the neoliberal transformation of the city in the late twentieth century. In making this argument I seek to place music education studies within critical education policy analysis and within contemporary urban studies more broadly, especially the significant bodies of literature on neoliberalism's effects on urban governance and citizenship; Chicago; and the global city. I discuss these literatures in greater depth later in this chapter.

I focus in this dissertation on music education programs at the fluid and poorly-defined boundary—and thus at the periphery—of public and private music schooling. Because neoliberalism by definition entails privatization of previously-public resources and institutions—as David Harvey writes, “[s]ectors formerly run or regulated by the state must be turned over to

the private sphere and be deregulated (freed from state interference)”—an analysis of these hybrid and borderline programs illuminates the impact of neoliberalism and the process, rather than the *fait accompli*, of privatization within the field of music education.⁶ These programs, run by not-for-profit corporations and run either in partnership with the Chicago Public Schools or as freestanding institutions, address poor and working-class children’s lack of access to music education, both because their public schools often do not have music programs and because their parents cannot afford to send them to one of the many excellent, but expensive, private music schools in the city. But these programs also seek and purport to address any number of the thorny social issues facing Chicago, such as poverty, violence, and poor educational outcomes—a mission that I seek to explore and examine critically in the present dissertation. Many such programs use these social issues, rather than their provision of music education itself as their primary justification for existence, and key stakeholders—CPS administrators at various levels, music program administrators and faculty, parents, students, and, perhaps most crucially, private funders—are often enthusiastically in support. Indeed, over the last 15 to 20 years, nearly every music education program, even those at private, tuition-based music schools, has added some sort of social goal to its mission, and the proportion of a program’s efforts devoted to “social change” seems to increase in direct relation to the program’s percentage of low-income students, especially low-income students of color. Though many programs present the social mission as inherent in the practice of music education itself, I contend that this discourse developed as a strategy to gain philanthropic funding where no other justification for music education is successful.

⁶ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 65.

Given the discursive and numerical predominance of these types of programs in Chicago, and increasingly nationally and internationally, one must ask *why* these programs have gained such traction (as opposed to programs that “only” teach students music); *what* goals they hope to achieve and *how* they seek to do so; *whose* voices are heard in the design and implementation of these programs; and *to what end* this broad coalition of forces seeks to reshape low-income, predominantly Black and Latin@, children.⁷ Many of these programs use the term “citizen” in describing their desired ends: what kind of citizen, and ultimately what kind of city, do these programs shape?

I argue in this dissertation that the rise of music programs that seek to intervene in social issues is predicated on a discursive, dual-layered problematization both of equitable access to urban arts education and of the city itself, which stems from the financial and political exigencies of neoliberalism in contemporary Chicago. The rhetoric of problematization means that music education programs must frame themselves as solutions to these problems. The second problem, the “urban problem,” has gained much more traction with philanthropists and policymakers who desire to make Chicago into a truly global city, rather than “America’s second city.” Reinventing Chicago in the model of the global city vis-à-vis arts education has reconfigured the labor market for music educators and made their working conditions much more precarious, as has happened in many industries during the neoliberal urban transition. This drive toward reinvention as global city has also pushed the music education programs I have studied to grapple with what it means to be a citizen of Chicago-as-global-city—and what it means for poor and working-class children of color, in particular, to be citizens of Chicago-as-global-city. The concept of urban citizenship

⁷ In Spanish, masculine words tend to end in “o” and feminine words tend to end in “a.” Thus, the term “Latino” is gendered male and the term “Latina” is gendered female. Using the @ sign has gained traction in the Latin@ community, since it includes both “o” and “a” and is thus gender-inclusive.

that has emerged from these programs is profoundly bourgeois and is contoured by the ways in which program administrators, teachers, and philanthropists conceive of the disciplinary power of musical genre, especially that associated with canonic repertoires and European-derived classical music.⁸ The dominance of citizenship rhetoric and social-change-oriented missions, however, is politically risky, and is unstable ground on which to build durable policy solutions that distribute high-quality arts education equitably to all of Chicago's children.

Teaching music, creating citizens

Music education has long been both problematized, and associated with citizenship development. In Chicago, arts and culture generally, and arts education in particular, has, since the late nineteenth century, been associated with efforts to improve the city in order to affirm its place alongside New York City, and in order to address Chicago's particular urban problems. Furthermore, the fate of arts education, especially in the public schools, has long been intertwined with education policy more generally. In short, the present-day interplay between music education and questions of political economy is historically rooted. In this section, I offer several historical antecedents to the contemporary phenomena that I explore in this dissertation. First, I highlight the political economy of music education during Chicago's Progressive Era in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which music played a prominent role in the relationship of the elite to the immigrant masses and was a favored tool of uplift and

⁸ I use the terms "European classical music" or "classical music" throughout this dissertation, rather than the more commonly-used scholarly form "Western art music," for several reasons. First, "Western art music" is not itself an unproblematic term and I take issue with the over-broad "Western" and with the implication that other musics are not "art." Second, "classical music" is the term most commonly used by all sorts of interlocutors at my field sites (students, parents, teachers, administrators, funders, etc.). The term is not ideal, but since there are no problem-free options I have elected for the one with some emic weight.

acculturation by reformers like Jane Addams. Second, in describing the founding of Urban Gateways in Chicago in the 1960s, I explore the impact of the civil rights movement on the discourse around arts education access, and trace a direct link to two of my field sites. Finally, I interrogate the effect of contemporary anxieties about our education system and the United States' international economic competitiveness on arts education funding and curricular inclusion on the national level, encapsulated most fully in the 1983 Department of Education report *A Nation at Risk*.⁹ The intellectual genealogy of music education-as-urban problem connects to multiple and frequently contradictory schools of thought, united only by their shared belief in music's power upon and over people and communities.

In Chicago, music education has been intertwined with direct attempts at political-economic intervention since the Progressive Era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this time, music education was both a method of reform and reflected movement ideology. Progressive activists used music in a number of ways, in particular using musical performance to create a new sense of civic identity and public purpose. Music education was especially important for Progressives: it was used as a formative tool to Americanize immigrants and to forge bonds among the disparate social groups in Chicago at that time. In particular, music education was a means of building relationships between social groups that may not otherwise have come into contact: upper-middle-class teachers and working-class students. Jane Addams, founder of the famous Hull House, and Eleanor Smith, the head of the Hull House Music School, were the primary exponents of music education as a tool of reform and of creating "harmony" among the multiple immigrant groups that the settlement served. As Vaillant writes:

⁹ U.S. Department of Education, National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1983).

The dream of harmony transcended the use of music for education or entertainment. It aspired to musically bind the diverse urban population together in hopes of creating a city in which each citizen could “live life worthily.”...Musical progressives aspired to promote social and cultural linkages and “American” ideals in order to invigorate public culture and promote civic engagement. Musical progressives focused their energies on public space as a propitious realm of democratic encounter, particularly among ethnic and immigrant laborers....The resulting dynamic of partnership as well as struggle between reformers and musical publics elevated the status of music as a democratizing force in American society. By claiming that music did more than ennoble or entertain, that it improved civic engagement, and (equally important) by acting on their beliefs on a massive scale, musical progressives changed the meaning of music in everyday life.¹⁰

The belief that music education could be used tactically as part of a broader program of creating both citizens and a city has been passed down, relatively unchanged, to today’s programs. What has changed is the political context. Although many of the administrators, faculty, parents, and students associated with these programs have similar hopes for democracy and civic engagement, the current political environment precludes pursuing a grander Progressive-style program.

The similarities, especially discursive, between late-nineteenth- and early-twenty-first-century Chicago should be noted. Hull House served a poor, multiethnic immigrant community on Chicago’s Lower West Side, a “slum” which was “cleared” by Mayor Richard J. Daley to create the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle Campus (now University of Illinois at Chicago) in 1965. Although the politics of race, immigration, and class have changed somewhat since Addams’s time, the popular conception that immigrant children were endangered, not being brought up in ways that would help them succeed as American adults, prone to crime, and so forth, and that all of these issues could be ameliorated through education and the efforts of largely white, middle- and upper-class-run and –funded philanthropic institutions, is not altogether different from the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first-century notion that low-income

¹⁰ Derek Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform: Progressivism and Music in Chicago, 1873-1935* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 2.

youth of color are inherently “at risk” and in need of intervention by nonprofits, which are now funded by a combination of middle- and upper-class patronage and government-grant support, and run by a population that is on the whole whiter and wealthier than the people they serve. Note that arts programs receive far less government support than do more conventional social-service programs, thus making philanthropists and middle-class donors all the more important.

Musical progressives can also be viewed as the ancestors of today’s programs’ ambivalence around genre. According to Vaillant, the generation preceding the progressives was known as “the cultured generation,” which “helped to ‘sacralize’ cultivated concert music in the United States while strengthening the Eurocentric flavor that permeated America’s leading musical institutions.” On the other hand,

Musical progressivism represented a movement whose outlook and tactics were discernibly different from those of the cultured generation. Nor is it correct to label them sacralizers. While many of its adherents, both male and female, came from bourgeois backgrounds and appreciated European classical music’s role in promoting social refinement and uplift, musical progressives were neither library-bound aesthetes nor dogmatic standard-bearers of cultivated music. Their democratic social preoccupations and urban orientation set them apart from their peers.¹¹

What this attitude represented in practice, I argue, was an *ambivalence* toward genre and repertory that is still felt today. At Hull House, for example, Addams and Smith were happy to program all sorts of music on their regular series—especially the traditional musics of the various immigrant groups—and believed firmly in the value of many types of music, but set European classical music apart as special, providing separate concerts and expecting a more solemn and formal standard of audience behavior on these occasions.¹² Similarly, European classical music is the norm in the programs I studied, yet program administrators and faculty are quick to dismiss classical music as the only acceptable repertory for students, stating that they

¹¹ Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, 3.

¹² Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, 114-115.

could use any other genre (hip-hop is the most frequently given), but that they find classical music particularly suitable for their purposes. Others believe that classical music is the most “uplifting” and productive in achieving the type of social discipline that they seek to instill.

By the 1950s and 1960s, the discourse around civil rights began to merge with the Progressive approach to music education. In addition to using arts education as a tool to address pervasive social issues, lack of access to arts education (defined then and now as music, visual arts, dance, and theater) came to be viewed in itself as a social wrong to be alleviated. In 1961, schoolteacher Jessie Woods, along with several friends, founded the Fine Arts Committee for Teachers at Raymond Elementary School (formerly located at 36th Street and Wabash Avenue, it was closed in the 2003-2004 school year and converted into a charter school). They were concerned about their (mainly poor, black) students’ lack of access to the arts and, through fundraising, were able to send these children on field trips to performances and arts institutions around the city. The program proved extremely popular and became, in 1965, the organization now called Urban Gateways. Woods led Urban Gateways for 19 years and was eventually appointed to the National Council on the Arts by President Jimmy Carter in the late 1970s.¹³ Although Woods’s vision was to make the arts an integral part of the public school curriculum for all children, this has not yet been feasible, and Urban Gateways functions now as almost the de facto arts provider for the Chicago Public Schools, serving 96,552 CPS students in the 2013-14 school year through residencies, workshops, and touring performances.¹⁴ Similarly, the Merit School of Music, now one of Chicago’s largest community music schools, was founded in 1979

¹³ Jo Napolitano, “Jessie Woods, 90: Introduced the arts to disadvantaged kids,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 10, 2004, accessed May 19, 2015, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2004-10-10/news/0410100181_1_jessie-woods-mrs-woods-cultural-affairs.

¹⁴ Urban Gateways, *Impact Report 2014* (Chicago: Urban Gateways, 2015), 10.

by Alice S. Pfaelzer and Emma Endres-Kountz after music was eliminated from the CPS curriculum. Merit originally ran exclusively tuition-free programs in borrowed spaces; now, it has a tuition-based conservatory-style program but still provides a number of tuition-free and outreach programs. These organizations, and other not-for-profits that supply teaching artists to CPS, do hugely important work in redressing the racialized, classed, and spatialized imbalances in public-school arts-education access. Nonetheless, it is worth examining how the divide between schools with full-time arts faculty and schools that rely on external providers may replicate some of the conditions that Woods initially sought to alleviate over 50 years ago.

The most important turn toward the contemporary model of instrumentalized music education came in the late 1970s and early 1980s, in an era of anxiety around the quality, content, and financing of American public education. The report *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, published in April 1983 by Secretary of Education Terrel Bell and the National Commission on Excellence in Education at the behest of President Ronald Reagan, is the primary policy antecedent of today's music education landscape. This report had a wide-ranging impact on American education policy, in many ways leading to our contemporary system of high-stakes testing. Its memorable and often-quoted opening paragraph reads:

Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. This report is concerned with only one of the many causes and dimensions of the problem, but it is the one that undergirds American prosperity, security, and civility. We report to the American people that while we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well-being of its people, the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people. What was unimaginable a generation ago has begun to occur—others are matching and surpassing our educational attainments.¹⁵

¹⁵ U.S. Department of Education, *Nation at Risk*, n.p.

In this report, the diagnosis is dire, and the entire present and future of the American people is described as being at stake. Education is once again tied to citizenship and the nature of the polity, but almost exclusively with respect to national security and international economic competitiveness. The commission called for a renewed focus on the “fundamentals,” namely literacy and the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) skills that would produce a generation of engineers and businessmen to rival the Japanese. In one of the report’s most famous statements, the commission wrote, “In effect, we have a cafeteria style curriculum in which the appetizers and desserts can easily be mistaken for the main courses.”¹⁶ It is no surprise that arts education was considered to be among the “appetizers and desserts”; furthermore, as schools began to devote a higher proportion of their scarce resources to the “main courses,” many of necessity took funding away from arts education. This shift created a situation of scarcity—financial and discursive—in which arts education still operates. Interestingly, and unfortunately, the impact of *A Nation at Risk*’s fundamental message was at odds with another of its recommendations:

The high school curriculum should also provide students with programs requiring rigorous effort in subjects that advance students' personal, educational, and occupational goals, such as the fine and performing arts and vocational education. These areas complement the New Basics, and they should demand the same level of performance as the Basics.¹⁷

The commission also recommended that students in the elementary grades be exposed to the arts as part of a well-rounded curriculum. Nonetheless, the relentless focus on “New Basics” had the effect of crowding almost everything else out of the curriculum, given that, in most cases, the

¹⁶ U.S. Department of Education, *Nation at Risk*, n.p.

¹⁷ U.S. Department of Education, *Nation at Risk*, n.p.

mandate to increase efforts in “core” subjects did not come with a commensurate increase in funding.¹⁸

The commission also diagnosed Americans as, in essence, lazy: the country’s educational decline was attributed, among other reasons, to a lowering of standards and a less rigorous and disciplined approach both to teaching and to learning. The commission, then, recommended that teachers, students, and parents all needed to work harder and raise their standards in pursuit of educational excellence. It is against this backdrop that arts education has struggled to maintain a foothold, and it is this rhetoric that particularly intensified the focus on self-discipline, perseverance, rigor, and hard work in music education, which had long been associated with these ideals. If music education has fared somewhat better than the other arts in the current era of neoliberal urban education reform, it is probably because of its long acquaintance, going back to Plato and the Puritans, with ideologies of spiritual formation, character-building, and the all-important “citizenship.”

“Arts at the core”¹⁹: Cultural planning, arts education, and Chicago as creative city

Just as Plato linked music education, via the training of citizens, to the image and identity of the ideal city, so too has Chicago engaged the arts, and arts education, as key to its urban identity and the image that it projects to the outside world.²⁰ This is most vividly evident in the Chicago Cultural Plan and the Chicago Public Schools Arts Education Plan, released in 2012 and

¹⁸ Diane Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice are Undermining Education* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 22-23.

¹⁹ The College Board, National Task Force on the Arts in Education, *Arts at the Core: Recommendations for Advancing the State of Arts Education in the 21st Century* (New York: College Board, 2009).

²⁰ Plato. *The Republic of Plato*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1991).

2013 respectively; and the various ways in which Chicago uses arts education as part of portraying itself as both a creative city and a global city.

It is worth spending some time here untangling “music education” from “arts education.” The phrase “arts education” seems to have emerged as *the* term somewhere in the 1960s or so; before then, one can find references to “education in the fine arts” or “performing arts” but rarely, if ever, to “arts education.” This term, in most of its uses, refers to education in any or all of the following art forms: music, visual arts, theater, and dance (the four “core” disciplines), and upon occasion digital media, design, and film. Although these endeavors, the four “core disciplines” in particular, have long been socially constructed as belonging to the category of “arts,” they have only recently come to be viewed as a self-evident grouping in the field of education.

Indeed, these “core” arts disciplines were frequently categorized with other pedagogical endeavors as recently as the early 20th century. To give a personal example with Chicago connections: my great-grandfather John Gabriel McBride was born outside O’Neill, Nebraska in 1882 and moved to Chicago in 1907 to attend the School of the Art Institute of Chicago (SAIC), where he was trained in the “fine arts.” He also studied drafting and other skills that today we might consider “trades.” After graduating from SAIC in 1909, he found a job at the high school in Superior, Wisconsin, where, as the Industrial Art and Drawing Instructor, he taught both what we would now think of as “art class” and also “shop class,” and was a member not of an “arts” department but rather of something much closer to technical education. His own artistic practice included both the “fine arts” and “craftsmanship”: he built his family’s house entirely on his own, and all of the beautifully-constructed Arts and Crafts furniture in it, many pieces of which survive today. He also drew, worked with stencils, painted highway signs, and created a unique

work of art for Superior as an honor roll for all of the town's World War II veterans. John Gabriel would have found it utterly bizarre to have Superior Central High School's music and drama teachers as his closest colleagues.²¹ The "fine" and "performing" arts have long been separated; it is thus worth asking why they have now been grouped together in curriculum and policy.

"Arts education" emerged in an era when, on the one hand, "the arts" (as a unit) were politically valued at the federal level more highly than ever before, with the creation of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in 1965; and, on the other, when these same disciplines were unequally distributed (as in 1950s Chicago, hence Jessie Woods's activism) and eventually came under siege (*A Nation at Risk* came only 18 years after the founding of the NEA). The term "arts education" is an instance of the old proverb that it is easy to snap one twig on its own, but even the strongest man cannot easily break a bundle of them: fighting for music, or the visual arts, or dance, or drama individually is politically difficult, but fighting for them as a group, and with the support of a much larger network of people, has proven more effective. This legacy has directly shaped the ways in which arts educators and advocates, CPS administrators, political leaders, and the broader public engage with the political and policy landscape around education priorities and funding, as well as how these varying stakeholders define and perceive individual art forms. Financially and policy-wise, music now tends to fall under the umbrella of "arts education." At the same time, the politics, ethics, and discourses of music education tend to be discipline-specific and hark back to this older and longer history as laid out in the previous section of this chapter. Thus, throughout this dissertation, I at times refer to "arts education"—an emic term used by many of my collaborators, and reflective of the on-the-ground political

²¹ John Gabriel McBride, *Autobiography* (Superior, WI: McBride family papers, 1950), n.p.

reality—and at others “music education,” which, of course, carries more specificity. I also seek to make use of the productive tension between “arts education” more generally and “music education” specifically, and to pay close attention into which of these terms is used and in what contexts.

Rahm Emanuel became mayor of Chicago in 2011. Known for his youthful involvement in ballet, he made cultural planning a part of his campaign and a signature initiative in his first year in office. Emanuel’s initiative was not Chicago’s first attempt at municipal-level cultural planning. Under Mayor Harold Washington, the city’s administration had facilitated the creation of Chicago’s first cultural plan in 1986; thus, Emanuel also conceived of this most recent cultural plan as a 25th-anniversary revisiting and update of the Washington-era initiative. (The 1986 plan was reviewed in 1995, but a new plan was not generated at that time.²²) Emanuel announced the 2012 Cultural Plan project shortly after he took office in 2011. The process, led by the city’s Department of Cultural Affairs and Special Events and the London-based consulting firm Lord Cultural Resources, began in January 2012, and the finalized document was published, to great fanfare, in October 2012. The public was engaged in this process through a series of town-hall meetings held in many locations throughout the city; in these meetings, the improvement of arts education—especially issues around diversity, quality, and, most critically, both geographic and financial access—emerged as one of the most important objectives for Chicagoans. Arts education objectives were included in the 2012 Cultural Plan, but since the groundswell of support for them was so large and intense, CPS also responded by creating the Chicago Public Schools Arts Education Plan 2012-2015, released in August 2013. This was not CPS’s first foray into arts education planning: the district has released several master plans for arts education in

²² City of Chicago, “About the Cultural Plan,” accessed May 19, 2015, http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/dca/supp_info/cultural_plan0.html.

the last decade or so, with minimal implementation, and a number of my interviewees and contacts were quite cynical about this latest having any effect.

The 2012 Cultural Plan marks arts education as a “Priority” (the second tier of importance, behind “Categories” and in front of “Recommendations” and “Initiatives”). The plan states “Priority: Arts education for all Chicago and create opportunities for lifelong learning.”²³ Here, arts education is not limited to the K-12 curriculum but rather framed as a part of life for people of all ages. The plan continues, “Purpose: To incorporate arts education for all residents at all stages of life, from early learning through school and beyond using both formal and informal mechanisms.”²⁴ The plan describes that

This priority focuses on Chicago Public Schools system-wide cultural arts curriculum mandates; integrating cultural enrichment opportunities in early childhood education programs; sustainable arts education funding; advocacy for K-12 arts education; mechanisms for early childhood and lifelong learning; and citywide collaborations to sustain arts education efforts.²⁵

Although this priority technically encompasses all age groups, from the description we can see that children’s and youth education is emphasized. All of this falls under the “People” category—arts education, according to the Cultural Plan, and reasonably so, is part of the development of Chicagoans as creative people engaged with the cultural sector. Here again, developing individuals through arts education is a mechanism by which the city itself can be shaped.

The arts workers effecting this development through arts education are, however, largely forgotten in the Cultural Plan. The introduction to the “People” category of the Plan reads:

²³ City of Chicago and Lord Cultural Resources, *City of Chicago Cultural Plan 2012* (Chicago: City of Chicago, 2012), 11.

²⁴ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 11.

²⁵ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 11

Chicago's strongest cultural asset is its people. Artists offer bold creative expression, innovative models of interpretation, and new content across all cultural disciplines. Creative professionals belong to the fields of advertising, art, broadcasting, crafts, culinary arts, design, digital media, fashion, film, journalism, music, performing arts, publishing, public relations, toys, game and video design, and more. Their contribution to the city's economy is substantial.

Arts administrators and advocates, audiences and patrons, civic leaders and sponsors, educators and students—these make up the ecosystem of a thriving cultural city.²⁶

Thus, the Plan highlights “creative professionals” and “artists” as the key “people” whose work should be supported via cultural planning; educators are glancingly mentioned toward the end as simply part of the “ecosystem” of Chicago-as-“thriving cultural city.” “People” includes two priorities: “Arts education for all Chicago and create opportunities for lifetime learning,” as detailed above, and “Attract and retain artists and creative professionals.” The purpose of this priority is described as “To invest in the vitality of Chicago’s culture by attracting, sustaining and propelling forward artists and creative professionals in Chicago,” and further elaborates that

This priority focuses on funding and sustainability (including job creation and attracting businesses to Chicago) and effective communication for artists and creative professionals as well as other resources such as space needs and professional development.²⁷

Again, the needs of “artists and creative professionals” are highlighted here. Educators are not explicitly excluded from these categories, but they do not seem to be included, either, based on the definitions given above. Although arts education is an explicit focus of the 2012 Cultural Plan, support for those working in this sector is not. Educators have little visibility as workers in Chicago’s most recent round of cultural policymaking. The “arts education” priority focuses on arts education as entity and on the students who will be educated; the priority of “Attract[ing] and retain[ing] artists and creative professionals” excludes educators from focus as cultural

²⁶ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 11

²⁷ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 11.

workers. This policy oversight has allowed for the creation of a system that uses its focus on serving historically underserved students to justify low pay and instability for teachers.

The Cultural Plan lays out a number of “civic objectives” that culture, somewhat narrowly defined as the arts, can affect positively: economic development, strong neighborhoods, innovation, environmental sustainability, public health, lifelong learning, public safety, and well-being and quality of life. Arts education falls under the “lifelong learning” objective, which is elaborated as follows: “Culture promotes the formation of cognitive and emotional development and social connections in everyone from our youngest participants to our most senior of citizens.”²⁸ Here another step is added to the mechanism: “culture” develops individuals *and* social relationships, thus having an impact at the municipal level.

The CPS Arts Education Plan opens with two letters: one from Emanuel, and one from former CPS CEO Barbara Byrd-Bennett. The Plan’s subtitle is “Bringing the Arts to Every Child in Every School”; the letters from these two key leaders elaborate why this is relevant. Emanuel writes, “Integrating the arts into the school day with math, science, reading and writing enhances student outcomes and academic achievement. Arts education also contributes to essential 21st century skills like innovation, creativity, and critical thinking that will prepare them for life-long learning.”²⁹ Byrd-Bennett writes,

Arts education plays an important role in helping our students engage in their education, build confidence, and strengthen their imagination. Research and educators will attest to the role the arts play in enhancing a school’s learning environment and improving student outcomes. The new CPS Arts Education Plan is founded on these fundamental beliefs and it is built on the core belief that instruction in the arts will help our children become better students.³⁰

²⁸ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 2.

²⁹ Chicago Public Schools Department of Arts Education, *The Chicago Public Schools Arts Education Plan 2012-2015: Bringing the Arts to Every Child in Every School* (Chicago: Chicago Public Schools, 2013), front matter.

³⁰ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, front matter.

Later in the letter, she continues, “Through a comprehensive arts education, from visual art to music, dance, and theatre, Chicago Public Schools students of every grade and age will have the opportunity to develop into innovative and creative thinkers capable of expressing themselves, understanding others and contributing to their city’s culture and economy for years to come.”³¹

What Emanuel and Byrd-Bennett write is relevant and not untrue, but I want, briefly, to problematize their statements as a way of exposing some of the underlying assumptions of Chicago’s current education policy and Cultural Plan, and, by extension, influential elements of the education and arts communities. It is notable, in their introductions to what is, after all, a document focused exclusively on arts education, that these two important figures say nothing about arts skill attainment: that is, their focus is exclusively on the academic, social, economic, and civic benefits conferred by arts education, and they say nothing about students *actually developing skills in artistic disciplines*. This is striking: imagine a district-wide math education plan that extolled the social benefits that an increased attention to math education would provide, all the while saying nothing about increasing student achievement in math itself. The arts seem to be the one subject area in which it is possible, and even unremarkable, to speak exclusively about the ancillary benefits of pursuing a given course of study and to say nothing about gaining particular competencies in that subject area. I found this attitude to be pervasive in my fieldwork: many of my interlocutors, particularly administrators but also teachers, spoke in very similar terms. Notably, these were almost always individuals who believed deeply in the inherent value of music education, and those who were program faculty and administrators sought to hold their students to a high standard of artistic achievement. Yet, the political-discursive environment

³¹ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, front matter.

around arts education is such that it is almost automatic for everyone involved to *begin* their arguments with these purported benefits.

It should be noted that there does exist a document entitled *The Chicago Guide to Teaching and Learning in the Arts*, released by CPS' Office of Arts Education in 2009, which outlines a holistic and sequenced curriculum pegged to Illinois state standards for arts skill attainment across the four disciplines of music, visual arts, dance, and theater.³² The official CPS website associated with this plan affirms that "Arts education is not a luxury, but an essential and critical part of every child's education," and, intriguingly, states that "We passionately believe that an education in the arts serves not only to enrich all students as individuals, but offers a necessary element of a high quality education for the twenty-first century global citizen."³³ Although the *Chicago Guide*, as it is often called, still stands as the district's official curriculum scope-and-sequence document, it has been politically marginalized in recent years as Ingenuity, Inc., the independent not-for-profit organization charged with implementing the 2012 CPS Arts Education Plan, has gained traction and the Office of Arts Education has declined in stature. Arts implementation efforts in the Chicago Public Schools now focus almost exclusively on the 2012 Arts Education Plan.

It is also striking that both Emanuel and Byrd-Bennett frequently use variations on the terms "innovation" and "creativity." Both of these terms are endemic to the contemporary business world, and their prevalence in the language of arts education policy is a marker of the neoliberalization of this discourse. The Cultural Plan also uses these terms: the document lays

³² Chicago Public Schools Office of Arts Education, *The Chicago Guide to Teaching and Learning in the Arts* (Chicago: Chicago Public Schools, 2009).

³³ Chicago Public Schools Department of Arts Education, "Vision: Arts As A Core Curriculum," *The Chicago Guide for Teaching and Learning in the Arts Online*, accessed May 16, 2015, <http://chicagoguide.cpsarts.org/vision>.

out “major themes” and key cultural needs for the city of Chicago. One of these themes is “Achieving our Global Potential,” connecting directly to Chicago’s status as one of the United States’ three truly global cities (in company with New York and Los Angeles).³⁴ The Plan rates Chicago poorly on this front, and states, after a table showing Chicago’s ranking among other American cities in attracting foreign tourists (emphasis is mine):

Cultural tourism boosts the local economy and the cultural sector. Cultural programming and models for delivering content are enhanced through a global interchange of ideas, artists, and ways of doing business. Cultural arts are key to economic growth because they stimulate *creativity*, which leads to *innovation* in many economic sectors, including digital arts and technology, design, and retail. In 2011, Chicago ranked 34th among global cities in *innovation*, behind such cities as Montreal, Seattle, and London. Given our vast cultural assets, Chicago should rank much higher.³⁵

This anxiety over Chicago’s international competitiveness is similar to that expressed on behalf of the United States as a whole in *A Nation at Risk*. However, here the arts are a solution to, rather than part of, the problem, and it is notable that the anxiety is expressed on the urban, rather than the national, level, which reflects the increasing relevance of cities, and decreasing relevance of countries, to the global economy.

The next “major theme” discussed in the Cultural Plan is “Civic and Economic Impact.”

Again, the emphasis is mine:

Leaders both within and outside the cultural sector cite the value of culture on Chicago’s overall prosperity. Access to cultural opportunity is one reason people want to visit and live in cities. The competitive edge in the new global digital economy will be the capacity of the regional workforce to create *innovative* solutions and products. Arts education is a clear pathway to the thinking and collaboration essential to *creativity* and *innovation*.³⁶

Here, arts education is specifically highlighted as a means of achieving this “competitive edge” and training “the regional workforce” in the requisite skills to succeed in an increasingly

³⁴ Janet Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America’s Global Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

³⁵ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 8.

³⁶ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 8.

globalized knowledge economy. Both of the Cultural Plan's "major themes" that I have highlighted here use the terms "innovation" and "creativity" in much the same way as do Byrd-Bennett and Emanuel. Whether consciously or subconsciously, these two civic leaders frame arts education as valuable in the most instrumental of ways: for individuals, as a means of increasing their personal potential for success in the labor market; for the city and region, as a means of training a workforce that can position Chicagoland to achieve and maintain its status as a globally successful and competitive city.

As Chicago seeks to shore up its "global city" identity, arts education is at the core of the city's strategy for so doing. It is also part of how the city brands itself and communicates to the outside world.³⁷ By way of example, take the baggage claim area at Midway Airport, Chicago's secondary airport. The baggage claims are emblazoned with advertisements for the city: on top of one baggage claim is an advertisement for the number of golf courses in the region, with a tag line about the number of corporate headquarters in the area who might use them. Another baggage claim boasts about the number of Nobel Prize winners who have lived in the city over the years. All are paired with attractive photos of the city skyline or of the subject of the ad itself. Each baggage claim is also outfitted with a television monitor, which plays a video on loop as people wait for their bags. A significant portion of the loop features the Chicago Children's Choir and the Merit School of Music and a number of performances by their respective students, and frames this as representative of the best of the city's cultural riches (and it doesn't hurt that the student bodies of these organizations are racially diverse and integrated, in contrast to Chicago's actual stark segregation). Many of the structural pillars in the baggage area feature durable posters with a cartoon of a few iconic Chicago buildings and the quote, "We're Glad

³⁷ See John D. Kasarda and Greg Lindsay, *Aerotropolis: The Way We'll Live Next* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012).

You're Here!" Underneath the quote is the legend "MAYOR RAHM EMANUEL," printed on a label taped over what used to say "MAYOR RICHARD M. DALEY." In this way political power and Chicago's status as a global city and business and air travel hub are visually and rhetorically asserted and conflated, and arts education is a peripheral, though important, part of the whole confection.³⁸

Chicago has, in many ways, always been the "classic city," and is often highly representative of trends in both urban development and scholarship (the latter due to its status as the city in which many of the most notable urban-studies research projects have been conducted). It has often been called "the most American of American cities."³⁹ True to form, then, Chicago-as-global city shows the dramatic class and racial inequalities inherent to the "global city."⁴⁰ In Chicago in particular, these inequalities are often rigidly spatialized. Chicago's history as a "city of neighborhoods"—meaning, mainly, that neighborhood identity is very strong and that neighborhood boundaries are taken very seriously, due to Chicago's history of retention of ethnically specific neighborhoods—means that the neighborhood-level scale is hugely important to understanding the social organization of the city as a whole, and that cultural initiatives of all kinds are often planned on a neighborhood-by-neighborhood basis. Indeed, the Cultural Plan's category "Place" focuses almost exclusively on neighborhoods.

These spatialized racial and socioeconomic inequalities significantly influence the topography of the three primary ways in which Chicagoans can access (formal) music education. The first is through the public school curriculum, taught by CPS faculty. Before the 2013 Arts

³⁸ Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 87.

³⁹ Robert J. Sampson, *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 16-17.

⁴⁰ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 2.

Education Plan, elementary-level (K-8) schools⁴¹ with fewer than 750 students were required to have one half-time arts teacher (in any discipline, not necessarily music), and schools with more than 750 students were to have at least one full-time arts teacher.⁴² This meant that, in many schools, students would have, at best, about 40-50 minutes of contact time across all art forms per week.⁴³ The district employed 927 full-time equivalent (FTE) arts teachers: 506 at the elementary and 421 at the high school level. Many of the elementary-level arts teachers were part-time. The 2013 Arts Education Plan recommends a minimum of one full-time arts teacher per school, regardless of enrollment, and encourages “an improved teacher-student ratio for all schools.”⁴⁴ At the high school level, CPS policy has required for some time that students pursue a minimum of one year’s worth of study in two separate arts disciplines; therefore, high schools have rather more full-time faculty and more arts exposure for students, although sequencing and in-depth study still remain a challenge. High schools tend to have more instrumental music teachers for band, orchestra, or choir classes, whereas elementary schools tend to have more general music teachers.

It is hard to find clear data on the exact number of music (versus other arts) classes taught in the schools, but endorsements are a reasonable proxy. The Arts Education Plan explains, “A teaching endorsement is achieved through additional coursework and training that makes a teacher eligible to teach a specific grade level or subject.” In the 2011-12 school year, there was a total of 2,754 arts endorsements in the CPS system (teachers can hold more than one

⁴¹ Chicago does not, as a rule, have “middle schools” like many other places. “Elementary schools” are typically K-8. Thus, the pertinent division is between elementary and high schools.

⁴² Nick Rabkin, Michael Reynolds, Eric Hedberg, and Justin Shelby, *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education: A Report on the Teaching Artist Research Project* (Chicago: NORC at the University of Chicago, 2011), 33.

⁴³ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 16.

⁴⁴ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 17.

endorsement, and non-arts-trained teachers can hold arts endorsements if they have done the requisite work; e.g., a science teacher could also be endorsed for dance), of which half were in visual arts, one-third were in music, thirteen percent were in theater, and two percent were in dance. This is comparable in some ways to the national average, although nationally more tend to be in music and far fewer in theater (about three to four percent);⁴⁵ this is perhaps reflective of Chicago's strong theater economy. The Chicago Public Schools, then, provide far greater access to the arts than do many large urban school districts, but pursuing a rigorous and comprehensive program of musical study remains out of reach for most students.

The second way in which many Chicago children access arts education is also through their schools, but not as an integral part of the curriculum and institutional structure: through partnerships with nonprofits contracted by the school. These organizations, like Urban Gateways or the Merit School of Music, employ teaching artists, who visit the school for performances, workshops, and residencies (which are particularly variable—as short as a few days or as long as several years). Providers fall into two loosely separate categories. The first is independent groups, usually nonprofits (e.g., Urban Gateways), whose *raison d'être* is providing school partnership programs. Many of these are multidisciplinary. These programs thrive as a result of the increasing privatization of arts education since the 1980s and have a client relationship with the Chicago Public Schools, along with some charter and Catholic schools. The second category is arts-education nonprofits that primarily operate as freestanding institutions specializing in one particular form of arts education (e.g., the Merit School of Music) but do in-school programs to increase access to their offerings along race and class lines. Nationally—and Chicago is representative of this trend—urban school arts education has increasingly been provided by

⁴⁵ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 17.

teaching artists, although an exact breakdown of the percentage of programs provided by school faculty versus teaching artists is not available due to the instability of the field. These programs expose students to a wider diversity of art forms and ways of learning than school faculty are often able to provide and can foment unparalleled student engagement, learning, and creativity. At the same time, since they are largely unsupervised, these residencies can be disastrous. It is largely up to the contracted nonprofit, and to the teaching artist him- or herself, to provide quality control. Furthermore, since teaching artists are contracted on a school-by-school, year-by-year basis, it is difficult to fit their work into any kind of overarching district- or even school-wide curricular scope and sequence. In Chicago, teaching artists tend to serve schools in low-income neighborhoods, often because these schools cannot afford to hire sufficient arts faculty, and thus these programs are a, if not *the*, primary way in which low-income children—over 100,000 each year—access music and arts education. This will only increase as the 2013 CPS Arts Education Plan continues to be implemented: one of its signature recommendations was the appointment of an “Arts Liaison” (ideally a certified or endorsed arts teacher) in each school, paralleling the Cultural Plan’s recommendation for a “chief creative officer”⁴⁶ for each school, whose responsibility is both to oversee and coordinate efforts by the school’s own arts faculty, and, most importantly, to strategize and coordinate partnerships with institutions providing teaching artists.⁴⁷

Third, Chicagoans have numerous options for high-quality private formalized music education. There are at least 14 major not-for-profit community music schools in the area, of which all but one are largely tuition-based: families with the means to do so can register their children for private lessons, group classes, ensembles, music theory, and so forth with the

⁴⁶ Note the similarity to job titles in the tech industry.

⁴⁷ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 29.

instructors employed by these schools. (In an overlap with the previous category, these schools also often provide “outreach” programs to the public schools, i.e., programs in which they send their faculty to the schools as teaching artists.) There is also a significant, although uncounted, number of private music teachers who teach from their homes or rented facilities, and advanced high school students often study with professors at the local colleges and universities. This can often be quite an expensive endeavor: the going rate, at either a school or with an independent teacher, is anywhere from \$25 to \$120 per hour (the median rate seems to be about \$45-\$60) for lessons and then another several hundred dollars per term for group classes and ensembles.⁴⁸ These fees are compounded by what can often be steep instrument rental and repair costs—and of course taking a child to and from several lessons and classes per week—plus the significant investment of time ensuring that he or she practices at home. Thus, these opportunities are more readily available only to the middle and upper classes, although some schools do offer scholarships and, upon occasion, a low-income family will prioritize music education so much that it will cover the costs for tuition by sacrificing other needs. Nonetheless, thousands of children⁴⁹ and some adults participate in these programs—a significant commitment even for a relatively comfortable middle-class budget—which is a testament to Chicagoans’ dedication to music.

Arts education, and music education as a key component thereof, are critical components of Chicago’s status and identity as a global city. They also suffer from some of the signature problems of the global city, notably income inequality, which is marked quite dramatically by

⁴⁸ In 2011 and 2012, I was a member of the Chicago Consortium of Community Music Schools, the city’s professional association for music education administrators. This financial information was discussed regularly at meetings but has not yet been published.

⁴⁹ Again, there is no aggregated source of data available here, but this is an educated estimate based on my familiarity with the Chicago Consortium of Community Music Schools.

the different means of arts education access available to people of different socioeconomic classes. It is perhaps obvious, though it should not go unremarked, that the public options are often of lesser quality, and certainly less comprehensive, than those options available privately, for a fee. And it is notable just how strong the connection is, in public documents and private conversations, among arts education practitioners, the buzzwords “innovation” and “creativity,” and concerns about Chicago’s and Chicagoans’ economic viability. In the dissertation that follows, I explore how this affects music education specifically and how these concerns and priorities translate into musical genre and sound. Finally, it is perhaps less obvious, yet also notable, that other academic subjects are *not*, in the policy discussions around arts education, framed as generative of innovative and creative thinkers, a point to which I shall return in later chapters.

The goals and interventions of this project

The primary goal of this dissertation is to denaturalize the current discourse around music education—to make explicit the ways in which it is already politicized, and by so doing open a more democratic set of conversations and practices around contemporary urban music education. My work provides a textured, ethnographic addition to a small but growing body of literature on the political economy of music education—most notably, Geoffrey Baker’s *El Sistema* and Rachel Beckles Willson’s *Orientalism and Musical Mission*.⁵⁰ The present dissertation contributes to this work by focusing on a single city, Chicago; as I expand this work it will certainly engage on a more global scale, as do Baker and Willson. This project is also an

⁵⁰ Geoffrey Baker, *El Sistema: Orchestrating Venezuela’s Youth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Rachel Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

ethnography of policy, both cultural and educational, that seeks to bring together the literature on cultural policy with the significant body of work in critical education policy analysis. The fields of education and urban studies would benefit from a deeper engagement with the arts; cultural policy studies and music education studies, in turn, would benefit from engagement with the urban studies and education literature, and from a more thorough politicization of their subject matter. I essay such a synthesis here through an ethnography of music education in Chicago.

Ultimately, I hope to shift the terms of the discussion around urban music education policy and practice, opening new possibilities for thinking about the place of music education in the twenty-first-century city. The financial and political precarity facing arts education over the last several decades has forced practitioners to remain tightly focused on day-to-day survival in an increasingly constrained environment. Scholarship offers a place to reflect on the quotidian practices of music education as well as the longer-term political-economic trajectories affecting the field, creating a space for thought and discussion that may not be possible in the context of the daily work of running or teaching in music education programs. My desire to create this space is precisely why this dissertation does not address the question of whether music-education-as-intervention “works,” and why I intentionally refuse to articulate a firm set of reasons why music education should be valued. My aim is foremost to understand why arts education has even come to be seen in terms of intervention at all, and to invite a more democratic means of understanding music education’s worth.

Given that this project is deeply rooted in the discipline of ethnomusicology, I also seek to answer specifically musical questions: How does musical sound relate to the political and historical questions listed above? What is the musical mechanism by which these programs attempt to solve urban issues? How does musical genre serve as an organizing and disciplining

force? How do these programs translate their social philosophies into concrete, day-to-day musical practice and teaching? As described in the “Methodology” section of this chapter below, I use classically ethnomusicological methods to answer these questions: participant-observation, interviews, musical analysis, and my own practice of music teaching. Ethnomusicology has allowed me to provide a sense of the lived experiences of those affected by cultural policy, and the ways in which they shape their responses to policy and, in some cases, policy itself. The ethnomusicological approach paints a picture of a decentralized set of practices of cultural decision-making around money, power, and program structure and content, rather than a top-down means of creating and implementing cultural policy. Even when the powers that be do not invite significant democratic participation, the agency of practitioners and students is evident in their lived experiences of and responses to the implications of cultural policy. Finally, being rooted in ethnomusicology allows me to separate music education from arts education more broadly. I want to reclaim a place for music qua music in the educational public sphere in Chicago, and ethnomusicology provides a particularly valuable set of methodological and theoretical tools for so doing. “Arts education” is a rhetorical construct that has had significant political utility over the last several decades, but cannot serve as a precise enough term to enable an understanding of the particular trajectories of practice and politics within music education specifically that I seek to examine here. As I write in this dissertation’s conclusion, this means that it will also be imperative for practitioners and scholars to think about the particular trajectories of visual arts education, theater education, dance education, etc. as critical studies of arts education policy and practice continue to gain traction.

I now turn to a brief literature review situating my work in a series of concentric circles of influence. This dissertation is fundamentally a political economy of music education. It

follows and is inspired by the work of Geoffrey Baker on El Sistema and of Rachel Beckles Willson on the political complexities of European classical music in Palestine.⁵¹ My analysis is complementary to theirs; the phenomena that we study are also intertwined. For example, an El Sistema-inspired youth orchestra program was one of my primary field sites. And after the Sphinx Performance Academy ended in August 2013, the faculty member with whom I had worked most closely moved to Palestine to work for one of the organizations at which Willson did fieldwork, the Barenboim-Said Conservatory in Ramallah. The instrumentalization of music education is a global phenomenon, though my work focuses on its local manifestation in Chicago. This reflects the globalization and localization of the political-economic phenomenon with which it is intertwined, neoliberalism. Lucy Green's work is more concerned with identity than is my own, but her books are valuable antecedents and provide particular insight into the environment in the United Kingdom.⁵²

During the last decades of the twentieth century, musicologists and other scholars took up the construction of "classical music" through the lens of social class and hierarchy. Though much of this work focuses on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it has provided valuable historical context which has helped me to understand contemporary phenomena as the current manifestations of processes and relationships that have unfolded over long periods of time. Lawrence Levine's work on cultural production and social distinction has been particularly useful in framing the ways in which the practice of classical music is now not only associated

⁵¹ Baker, *El Sistema*; Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission*.

⁵² See Lucy Green, *Music on Deaf Ears: Musical Meaning, Ideology, Education* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), and Lucy Green, ed., *Learning, Teaching, and Musical Identity: Voices across Cultures* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011).

with class distinction, but also with an especially individualistic construction of class mobility.⁵³ The work of Michael Broyles, David Gramit, Stephen Marini, Charles McGuire, Toby Miller, Joseph Mussulman, Ruth Solie, Robert Stevenson, Warren Susman, and William Weber has also been helpful.⁵⁴ Lydia Goehr would perhaps—or perhaps not—be surprised to know that a construct very similar to the “work-concept” is highly operative in the pedagogical practice of the music teachers whom I observed in the field.⁵⁵ It is likely not an accident that the discourse of the relationship between classical music and the upper classes was initiated during a period of extreme inequality in the nineteenth century, and has again become current in a period of similarly stark social division.

Katherine Bergeron writes that “For the performer, certainly, practicing scales is the first (and last) measure of instrumental discipline, the source of ‘technique,’ the training of the body into an orderly relation with itself in the production of music.” Further, “[t]he canon is, in this

⁵³ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁵⁴ Michael Broyles, “*Music of the Highest Class*”: *Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); Stephen A. Marini, *Sacred Song in America: Religion, Music, and Public Culture* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Charles McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Toby Miller, *The Well-Tempered Self: Citizenship, Culture, and the Postmodern Subject* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Joseph A. Mussulman, *Music in the Cultured Generation: A Social History of Music in America, 1870-1900* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971); Ruth A. Solie, *Music In Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004); Robert Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America: A Short Survey of Men and Movements from 1564 to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1966); Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973); William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975).

⁵⁵ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

sense, an ideal of order made material, physical, visible.”⁵⁶ The ethnomusicology of Western art music has tended to emphasize the relationship between music education in this tradition and the inculcation of discipline—physical, social, and moral. Indeed, a significant portion of ethnomusicological work on Western art music has focused on educational settings. I firmly situate this dissertation in that tradition. The earliest works on music education in the European tradition, Nettl and Kingsbury, focused on post-secondary educational settings—which are not unrelated to the K-12 settings in which I completed my fieldwork, not least in terms of the underlying ideologies of canon and talent which are highlighted in these works.⁵⁷ And though Christopher Small’s work proceeds from a very different set of research questions, his insistence on viewing “music, society, and education” as a holistic set of relationships has cleared the way for work like Baker’s, Willson’s, and my own.⁵⁸

Within the broader political context that I establish, I maintain a relatively tight focus on the working lives of music educators. Given the facts of privatization and economic inequality established above, it is no surprise that music teachers have become arguably the most affected constituency in the long decline of music education from the early 1980s to the present day, and face a high degree of instability in their working lives. I investigate and describe what it is like to work as a music educator and as a music program administrator here in Chicago, and how these groups of people interact with institutions, funders, the public school system, and cultural policy.

⁵⁶ Katherine Bergeron, “Prologue: Disciplining Music,” in Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman, eds., *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1-2.

⁵⁷ Bruno Nettl, *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Henry Kingsbury, *Music, Talent & Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).

⁵⁸ Christopher Small, *Music, Society, Education* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1996 [1977]); see also Baker, *El Sistema*, and Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission*.

It is the labor of teachers that most clearly connects the shifts that have taken place in music education to the broader shifts occasioned by Chicago's incomplete transition to global city status, most notably an increased precaritization in the labor market for all but the highest earners. Al Kennedy's work on public school music teachers in New Orleans has served as a model here: his insistence on the value of teachers as musicians and analysis of the role of schools and other institutions in the musical ecosystem of the city is a crucial intervention.⁵⁹ I have relied on Cottrell's important ethnography of music labor as a model for my analysis here, and feel a kinship with him as a fellow professional-turned-ethnographer.⁶⁰

One obvious lacuna in the archive underlying this dissertation is my absence of engagement with recent work on the philosophy of music education and the ethnomusicology of children. I have resisted offering any philosophical justification for music education—whether my own or someone else's—precisely because, as previously mentioned, I want this work to clear space for conversation among music students, their families, community members, teachers, program administrators, and, perhaps, and only as listeners, policymakers and philanthropists. This is both pragmatic and ideological. Pragmatically, music will only be valued and funded, whether in the public schools or out, with a coalition of political support; funding will not be allocated based on academic writing. Ideologically, I hope that the explicit absence of my voice on this topic will encourage the reader, and the policymakers and program administrators with whom I am in regular contact, to fill this empty space by seeking the voices of others whose opinion is less frequently sought. Readers desiring a grounding in this literature would be well served by reading the work of Wayne Bowman and Ana Lucía Frega, David

⁵⁹ Al Kennedy, *Chord Changes on the Chalkboard: How Public School Teachers Shaped Jazz and the Music of New Orleans* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005).

⁶⁰ Stephen Cottrell, *Professional Music-Making in London: Ethnography and Experience* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2004).

Elliott, Estelle Jorgensen, Lucy Green, and Gordon Cox and Robin Stevens.⁶¹ Books by Graves and Woodford are practitioner engagements with the same kinds of concerns.⁶² I have not engaged much with the literature on children's musical practices for different reasons. Primarily, this dissertation is only tangentially about children themselves. It is more about the ways in which children and their training serve as an anchor and impetus to political discourses and actions that are much larger and highlight social values around music itself. The work of Patricia Shehan Campbell and Carol Scott-Kassner is highly recommended, especially as regards the study of children's musical practices in formal music education contexts.⁶³ Amanda Minks and Kyra Gaunt are critical to an understanding of children's musical practices outside the classroom and in relation to each other rather than in relation to a teacher.⁶⁴ Finally, a number of scholars,

⁶¹ Wayne D. Bowman and Ana Lucía Frega, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy in Music Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); David Elliott, *Music Matters: A Philosophy of Music Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Estelle Jorgensen, *In Search of Music Education* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997) and Estelle R. Jorgensen, *Transforming Music Education* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003); Gordon Cox and Robin Stevens, eds., *The Origins and Foundations of Music Education: Cross-Cultural Historical Studies of Music in Compulsory Schooling* (London: Continuum, 2010); see also Green, *Music on Deaf Ears*.

⁶² James Bau Graves, *Cultural Democracy: The Arts, Community, and the Public Purpose* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Paul G. Woodford, *Democracy and Music Education: Liberalism, Ethics, and the Politics of Practice* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005).

⁶³ Patricia Shehan Campbell and Carol Scott-Kassner, *Music in Childhood: From Preschool through the Elementary Grades* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1995).

⁶⁴ Amanda Minks, "Growing and Grooving to a Steady Beat: Pop Music in Fifth Graders' Social Lives." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 31:77-101, 1999, and Amanda Minks, "From Children's Song to Expressive Practices: Old and New Directions in the Ethnomusicological Study of Children," *Ethnomusicology* 46:3 (Autumn 2002), pp. 379-408; Kyra D. Gaunt, *The Games Black Girls Play: Learning the Ropes from Double-Dutch to Hip-Hop* (New York: NYU Press, 2006).

including Shehan Campbell and Green, have sought to make multicultural interventions into the practice of classroom music teaching itself.⁶⁵

This dissertation is also an addition to the body of literature in urban ethnomusicology, begun in 1978 with Nettl's *Eight Urban Musical Cultures*.⁶⁶ Ruth Finnegan's emphasis on the everyday-ness of urban musical life has helped me to think through the ways in which students and families integrate music education into their lived strategies for education and mobility; this dissertation similarly emphasizes the ways in which paths through urban space and time are established through a series of daily habits and practices.⁶⁷ Cottrell, likewise, helps to illuminate the ways in which musical actors move through urban space.⁶⁸ The more recent work of Marina Peterson and Travis Jackson opens urban ethnomusicology to a deeper and more productive dialogue with recent concerns in urban studies: Jackson in constructing the jazz "scene" as "inherently *spatial* and *historical*," specifically in the urban context, and Peterson in analyzing the use of musical performance in the revitalization and reimagination of the urban downtown.⁶⁹ Similarly, I engage with current topics in urban studies—education, discourses of economic development, the urban effects of globalization, and the neoliberalization of urban governance—

⁶⁵ Patricia Shehan Campbell, ed., *Cultural Diversity in Music Education: Directions and Challenges for the 21st Century* (Toowong, Australia: Australian Academic Press, 2005); see also Patricia Shehan Campbell, *Songs in their Heads: Music and its Meaning in Children's Lives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) and Green, ed., *Learning, Teaching, and Musical Identity*.

⁶⁶ Bruno Nettl, ed., *Eight Urban Musical Cultures: Tradition and Change* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

⁶⁷ Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2007 [1989]).

⁶⁸ Cottrell, *Professional Music-Making in London*.

⁶⁹ Marina Peterson, *Sound, Space, and the City: Civic Performance in Downtown Los Angeles* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Travis Jackson, *Blowin' the Blues Away: Performance and Meaning on the New York Jazz Scene* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012).

and in so doing posit not only that urban studies is useful within ethnomusicology, but also that ethnomusicology is critical to understanding the contemporary city.

Neoliberalism, and its manifestations in and impact on the city, has been a critical concern of urbanists since the 1990s. My analysis in this dissertation proceeds from key works on neoliberalism, especially Jason Hackworth on urban governance and Wendy Brown on neoliberalism and democratic citizenship, and Neil Smith on gentrification and the ways in which urban space is devalued and revalued.⁷⁰ But I want to extend these arguments further: that understanding neoliberalism in the cultural sphere—the ways in which neoliberalism constrains possibilities for artistic practice and forces a certain kind of value-driven discourse around arts education—is critical to understanding urban neoliberalism more broadly. Cultural neoliberalism moves from the transformation of undervalued urban space into capital, to the transformation of undervalued urban people into new kinds of (human) capital. I address this process in Chapters 2 and 5.

Education's role in the production of citizens, in social mobility, and its perpetual status as urban problem, makes it particularly susceptible to the effects of urban neoliberalism. I want to place work on arts education—which, ironically, often comes in the form of foundation white papers—in dialogue with the vast literature on education. I have relied in particular on Kathryn Neckerman and Charles Payne's work on education in Chicago, and found Payne's analysis of

⁷⁰ Jason R. Hackworth, *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007); Wendy Brown, *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

the failures of 1990s education philanthropy here particularly insightful.⁷¹ As Neckerman makes clear, education has long been a vexed topic in Chicago, and the politics around it have been profoundly affected by larger-scale political and cultural concerns—for example, absorbing various kinds of immigrants into the city—for decades. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, we have come to see private philanthropy play a much bigger role in public education in Chicago, particularly in the charter school movement, but also in supporting arts education in a period in which there is little public financial support for these programs. Diane Ravitch and Sarah Reckhow have analyzed the role of private, especially foundation, funding in the schools and drawn attention to the important political issues surrounding “venture philanthropy” and its power to shape policy and practice in the public schools with little public oversight.⁷² In this dissertation, I take the first steps toward extending this analysis to the role of philanthropy, venture or otherwise, in public and semi-public music education. As Reckhow reminds us consistently, there is a significant lacuna in the education literature around the role of philanthropy—a lacuna that her book, and, I hope, this dissertation as regards arts education, are important first steps toward filling.

In this dissertation, I work under a new definition of cultural policy and a new model for the process of cultural policymaking, one that captures the ethnographic granularity of what I have observed in my fieldwork. The United States, unlike many other countries, does not have a central cultural-policymaking body that has much clout. Thus, most of the political (and I use this word broadly, to include both state and non-state actors) decisions made around the arts and

⁷¹ Kathryn Neckerman, *Schools Betrayed: Roots of Failure in Inner-City Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Charles Payne, *So Much Reform, So Little Change: The Persistence of Failure in Urban Schools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2008).

⁷² Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*; Sarah Reckhow, *Follow the Money: How Foundation Dollars Change Public School Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

culture take place at the state and local level, and are often made by private funders. Cultural policy is a particularly urban strategy, which cities are using to attract flows of human and investment capital when other economic development strategies have failed or are unviable politically or practically. The energy around the “creative city,” which peaked in the early years of the twenty-first century, is a prime example of this strategy both in policy and in practice.⁷³ Under a neoliberal discourse of scarcity, this cultural work has often been led and funded by philanthropists and business leaders rather than by processes of public engagement and support. I view cultural policy as the result of a cultural policymaking process which is the sum total of all political decisions made around the arts and culture, by all relevant stakeholders.⁷⁴ This is a definition that makes cultural policy impossible either to quantify or to pin down in any definitive sense, but that’s ethnography; the benefit of this model is that one does not only have to focus on state actors (i.e., we are not limited to viewing the Cultural Plan as the only relevant cultural policy operant in Chicago), and that one can include significantly more detail and a broader range of viewpoints. This model is also relational, keeping in mind Donna Haraway’s advice that “The relation is the smallest unit of analysis.”⁷⁵ This opens the door for future ethnographic work on cultural policy (rare thus far), whether from ethnomusicology or other related disciplines. In this dissertation, I take a skeptical approach to this process of less-than-democratic cultural policymaking and seek to challenge the prevailing narrative that this is the only alternative when public funding for the arts is not available.

⁷³ See Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It’s Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, & Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); and cf. Jamie Peck, “Struggling with the Creative Class,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(4):740-770, 2005.

⁷⁴ See Tyler Cowen, *Good and Plenty: The Creative Successes of American Arts Funding* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

⁷⁵ Donna Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003), 20.

Finally, this dissertation is rooted in Chicago itself and by extension in a long history of Chicago studies, which is itself entwined in and often definitive of broader discourses of the urban via the prominence of the Chicago School of urban sociology.⁷⁶ This is a profoundly urban project, and is shadowed by the metropolitan: that is, the realities I describe are almost completely inverted in suburban areas, even in Chicago's suburbs, and thus everything I say about the city itself must be taken in the context of a broader Chicagoland region that experiences, like many American cities, significant disparities between the city and the suburbs. Early works on Chicago, such as Zorbaugh's *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, have informed my thinking on Chicago's fundamental dual nature; histories of Chicago, in particular its educational system (Neckerman) and long history of using cultural policy and cultural philanthropy to try to remake the very identity of the city (Horowitz and McCarthy) have been especially useful in framing contemporary manifestations of cultural policy in the context of a lengthy process of city planning and self-fashioning.⁷⁷ The settlement house movement, tightly affiliated with Progressive politics, was a significant precursor to the types of policy interventions that I have studied. The significant work around this history, particularly from the 1970s and 1980s, is often ethnographic in its level of detail and provides a sense of the motivations and activities of settlement house workers and donors.⁷⁸ Similarly, this dissertation relies and focuses on the

⁷⁶ Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology: Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

⁷⁷ Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum: A Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929); Neckerman, *Schools Betrayed*; Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976); Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity & Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

⁷⁸ Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2008 [1910]); Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the*

words and actions of the contemporary equivalent, music teachers and program administrators. Their voices are not often heard in cultural- and education-policy decision-making, but we must also acknowledge that, just as the voices of the immigrants served by the settlement houses are frequently less present—often for reasons of what has survived in the archive—in this literature, so too have methodological concerns, detailed later in this chapter, prevented me from including as many perspectives of students and parents as I would like.

This dissertation’s depth of engagement with Chicago studies, perhaps paradoxically, puts it in dialogue with broader national, and even global, urban questions. Chicago’s role as perhaps the most-studied American city means that studies of Chicago are automatically embedded within a network of significant urban studies literature dating back to the era of the Chicago School. Chicago, as the “great American city,” is often taken to be representative of American cities more broadly, perhaps because its characteristics and issues are often extreme and entrenched versions of those of other cities.⁷⁹ Although my findings are, as far as I can tell, generally representative of the situation in many large American cities, they are not representative of music education in this country as a whole. Cities are often more similar to each other than they are to the suburbs that surround them, although these very dissimilarities and inequalities are often mutually dependent (that is, the wealth of the suburbs often comes at the direct expense of the city). This dissertation’s attention to issues of urban inequality, urban labor, urban governance, and urban space resonate with issues of interest to many urbanists, both

Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Rivka Shpak Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull House and the New Immigrants, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Judith Ann Trolander, *Professionalism and Social Change: From the Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centers, 1886 to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*.

⁷⁹ Sampson, *Great American City*.

in and out of the academy. My primary point of engagement here is work on the global city, which either invokes Chicago by omission (Sassen) or as an example of an incompletely- or almost-global city (Abu-Lughod). I argue here not that Chicago either is or is not a global city, but rather that the belief of many constituencies within Chicago that it is not yet, but could be, and the anxiety about this asymptotic relationship to ideals of global-ness perhaps most powerfully represented by New York, underpins almost all of the political processes whose effects are described in this dissertation.

Ultimately, I seek to explore what kind of citizen, and, by extension, what kind of city, is desired, envisioned, and shaped by the programs I studied and by the policy trends that they represent. Citizenship is an emic concept that emerged from my fieldwork; at the same time, it has been a preeminent concern across the literatures on neoliberalism, global cities, and broadly in many humanistic and social scientific disciplines. My interlocutors' concern with citizenship is automatically a concern with the city: as Holston and Appadurai write, "Cities remain the strategic arena for the development of citizenship....[they] engage most palpably the tumult of citizenship."⁸⁰ I think with the work of Engin Isin, George Yúdice, Nikolas Rose, Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Toby Miller, and Geoffrey Baker, and with the authors of the critical education policy works mentioned above, to consider the affordances of citizenship in the cultural arena under neoliberalism.⁸¹ I contend that in the global city, citizenship is defined in terms of having the capacity to be a "global citizen" in the sense of participation in the global

⁸⁰ James Holston and Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Cities and Citizenship" in James Holston, ed., *Cities and Citizenship* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 2.

⁸¹ Engin F. Isin, ed., *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City* (New York: Routledge, 2000); George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Nikolas Rose, "Governing cities, governing citizens," in Isin, *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, 95-109; Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, eds., *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002); Miller, *The Well-Tempered Self*; Baker, *El Sistema*.

financial economy. This is accomplished through an intense focus on middle-class practices of child-rearing which, extending Annette Lareau's work, I argue have now been adopted by working-class parents seeking upward mobility for their children.⁸² I ask, in the end, what place music education *should* have in the city, and in *this* city, and propose a carefully limited politics and praxis of music education.

Methodology

This is an ethnographic project, and thus the majority of my data comes from participant-observation and interviews. I spent a little over a year (from June 2013 to August 2014) observing at five different field sites. First, in June and July 2013, was the Youth Orchestras program at Hibbard Elementary School in Chicago's Albany Park neighborhood, run by the People's Music School.⁸³ I returned to Hibbard throughout the school year for concerts and completed follow-up fieldwork in July 2014. Second was the Sphinx Performance Academy, an intensive two-week summer program for Black and Latin@ high-school-aged string players held at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. This fieldwork was complemented by a visit to SphinxCon—the Sphinx Organization's annual conference on diversity in the arts—in Detroit, Michigan in February 2014. (The Sphinx Organization is the parent organization of the Sphinx Performance Academy and a number of other programs focused on increasing diversity in the arts, particularly in classical music.) Third was the drumline program at EPIC Academy, a charter high school in the neighborhood of South Chicago. This was a multi-year residency run

⁸² Annette Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

⁸³ This program was entitled “the YOURS Project” (Youth Orchestra United—Rita Simó) when I first began fieldwork, and was rebranded to “Youth Orchestras-El Sistema” and finally, simply, “Youth Orchestras” by the end of my fieldwork. I most frequently refer to it here as “Youth Orchestras.”

through Urban Gateways. My observations took place primarily in fall 2013, during which time I developed an ongoing collaborative relationship with the program's teaching artist, Michael Riendeau, and among other endeavors gave a joint talk with him at the University of Chicago in April 2014. Fourth was Urban Gateways' touring programs at Burbank Elementary School, located in the Galewood section of Chicago's Austin neighborhood. Burbank is unusual (in degree, not in kind) in that the principal has chosen to spend 100 percent of the arts budget on hiring not-for-profits to provide arts education services. Throughout the year, Burbank students were treated to an Urban Gateways touring production every week. I attended a number of these shows throughout winter and spring 2014. Finally, during winter and spring 2014, I observed regularly at the Uptown Academy, the People's Music School's community music school program in Chicago's Uptown Neighborhood. Thus, with both Urban Gateways and People's, I was fortunate to be able to see multiple facets of the organization's programming.

My field sites all sit on the fluid and fuzzy boundary between public and private music education in Chicago, and were selected in order to provide a representative assortment of the types of programs that exist in this space. Urban Gateways is, as described above, one of the largest and longest-standing "arts partners" with the Chicago Public Schools. Through Urban Gateways, I was able to engage with both short-term and long-term residencies (at Burbank and EPIC, respectively), common types of programs provided to the Chicago Public Schools by external arts partners. Through The People's Music School, I was able to see, first, an unconventional private community school (Uptown Academy) serving primarily low-income students of color, an institution that fills the gaps in access left by Chicago's tuition-based community music schools; and, second, the Youth Orchestras program, notable for its longstanding symbiotic partnership with a CPS elementary school and for the fact that it is

Chicago's most prominent instantiation of El Sistema, an international music education-for-social change movement that is spreading quickly around the world from its initial home in Venezuela, not without significant controversy. Sphinx Performance Academy provided me with firsthand access to a number of young classical musicians of color, who, as high school students, were mature and reflective enough to have in-depth and highly fruitful discussions of their experiences navigating a variety of music education programs in Chicago and beyond.

These observations generated 316 (typed, double-spaced) pages of fieldnotes, as well as a body of photos, videos, and audio recordings, although my ability to take photos and video was limited due to the fact that I was working with minor children. I also completed interviews with 35 people (some of whom fall into more than one category): twelve music educators, twelve arts administrators, one CPS principal, three parents, and twelve students, the majority of whom (in all categories) were recruited from the programs at which I observed. I spoke to a disproportionate number of professionals because, first, they were on the whole much more willing to be interviewed; and second, it was often much easier to interview them due to logistical and scheduling constraints. A number of parents and students initially expressed their willingness to be interviewed, then did not respond to my follow-ups attempting to schedule an interview. This could be considered a weakness of this project; I hope that I have turned it into a strength by taking full advantage of the wealth of data that I *do* have from professionals working in music and arts education. I will attempt to interview more parents and children in follow-up work.

All of my observations were written up into fieldnotes, and all of the interviews were fully transcribed. I then coded and sorted the data roughly according to the procedures detailed in

Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes.⁸⁴ All interviewees went through an informed consent process (for minors, this included both child assent and parental consent) as established by the University of Chicago's Institutional Review Board. All interviewees have had the opportunity to look over the transcriptions of their interviews and request that I withhold and/or anonymize any of their words. Furthermore, as part of the consent process, all interviewees were able to choose whether I used their given name or pseudonyms. Therefore, all quotes and information contained in this work have been vetted by my interlocutors; where I use given names (and most people chose to use their given names rather than pseudonyms), this is with the full and informed consent of those individuals. I have taken the liberty of anonymizing some information that people did *not* choose to anonymize—this is out of an abundance of caution in some instances where people said things that may reflect poorly on them or damage their relationship with their employers, or identifying details in the case of those who requested a pseudonym.

The organizations with which I worked have been extremely generous in sharing primary source documents with me. I have had access to a significant amount of internal data, most of which falls into the following categories: strategic and planning documents; grant information and applications; financial data; program planning and curricula; and internal research, tracking, and metrics. I have also, of course, used public documents pertaining to cultural planning, etc.

Finally, in framing, developing, and executing this project I have relied heavily on my eleven years of experience as a music educator. Throughout my career, I have worked both as a teacher and administrator in many types of music programs. I began teaching both violin and viola in 2004, when I was in high school in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. I had a few private students at home, and during the 2005-2006 school year was a teaching intern in the Milwaukee Youth

⁸⁴ Robert M. Emerson, Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Symphony Orchestra (MYSO)'s Progressions program, which aimed to increase the number of students of color in MYSO by providing instrument lessons and group classes to young Milwaukee Public Schools students from a young age, such that they could successfully audition for MYSO in middle school. In college in Philadelphia from 2006-2010, I continued to teach a few students on the side and attained my initial level of Suzuki-method certification in 2008 through a summer program hosted by Ithaca College in upstate New York. From 2008 through 2009, I worked for Symphony in C in Camden, New Jersey, first as an education program intern and then as a school outreach coordinator. Symphony in C is a training orchestra, like Chicago's Civic Orchestra or Miami's New World Symphony, designed to further train and professionalize conservatory graduates ultimately seeking orchestral jobs. I developed a new curriculum for Symphony in C musicians to use in their music-appreciation programs in public schools throughout southern New Jersey, and managed many of the logistics for these programs. I also managed scheduling and other logistical issues, and taught violin and viola, for Symphony in C's after-school program at a charter school in downtown Camden. This program was part of the school's 21st-Century Learning Center, a federal program in which EPIC Academy also participates and which I discuss in greater detail later in this dissertation. Finally, I managed Symphony in C's summer camp for Camden public school students, hosted at Rutgers University-Camden, and taught violin, viola, piano, music theory, and orchestra there, and designed and was the lead teacher for another nature-themed music camp at Palmyra Cove Nature Park in Palmyra, New Jersey. In 2010, I moved to Chicago for graduate school and began teaching at the Hyde Park Suzuki Institute, a small, strings-focused community music school near the University of Chicago. There I taught violin, viola, and string orchestra both at the school's main location and in its after-school partnership programs, and founded the school's

music theory program. In 2011, I became director of community partnerships and was responsible for founding and coordinating eight school partnership programs across Chicago's south and west sides. I left the Hyde Park Suzuki Institute in December 2012 and began teaching exclusively from my own home studio. In summer 2013, I co-founded the South Side Suzuki Cooperative, a strings program that uses the relatively new low-profit limited liability corporate structure rather than the 501(c)(3) nonprofit designation; I still co-direct and teach at South Side Suzuki and have used what I have learned in my research in shaping the direction of the school and in designing its curriculum.

Thus, I have worked in many of the professional roles examined in this dissertation: as music educator and teaching artist, administrator and entrepreneur, in for-profit, nonprofit, public, private, and hybrid programs. Much of my career in music education has been spent working in poor neighborhoods in distressed, post-industrial cities, and as a white teacher serving students, families, and communities of color—some poor and working-class, some middle-class, and some quite wealthy. I began my teaching career thinking, as many well-intentioned but woefully unaware young white people do, that I would heroically provide music education to deprived, poor, black and brown children, whom I would be “rescuing” from their “at-risk” lives. Eleven years of experience and of relationship-building with my students and their families have thoroughly disabused me of these notions and have replaced them with a much more complex and nuanced reality, as well as a strong ethical sense that all is not right in the way that urban music education is approached and framed by people with money, power, and privilege. The concerns that I have developed as an educator have informed my desire to problematize the problematization of urban music education. My firsthand experience has also

led me to be highly skeptical of claims of music’s transformative social power. I have also been a music student since the age of five.

Though my own professional experiences have not been used as data, they spurred my initial interest in this project and provided me with context and background to shape my approach. I follow in a long tradition of ethnomusicologists and anthropologists doing fieldwork “at home,” in their own communities—except my “own community” is professionally, rather than, for example, racially or religiously constituted—and have had to navigate between my senses of myself as a music educator and of myself as an ethnomusicologist. I have also had to navigate my interlocutors’ varied perspectives on my role—as peer, colleague, friend, and researcher. Though it has at times been difficult to balance my personal and professional history and practice with my role as a semi-detached observer, I believe that this tension has ultimately been richly productive for my research.

Chapter overview

This dissertation comprises six chapters. The first, of course, has been this introduction, “Harmonizing the City.” The second chapter is called “The Problematic City: Representing Chicago, Instrumentalizing Music Education,” which defines, explores, historicizes, and critiques the dual-layered problematization—with respect to access and with respect to broader urban issues—of music education in Chicago. I argue that this problematization stems from spatialized neoliberal transformations in the urban economy that have led to valued and devalued spaces, and thus normalized and problematized groups of people living in these spaces. The third and fourth chapters examine in depth two facets of the experience of working as a music educator in Chicago. The third chapter, “The Rise of the Teaching Artist,” examines the

discursive and political construction of this professional role and, through a detailed case study of Michael Riendeau and his work, shows what it is like to work as a teaching artist. The fourth chapter, “A Labor of Love: Working and Living as a Music Teacher,” explores in depth what it is like to work as a music educator in Chicago, interpreting this experience through the lenses of craftsmanship, amateurism, and professionalism, three paradigms that affect how teachers are positioned, how they are able to navigate the labor market, and the very types of labor expected of them. The fifth chapter, “Practicing Genre, Creating Citizens” explores the connection between class mobility and notions of “classical music” in the programs that I observed, which allows notions of discipline to move from musical practice to the process of “citizen formation” at work in many of the programs that I studied. I then examine the ideologies of citizenship at work and at stake here in greater depth, drawing connections between beliefs around parents, parenting, and the inculcation of “middle-class values” and the practice of urban citizenship.

Finally, the dissertation ends with “Conclusion: The Limits of Music,” which asks, “What happens when urban music education is made to respond to ‘problems’?” I offer some practical and policy recommendations that stem from what is ultimately my deep and irreconcilable ambivalence toward the intimacy of this connection between music education and its instrumentalization for social ends. I close by asking what happens to music itself in the policy environment of the twenty-first-century neoliberal city, and make a case for music as something in which poor children of color are entitled to take pleasure, without the oversight of philanthropists, foundations seeking “return on investment,” or school systems that feel that arts education cannot be justified unless, well, it can be justified. In short, I argue for a right to music itself.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PROBLEMATIC CITY: REPRESENTING CHICAGO, INSTRUMENTALIZING MUSIC EDUCATION

Chicago is the most American of American cities. It's not just any city. If you want to come and see America, you come to its heartland. And what is the capital of that heartland? Chicago.

--Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel¹

Chicago is arguably the quintessential American city. As Saul Bellow, Nelson Algren, Norman Mailer, and a long line of literary, political, cultural, and criminal characters attest, Chicago captures the full range and intensity of American passions. Even the diehard New Yorker and renowned British historian Tony Judt weighed in on Chicago's leading role in American urban life. In a moving tribute to his adopted New York just before he died, Judt observed like Mailer that while New York is a world city it looks outward: "It is not the great American city—that will always be Chicago." To be great is hardly to be flawless, of course. Quite to the contrary and to the dismay of would-be boosters, some of the worst excesses of American life, such as inequality, violence, racial segregation, and corruption, are on major exhibit in Chicago.

--Robert J. Sampson, *Great American City: Chicago and the Neighborhood Effect*²

Sometimes the solutions to complex problems are hiding in plain sight. The Arts is one of those solutions. We know that our schools will improve if they deliver quality arts education to all students. The students deserve nothing less.

--Nick Rabkin, Senior Research Scientist at NORC and former Senior Program Officer for Arts and Culture, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, as quoted on the website of Ingenuity, Inc.³

Introduction: Music education and the "urban problem"

Music education is both problem and solution in contemporary Chicago. It has come to have this dual status in the context of political and economic forces shaping the city that can only

¹ Nathaniel Botwinick, "Rahm: 'Chicago Is the Most American of American Cities,'" *National Review*, December 3, 2012, accessed May 3, 2015, <http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/334656/rahm-chicago-most-american-american-cities-nathaniel-botwinick>.

² Sampson, *Great American City*, 16-17.

³ Ingenuity, Inc., "Sydney Sidwell," n.d., accessed October 24, 2015, <http://www.ingenuity-inc.org/sydney-sidwell>.

be described as neoliberal, and in the context of a long history of anxiety about Chicago's identity and status. In this chapter, I explicitly seek to denaturalize urban music education's ontology as a certain kind of problem, and as the solution to the other kinds of problems, in order to understand the ways in which music education relates to broader political and economic forces shaping cities in general, with a particular focus on Chicago. Music education becomes a "problem" in the gap between state failure to provide it in the public sphere and market failure to make it widely accessible in the private sphere, and it becomes a "solution" to problems of urban representation, urban identity, and urban education in a political-economic context in which political will to confront these issues directly is lacking. This is fundamentally a neoliberal way of approaching music education policy. Wendy Brown writes that "Neoliberal rationality, while foregrounding the market, is not only or even primarily focused on the economy; it involves *extending and disseminating market values to all institutions and social action*, even as the market itself remains a distinctive player."⁴ Insofar as music education is problematized because it lies between state and market, the ontology of contemporary policymaking around music education becomes neoliberal. Importantly, music-education-as-problem also crowds out other ways of thinking about music education: for example, as a right; as one component of a comprehensive education; as civic engagement; or as optional activity for those so inclined, among a number of possible paradigms.

Chicago's "urban problem" with respect to music education consists of two overlapping layers. First, lack of access to music education (and lack of access to arts education more generally) is believed to be a problem in and of itself. As I shall demonstrate, this view is primarily held by those working in the field of music education, namely teachers and arts

⁴ Brown, *Edgework*, 39-40.

administrators. Some individuals in other sectors also hold this viewpoint: public school principals, arts philanthropists, and parents, among others. It should be noted that the very existence of the Chicago Public Schools Arts Education Plan is due to strong community interest in improving arts education access, a priority that emerged during town hall meetings for the 2012 Chicago Cultural Plan. Second, lack of access to music education is also believed to be representative of, and capable of addressing, other “urban issues.” Chicago is often referred to as “the most American of American cities” and is a poster child for these “issues,” which are often discussed rather vaguely and generally in the media and in day-to-day discourse, but are typically focused on low-income neighborhoods whose residents are primarily people of color.⁵ Take, for example, director Spike Lee’s film in development, *Chi-Raq*, emphasizing crime and dysfunction in the neighborhood of Englewood, or the 2014 track “Chirac” by Nicki Minaj featuring Lil Herb, with lyrics about homicide and drugs. These “urban issues” include low high school graduation and college attendance rates; youth violence and gang activity; and social cohesion, among others. Music education, then, becomes both representative of and responsive to these issues. It is part of the diagnosis and part of the treatment.

The problematic of music education also serves as the ideological foundation of neoliberal transformations in arts education decision-making, management, and delivery. Later in this chapter, I trace the history of philanthropic interventions into the Chicago Public Schools’

⁵ On popular representations of Chicago as “the most American of American cities,” see President Obama (Steve Bryant, “Chicago Loses in First Round,” NBC Chicago, August 11, 2010, accessed May 3, 2015, <http://www.nbcchicago.com/news/sports/chicago-olympics-2016-copenhagen-63220367.html>), the *Chicago Reader* (Whet Moser, “Chicago: ‘The most American of American cities’?”, October 2, 2009, accessed May 3, 2015, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/Bleader/archives/2009/10/02/chicago-the-most-american-of-american-cities>), and Pete Saunders in *Guardian Cities* (“An urbanist’s guide to Chicago: ‘the most American of American cities,’” August 25, 2014, accessed May 3, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/aug/25/an-urbanists-guide-to-chicago-the-most-american-of-american-cities>).

arts education management and delivery systems. Most recently, philanthropies engaged in arts education funding in Chicago worked with city and Chicago Public Schools officials to form Ingenuity, Inc., a nonprofit that holds primary responsibility for the evaluation and implementation of the CPS Arts Education Plan. Such public-private alliances and privatization of public functions are a hallmark of neoliberal urban governance, and I find it highly productive to view recent policy transformations around arts education through this lens.⁶

The notion that music education has transformative potential beyond musical skill attainment for both individuals and communities is pervasive. Although my fieldwork for this dissertation has focused heavily on programs that seek explicitly to effect some kind of social change through music education, these programs' rhetoric, as I shall describe, is different only by degree, and not by kind, from the rhetoric and approach of most music education, and indeed most arts education, programs in Chicago. For example: the Merit School of Music is one of the largest nonprofit community music schools in Chicago. It does not affiliate itself with "music for social change" in the way of, say, the many El Sistema-inspired programs in Chicago, although it has from its inception focused on ameliorating inequalities of access to music education. Nonetheless, its mission statement clearly encapsulates the institution's beliefs about the study of music: "Merit School of Music transforms the lives of Chicago-area youth by providing the highest quality music education—with a focus on underserved communities—inspiring young people to achieve their full musical and personal potential."⁷ This mission statement echoes both lines of thought delineated above: Merit seeks both to increase access to music education in "underserved" communities, and to use music education as a means of personal development.

⁶ See Hackworth, *The Neoliberal City*; Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*; and Brown, *Edgework*, among others.

⁷ Merit School of Music, "Our Mission," accessed March 24, 2015, <http://meritmusic.org>.

And Urban Gateways, which manages two of the five field sites at which I spent significant time, is both explicitly in the arts-education-for-social-change camp and is one of the largest and most influential arts education organizations in Chicago and, indeed, nationwide. The belief that music education has interventional power beyond the development of musical skill at the level of the individual, the school, the neighborhood, and the city is widely held, and is influential to the point that it serves as a fundamental, almost unquestioned assumption among those working in and making policy about arts education.

A variety of forces and stakeholders represent Chicago as a problematic city and that music education forms part of a complex of development ideologies that are discursively framed as capable of improving the most problematized areas of this city in crisis. Chicago has long been almost, but not quite, a truly “global city.” Anxiety over Chicago’s status as the United States’ “second city” or “third coast” has been a feature of civic discourse since the nineteenth century. Today, policymakers and program administrators represent certain neighborhoods in Chicago as particularly problematic, in need of attention and intervention from those living and working in other areas of the city that are considered to be more functional, stable, and advanced. Music education is a major type of intervention that is often used in, and presented as a panacea to the “issues” of, these neighborhoods, most of which are on the city’s south, west, and far north sides. This replicates development ideologies that have historically played themselves out on a much larger scale, in which industrialized countries in the global north believe themselves to be more advanced, capable of assisting (sometimes by force) the “less-developed” countries of the global south.

In this chapter, I trace the ways in which this dynamic of problematization and development rhetoric has been applied to historically deprived and disinvested areas of the city. I

begin by exploring how social scientists, policymakers, arts administrators, teachers, and, most notably, philanthropists represent Chicago as problematic and lacking. Next, I analyze the spatialization of development ideologies in Chicago—the ways in which these same agents characterize particular areas of the city as backward, lagging, in crisis. I then discuss how a wide variety of stakeholders define the problems around music education and how the solutions to these problems are triangulated among sectors of the economy; the responsibility for addressing these problems has fallen on the shoulders of the “third,” or nonprofit, sector, privatizing what was once located in the public sphere and absolving the market of the need to make adjustments. Finally, I examine the ways in which cultural policy functions discursively as urban problem-solver, instrumentalizing arts and culture and investing them with a great deal of political and social power. I argue that this instrumentalization is beyond the capacity of this sector, and critique the notion that this is the only politically viable justification for both public and private support of arts education.

All of these dynamics take place within the context of urban neoliberalism. In particular, I wish to call attention to the “there is no alternative” (TINA) discourse that pervades conversations about, and policy approaches to, arts education. Hackworth writes that “[t]he TINA syndrome is built on the discursive naturalization of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism gets transformed from a political movement into something that is natural, democratically chosen, or completely predictable.”⁸ As I describe later in this chapter, the “problem” rhetoric around music education constructs a very narrow range of solutions, which have naturalized the semi-privatization of the arts education system in Chicago. In this chapter, I hope to open the narrow aperture of the problem-solution rhetoric onto a broader array of questions: How has this rhetoric

⁸ Hackworth, *The Neoliberal City*, 200; see also Peter Marcuse and Ronald Van Kempen, eds., *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000).

come to be? Why? What work does framing music education as both problem and solution do, and for whom? And, in contrast to neoliberalism's TINA discourse, what are some alternatives to this perspective?

Representing Chicago: a city in crisis

The problematization of Chicago itself is rooted in two separate, though not unrelated, histories of discourse about the city. The first discursive trajectory compares Chicago to other cities—especially New York and European capitals—and finds it lacking. This discourse is primarily engaged by business and political elites who are concerned with making Chicago economically competitive on the national and world stages, and it has served as the foundation for all of Chicago's major cultural planning endeavors, from the 1909 *Plan of Chicago* through to the 2012 Chicago Cultural Plan. As Clague writes, the rhetorical strategy of the dedication ceremony of the Auditorium Theater in 1889 “express[ed] Chicago's triumph over adversity and its Midwest rivals, while announcing its coming-of-age in the nation and the world.” The Auditorium “reconfigured the civic landscape. Yet the building had even more lasting effects on Chicago's identity as a civic project.”⁹ In Chicago, cultural planners have always sought to use arts and culture to position the city competitively with respect to other cities, and to remedy perceived flaws. The second discursive trajectory stems from the social sciences and from public policy. Academics based and/or trained at the University of Chicago have, since the Chicago School of urban sociology, used the city of Chicago as a laboratory and published a substantial body of work on the particularly urban problems confronting Chicago, much of which has been influential on public policy. Chicago has thus come to be a classic site for the study of “urban

⁹ Mark Clague, “Chicago Counterpoint: The Auditorium Theater Building and the Civic Imagination” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2002), 7.

issues,” and local and national urban policy over the last several decades has been formed in a discursive field in which Chicago is exemplary of “urban problems.” Contemporary cultural policymakers, then, are working at the intersection of these two conversations. Chicago has a history of using culture to position the city—if only representationally—as economically competitive. In a neoliberal era in which all other policy issues are reduced to economic competitiveness, culture becomes an attractive, and comparatively low-cost, solution to a broad range of the other policy challenges facing the city, such as education and gun violence.

Since the nineteenth century, Chicago’s political and economic leadership has evinced an anxiety about Chicago’s status and development, especially with respect to New York City.

Daniel Bluestone writes of the late nineteenth century that

[I]n both public and private meetings, speakers and planners focused on the contrast between Chicago’s material prosperity and its *cultural* poverty. The point was valid in its own terms: Chicago did lack many of the cultural institutions that distinguished cities in the eastern United States and in Europe. At the same time, it seems likely that this complaint addressed the often unacknowledged but dramatic contrast between the material prosperity of their own class and the material poverty of others.¹⁰

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, members of the so-called “cultured generation” founded and/or strengthened a number of Chicago’s leading artistic institutions, such as the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the Art Institute of Chicago, in large part in order to make Chicago a truly “cultured” city on par with its east coast rivals.¹¹

After the massive 1871 fire that destroyed much of the city, and the successful World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893, Chicagoans had a unique opportunity to reconceptualize and

¹⁰ Daniel M. Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 166.

¹¹ See Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, and Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*.

rebuild the city according to the latest ideals of city planning and “civilized urbanity.”¹² This decades-long discourse culminated in Daniel Burnham and Edward H. Bennett’s 1909 *Plan of Chicago*, commissioned by leading Chicago businessmen as a blueprint for the city’s rationalized, aestheticized redevelopment and future growth. Carl Smith lists the foundational questions that the *Plan* sought to answer:

Was it possible not only to determine the direction of urban experience, but also to make a major correction? More specifically, could cities be transformed into more orderly, beautiful, and humane settings without stifling the energies that propelled them? Might economic interests, the public good, and personal needs be reconciled? And could Chicago even become not just equal but superior to any other great city of the world, past or present?¹³

These questions, though utopian with regard to Chicago’s future, reveal pessimism about its (then-)present. After all, “major corrections” are not needed unless significant problems exist. And the desire for Chicago to “become not just equal but superior to any other great city of the world” reveals anxiety about its status: that it is neither equal nor superior to other “great cities,” but nonetheless deserves a place among their ranks. City planning in Chicago, then, has always been intimately linked with the desire not only to sustain but also to improve the city, particularly in order to make it nationally and globally recognized and competitive.

Chicago is also represented as “a city in crisis” by discursive trends in urban studies. More broadly, particular strands of thought in the social sciences emphasize the problems of cities and of urban residents, particularly African Americans, and this extends into the media. K-12 urban education is particularly subject to this type of representation. As Posey-Maddox writes,

¹² Carl Smith, *The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 11.

¹³ Smith, *The Plan of Chicago*, xvii.

When used in reference to issues of public schooling, the term “urban” is imbued with race and class connotations that move beyond mere geographic designations. In the media and in our popular imagination, urban schools are commonly framed as segregated, underresourced institutions with a majority of low-income black or brown students.¹⁴

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to fully explore this literature here; instead, I highlight especially-representative sources. Janet Abu-Lughod’s “dual city,” discussed later in this section, is prefigured by Harvey Zorbaugh’s 1929 *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, which juxtaposes, as the title implies, wealthy and impoverished neighborhoods on Chicago’s Near North Side.¹⁵ More recently, Sudhir Venkatesh’s important and much-discussed work on gang violence in Chicago housing projects, though illuminating, reifies the association between Chicago and urban violence.¹⁶ Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s well-known 1965 report on the status of African American families was the major postwar public-policy intervention that problematized black poverty and, further, implied that persistent poverty among African Americans had “cultural,” rather than primarily structural, roots.¹⁷ William Julius Wilson’s *The Truly Disadvantaged* is the seminal late-twentieth-century work that resonates with—though departs from—Moynihan-inflected discourse. Wilson proposed the term “underclass” to describe “the groups that have been left behind” in “ghetto neighborhoods.”¹⁸ Though he was extremely careful to define this term narrowly and to attribute the formation of an “underclass” to structural political-economic

¹⁴ Linn Posey-Maddox, *When Middle-Class Parents Choose Urban Schools: Class, Race, and the Challenge of Equity in Public Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 19.

¹⁵ Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*.

¹⁶ Sudhir Venkatesh, *Gang Leader for a Day: A Rogue Sociologist Takes to the Streets* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008).

¹⁷ Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Negro Family: A Case for National Action* (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965); see also Daniel Geary, *Beyond Civil Rights: The Moynihan Report and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) and James T. Patterson, *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Moynihan Report and America’s Struggle Over Black Family Life from LBJ to Obama* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

¹⁸ William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

forces and policies, the term nonetheless has had its own politically slippery trajectory through the academic literature as well as policy discussions. The book *The Urban Underclass*, published in 1991 by the Brookings Institution, is in many ways representative of the impact that work like Wilson's had on the academic and policy environment in the 1990s and early 2000s: though politically relatively centrist and academically rigorous, drawing essays from, for example, Wilson himself, the book frames approaches to urban policy through this lens of "the underclass" and thus frames cities as problematic, containing nearly-intractable groups of people living in similarly intransigent "ghetto" neighborhoods.¹⁹ Michael Katz's 1989 book *The Undeserving Poor* and 1995 book *Improving Poor People*, quoted throughout this dissertation, critique this discourse around poverty, particularly the tight association between the city and the poor. As Katz writes,

For two centuries of American history, considerations of productivity, cost, and eligibility have channeled discourse about need, entitlement, and justice within narrow limits bounded by the market. In every era, a few people have counterposed dignity, community, and equality as standards for policy. But they have remained outsiders, unable to divert the powerful currents constraining the possibilities for social thought and public action.²⁰

Furthermore, Katz argues, "these historic preoccupations have shaped and confined ideas about poor people and distributive justice in recent American history."²¹ Sampson, writing against the tide in 2012, concurs, and develops a Katz-like argument:

While important, poverty is a relational concept that requires an understanding of the middle and upper echelons of society.... Yet the poverty paradigm has directed many surveys to focus solely on poor individuals, and the majority of ethnographies are on poor communities. Recent decades have seen an outpouring of excellent urban ethnographies, but virtually all of them are located in black or poor ethnic communities. That much of

¹⁹ Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Peterson, *The Urban Underclass* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1991).

²⁰ Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3.

²¹ Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 3.

urban sociology has focused on the lives of the poor and downtrodden is quite striking in its implications[.]²²

Though the field of urban studies may be turning in a new direction (as evidenced by Sampson's recent monograph quoted above), the pervasiveness of a certain kind of discourse around urban poverty, and by extension around cities more generally, has encouraged policymakers to define "urban problems" in the same way and, in the neoliberal context, to shift responsibility for addressing these issues toward individuals and private-sector entities. Thomas Sugrue's *Origins of the Urban Crisis* is a seminal analysis of the late-twentieth-century crisis of both American cities themselves and in the political discourse about American cities, a crisis that was both symptomatic and generative of the neoliberal turn in urban governance.²³ In the 1990s, for example, welfare was transformed into "workfare"; today, poor children must improve their own educational futures through playing musical instruments.

The widespread concept of "the global city"—and Chicago's uncertain status *as* a global city—is a common thread linking social-scientific, policy, and business-leadership paradigms, though treated differently in each. Landmark texts on global cities by Sassen and Abu-Lughod are complemented by a significant body of literature that treats this topic both in depth and in passing.²⁴ Whereas scholarship has sought to describe, historicize, analyze, and, often, critique the urban transformations brought about by globalization, urban leaders in Chicago (as elsewhere) have sought to harness the flow of global capital in order to make Chicago more competitive. At critical moments, this discourse has been facilitated by philanthropy, though it pervades political and economic conversations more broadly (e.g., in political conversations

²² Sampson, *Great American City*, 57-58.

²³ Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014 [1996]).

²⁴ Sassen, *The Global City*, and Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*.

about strategies for economic development in Chicago). In 2004, the MacArthur Foundation commissioned a book entitled *Global Chicago*, published by the University of Illinois Press and edited by noted *Chicago Tribune* reporter Charles Madigan, to assess whether and in what ways Chicago could be considered a “global city,” and where it remained lacking in this respect. Saskia Sassen, dean of scholarship on “the global city,” contributed an essay—the most triumphal of the bunch—entitled “A Global City,” in which she states, unambiguously, at its beginning: “Does Chicago belong to this new hierarchy of global cities? The answer is a definite yes.”²⁵ However, less than a page later, Sassen’s assessment becomes more ambivalent:

But if Chicago is a global city, it is not a typical one. Its impact is felt around the world, but its globalization is still invisible, unrecognized by most of its citizens. If Chicago virtually defined the industrial era and thrived mightily in that time, its role in the global era is ambiguous and still evolving. In some areas it is strong, in some, weaker and needing support. In still other areas it is weak and not worth supporting.²⁶

Sassen’s analysis reflects (and, indeed, has shaped) the general tenor of discourse about Chicago’s claims to global status. It is, in the present day, taken for granted by most of Chicago’s leaders that the city is, and properly should be, “global,” but Chicago lacks some of the global city’s characteristics. It is an incomplete global city, whose areas of incompleteness are taken as cause for alarm in large part *precisely because* they hamper Chicago from taking its global position alongside New York and Los Angeles.

Janet Abu-Lughod diagnoses this phenomenon as a duality that has been an integral part of Chicago’s identity since its founding. She writes, “The *dual city*, at least with reference to Chicago, is no contemporary product of globalization. The bifurcation was there from the

²⁵ Saskia Sassen, “A Global Chicago,” in Charles Madigan, ed., *Global Chicago* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 16.

²⁶ Sassen, “A Global Chicago,” 16.

start.”²⁷ This duality stems from, as Ross Miller writes, Chicago’s “double identity—as both queen of the inland lakes and gritty frontier city on the make.”²⁸ Later, this duality became “a manifestation of space in a complex division of labor—in which backstage workers created but did not share in the surplus displayed so prominently at the façade.”²⁹ Miller and Abu-Lughod argue not that Chicago’s “backstage” difficulties hold it back from becoming truly global, but rather that the bifurcation between “global” Chicago—the Loop business district and the many major corporations that call Chicago home, its world-class universities and artistic institutions, its beautiful upscale neighborhoods, beaches, and parks—and “backstage” Chicago—its poor and working-class, industrial, unlovely areas, often struggling with crime, low employment, and inadequate schools—is a mutually reinforcing dialectic, in which the global city depends on the backstage city for its very existence. The bifurcation between “global” and “backstage” Chicago might fruitfully be analogized to the inequities in Chicago’s music education sector: the “global,” the market-rate lessons available at elite institutions such as the Music Institute of Chicago, or from high-end private teachers, and the “backstage,” programs like those examined in this dissertation.

Today, a variety of entities continue to define Chicago as in patchy crisis, an incomplete city that must address its flaws in order to claim, unambiguously, global status. Arts education discourse and policy revolve around diagnosing and ameliorating these flaws: using arts education to improve the city’s “weak areas,” as Sassen writes, and ameliorating the deficiency in arts education access itself. Foundations, arts education institutions, and Chicago’s municipal leaders use this rhetoric constantly: here, the city—especially particular areas thereof, as I

²⁷ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 53.

²⁸ Ross Miller quoted in Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 53.

²⁹ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 100.

discuss in the next section in this chapter—is framed as lacking, and arts education is advanced as a policy solution to address the given problem. Music education in particular is almost exclusively discussed in these terms. Certain individuals’ and neighborhoods’ lack of access to music education is framed as just one component of a host of troubles that these individuals or communities face; remedying this deficiency is similarly believed to address these other issues. Music education, then, is both synecdoche and metaphor for “crises” in Chicago’s neighborhoods and educational system.

Municipal cultural planning documents present the city’s cultural activities and resources as vibrant, yet deficient: with rationalization and structural support, they argue, arts and culture in Chicago can realize their full potential. The 2012 Chicago Cultural Plan uses language to justify “investment” in culture, especially vis-à-vis arts education, that resonates with Abu-Lughod’s concept of the dual city:

The Chicago Cultural Plan builds on that legacy [of cultural planning, as reflected by the 1986 Cultural Plan] while galvanizing existing and emerging stakeholders citywide and across a diverse and changing cultural sector. It includes for-profit businesses in the commercial arts, music and entertainment, communications and media, fashion, literary and culinary arts. Design is integral to nearly every kind of business today—from retail to manufacturing. Music is nearly as pervasive as the air we breathe. The Internet and digital media provide new pathways for cultural production and distribution that complement and improve upon older ones. The large non-profit arts sector has grown exponentially over the last half century, but it is now showing signs of strain. Chicago has some of the nation’s leading higher education programs in the arts, but arts education continues to be limited in Chicago’s public schools. These reasons support the investment in the Chicago Cultural Plan 2012.³⁰

This quote strikes the same tone as the *Plan of Chicago* from a century earlier: Chicago is generally victorious, ambitious, and capable of achieving highly, yet problems remain that prevent it from fully realizing its potential—problems which are then used as justification for ambitious planning projects. Here, arts education in particular is framed as deficient, against a

³⁰ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 4.

panoply of positive justifications for public investment in the cultural sector. Attention to arts education is justified from a position of lack, whereas attention to other areas of cultural production are justified from a position of strength.

This language is echoed in the Chicago Public Schools' arts education planning documents. The CPS Arts Education Plan includes a major section entitled "The Research Base and the Starting Point for Expanding Arts Education," in which it justifies the district's increased attention to the arts as follows:

The arts are a vital element of a 21st century education. Research conducted over the past decade shows that exposure to an education in the arts significantly decreases dropout rates, improves the likelihood of entering college, increases civic engagement, and ultimately promotes financial success throughout a person's life-time. The role of the arts in securing these results lies largely in the way it stimulates innovation, creativity, and critical thinking, all essential skills in our world today.³¹

After citing statistics on the number of CPS arts teachers and arts partners in Chicago public schools, the plan continues:

But quality and access to arts education varies widely across the district. Research and mapping by Ingenuity Incorporated reveals oases and deserts in arts programming; some schools are rich in the arts, but there are too many others with little to no arts learning opportunities for students.³²

This lack of "arts learning opportunities" is not only negative in and of itself, but also, the plan implies, means that students who lack arts education will also lose out on the benefits it is purported to provide: high school graduation, college entry, civic engagement, and lifetime financial success. Arts education is thus framed in terms of lack and scarcity. It is problematized in the two ways discussed in the introduction to this chapter: lack of access to arts education is a problem in itself; it is also representative of and a solution to social issues.

³¹ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 5.

³² *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 5.

The charitable foundations that support arts education in Chicago work within a similar, bi-layered paradigm. Either arts-education access itself is framed as lacking, and in need of expansion through financial support; or, arts education is a potential solution to other urban issues. These diagnostics of “the problem” then serve as justification for grantmaking strategies. I focus here on two major Chicago-based foundations that support the arts and arts education; many other foundations use essentially the same language and approach. I have selected the Lloyd A. Fry and John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundations because they are leaders in the field of arts philanthropy and set the standard for other arts funders; thus, they are both representative, and influential.

The Lloyd A. Fry Foundation, for example, is a major supporter of arts education in Chicago. “Arts Learning” is one of the four major program areas under which it focuses its grantmaking efforts (the others are “Education,” “Employment,” and “Health”). On its website, the Fry Foundation describes its Arts Learning grantmaking strategy as follows:

Our Arts Learning funding focuses on programs for low-income Chicago children and youth that use the arts as a means to improve learning and provide life-enriching experiences.

We are interested in efforts to improve the quality and expand the availability of arts education programs, especially in Chicago public schools.³³

It is interesting that the first paragraph of this description, which summarizes the overall strategy, states that it funds programs “that use the arts as a means to improve learning” (note “improve”); the rest of the description goes on to describe the specific types of arts education programs that are funded, all of which revolve around expanding access to and the quality of arts education programs themselves, rather than arts integration programs that seek to improve other types of curricular learning. The strategy as a whole conforms to the first way of problematizing arts

³³ Lloyd A. Fry Foundation, “Arts Learning,” accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.fryfoundation.org/program-areas/arts-learning/>.

education described in this chapter's introduction: lack of access to arts education is a problem to be addressed.

By contrast, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation provides the following rationale for its Chicago-based arts and culture grantmaking:

The arts and culture grantmaking is based on the premise that a diverse and flourishing cultural community contributes to the city of Chicago's overall civic and economic vitality. The Foundation provides multi-year, general operating support to more than 300 theaters, dance organizations, musical groups, museums, exhibitors, and visual arts organizations, small and large, across the region. This support enables these organizations to develop programs that enrich their audiences and the larger community, to grow artistically, and to build and sustain their organizational strength. This, in turn, strengthens communities, creates jobs, attracts tourism, and provides cultural and educational resources for the city.³⁴

Although this rationale does gesture toward an “art for art’s sake” perspective, it is primarily, as the first sentence states, “based on the premise that a diverse and flourishing cultural community contributes to the city of Chicago’s overall civic and economic vitality.” The MacArthur Foundation’s arts and culture grantmaking rationale is framed rather positively—in terms of contributing to Chicago’s “overall civic and economic vitality”—but still echoes the second paradigm described in this chapter’s introduction: that the value of the arts, and by extension arts education, lies in its contribution to the city’s identity, economy, and comparative status. Indeed, it was the MacArthur Foundation that commissioned the aforementioned *Global Chicago* in the mid-2000s; the emphasis on “civic and economic vitality” resonates with global-city discourse and frames support for the arts as a necessary step in Chicago’s progress toward global-city status. The book resulted from a MacArthur-funded initiative called “Global Chicago,” which brought together “the city’s leading global players from universities, business, labor, and civil society” in order to “learn more about the ways in which [the foundation’s] hometown, Chicago,

³⁴ John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, “Arts & Culture in Chicago,” accessed January 29, 2015, <http://www.macfound.org/programs/arts/strategy/>.

was connected the world.” The book, in turn, was intended “to give some visibility to Chicago’s global resources and connections” as part of Global Chicago’s broader mission “to enhance Chicago’s strengths as a global city and to raise awareness, both here and abroad, of its global connections.” Two MacArthur-funded reports preceding the book “documented what some knew already: Chicago’s global assets were tremendous but often unknown and more often underutilized.”³⁵

Both the Fry and MacArthur Foundations support institutions at which I completed fieldwork for this dissertation. Both of them, either directly or through subsidiaries, support The People’s Music School, for both its Uptown Academy and Youth Orchestras programs. Both similarly support Urban Gateways. Neither supports the Sphinx Organization. And the Fry Foundation heavily supports Ingenuity, Inc., the nonprofit charged with research on and implementation of arts initiatives in the Chicago Public Schools, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Again, the perspectives of these two major foundations are shared by many others. The two major paradigms of problematization vis-à-vis arts education are persistent and widely prevalent in the field of institutionalized charitable giving. This persistence and prevalence influences not only the field of charitable giving itself, but also shapes the behavior of arts education organizations that must tailor their requests for funding to the grantmaking strategies of these foundations.

“We totally believe in art for art’s sake,” said Sherre Cullen, director of development at Urban Gateways, “and it’s not something that we see funders funding.”³⁶ All of the arts education organizations with which I completed fieldwork are nonprofit. As such, contributed

³⁵ Marshall Bouton, preface to *Global Chicago*, ed. Charles Madigan, viii.

³⁶ Sherre Jennings Cullen, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, April 30, 2014.

revenue, largely from foundations, comprises anywhere from 50 to 100 percent of their budgets. In order to raise these funds, organizations must justify the value of their programming in terms that resonate with funders. Foundations establish a vision, a problem that they wish to solve through their financial support; nonprofit organizations must show that their work addresses that problem. In other words, foundations and nonprofit organizations must share a diagnosis of the problem at stake. This presents a challenge for a number of arts administrators.

Like Sherre Cullen above, most of the administrators of arts nonprofits with whom I spoke strongly, and primarily, believed in “art for art’s sake”: they felt that arts education was inherently valuable and worthy of support, and that lack of access to it was an issue that needed to be remedied. Administrators of El Sistema-inspired programs were notable exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed in greater depth in the following section. Although many administrators agreed with the city’s and with foundations’ analyses in that they believed that arts education is beneficial to students and to the city in a variety of ways, they did not view this as the primary reason why arts education should be funded.

Justifying their programming in terms of beneficial social externalities occupies significant amounts of administrator time and organizational resources. Urban Gateways, for example, has a full-time Measurement and Documentation Manager on staff, a position created in 2008 when, during the recession, most foundations began to implement increasingly strict evaluation standards on arts education programs. Sherre Cullen said of the recession’s aftermath,

It’s made funders much more accountable, so they’re refining their guidelines, narrowing their guidelines, looking for results much more than they did before. It’s made nonprofits have to be more accountable as a result. It’s not necessarily a bad thing, but a lot of nonprofits have gone under, a lot more have merged, and I just think that there are some organizations, [in] arts education specifically, that merit support that may not be getting as much support as they did before because of this need to prove to their [i.e. the foundation’s] boards that they’re funding worthwhile organizations. If you cannot defend yourself—yourself being the nonprofit organization—cannot defend itself with statistics,

oftentimes you're just out of luck. And that's very different from the way that I started out in fundraising 25 years ago. Very, very different. Where people just knew, you know, that organizations were worthwhile and they would fund it. You didn't have to prove it through evaluation and percentages and numbers.³⁷

Cullen believes that foundations are increasingly seeking a “return on investment”—not in financial terms, but in terms of the social impact of dollars spent. For many funders, growth in arts education access in and of itself is not a sufficient return on their investment; they want to see, especially, indications of impact that can be reported in statistical terms, such as high school graduation rates.

According to most of the administrators with whom I spoke, ideally, nonprofit organizations are able to establish relationships with funders who share their understanding of the issue at stake, without the nonprofit having to change its own analysis. Xavier Verna, director of education at the Sphinx Organization, described how Sphinx approaches this kind of relationship-building:

We seek out corporations, funders, individual donors who believe what we believe, essentially. We try to line up *our* mission with *their* mission and *their* vision. Otherwise we wouldn't be getting money. We don't just randomly select anybody who has money, we definitely try to cultivate and partner up with people who...believe in the same goals.³⁸

This sentiment was echoed by other administrators with whom I spoke; however, it is not always possible for organizations to achieve this harmony between their own and funders' goals and perspectives. Administrators, then, especially development officers, must constantly negotiate between the perspectives of the staff—which often hew to the first paradigm, in which lack of access to arts education is the problem in and of itself—and of funders, who often want hard

³⁷ Cullen, interview by author.

³⁸ Xavier Verna, interview by author. Digital recording. Telephone, September 16, 2013.

evidence that arts education programming is having an impact in areas other than arts skill attainment.

Program faculty and staff, in particular, often believe that they are serving communities and neighborhoods that are in dire straits, and that they are having a transformative impact on the lives of children who are often considered “disadvantaged” or “at-risk.” This perspective had become rather less prevalent among more-experienced teachers and staff members, who often believed that, although the students they taught lived in neighborhoods that presented obstacles to their success, their families were strong and committed to education, and a valuable resource for students. People’s Music School program director Nicole Negrete, who was at the time of our interview in spring 2014 in the process of building an El Sistema-inspired Youth Orchestras program in Evanston, the suburb immediately north of Chicago along Lake Michigan, described the varied responses she had received regarding the program’s location:

The response of some of the music teachers in Evanston was like, “Well, why are you coming to Evanston? We’re not poor in Evanston, we already have so much!” And on the one hand yes, Evanston has a lot of resources, a lot more so than parts of Chicago....So, people are confused, so when I hear that, I’m always like, “But that’s not the whole story of Evanston.” There’s this whole other world of it where there are students whose families are barely getting by, who are victims of violence and everything....It’s like there’s the more suburban part of Evanston and the more urban part of Evanston.³⁹

The teachers responding to Negrete seem to associate certain kinds of music education programs with poverty: that nonprofit music schools whose mission is oriented around improving access to arts education exclusively serve the poor (which, of course, is based on the assumption that non-poor families can and do access music education resources on their own, presumably at market rates). Negrete herself also makes a very strong association between economic hardship and violence, and the urban. It is not technically accurate to say that there is a “suburban” and an

³⁹ Nicole Negrete, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, April 28, 2014.

“urban” part of Evanston: it is one municipality, technically considered a city with a population of over 75,000, that is a suburb of Chicago. The entire entity is both urban and suburban by definition.

What Negrete implies here is that the “urban” part is the part of Evanston where crime rates are higher and household income is lower, and the “suburban” part of Evanston is the more affluent area closer to the lakefront. Here, then, the urban is inherently problematized, and students from urban—or “urban”—areas are believed to then also face other issues such as poverty and violence (which they may, or may not). This is the most explicit example of urban problematization that I encountered in the course of my fieldwork. However, other administrators and faculty repeatedly told me that their organization priced its services as it did (i.e., free or below market value) because the families they served had to make a choice between paying for music lessons and paying for other necessities such as food. It is unclear to me whether this statement is true; and if so, how administrators and faculty were aware of families’ financial status.

Teachers, in particular, often claimed that many of their students came from “broken homes” headed by “single mothers” and had drug-addicted parents. Drug addiction and other severe issues did indeed affect several students’ families, about whom I heard specific and detailed stories from their teachers. It seems less certain that a majority or even a plurality of students came from home situations that could be described as troubled. Many students in the programs I studied were, indeed, raised by single mothers; however, this is most emphatically not evidence in itself of a “broken” or otherwise troubled home life. Rachel Beckles Willson describes a similar dynamic in her work on music education in Palestine: many young teachers, volunteers from European countries, came to work in Palestine assuming, largely on the basis of

media representations, that their students would be impoverished and violence-prone; they often ended up teaching relatively privileged children from middle-class families, who were drawn to European classical music education not because it had the potential to improve their material circumstances, but because they came from families who tended to believe in the superiority of European cultural forms.⁴⁰

The city, the Chicago Public Schools, foundations, and nonprofit music education organizations all problematize the neighborhoods, families, and schools in which their students live. They are framed as lacking, deficient, “at-risk,” “disadvantaged,” “underserved” or “underprivileged,” entitled to arts education programs either simply because they do not already have them, or because arts education can improve their life chances: give them more advantages and privileges, and decrease their level of “risk,” as it were. The very circulation of terms like “at-risk,” “disadvantaged,” “underserved,” and “underprivileged” in itself normalizes particular, unspecified amounts of risk, advantage, service, and privilege and assesses those who do not have a given amount of privilege as problematic, deficient. The shared understanding that there is, indeed, *a problem* leads to a shared understanding that something must be *done* about the problem. I focus here on the process of problematization precisely because it is often naturalized: it is self-evident to many of those working in this field that these issues exist as problems that must be solved. The diagnosis of a problem implies the need for a solution. Often, one who diagnoses a problem takes responsibility for creating a solution to it, and thus the discursive move to problematize also implies the practical move toward implementation. I wish to point out that problematization, however, is only one option among many. For example, one could view arts education as a right of all children and frame its expansion as a move toward justice; one

⁴⁰ Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission*, 298-299.

could also view arts education as a luxury good and not view it as problematic that poor and working-class families cannot afford it. The facts on the ground—that some children in Chicago have access to arts education, that some do not, and that this difference is raced and classed—can be interpreted in many ways. In the next section, I examine how “the problem” is spatialized in Chicago, and how, the problem having been thus delineated both theoretically and physically, a need for intervention is justified.

The spatialization of development ideologies

The city of Chicago is not uniformly problematized by arts administrators, music teachers, foundations, and the city government. Instead, particular areas of the city, and particular types of urban residents, are constructed as suffering, lacking, “at-risk,” and thus believed to be in need of intervention. With respect to music education, these interventions often take the form of ideologies of development analogous to those applied internationally by states and non-governmental organizations of the global north with respect to states and peoples of the global south.⁴¹ Problematized and nonproblematized areas of the city of Chicago have a similar discursive and philanthropic relationship to each other as do those areas of the globe perceived to be in need of “development” and those areas perceived as capable of providing this development.

The neighborhood is the unit of analysis and the unit of differentiation in Chicago, and administrators and policymakers alike conceive of music education interventions at the level of the neighborhood. “At-risk,” “underprivileged” neighborhoods and “sides” (e.g., north, south, west) of the city assume the position of internal other to the city as a whole, when measured against the idealized template of Chicago-as-global-city. But the neighborhood is legible in

⁴¹ See Jonathan Crush, ed., *Power of Development* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

different ways to different kinds of actors. From the perspective of city government, “the neighborhood” is related to the Chicago Community Area (CCA), the 77 administrative units within the city. Community Areas are named after neighborhoods; some are coterminous with one neighborhood, while others cover an area commonly understood to encompass several different neighborhoods.⁴² In this way, CCAs provide a “state’s-eye” view of the lived experience of urban space in Chicago.⁴³ From the perspectives of Chicago residents, neighborhoods form the fabric of one’s daily life; they symbolize and shape one’s identity insofar as neighborhoods are segregated by, and thus connected with, race, class, ethnicity, and other factors such as sexuality (e.g., Boystown and Andersonville for the gay and lesbian communities, respectively) or, even, less tangible qualities like “edginess” (e.g., Wicker Park in the 1990s).⁴⁴ For the program administrators whom I encountered in the field, and for the foundations and philanthropists who fund music education programs, neighborhoods are a terrain of possibility on which to build programs—whose existence, as described in this section and later in this chapter, are often justified by the characteristics, real or projected, of the neighborhoods in which they are developed and run.

Most work on neoliberalism’s impact on urban space has focused on the differential distribution of capital by region and on gentrification as cause and effect of the neoliberalization

⁴² The Chicago 77, “Chicago Neighborhoods,” n.d., accessed October 27, 2015, <http://www.thechicago77.com/chicago-neighborhoods/>.

⁴³ See James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁴⁴ On gentrification of Chicago neighborhoods, see Japonica Brown-Saracino, *A Neighborhood That Never Changes: Gentrification, Social Preservation, and the Search for Authenticity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), and Richard Lloyd, *Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Post-Industrial City* (New York: Routledge, 2010, 2nd ed.); on Chicago’s neighborhoods more broadly, see Dominic A. Pacyga and Ellen Skerrett, *Chicago, City of Neighborhoods: Histories and Tours* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1986), and Ann Durkin Keating, *Chicago Neighborhoods and Suburbs: A Historical Guide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

of urban space.⁴⁵ Here, I wish to extend this conversation by suggesting that neoliberalism not only makes use of “undeveloped” neighborhoods as a source of physical capital—real estate to be gentrified—but also as a source of human capital—in this case, poor and working-class children who can be “developed” into middle-class citizens and thus enhance the financial value and global competitiveness of the city.

In this section, I compare El Sistema-inspired programs in Chicago with the original El Sistema in Venezuela as an example of how developmentalist ideology and practice travels and translates from the global south to the urban global north, and think intensively with Geoffrey Baker’s insightful study on the Venezuelan youth orchestra system, *El Sistema*. Although American and Venezuelan El Sistema programs, of course, differ significantly, especially in the impact that their differential funding sources (philanthropic and governmental, respectively) have on their programming, their common reliance on developmentalism is fruitful in the analysis of music education policy in Chicago. Arturo Escobar writes that

“postdevelopment” arose from a poststructuralist and postcolonial critique, that is, an analysis of development as a set of discourses and practices that had profound impact on how Asia, Africa, and Latin America came to be seen as “underdeveloped” and treated as such....In its most succinct formulation, postdevelopment was meant to convey the sense of an era in which development would no longer be a central organizing principle of social life.⁴⁶

Here, I seek to apply a similar, postdevelopmental critique to the set of discourses, practices, and processes by which certain Chicago neighborhoods are constructed as “underdeveloped” and believed to be in need of interventional assistance from music education programs. In the context

⁴⁵ See Brown-Saracino, *A Neighborhood That Never Changes*; Susan Fainstein, *City Builders: Property Development in New York and London* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2001); Hackworth, *The Neoliberal City*; Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*; Robert Fitch, *The Assassination of New York* (New York: Verso, 1993); Smith, *The New Urban Frontier*.

⁴⁶ Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012 [1994]), xii-xiii.

of my fieldwork, the neighborhoods of Albany Park and Englewood were especially and specifically problematized, and thus I focus on those neighborhoods here.

The focus on “neighborhoods” as the locus of intervention is strongly reflected in the 2012 Chicago Cultural Plan. The neighborhood is a major structural unit in Chicago. Vaillant defines the late nineteenth-century Chicago neighborhood as an area “that had a high correlation between residential settlement, occupation, and ethnic identification.”⁴⁷ Although these correlations are somewhat less strict in the present day, neighborhoods remain relatively segregated by race and class; those that are not stand out as either being unusually integrated (e.g., Hyde Park, Uptown), or else “transitional” (e.g., Humboldt Park, Logan Square). In the 2012 Cultural Plan, neighborhoods, particularly those with a strong ethnic or immigrant affiliation, are framed as a source of cultural vitality. They are also framed as in need of particular support as compared with Chicago’s downtown: the “neighborhood” is the only unit of scale that receives attention and is explicitly contrasted with “downtown.” Indeed, this is an explicit theme of the plan. In a section entitled “A Focus on Neighborhoods,” the plan states:

Residents are proud of their neighborhood’s offerings but also seek connections to and cross-pollination with other areas of the city. Downtown events draw residents as well as tourists. Is there a way to further expand the value of major events beyond downtown? How can existing resources and policies strengthen cultural experiences across and between Chicago neighborhoods? Culture can be a way to welcome people to explore and be enriched by the unique cultural heritage of every neighborhood in our city.⁴⁸

Here, “the neighborhood” is the source of raw cultural material—“heritage”—which, it is strongly implied, holds significant economic value if developed correctly. As part of the city’s developmentalist cultural vision, neighborhoods provide both cultural value and a bounded terrain on which to implement intervention-oriented cultural policy.

⁴⁷ Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, 21.

⁴⁸ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 7.

I begin my focus on the neighborhood as the unit of cultural intervention with Albany Park. This far-northwest-side neighborhood is home to two El Sistema-inspired youth orchestra programs, a youth theater program with a social change-based mission, and numerous other arts and cultural organizations, many pertaining to the wide variety of immigrant groups from Latin America, east and southeast Asia, the Middle East, and southeastern Europe who have settled in Albany Park. The Albany Park community area is bounded by the North Branch of the Chicago River on the east, by Montrose Avenue on the south, by Elston Avenue and I-94 on the west, and by the North Branch of the Chicago River and by Foster Avenue on the north.

Although youth-oriented arts education programs in Albany Park tend to portray the neighborhood as struggling and its youth in need of significant assistance in order to succeed in life (however “success” may be defined), Albany Park is actually faring well in many respects, though poorly in others, in comparison to many other Chicago neighborhoods. As of 2010, per-capita income in Albany Park was \$20,355, compared with the Chicago average of \$27,148; 17.1% of households were below the poverty level, compared with 18.7% in Chicago as a whole; and unemployment was at 9.0% as compared with 11.1% in Chicago as a whole. 34.9 percent of Albany Park residents lacked a high school diploma, compared with 20.6% of all Chicago residents. Finally, 11.2% of Albany Park residents lived in crowded housing, compared with 4.7% of all Chicagoans; population density was 26,836 per square mile, versus 11,844 per square mile across Chicago. In 2015, crime in Albany Park has decreased by 20% as compared with 2014 statistics. The area now ranks 48th of 77 Chicago community areas for property crime, 43rd for quality-of-life crime, and 39th for violent crime.⁴⁹ These statistics reveal Albany Park to be a relatively average working-class Chicago neighborhood. Economic indicators are comparable to

⁴⁹ “Crime reports in Albany Park,” February-March 2015, *Chicago Tribune*, <http://crime.chicagotribune.com/chicago/community/albany-park>.

those for Chicago as a whole: it seems that household income is on par with that of the rest of the city, and that lower per capita incomes and crowded housing could possibly be explained by larger family sizes. Albany Park residents do have somewhat less educational attainment than Chicago residents, on average, which is likely due to the high percentage of immigrants in the area, who may not have had access to formal educational opportunities in their countries of origin. Crime in the area is, again, thoroughly average: Albany Park is in the middle of the pack for crime statistics as compared with other Chicago community areas. It is among neither the city's most violent nor its safest neighborhoods. In short, residents of Albany Park, like most Chicago residents, could certainly benefit from lower crime, improved education and job opportunities, and better housing. However, most Albany Park residents are not in dire straits with respect to violence or economic indicators. Surprisingly, 96.5 percent of students at Hibbard Elementary School, where the Youth Orchestras program is located, come from households defined as "low-income."⁵⁰ It is unclear how this fact squares with the 17.1 percent poverty rate in Albany Park as a whole.

The El Sistema-inspired orchestra programs that are based in Albany Park tend to represent their students, and the community as a whole, as in need of significant improvement, making "social change" a key component of their missions and rhetoric. The Chicago Metamorphosis Orchestra Project (ChiMOP for short), for example, states that it "strive[s] to provide increased access to instrumental music in Chicago's underserved communities and affect positive social change in young students and their families."⁵¹ ChiMOP has four primary goals:

⁵⁰ "2014 Illinois school report cards: Hibbard Elementary School," *Chicago Tribune*, http://schools.chicagotribune.com/school/hibbard-elementary-school_chicago#demographics. May 3, 2015

⁵¹ Chicago Metamorphosis Orchestra Project, "Vision," accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.chimop.org/about-2/vision/>.

first, that “Students become empowered by creativity and demonstrate behaviors of confidence and self esteem”; second, that “Students continuously experience musical excellence and understand the importance of a disciplined work ethic”; third, that “Students improve school attendance and academic achievement”; and fourth, that “Students translate musical skills into lifelong behavior patterns that benefit themselves, their families, and their entire community.”⁵² By implication, the Albany Park community is in need of “social change”; the Chicago Metamorphosis Orchestra Project can effect that change; and the needed change mainly entails the improvement of students’ and families’ work ethics and academic achievement. The use of the word “metamorphosis” here is telling, with its evocation of a process of total transformation by which the ugly caterpillar, restricted to inching along on land, becomes a beautiful butterfly capable of flying independently. The work of musical skill development is a proxy for this transformational process, which is meant to develop students’ work ethic and “behavior patterns”—and implies that students’ previous ways of working and behaving were inadequate, even lazy.

The complicated story of the establishment of a Sistema-inspired orchestra in Englewood, on Chicago’s south side, further illustrates this dynamic of spatialized problematization. Englewood, bounded on the north by Garfield Boulevard, on the west by Racine Avenue, on the south roughly by 75th Street, and on the east, very roughly by the Dan Ryan Expressway, is often represented as exemplary of Chicago’s urban problems. In March 2015, it ranked fourth out of Chicago’s 77 community areas for violent crime; tenth for property crime; and seventh for quality-of-life crime. These numbers represent a 10% decrease from 2014. Englewood’s economic indicators are significantly worse than those of Chicago as a whole. As of 2010, per-

⁵² Chicago Metamorphosis Orchestra Project, “Mission,” accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.chimop.org/about-2/mission/>.

capita income was \$11,993 (less than half the Chicago average), 42.2% of households were below poverty level, and unemployment was at 21.3%. Englewood's population density was somewhat less, at 9,977 people per square mile, than that of Chicago as a whole, and 29.4% of its residents lacked a high school diploma.⁵³ In terms of employment, poverty, and violence, Englewood is significantly worse off than Albany Park.

In 2013, a Chicago-based El Sistema program began to explore the possibility of founding an orchestra in Englewood, at the invitation of a pastor in the neighborhood.⁵⁴ A former program director for this organization described the reason for its initial enthusiastic interest in this opportunity: "I've always wanted to be on the south side. If [program director's employer] didn't exist and I walked into Chicago as an El Sistema nut and wanted to start a program, I would have started it in the south side, probably in Englewood." I asked, "Why is that?" The program director responded, "It's the place of the most visible and evident need. And that's where I think it would be sustainable." Englewood stands out to this program director as a particularly problematized neighborhood, in clear and obvious need of social intervention.

Shortly after the Englewood pastor approached this organization, the program director received a surprise phone call from a prominent Chicago philanthropist. She already supported an El Sistema program in another major American city and was interested in supporting an El Sistema program in Chicago, and therefore asked the program director for more information about the institution's work. The program director described their existing programs and told this

⁵³ "Crime reports in Englewood," February-March 2015, *Chicago Tribune*, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://crime.chicagotribune.com/chicago/community/englewood>.

⁵⁴ This narrative is somewhat elliptical in order to respect the privacy concerns of the El Sistema program. Information on this situation was given to me by several administrators of this program; only one, the program director, was comfortable with being quoted directly. I do not provide a specific citation for the interview with this person at the request of the music education organization mentioned above and in compliance with the fieldwork agreement negotiated with this organization per the terms of this dissertation's IRB approval.

philanthropist where they were located. She did not seem particularly interested in any of the existing programs. Finally, the program director, searching for a way to engage this prospect, mentioned that they were considering starting a program in Englewood. The philanthropist immediately became interested and eventually agreed to make a six-figure gift to the nascent program, spread across several school years. After the program director told me about this conversation, I asked, “What is it about Englewood that pushed this person’s buttons as opposed to these others [other neighborhoods]?” The program director believed that there were three primary reasons:

One is, she cares about the method. She already supports El Sistema-inspired programs in [city redacted], she’s on board with the social impact of music education. Which means she wants a place with social need. Englewood’s very visible social need, going back to what I had said before, is a big piece of this, like, you don’t need to defend it, you say Englewood, you know that there’s need there, they get it. Whether music is the right answer or not might be something you have to talk about but we’re very used to that. But the fact that something is necessary there, to be part of a large solution, working together with these agencies, is apparent. The third reason I think that she jumped on that was that she already supports [number redacted] organizations in Englewood.

This philanthropist, then, already subscribed to a developmentalist ideology of music education: that music education has the power to improve social conditions in struggling areas.

Furthermore, she was already literally and figuratively invested in the notion that Englewood is not only an area facing numerous challenges, but, crucially, is an area whose challenges can and should be solved by means of third-party intervention by nongovernmental organizations, and that music education is an effective means of intervention. As the program director said, Englewood has “very visible social need.” These representations are so powerful as to speak for themselves in justifying social intervention in many Chicago neighborhoods. Englewood is sufficiently problematized so as to inspire a philanthropist to make a multi-year, six-figure financial commitment to an inchoate youth orchestra program with little additional

encouragement or information needed. This dynamic was at work in reverse in Nicole Negrete's description of the resistance she faced in setting up an El Sistema-inspired program in Evanston: as a region of the Chicago metropolitan area that is not self-evidently "in need," gaining support from all relevant stakeholders has proven more difficult.

Justifying music education programs on the basis of their ability to "develop" areas and communities requires representing these areas and communities as deficient and, thus, in need of intervention. In some cases, defining need is a process undertaken on the supply side to justify an intervention that has already been determined by nonprofit organizations, as opposed to an organic process of determining local demand and shaping support accordingly. Geoffrey Baker writes of El Sistema in Venezuela that

El Sistema rests on its salvation narrative, which depends in turn on the definition of young people as "empty, disorientated and deviant" and hence in need of saving...justifying intervention by El Sistema also requires generating ideas about Venezuelan barrios and popular music as culturally deficient and thus urgently in need of a transfusion of "art." Categorizing every child as a potential delinquent and every poor neighborhood as a cultural desert strengthens El Sistema's hand. The salvation narrative has the effect of disempowering those being saved and empowering those doing the saving.⁵⁵

A similar narrative holds in Chicago. During the course of my fieldwork, Albany Park was consistently represented as an abnormally troubled neighborhood in which children were at severe and disproportionate risk of violence, of joining gangs, and of poor educational attainment—and in which families and existing social structures, such as schools and religious institutions, could not provide all of the requisite support to help children navigate the dangers confronting them. Although some students in this neighborhood certainly experienced violence, poverty, and lack of educational opportunity, the statistics quoted above reveal Albany Park to be a more or less average Chicago neighborhood, which certainly could benefit from additional

⁵⁵ Baker, *El Sistema*, 105.

support but is not abnormally “deficient.” Englewood, by contrast, is a neighborhood indeed facing severe poverty and violence. Nonetheless, the urgency of this neighborhood’s situation does not automatically imply that any given intervention is necessarily the best or most useful approach. With respect to Englewood, then, I seek not necessarily to question the representation of need, but to question the ways in which this representation is taken automatically to imply that particular music education interventions are the appropriate response. In subsequent sections of this chapter, I discuss the ways in which arts education has come to be framed as an ideal social intervention in problematized neighborhoods, and return to the Englewood El Sistema orchestra program as a case study.

In the discourse around, and practice of, music education in Chicago, particular kinds of people, particular spaces, and particular institutions are problematized, and others are not. Problematized people include the poor and working-class, people of color, and families headed by unmarried women; problematized spaces include the south and west sides of the city generally, and specific neighborhoods such as Englewood, Albany Park, Austin, and Lawndale; and problematized institutions include the Chicago Public Schools. Other people, areas, and institutions in the city and surrounding areas are assumed to be unproblematic: the middle and upper classes; white people; the city’s north side and the suburbs; Chicago public schools that have been taken over by middle-class families; and private schools.⁵⁶ Both this problematization and the lack thereof are often incorrect: consider the ways in which Albany Park’s issues have been overblown, while Evanston’s have been underestimated. In the next section of this chapter I shall connect this more strongly to issues of funding and the expectations that philanthropists and foundations place on people, places, and organizations.

⁵⁶ See Posey-Maddox, *When Middle-Class Parents Choose Urban Schools*.

It is also important to note that this spatialized, racialized, and classed problematization overlaps with, and is certainly influenced by, existing social divisions along the lines of space, race, and class. Abu-Lughod writes that, “From its origins Chicago has been a city divided within itself; today large parts of the city proper are essentially sealed off from the ‘periphery,’ isolated by widening racial and class rifts.”⁵⁷ It is no coincidence that people of color, the poor and working class, female-headed families, and neighborhoods whose residents are largely composed of people who fall into these categories are believed to be more “at-risk” than areas whose residents by and large do not fit this description. The fact of existing social biases makes it much easier to map particular problematizations of music education programs onto these categories, often largely on the basis of assumptions rather than hard evidence. As Baker aptly writes, “Much of the rhetoric around El Sistema results from a slippage that labels nearly three-quarters of Venezuela’s children, many from stable working- and lower-middle-class homes, as highly vulnerable or at-risk.”⁵⁸

On June 14, 2014 I attended Uptown Academy’s end-of-year concert, held at Uplift Community High School on Wilson Avenue in Chicago’s Uptown neighborhood. Two middle-aged white women, who appeared by their manner of dress to be middle-class, were sitting behind me. Before the concert began, Uptown Academy director Natalie Butler made an announcement regarding parking: anyone who had parked in the Uplift lot needed to display a parking pass, available at the concert check-in table free of charge, on their windshield in order to avoid being towed by CPS, and that they had been notified that tow trucks would come by the school imminently. The crowd voiced displeasure with the hassle that this would cause, as many attendees then had to leave their seats, pick up a parking pass, leave the building to put it in their

⁵⁷ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 321.

⁵⁸ Baker, *El Sistema*, 95.

car, and then return, missing a portion of the concert. One of the women behind me remarked to her friend that towing cars during an event on a weekend when school was not in session was “not user-friendly.” The friend replied, “Well, CPS is not user-friendly” and the other woman heartily agreed with this sentiment. They subsequently had a relatively lengthy conversation about all of the problems they had with the Chicago Public Schools. Later on, these women remarked on the performance demeanor of the students in a choir class conducted by Uptown teacher Chris Neal. The first woman commented that the kids weren’t smiling, and that “Anne Katzfey [the other choir teacher] gets them to smile.” Her friend replied, “They don’t have much to smile about.” I am not sure what these women’s connection with Uptown Academy was; I watched them closely during and after the concert and it did not appear that either of them had children performing. My best guess is that they were donors to The People’s Music School who had been invited to the concert as part of a cultivation strategy. The depth of their belief that Uptown students—the majority of whom seemed to thoroughly enjoy their participation in the performance, and who had numerous family members and friends in attendance, cheering them on and eagerly filming them with smartphones held aloft—“don’t have much to smile about” was striking, and shocking, in its casualness and apparent self-evidence.

The spatialized problematization of particular groups of people not only maps onto persistent patterns of social thought and relationship, it also maps onto the longstanding physical distribution of race and class throughout Chicago. Abu-Lughod argues that the “circle and wedge set the fundamental geography of Chicago”: Chicago is a city that operates on a center-periphery model, with the Loop business district in the center and “the neighborhoods” as the periphery—some more peripheral than others, functionally and socially as well as spatially.⁵⁹ Abu-Lughod

⁵⁹ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 103.

attributes this essential geometry to the industrial and transit patterns of nineteenth-century Chicago:

The radial mass-transit system that eventually converged on the Loop also solidified Chicago's semicircular spatial organization into the three distinct wedges initially shaped by the North (really northwest) and South (really southwest) Branches of the Chicago River and by the system of long-distance rail lines. Industry gravitated to the shores of the sluggish branches of the river, with residential quarters relegated to the interstices. The wealthy favored areas near the lake, at first south of the Loop but later, once the flow of the river's North Branch had been reversed, to the Loop's north. A rapidly growing proletariat settled in what was left over, congregating especially in the vicinity of the large industrial agglomerations in peripheral locations.⁶⁰

Pockets of gentrification notwithstanding, this analysis largely holds true today, and it is this group of proletarian neighborhoods in peripheral locations, now largely abandoned by heavy industry, that has been the focus of most of the problematizing rhetoric I heard during fieldwork.

The spatialization of development ideologies in Chicago has created a very clear sense of mission for many philanthropists, arts-education providers, and members of the general public. It seems self-evident to many decision-makers and stakeholders in this field that specific places and people in Chicago are in need of assistance via music education. In the next section, I turn to the ways in which the nonprofit sector has come to be seen as the default provider of this intervention. Just as developmentalist ideologies have influenced the ways in which neighborhoods and populations in Chicago have come to be constructed as deficient, developmentalist strategies of intervention have similarly been influential in the creation of cultural policy regarding music education in Chicago, and in the workings of the sector that provides it.

Defining the problem, developing the solution

⁶⁰ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 103.

After examining the ways in which “the problem” has been defined, spatialized, and constructed as in need of an intervention, I turn now to the structural contours of that intervention. If music education is a “problem,” what does this imply for the ways in which its systems are structured and for the relationships—among people, institutions, and ideas—that are enabled by this paradigm? Music education has been, first, defined both as a problem in and of itself and as a solution to other kinds of problems; next, localized to certain neighborhoods in Chicago; and then, intertwined with developmentalist perspectives on the desirability and viability of intervention. Finally, the nonprofit sector has been established as that which intervenes. Again, this parallels development practices around the world, in which nongovernmental organizations undertake significant interventions into problematized practices and spaces. I rely upon theories of the role of the “third,” or nonprofit, sector (the state and the private sector being the first and second sectors) here to explain the ways in which the nonprofit music education sector in Chicago has come to fill a role previously played by the state (i.e., the Chicago Public Schools) and the private sector (i.e., market-rate music lessons). The nonprofit sector has become so naturalized in this role since the late 1970s and early 1980s that it is now, as we have seen, an integral component of Chicago’s public-school arts education policy. Since this is a move toward privatization, it is imperative to denaturalize the role of philanthropies and nonprofits in Chicago’s public music education delivery system and to examine the alternative paths that might have been taken in the past, and that might yet be taken today.

The ways in which “the problem” has been defined then construct the nonprofit sector as the solution. That is, discourse around the dual problem of music education follows patterns of discourse around philanthropy and charity, rather than patterns of discourse around, say, social

movements, political change, or the creation of new market-based structures to serve demographics with somewhat less purchasing power. Baker writes,

Evaluating effectiveness requires defining the initial problem, and as Beckles Willson (2009) notes, there can be a certain circularity here. Projects like the WEDO [West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, in Israel/Palestine] and El Sistema define the problem in such a way that the orchestra looks like an effective solution. So for the WEDO, suffering in the Middle East boils down to feeling misunderstood by the Other, while [El Sistema founder José Antonio] Abreu defines poverty in cultural and spiritual terms.⁶¹

During my fieldwork in Chicago, “the problem” was, likewise, somewhat narrowly defined. Its first layer stops at the lack of equitable music education access in and of itself, rather than the broader socioeconomic circumstances that have led to this inequity. Its second layer, as I shall describe in Chapter 5, posits work ethic, perseverance, discipline, and academic achievement leading to college acceptance as the mechanisms by which students participating in these programs will get out of poverty and into the middle class. These are issues, first, which education nonprofits in theory might be able to solve; and, second, which seek to transform individuals to facilitate their own class mobilities, rather than transforming a political-economic system that enables widespread poverty to exist in the first place.

Baker’s understanding of the circularity of “problems” and “solutions” in this realm is confirmed by my experiences in the field. Albert Oppenheimer described the process by which the Hibbard Elementary School El Sistema-based orchestra investigated the Albany Park community’s needs and which it would seek to address:

[S]omething musical folks have not been as experienced at is measuring social impact, and the first step for us in measuring social impact was to determine what the need was, because we could measure a whole lot of different things, and it’s not so much a matter of measuring all the things as measuring the things that you need. So identifying the needs in the community and measuring that need. So what is the need that you need, was a phrase in the fellowship [the Sistema Fellows program at the New England Conservatory] a lot. Like find the need. And measure it. Measure impact on it. So I spent about six

⁶¹ Baker, *El Sistema*, 264.

months in the community talking to principals, social service agencies, guys on the street, parents, to determine what the needs in the community were from the community population level, and eventually landed on a few things. So we identified a whole bunch of needs, number one of which was affordable housing, which we can't affect—yet, until we get a grant to give out subsidies—but we identified violence, youth violence specifically, youth development broadly, and academic performance. Great. We can—we believe that music can affect some of those things, so we looked for some short-term indicators that we can measure within a year to see how we were doing. One of the main indicators was just general classroom behavior and self-regulatory understanding, prosocial engagement, friend group development and a sense of school support and belonging. And focus and attention development.⁶²

This description is striking for several reasons. First, Oppenheimer explicitly poses the question, “What is the need that you need?”, and states that this was a major tenet of the fellowship program in which he trained to be an El Sistema program director. He then describes a thorough process by which he and his staff explored the needs of the Albany Park community (this, of course, presupposes that the “community” has particular kinds of “needs” that are amenable to intervention by not-for-profit organizations). Affordable housing was the primary need that emerged from this process—and it is a need that an orchestra program cannot address. Oppenheimer remained hopeful that at some point in the future, the orchestra would be able to give out housing subsidies. I want to pause for a moment to linger on this extraordinary statement: that a youth orchestra program is framed quite unremarkably as being able and willing to provide, and a fitting mechanism for the distribution of, housing subsidies—as opposed, say, to addressing this community need by seeking to expand existing housing voucher programs, or instituting rent control ordinances, or bringing more jobs into the neighborhood to enable families to afford higher housing prices, or having a housing-oriented nonprofit provide subsidies, or any number of other possible solutions to this issue. The rest of Oppenheimer’s statement describes the process by which identified needs were narrowed down to things that the

⁶² Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

orchestra was believed to be able to affect. In the end, the “need” is a set of rather nebulous behavioral indicators that can be improved within the space of one year. On one hand, this makes sense: of course an organization would seek to make interventions that have some chance of success. On the other, from a cynical perspective, the process of defining “the need that you need” described here frames music-education-for-social-change programs as solutions in search of a problem, as Baker and Beckles Willson describe above in Venezuela and in Israel/Palestine.

How, then, has it become so unremarkable to frame nonprofit music educations as able to solve both layers of the dual problem? I turn now to theories of “the third sector,” which persuasively explain and track the process of nonprofit-ization in the field of music education in Chicago. According to this model, nonprofits exist in the gaps between the state and the market: in cases when both the state and the market have failed to serve a need or consumer demand, this gap enables nonprofits to exist and to justify their existence to funders and other stakeholders.

Peter Frumkin writes,

The nonprofit and voluntary sector is the contested area between the state and the market where public and private concerns meet and where individual and social efforts are united. Nonprofit and voluntary action expresses a complex and at times conflicting desire to defend the pursuit of private individual aspirations, while at the same time affirming the idea of a public sphere shaped by shared goals and values.⁶³

Peter Dobkin Hall describes this contested area in greater depth:

The terms now used to describe private charitable, philanthropic, and voluntary enterprise—such neologisms as *third sector*, *nonprofit sector*, and *independent sector*—obscure the controversies that have, for the past two centuries, raged around the claims of private groups to be able to act for and in the name of the public. These controversies came to a climax between 1961 and 1973, when tempering the growing numbers and power of these organizations stood near the top of the public agenda. Only in the past decade [i.e., in the 1980s; Hall writes in 1992]—perhaps for the first time since the end of the eighteenth century—have the oratorical guns fallen silent: all sides have come to accept these claims as legitimate, and the power centers all along the political spectrum

⁶³ Peter Frumkin, *On Being Nonprofit: A Conceptual and Policy Primer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 1.

are busying themselves with establishing and building up the privatized instrumentalities of public influence.⁶⁴

It is Hall's last phrase, "the privatized instrumentalities of public influence," that I find particularly evocative in the Chicago context. Nonprofit music education programs in Chicago address issues of both private and public concern: an individual family's inability to pay for much-desired music lessons on the one hand, and music education's purported ability to solve major publicly-contested issues such as high school graduation rates. These nonprofits have arisen largely in response to the gap between what the state and what the market can provide—and often define their own institutional histories in such terms—but then move beyond this as they seek to influence the public sphere.

The case for both state and market failure with respect to the music education of low-income populations is relatively clear in this context. I consider the Chicago Public Schools "the state" in this context, that is, the public sector entity that provides music education. Concerns about the equitable provision of music and arts education across all public schools in Chicago were raised as early as the 1960s, when Urban Gateways was founded in order to address the relative lack of arts education in majority-black schools on Chicago's south side. In 1979, CPS laid off all of its arts education faculty in response to a budget crisis. In 1992, CPS began to re-hire arts teachers at the ratio of 0.5 FTE arts teachers per 700-750 students, but comprehensive arts education opportunities have been far from uniformly available throughout the district, especially before the introduction of the 2012-2015 CPS Arts Education Plan.⁶⁵ This lack of

⁶⁴Peter Dobkin Hall, *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector and Other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Nonprofit Organizations* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 1.

⁶⁵Susan J. Bodilly and Catherine H. Augustine with Laura Zakaras, *Revitalizing Arts Education Through Community-Wide Coordination*, commissioned by the Wallace Foundation (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2008), 33.

coverage was particularly acute on the city's south and west sides; schools in wealthier neighborhoods have sometimes been able to afford arts teachers and extracurricular opportunities through parent-led fundraising efforts, which have not been feasible for schools in lower-income neighborhoods.⁶⁶ Since low-income children most often have access to arts education through their public schools or not at all, this pattern means that low-income families in Chicago often cannot access formal arts education opportunities if arts classes are not available at the neighborhood public school.⁶⁷

The case for “market failure” with respect to music education is also clear. For purposes of this analysis, I refer to music education opportunities charged at market-rate tuition as within the private sector, despite the fact that some of these offerings are run through nonprofit organizations, because market-rate music education does not require charitable or philanthropic support. Chicago and the surrounding metropolitan area are home to a number of excellent community music schools and private teachers. Given that the average hourly rate for Chicago-area music teachers is approximately \$40, ranging in my fieldwork from \$25 to as high as \$120, one can extrapolate the price of lessons from there, taking into account music schools' overhead costs. A 30-minute instrumental music lesson often costs \$20 to \$50, and many teachers encourage students to take weekly lessons. Many programs also include supplementary classes which can cost \$150-\$400 per 12-week quarter. Thus, it is not unusual for families in Chicago to pay anywhere from \$130 to \$400 per child per month for private music instruction. This does not

⁶⁶Posey-Maddox, *When Middle-Class Parents Choose Urban Schools*, 91.

⁶⁷Nick Rabkin and E. C. Hedberg, *Arts education in America: What the declines mean for arts participation* (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts, Office of Research & Analysis, 2011), 47.

include the cost of instrument rental and maintenance, which can be significant.⁶⁸ These costs are beyond the reach of many households in the city of Chicago and in its metropolitan area.

In Chicago, as elsewhere, the nonprofit music education sector seeks to fill the gap between what the public schools and the market provide. As Frumkin writes,

Using charitable contributions, many nonprofit and voluntary organizations can deliver services to clients who are unable to pay. At other times, nonprofit and voluntary action represents an attempt to move beyond government action to find solutions to public problems that a majority of citizens are unable or unwilling to support.⁶⁹

The gap between the public and the private is the space in which the dual problem is defined, constructed, and addressed. It is also important to historicize the nonprofit music education sector's approach to this dual problem. The first wave of nonprofit music education organizations primarily sought to address gaps in access: Urban Gateways, for example, or the Merit School of Music, founded just after CPS laid off its arts teachers in 1979 in order to provide music education to children in Chicago who could not access it in the public schools. Subsequent waves of nonprofits have moved toward the other half of the dual problem: using music education to address other kinds of issues. Other organizations, such as The People's Music School, exhibit hybrid approaches due to institutional change over time: People's was founded in 1976 in order to provide free music lessons to children whose families would not otherwise be able to afford it, and this remains the orientation of its Uptown Academy division.⁷⁰ However, as it has developed its El Sistema-inspired Youth Orchestras program, the school's mission has shifted toward the "transformative" qualities of music education.

⁶⁸ These numbers are based on informal conversations with members of the music education industry and on my previous professional membership in the Chicago Consortium of Community Music Schools.

⁶⁹ Frumkin, *On Being Nonprofit*, 9.

⁷⁰ The People's Music School, "Our History," accessed May 3, 2015, <http://www.peoplesmusicschool.org/about-us/history>.

I follow Frumkin in arguing that the work of nonprofit organizations in this space between what the public and private sectors can provide is both demand- and supply-driven. He argues that

[T]he demand-side approach captures but one aspect of this broad social phenomenon. An alternative, supply-side position argues that the sector is impelled by the resources and ideas that flow into it—resources and ideas that come from social entrepreneurs, donors, and volunteers. This is a more controversial perspective because it has led to some strong claims about how nonprofit organizations should be managed and operated. Rejecting many of the preceding arguments about the needs that pull on the sector, the supply-side perspective holds that nonprofit and voluntary organizations are really all about the people with resources and commitment who fire the engine of nonprofit and voluntary action. Drawn to the sector by visions and commitments, social entrepreneurs bring forward agendas that often operate independently of immediately obvious and enduring community needs. This supply-side theory of nonprofits, like the demand-side approach, has both descriptive and normative elements.⁷¹

The work of Merit and Uptown Academy, for example, is clearly demand-driven: there are a number of children in Chicago who wish to take music lessons but whose families cannot afford it; these institutions meet this demand. The work of El Sistema-inspired and similar programs, by contrast, is both supply- and demand-driven: “people with resources and commitment,” as Frumkin says, have a particular vision of music’s role in effecting social change, and seek venues in and populations with which to work in order to realize this vision. This element—the staff and faculty side—of these programs is supply-driven in many ways: in Albert Oppenheimer’s previous description of the founding of the Hibbard Elementary program in Albany Park, for example, the (supply-side) decision had already been made to create an El Sistema-based orchestra, and defining the community need to which this program would be attached came later in the process.⁷² As I shall describe in Chapter 5, though, there is real

⁷¹ Frumkin, *On Being Nonprofit*, 21.

⁷² Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

demand on the part of parents and students for these programs: they generally are less invested in the program's social mission and more invested in the access opportunity it provides.

“Supply” also comes from grantmakers. Foundations are increasingly interested in funding organizations that use the arts in service of social goals. The Americans for the Arts report *Trend or Tipping Point* states,

At the October 2008 Grantmakers in the Arts conference, in the immediacy of economic turmoil, funding leaders anticipated that many could be looking to fulfill multiple goals with more limited resources and that investment in arts and culture as contributors to social and civic solutions would become more desirable.⁷³

The report further describes the “small number of national foundations supporting arts for change in an explicit way”⁷⁴ and states that

[G]rowth in the private sector seems most apparent among community foundations and smaller family, public, and private foundations. Social justice funders that have truly institutionalized and/or integrated arts strategies are often family or private foundations, place- or issue-specific in their focus, and small enough in staff size to foster cross-fertilization and collaboration within the foundation...For social justice funders, arts and culture are often just one of many strategies to make change.⁷⁵

As funders shift from funding “art for art’s sake,” and toward “art for social change,” nonprofit organizations must, of necessity, at minimum reshape the ways in which they present their work to foundations, and sometimes even reorient their work completely, in order to maintain and grow funding streams. Development staff at the organizations with which I worked try very hard, as Urban Gateways’ Kristy Conway said, not to “chase the money.” At Urban Gateways, Conway develops a robust understanding of the organization’s different strategic and programmatic priorities and then matches funding opportunities to these priorities. However, certain priorities are more easily fundable than others. Conway described how she will, if she

⁷³ Pam Korza and Barbara Schaffer Bacon, *Trend or Tipping Point: Arts & Social Change Grantmaking* (Washington, DC and New York: Americans for the Arts, 2010), 2.

⁷⁴ Korza and Schaffer Bacon, *Trend or Tipping Point*, 5.

⁷⁵ Korza and Schaffer Bacon, *Trend or Tipping Point*, 6.

sees a “hot” funding area that matches with a programmatic goal, encourage program staff to consider developing more programming in that area and less in other areas.⁷⁶ Thus, the priorities of foundations do establish parameters—although they are not rigid or fully determining—for the work of nonprofit arts education organizations.

I turn now to a case study that illustrates the leading role that the third sector has taken in addressing both layers of the dual problem in arts education in Chicago: the story of Ingenuity, Incorporated. The formation of Ingenuity, Inc., and the conditions that enabled its formation, must be explicitly viewed in the broader context of philanthropic intervention into education policy and administration over the last two decades. As Sarah Reckhow writes,

Major foundations, such as the Gates Foundation, Broad Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, and Walton Family Foundation, have financed the development of a new organizational infrastructure in education policy, including charter schools, advocacy organizations, education consulting and research organizations, and countless nonprofits. Without private funding, many of these organizations would not exist. In large urban districts, major foundations distribute grants to promote new policies, implement new programs, create new organizations, and engage in other activities that directly shape the policy direction of the district. Without private funding, urban district leaders would have little reason to divert public funds to risky new initiatives.⁷⁷

Ingenuity is a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization whose mission is “to leverage the vibrant communities, rich knowledge and significant resources of Chicago to ensure the arts are a critical component of every public school student’s education,” wholly funded by philanthropic dollars and enabled by precisely the process described above by Reckhow.⁷⁸ Ingenuity is an advocacy organization, collector of data, support to the CPS Office of Arts Education, and “chief arts education strategy partner to CPS.”⁷⁹ It also played a leading role in the creation of the CPS Arts

⁷⁶ Kristy Conway, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, April 30, 2014.

⁷⁷ Reckhow, *Follow the Money*, 3.

⁷⁸ Ingenuity, Inc., “The Thinking Behind Arts Learning,” accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.ingenuity-inc.org/about>.

⁷⁹ Ingenuity, Inc., “The Thinking Behind Arts Learning.”

Education Plan and designed and manages the Creative Schools Initiative, which tracks and supports implementation of the CPS Arts Education Plan. Ingenuity is explicitly a third-sector solution to what has been defined as a public problem, and resulted from a long history of third-sector, particularly philanthropic, involvement in arts education planning for Chicago’s public schools.

The early 2000s saw a wave of reports from major foundations on the state of public-school arts education in large urban districts—some Chicago-specific, some national in scope. In the absence of strong governmental or school-district leadership on reducing inequities in arts education access, foundations—in Chicago, as in many other large American cities—have undertaken research and analysis and then led initiatives to act upon their findings. In 2002, the Chicago Community Trust surveyed arts education provision in the Chicago Public Schools and found, in short, that arts education access was unevenly distributed across the district; that, although state standards for arts education existed, few teachers adhered to them; and that there was little coordination between the district and its numerous third-party arts providers and their funders.⁸⁰ In response, the Trust, with the support of 13 aligned local foundations, “launched a new initiative to develop a sequential arts demonstration program that would be provided in schools based on geographic clusters spread across the city specifically to capture a range of schools and students.”⁸¹ This initiative ended in 2004 and was judged successful only in the particular schools it directly affected—it had not created systemic change in the district, as was hoped.⁸² Inspired by the examples of New York and Los Angeles, the Trust and its partners then began to lobby CPS to hire a district-wide director for the arts. The new Director, Office of Arts

⁸⁰ Bodilly et al., *Revitalizing Arts Education*, 34; Lynn Donaldson and Erika Pearsall, *Arts Education in the Chicago Public Schools* (Chicago: Chicago Community Trust, 2002).

⁸¹ Bodilly et al., *Revitalizing Arts Education*, 34.

⁸² Bodilly et al., *Revitalizing Arts Education*, 35.

Education was hired in 2006; his salary was funded in part by the Chicago Community Trust and 17 other affiliated philanthropists. This position, then and now, is a staff position in the superintendent's office and does not have authority over school principals, nor their arts budget lines. In 2006, the Office of Arts Education had a \$1.3 million budget, half of which paid salaries for office staff.⁸³ In fiscal year 2014, the Office of Arts Education had a \$1.66 million budget; in fiscal 2015, the figure was \$1.75 million.⁸⁴ By contrast, the music education budget allocated to the schools, and under the direct control of principals, was approximately \$18.4 million in fiscal 2015.⁸⁵ Thus, the central Office of Arts Education is responsible for high-level strategy, planning, and special projects, whereas the schools are responsible for on-the-ground implementation: for example, hiring teachers and arts partners.

The formation of the Office of Arts Education was the first major philanthropic intervention in Chicago arts education policy. The second round came in 2008, when the Wallace Foundation commissioned *Revitalizing Arts Education through Community-Wide Coordination*.⁸⁶ This report assessed arts education in six large urban school districts (Alameda County, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles County, and New York). It found, in Chicago's case, that the district's only real asset with respect to arts education was the foundation-supported Office of Arts Education, and that other efforts were still disorganized and unequal. This report was influential in Chicago's arts education field and spurred the creation of the Chicago Arts Learning Initiative (CALI), a group of more than 200 arts nonprofits that sought to

⁸³ Bodilly et al., *Revitalizing Arts Education*, 35.

⁸⁴ Board of Education of the City of Chicago and Chicago Public Schools, "Approved Budget 2014-2015," 5.

⁸⁵ Chicago Public Schools interactive budget, accessed April 3, 2015, <https://supplier.csc.cps.k12.il.us/analytics/saw.dll?Dashboard>.

⁸⁶ Bodilly et al., *Revitalizing Arts Education*.

work with CPS to create a plan to improve arts education in the schools.⁸⁷ In June 2010, CALI issued a report entitled *Collaborating for Change: Expanding Arts Learning in Chicago*.⁸⁸ This report argues that arts education is necessary to instill in students the necessary “creativity and innovation” for twenty-first-century economic success; diagnoses ongoing problems in arts education provision in CPS; and outlines a call to action for arts educators, foundations, and school administrators. This call advocates for increased data collection, especially using online tools; for coordinated advocacy; for increased school leadership; for improved quality of arts teaching and learning; and for increased alignment and coordination in the arts education system. The CALI report, and associated advocacy work, ultimately led to both the 2011 founding of Ingenuity, Inc. and the CPS Arts Education Plan. The 2012 CPS Arts Education Plan was very much associated with the broader, citywide cultural planning process of 2011-2012, but was simultaneously an outgrowth and desired goal of a ten-year process of philanthropic and nonprofit arts-education sector advocacy work.

Ingenuity, Inc. is in many ways a surrogate, third-sector Office of Arts Education for the Chicago school district. Its budget is nearly the same size as the district office (\$1.58 million in tax year 2012), and it has the same amount of, if not more, strategic authority over arts education in the Chicago Public Schools.⁸⁹ In the organizations in which I did fieldwork, and for my interviewees, Ingenuity was a more visible and dynamic presence on the arts education scene than was the CPS Office of Arts Education itself, and was frequently referred to as having significant influence over arts education in the district and in the city as a whole. However,

⁸⁷ Ingenuity, Inc., “History,” accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.ingenuity-inc.org/history>.

⁸⁸ Chicago Arts Learning Initiative, *Collaborating for Change: Expanding Arts Learning in Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Arts Learning Initiative, 2010).

⁸⁹ Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax: Ingenuity, Incorporated,” tax year 2012, retrieved from guidestar.org (2013), 1.

because Ingenuity is private, and is not directly controlled by CPS, it has more intellectual and pragmatic latitude, and has been able to be more (though still gently) critical of existing arts education policies and practices.

I argue that Ingenuity is a private organization that is serving a state function, and that despite the long trajectory that led to this point, this arrangement should not be naturalized or taken for granted. Although other cities' histories show that devolving this portfolio to a third-party organization is often more efficient, effective, and beneficial in achieving key goals of access and quality—because actors within districts themselves are often incentivized against reform from within—it is still rather remarkable that this should be the case.⁹⁰ Again returning to “TINA”—“There Is No Alternative”—it is imperative to recognize the ways in which inefficacy of public institutions is often cited under neoliberalism as a reason to privatize, rather than democratically reform, these institutions.⁹¹ This is part of a longer trajectory of what has been called “venture philanthropy” within the history of public education: that is, philanthropic efforts that seek to make an active policy intervention, often toward privatization rather than support existing efforts, borrowing tools and concepts from the field of venture capital. In Chicago, venture philanthropy has been limited as compared with the work of foundations like the Gates, Walton, and Broad foundations in cities like New York and Los Angeles: the most notable philanthropic intervention into public education here, the 1995-2001 Annenberg Challenge, hewed to more conventional philanthropic standards.⁹² Diane Ravitch writes of venture philanthropists that they

⁹⁰ Bodilly, et al., *Revitalizing Arts Education*, 66, 67.

⁹¹ See Hackworth, *The Neoliberal City*, 200-201, on Marcuse and Van Kempen, eds., *Globalizing Cities*.

⁹² See Payne, *So Much Reform, So Little Change*.

treated their gifts as an investment that was expected to produce measurable results, or in the argot of business, a “return on investment.” They funded new, entrepreneurial organizations that shared their goals, and they created new organizations to receive their funding when none existed that met their purposes.⁹³

Ingenuity, Inc.’s existence can be attributed to this type of philanthropic intervention, and is the clear leader among several institutions (i.e., the CPS Office of Arts Education, CALI) that were created by third-sector organizations, convened and led by philanthropists, to achieve their goals. Frumkin writes of venture philanthropy that “[t]hese donors have sought to move philanthropy away from grants and good will toward social investments and due diligence.”⁹⁴ Public-sector institutions are here something to be acted *upon* and *through* more than something to be acted *with*, an instrument of foundation goals. This echoes Beckles Willson’s analysis of NGOs supporting music education efforts in Palestine: “these [organizations] have sought rhetorically to construct a ‘civil society’ without direct engagement with the political process.”⁹⁵

In Chicago, cultural policy is being made and implemented not exclusively or even primarily by the government, but by a complex mix of public and private, large and small decision-makers. Following Tyler Cowen (at least in my empirical analysis, if not in my evaluation), I argue that cultural policy must be viewed as *decentralized*: as the sum total of the decisions made and actions taken by all of the agents in the cultural sector, rather than simply public-sector entities.⁹⁶ Indeed, official arts education policy in Chicago in recent years has largely been made in response to pressure from philanthropists and nonprofit arts organizations. In response to what has been perceived as a vacuum in leadership, drive, and attention from the public sector, the nonprofit and philanthropic sector has stepped in to advocate, create, and

⁹³ Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*, 200.

⁹⁴ Frumkin, *On Being Nonprofit*, 139.

⁹⁵ Beckles Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission*, 240.

⁹⁶ Cowen, *Good and Plenty*, 2.

implement policy, using public-sector institutions such as the public school district as a mechanism for policy implementation rather than as a driving force of policy creation. Twenty-first-century cultural policy in Chicago, moreover, frames “culture” not only as an area of human and economic activity that requires administration in its own right, but also as an area that can be generative of various kinds of urban development. The question must then be asked: How has this belief come to hold sway, and why?

Cultural policy as urban problem-solver

Under neoliberalism—which underpins Chicago’s drive toward becoming an unquestionably global city—cultural policy can only have relevance insofar as it enhances the city’s economic competitiveness. Hackworth writes that “city governments are increasingly expected to serve as market facilitators, rather than salves for market failures.”⁹⁷ This analysis helps to explain why recent cultural planning initiatives in Chicago have justified their attention to arts education—not to mention cultural planning more broadly—in terms of the economic benefit that this attention will bring; cultural planning is not framed as valuable in itself.

Chicago’s primary cultural policy documents posit arts education as the solution to a number of urban issues in Chicago, and as a key strategy in Chicago’s continued progress toward global city status. Music education, in particular, is frequently framed in terms of its efficacy and expediency in addressing social development goals. This is part of an international trend toward viewing culture solely or primarily in terms of its expediency: George Yúdice quotes a UNESCO official who

lamented that culture is invoked to solve problems that previously were the province of economics and politics. Yet, she continued, the only way to convince government and

⁹⁷ Hackworth, *The Neoliberal City*, 61.

business leaders that it is worth supporting cultural activity is to argue that it will reduce social conflicts and lead to economic development.⁹⁸

Yúdice's work describes and explains the ways in which "culture as an expedient gained legitimacy and displaced or absorbed other understandings of culture."⁹⁹ I follow Yúdice in arguing that, in the discourse around music education in Chicago, understandings of its expediency predominate. Although music education practitioners largely believe that music and its study have inherent value, public officials and grantmakers require explanations based on expediency in order to release funds or to give the necessary approvals for large-scale initiatives. This is in direct contrast to earlier understandings of the civic role of arts and of cultural policy in Chicago: for example, the notion that "musical expression...[was] a democratic civic act" during the Progressive Era.¹⁰⁰ Yúdice argues that

culture-as-resource is much more than commodity; it is the lynchpin of a new epistemic framework in which ideology and much of what Foucault called disciplinary society (i.e., the inculcation of norms in such institutions as education, medicine, and psychiatry) are absorbed into an economic or ecological rationality, such that management, conservation, access, distribution, and investment—in "culture" and the outcomes thereof—take priority.¹⁰¹

Recent investments in music and arts education have almost exclusively gained traction due to their success in framing these educational practices as economically, and thus civically, valuable. Again, although other rationales do exist in this field in Chicago, they are primarily held by practitioners and not valued by those who control the purse-strings: these beliefs may motivate individual agents in their own labor decisions, but do not necessarily motivate larger shifts in cultural policy.

⁹⁸ Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 1.

⁹⁹ Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, 5.

¹⁰¹ Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 1.

The uneven problematization of urban space in Chicago is directly related to the use of culture as economic expedient. Yúdice writes that

this expanded role for culture is due in part to the reduction of direct subvention of all social services, culture included, by the state, thus requiring a new legitimation strategy in the post-Fordist and the post-civil rights era in the United States.... Without cold war legitimation, there is nothing holding back utilitarian arguments in the United States. Art has completely folded into an expanded conception of culture that can solve problems, including job creation. Its purpose is to lend a hand in the reduction of expenditures and at the same time help maintain the level of state intervention for the stability of capitalism. Because almost all actors in the cultural sphere have latched onto this strategy, culture is no longer experienced, valued, or understood as transcendent. And insofar as this is the case, appeals to culture are no longer tied to this strategy.¹⁰²

Ironically, the very fact that political will for the provision of services and resources to particular urban areas—for example, Englewood—has receded, itself setting in motion the material decline of these areas, has set the stage for notions of culture’s expediency in addressing these very same issues. Yúdice argues further that

The turn to cultural capital is part of the history of recognition of shortcomings in investment for physical capital in the 1960s, human capital in the 1980s, and social capital in the 1990s. Each new notion of capital was devised as a way of ameliorating some of the failures of development according to the preceding framework.... The trickle-down premise of neoliberal economic theory has not been confirmed. Consequently, there has been a turn to investment in civil society, and culture as its prime animator.¹⁰³

Early twenty-first-century Chicago is heir to over a century’s worth of urban planning, renewal, and redevelopment efforts, beginning with the rebuilding process after the 1871 fire, the creation and implementation of the Burnham Plan, the reform efforts of the Progressive Era, midcentury slum clearance and “urban renewal,” intensive policing against drugs and crime in the late twentieth century, and the developmentalist efforts of the early 2000s. The cultural turn is, in places like Englewood, an attempt to improve neighborhoods that the private sector has left behind and for which there is insufficient political will to undertake significant economic and

¹⁰² Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 11-12.

¹⁰³ Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture*, 14.

political reforms. The cultural turn is a last-ditch effort where others have failed, or not been tried. Here, the arts, as Marjorie Garber writes, are both overvalued—believed to have power beyond themselves—and undervalued—as having no value other than the expedient.¹⁰⁴

In this section, I analyze the turn toward expediency and posit some reasons why this has happened. I seek to understand both why expedient rationales have seized upon arts education as opposed to other kinds of interventions, and why expediency has become the primary rationale for the support of arts, and particularly music, education. Again, I turn to both supply- and demand-side justifications. In short, arts education practitioners justify their work in whatever terms are effective, and the economic is effective.

The expedient turn is also part of a longer history of using education, arts, and culture to “improve poor people,” as Michael Katz writes. The ways in which education, arts education, and poor neighborhoods within the city of Chicago have been problematized, and the developmentalist solutions offered, tracks Katz’s narrative:

Of all options, education has shone as the preferred solution for social problems by compensating for inadequate parenting, shaping values and attitudes, molding character, and imparting useful skills. Added to its other assignments, improving poor people has given American education an extraordinary—indeed, impossible—load, which is one reason why with regularity since the third quarter of the nineteenth century critics have alleged the failure of public schools.¹⁰⁵

If the “problem” is behavioral, then the solution is educational. In Chicago, as I demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the second layer of the dual problem is, indeed, considered to be behavioral, and the Foucauldian disciplinary powers of education and of arts training are framed as the solution.

¹⁰⁴ Marjorie Garber, *Patronizing the Arts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), xi, xii.

¹⁰⁵ Michael B. Katz, *Improving Poor People: The Welfare State, the “Underclass,” and Urban Schools as History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 4.

This attitude came to the fore in the early stages of the development of the El Sistema-inspired orchestra in Englewood. The anecdote related below is heavily redacted in order to assuage informants' privacy concerns, but the gist is still potent, and, in my opinion, ethically disturbing. In the previous version of this narrative, given above, the program director said that it was the pastor of an Englewood-based church who first approached the El Sistema program about starting an orchestra program in the neighborhood. This may be true; I also present here another version, which was told to me at a later date.¹⁰⁶

In 2013, this Englewood pastor went to speak at a synagogue in an affluent North Shore suburb, as part of an interfaith partnership. The pastor asked that the synagogue send volunteers to serve as reading tutors at the Englewood church, because children in the church community needed reading assistance in order to succeed in school. One wealthy member of the synagogue, who was interested in supporting a music program, approached the pastor after her speech and said (and here I am quoting the program director quoting the synagogue member), "You guys, if you're looking to uplift your community, you don't need—I mean, reading tutors are great, but music would be better. Here's an organization that does this," and referred her to the El Sistema program. This synagogue member ended up pledging money to start the Englewood orchestra. The program director analyzed the donor's perspective as follows:

It wasn't because he thought Englewood needed arts. He saw the impact that music had and had a passion for it, and wanted to give that community something that was going to be more impactful than reading tutors, so he sent them to us. So to that degree, he's interested in getting something started. He doesn't care so much about measurement, he doesn't care so much about what the evidence of our impact is. He just wants it to happen because he believes in it intuitively, because he's seen it work, his entire family's involved—he's in, he's hooked.

¹⁰⁶ Note that here, as above, I do not provide specific citations for this interview in order to protect collaborators' privacy concerns.

I had the opportunity to speak with other individuals who were familiar with this donor and his motivations, who generally confirmed the program director's perspective here.

This narrative is striking. Here, a pastor—who presumably knows her community quite intimately—has, on the basis of that knowledge, diagnosed a need for reading tutors in the community and set out to find individuals who could serve as such. Instead of finding volunteers to tutor, however, in this particular synagogue community this African-American, comparatively less well-off female pastor had a wealthy, white man tell her what her community needs, and volunteered himself to “rescue” this Englewood church community by “providing” music education, on the basis that he “intuitively” believes it will be more “impactful” than teaching children in the community how to read. To put it starkly, this replicates, in miniature and in the present day, generations of colonialist dynamics at work in global development ideologies, and is based on and instantiates power dynamics on the basis of race, class, gender, and geography. This pastor, seeing an opportunity to provide free music education to children in her community, did eventually take this donor up on his offer. One can only wonder what her thoughts on this interaction were, and hope that she was able to find the reading tutors that she needed. The fact that this anecdote was told to me, not only unremarkably but also approvingly, is quite revealing of the beliefs behind the discourse around music education and its interventional possibilities.

Chicago's state-facilitated, although not exclusively state-controlled, cultural policymaking frames music education as part of a broader strategy to remake the city. M.

Christine Boyer writes of the emergence of urban planning as a discipline that

a rationally controlled city form progressing toward perfection could become the vehicle by which the nation would develop along the path of civilization. To allow a planning mentality to rise [in the late nineteenth century], a total reorientation of discourse was required, a gathering together of new insights into the nature of the city that turned

toward a new language of urban problems as well as a new responsibility of the state for the individual in an urban society.¹⁰⁷

Boyer's analysis holds true for contemporary Chicago if one substitutes the term "third sector" for "state" in the last sentence. Chicago's cultural policy initiatives imagine a perfected city, in which the deep rationalization of Chicago's center-periphery urban form enables both the center and periphery to work together harmoniously in the context of Chicago-as-global-city.

Improving the periphery from the perspective of the center, then, becomes a major contemporary urban-planning concern. Orchestrating this through arts education posits the "cultural vibrancy of the neighborhoods" as a resource to be tapped at the same time that it problematizes these same neighborhoods as targets of developmental intervention. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore argue that

[I]n many cases, neoliberal programs have also been directly "interiorized" into urban policy regimes, as newly formed territorial alliances attempt to rejuvenate local economies through a shock treatment of deregulation, privatization, liberalization, and enhanced fiscal austerity. In this context, cities—including their suburban peripheries—have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments, from place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterisms to workfare policies, property-redevelopment schemes, business-incubator projects, new strategies of social control, policing, and surveillance, and a host of other institutional modifications within the local and regional state apparatus....[T]he overarching goal of such neoliberal urban-policy experiments is to mobilize city space as an arena both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices.¹⁰⁸

Many elements of arts education policy in Chicago fit this description, particularly the notion that arts education should "mobilize city space as an arena...for market-oriented economic growth" via the inculcation of "creativity and innovation" in students. The privatization and leadership role of the third, as opposed to the public, sector in the development and

¹⁰⁷ M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism,'" in Brenner and Theodore, eds., *Spaces of Neoliberalism*, 20-21.

implementation of arts education policy is notable and fits well within the neoliberal framework given here. Finally, and most saliently here, the concept that music education in particular inculcates discipline and desirable social behavior is certainly a form of “social control, policing, and surveillance,” albeit a rather gentle one.

The vision for arts education in Chicago is indeed market-oriented—the primary mechanism posited for the re-making of the city. The uniformity of the rhetoric is striking. In the CPS Arts Education Plan, Mayor Rahm Emanuel writes,

Integrating the arts into the school day with math, science, reading and writing enhances student outcomes and academic achievement. Arts education also contributes to essential 21st century skills like innovation, creativity, and critical thinking that will prepare them for life-long learning.¹⁰⁹

In the same document, former CPS CEO Barbara Byrd-Bennett writes,

Through a comprehensive arts education, from visual art to music, dance, and theatre, Chicago Public Schools students of every grade and age will have the opportunity to develop into creative thinkers capable of expressing themselves, understanding others and contributing to the city’s culture and economy for years to come.¹¹⁰

On the very next page of the CPS Arts Education Plan, Yo-Yo Ma writes, “Every time I open the paper these days I read that our country needs the workforce of the 21st Century [*sic*] to be collaborative, flexible, innovative and imaginative. Those are exactly the skills students learn through the arts.”¹¹¹ The 2012 Chicago Cultural Plan states this philosophy extremely clearly:

Leaders both within and outside the cultural sector cite the value of culture on Chicago’s overall prosperity. Access to cultural opportunity is one reason people want to visit and live in cities. The competitive edge in the new global digital economy will be the capacity of the regional workforce to create innovative solutions and products. Arts education is a clear pathway to the thinking and collaboration essential to creativity and innovation.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, front matter.

¹¹⁰ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, front matter.

¹¹¹ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, front matter.

¹¹² *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 8.

CALI's 2010 report—the one that galvanized philanthropic, district, and municipal leaders to engage in most of the cultural policymaking that has taken place since then—opens with the following statement:

Parents, educators, community leaders, and elected officials all want to make sure that Chicago's children get the education needed to lead meaningful, productive lives. But “reading, writing, ‘rithmetic”—the 19th century formula to prepare students for industrial jobs—is no longer enough. Schools need to foster creativity, critical thinking, problem solving, collaboration, and communications—skills essential to participating in our democracy and succeeding in the emerging global economy. The arts arm students with these essential skills.¹¹³

This vision of the role of arts education in society is highly market-oriented and implemented through privatized and semi-privatized mechanisms.

Improving arts education access, then—the first layer of our dual problem—is believed to be economically beneficial in and of itself. Furthermore, if social problems are defined through an economic lens—if poverty is the result of individual lack of preparation for competition in the global economy, rather than of structural political decisions—“improving the workforce” becomes a viable solution to the myriad issues faced by problematized neighborhoods.¹¹⁴

Michael Katz is highly critical of this perspective and believes that it leads to—not only results from, as I have shown above—the problematization of “the poor”:

First, the culture of capitalism measures persons, as well as everything else, by their ability to produce wealth and by their success in earning it; it therefore leads naturally to the moral condemnation of those who, for whatever reason, fail to contribute or to prosper. It also mystifies the exploitive relations that allow some to prosper so well at the expense of so many. Second, the silence about poverty as a product of political economy reflects the language of politics in America...[F]or over a century American political discourse has redefined issues of power and distribution as questions of identity, morality, and patronage. This is what happened to poverty, which slipped easily, unreflectively, into a language of family, race, and culture rather than inequality, power,

¹¹³ CALI, *Collaborating for Change*, 1.

¹¹⁴ See Ta-Nehisi Coates, “The Ghetto Is Public Policy,” *The Atlantic*, May 1, 2013, accessed May 3, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2013/05/the-ghetto-is-public-policy/275456/>.

and exploitation. The silence is therefore no anomaly; rather, it is the expected outcome of the way American political discussion has ignored, deflected, or framed issues of political economy for a very long time.¹¹⁵

Embedded in the instrumentalization of culture and of cultural policy, then, are deep assumptions about the nature of poverty, of urban space, of urban inequality, and of poor people themselves. These assumptions must be acknowledged, and deserve critical examination, contextualized by rigorous fact-based research. I examine the implications of these assumptions in greater depth in Chapter 5.

The truth and ethical stance of these underlying beliefs about poverty and cities notwithstanding, the expedient arguments for culture are dangerous and risky in more ways than one. The 2004 RAND Corporation report *Gifts of the Muse*, which has been widely influential in arts education circles, differentiates the “intrinsic” from the “instrumental” benefits of arts education, and warns that, “An argument based entirely on the instrumental effects of the arts runs the risk of being discredited if other activities are more effective at generating the same effects or if policy priorities shift.”¹¹⁶ This is a very real risk. Cowen reminds us that other types of activities also provide these types of instrumental social benefits, and writes that

The relevant policy question is, not whether the arts involve some positive externality, but whether the “economic development externality” from the arts is greater than from alternative investments. In fact, if the arts require subsidy to flourish, they are unlikely to be an especially strong engine of economic growth, whatever their other virtues.¹¹⁷

Economic arguments about the benefits of the arts, both direct and indirect (i.e., long-term workforce development) are tenuous and easily rebutted. These arguments indeed respond to “the problem,” or, rather, to the way in which the problem is framed, but they are not rigorous

¹¹⁵ Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 7-8.

¹¹⁶ Kevin F. McCarthy, Elizabeth H. Ondaatje, Laura Zakaras, and Arthur Brooks, *Gifts of the Muse: Reframing the Debate About the Benefits of the Arts* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, commissioned by the Wallace Foundation, 2004), xiv.

¹¹⁷ Cowen, *Good and Plenty*, 15.

and say less about the benefits of arts education than about the intellectual and political framework into which the discourse around arts education has been forced.

The notion that there is, indeed, “a problem” implies that there must be “a solution.” Since arts education is problematized, it is also “solution-ized”: that is, framed as a solution rather than discussed and planned for on its own terms. The instrumentalization of arts education has led both to a lack of specificity about different art forms and instruction in them—hence my frequent shifts from discussing “arts education” in general to discussing “music education” in particular—and to the sorting of instrumental benefits across different art forms. Music education, in particular, is justified largely on the basis of the social-behavioral changes it is purported to instill: discipline, work ethic, perseverance, and delayed gratification. This is unstable ground on which to build public policy, diagnosing, as it does, the behavior of the poor as a significant cause of poverty. By contrast, visual arts education, for example, seems most often to be valued for making students more “creative.” Instrumental music education’s focus on technique, and the dogged practice needed to master this technique, serves as a metaphor for dogged improvement of students’ personal behavior.

In short, the seeds of the solution lie within the problem itself. The dual problem, defined with respect to class, race, gender (to the extent that boys are framed as more “at-risk” than girls), public institutions, and urban space, means that music education-as-solution must work within these discursive and practical confines. Albert Oppenheimer told me that he wanted to start an El Sistema-based program in one of Chicago’s wealthy northern suburbs, where there have, in recent years, been several notable incidents of teen suicide and heroin usage. However, parents resisted the concept of a program with free or below-market-rate tuition, because, as well-off people, they did not want to participate in what they perceived as a charitable

program.¹¹⁸ Similarly, foundations were reluctant to fund such a program, since they did not perceive this community to be “in need” despite the very serious problems that some of its children were facing. The diagnosis of need, lack, or risk shapes Chicago’s music education programs in the most fundamental ways, beginning with a program’s very viability.

Conclusion

Music education under neoliberalism operates discursively as both a problem and the solution to other problems. This rhetorical strategy is useful for garnering at least some political and financial support. In a time when public funding for music education is limited, adopting the language of problems and solutions that appeals to private foundations is an effective means by which program administrators can acquire the necessary funds to keep programs running.

Because program administrators and teachers so often feel under threat—because of the inherent political and financial precarity of music education—it is easy to stay focused on the day-to-day challenges of funding and running a program, and thus to operate entirely within the problem-solution paradigm.

But music education is not exclusively a problem, and we cannot allow it to be naturalized as such. Though navigating within the problem-solution rhetoric can be strategically useful, it ultimately limits the horizon of possibility for music education and restricts scholars, practitioners, and the urban public from adopting a more expansive, curious, and exploratory approach to what music education is and could be. In particular, I wish here to reframe music education within a more holistic and relational paradigm of justice. Sampson writes that “[w]hile

¹¹⁸ One might argue that these communities did not need free or reduced tuition. However, free tuition is a hallmark of the El Sistema movement and thus it was a given that this program, should it become viable, would not charge full price. Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

important, poverty is a relational concept that requires an understanding of the middle and upper echelons of society.”¹¹⁹ Similarly, areas where music education is lacking must be understood in relation to areas in which music education is abundant; furthermore, music education’s presence or absence, quality or lack thereof, must be understood in relation to broader considerations about the presence or absence of quality education, holistically defined. The “problem” of music education is, somewhat like poverty, relational and cannot be separated from a clear-eyed understanding of class and politics as distributed spatially over the Chicago metropolitan area. Though music education in the early twenty-first century survives largely through the skillful deployment of problem-solution rhetoric, this paradigm is ultimately unsustainable: what happens if and when music education is shown not to be the most effective policy “solution” to any given “problem”? Program administrators will almost always respond to the priorities of funders and cannot necessarily be expected to take the lead in defining alternatives. Rather, policymakers and foundation executives must reframe the grounds on which funding is allocated: no longer exclusively in terms of “solutions” to “problems,” but rather in terms of funding a comprehensive vision for children’s education and artistic development.

The following chapters show the ways in which different facets of music education in Chicago are shaped both by “the problem,” and by the need to serve as a “solution”—and the strengths and, more importantly, liabilities of this approach. Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate the ways in which the contours of labor as a music educator, both in and out of the public schools, are shaped by the fundamental assumption that music education programs respond to urban problems. Chapter 5 illustrates the discursive and pragmatic mechanisms by which “the problem” is addressed: genre, practice, metaphor, and concepts of citizenship. Finally, the

¹¹⁹ Sampson, *Great American City*, 57.

conclusion evaluates the continued viability and desirability of developmentalist ideologies and practices within music education. These chapters hone in on music education more specifically, and attempt to understand why instrumental music education, in particular, is considered a particularly potent method of urban social engineering. The blurry specter of “the urban problem” hovers throughout: the backstage on which the new vision of music education in, of, and for the global city rests.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RISE OF THE TEACHING ARTIST

We are teaching artists. We work...to make the arts accessible to all, regardless of circumstances or “talent.”

We are storytellers. We are observers. We are performers. We are writers. We are creators. We are dreamers. We are makers. We represent all art forms.

And...we are strongest when we all work together.

--Excerpted from the *Teaching Artist Manifesto*, Teaching Artists Guild¹

The figure of the “teaching artist” has risen in prominence as urban music education has become increasingly problematized in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Teaching artists are commonly associated with programs that seek to have an impact beyond education in a given art form: in short, teaching artists are framed as music teachers who can both teach music and use music education to solve the “urban problem” with which we became acquainted in Chapter 2. The term “teaching artist” has gained momentum in public policy and discourse around arts education since the 1990s. It is also a very real job role that has become, due to the results of Chicago’s 2011-13 cultural planning endeavors, increasingly important to the delivery of arts education throughout the city. Chicago is particularly relevant to the history of teaching artists and teaching artistry: it has been argued that the “teaching artist” was invented in Chicago at Hull House in the late nineteenth century, from whence the idea spread to settlement houses across the country. In the late twentieth century, teaching artists became an integral part of the arts education system in Chicago; this system then became a model for the Cultural Plan. This is reflective, and perhaps generative, of national trends. In this chapter, I examine the rise of the teaching artist as both an intellectual construction and as a type of

¹ Teaching Artists Guild, “Teaching Artist Manifesto,” accessed March 20, 2015. <http://teachingartistsguild.org/>. See graphic, Appendix 1.

employment within the arts education sector, in sharp contrast to earlier conceptions of the music educator or music teacher.

The notion of the “teaching artist” is as much an ideological formation as it is a description of labor and pedagogy in contemporary arts education. Eric Booth, a leading exponent of teaching artistry (his website describes him as “the father of the teaching artist profession”)² who has written *The Music Teaching Artist’s Bible*, defines a teaching artist as “an artist who chooses to include artfully educating others, beyond teaching the technique of the art form, as an active part of a career.”³ Booth’s definition centers artistic practice and intentionally moves beyond it, gesturing at the by-now-common practice of curricular integration: teaching other subjects through the arts, or focusing arts practice on another educational goal—for example, creating a mural for the school entrance about violence and violence prevention in the neighborhood, as took place at one of my field sites. It decenters teaching as an identity: the older term of “arts educator” implicitly emphasizes the “educator” component, whereas “teaching artist” highlights “artist” as the primary identity. Indeed, Booth writes that

[A]t its origin, the new term shifted the identity of this “resource professional” away from the needs of the institutions and funding authority involved toward the unique hybrid practice we still struggle to define. The neologism *teaching artist* puts *artist* in focus, where it belongs.⁴

The emphasis on art and artists is one of the distinct advantages of this term and belief system. However, my fieldwork shows that the loss of the educator identity has resulted in material losses for those engaged in the practice of arts education, creating jobs and career paths that are significantly less stable and remunerative than the full-time school arts teacher model.

² Eric Booth, “Home,” accessed February 25, 2015, <http://ericbooth.net/>. Also see Eric Booth, *The Music Teaching Artist’s Bible* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³ Booth, *The Teaching Artist’s Bible*, 3.

⁴ Booth, *The Teaching Artist’s Bible*, 8.

This development is complex. The concept and practice of teaching artistry open up compelling new ways of working, teaching, and learning, and forecloses old practices and institutional formations that should not be so quickly jettisoned. The discursive and practical currency given to “teaching artistry” both historically and in current cultural policymaking is related to the longstanding desire of local business and political leaders for Chicago to take its place comfortably among “global cities.” A precarious flexibility characterizes the working lives of both music teachers and teaching artists in contemporary Chicago, in ways that are similar to the lives of other groups of workers in global cities, and in ways that are similar to those touted by Richard Florida in his work on the “creative class” and the “creative city.” Florida writes,

The most notable feature of the new labor market, as just about everyone agrees, is that people don’t stay tied to companies anymore. Instead of moving up through the ranks of one organization, they move laterally from company to company in search of what they want. The playing field is horizontal and people are always on the roll....Today, workers carry risk that companies used to absorb, as the same companies now would rather add, drop and contract with people as needed.⁵

“Teaching artistry,” then, is the niche that music educators have come to occupy in the neoliberal, twenty-first-century city. As Florida writes, they move laterally, are “always on the roll,” and, most saliently, absorb more risk than any other category of arts nonprofit worker.

In this chapter, I trace the history and the recent rise of the teaching artist; the political uses of this term; and the ways in which this occupation fits into Chicago’s artistic and educational labor markets. I argue that those called “teaching artists” bear the brunt and are a symptom of privatization in music education, and fit neatly into the “freelance economy” that has become an important part of American cities’ labor markets over the last several decades. At the same time, teaching artists often enjoy enormous freedom in their pedagogical and artistic practices, and often view their way of living and working as preferable to other alternatives.

⁵ Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, 104-105.

I begin with a historical overview of teaching artistry, with a focus on Chicago's key role in this development, emphasizing the ways in which urban problematization and teaching artists have long been ideologically and pragmatically intertwined. I then move to a case study of one of my primary collaborators, Michael Riendeau, who is a well-respected, multidisciplinary music teaching artist working in Chicago. I contextualize this by using larger-scale citywide and nationwide studies of teaching artists, and compare Riendeau's work at EPIC Academy in Chicago's South Chicago neighborhood with that of teaching artists in several short-term residencies at Burbank Elementary in the Galewood section of Chicago's Austin neighborhood on the far west side. I then use this data to examine Chicago's recent cultural and arts education policy initiatives, which have solidified the place of teaching artistry, and close with reflections on what the construction of the profession of "teaching artistry" reveals about social and political attitudes to both teaching and art.

The teaching artist: a brief history

The figure of the teaching artist has long been associated with third-sector, community-oriented arts education institutions and programs, especially social programs that have sought to intervene in problematized neighborhoods. Rabkin, Reynolds, Hedberg, and Shelby place the earliest teaching artists in Chicago—artists who ran the music and visual arts programs at Hull-House, a settlement founded by acclaimed social worker Jane Addams serving poor immigrants on the Lower West Side.⁶ Rabkin et al. further state that "[b]y the 1970s TAs [teaching artists] were actively working in what came to be called 'community arts,' making art for the public *with* members of the community, linking their talents to pluralistic aspirations, imaginations, and

⁶ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 4.

social agendas.”⁷ Teaching artists, then, worked in the gaps between what the public sector (i.e., public schools) and private sector (i.e., conservatory-style music schools that charged tuition) provided. Explicit in Rabkin et al.’s statement that teaching artists “link[ed] their talents to pluralistic aspirations, imaginations, and social agendas” is the notion that teaching artists’ work is inherently mission-driven, both bringing art to people and communities who otherwise would not have access to it (or, rather, would not have access to particular kinds of art), and using artistic practice to connect to social agendas. The Hull House connection is important: Hull House is the original and paradigmatic third-sector intervention into a problematized urban community in Chicago.

In this section, I outline the historical development of the “teaching artist” and the discourse around this figure. In particular, I highlight the ideological continuities between the earliest conceptions of the teaching artist’s identity and work, and the ways in which arts education workers and arts education providers respond to and transmit this legacy in contemporary Chicago. The field of music education is a particularly fertile place to examine the tensions between the “teaching artist” and other models (K-12 arts educator, or conservatory-style music teacher) of teaching, working, and making music. In Chicago, there exist many examples of all of these pedagogical-artistic paradigms, often within the same institutions. I begin with a brief examination of the Hull House settlement, then move to studies of the teaching artist in the context of two of my field sites, Urban Gateways and The People’s Music School. I conclude the section with reflections on the Cultural Plan and CPS Arts Education Plan and the ways in which teaching artists assume new prominence under the current cultural policy paradigm, which is further developed later in this chapter. The story of the teaching artist is

⁷ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 5.

largely a story of the transition from the settlement to the schools. In turn, as the teaching artist has risen in prominence in the schools, the music educator's role has become destabilized, which I examine in greater depth in Chapter 4.

As the first major charitable arts education program in Chicago, the Hull-House Music School, opened in 1893, provides a model and analogy for later efforts in this arena. The Hull-House Music School was a component of the broader Hull-House settlement, which provided a variety of social services to low-income immigrants on Chicago's Lower West Side. Music teachers—teaching artists—at Hull House not only taught music, but also served as *mediators*, introducing immigrants to American culture, and assisting immigrants in presenting art from their own cultures to other immigrant groups and to native-born Americans through Hull House's concert series. Co-founder Jane Addams wrote,

The school is designed to give a thorough musical instruction to a limited number of children. From the first lessons they are taught to compose and to reduce to order the musical suggestions which may come to them, and in this wise the school has sometimes been able to recover the songs of the immigrants through their children.⁸

At Hull House, immigrant or first-generation children were able to access their musical heritage precisely through the medium of formal, classically-oriented (though not exclusively classical) music instruction. Children were empowered to share and to preserve their immigrant heritage, but *as* heritage, in the context of a new, American, urban identity.⁹ As Addams wrote,

On the Sunday before Christmas the program of Christmas songs draws together people of the most diverging faiths. In the deep tones of the memorial organ erected at Hull-House, we realize that music is perhaps the most potent agent for making the universal appeal and inducing men to forget their differences.¹⁰

⁸ Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, 242.

⁹ Cf. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998).

¹⁰ Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, 242.

It would have perhaps been more accurately descriptive for her to claim that “music teachers,” or perhaps “teaching artists,” rather than music itself, “are perhaps the most potent agent” for accomplishing the desired social goal. Addams imputes a high degree of agency to music itself, but it was Hull House’s music *teachers* who organized the Christmas concerts that Addams describes and prepared students to perform the varied holiday repertoires featured.

The Hull-House model, of including music instruction among other social services and cultural activities at settlement houses, spread across the United States. “By 1913 there were 400 settlements in the country, almost all had ambitious arts programs, and their influence was wide,” write Rabkin et al. “Some of the greatest American artists”—such as Benny Goodman (at Hull House) and Louis Armstrong (at the Home for Colored Waifs in New Orleans)—“had their first opportunities to learn the arts at a settlement house.”¹¹ Teaching artists at settlement houses did not intend to teach the arts per se. Rabkin et al. draw a distinction between the settlement model of pedagogy, which was intended to use arts education to build personal and social skills in students, such as “artful expression, social criticism, community building, nurturing empathy, cultivating imagination and creativity, aesthetic development, and engaging the world and its cultures”, and the conservatory model, which “established the paradigm for arts education, making excellence, craft, and rigor the highest objectives of instruction.”¹² From the beginning, teaching artists’ work has been designed to engage—or at least, rhetorically positions itself as engaging—artistic practice with social issues, especially the social issues faced by the low-income or otherwise marginalized populations that teaching artists have historically served. This is in opposition to Rabkin et al.’s implicitly maligned “conservatory model,” intended to give students the skill set to become practicing professional artists themselves with less emphasis on

¹¹ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 122.

¹² Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 123.

social context. The rise of the teaching artist is, in part, due to the greater value that philanthropists and policymakers have, lately, placed on “community” over “conservatory” ways of teaching and learning.

It is unclear how the conservatory-community distinction played out with respect to music in particular at Hull House and settlements like it. Although Rabkin et al. highlight the “iconic image” of a drawing class at Hull House sketching the filthy alley behind the settlement as an example of social engagement through the arts, it seems that the music programs at Hull-House and similar settlements were centered around instrumental instruction, primarily in classical music but sometimes in jazz (e.g., Louis Armstrong’s experiences in New Orleans).¹³ According to Addams’ own writings, and work on the Progressive Era in Chicago done by Derek Vaillant,¹⁴ programs of immigrant songs and other instances of ethnic expressive culture took place largely in Hull House proper—that is, they were organized by the social services staff, whereas the music faculty at the Hull-House Music School focused primarily on instrumental music instruction. The social mission there was largely oriented around providing access to conservatory-style music lessons for low-income families, rather than using music to engage urban social issues. Thus, the distinctions that Rabkin, et al. make between the “teaching artist” and “conservatory” models may, in practice, have been primarily discursive at Hull House. As evinced by Addams’ writings quoted above, music itself was then accorded a great deal of power to change behaviors, attitudes, and social conditions for low-income immigrants. This tension around social mission, and the notion that providing “conservatory-style” instrumental education to low-income populations is inherently socially beneficial, has persisted until the present day, most notably in the El Sistema movement discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.

¹³ Rabkin et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 123.

¹⁴ Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, 94-95.

The settlement model of music education persisted through the mid-twentieth century. Although some music education institutions descended from settlements persist today, such as the Third Street Music School Settlement in New York City, they are akin to community music schools rather than full-fledged social service organizations that offer music as a component of their programming. In Chicago, Hull House was displaced by the construction of the University of Illinois at Chicago campus in the 1960s, but its orientation to arts education was continued by two organizations founded shortly after Hull House closed. The 1960s and 1970s saw the founding of two organizations—Urban Gateways and The People’s Music School, respectively—that also sought to respond to the perceived failure of both the public and private sector in providing arts education access to low-income students, particularly students of color.¹⁵ I shall return to Urban Gateways in this chapter and People’s in subsequent chapters, but first wish to outline the rise and fall of arts education in the public schools as a backdrop to the efforts of these non-profit organizations.

Arts education access has been rhetorically valued by those in the highest positions of power with respect to American education, even as federal educational policy does little to support arts education in a meaningful way. In 2010, U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan¹⁶ said,

In America, we do not reserve arts education for privileged students or the elite. Children from disadvantaged backgrounds, students who are English language learners, and students with disabilities often do not get the enrichment experiences of affluent students anywhere except at school. President Obama recalls that when he was a child ‘you

¹⁵ Hull-House and Urban Gateways are now directly connected. In 2014, Urban Gateways merged with Art Resources in Teaching (A.R.T.), founded in 1894 by Ellen Gates Starr and Jane Addams as “The Chicago Public School Art Society” in order to advocate for visual arts in the Chicago Public Schools. Urban Gateways, *Impact Report 2014* (Chicago: Urban Gateways, 2015), front matter.

¹⁶ Duncan, a Chicago native, was CEO of the Chicago Public Schools from 2001 to 2009.

always had an art teacher and a music teacher. Even in the poorest school districts everyone had access to music and other arts.’ Today, sadly, that is no longer the case.¹⁷

Duncan is right to point out the socioeconomic and ability-based disparities in access to arts education, and the crucial role of schools in providing arts education, especially to low-income students. However, Duncan’s implicit endorsement of President Obama’s recollection—that arts education, in particular music education, was once universal and taken for granted in the schools—is not entirely accurate.

Nonetheless, it is this elegiac perspective—that there was once a golden age of universal arts education access in the schools, and that contemporary non-profit programs exist to fill the gaps caused by the declines in the arts in public education—that dominates, and indeed has inspired many teachers and administrators with whom I’ve engaged in this project to pursue their chosen careers. And it is this sense that the public schools both *should* provide arts education, and *fail to do so*, that animates both the sense of mission of the third-sector organizations that served as my field sites, and serves as an assumption underlying Chicago’s recent cultural-planning endeavors. By contrast, Rabkin et al. state unambiguously that

There has never been a golden age of arts education in American schools, when they were valued for themselves. Even at its peak, sometime around 1980, less than two-thirds of American children had the opportunity to take any classes or lessons in any form in school or out. By 2008, less than half did, and most of the decline was in school-based arts education. More damage has been done to school-based arts education over the last three decades than any other time since the start of the 20th century.¹⁸

I highlight the fact that this belief about the role of the public schools is an ideological assumption not because I necessarily disagree with it, but because I feel it is important to examine the intellectual foundations on which these discourses and institutions rest, in order to better understand the roots and future of arts education policy and management. There has never

¹⁷ Rabkin and Hedberg, *Arts education in America*, front matter.

¹⁸ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 137.

been a “golden age” of arts education, but there has been a significant decline within the lived experience of most people working in the field. It is both this drastic decline, and the fundamentally tenuous position of arts education even at its peak, to which those working in and thinking about arts education seem to be responding.

According to the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA)’s Surveys of Public Participation in the Arts, arts education access in the United States rose steadily from the 1920s through the 1960s; in the late 1970s or early 1980s, it began a steady decline from which it has not yet recovered. Twenty-five percent of adults who were 18 to 24 years old in 1930 received arts education at any point in their childhoods (in any venue—through public schools or through other institutions, e.g., community music schools, church programs, etc.). In 1982, the figure was 64.6 percent; by 2008, it had declined to 49.5 percent. Barack Obama, born in 1961, grew up during the period when the majority of American children had access to arts education (although his childhood saw the first years of the downturn), which likely shapes his perspective. Nonetheless, 64.6 percent is a far cry from 100 percent: arts education was *not* universal even at its peak, and access today has declined by about 25 percent from that high point.¹⁹ Two important facts about these statistics should be noted: first, they are national, and thus not Chicago-specific; second, they lump all forms of art education together. Nonetheless, Chicago has historically tracked national trends in arts education, with 70 percent of its elementary schools offering music in 2001.²⁰ Furthermore, music is by far the most common art form in which children are educated (61.2 percent of 18-24-year-olds in the 1982 survey had had music education, versus 37.6 percent in 2008; the comparable figures for visual arts are 41.2 percent

¹⁹ Rabkin and Hedberg, *Arts education in America*, 15.

²⁰ Rabkin and Hedberg, *Arts education in America*, 42.

and 21.4 percent, respectively).²¹ Therefore, statistics on the state of arts education generally can be taken as roughly representative of the state of music education.

Most of these statistics show the percentage of Americans exposed to arts education at various points in time; by implication, they mirror the employment of arts educators. Presumably, employment of arts educators roughly tracked the expansion of arts education access from the 1920s through the 1960s, and has tracked the decline of arts education in the schools from the 1970s to the present.²² This has certainly been the case in Chicago: in 1979, the city laid off all its elementary-school visual arts and music teachers.²³ This is framed, by Rabkin et al., as a dire development for arts education access in the public schools, which of course it was. What goes unmentioned here is that this was also a dire development for the teachers who were laid off, and a significant blow to the viability of making a career in music or visual arts education. As the role of full-time public school arts educators diminished, teaching artists gained in visibility in the late 1970s and early 1980s, in a symbiotic relationship that benefited both arts organizations and cash-strapped schools. Rabkin et al. write of this time that

Enterprising principals who wanted to provide some arts education to their students found that the programs were affordable because most were subsidized by grants from philanthropy or other public agencies. Arts organizations were eager to develop richer relationships with a young and more diverse audience through the schools, and artists were eager for the work.²⁴

Teaching artists, then, first gained significant ground in the Chicago Public Schools in a time of austerity, when they were the only means of delivering arts education. They have since become

²¹ Rabkin and Hedberg, *Arts education in America*, 49.

²² These statistics also show the strong relationship between arts education access in the schools, and arts education access, period: despite the proliferation of not-for-profit arts education programs in the latter half of the twentieth century, overall arts education participation has declined sharply in the same period that school-based arts education has declined sharply.

²³ Rabkin and Hedberg, *Arts education in America*, 43.

²⁴ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, viii.

an integral part of the system, but it is worth noting that the recent codification of the role of teaching artists similarly came in a time of austerity, immediately post-recession and in the context of a significant municipal and state-level fiscal crisis.

The notion that arts non-profits were meant primarily to supplement the insufficiencies of public schools seems to have taken root in the 1960s and grown much stronger since the 1980s. The spiritual, ideological, and philanthropic ancestors of today's arts non-profits arose in the nineteenth century, with the Hull-House Music School as the most prominent and influential instance of this model in Chicago. Throughout the early twentieth century, these programs operated primarily as auxiliaries to other social service programs, just as Hull-House Music School was an outgrowth of the broader Hull-House settlement. In the 1960s, the founding of Urban Gateways to address the lack of access to arts education experienced by low-income Black children on the south side of Chicago, and later to effect social change of various sorts, united the two strands of thought: remedying deficiencies of access to the arts in the schools, and remedying persistent social issues. The tension between these two strands reflects longstanding tensions between different concepts of the proper social role of tax-exempt organizations—whether their work should properly be motivated by feelings of “Christian charity” and the “creation of a community of feeling, a set of human bonds” (the access model) or whether philanthropic support should be given with “scientific” rigor and expect a “return on investment” (the social-issues model).²⁵ In the late 1970s and early 1980s, as support for the arts was cut on the municipal and federal levels, non-profits stepped in and expanded their activities to address what was, and still is, widely perceived as a crisis. The notion that non-profits must work in the spaces vacated or never filled by government was strengthened by then-President Ronald

²⁵ Hall, *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector*, 118, 127.

Reagan, who, as part of his general thrust toward privatization, called for charities to “take up the slack” as federal funding decreased.²⁶

Urban Gateways is a Chicago-based non-profit that sends teaching artists into the schools for workshops and residencies that can last anywhere from one day to several years. It has been an integral part of the Chicago arts education landscape for over 50 years, and has made use of its teaching artist model since the 1970s. Its business model has served as a template for key elements of the CPS Arts Education Plan, which is in many ways simply a formalization of arrangements that were already in place with Urban Gateways and similar organizations. Urban Gateways’ tagline is “Every Art, Every Child, Every Day,” a mission that it fulfills as the de facto external arts provider for the Chicago Public Schools, serving 66,445 CPS students in the 2012-13 school year and 96,552 students in 2013-14 through residencies, workshops, and touring performances.²⁷ (There were 396,683 students enrolled in CPS during the 2014-15 school year.)²⁸

Urban Gateways’ business model relies exclusively on its 68 teaching artists and 35 touring groups. The organization works with schools to determine what they need and want—perhaps an after-school music program, or a series of performances by touring groups, or a short-term visual arts residency to create a mural for the school building—and contracts teaching artists to perform the work. Many schools pay for Urban Gateways’ services from their arts budget; others write grants, often in collaboration with Urban Gateways, to cover the cost of the programs. Urban Gateways also undertakes significant fundraising efforts to cover its overhead

²⁶ Hall, *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector*, 80.

²⁷ Urban Gateways, “See Our Impact,” <http://urbangateways.org/?/about/see-our-impact>. Also note that the sharp increase was due to UG’s merger with Art Resources in Teaching, a similar organization focusing only on visual arts.

²⁸ Chicago Public Schools, “Stats and Facts,” accessed May 20, 2015, http://cps.edu/About_CPS/At-a-glance/Pages/Stats_and_facts.aspx.

costs and to write grants in support of specific programs and general program areas. Teaching artists are contracted per project and are not considered permanent employees of Urban Gateways. Some teaching artists, such as Michael Riendeau, described later in this chapter, work with Urban Gateways frequently, whereas others may only be contracted for one residency per year. Touring groups go through a competitive application process and, if successful, are added to a roster from which schools and Urban Gateways administrative staff can choose when creating a performance schedule.

Urban Gateways programs rarely focus exclusively, or even primarily, on arts skill attainment, but rather seek to integrate arts learning with other curricular areas, and/or social issues. For example, students at EPIC Academy (described later in this chapter) participated in a residency entitled “Imagine Main Street,” in which they imagined the businesses, services, and amenities that they would like to see on the main commercial street in their neighborhood, and created representations of these using cardboard, construction paper, and the like to display them for the community.²⁹ Similarly, Michael Riendeau’s drumline residency at EPIC did result in some percussion skill attainment for students, but did not position this as a primary goal. This focus on exposure and integration, as opposed to skill attainment, is particularly pronounced with respect to Urban Gateways’ music programs, the majority of which are built around touring performances rather than residencies.

Urban Gateways, then, is an organization that exemplifies a number of facets of the field of teaching artistry as outlined by Rabkin, et al. The majority of teaching artists nationwide work for a non-profit arts organization, although only one-seventh work for an organization (such as

²⁹ Kelly Christiel, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, April 30, 2014.

Urban Gateways) that focuses on school-based programming.³⁰ Nationally, seventy-five percent of teaching artists are contract employees, are not salaried, do not receive benefits, and do not receive guarantees of future employment; similarly, the majority of teaching artists teach part-time and may have multiple employers, each of whom engages their services for a few hours per week.³¹ Urban Gateways' business model is fully representative of these trends. Its pedagogical and artistic practice, too—the focus on curricular integration and social issues—is representative of national trends. What is taking place, then, is a shift from full-time, unionized, salaried positions as in-school arts teachers to a model that relies on quasi-private (i.e., non-profit) organizations, which in turn rely almost exclusively on teaching artists. They have the freedom and the training to provide artistically compelling experiences, but face material difficulties as a result of the current configuration of the labor market in their professional sphere.

In the 2012 Chicago Cultural Plan, two priorities are listed under “People”: “Arts education for all Chicago and create opportunities for lifelong learning,” and “Attract and retain artists and creative professionals.” The purpose given for the first is “To incorporate arts education for all residents at all stages of life, from early learning through school and beyond using both formal and informal mechanisms”; for the second, “To invest in the vitality of Chicago’s culture by attracting, sustaining, and propelling forward artists and creative professionals in Chicago.”³² Both priorities encompass music teachers, and have the potential to affect them deeply. They are implicitly included, of course, in the priority regarding arts education, but as the instrument, rather than the object, of realizing this priority. However, it is unclear as to whether teachers are considered “artists” and/or “creative professionals” by the

³⁰ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 8.

³¹ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 8-9.

³² *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 11.

authors of the Cultural Plan. In describing the importance of “People” to Chicago as a creative and cultured city, the Plan states:

Chicago’s strongest cultural asset is its people. Artists offer bold creative expression, innovative models of interpretation, and new content across all cultural disciplines.

Creative professionals belong to the fields of advertising, art, broadcasting, crafts, culinary arts, design, digital media, fashion, film, journalism, music, performing arts, publishing, public relations, toys, game and video design, and more. Their contribution to the city’s economy is substantial.

Arts administrators and advocates, audiences and patrons, civic leaders, and sponsors, educators and students—these make up the ecosystem of a thriving cultural city.³³

“Educators” are listed as part of the “ecosystem,” rather than as members of the classes of “artists” or “creative professionals.”

In this vision for the arts in Chicago-as-global-city, the place of educators is both integral and precarious. That is, on one hand, the Plan’s core priority of arts education is, obviously, impossible to achieve without arts educators; on the other hand, although the Plan acknowledges that “artists” and “creative professionals” are deserving of attention, funding, and sustainability *as workers*, educators are not explicitly included within either of these groups. At the same time that arts education is the subject of renewed civic and political attention, arts educators *as workers* are visible only on the periphery, as part of the “ecosystem” of Chicago’s art world rather than an integral part worthy of dedicated attention and policy-making. This discourse echoes the emphasis placed on “artist” as the core identity in the term “teaching artist”; that is to say, the term implies that these individuals should be considered primarily to be *artists* rather than teachers or other kinds of arts education workers. The emphasis placed on “artist” also deemphasizes teaching artists’ status as workers, making a frank discourse about teaching artists’ working conditions difficult.

³³ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 11.

Today's teaching artists and arts educators are implicitly portrayed as the vanguard in the formation of the "creative," "global" city. They are simultaneously the shapers of young minds into the desired innovators of tomorrow, and themselves form an important part of the "creative class"³⁴ that is purportedly taking the lead in today's urban transformations. Noted cellist Yo-Yo Ma makes a similar claim in the CPS Arts Education Plan (a claim which we encountered earlier in this dissertation, and is important enough to recapitulate here): "Every time I open the paper these days I read that our country needs the workforce of the 21st Century to be collaborative, flexible, innovative, and imaginative. Those are exactly the skills students learn through the arts."³⁵ (Although I focus, of course, on music education in particular here, significant work could and should be done on the discourse around, and working lives of, other types of arts educators, particularly visual arts teachers given their numeric predominance.)

Recent cultural policymaking in Chicago has enshrined the crucial role of arts education non-profits as, essentially, privatized components of the public education system. The CPS Arts Education plan assumes that third-sector organizations will play a crucial role in providing arts education coverage. In contrast to the old adage that charities' work should move towards putting that charity out of business—that is, their work should solve the underlying social issue—arts education non-profits have moved from patching a gap that was hoped to be temporary, to forming an intentionally integral part of the Chicago Public Schools' arts education delivery system. This is striking. Despite the rhetoric—that this patchwork of teaching artists and music educators working for non-profits exists only because the schools cannot provide comprehensive arts education—the city's new agenda endorses a hybrid public-private model and codifies the de facto privatization of arts education that has evolved over the past several

³⁴ See Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*.

³⁵ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 2.

decades. The Cultural Plan called for “Arts education for all Chicago” as a key priority, a charge that was taken up by the CPS Arts Education Plan.³⁶ The Arts Education Plan does allow for increased funding for full-time arts faculty, but its central policy innovation, drawn directly from a recommendation in the Cultural Plan,³⁷ is the designation of a “Creative Liaison” or “Chief Creative Officer” at each school, whose job is to assess what the school’s arts faculty are able to provide and to seek out and coordinate teaching artists and arts partnerships to supplement and, in some cases, significantly expand the opportunities offered.³⁸

I am not arguing against privatization qua privatization here. There are some important pedagogical benefits to this model and the majority of the educators whom I interviewed preferred this model to the alternative. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize, first and foremost, that arts education privatization is now the law of the land in Chicago, and that this change has affected and will continue to affect the ways in which these non-profits operate and present themselves in the public sphere; and second, that this privatization is part of a larger trend, especially in creative fields broadly defined, that has negative effects on a number of workers and by extension their families and communities, not least among them a lack of access to benefits, difficulty in career advancement, and difficulty in securing a living wage and arranging a work schedule that can support partnership and parenthood. The term “teaching artist” reflects and ideologically enables all of these shifts. A role that was once firmly on the periphery has now come to the center of Chicago’s system of arts education delivery, and is the personnel base on which current policy rests.

³⁶ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 11.

³⁷ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 18.

³⁸ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 29.

Case study: Michael Riendeau, model teaching artist

Michael Riendeau is a percussionist and teaching artist in his thirties who has become one of the more widely-known and -respected teaching artists among the major non-profit musical and arts education institutions in Chicago. He works most frequently with Urban Gateways and the Negaunee Music Institute (the education arm of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra), including the Institute's Music Activity Partnership and Music in Prisons initiative. Riendeau is the quintessential teaching artist and exemplifies many of the positive affordances of the "teaching artist" role: he is an innovative pedagogue who uses music to connect students to a variety of intellectual and social issues; the job's financial and scheduling parameters suit him well; and he enthusiastically inhabits the role of "teaching artist," remaining abreast of the literature and frequently speaking on the topic. Here, I shall describe Riendeau's professional life in an attempt to illuminate how teaching artists work and live on a day-to-day basis, and the ways in which being a "teaching artist," as compared with some other kind of arts educator, influences Riendeau's work.

I first met Riendeau in October 2013, when I began my observations at his drumline program at EPIC Academy in South Chicago. It was a raw and gray fall day in Chicago. Battling the after-school traffic, I drove from my home in Hyde Park along Lake Shore Drive, through Jackson Park, past the stately lakefront condo buildings of the largely Black middle-class neighborhood of South Shore. At 79th Street, South Shore Drive diverges from Lake Shore; the last four blocks of the journey (the school is on 83rd Street), along South Shore, feature notably more modest housing stock, with three-flat apartment buildings and small single-family homes. Parking is difficult around EPIC. A number of the local blocks are monitored by grassroots block associations, who post signs at both ends of the block highlighting appropriate and inappropriate

behaviors in an effort to address, directly or indirectly, the crime issues plaguing this neighborhood: no loud music, no working on cars in the front yard, no disruptive or disrespectful activities; parking only allowed if one is a resident or visiting a resident. The signs frequently conclude with a statement that the neighbors are watching from front windows and porches. Indeed: the first day, I was not aware that I could park in the school's lot, so I parked on Houston Avenue just west of the school, and received wary stares from a few residents who happened to be coming and going at the time. Riendeau met me at the front office and guided me through the sign-in procedures at the security desk, staffed by a full-time guard and often a police officer.

Riendeau is compactly built, with a ready smile and thick-framed glasses, and dresses casually but professionally, in jeans, sweaters, and collared shirts. We spoke for about 20 minutes at a long table in the cafeteria before the students started filtering in for their after-school snack and break time. I quickly got a sense of his approach: in those first few minutes of conversation, he mentioned both that the drumline's repertory was collaboratively composed by himself and the students, and that, although he was asked by the EPIC administration to award merits and demerits to the students as per the school's disciplinary system, he has chosen not to do so because he does not find it conducive to the type of relaxed yet respectful classroom environment that he tries to create.

On January 14 and February 3, 2014, Riendeau and I sat down at the Lakeview location of Chicago's Intelligentsia coffeehouse chain for two in-depth, multi-hour formal interviews. From our conversations, we developed a working collaboration that has thus far included a joint presentation at the University of Chicago's ethnomusicology workshop series, and work on a curriculum that Riendeau is developing from his residency at EPIC.

Like most teaching artists nationally, Riendeau is well educated. His own music education dates back to his childhood, like that of many professional musicians.³⁹ Riendeau grew up in the Boston area, where he studied percussion, initially through his school program beginning in the fifth grade, and later through intermittent lessons and mentoring from his school music teacher's husband, a professional percussionist. He first moved to the Midwest to attend Lawrence University, in Appleton, Wisconsin, where he earned a BA in Music and French. Notably, and in contrast to the credentials of many other teaching artists, Riendeau's degree program—though within Lawrence's conservatory—approached the study of music from a liberal arts perspective. This program included significant work in ethnomusicology, and thus my own methods, questions, and approach have been relatively familiar to Riendeau throughout our working relationship. His own research work merged his interests in music, percussion, and French: his BA thesis was on a Paris-based Cameroonian master drummer life and work, and he was able to study abroad in Senegal and France during his time in college, where he studied with important West African drummers. After graduating from Lawrence, he moved back to Paris for several years to continue study with the master drummer on whom he wrote his thesis. During this time, another American was also studying under this drummer; when he moved back to Chicago to rejoin his family, Riendeau moved to Chicago in order to continue working with this colleague. Thus, Riendeau's education extended beyond schooling—his work in Senegal and France could be considered an apprenticeship of sorts, a means of “learning by doing,” the primary professionalization method used by teaching artists.⁴⁰

³⁹ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 162.

⁴⁰ Booth, *The Music Teaching Artist's Bible*, 96. 105.

The vast majority of teaching artist jobs are short-term and part-time.⁴¹ Successful teaching artists must build a portfolio of relationships with different organizations and programs in order to put together a sufficient number of opportunities at any given time. Thus, becoming established as a teaching artist takes time and careful relationship-building. During his first several years in Chicago, Riendeau supported himself by working at Whole Foods and gigging as a percussionist. He met a Chicago-based percussionist and teaching artist named John Knecht, who taught at Highland Park High School (a public high school in one of the wealthiest northern suburbs of Chicago), was on the board of Urban Gateways, taught through Urban Gateways, and was a Music Appreciation Program (MAP) teaching artist for the Chicago Symphony Orchestra's Negaunee Music Institute. Knecht was also the founder and owner of Pulsebeat Music, which serves as a music-program vendor to a number of schools and non-profit music education organizations in Chicago. Shortly after Riendeau met Knecht, Knecht departed for a world tour in order to study a number of different styles of percussion and asked Riendeau to house-sit for him during this time. After Knecht returned, he promptly took a job in California, passing along to Riendeau his connections and positions at Highland Park High School, Urban Gateways, and the CSO's Institute; he also offered to sell both his truck and his business to Riendeau (who declined to purchase the business, but bought the truck).

By the time of our interview, approximately seven years after these initial connections were made, Riendeau had deepened these relationships and turned them into additional work with these, and other, organizations. He is one of Urban Gateways' go-to teaching artists—in fact, the content of the residency at EPIC was designed around Riendeau's skill set—and works steadily with the CSO and with Highland Park High School. Furthermore, through the CSO's

⁴¹ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 170.

Negaunee Institute he has developed a set of connections around the Music in Prisons initiative. The Institute runs residencies at the Cook County Juvenile Detention Center on Chicago's west side, in a number of which Riendeau has taught. He has become so well-respected within the Institute that the CSO sent him to an international conference on music in prisons at the Weill Music Institute at Carnegie Hall in spring 2014, where he was able to connect, and develop subsequent collaborations with, the British founders of the music-in-prisons movement. Additionally, he continues to gig and plays with pop, rock, children's, and jazz groups in Chicago. Riendeau credits much of this success to his ease of relating to people, and illustrated this by contrast with an anecdote about a friend:

I remember a buddy of mine who's the most phenomenal performer I ever met. I mean, just gifted, brilliant. And he used to get mad at me because there'd be masterclasses, and people would just come in and be teaching, and it'd be great. And he says, "You're so good with people. You talk to these people like they're your friends and you've known 'em forever, and they treat you like that's the case," and I'm just, "Well, they're just people, you know what I mean?" And he says "Well, I can't do that." And I'm thinking, "Well man, it's gonna be a hard road."⁴²

These interpersonal skills have served Riendeau well as a teaching artist and have ensured a steady stream of work.

Riendeau's schedule is complex and full, yet flexible. Like many teaching artists, he works part-time for a number of different organizations and makes decisions about how to balance and arrange his work life based on both personal and financial criteria. He told me, "I feel like uniquely qualified, as a percussionist especially, to go in and sort of make... a lifestyle for myself that is balanced and professional." Since Riendeau is self-employed, working as an independent contractor for these various organizations, he has a great deal of discretion in accepting or rejecting the contracts that are offered to him, and does so on the basis of his values,

⁴² Michael Riendeau, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, February 3, 2014.

his schedule, and the people or communities with whom he will work. Work as a teaching artist is more valuable to him than work as a private teacher: he prioritizes programs in which he can work with communities that would not otherwise have access to the type of music education that he can offer, and develop creative work that addresses students' and communities' needs, above most private teaching work. In building his portfolio of projects, Urban Gateways and Music in Prisons work takes top priority; next comes MAP work, in which he delivers a curriculum based around the CSO's children's concert programming; and the private lesson and marching band coaching work that he does at Highland Park High School and in the northern suburbs gets slotted in the remaining time left.

In a typical week, Riendeau's time tends to be most flexible in the mornings, and this is the time he uses to run errands, check his email, and attend to things in his personal life. Weekday afternoons are busy, the prime hours for in-school and after-school residencies. These typically start around 2 or 3 pm and can run until 6 pm. On Fridays (when after-school programs are often not scheduled) during the 2013-14 school year, Riendeau arrived in Highland Park by 9:30 to teach a private lesson to a self-employed adult student with a flexible schedule. From there he proceeded to Highland Park High School, where he taught fourth, fifth, and sixth period in the band program, had a break, taught ninth period, and then a full slate of private lessons after school. He also teaches private lessons on most Saturdays. Evenings tend to be full, with gigs or music-oriented socializing, such as the Monday night West African drum circle that Riendeau attends when he can.

For the most part, Riendeau enjoys this schedule. He feels that it affords him flexibility and the ability to pursue what he most values in his personal life, such as yoga, meeting with friends, and pursuing further (mainly self-directed or collaborative rather than formal academic)

study in percussion, education, and philosophy. This schedule is a mixed blessing for personal relationships: Riendeau admits that his most successful past romantic relationships have been with other freelancers, since they have similarly adaptable schedules, and that relationships with people with nine-to-five jobs are difficult since he is rarely free in the evenings. At the same time, Riendeau wants to have children at some point and feels that he will be an excellent caregiver precisely because of this flexible schedule and high degree of independence and self-determination in the workplace. (This contrasts with the experiences of Stephanie Collopy and “Anthony,” music educators profiled in Chapter 4.) He explicitly prefers this way of working to having a more conventional, full-time job.

Most of all, Riendeau enjoys the intellectual challenge and the ability to do meaningful, important work. As Booth writes, “There are few outward rewards for improved skills [as a teaching artist], so the passion to get better and better as an educator has to come from within.”⁴³ At EPIC Academy, the drumline also serves as part of the school’s spirit squad, and is asked to perform alongside the cheerleaders at the homecoming basketball game and at pep rallies.

Riendeau reflected,

I think that was a major way for this group to contribute and give back to the community. Not just to say that, “Hey, these students learned about all this other stuff that applies to their history lessons and their language arts skills, their math and science stuff.” It was to say that “Here’s this community, and here’s this spirit squad of a drumline, that’s able to help catalyze positive energy.”⁴⁴

The same was true of the students’ performance at a daylong event promoting nonviolence at a local park, organized by drumline member Jawon.⁴⁵ Riendeau said, “It becomes a platform for those students to be visible and stand out within their community.” Riendeau’s work provides a

⁴³ Booth, *The Music Teaching Artist’s Bible*, 105.

⁴⁴ Michael Riendeau, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, January 14, 2014.

⁴⁵ Minor students are referred to by first names only at the request of EPIC administrators.

space in which students can exercise a high degree of personal and artistic agency—a significantly different experience from their experiences in academic classrooms during the school day. Just as Riendeau highly values agency in his own life, he highly values the students’ agency. In this respect he is informed both by his own personal ethic and by his extensive reading in philosophy of education, especially work by Paulo Freire and others in the tradition of critical pedagogy.

“I feel as though I try to impart this sense of togetherness and sort of ownership on their part, to say this is *your* drumline,” Riendeau said. He continued,

And I think that’s shown when I ask them whether they like something or not, whether they want to continue to explore it, or should we ditch it. When they start to have personal ownership on the art-making itself, and they realize, ‘Oh, we can change this up, oh, we can add parts,’ that their voice is taken into consideration on that, suddenly the behavior issue kind of solves itself in a lot of ways too... ‘cause it’s not *my* thing, it’s *their* thing.⁴⁶

This ethic of flexibility, independence, and respect has deeply influenced Riendeau’s pedagogical approach. The students at EPIC collaboratively compose the material that they learn, with students starting riffs and Michael capturing and transcribing those riffs, which are then collectively developed into full-fledged pieces. The relationships that Riendeau seeks to foster with his students are analogous to the types of relationships that he desires with employers and professional colleagues: supportive, engaged, but relatively nonhierarchical, and quite flexible.

EPIC, however, is not representative of all of Riendeau’s teaching experiences. At this point, after working for Urban Gateways for many years, Riendeau has developed a high degree of trust with the administrators at Urban Gateways’ central office, located just outside of Chicago’s Loop. Indeed, as previously mentioned, the EPIC residency, like several others, was developed around Riendeau’s unique skill set, and he is given wide curricular and personal

⁴⁶ Riendeau, interview by author, January 14, 2014.

latitude due to his track record of professionalism, organization, and innovation. At the same time, he has relatively little contact with or support from Urban Gateways staff except to arrange financial and logistical details at the beginning and end of any given contract. By contrast, when Riendeau began working for Urban Gateways there were more opportunities for staff support and professional development, but many of these staff positions were eliminated in the wake of the recession and several restructurings that the organization has undergone.

In the CSO's MAP program, however, the curriculum is standardized. The orchestra develops music-appreciation curricula around the repertory programmed for its children's concerts in any given season, and MAP teaching artists deliver this curriculum in the school setting. Despite the fact that he cannot design his own curriculum, Riendeau enjoys working in the MAP program precisely because of the high degree of staff support: he feels respected as a teaching artist and has been able to leverage that position into additional opportunities, such as his work with Music in Prisons. Riendeau's work at Highland Park High School (HPHS) is his least satisfying gig. He prefers working with groups of students rather than giving private lessons because he prefers the opportunities for interaction and community-building that the group setting affords. Although working for HPHS is financially necessary for Riendeau at this time, he seeks to decrease his hours there whenever possible (that is, whenever an additional "teaching artist"-type opportunity arises).

Riendeau deeply identifies with the notion of "teaching artistry"—as an artistic practice in its own right, as a force for good in the world, and as an important component of arts education delivery in Chicago and other US cities. He is intimately familiar with Booth's *The Music Teaching Artist's Bible*, quoted throughout this chapter, and participates regularly in panel discussions and professional development workshops about teaching artists—that is, he is an

active participant in the discourse around teaching artistry as a profession. He prefers this way of working to any alternative (e.g., being a full-time school music teacher, or working primarily as a performer or a private lesson instructor). The drawbacks are few and the advantages many, in Riendeau's opinion and experience. In many ways, Michael Riendeau is the ideal teaching artist: highly creative; intellectual; artistically accomplished; pedagogically rigorous; and well-suited to the logistical and financial contours of this line of work. At the same time, Riendeau is aware that he is exceptional: that he is uniquely suited to this path in a way that many others are not. In our conversations he cited a number of friends and contacts who were not as well suited to work as teaching artists. These individuals fell into one of three categories, according to Riendeau. Some of them wanted to work as teaching artists and could not, because they had only been trained in performance and did not have the requisite pedagogical or people skills. Others worked as teaching artists then transitioned to different types of work because the financial and scheduling demands of their personal lives (e.g., parenting, or personal disability) did not permit them to continue. Perhaps most alarmingly, the third group worked happily as teaching artists, but simply were not good at it, teaching in ways that were coercive, non-engaging, or representationally problematic (in the case of several individuals specializing in various forms of "world music").

Success in teaching artistry—both personal and pedagogical—is largely a matter of fit, and the contours of the job truly fit only a very few people. Research on teaching artistry as a field is still in its infancy and is often intertwined with advocacy work. As teaching artists become an increasingly prominent part of the arts education landscape, it will be necessary to consider the ways in which different individuals may or may not be suited to this work, and to understand structural factors which may prevent people from entering or continuing in this line

of work. As Chicago institutionalizes teaching artistry, it will also have to develop a more comprehensive understanding of teaching artists. Much of the extant scholarship on teaching artists has been written by advocates like Eric Booth and Nick Rabkin, who promote teaching artistry without sufficiently accounting for its significant drawbacks as a way of working and as a way of learning. In their rush to secure what little financial and political resources are available for new approaches to arts education, these advocates gloss over the very real challenges that teaching artists face and do not grapple adequately with the reality that many teaching artists are simply not suited for the work, and that this has a negative effect both on these teachers and on their students.

Michael Riendeau and EPIC Academy's Four Layer Players: a model residency

In Chicago, teaching artists largely work in the context of “arts partnerships,” or contracted relationships with schools. As of 2012, 95 percent of Chicago Public Schools worked with at least one arts partner, and the average CPS school had four arts partners. Field trips were the most common type of partnership, and residencies the least.⁴⁷ This is likely due to cost: it is cheaper for an arts organization to provide free or subsidized tickets to a performance or exhibition than it is to embed a teaching artist in schools. The CPS Arts Education Plan envisions an expanded role for arts partnerships and residencies, with an increased number of full-time arts faculty coordinating a diverse array of arts partners.

In this section and the following section, I examine two residencies, both facilitated by Urban Gateways. The first, at EPIC Academy, demonstrates what is possible for teaching artistry and for in-school residencies: students learned musical skills, built strong relationships, and were

⁴⁷ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 20.

able to use their musical work to engage their school and neighborhood communities in positive ways. Nonetheless, the EPIC residency has faced a number of challenges, especially around funding and supplies, which demonstrate the precarity of even the best residencies. The second, at Burbank School, is arguably more representative of teaching artist engagement with school populations (cf. the statistics on the various types of arts-partner interactions with the Chicago Public Schools later in this chapter), providing students with important exposure to a number of musical and dance practices, but lacking a framework for deeper and more transformative relationship-building.

Just as Michael Riendeau is in many ways the prototypical music teaching artist, his work at EPIC Academy is in many ways the prototypical and ideal residency. EPIC Academy is a public charter high school located at 8255 S. Houston Avenue in Chicago's South Chicago neighborhood. An application is required, but students are ultimately chosen via a lottery system and most live fairly close to the school. During the 2011-2012 academic year, the school received a three-year grant to become a 21st-Century Community Learning Center.⁴⁸ This federal program targets both rural and "inner-city" schools, providing supplemental funding to provide family services, activities, and enrichment in non-school hours with the goal of increasing academic performance and providing positive extracurricular opportunities.⁴⁹ Programming at these centers often runs until 6 p.m.; thus, 21st-Century Community Learning Centers often serve as free child care as well. It is particularly important to keep children off the streets between the

⁴⁸ This was the second 21st Century Community Learning Center with which I have engaged. I taught violin in an after-school program in Camden, NJ that was managed and funded through this federal grant. This placed me in a position to observe key similarities and differences across these programs.

⁴⁹ U.S. Department of Education, "21st Century Community Learning Centers," accessed May 20, 2015, <http://www2.ed.gov/programs/21stccclc/index.html>.

hours of 3 and 6 p.m., when they are most at risk of being the victim of violence.⁵⁰ Both EPIC staff and Michael Riendeau mentioned to me, perhaps apocryphally, that South Chicago’s local gangs had agreed to a truce until about 6 p.m. every weekday in order to allow students at EPIC and other local schools to travel home safely after school. Despite the many positive efforts of South Chicago residents, such as the block associations and regular nonviolence events, the area remains challenged by crime and violence: as of March 2015, South Chicago ranked twentieth out of Chicago’s seventy-seven community areas for violent crime, thirty-fourth for property crime, and eighth for quality-of-life crime (e.g., drugs and prostitution). Encouragingly, however, crime dropped ten percent between 2014 and 2015.⁵¹

In many residencies, program financing is often precarious, and planning is, therefore, often last-minute. The school year in which I completed fieldwork at EPIC, 2013-14, was the third and final year of the 21st-Century grant program, and there was much discussion about whether the grant would be renewed for the 2014-15 school year and if not, what would happen to the drumline. EPIC was not originally notified that it had received this grant until partway through the 2011-12 school year, and thus arrangements had to be made rather quickly in order to get the program up and running after winter break, in time for a January 2012 start date. EPIC’s principal had already engaged Urban Gateways as a partner, pending funding. When the grant was approved, Urban Gateways’ staff swung into action and immediately called Riendeau to see if he would be available to teach in the program.

Riendeau is a “go-to” teaching artist for Urban Gateways: because he is personable, organized, an excellent teacher, and perhaps most of all, *reliable*, he is several program

⁵⁰ After School Alliance, “Afterschool Alert: Issue Brief. Afterschool Programs: Keeping Kids—and Communities—Safe,” (After School Alliance Issue Brief No. 27, April, 2007).

⁵¹ “Crime reports in South Chicago,” February-March 2015, *Chicago Tribune*, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://crime.chicagotribune.com/chicago/community/south-chicago>.

associates' top choice for residency contracts. Furthermore, Riendeau's status as a percussionist provides more affordances for program design and pedagogy in terms of genre and accessibility than does, say, viola. Riendeau was available and enthusiastic about the opportunity. From there, he began to work with EPIC's music teacher as well as the after-school program coordinator, Kelly Christiel, who worked for Urban Gateways but was based at EPIC in order to oversee their multiple residencies under the 21st-Century Community Learning Center Program (including visual arts, other music activities, and digital media). EPIC's music teacher was also a percussionist by training and had extensive background in Ewe drumming traditions. Because Riendeau is also familiar with Ewe music, and because the school already owned 30 djembes, Urban Gateways central office staff and EPIC's music teacher suggested creating a percussion program focusing on Ewe drumming.⁵²

Riendeau was critical of this idea: "It wasn't the thing that I really felt was going to excite those students and have a really relevant place in their after-school programming. It's so specific, a tradition and like an idiom that they wouldn't, as students, have been exposed to at all." He and Kelly Christiel both felt that students would not engage well with West African drumming because it would not feel culturally relevant to them. Ironically, the initial suggestion to focus on West African drumming was similarly motivated by considerations of cultural relevance. Urban Gateways staff felt that since the majority of the students at EPIC are African American, they may have connected to a West African drumming program via notions of their own heritage; furthermore, EPIC's music teacher (who has since left the school to pursue his doctorate) is African American and was personally attracted to Ewe drumming due to a similar desire to connect with his heritage. After Riendeau's and Christiel's reaction to the initial

⁵² Despite the fact that the djembe is not an Ewe instrument, the association of the djembe with West Africa seems to have been "good enough" in this context.

conversation around genre, Kelly surveyed students in the after-school program to see what sort of percussion they would be interested in learning. They were most enthusiastic about drumline: many were familiar with the storied tradition of marching bands at historically-black colleges and universities (HBCUs), to which they had been exposed on television and by friends and relatives who attended these schools, and wanted to learn drumline.

Despite the care with which the decision around genre was made, practical considerations around implementation immediately surfaced as EPIC Academy did not own suitable marching drums for this program and did not have the budget to purchase new equipment. Fortunately, Riendeau was able to secure a set of drums due to his teaching position at Highland Park High School (HPHS), in Chicago's northern suburbs. The school's band director had decided to purchase a completely new set of marching drums, and the HPHS community was debating where to donate their old drums. They settled on a charity that provides instruments to New Orleans musicians and schools who lost theirs due to Hurricane Katrina and its aftermath. Riendeau suggested that they make their donation closer to home and allow him to bring the drums to EPIC Academy. During the first year of the program, Riendeau drove the full set of drums back and forth from his home to EPIC twice a week. During the second year, Christiel was able to secure storage space at the school. This provided valuable additional instructional time, since the students were able to begin retrieving and setting up the instruments during their snack time in order to be ready to begin immediately during the program's allotted time slot rather than having to wait until Riendeau arrived and unload instruments from his car. A number of the drums required repair; Riendeau and Christiel eked out money where they could from the program budget, and from Riendeau's own pocket, to repair drum heads and purchase new sticks. With additional supply money available in subsequent academic years, they have been

able to round out the complement of equipment by buying drum stands, different types of sticks, and auxiliary percussion, as well as a few drum kits donated from Urban Gateways staffers (two of whom had children who took drum lessons at one point and later stopped, freeing up kits for the use of EPIC students). In 2014-15, the fourth year of the program, EPIC students still played drums emblazoned with “HPHS” on the front.

On one hand, this is a story about the generosity of one community of means helping another without means, facilitated by a caring teacher who serves as a connector between the two schools. On the other hand, this is a story about stark inequalities: the affluent suburb of Highland Park can afford to purchase new equipment when needed, even when old equipment is still relatively functional, whereas EPIC could not afford even used instruments, and was able to find the necessary material to run the drumline program only through a stroke of luck. Both stories are true. In many ways this story is a perfect parable of the spatialization of inequality in Chicago (and in many other cities), where suburban school districts are largely financially comfortable, thanks to their relatively high per capita property tax revenue and parents’ ability to contribute extra money when needed, and city schools rely entirely on very limited public funding and have little ability to fundraise privately.⁵³ As Abu-Lughod points out,

⁵³ An anecdote from my own educational experience illuminates, by way of contrast, the way in which these inequalities are spatialized throughout metropolitan regions. I grew up in Wauwatosa, WI, a middle-class suburb (average household income was about \$54,000 in 2000 and is now about \$66,000, cf. City-Data.com, “Wauwatosa, Wisconsin,” accessed December 12, 2014, <http://www.city-data.com/city/Wauwatosa-Wisconsin.html#b>) directly west of Milwaukee. In the early 2000’s, the state of Wisconsin drastically cut education funding in an effort to balance the budget, and funding for my high school’s arts programs was among the first casualties in our district. My alma mater is known nationally for its excellent arts programs (namely music, visual arts, and theater) and community members take great pride in them. So, the school decided to keep the programs but to institute annual fees for participation, and to significantly increase parent and student fundraising efforts. (The orchestra, of which I was a member, sold cheesecakes door to door.) The programs were able to continue running, albeit with some cutbacks, due to these activities. These efforts, although inspiring and certainly life-

[Chicago's] solvency has been achieved through the maintenance of a consistently low level of services within the poorer zones of the city. In contrast, suburban residents enjoy the much higher standards that their wealth and autonomy have made possible, which further contributes to racial and income disparities and encourages desertion of the city by middle- and upper-income whites.⁵⁴

It is also important to recognize the degree to which different pedagogical strategies and administrative formations rest on these details of logistics and material: if Riendeau had not fortuitously had access to marching drums, the discussion of genre and relevance would have been moot, and they would have moved ahead with a residency focusing on West African drumming because EPIC already owned djembes.

In the residency's truncated first year, the program had relatively low participation, four or five students, because many students had already signed up for their desired after-school activities at the beginning of the academic year. In the second year, Riendeau made a significant push to recruit more students. Many of those already participating in the program signed up again for the 2012-13 school year, and they launched a recruiting campaign by going classroom to classroom, demonstrating various drums to their friends. This worked, and about 15 students joined the program that year. In many ways this was the "golden age" of the residency. Riendeau and the students collaboratively named the group "The Four Layer Players" (in reference to the instrumentation: bass, tenor, and snare drums, and drum kit) and performed at pep rallies, Jawon's nonviolence event in a local park, and at the Urban Gateways annual gala on March 8, 2013.⁵⁵ This latter performance made the students instant celebrities within their school. They

changing for me, are virtually inaccessible to a school like EPIC, whose parents do not have the funds to contribute and which are not located in areas whose residents are likely to be able to purchase expensive cheesecakes.

⁵⁴ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 284.

⁵⁵ I attended this gala; this was my first exposure to the drumline program and to Michael Riendeau's work. In 2014, the Four Layer Players did not perform (despite their desire to do so), but Riendeau's jazz trio was hired to provide the entertainment.

designed and had made custom T-shirts for all members of the group to wear, prominently featuring “Four Layer Players” and a logo that they designed. Urban Gateways sent a stretch Hummer limo to pick up the students and bring them to City Winery, an upscale event space/bar/restaurant located on glamorous Randolph Street on Chicago’s near west side. Their performance that evening, dramatically lit and beautifully done, was video-recorded and uploaded to YouTube, links to which were widely shared on students’ social media accounts. Since that time the program has had no trouble attracting students or support from EPIC faculty and staff.

The gala performance also had the effect of making students extremely conscious of issues of representation and of shaping and expressing their identity through their musical work. Drumline students began a practice of uploading videos of their performances to YouTube—especially at school events, but also in the classroom—and sharing these with peers. When preparing for a fall 2013 pep rally, the students were debating what to play: should they perform one of their newer rhythms, which needed a bit more work, or something older and more solid? They went back and forth given the legitimate pros and cons of both of these options. Finally, a student named British, always a voice of leadership in the class, spoke up. British opined that they should not perform the old beats from last year’s pep rally, because they were old.⁵⁶ Moreover, they had been posted to YouTube and circulated around the entire school community via social media, so everyone was familiar with the old beats. Therefore, they should play new beats, both to have something new to present at the pep rally and, perhaps even more importantly, to have something new to put on YouTube. British then listed four beats that she thought would be good candidates for the pep rally performance: three were new and one was

⁵⁶ The students call the pieces that they have composed “beats.”

old, but British justified the inclusion of the old beat because it was particularly complex. As British made her case, the other students nodded their heads; when she finished speaking, there was a murmur of agreement in the classroom, and the class decided to move forward with British's suggested repertory. Drumline students use this program not only as a means of learning music and engaging with their peers in the classroom, but of representing themselves to a broader school and neighborhood community. Indeed, another drumline student, Natalie, participated in a journalism internship program through Columbia College Chicago, and chose to focus on the drumline as her topic of interest throughout the internship. She published a piece about the drumline on *Columbia Links*, the journalism program's website, connecting the residency to the ongoing changes to arts education policy and using the drumline's impact on EPIC as justification for supporting arts education.⁵⁷

Fomenting this kind of agency and engagement is critical to Riendeau's philosophy of community-building through music, which has been a key pedagogical and ethical priority of his throughout the residency. This begins with building warm and supportive relationships with the students and setting ground rules of respect and trust in the classroom.⁵⁸ Riendeau has also made it a point to develop good relationships with EPIC's faculty and staff, including the principal,

⁵⁷ Natalie Phillips, "Arts education goes on: Outside funding sources save arts programming at one CPS school," *Columbia Links*, <http://www.columbialinks.org/page/arts-education-goes-on>.

⁵⁸ This is in contradistinction to the strict, rigid, and punitive disciplinary models employed by many charter schools (see Elizabeth Green, "The Discipline of Discipline," in *Building a Better Teacher: How Teaching Works (and How to Teach It to Everyone)*, 196-229, New York: W.W. Norton, 2014). This correlates with my personal experience: in 2012, I was working as director of community partnerships for a small music school on Chicago's south side, and was building a relationship with a major charter school a few miles farther south in hopes of starting an after-school violin program there. As a prospective—not yet even confirmed!—partner I had to attend an eight-hour training on the school's byzantine and draconian disciplinary procedures, which my staff was expected to implement in full in the context of teaching violin lessons. In one example that has stayed with me, students could be sent immediately to the dean's office for speaking to or even looking directly at a fellow student while in the hallway between class periods.

security guards, cafeteria workers, the music teacher, and, most importantly, Kelly Christiel, the Urban Gateways program coordinator based at EPIC. This residency was intended to be extremely long-term, three years, from the start, which made all those involved much more invested in building and maintaining strong relationships. Riendeau does not focus extensively on technique: he provided a few lessons on fundamental techniques of stick control at the beginning of each school year, but then focused on playing pieces with the students, only teaching them new technical skills when the repertory demands it or when the students are curious to learn how to make a particular sound or emulate a percussionist they have seen in person or via media. Indeed, Riendeau explicitly told me that his goal is not to teach them percussion per se, but rather to use percussion to enable a creative and community-oriented collective experience. Finally, the repertory is collaboratively determined and created—a very concrete way of expressing and enacting Riendeau’s student-centered values around community-building.

As previously mentioned, the EPIC drumline residency was intended to be a three-year program within the purview of the 21st-Century Community Learning Center grant. Thus, during my fieldwork year 2013-14, there was much discussion, and concern, about what would happen should the grant not be renewed for 2014-15 and beyond. Unfortunately, EPIC was not awarded a renewal of this grant and funding for the program (and many of EPIC’s other after-school programs) was in jeopardy for quite some time. I interviewed Kelly Christiel in April 2014, before the final outcome of this grant was known, and asked her what would happen if the funding was denied. She stated that she had asked EPIC’s principal this very question, and he responded, “You know, you make a huge difference here, and I know arts is important. But if I had extra dollars, they’re gonna go to college readiness.”

Similarly, Principal Scott Ahlman, of Hibbard Elementary (where I observed the El Sistema-based Youth Orchestras program) said that, although he is a strong supporter of the arts (his father was a professional violinist, and Ahlman has ensured that all of his children have taken music lessons), he is only able to commit this much time to a music program because it is an after-school, voluntary activity:

To tell you the truth, if you were to ask me to do this program in the middle of the school day, I probably would say we can't. So I think the fact that we have this as an after-school program is what gives me the peace of mind that we can do both, because our kids are behind.⁵⁹

In the last several years, CPS principals have gained significant discretion over the use of school funds (charter principals previously had this discretion) and many arts educators and administrators have been hopeful that this will lead to increased funding available for arts programming. In these two schools, however, I have found that, despite the strong desire of principals to provide funding for the arts, they are faced with a number of competing priorities, all urgent. The CPS Arts Education Plan acknowledges these challenges:

Schools must overcome a number of obstacles to provide quality arts education from preschool to high school graduation, chief among them are classroom time, funding, instructional support, and the collective will to make quality arts education a consistent part of the overall curriculum. That these barriers have often been too much for schools to overcome is understandable, given the demands placed on administrators and teachers to provide a well-rounded education and to show consistent improvement on the standardized tests by which students and schools are largely judged.⁶⁰

The use of after-school time allows principals to manage these competing concerns, as Scott Ahlman explained: since his “kids are behind” in terms of reading and math, which are tested, he must prioritize those subjects during the school day. In my fieldwork, I found that the richest CPS-affiliated programs were after-school residencies; these were the only venues, for example,

⁵⁹ Scott Ahlman, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, June 18, 2014.

⁶⁰ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 20.

in which musical skill attainment was possible. The downside is that these programs can only reach a small number of students. Programs with a broader reach, such as the touring performances at Burbank School discussed later in this chapter, are of necessity less rich and deep.

Fortunately, EPIC's principal was able to find a small amount of money during the 2014-15 school year in order to pay for Michael Riendeau's time. This was the result of careful planning by Kelly Christiel, who ensured that all supplies for the program had been ordered with 21st-Century Community Learning Center funds during the 2013-14 school year, so that the program could continue successfully on a reduced budget in 2014-15. Similarly, Ahlman has been able to provide music education to his students through the strategic use of partnerships with the nonprofit organization The People's Music School (which does all of the necessary fundraising). It is a testament both to the impact of Michael Riendeau's residency and to the determination of EPIC's principal that the program was able to continue during 2014-15.

The pedagogical approach in the drumline program at EPIC is consistent with the approach advocated by the most prominent scholar-advocates in the field of teaching artistry. Rabkin, et al. write that teaching artists' work at late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century settlements was "attentive to the arts as tools for critical exploration of the world, celebration of community values and traditions, weaving the arts into daily life, cultivation of imagination and creativity, and appreciation of the world's many cultures."⁶¹ Booth writes that today's teaching artist

aims at intrinsic goals, especially dynamic musical engagement, and if she succeeds, the instrumental goals are also advanced. Good teaching artists can include some of those instrumental goals that count a lot for their partners in the school, especially in residencies that afford multiple visits. However, the Muse report implicitly warns us that

⁶¹ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 4.

aiming *primarily* at the instrumental goals means both kinds of goals are less likely to be attained.⁶²

(Note that for Booth, “instrumental” here means non-musical, or “social,” goals, e.g., raising state standardized test scores.) As an almost archetypal teaching artist, Michael Riendeau undertook work at EPIC that aligned well with these priorities. He focused first on what would engage the students musically: in planning the residency, he considered, “Is it going to be relevant for these students? Like, the drumline thing fit more with the music production stuff that they were doing, fit more with a background they already had in terms of what they enjoy listening to musically.” He taught four or five technique-oriented lessons at the beginning of the residency to give the students a foundation, but, as he describes it, he wanted to ensure “that they were going to be able to contribute from day one, instead of saying, ‘All right everybody, sit down and listen because I have to fill your brains with information.’”⁶³ The collaborative composition process and loose yet warm classroom environment created engagement and a sense of cohesion within the program, which then led to community-building opportunities outside of the classroom.

The drumline program at EPIC was, and continues to be, a successful residency by the standards of all involved: the school, Urban Gateways, and most importantly, the teacher and students. It should be noted, however, that this residency was not intended to train the students *as percussionists*. The students were deeply musically engaged; however, this is different from instrumental skill attainment. Riendeau and I spoke at length about sequencing and the different

⁶² Booth, *The Music Teaching Artist’s Bible*, 144; for “the Muse report,” see McCarthy, et al., *Gifts of the Muse*.

⁶³ Riendeau, interview by author. Here, we see Riendeau’s engagement with the work of Paulo Freire: Riendeau explicitly resists using what Freire calls the “banking” method of education in favor of a more dialectical exchange (see Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000).

ways in which he approaches teaching students who are likely to continue in their study of percussion versus students who are not likely to do so. In designing and implementing the EPIC residency, Riendeau worked from the underlying assumption that students had no previous percussion experience and that they would probably not have the opportunity to study percussion further after the residency had ended. He designed the residency as a self-contained entity that provided a compelling experience in and of itself. However, Riendeau was flexible in this regard. A student named Jawon had significant drum-kit experience from his church, and Riendeau worked with him privately before and after class to improve his skills. This piqued the interest of another student, Lee, who soon joined in the lessons and learned from both Jawon and Riendeau. For Riendeau, the objective is to meet students' needs rather than to follow a curriculum rigidly. By contrast, with private or marching band students, he focuses much more on technique and musicianship, and less on composition.

The 2012-2015 CPS Arts Education Plan states that its “guiding principle is that every student will receive ongoing, sequential high quality arts education both in and out of the classroom,” and explains that “Quality arts education means that every student receives a comprehensive and sequential study of every art form—visual art, music, dance, and theatre/drama—from preschool through 12th grade.”⁶⁴ However, it is unclear how the system that is currently being implemented will impose a sequential structure. In theory, full-time school arts faculty should implement a sequential curriculum and would coordinate arts partnerships accordingly, but the significant human and financial resources needed to accomplish this task are not currently available in schools. Non-profit arts organizations like Urban Gateways are attempting to impose their own curricular sequences, but due to the short-term nature of

⁶⁴ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 7.

residency contracting and scheduling, it is frequently difficult to ensure that a consistent cohort of students receives sequential instruction. I shall discuss this at greater length in this dissertation's conclusion, but I want to point out here that teaching artistry, as expressed today in K-12 Chicago schools, does not typically form part of a coherent sequence of arts skill attainment. These residencies—like the drumline program at EPIC Academy—may build community, engage students, make them more creative, and a host of other benefits—but what they rarely if ever do is produce *musicians*. To the extent that attaining musical competency is a goal desired by students, parents, faculty, administrators, and the Chicago public, teaching artist residencies will need to be deployed in a much more structured, long-term, and deep way.

Burbank School's arts partnerships: the pros and cons of the new approach

Burbank Elementary School is an extreme example of the Chicago Public Schools' new arts-education policies, and reflects the legacy of increasing principal discretion with respect to budgeting and hiring over the past several decades.⁶⁵ The school administration has chosen to use the entire arts budget to contract external providers, and works with both Urban Gateways and the Merit School of Music's Bridges program, which provides after-school violin and cello lessons.⁶⁶ Urban Gateways provides touring shows twice a week (the same show is provided each time, but for different populations of students). I was able to observe a number of these shows throughout winter and spring 2014. Burbank's touring show series is more representative

⁶⁵ See Payne, *So Much Reform, So Little Change* for a long-term view on the process of school reform in Chicago, including a discussion of the legacy of principal discretion over budgeting.

⁶⁶ I reached out to school administrators on at least three separate occasions seeking to interview them, but was declined each time. Thus, unfortunately I do not have any insight into this decision-making process.

of arts partner relationships in the Chicago Public Schools than is the drumline residency at EPIC.

In-school performances are the second-most-common type of CPS arts partnership for two reasons: first, they are inexpensive for the school compared with residencies; and second, they are relatively easy for the performing arts organization to mount, as they are related to the organization's performance practice and do not require extensive curriculum planning. Fourteen percent of CPS arts partnerships are in-school performances; another fourteen percent are residencies, and twenty-four percent are field trips.⁶⁷ Furthermore, principals often encourage teachers to connect in-school residencies with core-curriculum topics (e.g., "world music" shows can be connected with social studies curricula). The wide variety of shows offered at Burbank exposed students to a diverse array of musical practices from around the world. However, due to the constraints of time and format, touring performers cannot develop relationships with students, nor do students have the opportunity to develop musical skills of their own.

Burbank is located in Galewood, a middle-class enclave within the poor and working-class neighborhood of Austin on Chicago's far west side. It draws from a larger, and less-well-off, area of Austin and thus 97.4% of its student population is low-income as measured by federal free and reduced lunch eligibility. Demographically, it is 91.8% Hispanic and 4.6% Black, with small percentages of whites and Asian-Americans; 43.3% are English language learners.⁶⁸ To the north and west of the school is a tidy residential area of small, well-kept bungalows. It is bordered on the south by freight train tracks and on the east by a shuttered industrial complex that looks as if it once served as a warehouse and truck terminal. I began

⁶⁷ Ingenuity, Inc. *State of the Arts in Chicago Public Schools: Progress Report 2013-2014* (Chicago: Ingenuity, Inc., 2014), 17.

⁶⁸ Chicago Public Schools, "Burbank," accessed December 8, 2014, <http://www.cps.edu/Schools/Pages/school.aspx?schoolid=609818>.

observing at Burbank in winter 2014, a particularly brutal one in Chicago. Snowplows were not kind to any street in the city that year. Burbank School is on Mobile Avenue, which dead-ends before the train tracks, merging with the school's parking lot. Paved in soft asphalt, it had been particularly hard-hit by plowing, with huge chunks of the road torn clean away, leaving potholes that went through to the soil. About half of the school's parking spaces were completely unusable; the asphalt had been torn away and the area was covered in thick mud, ice, and debris. Despite this unprepossessing appearance, the school itself is cheerful and well-maintained, with a new plate glass-and-brick addition built within the last ten years. Visitors to the school are greeted by an array of bilingual English and Spanish signage and a security guard. Trophy cases line the main stairwell, displaying athletic and academic achievements.

The Urban Gateways teaching artists working at Burbank worked in a very different environment and under different expectations than did Michael Riendeau. First, they are managed by a different department (Touring Programs) in Urban Gateways' central office and are not automatically considered core "teaching artists" by the Urban Gateways staff (although some individuals do work in both areas). Touring program artists are most frequently pre-existing music and dance ensembles who supplement their performance careers by performing in the schools. These groups put together one or more shows, which are then contracted out to various schools by the Urban Gateways central office. Shows are typically organized around a theme: I observed "Twentieth-Century Women of Song," by the 20th-Century Players; "chiBAM!," a tap show, by the Chicago Human Rhythm Project; "The Birthplace of Rhythm: Global Show," by a group of percussionists; and others. Performances take place in the school's large and well-worn auditorium, with the musicians on stage and the students in the rows of seats. Urban Gateways requires that the shows have some element of audience interactivity. In

“Twentieth-Century Women of Song,” students were invited up on stage to dance and sing with the performers, and formed a mosh pit during much of the show; during the tap show, students were engaged in building beats by clapping different rhythms; and during “The Birthplace of Rhythm” the performers peppered the students with questions about world geography and about the various types of percussion instruments in use.

Direct and personal teaching artist-student interaction was difficult in this context, and often mediated and discouraged by Burbank teachers. Although some performers were able to create a strong rapport with the students (the singer from “Twentieth-Century Women of Song” and the dancers from the Chicago Human Rhythm Project were so popular that students ran backstage, against the instructions of their teachers, to try to take pictures with them after the shows), it is of course impossible to develop a deep relationship in the course of a one-hour presentation. Furthermore, Burbank classroom teachers often intervened when students attempted to engage more fully with the teaching artists. This most often took the form of discipline: telling the students to be quiet and to remain still in their seats. Burbank teachers often enforced these standards much more strictly than the teaching artists seemed to desire. Unsurprisingly, the students were at times loud and somewhat rowdy during these shows, with the usual talking, jostling, joke-playing, and occasional disputes typical of elementary-aged children. I offer an ethnographic vignette to illustrate this dynamic.

At the beginning of “Twentieth-Century Women of Song,” the 20th-Century Players’ guitarist introduced the group and the premise of the show: an introduction to important women of American popular music in the twentieth century. The students, having just entered the auditorium and found their seats, were talking excitedly and loudly; the guitarist raised his hand to try to get them to quiet down. The students did so, but slowly, as is the wont of young

elementary-school-aged children. A Burbank teacher, apparently frustrated with the students' slow pace, screamed "QUIET!" Another teacher quickly ascended the stairs to the stage, forcefully took the microphone away from the guitarist, and yelled, "This is not how we act at Burbank School! You are here to enjoy a show, not to talk and laugh and play. I am not playing with you!" She then demanded that all of the students face forward in silence. A group of eight- or nine-year-old boys sitting toward the back of the auditorium were the last students to comply with this order. The teacher on stage with the microphone singled out one of these boys as particularly disruptive (although, in fact, he had been among the quieter students in this group) and shamed him from the stage, saying that he needed to sit by himself in the back since he was "apparently not able" to sit with his friends appropriately. The boy protested that he was not doing anything wrong; the teacher then reprimanded him for contradicting a teacher. Another teacher then walked toward the boy from the back of the room, somewhat forcibly removed him from his seat, and put him in a chair against the back wall, isolated from the other students. He began crying, his chest heaving with sobs, and buried his head in his hands, raising it from time to time to look at his friends, who were furtively peering at him over the backs of the auditorium seats when they believed that the teachers were not watching them. Two teachers went over to the boy and continued to yell at him, particularly for contradicting a teacher. The teacher who had originally disciplined him from the stage walked to the back of the auditorium and asked him condescendingly, "What's wrong? Is something wrong?" The boy responded that he was upset, and the teacher told him that he had no right to be upset. The three teachers then left him as he continued to sob throughout most of the rest of the performance, looking up every so often with tears and mucus streaking his face. I caught his eye at one point and we exchanged smiles; I received a stern glance from a teacher in response.

The singer was visibly shaken by this, watching the whole episode from the stage as she tried gently to quiet down the students, who stole glances at their friend for the rest of the show. The performers closed the show with a rendition of Tina Turner's "Simply the Best," and prefaced this with comments about how beautiful, nice, and well-behaved the Burbank students were, thanked the teachers for their service to the students and to the community, and that since they were "simply the best" the song was dedicated to them.

This disturbing episode exposed tensions between classroom teachers and teaching artists, especially teaching artists who work in close proximity to classroom teachers and who have neither the time nor the latitude to establish an independent relationship with the students. Here, classroom teachers' standards and desires prevailed; the teaching artists were able to make only a musical, rather than disciplinary, intervention to subtly challenge the school's rigid behavioral standards. Furthermore, students were expected to adhere to the behavioral expectations that held in their classrooms, and were not allowed to respond to or participate in the performance in an organic way, having to suppress their feelings of excitement and enjoyment. At EPIC, Riendeau did not have the authority of a full faculty member, but he was integrated into the school community and had the ability to craft his classroom environment to his standards. By contrast, at Burbank, teaching artists were firmly peripheral, temporary visitors who had to navigate a set of beliefs and practices that they may not have shared or preferred to utilize in the pedagogical encounter.

The nature of the pedagogical encounter between teaching artists and students, then, changes dramatically based on the ways in which teaching artists enter the schools. In resource-intensive residencies, teaching artists have an opportunity to build the kinds of relationships with students that can lead to "critical exploration of the world, celebration of community values and

traditions, weaving the arts into daily life, cultivation of imagination and creativity, and appreciation of the world’s many cultures”—effects that Rabkin, et al. attribute to the particular kind of pedagogy practiced by teaching artists.⁶⁹ In shorter-term engagements, especially ones in which students and teaching artists do not interact directly and rely on the mediating presence of classroom teachers, multiple sets of interests can conflict and it seems less likely that students will benefit from arts education’s purported beneficial impact on student engagement and achievement.⁷⁰ Again, this points to a need for careful planning on the district and individual school levels, in partnership with contracted arts organizations, in order to ensure that the various parts of the new arts education plan intersect productively to form a meaningful and rich curricular whole.

Conclusion: teaching, artistry, or both?

Teaching artists have long been an integral part of Chicago’s arts education landscape, a status which has been formalized in the latest round of cultural planning and arts-education policy at the municipal and school-district levels. It is likely that teaching artists now far outnumber full-time-equivalent arts faculty in the Chicago Public Schools, and the majority of arts organizations and community music schools in Chicago employ teaching artists for both in-school partnerships and privately-run programs.⁷¹ Both teaching artists and their work, then, are

⁶⁹ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 4.

⁷⁰ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 13.

⁷¹ The exact number of teaching artists working in the Chicago Public Schools is not tracked. However, since Ingenuity, Inc. has identified 803 unique “arts partners” (external nonprofits) working in the Chicago Public Schools in the 2013-14 school year, many of which, like Urban Gateways, employ many teaching artists, it is very plausible that there are many more teaching artists working in CPS than the 1,278 FTE CPS unionized arts faculty during this same time period. It is unclear from Ingenuity’s report how the 803 “arts partners” compare with the 552 partnering organizations cited later in this section; however, even if the number is indeed only

extremely important. Their pedagogical impact is significant. At the same time, they make up a relatively large percentage of the total arts education labor force. In this section, I seek to assess the reach and impact of teaching artists and to advocate that greater attention be paid to the working conditions of teaching artists as laborers. I argue that the rise of the teaching artist has been both a cause and an effect of destandardization within both arts-education curriculum and arts-education employment, a destandardization which has perhaps enriched certain aspects of the student experience, but which may not be so beneficial for teachers and teaching artists themselves. I conclude with reflections on the nature of teaching artistry and the fragile coalition the term implies between teaching and artistry.

Teaching artists are critical to the Chicago Public Schools' planning and delivery of arts education. They are predominantly employed by independent non-profit organizations, some of which employ teaching artists to implement educational curricula based on their core artistic practice (e.g., the Chicago Symphony Orchestra's Music Appreciation Program), and some of which are dedicated arts-education organizations. According to Ingenuity, Inc.'s annual progress report, during the 2013-14 school year, 552 "museums, cultural institutions, grassroots arts organizations, and independent teaching artists" partnered with Chicago Public Schools to provide arts education, mostly in the form of one-time field trips; only fourteen percent of partner-provided programs were residencies.⁷² Arts staffing in the schools had increased as well, with "10 percent more certified arts instructors district-wide in 2013-14 than the previous school year, and 38 percent more than two years prior."⁷³ Eighty-eight percent of Chicago Public Schools provided data for this report; of these, 90 percent had both certified arts instructors (i.e.,

552 organizations as opposed to 803, there is still a good chance that the number of individual teaching artists is equal to or higher than that of FTE unionized faculty.

⁷² Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 3.

⁷³ Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 2.

CPS faculty) and community arts partners; six percent had only community arts partners, and three percent had only instructors. One percent of schools had neither.⁷⁴ Thanks to the combined efforts of arts instructors and arts partners, students in 47 percent of schools are now receiving approximately 100 minutes of arts instruction per week (across all subject areas), moving toward the CPS target of 120 minutes per week.⁷⁵ Thirty-nine percent of CPS arts instructors are certified in music⁷⁶ although the percentage of instructional minutes devoted specifically to music remains unclear. During 2013-14, CPS schools enjoyed 990 residency programs, 972 in-school performances (like those at Burbank), and 1,109 out-of-school time programs (like the drumline program at EPIC; “residency” here implies that it takes place during the school day).⁷⁷

Here, teaching artists are fully integrated into the arts education delivery system alongside arts instructors, providing a high proportion of the programs and instructional minutes experienced by CPS students. This has explicitly been codified as public policy: the Ingenuity report calls the recommendations outlined in the CPS Arts Education Plan “a collective public/private effort,” which refers both to the funding sources (public and philanthropic) and delivery system (both unionized arts instructors as well as teaching artists, contract workers who are either freelance or employed by a non-profit). The CPS Arts Education Plan “also creates strategies to identify the needs across the District to ensure that every school has at least one arts partner,” if not more than one.⁷⁸ Rhetorically, politically, and in actuality, then, teaching artists are critical to the way in which Chicago politicians, school district officials, school administrators, arts non-profit managers, and philanthropists conceive of arts education.

⁷⁴ Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 9.

⁷⁵ Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 2.

⁷⁶ Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 15.

⁷⁷ Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 18-19.

⁷⁸ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 20.

Despite—or perhaps because of—their numbers and significance, teaching artists often experience low pay, unpredictable schedules, and few employment protections. There is an explicit hierarchy between unionized faculty and teaching artists. The Ingenuity report states:

The arts are typically taught in a tiered approach with a credentialed instructor anchoring instruction that is supported by community arts partners. Partnerships are designed to supplement, but not replace, instruction by credentialed arts instructors. In a city with vast cultural resources such as Chicago, giving schools and instructors access to these programs exponentially expands the depth and breadth of learning opportunities for students.⁷⁹

The Chicago Public Schools employed 1,278 full-time equivalent (FTE) arts instructors during the 2013-14 school year.⁸⁰ As previously mentioned, 552 external organizations partnered with CPS during the same time period and provided hundreds of programs. Excluding field trips, partners provided 3,574 programs to CPS in 2013-14.⁸¹ Many of these involved multiple teaching artists; many teaching artists likely taught at more than one program; some of these external organizations, such as Urban Gateways, employ dozens of teaching artists. Although there is no official count of the number of teaching artists working in the Chicago Public Schools, it appears, based on this data, that the number of teaching artists is somewhat, and perhaps significantly, higher than the number of FTE arts instructors. It is important to recognize explicitly that Chicago's official cultural and education policy codifies this disparity in employment stability and status for arts educators.

Teaching artists themselves often find meaning in their work and enjoy the flexibility and diverse experiences it provides. They can earn a decent, if not handsome, hourly wage (anywhere from \$22 to \$50 at the organizations with which I am familiar, both through fieldwork and professionally), but work relatively few hours per week as teaching artists. Teaching artists in

⁷⁹ Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 16.

⁸⁰ Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 12.

⁸¹ Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 18-19.

Chicago make an average of \$39 per hour, as compared with the national average of \$40 per hour.⁸² Nationally, 72 percent of teaching artists work part-time in this role,⁸³ and earn on average \$9,800 per year as teaching artists.⁸⁴ (Full-time teaching artists earn an average of \$39,000 per year.)⁸⁵ They are freelancers, their lives lived contract to contract, which can be as short as a few days or as long as a few years. Teaching artists, unlike CPS arts instructors, are often not required to have specific credentials or certifications beyond their artistic practice; most have learned how to teach on the job. Furthermore, as independent contractors, they do not enjoy many of the protections of state and federal labor law, and they are not protected by the teachers' union. Chicago's arts-education policy, as it currently stands, has decoupled music teaching from many of its institutional requirements and protections. Many Chicago Public Schools teachers find its bureaucracy stifling: Natalie Butler, the director of Uptown Academy, The People's Music School's conservatory-style program, is a former CPS music teacher who left her job because she felt that bureaucratic requirements were "getting in the way of actually delivering music to children, and I wanted something where I was a little more empowered to make changes."⁸⁶ Many teaching artists, then, find the lack of bureaucracy liberating, but this lack of institutional oversight also makes their livelihoods relatively precarious.

Who benefits from this configuration, how, and why? And who does not? This policy was created in an era of scarcity and fiscal instability at the school district, municipal, state, and federal levels and was thus designed to ensure wide access to arts education as economically as possible. It seems that in this respect recent arts education policy has been relatively successful.

⁸² Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 173.

⁸³ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 170.

⁸⁴ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 9.

⁸⁵ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 9.

⁸⁶ Natalie Butler, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, June 18, 2014.

In its first two years, over 90 percent of CPS students now have arts access, and the teacher:student ratio in the arts is now approaching the target of 1:350. This has required additional funding commitment from the district, admirable and difficult in a time of austerity. At the same time, it is difficult for individual FTE arts instructors to deliver rich programming across all four recognized art forms (visual arts, music, theater, and dance) and funding does not permit each school to staff at adequate levels to provide broad and deep programming across art forms and disciplines. Thus, teaching artists, many if not most of whom work for larger non-profit arts education organizations, are brought in to provide supplementary programming in specific disciplines, genres, and styles. This is cost-effective for CPS and enables many non-profits such as Urban Gateways to receive significant earned revenue from these programs; other non-profits (such as the People's Music School Youth Orchestras) lose money on their education programs and fundraise independently to support them.

The rise of teaching artists also has the effect of destandardizing arts education, for better and for worse. Although the state of Illinois maintains grade-level standards for arts attainment as it does for other subjects, and although the Chicago Guide for Teaching and Learning in the Arts⁸⁷ lays out specific requirements and goals for CPS schools, only certified arts instructors are bound by these. Although it is a selling point to many principals if teaching artists can meet some of these targets, it is not a requirement that they do so.⁸⁸ This has the effect of empowering teaching artists to work as they see fit with little oversight, which can be either a blessing or a curse depending on the quality and dedication of the teaching artist. People like Michael

⁸⁷ The *Chicago Guide for Teaching and Learning in the Arts* is the Chicago Public Schools' curricular scope and sequence document for the arts, launched in 2009. It focuses on what teachers should teach, whereas the *CPS Arts Education Plan* focuses on broad policy goals and the nuts and bolts of staffing and organizational structure.

⁸⁸ Ahlman, Christiel, and Cullen, interviews by author.

Riendeau flourish under this system, but people with little skill or training are enabled to continue to flounder almost indefinitely.

Furthermore, the Chicago Public Schools' teaching artist-heavy system, as it currently stands, provides for very little sequencing or tracking. Teaching artists almost never know beforehand whether students have any relevant background (and they often do not, since their participation in residencies and workshops is scattershot and neither centrally planned nor tracked) nor whether they will have the opportunity to continue to study in a given art form in the future. Among other things, this takes in-depth, long-term instrumental music education almost entirely off the table. Although schools like Merit do provide instrumental music programs, it is rare that students are able to progress beyond a beginner level without some other kind of intervention, most often parental. The end result is that, although students may have very compelling artistic experiences with teaching artists, it is more difficult, although not impossible, for students to attain concrete skills in artistic practice through a sequential curriculum. A few programs, such as The People's Music Schools' El Sistema-inspired Youth Orchestras program at Hibbard Elementary, are doing this successfully. In these cases, the partnering non-profit arts organization has made a commitment to providing long-term, sequential programming and has dedicated staff and financial resources to developing coherent curricula, providing sequential opportunities year after year, and tracking and assessing students to help them move through the program. Teaching artistry opens up innovative new curricula and pedagogical methods, which CPS and the broader Chicago arts-education community should take advantage of; at the same time, CPS should not abandon discipline-based arts skill attainment. Partner organizations like Ingenuity, Inc. could take the lead on creating and maintaining infrastructure and processes for sequencing curricula and tracking students.

The hybrid term “teaching artistry” constructs both teaching and artistry in particular ways. It constructs music teaching as something done not by professional music teachers, but by people who are primarily “artists” who pursue teaching on the side. Booth, a widely-recognized advocate for teaching artistry, defines the term as “*an artist who chooses to include artfully educating others, beyond teaching the technique of the art form, as an active part of a career*” (italics in original).⁸⁹ He writes elsewhere that “teaching artists are at their best when they stay grounded in authentic artistic practice rather than overaccommodating the needs and demands of schools or other institutions with which we partner.”⁹⁰ Booth is a nationally-visible exponent of teaching artistry as a profession and has built his career advocating for teaching artistry as opposed to other pedagogical and structural models; for Booth, teaching artists are constructed as being in some degree of opposition to schools and institutions, as artists first and professional teachers second. Rabkin, et al. also continually refer to teaching artists as artists in the schools—artists first, teachers second.⁹¹ Both Booth and Rabkin, et al., and the program administrators whom I encountered in my fieldwork, presume that music teaching artists are accomplished musicians with little to no teaching background, and in particular neither formal training nor credentialing in pedagogy (although I did meet several teaching artists who went on to pursue master’s degrees in education). This structure foregrounds artistry as both the foundation and the goal of teaching artists’ work. In this way of thinking, teaching artists may not be equipped to teach skills, but they can, in some of the more gauzy formulations that exist, “inspire” and “instill creativity” and “engage” students (all of which are true, but not very rigorous in their definition or implementation). Opera star Renée Fleming, for example, is quoted in the front

⁸⁹ Booth, *The Music Teaching Artist’s Bible*, 3.

⁹⁰ Booth, *The Music Teaching Artist’s Bible*, 10.

⁹¹ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 5.

matter of the CPS Arts Education Plan as saying that “arts education in schools gives voice to young hearts and minds.”⁹²

Despite the rhetoric, however, my fieldwork data show that many individuals who are thought of by their employers as music “teaching artists,” and who identify themselves in this way, do not think of their teaching practice as secondary to their artistic practice and in fact dedicate significant amounts of time and money toward assessing and improving their pedagogical skills, often pursuing additional teaching credentials. In the next chapter, for example, we will meet Brett Benteler, a bassist and teaching artist, who became a music teacher almost by accident and has since turned teaching into the main focus of his career, even pursuing a master’s degree in string pedagogy. In many cases, teaching artists are trained music teachers who work as “teaching artists” simply because those are the jobs that are available to them. Teaching artistry as a field also opens more employment avenues to those artists who are not credentialed to teach or perhaps are not interested in teaching full-time; indeed, many teaching artists I encountered during my fieldwork taught in order to bring a stable source of income to their professional lives, but desired eventually to become full-time performers. The boundaries among artists, teaching artists, and arts educator may be defined rather more strictly by advocates of teaching artistry than by teaching artists themselves.

In Chicago, teaching artistry is, on the one hand, framed as “the new normal” for arts educators, arts education organizations, and the public schools. On the other hand, teaching artistry is framed even by its staunchest intellectual advocates as an economic sideline to other types of artistic work. Pragmatically speaking, teaching artistry is not currently something to which a musician can dedicate his or her career in full. It does not typically pay enough on its

⁹² *CPS Arts Education Plan, 2.*

own to support a family (or often even an individual) and it does not provide benefits. However, teaching artistry is now, in Chicago and elsewhere, a main avenue of employment for arts education workers. In Chicago and nationally, the discourse around the rise of teaching artists has celebrated “artistry” at the expense of “teaching.” More attention has thus been paid to the pedagogical promise of teaching artistry than to the precarious working conditions of teaching artists themselves. Yet the arts education labor force in Chicago—even when restricted to individuals working in the Chicago Public Schools specifically—comprises a higher percentage of teaching artists than it does full-time in-school arts teachers.

Foregrounding “artistry” and devaluing “teaching” has had the effect of marginalizing those who teach and creating the expectation that participation in the arts education workforce cannot and will not provide stable jobs with living wages and benefits. It is a symptom and a cause of the hollowing out of middle-class jobs in music education: as small non-profits are increasingly responsible for providing arts education on a very limited budget comprised largely of philanthropic dollars that largely do not go toward general operating support, teachers will increasingly be hired as independent contractors and as hourly, very part-time workers in order to accommodate the razor-thin margins of their employers. The notion of “teaching artistry” implies a pedagogical optimism which cannot be dismissed, but which should not be emphasized in scholarly and advocacy work at the expense of a clear-eyed acknowledgment of the ways in which teaching artistry, in theory and in practice, represents downward mobility and increased precarity in the music teaching profession.

CHAPTER FOUR

A LABOR OF LOVE: WORKING AND LIVING AS A MUSIC TEACHER

The mythologies of artistic labor, as fueled by passion, genius, mental illness, faith, drug abuse, longing, mystical visions, and, of course, love, [are] vast. But, ultimately, all of these romanticized motivations are masks, hiding the simple fact that work is work, even if it produces something cherished or beautiful.

--Miya Tokumitsu, *Do What You Love: And Other Lies About Success and Happiness*¹

In contrast to the teaching artist, the figure of the “music teacher” is an older formulation, one that dates back centuries and is found in many cultures. Whereas the “teaching artist” is, as we have seen in Chapter 3, framed as a working artist who teaches on the side—someone for whom teaching work is peripheral—the “music teacher” is a person who teaches music and who identifies as an educator, whether as a component or as the entirety of his or her professional identity. The music teacher is typically someone who makes most of his or her living through teaching, rather than performance, work, and thus someone who relies upon stable educational employment. In the current climate, where cities and arts education therein are problematized, the music teacher’s role is in decline and the teaching artist’s role is in ascendance. The employment conditions of music teachers in Chicago are deeply affected by the dual-layered problematization of urban music education. The orientation of music education programs around the notion of problem solving has meant, first, that music teachers are expected to put the organizational mission first, often, literally, at their own expense, and second, that a systemic divide in working conditions and compensation has emerged between programs that charge market-rate tuition or otherwise do not partake of the problematization narrative, and programs that do.

¹ New York: Regan Arts, 2015, 2.

The transition from music teacher to teaching artist, in policy and in practice, has become ideologically invested. Rabkin, et al. cite teaching artist advocate Eric Booth on the difference between “teaching artists,” the focus of Chapter 3, and “arts educators,” the focus of this chapter:

“The arts,” Booth explained, “are both the works—the poems, paintings, and performances—we think of as ‘art’ and the processes that people engage to make those works.” Arts education and the arts in general, he observed, are principally focused on the works or “nouns of art,” at the expense of the processes, or the “verbs of art.” Teaching artists are a vehicle for restoring a healthier balance between the nouns and the verbs, connecting people to their own creative and expressive capacities, and to deeper and more meaningful lives through the arts.²

Booth’s polemical comments reflect a growing valorization of new approaches to arts education delivery at the expense of older structures and practices. Booth’s analysis is both untrue—many “arts educators” *do* focus on the processes of art-making and seek to “connect people to their own creative and expressive capacities”—and too neat. “Teaching artist” and “arts educator” are not unchanging professional identities, fully inhabited by people working in the field of arts education to the exclusion of other descriptors. Instead, these terms are roles, job descriptions, that individuals frequently inhabit simultaneously.

Rather than presenting definitions of “*the* teaching artist” and “*the* arts educator,” I seek to understand (in the previous chapter) what it is like to work as a “teaching artist” and the ways in which this role has been created and accommodated by institutions and policymakers; and, in this chapter, what it is like to work as an “arts educator” in the field of music, always recognizing that these roles and identities are fluid over the course of an individual’s career (and sometimes even an individual’s week). In particular, I hope to illuminate what the working lives of music

² Eric Booth, “Expanding the Range of Essential Skills of Essential Skills of 21st Century Artists,” in *The Creative Campus: The Training, Sustaining, and Presenting of the Performing Arts in American Higher Education* (New York: The American Assembly, 2004), n.p., in Rabkin et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, x.

teachers are like in an historical moment in which this way of teaching and of making a living is increasingly unstable and devalued.

Here, I refocus the discourse around the people who work in music education in several ways. It should be noted that, throughout this chapter, unless otherwise stated, “music teacher” should be taken to denote individuals who work as music educators outside full-time, K-12 school contexts: people who work for non-profit community music schools, for after-school music programs, and as independent private teachers. First, I focus on the two archetypes structuring the discourse and practice of working as a music educator: the craftsman and the professional. I argue that these archetypes hold significant power and influence over the institutions that employ music teachers, over arts education policymaking, and, perhaps most importantly, over teachers themselves. At the same time, the working conditions experienced by music teachers are affected by the realities of the “creative economy” in Chicago-as-global-city.

Second, I describe the ways in which people become music educators and what it is like to work in this field. This description provides important context for my later analysis, and, I hope, will be useful as arts education planning continues to evolve in Chicago. Finally, I explore and analyze the multiple types of labor that music teachers are asked to perform, in addition to their stated fundamental job duties of teaching musical skill attainment: emotional labor, ethical labor, and ideological labor. Because music education is so often framed as a calling, something that is done out of *love*, the fact that it is indeed a form of *labor* recedes from view in ways that have very real material effects on teachers. I introduce one additional archetype in this section, that of the amateur, to contextualize the love-oriented emotional labor of music teachers, and show how the “amateur” paradigm conflicts with the “professional” paradigm in ways that negatively affect teachers’ working lives.

A note on representational strategies: I conducted lengthy formal interviews with eleven music teachers and, in the course of my fieldwork, interacted informally with dozens more. Wherever possible, I quote teachers' own words at length in order to give a sense of the individuality, agency, and thought processes of music teachers.

Archetypes of music educators: the craftsman and the professional versus the creative worker

The archetypes of the craftsman and the professional guide the development of teachers' identities, frame the debate around arts education policy, and shape and are shaped by institutional structures in the field of music education. That is, these two archetypes have generative force for a variety of stakeholders: administrators, funders, policymakers, and teachers themselves. At the same time, teachers' working lives are often more akin to those of other "creative workers": flexible, precarious, fulfilling, meaningful, difficult, and not very remunerative. Chicago continually strives toward the status of a full-fledged "global city," and, like many other cities across the United States, it has been shaped by the realities of the post-Fordist economy and the dreams of the "creative economy."³ Recent cultural policymaking has positioned music teachers simultaneously at the edge of today's "creative workforce" and as an integral component of the plan to develop the creative workforce of tomorrow. In the lived experience of music teachers in Chicago, then, the craftsman and professional archetypes are challenged by and blended with the constraints and opportunities faced by creative workers in this almost-global city. In this section, I sketch the craftsman and professional archetypes and briefly discuss the experience of work in the creative economy in Chicago in order to

³ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 326-327, 329.

contextualize and frame the data-heavy sections on the development, working lives, and career paths of music teachers that follow.

The day-to-day lives of music teachers resemble those of craftsmen in many ways: in the studio's evocation of the workshop setting; in the long, slow process of skill acquisition; in the sense of apprenticeship that many felt vis-à-vis their own teachers and mentors, and that they hope to bequeath to their own students; in the drive for autonomy and happiness in the workplace; and, most crucially, in the marriage of manual and intellectual training in which these individuals participate as teachers and participated as students.

The majority of the music teachers whom I interviewed worked for non-profit community music schools, teaching private lessons and small-group classes on site at the music school and in after-school programs in CPS elementary schools. These settings have the feel of the craft workshop. Richard Sennett, in *The Craftsman*, teases out the essence of the workshop:

A more satisfying definition of the workshop is a productive space in which people deal face-to-face with issues of authority. This austere definition focuses not only on who commands and who obeys in work but also on skills as a source of the legitimacy of command or the dignity of obedience. In a workshop, the skills of the master can earn him or her the right to command, and learning from and absorbing those skills can dignify the apprentice or journeyman's obedience.⁴

These teachers work in classroom and studio settings in which they are the “masters” and students are the “apprentices,” so to speak: the students just beginning their own long, slow processes of skill development, and the teachers farther along. In the context of the private music lesson, the teacher's performance and pedagogical skills have earned him or her the right to command, as Sennett writes, and the students, because they are largely there voluntarily, are typically happy to comply to the best of their ability, in service of their own learning.

⁴ Richard Sennett, *The Craftsman* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 54.

Music teachers develop their skills over a long period of time, as described in the next section, “Becoming a music teacher,” and in the case studies that follow. Sennett calls this slow process of maturation “craft time”:

Craftsmen take pride most in skills that mature. This is why simple imitation is not a sustaining satisfaction; the skill has to evolve. The slowness of craft time serves as a source of satisfaction; practice beds in, making the skill one’s own. Slow craft time also enables the work of reflection and imagination—which the push for quick results cannot. Mature means long; one takes lasting ownership of the skill.⁵

Most music teachers begin to develop their skills in childhood, when they first learn to play an instrument. Many have 10 to 20 years of experience on their instrument by the time they begin teaching. For music teachers, the process of learning an instrument is also somewhat of an apprenticeship in teaching itself: the hours spent in lessons and rehearsals are an opportunity to observe and learn from their own teachers’ methods and habits. Despite the existence of training and credentialing programs associated with colleges, universities, and professional organizations, music teaching is still largely learned by doing, and many teachers, as we shall see below, hold no formal credentials in the field, yet are widely respected for their skills.

Music teachers place a high value on autonomy and happiness in the workplace. They want to set their own standards and feel that their contributions are valued, and are often quite choosy in where and with whom they are willing to work. Furthermore, music teachers often prioritize pleasant working conditions over prestigious job titles and higher pay. Many of the teachers whom I interviewed expressed a strong aversion to office work, as well. Stephane Collopy, a violin teacher at The People’s Music School, described the early years of her career, when she was playing with several small regional orchestras in the Green Bay, Wisconsin area

⁵ Sennett, *The Craftsman*, 295.

and working in an administrative position at a local music festival.⁶ Despite the many things she enjoyed about living in this area and working in this way, however, she ultimately resigned her administrative position and moved to Milwaukee to pursue performance and teaching exclusively: “So I loved it, but I just, with the teaching and the playing and being behind a desk on like a beautiful day, I was like, I can’t be behind a desk, it’s not for me, I can’t do it.”⁷

Collopy traded stability for greater autonomy and personal satisfaction, making a risky move to a new city where she had few connections in order to do so. The case study of Anthony, below, also explores the value he places on respect, autonomy, and happiness in the workplace. In general, the teachers whom I interviewed perceived themselves as quite independent and as having strong and durable professional identities, and were willing and able to work for a different school or strike out on their own if a particular workplace situation did not suit them.

Music teaching is most craftsmanlike, however, in its alliance of manual, technical, and intellectual skill. Sennett contrasts skill to “the *coup de foudre*, the sudden inspiration” that is widely considered to be the foundation of artistic creativity. He continues, “The lure of inspiration lies in part in the conviction that raw talent can take the place of training. Musical prodigies are often cited to support this conviction—and wrongly so.”⁸ The music teachers with whom I interacted in the field did not simply seek to identify and support “talent”; instead, they sought first to inculcate physical facility on the instrument, the necessary foundation for an intellectual understanding of the instrument and of pieces of music, repertoires, and genres.

⁶ Collopy and I worked together during the 2005-2006 school year in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She was the director of the Milwaukee Youth Symphony Orchestra’s Progressions program (for low-income students from the Milwaukee Public Schools); I was a high-school teaching intern for violin and viola. It was an unexpected pleasure to reunite with her in the context of my fieldwork (and it also says something about mobilities of labor in the Chicago-Milwaukee metropolitan corridor).

⁷ Stephane Collopy, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, May 5, 2014.

⁸ Sennett, *The Craftsman*, 27.

Sennett writes that “[t]echnique has a bad name; it can seem soulless. That’s not how people whose hands become highly trained view technique. For them, technique will be intimately linked to expression.”⁹ For the most craftsmanlike music teachers, technique is not restrictive but enabling of artistic and intellectual growth.

The craftsman model is perhaps the oldest paradigm for music teaching, echoing the ways of working of Hindustani *gharānās*, European conservatories, and the countless instances of musical transmission from master to student in traditions across the world.¹⁰ Aspects of this model have persisted in the structures of the non-profit community schools in which most of the teachers whom I interviewed worked, most notably in the primacy of the private or small-group lesson and in the respect expected by and accorded to teachers who have developed mastery in performance and pedagogical skills over long periods of time.

I turn now to the “professional” archetype, a newer paradigm that has nonetheless proved influential in the working lives of contemporary music teachers. The “professionalization” of music teaching is most evident in the following ways: the development of a sense of professional identity *as music teachers* (as opposed to as musicians for whom teaching is one among many musical activities); the importance of credentialing and higher education; the opportunities, albeit limited, to advance throughout the course of one’s career from teaching into administrative jobs; and the drive by both policy decision makers and larger institutions of music education to rationalize and organize the processes and products of music education.

The identity of “music teacher” seems to be widely considered separate from that of “musician.” That is to say, although individuals often identify as both musician and music

⁹ Sennett, *The Craftsman*, 149.

¹⁰ See Daniel M. Neuman, “*Gharanas*: The Rise of Musical ‘Houses’ in Delhi and Neighboring Cities,” in *Eight Urban Musical Cultures: Tradition and Change*, Bruno Nettl, ed., 186-222 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

teacher, these roles are distinct semantically, professionally, and organizationally. Indeed, many of my interlocutors conceived of their activities as “musicians” and “music teachers” as occupying separate professional realms and separate, but related, skill sets. I discuss this phenomenon in more depth later in this chapter, in the section entitled “Becoming a music teacher.” Furthermore, over the past several decades, increased efforts have been made to define non-school music teachers as professionals of their own sort. For example, as discussed in the previous chapter, Eric Booth has been a leading advocate of the notion that teaching artistry is its own profession, and has been involved with the creation of much of the infrastructure of a “profession”: most notably a research journal, conferences, professional associations, and written materials exploring and defining the nature of teaching artistry.¹¹ To the extent that Chicago’s recent cultural policies separate arts educators from other kinds of arts workers, this distinction has been officially codified. Similarly, and somewhat paradoxically, the polemic discourse quoted at the beginning of this chapter around “teaching artists” versus “arts educators” frames these as separate, mutually exclusive *professional* roles. Just as “arts educators” are professionals with their own professional infrastructure, Booth implies, so too should “teaching artists” have similar systems and organizations.

As music education has professionalized, expectations for training and career advancement in the field have become more similar to those of white-collar, office-based occupations. Although almost all of the skills needed to teach music can be (and most often are) learned on the job and through one-on-one apprenticeships, and this fact is widely recognized by teachers and administrators, all of the administrators with whom I spoke expected that teachers whom they hired would have bachelor’s degrees, and often master’s degrees, in music

¹¹ Booth, “Home.”

performance and/or education. This is part of a broader trend in the American economy: the possession of a college degree is the key to most office jobs, even those for which the content of the degree bears little relevance to job tasks. Although craftsmanlike skill is expected on the job, credentials more similar to those of white-collar office workers are needed in order to get hired in the first place.

Non-degree credentialing professional organizations are also prominent in the field of music education. The Suzuki Association of the Americas, for example, began in the 1960s in order to promote the methods and philosophy of Japanese violin teacher Shin'ichi Suzuki.¹² The Suzuki Association runs short-term training programs for music teachers, enabling them to become credentialed in the method, access resources such as teacher referral services, participate in professional activities such as conferences, and, most importantly, credibly refer to themselves as official "Suzuki teachers," a brand that carries cachet in the marketplace. Similarly, one can earn certifications in other methods, such as Dalcroze, Orff, Kodály, O'Connor, and so forth. The administrators with whom I spoke often view these credentials as equivalent to a bachelor's degree in music education; for schools that specialize in a particular method, credentials from these professional organizations are often the most important factor in hiring decisions.

Later in this chapter, I examine the paths by which teachers can advance in their careers. Typically, teaching jobs themselves do not allow for much possibility of upward mobility in compensation or title; teachers are largely paid as hourly workers at roughly the same rates throughout their careers as teachers. However, a large percentage of arts education administrators are themselves former teachers; this progression is one of the primary ways in which people trained as music teachers can earn more money, stability, and increasingly prestigious job titles

¹² Cf. Robert Fink, *Repeating Ourselves: American Minimal Music as Cultural Practice* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).

over time. This progression within non-profit music schools is akin to the hierarchical structures in many corporations, where one aspires to move from a worker producing the organization's core product or service, to a manager supervising a group of these workers.

Finally, the processes and products of music education organizations are becoming increasingly rationalized by administrators, funders, and policymakers. Chicago's arts-education and cultural-policy documents are rife with references to the desired outcomes of arts education, most commonly couched in economic terms; for example, the development of a "creative workforce" for the city. It is widely considered a "best practice" for arts education non-profits to have "logic models," which show the mechanisms by which their mission statements will be put into practice. Appendix 2 is a reproduction of a draft of The People's Music School's logic model, generated during its 2013-14 strategic planning process. The model has four sections: "Program Inputs," "Short Term Indicators of Success" for "Musical Impact" and for "Social and Academic Impact," and, finally, "Long Term Indicators of Impact." There are six inputs, leading to qualitative and quantitative measures of short- and long-term impact across six areas corresponding to the inputs. Long-term impact is measured solely by social-behavioral and academic criteria. This process of rationalization and management is discussed more fully later in this chapter and in Chapters 2, 5, and 6 of the dissertation.

Despite the importance of these two archetypes in structuring teachers' own identities and motivations, and the job expectations and management processes of the institutions for which they work, teachers' working conditions are shaped primarily by the forces of the "creative economy" in the post-Fordist city and are rather dissimilar to the working conditions of fellow craftsmen and professionals. Here, I gesture briefly toward the discourses of the "creative class"

and the “global city,” so relevant to Chicago in the twenty-first century, as they affect music teachers.¹³

Richard Florida, the original proponent of the “creative class” theory, argues that the major economic trend of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is that “creativity [is] the fundamental source of economic growth and the rise of the Creative Class.”¹⁴ Although he is extremely positively disposed toward this phenomenon, he does admit that “the emerging Creative Economy [is] a dynamic and turbulent system—exciting and liberating in some ways, divisive and stressful in others.”¹⁵ Florida’s book was hugely successful in both the academic and popular markets in the early 2000s; more influential still has been his consulting practice, Creative Class Group, which has worked with dozens of cities across the country to attempt to jump-start economic growth via making cities more appealing to “creative class” workers (which Florida defines broadly as not only those in artistic fields, but also the majority of knowledge professionals). One hears echoes of Florida’s influence, for example, in the 2012 Chicago Cultural Plan’s insistence that cultural planning is key to “Achieving our Global Potential”¹⁶ and to economic revitalization; indeed, the joint letter from Mayor Rahm Emanuel and Commissioner of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Special Events Michelle Boone that opens the Plan frames the initiative as a blueprint “on how we can continue to strengthen and expand Chicago’s cultural and creative capital.”¹⁷

Florida posits that “all members of the Creative Class...share a common creative ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference and merit,” and that

¹³ A fuller discussion of these ideologies as they relate to music education policy can be found in Chapters 2 and 6.

¹⁴ Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, xxix.

¹⁵ Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, xxix.

¹⁶ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, 8.

¹⁷ *Chicago Cultural Plan*, front matter.

The key difference between the Creative Class and other classes lies in what they are primarily paid to do. Those in the Working Class and the Service Class are primarily paid to execute according to plan, while those in the Creative Class are primarily paid to create and have considerably more autonomy and flexibility than the other two classes to do so.¹⁸

Objective truth of these statements aside, Florida's definition resonates with much of the discourse around "creative professionals" in Chicago and with music teachers' stated values. This definition borrows notions such as autonomy and creativity from the craftsman ideal, without the stability and consistency that craft work implies. Florida also notes that the "no-collar workplace" of the creative economy

replaces traditional hierarchical systems of control with new forms of self-management, peer recognition and pressure and intrinsic forms of motivation, which I call *soft control*. In this setting, we strive to work more independently and find it much harder to cope with incompetent managers and bullying bosses. We trade job security for autonomy.¹⁹

Most of the teachers whom I interviewed wanted *both* job security *and* autonomy, features that characterize both craftsman (e.g., the skilled trades) and high-end professional (e.g., medical professionals, attorneys, professors) occupations. However, since they are characterized as "creative workers" and work for institutions in the "creative economy," they must choose between security and autonomy; most choose autonomy, but to their material disadvantage.

The creative-cities discourse posits that creative workers accept, even prefer, this exchange of security for autonomy; that "flexible" and "horizontal" employment structures—holding multiple part-time jobs, having little opportunity to increase pay or job responsibilities throughout one's career—is enjoyable and even invigorating for creative workers. However, my fieldwork revealed significant friction between the "creative economy" into which music

¹⁸ Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, 8.

¹⁹ Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, 13.

teachers must fit, and their preferred working conditions and, indeed, professional identity models.

Saskia Sassen defines the “global city” as that which functions in four key ways:

[F]irst, as highly concentrated command points in the organization of the world economy; second, as key locations for finance and for specialized service firms, which have replaced manufacturing as the leading economic sectors; third, as sites of production, including the production of innovations, in these leading industries; and fourth, as markets for the products and innovations produced.²⁰

Almost since its founding, Chicago has been anxious about its status as not-quite-global city, but continues to strive toward becoming a global city—in part through cultural planning, as described above. Janet Abu-Lughod does classify Chicago as one of “America’s”—if not the world’s—“global cities”²¹ but repeatedly acknowledges its marginal status in this category. It is well documented that the workforce in global cities tends to split into a select group of highly-paid professionals, largely in financial, legal, and high-end knowledge-based fields, and a much larger underclass of low-paid service workers, with few stable, well-paid, truly “middle-class” jobs available for those neither at the top nor at the bottom. Teaching—in the public schools, that is—has historically been a relatively well-paid, stable middle-class occupation that cannot be outsourced even from the most global of global cities. Music education, however, has long been, and especially since the mass layoff of CPS arts teachers in the late 1970s, exempt from this kind of stability due to processes of privatization. Music teachers, then, may aspire to the kinds of material success and stability enjoyed by other highly-educated professionals in their “creative,” “global” cities, but have few avenues in which to achieve this. The conflict between this reality and teachers’ own paradigms of craft and professionalism generates significant tension for most of the teachers with whom I interacted in the field.

²⁰ Sassen, *The Global City*, 3-4.

²¹ See Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*.

Becoming a music teacher

Becoming a music teacher is a lengthy process. Unlike many other professions, training often begins in childhood, when one learns to sing or to play an instrument. Teaching skills are often developed gradually and not always through schooling—many teachers earn degrees in subjects other than music education, most commonly in music performance, and learn to teach through trial and error, through emulating their own teachers, and through mentorship. For some, it is a calling that is felt at a young age; for others, it is an identity that gradually develops over time and in which an individual may never feel truly comfortable. And one's identity as a teacher is often in vexed relationship to one's identity as a musician. As Stephen Cottrell writes, based on his study of professional musicians in London,

There are many who would think of themselves as professional musicians even though they may have income from other sources....Nearly all the musicians I know do some form or other of teaching, but occasionally the balance between such teaching and paid musical performance is tilted very strongly in favor of the former; and since teaching is generally regarded as something qualitatively different to paid musical employment this does create difficulties in the use of the term 'professional.'²²

Many of the music teachers with whom I spoke thought of themselves as, separately, both musicians and teachers, rather than integrating teaching work into a broader identity as a musician. Some thought of themselves exclusively as teachers. Nearly all, however, started their educational and professional journeys by thinking of themselves as musicians.

Passionate and engaged students can quickly develop identities *as musicians*, and as particular *kinds* of musicians—classical musicians, oboists, jazz bassists—at relatively young ages. The story of how Alejandro Luna, a student in the Youth Orchestras program at Hibbard Elementary, came to play the oboe exemplifies this:

²² Cottrell, *Professional Music-Making in London*, 10.

So it started with the—we have a tradition at the end of the year, we throw a party and stuff, so it was my fifth grade end-of-the-year party, and we hear on the intercom, all I hear was a bunch of noise, my last name, Luna, so I thought they were just calling specifically for me. I go down to the office and that’s where I first met the original conductor of this program, Milan. And he asked me, “So you’re Gerardo Luna?” And I said “No, I’m his brother, Alejandro.” He just stared at me and said “You look good for the oboe.” So he just technically sized me up.²³

In the 2014-15 school year, as a junior in high school, Alejandro is a dedicated oboist, a member of the Chicago Youth Symphony Orchestra and a leader within the Youth Orchestras who is frequently given important solos at concerts. He told me that he fell in love with the oboe immediately at his first orchestra rehearsal, a few weeks after his momentous conversation with Milan Miskovic in the school office. Alejandro now identifies strongly as a musician and, particularly, as an oboist—an identity that runs in the family now that his younger brother, Gerardo, also plays the oboe quite well.

Albert Oppenheimer, former program director of the Hibbard Youth Orchestras program, believes strongly in the connection between childhood music education and identity development. In explaining some of the rationale behind the design of the Hibbard program, he reflected on his own trajectory:

It becomes the identity of the student. That’s another thing. You can do a lot of things one hour a week. Are you that thing? No. The [amount of] time you do matters. Like if you think back to your childhood, what did you do the most? Did you identify with that? I was a band geek. I was in marching band all the time, and before that I was a soccer player, because I was in soccer practice eight hours a week. But when I stopped doing it for that amount of time, it went away, even though I considered myself a soccer player, it stopped being who I was. So that sense of identity is important.²⁴

For Oppenheimer, students who spend a lot of time playing music will almost inevitably develop an identity as musicians.

²³ Alejandro Luna, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, July 3, 2014.

²⁴ Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

For some students—often in high school, when one begins to think in earnest about career preparation and higher education—their identity as a musician leads them to consider pursuing music professionally. Often this means pursuing higher education in music; sometimes it does not. I excerpt an interview with Youth Orchestras bass teacher Brett Benteler at length here, in order to portray his decision-making around his educational and career paths. He describes his musical studies here and the ways in which they did and did not mesh with his education:

Brett Benteler: Concurrently with piano I was playing saxophone and clarinet in elementary school and then in high school, it was my clarinet teacher at Lane Tech High School, he wanted me to play flute. I was playing saxophone in the concert band for the first couple years, he wanted me to play flute and clarinet, so I started playing clarinet and then flute. I was overwhelmed. I was a freshman and I was just like, “This is too much,” cause I was also playing guitar in rock bands and I was also playing pretty good classical piano with my teacher, I was serious about it, and he [the clarinet teacher] was telling me “You’re gonna have to give up the piano and the guitar to do this thing at school.” And I was like, “What am I gonna do?” So I asked my piano teacher, like, “He’s telling me I have to quit,” and she’s like, on the advice of my piano teacher she’s like “You could do what I did in college.” ‘Cause at Lane you have to have a music major status and in order to have to maintain that status you have to do all these things. So I was thinking like, if I stop that, but I continue with, you know, taking piano lessons and guitar outside of school, what’s gonna happen to my studies in high school? I’m gonna go have to take all these shop classes and stuff I wasn’t interested in, and I might have to do five years. I ended up dropping out anyway, so it doesn’t matter.

Meredith Aska McBride: Oh, really?

BB: Yeah, and I got a GED. But at that point it was really important. So she said “You know, why don’t you just switch to double bass?” That was something I never thought of.

MAM: Your dad [prominent Chicago bandleader Franz Benteler], did he try to encourage you toward one instrument or another, or no?

BB: No, no, he was very encouraging of whatever I wanted to do, and I wasn’t playing with him at that point. So at the beginning of my sophomore year I took my piano teacher’s advice and it meant I never went back to saxophone or clarinet, which was fine because the double bass just opened up a world of possibilities, and I learned the thing in like three months [MAM: Wow]. It was just like really cool, enough to play in the orchestra, ‘cause it’s the same four strings as a guitar and then the bass clef, having played piano, you know, it was just a real quick transition, and by the time, like another

year down the road I was already working [as a professional gigging musician]. It just happened really quick and I never went back after that.²⁵

Benteler has worked as a freelance bassist since he was a teenager; while maintaining a full performing schedule, he went back to school to earn both his bachelor's and his master's degree, the latter in string pedagogy (in fact, he was due to turn in his master's thesis shortly after our interview in June 2014). His professional trajectory also reveals the importance of one's chosen instrument to one's career opportunities. As Benteler put it, "the double bass just opened up a world of possibilities," and he was able to make a relatively seamless transition from high school to an active life of gigging in a variety of musical styles at venues all across Chicago and beyond. As a flautist or clarinetist, it would have been much more difficult if not impossible to find such a rich and diverse set of opportunities. The double bass afforded him the opportunity to take jazz, pop, orchestral, rock, and Latin gigs, as well as the opportunity to teach in a classical orchestra program. Likewise, Michael Riendeau has, as a percussionist, had similarly diverse and numerous opportunities as both performer and teacher. By contrast, I know a French horn player who is a well-respected teacher, but counts himself lucky if he can secure four private students and one brass ensemble coaching gig in a year. The choice of what instrument to play can be essentially random (as in Alejandro Luna's case), an informed decision based on opportunities (as in Brett Benteler's case), a matter of what is available in one's school (as in Michael Riendeau's case), and/or based on a love of that instrument's particular sound (as in my own case), among other reasons. These decisions are often made in childhood when one is giving little thought to a career (and, indeed, at a time when one is not even sure that one wants to pursue music in any serious way), yet they have a profound impact on the types of opportunities musicians can access.

²⁵ Brett Benteler, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, June 2, 2014.

For most of my interviewees, the decision to pursue a career in music came before the decision to pursue a career (or a portion thereof) as a music educator. In several cases, the decision to pursue music as a field of study was undertaken first and the decision to pursue music as a career came later. Carolyn Sybesma's initial goal was to be a performer:

Carolyn Sybesma: Music education was something I was like very averse to. I didn't want to do it and I remember when I was an undergrad, having people tell me, like, "You should really do music education, you should be a teacher, you'd be so good at it." And I was like, no!

MAM: You wanted to be a performer?

CS: I wanted to be a performer, and it's just—I want, my older sister did that, she got her doctorate from Northwestern in piano performance, and I just thought that was the only way to be a successful musician, was to succeed in that field. But then after I graduated I moved to Chicago and started preparing for my audition for grad school in piano, and hated it. And I think I knew it too, when I was younger, I just hated, you know, I just wanted to be a performer, but I didn't want to practice that much.

MAM: Yeah.

CS: So I started teaching at Merit, an opportunity came up and I got a position there teaching group piano, and actually discovered that I loved teaching. So I think that was kind of like my first steps into it, and then I slowly started to realize that teaching would probably always be part of my life in some way.²⁶

This story was not uncommon among my interviewees, and in the literature. In her history of The People's Music School, Cynthia Pinkerton describes the early career of its founder, Rita Simó, as a concert pianist. Simó often had the opportunity to meet and talk with schoolchildren and young piano students after her concerts. Pinkerton writes,

As these experiences continued, Rita came to realize that what she really enjoyed was this more intimate, person-to-person, sharing of her musical knowledge and gifts. She began to wonder if her real calling in music might be as a teacher rather than as a traveling performer. If she could interact with children whose opportunities for meaningful music study were limited, she might find her life much more rewarding.²⁷

²⁶ Carolyn Sybesma, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, April 8, 2014.

²⁷ Cynthia Willis Pinkerton, *Music Is a Gift, Pass It On: Rita Simó and The People's Music School* (Chicago: Self-published, 2014), 30.

In these two narratives, music performance is seen as the default, expected, or desired musical career, to which one should aspire if one has the ability to do so. As Bruno Nettl writes in his study of the fictionalized Heartland University's music school,

Ideally, a musician moves from beginner to intermediate student, advanced student, beginning professional, full-fledged professional, master, and star. Few individuals follow this line precisely; some move from professional to nonperforming teacher, and few ever become stars. But many aspects of musical and social behavior underscore the existence of this continuum, along which one moves gradually. Special respect is given to individuals who move along the sequence rapidly, who become stars at an early age, and those who conflate or sweep aside the sequence, moving like Mozart from child prodigy to star performer, are sometimes treated as if their gifts had truly come from the supernatural.²⁸

Music education is a calling that dawns on musicians slowly and often unintentionally, when they happen to have experiences that reveal their skills in and inclination toward this field. It is also a calling that can be stigmatized, as Nettl's analysis reveals: in this ideology, becoming a full-time educator, or at least viewing this as a significant or primary part of one's career, is not part of the official career track, and pursuing this path means renouncing the "ideal" way of working as a musician. In this sense it is no surprise that many people come to music education later in their journey, either (in the opinion of some naysayers) because they cannot attain the performance career they desire, or (more accurately) they are simply not put in a position to discover this *métier* until later in their education, or even when they have already begun actively working as performing musicians.

As is implicit in the fact that Nettl's and Kingsbury's groundbreaking studies of the world of classical music focused on conservatories, higher education is important to musicians and music educators. Many, although not all, of my interlocutors grew up in middle-class homes where it was assumed that they would attend college; their choice to study music at the post-

²⁸ Nettl, *Heartland Excursions*, 48-49.

secondary level was due largely to interest, skill, and talent developed in their youth, and seen as the logical next step in continuing to improve their musical ability. Of the thirteen educators and fourteen administrators whom I interviewed, their educational attainment breaks down as follows (I include both educators and administrators here because they are often overlapping categories, and many administrators previously worked as music educators; titles represent their position at the time of our interview but may have changed since):

Table 1. Music educators and administrators by professional role and educational attainment.

Name and date	Teacher/administrator status; title	Educational background
Anthony (pseudonym) June 16, 2014	Teacher, community music school and charter school	BA, jazz studies and composition, Roosevelt University MA, general music/ethnomusicology, Roosevelt University
Sarah (pseudonym) June 1, 2014	Teacher, public school	BA, vocal performance Master's, music education Plans to do PhD
Scott Ahlman June 18, 2014	Administrator: Principal, Hibbard Elementary	Bachelor's, Augustana College Graduate work, Chicago State University
Brett Benteler June 2, 2014	Teacher: Youth Orchestras at Hibbard Elementary	BA, music and Spanish, Northeastern Illinois University MA, applied string pedagogy, Northeastern Illinois University
Randi Bergey June 25, 2014	Administrator: Director of Development, The People's Music School	BS, elementary education, University of Iowa Graduate coursework at National-Louis University
Carolyn Bishop August 12, 2013	Administrator: Associate Dean, Sphinx Performance Academy	BA, political science and psychology, Eastern Michigan University MA, arts administration, Eastern Michigan University

Table 1, continued.

Natalie Butler June 18, 2014	Administrator: Director, Uptown Academy Teacher: Former CPS music teacher	BME, Florida State University MM, Northwestern University
Kelly Christiel March 27, 2014	Administrator: Program Associate, Urban Gateways	BS, journalism, Lincoln University (MO) MA, inner city studies, Northeastern Illinois University
Stephane Collopy May 5, 2014	Teacher: The People's Music School Administrator: Former director, Progressions, Milwaukee Youth Symphony Orchestra	BS, music with business minor, Illinois State University
Kristy Conway July 10, 2014	Administrator: Associate Director of Institutional Giving, Urban Gateways	BS, psychology, University of Illinois MSW, University of Illinois at Chicago
Sherre Jennings Cullen April 30, 2014	Administrator: Director of Development, Urban Gateways	BA, comparative literature, SUNY Binghamton MPS, communication, Cornell University
Chris Jenkins September 10, 2013	Teacher and Administrator: Dean, Sphinx Performance Academy	BA, music and psychology, Harvard College MM, viola performance, New England Conservatory MIA, human rights and conflict resolution, Columbia University
Jaime McCool May 7, 2014	Teacher: The People's Music School	BA, piano and composition, Columbia College Chicago Coursework for master's in music administration, Columbia College Chicago
Nicole Negrete April 28, 2014	Teacher and Administrator: Program Director, The People's Music School	BM, music education and viola performance, Northwestern University

Table 1, continued.

Albert Oppenheimer May 21, 2014 and June 3, 2014	Administrator: Youth Orchestras Director, The People's Music School	BA, music theory and composition, New England Conservatory MM, music theory and composition, New England Conservatory Sistema Fellow, New England Conservatory MBA candidate, Queen's University
Michael Riendeau January 14, 2014 and February 3, 2014	Teacher: Teaching artist, Urban Gateways	BA, music and French, Lawrence University
Carrie Rosales April 30, 2014	Administrator: Measurement and Documentation Manager, Urban Gateways	BFA, performance, music, theatre, Missouri State Educational Research Methodologies Certificate, University of Illinois at Chicago
Javier Saume Mazzei May 28, 2014	Teacher: Youth Orchestras at Hibbard Elementary	Conservatorio Simon Bolívar BA, percussion performance, Roosevelt University Applying to master's degree programs in music pedagogy
Carolyn Sybesma April 8, 2014	Teacher and Administrator: Director of Community Programs, The People's Music School	BA, music, Dordt College MAM, arts, entertainment, and media management, Columbia College Chicago
Xavier Verna September 16, 2013	Teacher and Administrator: Director of Education, Sphinx Organization	BA, percussion performance with teacher certification, University of Michigan

Although few have degrees and/or credentials in music education proper, degrees and credentials are nonetheless important in this field: all of the program administrators at my field sites required teachers to have at minimum a bachelor's and preferably a master's degree in something music-related, whether performance or education.

Furthermore, specific pedagogical methods often require certification through their governing bodies. For example, in order to become an endorsed Suzuki teacher who can

advertise one's services as such, one must pass an audition and application process and complete short-term intensive training sessions pegged to the different levels of the Suzuki repertory. Many of my interviewees expressed the desire (and some, such as Brett Benteler, acted on it) to attain additional certifications and degrees. Stephane Collopy, a violin teacher at The People's Music School, has a bachelor's degree in violin performance and many years of teaching experience, but no credential in education. She said, "Do I look back and wish that I had all the teaching certificates? Yeah. I wish I did. [But] it just takes a lot of time and for now, what I do works."²⁹ Credentials are widely believed by both teachers and administrators to be useful and important, but many teachers get along just fine without them. Experience, however, helps in this regard: credentials and degrees can get an inexperienced teacher's foot in the door, especially in the institutional context, whereas those with more experience (often the more hard-won for lack of credentials) can rely on their reputations and connections in order to get jobs. This is starkly different from working in full-time school music teaching jobs, which, in the Chicago Public Schools, require an Illinois state teaching certification and an endorsement in music. All public school music teachers in Chicago have a music education degree or an alternative state credential; by contrast, only five of the teachers whom I interviewed held credentials in music education.

Developing an identity and professional skill set as an educator, then, often requires one to establish an identity and skill set as a performer first; next, to move *away from* a career in performance; and then to move *toward* a career in teaching. This move most commonly happens because people feel a sense of mission or calling toward work as an educator, and/or because they desire more financial and scheduling stability than the life of a performer affords. Many add

²⁹ Collopy, interview by author.

a little teaching, often reluctantly, to the mix of their performance gigs and then find that they like it for both intellectual and financial reasons, and choose gradually to increase the percentage of their time that they spend teaching.

A teacher's path into the field often relies on a few critical individuals: mentors or connectors, who can train a musician to be a music educator and who can then introduce the fledgling educator to additional contacts and opportunities. For piano teacher Jaime McCool, these individuals were her piano professor from college and then Rita Simó at People's. She describes her early career, during and after earning her bachelor's degree:

It was when I was in college. I had started TA'ing like my freshman or sophomore year, and I wasn't really, it wasn't anything I was going to do but I was a performance major, performance and composition, and I hated performing. I was just, I hated performing. And my private teacher at the time kind of caught on and kind of pushed me a little bit in the direction of teaching. Then the guy who ran the music department—I went to Columbia [College Chicago]—the guy who ran the music department, his niece was the one who owned the art studio [where Jaime first taught] and so he hooked me up with her and that's how I just started and I just kept doing it. . . . I never had pedagogy though. I never, no one ever taught me how to teach except Rita, who's the founder of the music school. She really—she's the one who hired me and I worked for her for many years before she retired. And so she really was my mentor on teaching and really kind of took me under her wing, cause I was only 20, 21 when I started teaching there, so she really, she's the one who really did it, helped me with it, and my private teacher at college helped me with it as well. But yeah, it's just learning by doing, is mostly what it is, you know? Like for me, that's what it was.³⁰

McCool has taught at People's since 1995, and has served in turn as a mentor to other teachers in the piano department. "Learning by doing" has served her well: she has a full piano studio and excellent reputation. This approach has perhaps encouraged more fluidity in her teaching style—she does not adhere to any one method per se, instead drawing freely on books and tools that she believes work well. Jaime orients her teaching practice around a set of core principles, first among which is the primacy of music literacy and theory, values she inherited from Rita Simó

³⁰ Jaime McCool, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, May 7, 2014.

and has since made her own. As described in Chapter 3, Michael Riendeau's career in Chicago was launched when his friend John Knecht moved to California and passed along his contracts and contacts. Stephane Collopy had a similar experience. When she first moved to Milwaukee, she became friends with a violinist named Karl Ørvik. He was very well connected in the area and had no time for additional work, so, from then on, when he got a call for a performance or teaching opportunity, he would pass it along to Collopy, and she was able to develop an array of performance and teaching work relatively quickly. When she moved to Chicago several years later, she did not have a similar connection and thus applied to her current job at People's in a somewhat more conventional manner, by submitting an unsolicited résumé. The program director told her that they did not have any spots at the moment, but would keep her résumé on file; a few months later, a position as a violin teacher did become available and Collopy was hired. Although she has developed a career in Chicago, it took her longer than it did in Milwaukee due to her lack of personal connections.

Ultimately, becoming a music teacher is an improvisatory and fluid process. Because community music schools and non-profit arts education partnership organizations are neither regulated nor supervised by the state, there are no defined requirements that need to be met in order to work in the field. Because music teaching is marginalized at conservatories and schools of music,³¹ those who eventually come to work as educators are largely left to their own devices

³¹ During my fieldwork period, I heard a number of Chicago-based musicians and teachers gossiping about possible impending curriculum changes at Chicago's major university-based music performance programs. Many of these programs have long operated under the assumption that all of their students would find solo or orchestral performance jobs, and have prepared them accordingly; however, recent internal studies were rumored to have shown that the majority of master's degree graduates from these institutions went into music teaching and/or music-related entrepreneurship. Thus, these programs are rumored to be slowly and somewhat grudgingly developing pedagogy and entrepreneurship courses that will eventually be required components of master's degree programs in music performance.

when making the decision to become educators in the first place, and when building their pedagogical skill sets. Personal connections are hugely important—unsurprisingly, most of my interviewees considered themselves a “people person” and enjoyed connecting with others. This is an invaluable skill for working and succeeding in this field, in which reputations and networks are the only things that ensure a steady supply of students and contracts in a fluid marketplace. Success on a student-by-student basis in the classroom or studio depends on an individual teacher’s willingness to experiment, to tailor their methods to each student, and to reflect critically on one’s own teaching in order to improve continually. As Booth writes:

Still, teaching artists largely learn by doing. They must do this—because even after getting some training, each artist has to keep improving on her own, learning from her experiences and finding occasional support from books, colleagues, and education partners. There are few outward rewards for improved skills, so the passion to get better and better as an educator has to come from within. This can be tough when the money stays the same whether you are merely competent or brilliant, and in a cultural climate where education events are perceived to be of secondary importance.³²

Booth’s words ring true to the experiences of my interlocutors and it is a testament to their dedication that so many of them pursue excellence for its own sake. Nonetheless, the fact that there are few rewards, especially in the financial realm, for improved performance, and limited opportunity for upward mobility within the field, makes the teaching life difficult for many, and it is to the practical realities of working and building a career as a teacher that I now turn.

The working lives of teachers

I turn now to the granular, day-to-day experience of working as a music teacher: what it is actually like to navigate the industry, the city, and competing archetypes on a regular basis, and to form a meaningful and sustaining career in the process. Along with references to teachers

³² Booth, *The Music Teaching Artist’s Bible*, 105.

whom we have met earlier in this and in the previous chapter, I rely on several case studies, of “Anthony,” Jaime McCool, and Stephane Collopy, to illuminate a few of the many diverse work experiences of music teachers.

The lives of professional private music teachers have historically been philosophically and structurally similar to those of people more conventionally considered “craftsmen,” and many music teachers consider their work to be a type of craft. Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the ways in which the music teacher’s studio resembles the craftsman’s workshop. The studio is a space in which music teachers exercise autonomy over themselves—a cherished value—and a nurturing authority over their students. Sennett writes that

A more satisfying definition of the workshop is: a productive space in which people deal face-to-face with issues of authority. This austere definition focuses not only on who commands and who obeys in work but also on skills as a source of the legitimacy of command or the dignity of obedience. In a workshop, the skills of the master can earn him or her the right to command, and learning from and absorbing those skills can dignify the apprentice or journeyman’s obedience. In principle. To use this definition we need to take account of authority’s antonym: autonomy, self-sufficing work conducted without the interference of another. Autonomy has its own seductive power.³³

Music teachers and music students are ultimately engaged in the same kinds of work and often explicitly view themselves as living and working at different points along the same continuum of skill and professionalization. Music teachers take pride in their abilities, cultivated over many years, and the good ones continue to refine their teaching skills from year to year (and sometimes even day to day). On this basis, teachers expect from administrators both respect for their abilities and a significant measure of autonomy in their day-to-day work. In short, they take a craftsmanlike approach to their own working lives.

Despite music teaching’s philosophical and structural fit with the craftsman ideal, financially and legally, music teachers’ working lives tend more closely to resemble those of

³³ Sennett, *The Craftsman*, 54.

other freelance, part-time, and contract workers. Of my interviewees who worked exclusively as teachers, only one, Anthony, enjoyed health and retirement benefits provided through his employer, a charter school. Some teachers, mainly those who worked for non-profit community music schools, were able to maintain the same (part-time) job for many years; those who worked in after-school programs tended to shift jobs more frequently. Teaching artists, as described in Chapter 3, primarily work on short-term contracts and must reassess their mix of gigs from year to year (if not more often). Unlike the archetypal craftsman, who can set his or her own prices for products, the teachers whom I interviewed must take or leave the pay that is offered to them. They have little latitude to negotiate and the institutions that employ them have little more that they could offer in any case.³⁴ Music teachers are caught between old and new models of labor and experience the benefits and drawbacks of both models. Many individuals are drawn to teaching work because it offers rather more stability and potentially more income than performance work; nonetheless, teaching work compares unfavorably, in financial terms, with many other middle-class white-collar jobs.

Of the thirteen teachers whom I interviewed, none works full-time at one location and only one currently works full-time as a music educator. All balance multiple jobs, whether multiple teaching jobs, a mix of teaching with other kinds of musical work (performance, administration), teaching along with full-time or part-time school attendance, or even teaching and work in a completely different field. Although all but one of these individuals identify as

³⁴ Private—that is, independent—instrumental and vocal music teachers are an important exception here. They were not the focus of this project, so I did not seek to interview any. Nonetheless, having worked as an independent teacher off and on for ten years I am qualified to speak to this labor experience. Independent teachers' working lives in Chicago are much more akin to the archetypal craftsman and have latitude to set their own rates, easily making as \$50 or \$60 per hour. Those with more experience or who have prestigious backgrounds as performers can command \$75 to \$120. Many teach from their own homes and are completely autonomous in setting their hours and curricula.

“music teachers,” their working conditions are more akin to those of “teaching artists” as described by Rabkin (and outlined at length in Chapter 3).³⁵ The following brief case studies give a sense of the range of possibilities.

Anthony: Craftsman music educator, professional musician

Anthony³⁶ works as a general music teacher at a public charter school; as a private lesson and ensemble teacher at a small non-profit community music school; as a gigging musician; and as a recording engineer. I argue that Anthony’s working life is best thought of as that of a “professional music educator” on the peripheries of the Chicago Public Schools system, although he very much considers himself an active and creative musician, which lies perhaps closer to his heart than his teaching work. He is a percussionist and composer by training, and maintains a strong interest in ethnomusicology, which he studied briefly in his master’s degree program. He is in his forties, married, with two children. At the time of our interview, in spring 2014, Anthony worked full-time as the general music teacher at a public charter school on the south side. Three days a week after school, he teaches percussion and jazz ensemble at the aforementioned small non-profit community music school. On alternate evenings and weekends, he does recording and production work from his home studio. Anthony immigrated to Chicago from the Caribbean as a teenager, and performs with a number of groups in the area that play folkloric and dance music from his home country. His recording and production work is also primarily with both traditional and popular music groups from his ethnic community, as he has

³⁵ Rabkin, et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 7-10.

³⁶ Name has been changed per Anthony’s request. I have also taken the liberty of anonymizing and omitting a few identifying details in order to protect his privacy.

made these connections through the groups with which he performs. In a word, Anthony sums up his life as “busy.”

Anthony played piano somewhat unenthusiastically as a child and began his post-secondary education at Harold Washington College, one of the City of Chicago’s community colleges. He took a music composition course on a whim and decided that this was the path for him. He threw himself into studying music theory in order to catch up to his peers, and began playing percussion around this time as well. Within a year, he had built an impressive enough composition portfolio to be accepted into the music program at Columbia College Chicago, where he eventually graduated with his bachelor’s in jazz studies and jazz composition. He then pursued a master’s in what he called “general studies” in music at Roosevelt University, focusing on composition and ethnomusicology. Although he wanted to continue his studies and pursue a PhD in ethnomusicology, he was already married with two very young children at the time. He said matter-of-factly, “I have to provide, so.” He made the pragmatic decision to pursue a teaching career: “I’ve been in education all my life, so that’s what I know. Yes, that’s what I went into when I went into music. I did music education, because I mean, that’s my fall, you know, music is a tough field. You need something to fall on.” For Anthony, music education is the most stable option among the many different types of musical work available.

Anthony was not able to attain state certification in music education, since it would have required him to spend several extra years in his undergraduate program, which would have been prohibitively expensive. He quickly found his way around this obstacle, securing a position in the Merit School of Music’s Bridges outreach program to the Chicago Public Schools. He was contracted, via Bridges, to teach general music at a CPS elementary school on the near south side, and functionally served as a full-time music educator for this school. This position ended at

the end of the 2011-12 school year: in 2012-13, as a result of the Cultural Plan and Arts Education Plan, more funding became available for schools to hire arts faculty, and the principal of Anthony's school was able to secure a budget line for a music teacher. The school was required to hire someone with certification and/or an endorsement in the relevant discipline. Since Anthony has neither, he was unable to continue working at this school. However, Anthony was able to parlay his experience into his current position as a full-time general music teacher at a charter school. Charter schools are not bound by the same rules regarding certification and endorsements, and he found it easy to secure this job: he received the offer only a few hours after his interview. This episode exposes tension between craftsman and professional models. Over the course of his working life, Anthony has developed the skill set to work effectively as a general music teacher in a public school. However, as school district policy changed, it became more oriented toward the professional: Anthony lacked the professional credentials that were required to continue in his job. This shift, from recognizing craft skill to recognizing professional achievement, meant that Anthony lost his job.

Anthony does not enjoy his job. He finds the number of students overwhelming and is saddened and made somewhat cynical by the intensity of the disciplinary problems with which he must contend. Nonetheless, it is stable, reasonably well-paying, and, most importantly, it provides health benefits for his family. The fact that his day job is neither musically nor personally satisfying is the primary reason that Anthony works at the community music school and as a record producer. During our discussion of his charter-school teaching job, Anthony looked sad and somewhat withdrawn; when we moved to talking about his students at the music school, his face lit up and he became much more animated, talking excitedly about how much he enjoys working with them and seeing them progress as musicians. Anthony loves and is

passionate about jazz in particular and very much appreciates the opportunity to introduce children to the tradition.

Anthony has crafted a work life for himself that provides both stability and artistic satisfaction, though not in the same position. He was unique among the teachers I met. At the same time, in order to achieve this combination of stability and satisfaction, he works twelve-hour days, six days a week. His wife is a stay-at-home mother. Anthony explained that they made this choice partially because they valued having her be able to spend more time with the children, but also because his schedule made it impossible for him to spend time on home or child care responsibilities. Anthony's delicate balancing act, then, provides for his family and for his own artistic fulfillment, but often at the expense of his personal life and leisure time.³⁷

Stephane Collopy: Teacher, administrator, gigging musician, parent

Stephane Collopy is in many ways Anthony's opposite: a part-time teacher balancing teaching and performance work with significant child care responsibilities. At the time of our interview, she worked only at The People's Music School as a violin teacher, working with 16 or 17 private students and one string ensemble class per week. I estimate that she worked about ten hours per week at People's. Collopy is the mother of two young boys, aged three years and six months at the time of our interview in May 2014. Her husband works full-time in advertising sales. At this point in her life, family comes first: she said, "I am career-driven, but at the same time, I'm family-driven." Before her children were born, she worked far more hours and juggled teaching, administrative, and performing gigs. Now, at least until the boys are old enough to attend school full-time, she is not interested in increasing her workload unless the perfect

³⁷ Anthony, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, June 16, 2014.

opportunity were to present itself. Collopy would like to be able to teach in a primary or secondary school, but this presents its own challenges:

I've thought about the whole school thing. There's been a couple school positions that have opened that have been sort of appealing to me, at a couple really nice schools. I was like, "Would I want to do that?" But then it goes back to what we talked about earlier, I don't have those certifications that they require, and that bums me out because it's like, I feel that I could really provide a pretty solid education to most kids of any age.³⁸

Taking a job in a school, and moreover spending the time and money necessary to acquire the proper certifications to do so, would reorient Collopy's career. Right now, teaching at People's is a job: it gets her out of the house, keeps her engaged in her field, and makes a little money for the family, but her primary responsibility right now is to be a mother and to provide child care while her husband serves as the breadwinner.

When Collopy first moved to Chicago, she was much more active with her performance career, and performed regularly with the Rockford Symphony, a two-hour drive from Chicago. This commute is impractical with her childcare responsibilities and undesirable given that she wants to spend as much time as possible at home with her family, so she has declined the majority of performance gigs that she has been offered since her first, and especially since her second, son was born. Turning down work opportunities, for any reason, is not without a cost:

I got called for a couple cool gigs right when I moved here, and I turned them down once and they never called me again. It was like, my niece's engagement party. And I'm like "Oh, I can't really miss her engagement party," I mean, it was like a big family event, everybody's gonna be there, but they never called me.³⁹

In a gig economy in which reliability and availability are of the utmost importance, turning down one gig, one time, much less repeatedly turning down gigs, marks a musician as someone who

³⁸ Collopy, interview by author.

³⁹ Collopy, interview by author.

cannot be counted on in the future, and the calls dwindle. As Cottrell writes, “The idea that ‘you’re only as good as your last gig’ is an ever-present if seldom articulated worry.”⁴⁰

Music teachers who are also parents face very real difficulties. Their work hours do not neatly overlap with the hours in which daycares are open and most do not make enough money, in aggregate, to pay for much by way of daycare anyway.⁴¹ In a relationship like Collopy’s, where the music teacher’s partner has a well-paying, full-time job with benefits that requires strict work hours, and the music teacher has a more flexible schedule and less-lucrative position, it is difficult for the music teacher to insist on splitting childcare responsibilities equally. Collopy described how she feels that she must weigh every additional hour that she works, whether teaching or taking a performance gig, against the hourly cost of a babysitter, and justify the return, both financially and in terms of her own satisfaction, to both herself and her husband. She has largely stopped taking gigs as regular “work”; they have to be either highly lucrative or highly artistically satisfying for her to consider any given opportunity worthwhile. In the programs that I studied, the vast majority of teachers were relatively young (under 40) and very few had children. It seems that teaching in this way is not desirable for those who are supporting a family; indeed, five of the teachers with whom I spoke (formally or even informally) were either considering, or actively in the process of making, a career transition in order to facilitate having a family.

⁴⁰ Cottrell, *Professional Music-Making in London*, 59.

⁴¹ Full-time weekly childcare costs in Chicago in 2013 ranged, on average, from \$132 to \$228 per week depending on the age of the child and the type of childcare institution. A babysitter or nanny costs approximately \$2,000-\$3,000 per month depending on the arrangement. Illinois Action for Children, *2013 Report on Child Care in Cook County: FY2012 (July 1, 2011-June 30, 2012)* (Chicago: Illinois Action for Children Research Report funded in part by the Illinois Department of Human Services, 2013), 3.

Jaime McCool: Music teacher, entrepreneur

Jaime McCool, People's longtime piano teacher, is committed to music teaching as her primary career. However, since it is difficult for her to find enough hours of teaching work per week, McCool balances a full 20-hour weekly teaching schedule with work in a photography processing business that she and her boyfriend jointly own. When McCool first began working as a teacher, in the mid-1990s, she took a secondary job as the assistant to a local photographer with a booming business, primarily oriented toward weddings. She learned how to develop and process film, and then helped this photographer with the transition to digital technology in the 2000s. The photographer retired and the business downsized during the 2008-2010 recession, and McCool lost her job. Her boyfriend also became unemployed due to the recession. McCool said, "Between my boyfriend and I we lost three full-time jobs in two years and we were like, we're not working for anybody else anymore!"⁴² They decided to start their own photo processing business, which they run from their Humboldt Park home. McCool works about 20 hours per week at People's, which is a full schedule in that context—it would be logistically difficult for People's to assign her additional students. (That is to say, it is close to impossible to work 40 hours per week as a teacher at a small community music school.) McCool wakes up in the morning, works at her photo business until the early afternoon, teaches at People's for three to five hours, then returns home and continues to work on photo processing. Her boyfriend works full-time for their business. McCool has seen People's through its ups and downs; despite her passionate commitment to the institution and its mission, she and her boyfriend view owning their own business as a much-needed source of financial stability that teaching cannot provide.

⁴² McCool, interview by author.

It is difficult, as Anthony's, Stephane Collopy's, and Jaime McCool's stories show, to make a living as a music teacher if one is not working in the K-12 school setting. It is difficult to get enough hours; it is difficult to get benefits; it is difficult to make enough money. Since children are, of course, in school during the morning and early afternoon, music teachers work in the evenings and on weekends when children and their families are available. Even programs affiliated with schools often stick to this arrangement, since they use after-school, rather than in-school, time. These jobs do not provide benefits. Before President Obama's Affordable Care Act, many teachers went without insurance or spent significant amounts of money to obtain insurance as a "self-employed" person. Married teachers had the opportunity to acquire benefits through their spouse's job, if he or she indeed had a job with benefits. Since state health care exchanges have opened due to the Affordable Care Act, teachers, and artists and freelancers more generally, have finally had the opportunity to purchase relatively affordable insurance for the first time.⁴³

Jaime McCool and Anthony, who are breadwinners in their households (McCool jointly so), have no time to themselves. Anthony said, "Anyone who's in my life, you know, to be friends with me, they're all musicians. Really. That's the only time we have together, going to concerts or coming to play music."⁴⁴ Instead of trying to fit personal time around his work life, which would be impossible, he instead seeks to integrate his friends into his work life. McCool said that she essentially never has time off. Michael Riendeau has a similar experience. Although his mornings are generally somewhat flexible two or three days per week, afternoons, evenings,

⁴³ The City of Chicago's Department of Cultural Affairs and Special Events (DCASE) has hosted several "Artists' Health Care Town Hall" events in order to connect the city's artists with Affordable Care Act exchange navigators and to enroll those who qualify in Medicaid. Chicago Artists Resource, "Dec. 9: Artists Health Care Town Hall (Free)," accessed March 10, 2015, <http://www.chicagoartistsresource.org/announcements/dec-9-artists-health-care-town-hall-free>.

⁴⁴ Anthony, interview by author.

and weekends are completely taken up by work of various kinds, whether teaching, rehearsing, or performing.

Navigating the industry: values and approach

Teachers make sense of these demanding schedules and competing priorities by applying rigorous standards of selection. For most music teachers, the working environment is paramount: they have to feel respected, relatively autonomous, and engaged in meaningful labor. Because he supports a family of four, Anthony will only consider work opportunities that pay well.

However, he said, “If I’m not happy in a place, it doesn’t work, I won’t stay. Cause it’s not about money. Even if I have lots of money, if I don’t like the environment, it doesn’t matter, you know? I’m not there.” Similarly, Michael Riendeau is trying to take on more contracts with Urban Gateways and reduce his private teaching load because he feels that the work with Urban Gateways is more challenging and impactful, even though he could make the same amount, if not more, money teaching privately, and have an easier commute and more stability from month to month.

As craftsmen, teachers value autonomy. Anthony described what he considers good and bad elements of the working environment:

Like if we [Anthony and a supervisor] don’t relate, you know. We work together without bossing me around. I say I know what I’m doing, I have my expertise, we can talk, I’m open for suggestions, I love trying new things. But I’m not a kid so you can’t boss me around. You know, and if there’s too much tension, too much politics, too much tension between the persons, I don’t, cause I’m not [like that]. I make music. I want to focus on the music.⁴⁵

Teachers, especially those drawn to programs with an orientation toward social change, have a strong sense of mission and generally want to be able to fulfill that mission as best they can with

⁴⁵ Anthony, interview by author.

minimal oversight or direct control. Nearly everyone I interviewed had an anecdote about choosing to leave a job due to an overly strict or micromanaging supervisor or program director, and viewed a collaborative and respectful relationship with management as crucial to their happiness and to a program's success. This type of positive, warm relationship between administrators and teachers came through quite clearly at the Hibbard Youth Orchestras program. Teachers there spoke of the program director, Carolyn Sybesma, with respect and admiration. She held regular faculty meetings (several of which I attended) where faculty were able to speak up quite honestly and openly about any number of issues, and she engaged them collaboratively on major decisions. For example, People's as an institution wanted to standardize curricula. Sybesma formed a series of teacher committees by instrument group and had them determine the sequence of instruction and the criteria for moving a student from one level to the next. In many cases, music teachers have been developing their skill set from a young age: many have played their instrument since elementary school and taught since high school. They want to be respected and valued for their expertise.

Teachers navigate their working lives according to a set of highly personal, yet generally shared, criteria. Music teachers value autonomy and believe that their work experience has trained them adequately, and often better than a formal educational program could, for their work. They want to be happy in their jobs, to be respected by administrators and colleagues, and to feel that their work is meaningful. Those who lack formal credentials, like Anthony or Stephane Collopy, have been finding that this hinders them from accessing employment opportunities since the 2012 policy shifts. The nonprofit music education world is largely guided by the craftsman model, but CPS policy increasingly leans toward the professional.

Career advancement and the lack thereof: labor versus love

The tension between music-teaching-as-act-of-love and music-teaching-as-labor becomes most evident in teachers' mobility and advancement throughout their working lives. Richard Sennett writes that

In old English a “career” meant a well-laid road, whereas a “job” meant simply a lump of coal or pile of wood that could be moved around at will. The medieval goldsmith within a guild exemplified the roadway of “career” in work. His life path was well laid in time, the stages of his progress were clearly marked, even if the work itself was inexact. His was a linear story....[T]he “skills society” is bulldozing the career path; jobs in the old sense of random movement now prevail; people are meant to deploy a portfolio of skills rather than nurture a single ability in the course of their working histories; this succession of projects or tasks erodes belief that one is meant to do just one thing well. Craftsmanship seems particularly vulnerable to this possibility, since craftsmanship is based on slow learning and on habit.⁴⁶

There is no obvious path for career advancement in the contemporary sense within music teaching, in which one is rewarded every few years with a more prestigious title and higher wages. Like Sennett's medieval goldsmith, teachers improve in quality with experience and are often quite intentional about improving their skills and learning new approaches. The stages of their progress as skilled educators are marked by reputation and by improved results for their students. However, they are *not* marked by different titles or higher pay. Within the institutions that I studied, there are no differentiated titles among faculty: no one is a “junior” or “senior” teacher, for example, and the increases in pay that come with more experience are minute—several dollars per hour at most. Teachers conceive of their working lives as a career, but, to borrow Sennett's terms, these careers are made up of a series of remarkably similar “jobs.”⁴⁷ By contrast, public school music teachers do enjoy pay increases, tenure, and title changes, and are able to shape their work life around the sense of having a career. As urban music education has

⁴⁶ Sennett, *The Craftsman*, 265.

⁴⁷ Rabkin et al., *Teaching Artists and the Future of Education*, 8-9.

shifted toward part-time, privatized, flexible, and precarious labor, the professionalized career path of the public school music teacher has become far less common.

The exception to this rule is the move to becoming a program administrator, which is, in essence, a decision to move away from teaching. The majority of the arts administrators whom I interviewed began their careers as arts educators.⁴⁸ They chose to leave teaching and become administrators for several main reasons: first, they could not advance, financially or in terms of job description, as teachers; second, teaching was too precarious and did not provide benefits; third, (for those who had taught in the public schools) they were frustrated with the level of bureaucracy inherent in their jobs and wanted to focus on education rather than paperwork; and fourth, because they wanted to have a bigger impact in terms of mission. Most of them missed the classroom but preferred the financial and schedule aspects of their new positions. That is, most administrators recognized that their work was, indeed, labor, and made career decisions on the basis of labor as well as love.

The other option, which was not under active consideration by any of the teachers whom I interviewed, was becoming an independent teacher and/or starting one's own program. Many independent teachers begin their career at a school, build a studio and network, then make the leap to self-employment, which offers both more autonomy and more pay, although some teachers miss the support of a school and some like running a small business more than others.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ I interviewed thirteen administrators. Of these, three were development officers, who had worked in development or related positions throughout their careers, and should be considered as a separate category of administrators. Of those remaining, nine were artists by training (eight were musicians; one was a former actor) and all but one had spent time teaching before deciding to make the switch to administration.

⁴⁹ I began my teaching career in Chicago in 2010 as a teacher at a community music school, where I was paid \$28 per hour. After two and a half years, I left the school to become an independent teacher and immediately began to make \$50 per hour. Families did not pay higher

Part of the issue is that working as a program administrator requires a very different skill set from working as a teacher, and even working as an independent teacher requires a somewhat different skill set from working within a school context. Teachers seeking to make this move must either gain these additional skills independently, or, as is more common, decide to take advantage of an opportunity and learn by doing, making for a rocky first school year on the job.

Unlike, say, corporate employers, non-profit music education organizations do not prioritize “talent” and its retention. That is, since budgets have such thin margins—especially at programs that depend so heavily on contributed revenue—they have little latitude to compete for or negotiate to keep the best teachers. Although administrators recognize the individual strengths of teachers on their faculty, and often view particular people as indispensable to the operation, functionally teachers are treated as somewhat interchangeable. If one finds a better opportunity and moves on, there is always another young graduate of one of Chicago’s many music schools to take his or her place. In some ways, pay recedes in importance for teachers in nonprofit programs on the periphery of the public schools, especially those with free or reduced tuition, precisely because they are all so comparable *as labor*. They pay roughly the same and offer no perks. The mission and the people entice or push away teachers. I explore several case studies of this phenomenon later in this chapter.

Ultimately, then, music teachers seem to enter and remain in the field because of the possibilities for satisfaction and meaning that it provides. The teachers with whom I spoke are generally ambitious about what they can achieve as teachers: that is, they have high standards and hopes for their students and seek to be excellent teachers. By contrast, they are generally not ambitious for themselves: they do not seek higher pay and consistent advancement. The act of

tuition; rather, the difference represents the overhead costs incurred by the school. Independent teachers can often make much more money than those affiliated with a community music school.

teaching must bring its own rewards in order for it to remain attractive as a profession to its practitioners.

The emotional, ethical, and ideological labor of music educators

The discourse around arts education, and especially music education, in the city of Chicago foregrounds its social mission: the power of arts learning to inculcate a particular set of values, behaviors, and social outcomes. This is part of official policy, as we saw previously in the Chicago Cultural Plan's and CPS Arts Education Plan's emphasis on using arts in the context of workforce development for the global city. This orientation is also fundamental to the non-profit arts education organizations that operate as the peripheral, privatized component of Chicago's arts education delivery system; indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, this is almost required in today's competitive philanthropic funding environment. Teachers, as those who have the most direct contact with the children in these programs, are in theory, and sometimes in practice, those responsible for implementing this social mission. In this section I seek to explore the ethics of teaching in these programs vis-à-vis teacher labor: in this political context, teachers are not only asked to perform tasks oriented toward musical skill attainment, but are also asked to perform ideological labor, ethical labor, and emotional labor—to hold to a set of political beliefs and ethical norms that is congruent with the official norms of the program and to effect these norms in practice with their students, often using emotional tools and strategies. Note that I do not mean “political” in the partisan or electoral sense of the term, but rather, a set of beliefs about how the world works with respect to the employing organization's theory-of-change model—why Chicago as a city is racially, spatially, and economically aligned as it is; the root causes of the issues that low-income students in these programs face; why arts education has

historically been lacking in the Chicago Public Schools; and, finally, what power music education specifically, and arts education generally, have to effect change. Furthermore, teachers are also expected, and expect themselves, to take a particular emotional stance toward their work: namely, to believe that what they do is a “labor of love” and that love is the appropriate and desirable primary emotion that both they and their students should hold toward music as both an entity and a practice.

I follow Timothy Rommen in associating ethics with conviction, in “the way that music participates in actualizing belief...[and] also about the ways that music convinces,” and adapt his model of “the ethics of style” to the ethics of musical labor.⁵⁰ Rommen outlines this model:

The ethics of style focuses attention on the discursive spaces between individual and community (self and other) in order to come to a more nuanced understanding of music in its sociocultural contexts. It functions as a analytical model that investigates the process by which musical style informs identity formation for both artists and audiences; illustrates how style thus becomes the vehicle for a multifaceted communal discourse about value and meaning; and interrogates the process of personal identification or disidentification with musical style as a moment of ethical significance. The ethics of style thus works to recenter conviction as a valid site of analysis.⁵¹

If one replaces “style” with “musical labor,” this model becomes analytically productive in the context of contemporary music education in Chicago. As I subsequently show in my analysis of organizational mission statements and job descriptions, the discursive space between laboring self and other—the space between teachers’ own beliefs and practices, and the beliefs and practices expected by their employers—is ethically fraught, and breaching this gap in order to perform teaching jobs adequately requires ethical effort, ethical labor. As discussed earlier in this chapter, musical teaching labor “informs identity formation” for teachers and for students, and is also the site of significant struggle around identity formation, as musicians enter a devalued field

⁵⁰ Timothy Rommen, *“Mek Some Noise”*: *Gospel Music and the Ethics of Style in Trinidad* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 1.

⁵¹ Rommen, *“Mek Some Noise,”* 2.

of work. Finally, teachers' "identification or disidentification" with the terms of their musical labor has many "moment[s] of ethical significance," in which they negotiate their relationships to students, to communities, and to institutions. Ethical labor, then, is the work required of teachers as they inhabit the spaces between themselves and their students and between themselves and the institutions for which they work.

I begin the section by articulating and examining the space between organizations' mission statements and teachers' stated job descriptions as a means of understanding the additional types of labor that teachers may be asked to perform in these settings. Then, I explore the emotional construct of, and emotional labor around, "love" in the context of Chicago-based music education; and the ethical-ideological labor expected of teachers. I conclude the section by arguing that because the work of music teaching is wrapped up in ethical/ideological and emotional constructs, especially that of love, the fact that it is indeed a form of work, of labor, recedes from view in a way that has very real, negative material effects on teachers.

The contours of the ethical labor asked of teachers in the five programs I studied, and similar programs, are set by their mission statements and other foundational documents. In non-profit organizations, mission statements are intended to be touchstones, and are the criteria against which success is benchmarked.⁵² They are prominently displayed on organizations' websites, brochures, and other communications collateral, and lines from the mission statement are often used as tag lines on items as diverse as T-shirts and concert programs. Many grant applications require the inclusion of the mission statement, as does the IRS Form 990; the

⁵² Francis Pandolfi, "How to Create an Effective Non-Profit Mission Statement," *Harvard Business Review*, March 14, 2011, accessed May 20, 2015, <https://hbr.org/2011/03/how-nonprofit-misuse-their-mis>; Kevin Starr, "The Eight-Word Mission Statement: Don't settle for more," *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, September 18, 2012, accessed May 20, 2015, http://www.ssireview.org/blog/entry/the_eight_word_mission_statement.

mission statements are used to judge the soundness of the organization's programming and often form the basis of metrics developed by grantmakers to assess program success.⁵³ Mission statements, then, have the power to affect what gets funded and how it is discussed both internally and in the public sphere, and directly influence hiring and programmatic decisions.

The People's Music School's website, under its "About Us" section, prominently displays its "Mission, Vision, and Values." Its mission read, in 2013 and 2014 during my fieldwork period, as follows:

Our mission is to cultivate access to free, quality music education. Through intensive instruction and performance our students learn more than music. They grow socially, emotionally, and intellectually, and develop a foundation of responsibility, self-esteem and purpose.⁵⁴

By early 2015, this mission statement had been amended slightly to the following:

Our mission is to deliver access to the benefits of high-quality, tuition-free music education. Through intensive instruction and performance, our students achieve excellence in music that transfers to other areas in life. They grow musically, socially, emotionally and intellectually, and develop a foundation of responsibility, self-esteem, resilience and purpose.⁵⁵

The school's values, listed on the same page, are "community," "hard work," "passion and joy," and "opportunity." Given that the school is funded exclusively through contributed revenue—that is, grants, corporate funding, and individual donations—these words shape programming in very real ways, which I explore in greater depth in Chapters 2 and 5.

⁵³ The federal tax return for not-for-profit corporations.

⁵⁴ The People's Music School, "Mission, Vision & Values: Our Mission," accessed December 12, 2014, <http://www.peoplesmusicsschool.org/about-us/mission>.

⁵⁵ The People's Music School, "Mission, Vision & Values: Our Mission," accessed March 17, 2015, <http://www.peoplesmusicsschool.org/about-us/mission>.

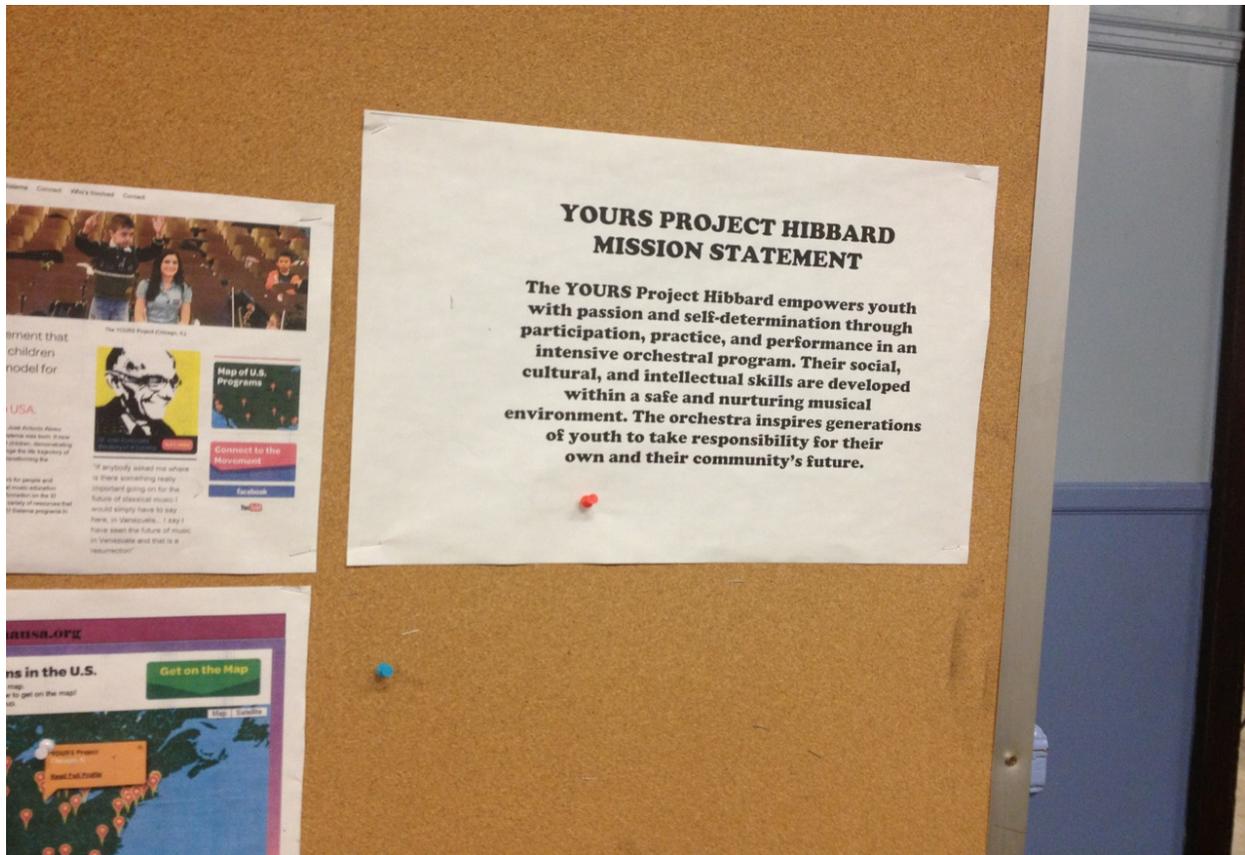


Figure 1. Mission statement on YOURS Project Hibbard bulletin board. Photo by author, July 2013.

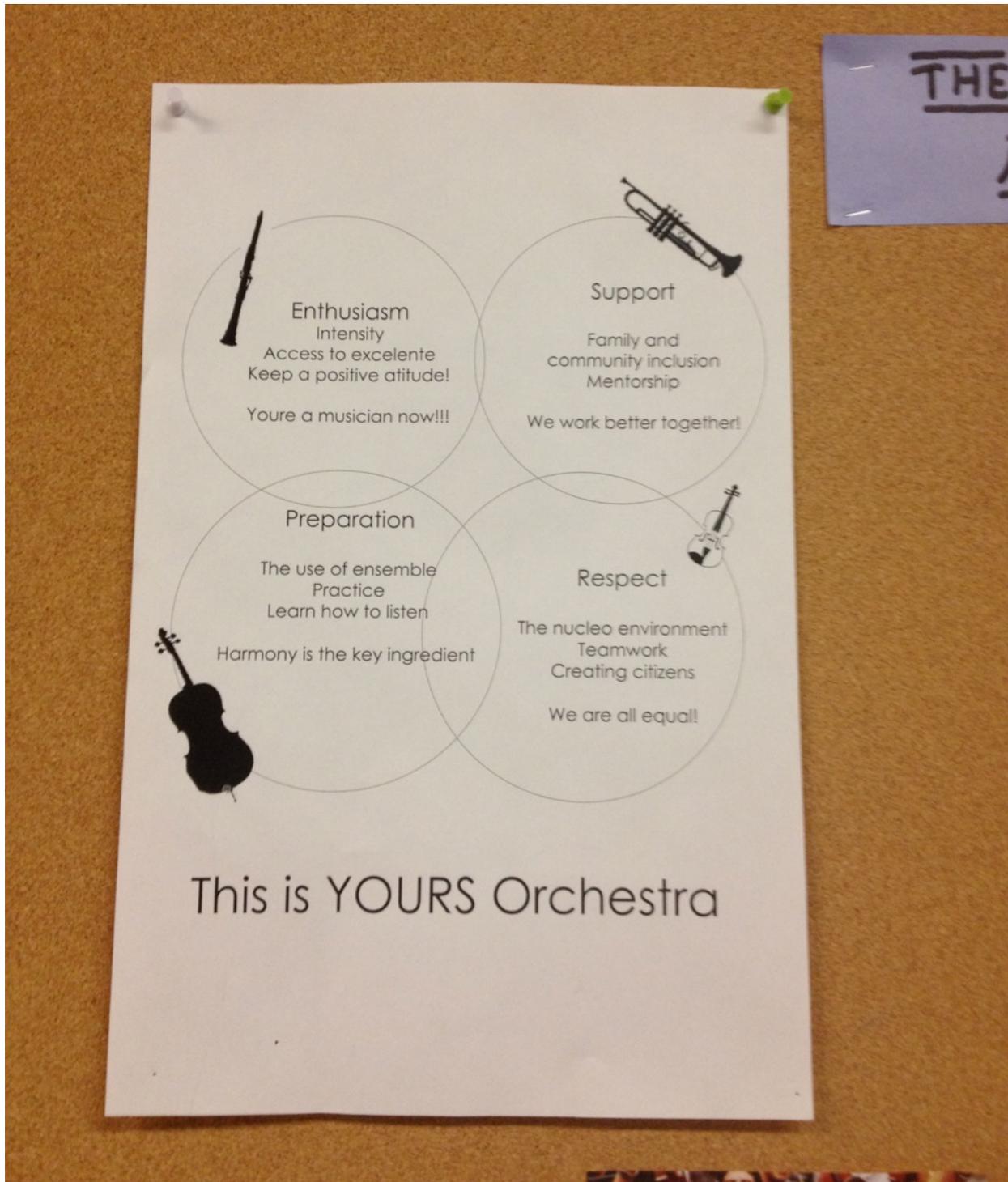
This mission statement covers both Uptown Academy and the El Sistema-inspired Youth Orchestras Program. The Youth Orchestras program has its own slogan as well: “Dream Big, Do Big,” emblazoned in chartreuse letters on the black T-shirts given to all students and faculty in the program. During my first period of fieldwork at the Youth Orchestras program at Hibbard Elementary, in July 2013, a separate mission statement for the Youth Orchestras, along with an inspirational poster (as shown below), were displayed prominently on the program’s bulletin board. The mission statement reads:

The YOURS Project Hibbard⁵⁶ empowers youth with passion and self-determination through participation, practice, and performance in an intensive orchestral program. Their social, cultural, and intellectual skills are developed within a safe and nurturing musical environment. The orchestra inspires generations of youth to take responsibility for their own and their community's future.

The inspirational poster outlines and elaborates upon the key values of the program:

“enthusiasm,” “support,” “preparation,” and “respect.” (Note the mention of “creating citizens” under “respect.”)

⁵⁶ From 2008-2013, the program was called the Youth Orchestras United Rita Simó (YOURS) Project. The People's Music School went through a rebranding process during the 2013-14 school year, from which point the program has simply been called Youth Orchestras.



**Figure 2. YOURS Project at Hibbard Elementary School model of social change.
Photo by author, July 2013.**

Teachers are rhetorically absent here: the focus is on students, and what they learn *through* music (rather than the musical skills that they gain). Music instruction and performance themselves, and in the YOURS Project mission statement the orchestra, are invested with the power to develop social, cultural, intellectual, and emotional skills. This is reflected in People’s aforementioned logic model: five of six “program inputs” are related to musical instruction (“scope and sequence of curriculum,” “performance opportunities,” “musical assessment and evaluation,” “diversity of educational experiences,” and “intensity of instruction”). The other “program input” relates to teachers themselves: “committed and highly trained instructors.” Short-term indicators of success are largely framed around the intensity and quality of musical instruction, whereas long-term indicators of impact are purely about social and educational achievement. Teachers, of course, are intended to deliver the musical instruction, but rhetorically the focus remains on students and on the instruction itself.

Urban Gateways’ messaging, by contrast, focuses heavily on teachers. The “About” section of their website has three components: a mission statement, a description of “What We Do,” and “Urban Gateways’ Impact.” The mission statement is short: “Urban Gateways educates and inspires young people by delivering high-quality, accessible arts experiences that advance their personal and academic growth.” “What We Do” is focused almost exclusively on teaching artists:

Urban Gateways delivers high-quality arts programs led by trained and experienced professional artists in music, dance, theater, literary arts, visual arts, and digital media to engage youth in grades pre-K through 12, their teachers, families, and communities. Urban Gateways teaching artists collaborate with school teachers, administrators, and art specialists to develop and deliver engaging, integrated curricula for all types of learners.

Urban Gateways describes its impact as:

We believe arts education is an essential component of a well-rounded curriculum and healthy childhood development. To that end, Urban Gateways engages Chicago's youth in arts experiences that:

- Improve artistic and academic achievement by aligning with Illinois State Learning Standards including Common Core.
- Increase student engagement in learning
- Build essential skills such as critical thinking, creativity, collaboration, and innovation⁵⁷
- Increase young people's self-esteem and confidence necessary to succeed⁵⁸

Taken together, these statements place equal emphasis on teachers and students. The mission statement is less ethically specific than that of People's or of the YOURS Project, but has no less ethical import for that.

Finally, the Sphinx Organization, parent organization of the Sphinx Performance Academy, has a simple vision and mission statement: "We transform lives through the power of diversity in the arts."⁵⁹ This mission is broad, covering the many types of work that the Sphinx Organization does. Its lack of pedagogical specificity makes sense given that it applies to many programs that do not make use of music teachers.

What is notable is that none of these organizations' mission statements say something like the following: "We teach children how to play music. Our programs seek to provide musical instruction of the highest quality so that our students can become excellent musicians and artists." Urban Gateways' description of its impact briefly touches on this goal when it says that its programs "improve artistic and academic achievement" in alignment with Illinois state and federal Common Core standards. People's mentions "quality" but primarily as a tool to achieve these other goals; the YOURS Project says that it is "intensive," which is a reference more to the

⁵⁷ Note that Urban Gateways is here using the same terminology ("creativity," "innovation") as that found in the Chicago Cultural Plan and the CPS Arts Education Plan. (The citation is punctuated as found on Urban Gateways' website.)

⁵⁸ Urban Gateways, "About," accessed December 12, 2014, <http://urbangateways.org/about/>.

⁵⁹ Sphinx Organization, "Our Vision and Mission," accessed December 12, 2014, <http://www.sphinxmusic.org/vision-and-mission.html>.

program's structure than to its desired outcomes. Sphinx is the only organization not devoted specifically to producing musical excellence, since it assumes all of the musicians with whom it works are already playing at a high level, and thus it is unremarkable that musical achievement is not explicitly mentioned.

The agent effecting most of these outcomes is the organization: "Urban Gateways engages..."; "The YOURS Project Hibbard empowers..."; "Our mission is to cultivate...". Of course, organizations are made up of individuals, and it is the individual teachers who are expected to deliver on these goals. Administrators are the link between mission and the ethical labor of teachers—that is, the aspect of their work that leads to students "learning more than music," as People's mission states. The ways in which they achieve this linkage vary. All of the teachers with whom I spoke seemed very aware of their programs' missions, both by seeing collateral with the mission prominently featured, and by speaking with and hearing from program administrators. Several teachers were drawn to work in their program specifically because of its mission. Administrators at times specifically seek to hire people who are engaged with the mission, but typically seem to feel both that it is somewhat self-selecting and that music teachers are inherently oriented toward ethical considerations.

Job descriptions from these organizations often refer to the institutional mission and gesture at the ways in which teachers' labor effects this mission; at the same time, agency is most often imputed to musical instruction itself, rather than to the relationship between teachers and students. Furthermore, organizations' sense of this agency, and of the relationship between teacher labor and mission, changes over time. I shall compare two job descriptions from The People's Music School for its Youth Orchestras program, one from early 2013 and one from early 2015, to get a sense of this shift in conceptualization.

The February 2013 job posting, on the job board on chicagoartistsresource.org, seeks a “Violin/Viola Teaching Artist” for what was then called the YOURS Project at Ames Middle School in Logan Square.⁶⁰ The posting opens with a description of the organization:

The YOURS Project Logan Square, a program of The People's Music School, is an orchestra program in which students strive toward responsibility, focus, and achievement by playing challenging music at the highest possible level. Students are empowered to cultivate harmony, creativity, and passion within a strong and healthy community.

It then describes the contours of the position itself:

We are currently seeking a qualified violin/viola instructor to join our team of teaching artists. This position is part time and requires availability Wednesdays and Thursdays from 4-6PM. Pay is an hourly rate of \$20 and includes one hour of paid planning time per week. YPLS is located at Ames Middle School (1920 N Hamlin Ave.) in south Logan Square.

Finally, the posting lists the desired skills and qualifications and subsequently gives instructions for application (the latter omitted here):

Candidates must be passionate about building a better community through music, highly skilled at violin/viola performance, have ample teaching experience, and be comfortable working with groups of students, ages 10-14. Proficiency in Spanish is preferred but not necessary.⁶¹

The posting is relatively nonspecific—for example, it does not specify the type of instruction and/or repertory used by the program other than a mention of working with students in groups; it requires the candidate to have “ample teaching experience” but does not elaborate on what that entails—but does require that the candidate “must be passionate about building a better community through music,” in a nod to the program description given at the beginning of the job description. Again, this is rather vague: how is a “better community” defined? How might a

⁶⁰ A vignette about the decision to close this program as Ames transitioned to a Marine-run military school opened the introductory chapter of this dissertation.

⁶¹ TJMADEJA, “YOURS Project: Violin/Viola Teaching Artist,” Chicago Artists Resource, February 7, 2013, accessed February 9, 2013, <http://www.chicagoartistsresource.org/jobs/yours-project-violinviola-teaching-artist>.

teacher be expected to put this “passion” into action on the job? Based on my conversations with program coordinators, a teacher’s “passion” is indicated by his or her willingness to seek, and accept, these jobs in the first place and to continue therein. “Passion” represents a teacher’s commitment to the institution’s mission despite working conditions with many drawbacks.

By contrast, the posting for a very similar position from January 2015 is much more detailed, reflecting a change in management and hiring practices at People’s. Both People’s (the umbrella organization) and the specific after-school Youth Orchestras program are described:

The People’s Music School’s mission is to cultivate access to free, quality music education. Through intensive instruction and performance our students learn more than music. They grow socially, emotionally and intellectually, and develop a foundation of responsibility, self-esteem and purpose. The Youth Orchestras program is The People’s Music School’s El Sistema-Inspired program that provides free, orchestral, after-school music education to children throughout Chicago Public Schools.

The job is summarized as follows:

The People’s Music School is seeking an experienced violin/viola teaching artist for its El Sistema- inspired Youth Orchestras program in Albany Park, located at Hibbard Elementary School (3244 W. Ainslie Ave). The teaching artist will be responsible for leading small and large sectionals and assisting with full rehearsals.

Here, the job tasks are rather more defined: “leading small and large sectionals and assisting with full rehearsals.” The post lists key responsibilities of the position:

- Deliver high-quality instruction to violin and viola students age 7 – 14 in sectionals and full rehearsals
- Provide assessment of students’ musical and behavioral progress
- Act as a mentor to each student
- Collaborate with parents, administrative staff, and faculty
- Timely correspondence with director, school staff, and parents
- Actively participate in faculty meetings

Finally, in addition to requiring a bachelor’s degree in music education or performance, the posting lists the following required skills and qualifications:

- Experience teaching group violin/viola classes and leading string sectionals to students of different ages and abilities

- Experience working with children from diverse cultural and economic backgrounds
- Knowledge of orchestral repertoire
- Ability to communicate instrumental techniques and concepts to students
- The ability to create positive rapport with students
- Personable, collaborative nature and able to work with administration and families
- A high level of personal musicianship⁶²

Generally, the job posting describes a candidate who is an accomplished musician and effective teacher of musical skills. Two key phrases show the connection between People's mission and the labor of teachers: "Provide assessment of students' musical *and behavioral* progress" (emphasis mine) and "Act as a mentor to each student." The People's Music School's Youth Orchestras program has evidently refined its hiring criteria over the two-year period between these job postings. Although the contours of each job are relatively similar, the way in which the organization has chosen to express the non-musical labor expected of its teachers reflects an interesting shift: in the earlier posting, teachers were required to "be passionate about building a better community through music"; in the later, teachers were required to "act as a mentor to each student" and assess both students' "musical and behavioral progress."

This shift is a move from (explicitly) requiring emotional-ideological labor to requiring ethical-ideological labor. As a result of this shift, Carolyn Sybesma told me that she has become more stringent in her approach to hiring, expecting successful applicants to have some prior teaching experience and to be highly energetic and personally invested in the program's mission. At the same time, Sybesma expressed frustration that her budget limited the kinds of teachers that she could attract, and stated that many of these changes were implemented as much in the way that she sought to manage current employees as in her approach to hiring new employees. Therefore, as much as she wished to hire highly-experienced teachers, in practice, she was

⁶² SCHOSTETTER@GMAIL.COM, "Violin/Viola Instructor- The People's Music School," Chicago Artists Resource, January 20, 2015, accessed March 17, 2015, <http://www.chicagoartistsresource.org/jobs/violinviola-instructor-peoples-music-school>.

largely unable to do so and instead changed her management style. The shift, then, is primarily rhetorical.

The space between job descriptions and mission statements has much to do with questions of agency: the mission statements quoted above tend to frame music (or arts) education itself as generative of personal and social benefits. Indeed, The People's Music School even amended its core mission statement in a way that emphasized the results, rather than the fact, of participation in music education: from "Our mission is to cultivate access to free, quality music education" to "Our mission is to deliver access to *the benefits of* high-quality, tuition-free music education" (emphasis mine). The labor of teachers is, again, mostly absent from the encapsulated understanding of mission and core activities as defined by mission statements. Job descriptions, by contrast, naturally say more about teachers' roles and responsibilities. The 2013 YOURS Project at Ames job description simply requires that teachers have passion about "building a better community" but is unclear about how, exactly, this would be demonstrated or enacted on the job. I am being somewhat facetious here in the strictness with which I interpret this job description, but I feel that taking seriously even what might have been written as throwaway comments is important, precisely because unguarded moments are often the most revealing of core attitudes and assumptions. As I subsequently explore, it seems that the requirements geared toward emotional orientations of love and passion, and the ideological-political orientations toward vague notions of community betterment, are less connected to on-the-job tasks than they are connected to teachers' willingness to accept and rationalize particular kinds of material working conditions.

By contrast, the 2015 job description is relatively more explicit in that it states that teachers will act as mentors to students and assess their behavioral as well as their musical

progress. Here, we see somewhat more detail about how the school's delivery of "access to the benefits of music education" will be enacted. This responsibility, however, is one among many, most of which are specifically musical in nature. Furthermore, there still exists a rhetorical gap with respect to teacher labor: the program description, quoted above, states that students will "develop a foundation of responsibility, self-esteem, and purpose" by means of "intensive instruction and performance" in music—*not*, say, by intensive mentoring by teachers. Again, strong claims are being made about the disciplinary and ethical power of music itself and the power of high-quality music instruction as a practice. I argue that any ethical changes that students experience must be attributed to human, rather than musical, agency. Imputing "the benefits" of music education simply to music itself rather than to the relationships formed around music education as a practice erases the very real work performed by teachers. For example, later in this chapter I quote teacher Brett Benteler recounting his attempts to prevent one of his former students from participating in gang activity. Although Benteler initially met this boy in the context of an orchestra program, the interventions that he has made have been exclusively extramusical.

The expectation that teachers love music and love their jobs is intertwined with the dual meanings of the word "amateur," which, of course, descends from the Latin *amator*, lover. Merriam-Webster gives two definitions for the word: "a person who does something (such as a sport or hobby) for pleasure and not as a job," and "a person who does something poorly: a person who is not skillful at a job or other activity."⁶³ The second definition resonates with Cottrell's, Nettle's, and Kingsbury's data showing that those who teach music are widely regarded by performing musicians as less skilled, less "musical." The first definition resonates with how

⁶³ Merriam-Webster, "Amateur," accessed March 17, 2015, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/amateur>.

teachers and administrators often view the work of teaching: as something pleasurable, something that one feels called to do in and of itself, and is also a job. It is work to which people are often drawn out of love, or out of the related senses of mission or calling. Music teachers are also an important interface between the worlds of professional and amateur musicians. The vast majority of music students at the K-12 level are amateur musicians. Many of them pursue music study out of love—the very definition of “amateur.” It is important to note that the separation between “amateurs” and “professionals” is not absolute. As Ruth Finnegan reminds us,

[T]he at first sight ‘obvious’ amateur/professional distinction turns out to be a complex continuum with many different possible variations. Indeed, even the same people could be placed at different points along this line in different contexts or different stages of their lives. Some *were* clearly at one or other end of the continuum, but the grey area in the middle in practice made up a large proportion—perhaps the majority—of local musicians.⁶⁴

Music teachers in Chicago move along this continuum at various points in their working lives (and indeed, even at various points in their days), and, perhaps more than any other working musician, interact with people at all points along this continuum on a regular basis.

Music teachers, then, are precariously perched between the worlds of the amateur and of the professional, both functionally—as professionals educating amateurs—and ideologically—as compensated professionals widely believed to have chosen their occupation primarily for love.

Wayne Booth writes of “amateurism” and its variety of connotations that

The true distinction, then, is not between lovers paid and lovers unpaid, as if being paid is the same as being prostituted. Rather it’s between those who do what they do for the love of it, whether paid or not, and those whose lives are poisoned, whether from choice or circumstance, by the money pressures.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians*, 14.

⁶⁵ Wayne Booth, *For the Love of It: Amateurism and Its Rivals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 60.

Booth juxtaposes work and love here as if in a Venn diagram. There are some who love what they do and do not earn a living from it, and others who do not feel much affection for what they do for a living. The middle of the diagram represents the lucky few who love what they do for work. By Booth's definition, music teachers who love their work are, in a sense, amateurs, and those who do not love it are not. My ethnographic evidence, however, does not support Booth's distinction between "those who do what they do for the love of it" and "those whose lives are poisoned...by the money pressures." As I explain below, most of my interlocutors both love what they do for work, and feel significant financial pressure. Marjorie Garber pushes the tension between love and money further:

[T]he idea that art is related to love, and thus, in an etymological as well as a pragmatic sense, to the *amateur*, has had some negative effects upon the idea of art-making as a *profession*. One persistent notion, inherited from and cultivated—in some quarters—since the Romantic period, has been that to be an artist is to suffer, and that suffering, including economic privation, is a testing ground for the true artist and his or her calling. This conviction has led, upon occasion, to the claim that somehow if *artists* don't suffer and compete to succeed, their *art* will suffer, so that funding them will actually lower the standards of art.⁶⁶

The paradigms of the amateur and the professional are, thus, in conflict in certain ways: namely, that the emotional weight of amateurism prevents teachers and administrators from negotiating for better material conditions in the way that a professional might. The emotional weight of amateurism can also be felt in the exclusion of arts educators from the category of arts workers as described in the Cultural Plan, and in the lack of attention to teachers' labor in the CPS Arts Education Plan. In what follows, I explore the ways in which teachers love music and love their work, and also experience increasingly unstable working conditions, partly as a consequence of the ways in which concepts of love circulate systemically.

⁶⁶ Garber, *Patronizing the Arts*, xii-xiii.

The majority of teachers whom I interviewed expressed love for their work. Carolyn Sybesma said, “Teaching’s really important to me, I love it. So when I’m not teaching [due to her administrative work] I feel really weird and I feel like there’s something missing.” Hibbard Youth Orchestras bass teacher Brett Benteler, even when discussing how “burnt out” he felt from work, said, “I love it all.” Jaime McCool said of People’s, “I love that school, I just love it.” Michael Riendeau, when asked if he enjoyed teaching music, responded, “Mm-hmm, a lot. It’s just a really good fit for me.” Of her teaching career in general, and her work at People’s in particular, Stephane Collopy said, “I love it.” Even though Anthony seemed generally to have a more ambivalent attitude toward his work, originally saying that he entered teaching primarily because it was a stable job, he later told me that “I just love what I do.”⁶⁷

A number of teachers also stated that instilling a love of music was an important pedagogical goal. Carolyn Sybesma described her teaching philosophy as “more than anything I want them to have a love of music and understand and want music to be part of their life forever in whatever way,” and said that she sought the same attitude in teachers that she hired. Stephane Collopy wants her students “to have that warmth in their heart for music.” Anthony stated that his primary goal for his students is, “Basically I want them to enjoy themselves, that’s the basic thing. ‘Cause not everybody will be a professional musician, you know, and I want them to experience the joy of music.”⁶⁸

The expectation of love—both feeling it and teaching it—brought joy and meaning to many teachers’ work, and motivated them to continue in their positions despite some difficulties. At the same time, it was somewhat taboo for teachers to express feelings about their work other than love. As I shall discuss in greater depth later in this section, this conflict arose primarily

⁶⁷ Benteler, Collopy, McCool, Riendeau, Sybesma, interviews by author.

⁶⁸ Anthony, Collopy, Sybesma, interviews by author.

over money: many teachers felt that their employers should pay them more, but then felt guilty for feeling that they deserved greater compensation on the grounds that teaching music should be done for love, not money. This perspective echoes the definition of an amateur as someone who pursues an activity for pleasure, not as a job; it also complicates the extent to which teachers, institutions, and policymakers are willing and able to value teachers' services as labor.

Arts education in contemporary Chicago is goal-oriented. As I described previously, cultural and arts education policy posits workforce development, and the encouragement of “creativity” and “innovation,” as the primary goals of arts education. Arts education organizations themselves focus as much or more on the extra-artistic benefits, real or purported, of their work as they do on arts skill attainment. (As elaborated upon in Chapter 2, much of this is due to the influence of venture philanthropy, but it also reflects an underlying ideological framework upon which arts education administrators, policymakers, CPS principals and administrators, teachers, and to some extent students and parents themselves draw.) The framework posits that participation in arts education in general, and often music education in particular, has the ability to instill a set of values: responsibility, discipline, hard work, perseverance, patience, goal-setting, delayed gratification, and the omnipresent creativity and innovation. This is reflected, for example, in People’s mission statement, in which children are meant to “develop a foundation of responsibility, self-esteem, resilience and purpose.” For many organizations, student success is ultimately defined by college attendance rates.⁶⁹ The general push to create a “better community” through arts education is, then, best specifically understood as a narrow vision of helping low-income students to graduate high school and attend college at

⁶⁹ See The People’s Music School’s logic model, Appendix 2.

higher rates than the city or neighborhood average, which is believed to be accomplished by teaching them the above-mentioned proper set of values.

Insofar as teachers are expected to serve as mentors and role models, they are explicitly and implicitly required to display these values themselves, and to assist students in making these values their own. This requires two key political-ideological assumptions on the part of both teachers and administrators: first, that children and the families they come from do not already hold these values or some version thereof; and second, that holding these values can, directly and indirectly, enable students to make material improvements to their class status by graduating high school and attending college—implying that a lack of these values is a primary reason that low-income students tend not to fare well educationally. Politically, these assumptions read against organizations’ mission statements and other stated beliefs imply that a “better community” will be created when the local population is increasingly able to attend college and enter the middle class.

The expectation that teachers will perform ethical labor and will hold ideological beliefs similar to those of the organization is set both by administrators and by teachers themselves. Administrators screen teachers for the willingness to perform ethical labor at the initiation of employment, and tend to do relatively little to monitor this behavior thereafter. For example, I asked Nicole Negrete, Evanston program director for The People’s Music School, about her hiring practices and the expectations she holds for teachers’ alignment with the El Sistema philosophy:

Meredith Aska McBride: To what extent do you expect or want the teachers to be familiar with El Sistema, either the history of it or the philosophy of it? And how much do you engage them in the music for social change philosophy?

Nicole Negrete: I think that’s really important, whether they come in knowing about it or just come in willing to learn about it, and willing to apply that to their teaching and their

practices. I think that's an important aspect of it, knowing that yes, we are a music program, but more than that we're a youth development and a social program, and cause it's, you know, it's very easy in typical music education-land and how most people were probably raised, it's very easy to just sort of tell students what to do, you know, like play this, do it this way, and that's, you know, good for music education. But I think to teach it from the more social perspective, you have to really be thinking about how the student is learning and how you're going to really engage them and make them a part of the learning process, and a part of the group, and so I think it is important that the teachers know about that and feel that's important to them, whether they come in knowing that or me teaching it to them. Either way I think at some point it should get to that point. And I don't think anyone's going to come in and say, "I don't support music for social change" [NN laughs], so, you know, anyone who comes in, we're happy to teach them about it.

MAM: Right. Do you ever get anyone who gives you pushback on the social mission, whether a teacher, a community member, family?

NN: Not necessarily. No. I don't think so [laughs]. That would be weird, I think.⁷⁰

Negrete's comments were typical of the program directors whom I interviewed, who expected a "social perspective" and the performance of ethical labor as a matter of course, and often viewed the connection between music education and "social change" as relatively natural.

Teachers ultimately place most of the responsibility for performing ethical labor on themselves. Ten of my interlocutors viewed this as a critical part of their jobs and perhaps even the part that they find most meaningful. In addition to teaching music itself, they viewed their primary responsibilities as including mentoring students, serving as a role model, providing a stable adult figure to students with troubled home lives, community-building, and introducing students to the joy and expressiveness of music. The remaining three teachers viewed imparting musical knowledge as their primary professional responsibility, although they did also attempt to behave as role models and mentors to their students when appropriate.

Brett Benteler began to work with Hibbard's El Sistema-based Youth Orchestras program in 2009, shortly after it began. He lives in an apartment building in Albany Park populated

⁷⁰ Negrete, interview by author.

almost exclusively by musicians, with the exception of his landlord. However, one day he heard the sounds of violin practicing coming from his landlord's apartment. Benteler asked his landlord about it and he replied that his daughters had joined a new tuition-free orchestra program at their school; Benteler went to volunteer his services and has been with the program ever since. As a longtime resident of Albany Park, Benteler is familiar with gang activity in the area, stemming from the neighborhood's contested status among several different gangs.⁷¹ When I asked him about his involvement in the social change component of the program, he relayed the following anecdote:

I think of one kid in particular, two kids. They're brothers, actually. I'll start with the bad news first, and then I'll do the good. And they were very, very, very difficult. The younger brother was very difficult. He came in after his older brother. His older brother had a learning disability. He was one of my bass students early on. And he's a junior at [name redacted] High School now, and well, we spent a lot of time together, like the extra hours after, like learning, you know, trying to help him, because he was a little slower, which was fine, and we took the time necessary for him to learn the concepts. And, you know, became friends. So he respected me, I respected him. Well, then he went to [name redacted] High School, and, I see him now, and he's always very respectful to me on the street but I'm suspicious because of who he's with, you know? These guys, these kids, they're not exactly gang—I can't tell, I can't tell. But the only thing I can do is shout out to them when I see them on the street on a daily basis or every other day and just call him by name, and "How you doin'?" So that's the least I can do and I do it. I called him out on it actually, and asked him, I said "What's up with your little brother?" He's only in seventh or eighth grade now, but he's walking around with gangbangers and it's obvious. He was in the program for only about three or four months and then he quit. And he quit and he's like "F the program." That was his attitude, you know, he's like "I don't have to do this, I don't have to listen to you, da da da da da." He quit. So yeah, so now he's what looks to me like definitely gangbanging on the street. And I asked his brother, I said, "What's going on with your brother now, is he gangbanging now?" So same thing. When I see him it's like "What's up [name redacted], how you doin'?" He

⁷¹ I could not find official statistics on gang activity in Albany Park. These news articles mention some reports of gang activity in the area: Tiffany Walden, "Police release map of gangs near North Park campus, but students remain safe school says," *Medill Reports Chicago*, January 31, 2012, accessed May 20, 2015, <http://newsarchive.medill.northwestern.edu/chicago/news-199427.html>; "Is Violent Gang Activity Moving North in the City of Chicago? Homicide in Uptown; Machete Attack Albany Park," *Arlington Cardinal*, September 16, 2014, accessed May 20, 2015, <http://www.arlingtoncardinal.com/2014/09/is-violent-gang-activity-moving-north-in-the-city-of-chicago/>.

knows I know who he is, he remembers me, he's twice as big as he was when he was in the program for a year as a little boy. It's like—so, you can't, I don't know, I don't know. It bothers me, you know, I wish I knew how to, what to do. So I just do what I can. I talk to him every time I see them, even when they're trying to walk tough I'm like "Hey what's up [name redacted], what you doin'?" And they're trying to be cool and tough like, they're gonna get shot or stabbed if they keep acting like that, you know? So I don't know. You don't wanna push the wrong button and they go farther down that road. Anyway, so on a positive note, a lot of those same kids that have come back to hang out, kids that have quit the program and come to hang out, in my mind were definitely like gangster potential, but I think because of their involvement, some for as little as six months, some for as long as two years, I think that gave them something of, like self-confidence, even though they didn't stick with it for whatever reason, it sparked something in them that gave them a bigger picture of the world, you know? That there's more than just what you think on your block.⁷²

Although the Youth Orchestras program does not directly inveigh against or intervene in gang culture, the exposure and self-confidence attributed to the program are considered by teachers, administrators, and some funders to have a positive effect. Again, this etiology represents a particular ideological perspective on the roots of and solutions to youth violence in low-income Chicago neighborhoods.

Other forms of teacher mentorship are more oriented toward the notions of workforce development current in the discourse around arts education. Javier Saume-Mazzei is the percussion teacher for the Youth Orchestras at Hibbard. Originally from Venezuela, he studied as a child in the original El Sistema there and has a well-developed analysis of ways to integrate social change ideals into his teaching. For Saume-Mazzei, it is about determining each individual child's strengths and weaknesses, playing to his or her strengths, and helping to improve his or her areas of weakness. He related an anecdote about a child with crippling stage fright:

He's like, "I wanna play, you know!" It's like, "Okay." So I help him how to fix something that I know, cause I always wasn't scared, you know, playing an audition, or—so I found out if they face that younger, if they have to, in the future, have to give a speech in front of a company or whatever, "Oh, I remember my teacher told me." So

⁷² Benteler, interview by author.

that's what I try to teach them. Basically all my deficits, deficiencies in myself, that I know they might have, I try to, you know. "Study, work hard!"⁷³

Although Saume-Mazzei is conscious of the structural problems that these children face, at one point telling me a sad story of working with a child whose parents were drug addicts, the approach to social change here is not community-oriented, but rather individualistic: students' individual deficiencies are remedied in order for them to have a more successful life path, as exemplified by Saume-Mazzei's allusion to success with respect to the demands of the white-collar workplace, for example, giving a speech.

Teachers in the programs in which I did fieldwork are intrinsically motivated to do the ethical labor that is asked of them and believe that this is an inherent part of music teaching. Although the mission statement and the messaging may come from the administration, these teachers are relatively self-selecting. Stephane Collopy's description of how she ended up at People's is telling: "I found out that they were a tuition-free music school, and I'm like 'Well, that's kind of up my alley.' So I went in [and] talked to the program director at the time." Most teachers had similar anecdotes about their motivation to seek out and stay at their current positions. Administrators, then, give the teachers relatively free rein in implementing the aims of their mission statements, and have a high degree of trust that both musical and ethical goals will be accomplished.

This trust and freedom is accompanied by a persistent belief that musical participation itself has ethical and disciplinary power. As The People's Music School's mission statement puts it, "Through intensive instruction and performance our students learn more than music." The YOURS Project mission statement attributes inspirational and transformative power to the

⁷³ Javier Saume-Mazzei, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, May 28, 2014.

orchestra itself. On the one hand, Albert Oppenheimer, former director of the YOURS Project,⁷⁴ said,

Again, we're not—I'll reiterate—we're not a music program. At all. Not a music program. We're a social service program that uses music as a catalyst. It's a side effect of our goal. So pedagogically we really haven't put thought into it. Like programmatically it's not been a thing. We teach them how to play enough that they can play the repertoire we put in front of them. And the teachers are tasked with teaching them how to play repertoire, not with teaching them how to play their instrument.⁷⁵

In Oppenheimer's model, teachers simply teach enough material to keep the orchestra going, and the power of ensemble participation itself does the social work. In other comments, he acknowledged some degree of ethical labor done by the teachers (in his terminology, serving as “nonparental mentors”), but expressed belief that most of the social work is done simply by the students' musical engagement.

By comparison, Carolyn Sybesma, in a conversation about new curricular planning for the Hibbard Youth Orchestra, said that as a social program, they were trying to assess social development as well as musical development when determining students' progress through curricular units, but that this was difficult:

And then obviously you want to add a social element [to the musical criteria for advancement]. It feels to me a little bit shoehorned in to try to—I mean obviously that's what we are, but to put that in with the musical continuum, in my opinion, it's hard. Because just because you know how to read a note doesn't mean that corresponds with a certain social skill that you're learning through that.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ During the 2013-14 school year, Albert Oppenheimer directed the YOURS Project, which encompassed orchestral sites in Albany Park (Hibbard Elementary School), Logan Square (Ames Middle School), and a developing site in Evanston. Carolyn Sybesma was at the time the director of the Hibbard program. In summer 2014, after the Logan Square program closed due to the transition to the Marine Academy, Oppenheimer was laid off and Sybesma became director of the remaining Youth Orchestras programs.

⁷⁵ Albert Oppenheimer, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, May 21, 2014.

⁷⁶ Sybesma, interview by author.

In a shift from previous approaches to the curriculum, Carolyn is now trying to assess social skill development in action and to develop tools that will allow teachers to better teach these skills.

Thus far, this has primarily centered around classroom management techniques:

What our teachers need help with is the classroom management. And I think that's directly related to the social skills that they're teaching the kids, because that's—those are behavioral, you know, how the kids are acting. So, getting them to listen, trying to figure out different personalities, what do you do for a kid who acts out, those are the classroom management aspects [that] are directly related to the social skills that are part of the program.⁷⁷

Ethical labor is intimately intertwined with disciplinary expectations and tactics in many of these programs. Shaping students into citizens is partially about shaping their behavior in the classroom.

Teachers perform an additional, very important type of ethical labor: that of the craftsmanlike drive to do good work. Sennett writes, “The carpenter, lab technician, and conductor are all craftsmen because they are dedicated to good work for its own sake. Theirs is practical activity, but their labor is not simply a means to another end....The craftsman represents the special human condition of being *engaged*.”⁷⁸ Teachers prioritize, as many of them told me, finding “something that works” for them and for their students. The work is repetitive in some ways and infinitely changeable in others; Jaime McCool said that she likes music teaching because “Even though it's the same thing, basically, over and over...every day is different, every day is a different type of creativity.”⁷⁹ The desire of the teachers whom I interviewed to instill discipline, responsibility, and hard work in their students is partially due to ideological alignment with their institutions' social goals, and it is also partially due to their own

⁷⁷ Sybesma, interview by author.

⁷⁸ Sennett, *The Craftsman*, 20.

⁷⁹ McCool, interview by author.

engagement with the craftsman ideal of working well for its own sake and their desire to inculcate their students in this tradition.

What happens when ethical work happens without ethical labor? That is, can students be shaped ethically without an agent to do the shaping? Is the practice of music itself powerful enough to exert ethical and disciplinary force? In contexts in music-for-social-change programs when ethical labor is not explicitly recognized or acknowledged, that does not mean that it is not present. Most teachers and administrators in these programs believe strongly that ethical labor of one kind or another is inherent in the work of teaching musical sound. Given that music teaching and ensemble performance are by definition social activities, teachers shape their interactions with their students—whether musical or mentoring—to have an ethical impact. We saw this earlier in Michael Riendeau’s collaborative composition process with the Four Layer Players at EPIC, and in Brett Benteler’s attempts to stop a former student from continuing his involvement with local gangs. Students themselves are also implicitly understood to be undertaking ethical labor of their own when they heed teachers’ instructions, practice their instruments, socialize appropriately with their classmates, and otherwise generally conform to the norms and expectations of the program. Ethical labor leading to visible change in students’ behavior is expected in programs responding to the “urban problem”—for both teachers and students. This ethical labor is intimately connected with the ideological framework within which these programs operate, a framework in which arts education’s ultimate aim is to develop economically productive knowledge workers (discussed in more depth in Chapters 2 and 6).

There is an inverse correlation between the amount of emotional, ideological, and ethical labor performed by music teachers, and the compensation that teachers receive in exchange. Teachers focused exclusively on musical skill attainment can, at the highest levels, make over

\$100 per hour, justified on the grounds that they are uniquely able to turn students into excellent performers.⁸⁰ By contrast, teachers in the programs I studied seem to average \$20-25 per hour, as compared with the Chicago average of about \$40 per hour—justified on the grounds that they are teaching both musical and life skills. As described below, teachers and administrators often frame this kind of work as a calling and as work undertaken from love and a sense of social responsibility. This allows the fact that teaching work in these programs is still a form of labor to be forgotten or dismissed, which contributes to the persistence of low pay.

The positive working environment in the programs that I observed is a necessary counterbalance to the fact that teacher pay in problem-oriented programs is quite low. Teachers in the El Sistema-inspired Youth Orchestras program at Hibbard Elementary make \$20 to \$25 per hour.⁸¹ This is a significant increase from \$9 or \$10 per hour in 2010 and 2011; when the program started, teachers were not paid at all.⁸² Carolyn Sybesma, the program director, would like to increase this to \$40 per hour, which she feels would be more fair and competitive with the local market, but this would require significant additional fundraising efforts in order to almost double the payroll. I was not privy to pay information at Urban Gateways. At the Sphinx Performance Academy, teachers make about \$1200 for the entire two-week program, where they are essentially on call 24 hours per day, seven days per week both as instrumental teachers and as

⁸⁰ Roland and Almita Vamos, husband-and-wife viola and violin teachers, were until late in 2014 distinguished professors at Northwestern University and teach younger students through the Music Institute of Chicago. They are arguably the most prominent music performance pedagogues in the Chicago area. At MIC, the base rate for a 60-minute lesson is \$86.50, but is significantly higher (the specific amount is not disclosed) for “special rate faculty” such as the Vamoses (Music Institute of Chicago, “Tuition Rates,” <https://www.musicinst.org/student-forms>).

⁸¹ Sybesma, interview by author.

⁸² Benteler, interview by author.

chaperones.⁸³ The People’s Music School pays approximately \$25 to \$30 per hour depending on experience and on the type of teaching (group lessons and ensembles pay more than private lessons). Teachers at the Merit School of Music start at around \$40 per hour and can earn more than that based on experience and seniority in the context of a complex and shifting pay scale.⁸⁴ Programs that charge tuition have a financial advantage and can pay teachers more simply because they have more money and they can make short- and long-term financial projections with more ease. Tuition dollars come in on a set schedule, making cash flow management simpler, and the big schools like Merit can guarantee a relatively robust student population from one year to the next. By contrast, the programs that I studied are all tuition-free, and all except Urban Gateways (which receives payment from client schools) rely entirely on fundraising, both from grants and from individual donors—revenue which is much less stable and predictable, and which is lower overall.

The social-change mission of these programs is often used as justification for their low pay. Natalie Butler, director of The People’s Music School’s Uptown Academy, discussed what she looks for when hiring a new teacher:

I want to see an excitement about sharing music, a commitment to service. I kind of look for that in what they’re saying, because essentially that’s what this is. We’re not paying you a tremendous amount, we don’t have such a huge student population where we can give you this huge studio where you can make a ton of money. That’s not what’s going on for most of our teachers. But a sense of commitment, to giving back to the community and to sharing music with children, I definitely am looking to hear that.⁸⁵

Similarly, Nicole Negrete, director of the El Sistema-inspired Youth Orchestras program in Evanston, said:

⁸³ Chris Jenkins, conversation with the author, August 2013.

⁸⁴ This number is based on conversations I had with other music education administrators in the Chicago Consortium of Community Music Schools.

⁸⁵ Butler, interview by author.

Our teachers who come in kind of have to have that in mind. Cause our pay is not that high right now, so for a lot of them there has to be the something else about it that really makes them want to stay. Obviously, at this point we're trying to shift away from that so much. But it's not a full-time job, it's something that they're devoting a portion of their life to, but I think there has to be that extra, you know, "I'm doing this for good" kind of idea, and I think that is what keeps them motivated.⁸⁶

Neither Butler nor Negrete is trying to be exploitative here; they are simply acknowledging the reality that the pay they can offer is neither competitive nor sufficient for their teachers' needs, so teachers are of necessity motivated to work for other reasons. Both Butler and Negrete want to be able to pay their teachers as much as possible and are actively working to increase pay. However, this is extraordinarily difficult to accomplish on contributed revenue alone. The teaching jobs that pay well are supported by tuition revenues from middle- and upper-middle-class families; the teaching jobs that serve lower-income families largely do not have this resource available, with the possible exception of Merit. The inequalities that create disparities of access to music education in the first place are reproduced at multiple levels, most visibly in the teacher pay disparities across programs that primarily depend on earned revenue versus those that primarily depend on contributed revenue. The way that well-intentioned administrators reconcile these structural issues with their own ideals of equality and professionalism is to frame participation in the mission of the program itself as a form of compensation.

Teachers themselves also perpetuate the mentality that low pay is expected (however regrettably) and acceptable within the context of music teaching work, especially in programs that serve low-income student populations. All but one of the teachers whom I interviewed believed that the emotional satisfaction that they derived from the job compensated for low pay. Many of the teachers with whom I spoke were highly ambivalent and reticent about the subject of pay. Some mentioned what they make, or what they would like to make, and expressed

⁸⁶ Negrete, interview by author.

frustration that pay increases seemed nearly impossible. Some had a very clear sense of what they felt they should be making and stated that they would decline future opportunities that did not pay at the requisite level. In all cases, these teachers requested that I not quote these critiques directly—not because they feared retribution from their employers but rather because they did not want to be perceived as “mercenary.” Three teachers told me very basic information (that in fact I had been provided separately by program administrators without hesitation) about pay scales at their places of employment, but were so sensitive about financial matters, due to anxiety about being perceived as “mercenary,” that they requested I not quote them. Almost all of the teachers, after expressing anxiety about or critiques around pay, finished their statement with, “It’s not about the money.” Of course, one does not become a music teacher because one wants to become rich; music teachers by and large enter the field primarily because they value and enjoy the work. Nonetheless, at some level any job is, indeed, “about the money.”

Ironically, emotion, ethics, and ideology are implicated both as forms of labor and as forms of compensation in music teaching work. Teachers both expect themselves and are expected by their supervisors to give of themselves in many ways and receive the fruit of their labor as its own reward. Despite my largely critical analysis here—which is intended to argue for more funding for programs and better pay for teachers, rather than to disparage the fundamental premise that teachers should seek to form students as both people and musicians—teachers themselves are largely accepting of this arrangement and generally find it psychologically and spiritually rewarding. Jaime McCool said that she has stayed with People’s for 20 years because “it can actually really serve students who need it.” Despite the fact that she could earn double her hourly rate elsewhere, she has “never even considered it.”⁸⁷

⁸⁷ McCool, interview by author.

Conclusion

The work of music educators is, in short, labor—craftsmanlike labor that fits imperfectly into the contours of Chicago’s arts education system and policy climate. The needs and experiences of students have, rightly, been the focus of most discourse around the work done by music educators in Chicago, on the part of arts administrators, policymakers, and teachers themselves. Much of the conversation around arts education as it relates to the work experience is future-oriented, positing arts education as a tool to develop the “creative workforce” of tomorrow. Chicago’s 2012 cultural planning initiatives focused in part on improving the lot of artists and creative workers, in which categories arts teachers were not explicitly included and, indeed, were implicitly excluded. The work lives of arts educators, then, have fallen through the rhetorical and political cracks. In this chapter, I have sought to fill this political and discursive gap by focusing on the lived work experiences of music teachers in Chicago.

Working as a music teacher in Chicago entails navigating contradictions and uncertainties both large and small, both theoretical and practical. The process of becoming, and subsequently working as, a music teacher is intimately connected with questions of personal identity and values. In this field, one is expected not only to perform a list of educational tasks, but also to give of oneself emotionally and to align ethically and ideologically with the political and social agendas of the programs in which one is employed. In return, teachers expect to derive emotional value and a deep sense of moral meaning from their work. I return to Sennett’s meditation on “craft time”:

Craftsmen take pride most in skills that mature. This is why simple imitation is not a sustaining satisfaction; the skill has to evolve. The slowness of craft time serves as a source of satisfaction; practice beds in, making the skill one’s own. Slow craft time also

enables the work of reflection and imagination—which the push for quick results cannot. Mature means long; one takes lasting ownership of the skill.⁸⁸

Teachers develop their skills and practices over long periods of time, through processes of experimentation and careful observation of “what works.” Teachers like Jaime McCool derive such satisfaction from these embedded rhythms of working that they often forgo opportunities for higher pay. Ethical, ideological, and emotional labor have, in the twenty-first century, now become part of the music teacher’s craftsman habitus as well. These intangible types of labor that teachers perform are in themselves forms of compensation and often substitute for more tangible types of material compensation, for better and for worse.

I have analyzed this relatively emic system against two archetypal models of music teaching: that of the craftsman and of the professional. This is an etic analysis that is, however, supported strongly by the perspectives of the teachers with whom I have worked. The older model of the craftsmanlike, personally-invested music teacher coexists, economically, structurally, and ideologically, with the rather newer, professionalized, rationalized, “creative worker” model, although there exist numerous points of tension and discrepancy between these paradigms, especially around concepts of amateurism in theory and in practice. Some of these points are productive of new approaches to music teaching and to working in this field, whereas others create difficulty for teachers, administrators, students, and institutions. Unfortunately, at times the discourse around new ways of teaching and learning in music—such as that around “teaching artists,” discussed in the previous chapter—has sometimes created a hype that has obfuscated the material realities that all stakeholders involved face.

Based on the data I present here, I call for an integrated scholarship and advocacy politics that recognizes the messiness of lived reality in the field of music teaching, and that shapes talk

⁸⁸ Sennett, *The Craftsman*, 295.

and action—by program administrators, policymakers, and teachers themselves—around the following points:

- Despite the love that many teachers feel, and indeed, are often de facto required to feel, for their work, music teaching is still a form of labor and should be acknowledged and treated as such by policymakers, philanthropists, administrators, and teachers themselves.
- Although important theoretical and pedagogical differences do exist between “teaching artists” and “arts educators,” teaching artists and arts educators are often the same individuals in practice. Arts education workers often hold multiple part-time jobs and may be called a “teaching artist” in their Monday role and a “music teacher” in their Tuesday role. Any policy or infrastructure that seeks to serve the needs of arts education workers, then, should seek to serve individuals holistically, rather than “teaching artists” and “arts educators” separately.
- The move toward increased rigor and higher standards for curriculum quality and teacher training in the field of arts education in Chicago is generally beneficial for students. However, the reliance on professional credentials to the exclusion of other types of training has excluded qualified teachers (such as Anthony, profiled above) from opportunities that would be beneficial for their careers and in which they could serve students well. The move toward rigor should seek to establish ways in which experience accrued informally and/or on the job can count toward standards of teacher training and quality.

The Chicago Public Schools’ 2012-2015 Arts Education Plan and the work of Ingenuity, Inc. has generated significant data on, and created new standards and structures for, teachers employed directly by the Chicago Public Schools. However, despite the newly formalized role of teachers

employed by nonprofits and other third-party organizations within the CPS system, little data or structure has been created to learn about and to address the needs of these teachers. The recommendations I list above can provide a basis for taking this important next step.

Ultimately, love can be dangerous in this context. The intimate relationship that private music teachers have with the notion of amateur musicianship, and with amateur musicians themselves, has rhetorically and materially obfuscated teachers' material needs and value. And the complex relationship of love itself to the work of music teachers—as expected form of labor and offered as a substitute for a degree of compensation—has made it difficult for those working in the field to speak openly of the material difficulties of this profession, material difficulties so stark as to push many committed teachers away from this line of work. In the end, I call for a realistic approach that respects and celebrates the sustaining role of emotion in the work of music education, while respecting and supporting this work as work: an approach that places teachers' emotional investment and material needs in harmony, rather than in tension, and realigns institutions and financial investments in order to provide stable, professional working conditions for music teachers.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRACTICING GENRE, CREATING CITIZENS

Since I am an African-American female cellist, and they *don't* expect me to play as well as I do, I have to show them—not only can I play very well, I can also conduct myself around or *in* an orchestra hall, or on a college campus.

--Indya Grey, Sphinx Performance Academy student

In Chicago's music education programs, musical performance is intimately linked with notions of citizenship. Discourses of genre and style mediate broader questions of class, race, and mobility: programs that seek to solve urban problems, to "uplift" students, frame their theories of change in terms of individual class mobilities that can result from the mastery of an instrument—especially in the "classical" idiom—and from leveraging this skill to attain secondary and post-secondary educational opportunities. In this chapter's epigraph, cellist Indya Grey connects musical performance, race, behavior, class, representation, and educational attainment. Her skill as a musician is intertwined with the mature and poised way in which she presents herself generally, and the parallelism between "an orchestra hall" and "a college campus" highlights the ways in which musical achievement is often related to educational achievement, by parents, students, educators, administrators, philanthropists, and the general public alike. In further conversation, Grey related her self-presentation to her own sense of citizenship in society: to her desire to become a lawyer advocating for African-American civil rights and to the ways in which she represents herself—and pushes back against negative societal representations—specifically as an African-American woman and musician.¹ I compare this with

¹ Indya Grey, interview by author. Digital recording. Evanston, Illinois, August 10, 2013.

a quote from Albert Oppenheimer, who told me that the YOURS Project was not training musicians, but rather “creating citizens.”²

Citizenship, in the programs I studied, served different functions for different constituencies, and as such contained a multitude of meanings. For administrators, developing citizenship, rather than “just” teaching music, is an attractive angle to pursue for fundraising. For teachers, it contributes to a sense of mission. Many teachers, and administrators as well, believe deeply in the agency of music itself to transform students on a spiritual level: as José Antonio Abreu puts it, “when you train musicians you train better citizens.”³ And for many parents and students, the concept of citizenship, and its amelioration or attainment through music, is part of a more comprehensive strategy of social mobility. For all parties, informal and naturalized conceptions of musical genre—especially the category of “classical music” as it has been socially constructed in the United States since the late nineteenth century—are closely tied to conceptions of citizenship, class, and social mobility, especially in the urban context.

In this chapter, I seek to trace the connections among citizenship, class, classical music, and music education as practiced in contemporary Chicago, and to understand why this nexus is so frequently connected, in turn, with ideas about urban reform. I begin historically, tracing the “sacralization” of European concert music in the late nineteenth century and its resonances in the twentieth century: in the relationship between the City Beautiful movement and Chicago’s first cultural building boom; in the Progressive-era association of classical music with improving the lot of the urban poor; in the association of instrumental music education with racial uplift among the black middle class; and into the present where “classical music” is considered inextricably linked with the development of character and is valued for its utility in the college application

² Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

³ Baker, *El Sistema*, 246.

process. I do not aim to provide a comprehensive history of the links between “classical music” and social class in the United States here. Rather, I provide historical background in order to better understand the ways in which my interlocutors conceive of this unstable yet potent construction called “classical music,” and the ways in which this nebulous “genre” structures program design and pedagogical encounter, and perceptions of music’s power and music education’s potential to act upon the city. The language of genre supplies much of the language around citizenship upon which arts education policy discourse generally, and that around music specifically, builds its arguments for social intervention. If we conceive of genre as a means of disciplining music, and of separating musical self from musical other, this line of thinking can be—and is—easily analogized to disciplining the city and the urban subject, of separating the urban self, the citizen, from the urban other, the non-citizen.⁴

In early-twenty-first-century Chicago, policy interventions into the lives of “at-risk”—poor—children are largely individualistic and familial in scope, in contrast with earlier eras of urban reform. Strategies for social “transformation” revolve around finding ways to help individual children succeed educationally and economically: by going to college, or by self-disciplining to avoid violent behavior (e.g., the “Becoming a Man” program aimed at young men of color developed by the University of Chicago’s Crime Lab, which has turned into President Obama’s “My Brother’s Keeper” initiative).⁵ Contemporary Chicago also features a number of strategies for social mobility that target the family unit: for example, the Thirty Million Words initiative, aimed at getting poor and less-educated parents to speak with their children more, in order to develop interaction and vocabulary skills that will close the gap in this area between

⁴ Engin F. Isin, “Introduction: democracy, citizenship and the city,” in *Democracy, Citizenship, and the Global City*, ed. Isin, 10-11.

⁵ “B.A.M.-Becoming A Man,” Youth Guidance, accessed October 18, 2015, <http://www.youth-guidance.org/our-programs/b-a-m-becoming-a-man/>.

poor and middle-class children.⁶ Music education is no different. Despite the somewhat more left-wing discourses of broader community transformation espoused by a number of the programs I studied, citizenship development is here modeled after middle-class practices of parenting. In turn, programs measure success in part by their inculcation of middle-class parenting models—though, ironically, many low-income families are drawn to participate in music education programs precisely because they already practice varieties of what Annette Lareau terms “concerted cultivation.”⁷ I offer several case studies of students and families navigating class-based expectations around parenting in the context of music education programs in Chicago, and develop a grounded theory of highly-privatized citizenship-in-practice in music education that revolves around bourgeois and neoliberal concepts of the family and its role in social mobility and stability. The chapter concludes with a reflection on musical discipline and urban citizenship.

Class-ical music in the American city

The discourse and practice of music education in Chicago’s public schools and nonprofit community schools revolves around a nebulous, yet potent, construction called “classical music.” The contours of this construction inform the shape of programs, and of arts education policy itself. They inform beliefs about the value of music education as a whole, and arts education more broadly; and these contours enable a set of practices around social mobility that have come to be almost inseparable from the practice of formalized music education itself in the contemporary United States. As a result of historical processes that began in the nineteenth

⁶ “Thirty Million Words,” Thirty Million Words, accessed October 18, 2015, <http://thirtymillionwords.org>.

⁷ Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods*.

century, classical music's associations with refinement, with self-discipline, with artistic transcendence, and with the upper classes are resonant and powerful in contemporary strategies for urban reform.

In this chapter, I use the term “classical music” as it was used by my interlocutors in the field. Though no one ever gave me a specific and concrete definition of “classical music” as they conceived it—indeed, it was most often defined by negation—it was discussed constantly, explicitly and implicitly, directly and offhand. Its very unremarkability should be noted, since it is the unmarked that is often the most foundational. The working definition I present here is a composite of the different characteristics ascribed to “classical music” by teachers and administrators, and to some extent parents and students, in the programs in which I completed fieldwork. I then move to examples of classical music in practice in the field, and contextualize this with historical perspectives from the literature.

In the field, classical music was constantly referred to as a “genre,” alongside other “genres” such as, most frequently, jazz, hip-hop, and folk or traditional music. Most of my interlocutors who use the term do not view classical music as a contested entity that emerged over time, in contrast to many music scholars, and it is not a term with which my interlocutors are, in general, uneasy.⁸ I follow Gregory Weinstein's argument that

It is important that we understand “classical music” as a genre (the parameters of which I will analyze) so that we can avoid treating the term as natural or unmarked. Western classical music as a category has been made to seem natural through decades (if not centuries) of cultural privilege. Part of my aim is to demonstrate that classical music is subject to the same flows and transformations as any other genre category.⁹

⁸ See Broyles (1992), Gramit (2002), Goehr (1992), Levine (1988), and Mussulman (1971), among others, for a description of the emergence of European art music as an almost-exclusively-elite practice in the United States and for (in Gramit's and Goehr's work) theoretical and historical understandings of this music in historical and theoretical context.

⁹ Gregory Weinstein, “Creativity in the Mix: Collaboration and Contingency in Britain's Classical Music Recording Studios” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013), 16.

I aim here to sketch an outline of classical music as a genre that emerges emically, and, in my analysis of the ways in which the practice thereof influences discourses of citizenship, to understand this influence as emerging precisely through the disciplinary force of genre-in-practice. In my field contexts, the notion of “classical music” encompasses simultaneously a canonic repertory that spans centuries; a pantheon of “great composers”; a set of beliefs and practices around technique development and education in music literacy and music theory; a defined etiquette around concert behavior (as performer and as audience member); a set of naturalized ensemble configurations (e.g., the orchestra, the choir, the string quartet, the woodwind or brass ensemble); a set of assumptions and standards around post-secondary performer and teacher education; and a group of anchoring institutions in Chicago, such as the Chicago Symphony Orchestra or the Chicago College of Performing Arts at Roosevelt University. Classical music can also include a limited selection of popular music and jazz, provided these pieces are taught with “classical” technique. “Classical music” is a shorthand designation used quickly and easily by administrators, teachers, and students, with a high degree of mutual agreement and understanding. My interlocutors use “classical music” as those around them use it: its definition and use, then, is a matter of oral tradition and custom within communities and lineages of music educators and music students. The work concept, à la Lydia Goehr, was highly operative in my field settings—not in its historicized sense, but as a structuring device for curricular development and sequencing, and for the minute-by-minute progress of a lesson or rehearsal.¹⁰ “Classical music,” as conceived by educators, administrators, students, their parents, and policymakers, exerts a centripetal force on the organization of music

¹⁰ See by contrast, Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, for a critical and historical take on the emergence of “classical music.”

education in Chicago, creating a center-periphery dynamic. Goehr calls this “conceptual imperialism,” suggesting that the work-concept has been adopted outside of—for our purposes here, on the periphery of—the classical-music context, and writes that her work may even “underestimate the extent to which non-classical musicians have borrowed terminology without taking on an entire package of beliefs and ideals.”¹¹

Generic categories, in discourse and practice, are distributed unevenly in Chicago’s music education programs. The relative inertia and spatialized, classed topography of genre constructions with respect to children’s music education are markedly dissimilar to the experimentalism that characterizes adult spheres of artistic practice in Chicago. As Fabian Holt writes,

Chicago’s cultural life is defined in relation to larger cities, especially New York and Los Angeles. Because the real estate prices are lower and there is much less corporate culture industry, Chicago has come to be viewed as a good place for experimentation in grassroots settings, not only in jazz and experimental popular music, but also in other arts. In theater, for instance, there is also a broad independent scene compared to the small off-Broadway scene in Manhattan. Film follows the same pattern but this art form requires larger production teams, and film production is more centralized nationally. As we explore how various people make sense of the situation, it gets harder to separate myth and reality. This is evidenced by the so-called second-city syndrome associated with Chicago’s perceived inferiority complex with respect to New York. It sustains narratives of absence and deficiency, and it tends to obscure the fact that Chicago, like all other places, has its own unique culture.¹²

It should be noted here that many of Chicago’s experimental theater and visual arts organizations (e.g., Redmoon Theater) have strong presences in the Chicago Public Schools as contracted “arts partners,” and regularly engage schoolchildren in the production of experimental work. Music, though, works differently, and I argue that this is due to the persistent association of classical music with discipline, especially the development of self-discipline in children: a crucial

¹¹ Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 270.

¹² Fabian Holt, *Genre in Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 110.

component of the discourse around “creating citizens.” Long-term instruction in music performance, both instrumental and vocal, at my field sites typically followed the “classical template.” By contrast, students primarily experience “world musics” through one-off in-school performances or short-term residencies. Thus, there is a distinct correlation between intensity and genre: higher-intensity educational experiences are available in a much more limited range of genres and styles (predominantly classical, and sometimes jazz) than are low-intensity educational experiences (which are often intended to “expose” students to various types of music).

Holt’s diagnosis of Chicago’s persistent anxiety around cultural deficiency, however, resonates with the persistent problematization of music education in America’s Second City. Cultural policymakers and music education practitioners in Chicago consistently evince more anxiety around music education, and what music education implies about the status of the city overall (i.e., as a “global city”), than do those in other major American cities, focusing consistently on arts education’s role in workforce development and on making the city of Chicago globally competitive. For example, New York City’s 2014 *State of the Arts: A Plan to Boost Arts Education in New York City Schools* includes only two paragraphs about the ways in which the arts contribute to academic achievement and social-emotional and workforce development in a 56-page report that is otherwise focused on strategies for improving the equitable distribution of arts education throughout the district.¹³ This widespread anxiety, I contend, is directly connected to the second layer of the dual problem: music education must, somehow, be made relevant to Chicago’s quest to become a global city. The arts education plans

¹³ Office of the New York City Comptroller Scott M. Stringer, Bureau of Policy and Research, *State of the Arts: A Plan to Boost Arts Education in New York City Schools* (New York: Office of the New York City Comptroller, 2014).

of New York and London—unquestioned global cities—are primarily, by contrast, about improving arts education access.¹⁴

The dual problem shapes the ways in which musical structures are deployed to solve this problem. Somewhat paradoxically, the implementation requirements of particular musical practices also influence the way in which a given program frames “the problem” that it is addressing and how it purports to do so. Addressing the problem of access alone is often accomplished by exposing students to a wide variety of types of music; in turn, a program that a priori, for reasons of budget, logistics, or curricular fit, includes many different kinds of music often then retroactively forms its theory of change around providing access. This was the case, for example, at Burbank Elementary, which hired Urban Gateways to provide a wide variety of touring performances. During the 2013-14 school year, all Burbank students experienced at least one 40-minute touring performance per week. Burbank students, then, observed, but were not directly engaged with making, an array of musics including African American popular styles like jazz, soul, and R&B; West African percussion-heavy styles; and many Latin American dance musics, including Cuban and Mexican folkloric styles. As described in more detail later in this chapter, the desire to provide, simply, “access” and “exposure” at Burbank, combined with budget and scheduling limitations, created the conditions for a “world music”-heavy curriculum, and the decision to provide “world music” then required justification in terms of providing access.

The People’s Music School, by contrast, began in the 1970s—in an entirely different political context—as a program aimed at improving access to (classical) instrumental music education by providing lessons and classes free of charge. Both its Uptown Academy and El

¹⁴ See also Mayor of London, *#LondonMusicPledge2014* (London: Greater London Authority, 2014).

Sistema-inspired Youth Orchestras programs still operate free of charge to families. Uptown Academy and the Youth Orchestras are both resource-intensive, which is necessary in order to support the demands of high-intensity classical music pedagogy. In the early twenty-first century, however, these programs must demonstrate that they can address the second layer of the dual problem—that they can “transform the lives” of their students—in order to gain funding in a competitive philanthropic environment. The pragmatic demands of their chosen genre, in short, have shaped the ways in which People’s has strategically framed “the problem” it addresses in order to appeal better to funders. The drumline program at EPIC Academy falls somewhere between these two extremes: it is somewhat technique-oriented and highly-oriented toward “community building” (rather than “citizenship development” as understood in other contexts of music education). At the scale of the classroom pedagogical encounter, it is not oriented toward “problem-solving” at all; rather, teacher Michael Riendeau orients his teaching toward student creativity and enjoyment. However, Urban Gateways staff frame the program both as providing access and as encouraging students toward (funders’) desired behaviors, such as school attendance. In short, the “access” problem is correlated with high genre diversity, low instructional intensity and therefore a lower cost per student, whereas the “urban” problem is correlated with low genre diversity (primarily focusing on classical and, sometimes, jazz) and high instructional intensity, and therefore a higher cost per student.

The center-periphery relationship of “classical” and “other” musics evokes the spatial organization of the city of Chicago. Janet Abu-Lughod writes that “the circle and wedge set the fundamental geometry of Chicago,” because

[t]he radial mass-transit system that eventually converged on the Loop also solidified Chicago’s semicircular spatial organization into the three distinct wedges initially shaped by the North (really northwest) and South (really southwest) Branches of the Chicago River and by the system of long-distance rail lines. Industry gravitated to the shores of

the sluggish branches of the river, with residential quarters relegated to the interstices. The wealthy favored areas near the lake, at first south of the Loop but later, once the flow of the river's North Branch had been reversed, to the Loop's north. A rapidly growing proletariat settled in what was left over, congregating especially in the vicinity of the large industrial agglomerations in peripheral locations.¹⁵

The practice of classical music is, almost by definition as an "art" music, resource-intensive. Music education programs emphasizing classical music or other technique-heavy genres, simply put, cost more in time and in money than do "exposure," or peripheral-genre, oriented programs. For example, Hibbard Elementary School's El Sistema-inspired Youth Orchestras program costs approximately \$120,000 to \$150,000 annually¹⁶, at 10 to 15 hours of instructional time per week for 120 students, whereas Burbank Elementary's touring programs cost, in aggregate, approximately \$50-60,000 annually at most, at 80 minutes of instructional time per week for the school's 1,004 students.¹⁷ Just as wealth has aggregated in Chicago's center, so too have financially-intensive forms of music education (classical, jazz) aggregated at the center of genre discourse and practice. And it is wealth from Chicago's center that flows outward to resource-intensive programs located in the city's proletarian periphery, through fundraising and support from philanthropic foundations, most located in the Loop. Chicago's spatial organization and the organization of its music education programs by genre in discursive space both evoke each other and are causally related.

The center-periphery organization of generic constructions in music education also creates a dichotomy between the self and the other. The educational practice of classical music organizes the self as affiliated with a canonical repertory, with an orchestral instrument (about which more in the subsequent section on metaphor), and, especially, with European-derived

¹⁵ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 103.

¹⁶ Oppenheimer, conversation with author.

¹⁷ Chicago Public Schools, "Burbank." I developed this rough financial estimate based on my professional experience contracting arts partnership programs in the Chicago Public Schools.

music theory and musical notation. Musics that are considered to be related to or derived from European-derived tonality are similarly considered “self,” albeit at the edges of the musical self. Improvisational, non-literate musical practices that do not refer to the (or, at least, *a*) canonic repertory of Western European art music, do not use orchestral instruments, and are not rooted in European-derived tonality are considered “other.” I offer two case studies here: the first, of The People’s Music School, shows the ways in which notions of “classical music” organize the musical self at multiple levels of scale within the institution. The second, of Burbank School’s touring “world music” programs, shows the way in which the musical other is defined through genre.

The People’s Music School has historically been oriented, firmly and proudly, almost exclusively around classical music and rooted in Western European-derived music theory, although this may change in the near future. In an interview, I asked longtime People’s piano teacher Jaime McCool, “What genres or styles do you teach?” She responded, simply, “Classical.” I asked, “And why classical specifically?” McCool explained:

Well, that’s what I’m trained in and I’m no good at anything else [laughs]. I can’t do jazz, I tried to do jazz, I’m just bad at it. And the music school, The People’s Music School, is a classical school, so that’s basically all we teach there.¹⁸

Uptown Academy director Natalie Butler echoed and nuanced this assessment:

It’s very Western music-focused. I think it is primarily classically-focused and I think that has a lot to do with [TPMS founder] Rita [Simó] being a classically-trained concert pianist. But we do have a jazz ensemble that’s very good and he does a lot of jazz theory with those students in order to have them learn how to improvise, and then as you said they also sing pop. And I, just from my personal standpoint as a musician and music educator, I’m very open to everything. So I’m like any kind of music can be taught in a way that is intellectually challenging and rigorous, and so my thought in going forward is that I think it would be great to have more diversity in the type of music we do here. And I don’t think that in any way diminishes the classical music that we do here, but I think

¹⁸ McCool, interview by author.

that's something moving forward in the future. But I do think that right now we are very Western classical music-focused.¹⁹

Rita Simó, a Juilliard-trained concert pianist, founded People's in 1976 with the objective of providing free music education, broadly defined, to children whose families would otherwise not be able to afford music lessons.²⁰ Although the mission of the school was not, and still is not, defined with respect to genre or style, either generally or in particular, it was almost exclusively oriented around classical music until the mid-2000s, when the jazz program was founded.

This orientation was, and continues to be, manifested in several ways. First, hiring practices lean toward those, like Jaime McCool, who teach "classical music." The vast majority (upwards of 90 percent) of the school's faculty are "classically-trained." They have studied orchestral instruments or classical voice with teachers who self-identify as part of "the classical tradition," and emphasize Western European art music-derived technique. As described in Chapter 4, all of the current faculty at People's hold degrees in music performance or composition (upwards of 90 percent of my interviewees and those whom I met during participant-observation) or music education. Second, all students at People's are required to take weekly music theory classes throughout the entire period of their enrollment. These classes focus exclusively on common-practice tonality. Although music theory teachers often use contemporary pop songs in their teaching, they use them in order to illustrate elements of the common-practice tonality that are common to contemporary American popular music and the European-derived classical music that students study in their small-group instrument lessons.

I reproduce a weekly class schedule for winter term 2014 from The People's Music School in Appendix 3. Of 33 instrumental-music group classes offered weekly, 32 are oriented

¹⁹ Butler, interview by author.

²⁰ Pinkerton, *Music Is a Gift*, 63.

primarily around classical music. Twenty-six focus specifically on technique education on orchestral or other European art music instruments: violin, piano, guitar, flute, and orchestral percussion. Several instruments listed here, such as piano and guitar, are of course used in a number of genre and stylistic contexts. However, at People's, these instruments are taught almost exclusively within the classical tradition: children learn classical repertory and technique, as Jaime McCool described above. All of the music theory classes focus exclusively on music literacy and common-practice tonality. Finally, the choir classes are mandatory for all students—that is, no students at People's study voice exclusively. Rather, choir is paired with music theory: the same group of students is in Choir A and Theory A together, and their vocal studies are considered a complement to their small-group classes in instrumental technique. More-advanced students can enroll in other ensembles in lieu of choir, such as guitar ensemble, string ensemble, or jazz ensemble.

The choir classes, perhaps precisely because they are the least oriented toward technique, feature the most diverse repertory: selections performed at the June 2014 Uptown Academy concert included “Under the Sea” from Disney’s *The Little Mermaid*; “You Can Get It If You Really Want,” by Jimmy Cliff; and the 2014 smash hit “Happy” by Pharrell Williams. (See Appendix 4 for the full program.) A genre, as Holt writes, “is not only defined by its boundaries—by what it is not—but also by its interior.”²¹ Although pieces of music from outside the “classical” repertory—and here I do not seek to define the boundaries of this repertory, but rather to use this designation emically, in the sense that teachers consider some pieces “classical” and other pieces “pop” or “world”—do indeed enter into People’s Uptown Academy curriculum,

²¹ Holt, *Genre in Popular Music*, 22.

they are still taught within a curriculum fundamentally structured around classical music at its interior.

As Uptown Academy director Natalie Butler implied in her statement quoted above, Uptown's, and by extension People's, centering of classical music may change in the near future. Rita Simó and Natalie Butler are united in their belief that emphasizing technique, theory, and ensemble playing are the keys to musical excellence. However, whereas Simó felt that technique, theory, and ensemble were best taught through classical music, Butler feels that any genre or style of music can be taught with these three emphases, and is working to develop People's curriculum to include a wider array of musics. This change cannot be made quickly: new curriculum must be supported by trained and qualified teachers, many of whom would likely have to be newly recruited and hired, as People's current faculty, as mentioned above, are primarily practitioners of classical music. Note that the above case study only focuses on People's conservatory-style Uptown Academy program; I explore the Youth Orchestras program later in this section.

The musical programming at Burbank School shows a similarly stark divide between "classical" and "non-classical" musics, between learning how to *make* music and learning *about* music. As mentioned in the Introduction, Burbank School is notable in that its principal chose to spend all of its 2013-14 arts budget on hiring external providers. It was one of only six percent of the CPS schools with arts programming that had only external arts providers and no arts instructors during the 2013-14 academic year.²² (Ninety percent of schools with arts programming split the budget between faculty positions and external providers.)²³ Burbank contracted with the Merit School of Music's Bridges program to provide after-school violin and

²² Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 9.

²³ Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 9.

cello lessons, and with Urban Gateways to provide weekly touring programs. During the 2013-14 school year, Burbank students experienced 31 unique programs over 32 weeks (one, “History of Rock & Roll,” was repeated). The full schedule is reproduced in Appendix 5.

Of the 31 programs offered, seven featured musics of Latin America, the Caribbean, and Spain, often coupled with an emphasis on dance or rhythm (e.g., “Danzas Ceremoniales de Mexico” and “Spain’s Dancing Rhythms”). Five focused on Africa, including both music and musical retellings of folk tales. Four featured African-American musics, often through a historical lens (e.g., “History of Jazz”). Four focused on other American popular music styles (“History of Rock & Roll,” “Bluegrass Music”). Some of the touring programs were not music- or dance-oriented, such as the puppet shows.

Burbank’s 2013-14 touring programs, then, offered diversity in genre and style, with a clear orientation toward “world” musics (further bolstered by the four shows that integrated several different types of music or explicitly referred to “world” music in their titles, e.g. “Tom Sharpe’s World Music that Rocks!” and “The Birthplace of Rhythm: Global Show”). Based on conversations with Urban Gateways administrative staff, the clear emphasis on Latin American, African, and African-American musics is intended to connect with Burbank’s predominantly African American and Latin@ student body. Genre diversity at Burbank was something to be observed and consumed, in small packages, by all students. By contrast, the experience of producing music was limited to a rather smaller number of students who were able to participate in the single-genre, classically-oriented, after-school violin and cello program.

A pedagogical focus on music theory and literacy is perhaps the single most important mechanism of centering that acts upon classical music in Chicago’s music education programs. Classically-trained teachers and administrators are, themselves, musically literate and have had

some theory training. They view (Western European) theory courses as the hallmark of a rigorous curriculum, and music literacy as the key to students' empowerment and independence as musicians. In an interview, I asked Uptown Academy piano teacher Jaime McCool which method books, if any, she used, and why. McCool began her explanation with a discussion of what she does not like about an alternative popular method, and continued by describing what she likes about Music Tree, her preferred method:

They all teach in positions, so um, you play in C position, you play in G position, you play in D position. To me that's not teaching children how to read music, that's teaching them "I just put my hand here and then I play my fifth finger." I don't know that that's G, you know? You see what I mean? The school—and this is, this comes from Rita, obviously, she's the one that really pounded this into me when I was very young, is that we are a theory-based school. And I really like that because I teach from the very first day—well, not from the very first day. If they're five years old they don't learn how to read music right away, of course. But, you know, if they're eight years old and starting, they learn how to read music from the very first day. And what the Music Tree does is it has you in a different position every time, every piece starts on a different note in a different hand position, so you're constantly, you're actually learning how to read the notes, and you're not just learning to play a third finger or a fourth finger or all that. And the reason I like that is because if they don't take lessons anymore, but they still want to play piano, they can pick up any book and figure it out because they know how to read music from the very beginning.²⁴

For McCool, literacy is fundamentally integrated with technical training. Playing, naming, and reading notes are interconnected skills, and teaching is deficient without attention to all three from the very beginning. She refers to People's founder Rita Simó: "she's the one that really pounded this into me when I was very young, is that *we are a theory-based school*" (emphasis mine). Almost by definition, it is primarily art musics that are theory-based, and thus this pedagogical principle limits the range of available genres from the outset. If "theory" is taken, as it is at People's, to mean music theory derived from or somehow related to European common-practice tonality, then classical and jazz are the primary musics that can be taught.

²⁴ McCool, interview by author.

Theory education teaches students, in ways both obvious and subtle, about “our” music and “other” music. Theory classes position students at the center of a repertory and tradition to which they are encouraged to lay claim, and establish boundaries outside of which lie repertories, sounds, and practices that should not be considered part of the musical self. An aside, tossed off in two separate choir classes, represents this positioning in practice.

As previously mentioned, at The People’s Music School, theory and choir classes are integrated. On February 25, 2014, teacher Chris Neal reviewed the day’s theory concept—major and minor intervals—before beginning to rehearse one of the songs that Choir C1 was to perform on an upcoming concert. Neal defined major and minor intervals in terms of whole steps and half steps: reminding the students, for example, that minor thirds are comprised of three half steps or a whole step and a half step, and that major thirds, by contrast, are four half steps, or two whole steps. He then paused for a moment and said, “A half step is pretty much the smallest interval that we deal with in the music here at the People’s Music School. But go elsewhere in the world and you’ll find smaller intervals.” Later in the day, teaching the same theory lesson to another group of students, he worked through a set of exercises identifying major and minor seconds and thirds, and again described the half step as the smallest interval, “at least in the music we deal with 99 percent of the time here at the People’s Music School, or maybe in your music class at school.” The students, who had previously seemed rather inattentive—chatting amongst themselves, rustling papers, playing with their pencils—focused in on this comment, perhaps wondering what the other one percent could be.

In another theory class, this time Theory A2 for five- to seven-year-old students on May 22, 2014, teacher Anne Katzfey had written the names of instrument families on the board in preparation for listening to Prokofiev’s *Peter and the Wolf*: strings, brass, woodwinds, and

percussion. Katzfey defined how each produces sound and then solicited examples of instruments that fell into each category from the students. The students were able to provide two to three examples of orchestral instruments in each category with ease. Katzfey prompted them to think of more instruments: miming playing a flute, for example, and asking, “What is this one?” She smiled and nodded, or responded excitedly (e.g., “French horn! It’s one of my favorites!”) for each orchestral instrument that the students volunteered. Eventually, one student raised his hand and asked her to write “whistle” under “woodwinds.” Katzfey was visibly surprised and did not write it down on the board. However, the whistle comment seemed to encourage other students to think of non-orchestral instruments as well, and they volunteered a number of instruments that, many of them stated, had been introduced in their music classes at school. Most of these were percussion instruments: bongos and djembe, for example. Katzfey seemed surprised but delighted when these instruments were suggested, and gamely wrote them down on the board. Once this activity was complete, she turned on a recording of *Peter and the Wolf*, and pointed out the entrances of various orchestral instruments for the students. Although Katzfey’s delineation of self—orchestral instruments, preferably those taught at People’s—from other—non-orchestral instruments—was subtle, communicated primarily through facial expressions, it was nonetheless clear, both to me and to the students, that certain instruments were normal and naturalized in this setting, and others, representing other traditions and other repertoires, were not. To be clear, neither Neal nor Katzfey at all diminished non-classical repertoires or systems of music theory. They simply recognized and taught some music as “ours,” and either stated or implied that other musics were “not ours.”

Many music education programs orient their work around a musical repertory that has a clear center and periphery, a structure which is then analogized to broader social structures. As Nettl writes,

Denizens of the Music Building conceive of their musical repertory in several ways: (1) as the belief that there is a central core of the repertory, the most important music; (2) as the suggestion that the Music Building looks at its musical works and their relationship much as it looks at society and the relationship of groups and individuals; and (3) as perception of the role that music plays in performances in which the principal values of the culture are exhibited.²⁵

The music education programs that I observed in Chicago were, generally, similarly oriented around “the belief,” as Nettl writes of the Music Building, “that there is a central core of the repertory, the most important music.” The core, here, is classical music. The periphery is rather wide and inclusive, as at Burbank, but, nonetheless, these repertories and practices remain in the periphery: students learn *about* them rather than from *within* them. Chicago High School for the Arts student Monica-Nia Jones’s words encapsulate this dynamic perfectly: “My school’s strictly classical, but sometimes they let us go a little crazy and play music that’s not classical.”²⁶

Classical-music-in-practice is most potent in the tight connection it forges between technique and discipline. There was a persistent belief among all of the teachers and administrators whom I interviewed that the practice of music, in and of itself, produced the social benefits that they, and funders, sought. The discipline required to achieve technical mastery, and the discipline in turn that instrumental technique exerts on the body and on the mind, are, here, considered to be the mechanism by which the practice of music transforms the student. Technical facility is embodied discipline; self-discipline is the result of the practice of technique. Although many of my interlocutors were quick to point out that classical music was not the only repertory

²⁵ Nettl, *Heartland Excursions*, 113.

²⁶ Monica-Nia Jones, interview by author. Digital recording. Evanston, Illinois, August 10, 2013.

in which this relationship between technique and discipline existed, many of them argued that it was the best and easiest way to build this relationship.

Bass teacher Brett Benteler, of the Hibbard Elementary Youth Orchestras program, associates “the fundamentals” of music with the study of classical music. I asked Benteler in an interview, “So you mainly teach classical there, right?” He responded, “Yeah, you could say that. I mean, it’s the fundamentals, really. All the music that we play there at Hibbard you’d consider classical.” I asked Benteler for clarification: “But do you teach—like when you say the fundamentals or the technique, do you view that as belonging to any particular style?” Brett explained:

No, I think that’s universal. I think technique—I think that’s the base from which to spread out. I think technique first, the mechanics of the instrument, music theory, and then from there you can play any style, you know? And I think a lot of teacher friends I know, that went to the system [here, he translates “El Sistema” literally] there, they’ve got a lot of the old-school, you know, Romanian and Russian instructors, and all they study is classical music. That’s what gives them such a strong technique, so that when they go and play jazz, or salsa, or whatever it is, even rock, whatever, there’s a very solid technique which enables them.

I then asked, “So do you view classical as a place to learn that technique and then kind of branch out?” Benteler responded,

I do view it like that. I think classical is a great place to establish an excellent technique. I think classical music is the perfect platform for developing excellent technique from which to expand into any other style or genre.²⁷

For Benteler, as for many of his colleagues, classical music is associated with pedagogical rigor. There is a belief that classical music and its associated technique development is enabling, and allows students “to expand into any other style or genre” after that. This perspective presupposes that the skills needed to perform competently in other genres are, in fact, developed within the

²⁷ Benteler, interview by author.

study of classical music, and also that European-derived classical music is, indeed, the best vehicle by which to learn technique and discipline.

By contrast, former Youth Orchestras program director Albert Oppenheimer strenuously disavowed the notion that the orchestra program was oriented around classical music, and listed several pop and Latin American pieces that the orchestra had performed by way of example: Frank Sinatra songs, Adele’s “Set Fire to the Rain,” Paquito D’Rivera’s “Wapango,” and “Danza Final” from a Ginastera ballet.²⁸ (The fact that Albert did not classify the Ginastera and D’Rivera works as “classical” is notable in and of itself.) This mixed “classical” and “light” repertory is similar to what Baker has observed in El Sistema in Venezuela, and the political resonances are similar as well:

The SBYO [Simon Bolívar Youth Orchestra]’s programming tends to fall into two camps: heavyweight European symphonies and lighter Latin American works. This formula is rarely inverted. Venezuelan music plays only a small part in its repertoire, with anything more than an orchestrated folk tune an uncommon sighting (unlike most national youth orchestras around the world, which make promoting new national music a signature feature). Programming thus tends to hold up the European canon as the gold standard, with Latin American music generally presented as the lightweight Other of this repertoire of “great works” (for example, as encores).²⁹

Despite admitting this clear polarity, albeit not in Baker’s words, Oppenheimer continued:

We are not a classical music program. We are an orchestra. Which, similar to a guitar not being a rock instrument or a classical instrument, it’s an instrument that can be used to play many different genres. An orchestra can be used to play all sorts of genres, and we in no way restrict ourselves to a genre.³⁰

I then pushed Oppenheimer, saying, “Okay, but the orchestra is tightly affiliated with classical music.” He explained that it was not a matter of ideological affiliation with a particular repertory

²⁸ Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

²⁹ Baker, *El Sistema*, 59.

³⁰ Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

or genre, but rather a question of what works best to produce the program's desired social results:

We play whatever we can arrange to fit within the ensemble. It's not a matter of genre for us. There happens to be a great wealth—and this is an interesting conversation I had with the greater arts education community. They were asking me, “Can El Sistema be a creative arts program? Can El Sistema be a dance program? Can El Sistema be a theatre program?” I'm speaking at a national conference to a room full of arts educators. And I said, “Yeah. There's just a couple things you need. You need an ensemble, you need access, you need intensity, sure. You also need a continuous level of improvement. You can't peter out. Like, a student has to feel like there's always a next step, there's always something to strive for, and they have to be able to do it together. So if you have a barrier of access, you have to be very aware of that.”...But that idea of continuous aspiration is super important. And it already exists for the ensemble that you're working with in the classical repertoire. There's a series of pieces, they get progressively harder, that you can always strive for, that you can always look to play over a period of time, and that creates a pathway for people to grow through the orchestra. Great. Do we restrict ourselves to that? Absolutely not. Do we identify as a classical orchestra? Debatable. The orchestra is a sign that, as you said, it's intrinsically tied to that. However, we don't identify genre as a piece of what we're doing. We play whatever we want within the ensemble.³¹

I pushed Oppenheimer further, and asked, “What are the social resonances around orchestra? For example, to put a different point on it, would you get the same kind of funding if you were running a hip-hop program?” Oppenheimer responded:

I think there could be an El Sistema hip-hop program, I don't think that's impossible. But it would be tough. The reason that I do classical orchestra isn't because I love classical orchestra. It's because I think this is the best social intervention that exists, and the best model....It's that perfect model of community that I talked about. And within hip-hop, that continuous level of aspiration—how long could you work on doing hip-hop as a group before you hit that ceiling of everyone's doing it great? What's more difficult to do?³²

Oppenheimer's perspective resonates, albeit in a different register, with Nettle's take on Judith Becker. Like Hibbard's Youth Orchestras program,

The music school is an institution for both study and advocacy—advocacy of the Western art music tradition, particularly in the common-practice period, 1720 to 1920. We should not be surprised that its view of the history of Western music and, indeed, of world music

³¹ Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

³² Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

derives from this purpose. Judith Becker suggests that Western musicians regard their music as superior in three respects: (1) it is based on natural principles, and forces of nature moved it through stages that are now represented by other musics of the world to its present form or, more properly, to its form in nineteenth-century Europe, its highest state of achievement; (2) it is more complex than other musics and in a totally different class of complexity; and (3) it has meaning in a way that other musics do not.³³

I argue, here, that classical music is one of the only musics that could possibly work for a program like the Youth Orchestras—not because, as Oppenheimer says, hip-hop is inherently less difficult, deep, or rich than other types of music, but because, in fact, the rhetoric around the necessity of musical technique as a mechanism for producing discipline is a key element of the citizenship discourse that has been back-formed from pre-existing beliefs around classical music and its disciplining power on both the individual and the social body. The university school of music, analyzed by Nettl, is the context in which most of my music teacher interlocutors were formed intellectually and professionally, and thus profoundly influences their pedagogical practice. Baker writes,

In sum, the evidence suggests that El Sistema began as a conventional music education program for predominantly middle-class students, and its transformation into a revolutionary social program aimed at the poor has taken place in response to political pressure rather than stemming from a messianic founding vision. This conversion is exhibited to a large degree at the level of discourse; evidence for the prioritizing of social goals is patchy.³⁴

Although the political process forcing the rhetorical conversion toward notions of citizenship development that happen to coincide precisely with longstanding beliefs about classical music's disciplining power, depth, and complexity differed, of course, between Venezuela and the United States, the result is the same. Classical music is not centered in El Sistema and other music education programs simply because it is the best fit for a pre-existing social agenda. Rather, the

³³ Nettl, *Heartland Excursions*, 101.

³⁴ Baker, *El Sistema*, 172.

social agenda itself was created around pre-existing conceptions of classical music's formative power.

Goehr's notion of "conceptual imperialism" is, again, relevant here.³⁵ In Chicago's music education programs, especially those outside the official public-school curriculum, classical music's association with technical discipline is so strong as to call into question the pedagogical rigor of other genres and other repertoires: only classical can teach technique, and only classical can discipline. Katherine Bergeron makes clear this deep connection between embodied technique and social discipline via the canon:

[P]laying scales presupposes another, more primary discipline—that of tuning, or playing "in tune." This also implies an ordering of the body, a disciplining of the ear, so to speak; for to play in tune is to make judgments, to mark precise distances between sounds in the act of producing them. Indeed, such a marking of difference points to one of the earliest senses of the word *canon*, whose etymology (from the Greek *kanon*, meaning "rod," "bar," "ruler"; and *kanna*, meaning "reed") refers to a sort of measuring stick, a physical model that both embodies a standard of measure and makes possible its reproduction. The canon is, in this sense, an ideal of order made material, physical, visible.³⁶

Bergeron's invocation of Foucault reminds us that "the ordering of bodies" at the small scale—through scales themselves, through "the training of the body into an orderly relation with itself into the production of music"—can be usefully analogized, at higher levels of scale, to the training of bodies into orderly relations with themselves and others in the production of social behavior, in this case, on the scale of the city. Isin "emphasize[s] the following rationalities of modern government: loyalty, virtue, civics, discipline and subsidiarity."³⁷ These values are prominent in the conception of citizenship development advanced by both program administrators and teachers on the one hand, and students on the other—recall Indya Grey's

³⁵ Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 270.

³⁶ Katherine Bergeron, "Prologue: Disciplining Music," in *Disciplining Music*, ed. Bergeron and Bohlman, 2.

³⁷ Isin, "Introduction: democracy, citizenship and the city," 9.

ascription of, essentially, virtue and discipline to her behavior at the orchestra and on campus. I turn now to a historical sketch of how “loyalty, virtue, civics, [and] discipline” came to be associated with what is now colloquially called “classical music” in Chicago, and subsequently connect historical and ethnographic context to focus on strategies of social class mobility around and through classical music, as practiced by all parties associated with the music education programs I studied.

During the course of the nineteenth century, European concert music came to occupy a position as elite art music in major cities of the United States. This process was complex and has had many ramifications in subsequent years; here, I am primarily concerned with the associations that this music—now thought of by my interlocutors as “classical music”—has developed with moral uplift, class relations, and urban identity, particularly in Chicago. According to Michael Broyles, European concert music first came to be associated with the elite in antebellum Boston: as American society began to become more stratified by class, “the dichotomy between an aristocratic musical structure and a democratic society appeared irreconcilable,” and eventually, by the 1840s “the upper class retreated into their own world and began to voice the idea of art music for the elite only.”³⁸ This development was notable not because elitist arguments about art were novel at this time. Rather, Boston’s upper classes had long “supported elitist cultural endeavors, such as the Athenaeum or the Massachusetts Historical Society, but their vision of culture had never included music” until this turning point.³⁹

Boston’s example was extremely influential in Chicago. Indeed, for Lawrence Levine, Chicago-based attempts to emulate the elitist cultural models of Boston are notable turning points in the divergence between “highbrow” and “lowbrow” cultures in the nineteenth century.

³⁸ Broyles, “*Music of the Highest Class*”, 217.

³⁹ Broyles, “*Music of the Highest Class*”, 217.

The Chicago Symphony Orchestra represents perhaps the best example of this intentional emulation in the late nineteenth century:

It is not surprising that in his struggle to mold the Chicago Orchestra to his liking, [Theodore] Thomas often pointed to the example of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, which had been established in 1881. “Do you wish our programmes to be inferior in standard to those of the Boston Orchestra?” he asked his trustees when he felt pressure to dilute his repertory. When they replied in the negative, Thomas was quick to point out that the Boston Orchestra never gave a concert without a symphony.⁴⁰

Unsurprisingly, this line of argumentation helped Thomas to present increasingly abstract and “cultivated” programs to Chicago audiences.

The Chicago Symphony Orchestra was only one of a broader array of cultural institutions that were founded in the late nineteenth century by coalitions of businessmen who had made their fortunes on the frontier. These organizations were intended both to provide culture to the masses and to bolster the image of the city, attracting new residents and business investments.⁴¹ As Mark Clague writes of the Auditorium Theater, opened in 1889 and still in operation today, “An attempt to perfect the city through civic engineering, the Auditorium served as the city’s ‘institutional muse,’ nurturing a particular democratic vision of society.”⁴² Helen Horowitz elaborates on this vision:

[T]hose who created and sustained [these institutions] felt a sense of community responsibility for culture. Although, as we shall see, there were limits to their conception of the public, the trustees of the Art Institute and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra designed the institutions to offer culture to the wider community for what was thought to be its benefit.⁴³

This perspective still informs much music education philanthropy in Chicago today: as Jennifer Kim Matsuzawa, President and Artistic Director of The People’s Music School, wrote in a letter

⁴⁰ Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 119.

⁴¹ McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige*, 77-78.

⁴² Clague, “Chicago Counterpoint,” xvii.

⁴³ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 47.

to donors, “We make the vast benefits of music accessible to those who need it the most, and our model translates into skills that serve our students for the rest of their lifetimes.”⁴⁴ Contemporary notions of music education access are based, in part, on older models of mass exposure to music, particularly, though not exclusively, European concert music.

Musical progressivism was the most important antecedent to today’s models and ideologies of music education in Chicago, as we saw in Chapter 3’s exploration of the ways in which the figure of the teaching artist was established in the progressive context. Though musical progressives in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Chicago shared the cultured generation’s belief in the importance of music to civic life and music’s power to affect the values and behaviors of urban residents, the political valence of these beliefs was different. As Vaillant writes, “Some musical progressives equated music reform with a stern regimen of Euroclassical forms and styles, but the vast majority did not. Instead, musical progressives engaged the social power of music inherent in the everyday lives of Chicago’s industrial population.”⁴⁵ As described in previous chapters, the Hull-House Music School exemplified the progressive approach to music education, “equating exposure to music with renewal and civic transformation” and “aspir[ing] to musically bind the diverse urban population together in hopes of creating a city in which each citizen could ‘live life worthily.’”⁴⁶ As Vaillant eloquently argues, musical progressives were not sacralizers in the earlier mode, and I am not attempting to challenge this perspective here. Instead, I argue that contemporary models of music education in Chicago, especially in their attitudes toward the accretion of practices, beliefs, and repertoires known as “classical music,” exemplify continuities with both progressives and sacralizers. Like

⁴⁴ Jennifer Kim Matsuzawa, email to author via People’s mailing list, October 1, 2015.

⁴⁵ Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, 3.

⁴⁶ Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, 1-2.

progressives, my interlocutors view musical practice as a key dimension of civic engagement and, indeed, “one of the arts of citizenship”; like sacralizers, they believe that particular kinds of practices are more effective and desirable for the social reform and mobility goals of these programs.

Much of the literature on the moral and political valences of European art music in American cities focuses on the intentions, actions, and discourse of the elites who supported and implemented an infrastructure for the practice of this music. Less material focuses on the responses and perspectives of those in different places on the class spectrum: how did, and do, non-elites navigate the classed implications of “classical music”? The literature on racial uplift among African Americans provides an important corrective here, showing how middle-class and upwardly mobile African Americans have navigated the symbols and structures of social class hierarchies to maintain and enhance their class status, with its attendant racial implications.

Kevin Gaines writes, of the twentieth-century context, that

Black middle-class ideology cannot be isolated from dominant modes of knowledge and power relations structured by race and racism. While black elites’ oppositional claims of self-help may have symbolized their desire for independence and determination, this self-image obscured the extent to which self-help also functioned as an accommodation to blacks’ noncitizenship status.⁴⁷

Gaines continues, “For many black elites, uplift came to mean an emphasis on self-help, racial solidarity, temperance, thrift, chastity, social purity, patriarchal authority, and the accumulation of wealth.”⁴⁸ In Chicago, as elsewhere, uplift—which I read here as a strategy for upward mobility using the resources at hand, which are necessarily imperfect—often entailed the study of “classical music.” In her powerful memoir of growing up in elite African-American social

⁴⁷ Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), xiv.

⁴⁸ Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 2.

circles in mid-twentieth-century Chicago, *Negroland*, Margo Jefferson writes of the music lessons that she and her sister Denise were required to take, and connects these to the broader privileges—really, requirements—given and expected by her family:

[Privileges] varied according to your family and environment. In mine the privileges were good schooling and cultural enrichment to make you well rounded, develop your taste and charm. You were to be distinctive and outstanding. You were *not* to be disruptive.⁴⁹

One student whom I taught for several years, a teenage African-American girl from the south side of Chicago, represented the third generation of women in her family to study the violin seriously. Along with her participation in national organizations like Jack and Jill and her attendance at a selective-enrollment college-preparatory public high school, the study of the violin was both a genuine passion of this student and a strategy used by her mother to position her daughter well for college applications.

Those individuals and communities who respond to elite strategies for urban reform through music—that is, non-elites, people of color, average Chicagoans—leverage the classed implications of “classical music” in the context of their own strategies of socioeconomic mobility. These strategies are nuanced by race: as Indya Grey implies in the epigraph to this chapter, for African-American musicians, classical music performance is also, in part, about representing oneself and one’s community with dignity, and using that dignity to claim presence in elite spaces (as Grey says, the orchestra hall and the college campus). In the next section of this chapter, I explore the complex ways in which individual and familial approaches to educational attainment and social mobility intersect with the citizenship rhetoric associated with music education in Chicago.

⁴⁹ Margo Jefferson, *Negroland: A Memoir* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2015), 235.

“What we are doing is creating citizens”: citizenship and the politics of parenting

Within the paradigm of instrumentalized music education, funders, policymakers, program staff, and administrators often discuss the mechanism of intervention as “music itself,” believed to inculcate “middle-class values” and thence a particular kind of urban citizenship. Simultaneously, all parties involved—including, especially, parents and students—are aware of the powerful social and class signifiers associated with musical achievement, especially achievement in the realm of “classical music.” The vision of citizenship advocated in this context is an essentially bourgeois and neoliberal vision, in which citizens are formed in the private sphere in order to take up economic roles as producers and consumers in the public sphere. In this section, I wish to illuminate both the political foundations of the citizenship discourse on the part of policymakers, funders, administrators, and teachers—which is essentially a conversation about social mobility—and the ways in which parents and students navigate and leverage music education programs as one component of their own strategies for upward mobility. I begin with an exploration of the ways in which “citizenship” is defined, used, and intertwined with concepts of parents and parenting in my field contexts, and then use ethnographic case studies and literature on parenting to propose a new grounded theory of the ways in which working-class parents and parents of color—separate but often-overlapping categories—use paradigms of parenting often associated with the middle class in order to maximize opportunity for their children.

Parenting is hugely important in the discourse and in the practice of music education in Chicago. First, poor and working-class parents become problematized in the context of the broader problematization of poor and working-class—peripheral—neighborhoods in Chicago. Parents are not typically framed outright as morally deficient; rather, their lack of disposable

income is problematized, and taken to indicate that they cannot provide their children with the necessary materials and opportunities to succeed educationally and thus economically. Then, programs are framed as providing supplemental or surrogate parenting resources to children of poor and working-class families, which are considered critical to their long-term educational, and thus economic, success. In short, bourgeois families are framed as providing various “enrichment” opportunities for their children, which ensure that their children will graduate from high school and attend college. Lower-income parents, the logic goes, cannot afford these expensive supplemental activities. Thus, if these activities are provided by a third party, children of lower-income families will have a higher chance of educational success and of ascent into the middle class. Parenting, then, is both a problem and the solution to the problem. By contrast, as described later in this chapter, parents of the students enrolled in low-cost music education programs do not generally view them as spaces in which to learn to be “better” parents, or as compensation for their own deficiencies. Rather, they are often already proactive parents who view these programs as budget-friendly components of broader intensive parenting strategies.

On Monday, June 23, 2014, the students of the Hibbard Elementary School Youth Orchestra were rehearsing the intermezzo from Ralph Vaughan Williams’ *English Folk Song Suite*, based on the folk song “My Bonny Boy,” with a conductor named Philip. Philip spent about 15 minutes trying to give the students a sense of “My Bonny Boy,” and the ways in which Vaughan Williams had transformed the original tune. He sang a few phrases of the song, which largely consisted of vocables, and said, “It’s nonsense words in the song, so we need to have some fun with that.” He sang the phrases again, rolling his r’s dramatically, and asked the students to do so as well as they sang with him, comparing the rolled r’s to the way that the r is rolled in Spanish, and mentioned that this should be an easy task since there were so many

Spanish speakers in the program. About a third of the students sang the phrase on the next round with rolled r's; Philip then had the class repeat the same text with non-rolled r's, and this time almost all of the students participated. Once this activity was completed, Philip spoke at length about how English folk singers sound and said that he would bring in a recording, emphasizing repeatedly that this music was "typically sung in the bar, after a couple beers or glasses of scotch." The students laughed uproariously at this. Philip then continued, "So we take that idea, make it a little bit more civilized, and play it in the concert hall." Philip's takeaway point here summarizes the fundamental idea underlying the discourse and practice of citizenship formation in Chicago's music education programs: poor and working-class children are raw material to be "made a little bit more civilized" via performance in "the concert hall." These students, through their hard work and the self-discipline that they are believed to develop through music education, become the "deserving poor" who are worthy of participation in the middle-class urban public sphere.⁵⁰

The term "citizenship" may seem an odd choice for a paradigm more reminiscent of a *mission civilisatrice*. I use "citizenship" because it is an emic term that I encountered frequently in the field, most notably in the context of El Sistema programs ("He becomes a child in progress, who will become a citizen") but also in policy documents and in interviews and informal interactions with administrators, teachers, and even parents and students from every program in which I completed fieldwork. Baker delivers one of the strongest critiques of El Sistema's use of the term "citizenship" vis-à-vis ancient Greek notions of music and citizenship:

[B]y omitting the crucial deliberative element that characterizes *paideia*, and providing just the technical training that Aristotle dismissed, El Sistema has clearly *not* revived the Ancient Greek idea of music as a constitutive part of citizenship. The Ancient Greeks would have regarded a program that prioritized the mechanical learning of musical skills

⁵⁰ Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 185-186.

over participation in deliberative activities as adhering to banausos [learning of mechanical tasks] rather than paideia and thus preparing young people to be musical laborers rather than rounded citizens.⁵¹

Although I agree with Baker's critique in and of itself, I believe that it is hugely important to preserve the emic term "citizenship" in this context, despite the many ways in which its use is discordant with historical and political usages, precisely because we are seeing a significant transition in the way in which citizenship operates in the context of urban educational and development policy. I wish to keep, and interrogate, this term, rather than doing away with it.

I follow Nikolas Rose in arguing that the terms of citizenship in the neoliberal city have been fundamentally redefined. Whereas Baker argues against El Sistema's notion of citizenship with respect to the state, the concept of citizenship development in the context of contemporary arts education programs is a profoundly urban phenomenon and must be analyzed with respect to urban space and place. (Baker, of course, is writing of ancient Greek thought, in which the city and state were equivalent, and I take his analysis as operating with respect to what is considered in the modern sense state citizenship; today, urban and state citizenship are quite different.) Rose writes that

Citizenship—ceasing to be a kind of 'possession' or simple right of persons—has taken on a relational form. Citizenship is as much a capacity to act in relation to the particular circumstances of one's environment, as well as in relation to others, as it is a 'right' conferred by the state.... This transformation from citizenship as possession to citizenship as capacity is embodied in the image of the active and entrepreneurial citizen who seeks to maximize his or her lifestyle through acts of choice, linked not so much into a homogeneous social field as into overlapping but incommensurate communities of allegiance and moral obligation.⁵²

The idea that citizenship has been transformed from possession to capacity is particularly relevant here: the concept that the capacity for citizenship can be developed just as one's musical

⁵¹ Baker, *El Sistema*, 245-246.

⁵² Nikolas Rose, "Governing cities, governing citizens," in *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, ed. Isin, 99.

capacity can be developed is a crucial homology linking the practice of music education to contemporary beliefs about citizenship as expressed within arts education policy. Rose continues:

This new image of citizenship must be understood in relation to that which opposes it, a kind of anti-citizen that is a constant enticement and threat to the project of citizenship itself. The emergence of the notion of exclusion to characterize those who previously constituted the social problem group defines these non-citizens or anti-citizens not in terms of substantive characteristics but in relational terms; that is, it is a question of their distance from the circuits of inclusion into virtuous citizenship. The ‘excluded’ might make it into citizenship if they can only be connected up to the right networks of community and the requisite channels of enterprise. Exclusion is imagined in a spatial form, in the form of excluded and marginal spaces within the urban fabric itself, enclosures where the lines of virtuous inclusion have somehow become disconnected and failed to flow[.]⁵³

Following Rose, it is precisely because areas of urban space are problematized—viewed as the domain of non-citizens—that they can be acted upon via a project of citizen formation. Rose writes that the “excluded” can become citizens “if they can only be connected up to the right networks of community and the requisite channels of enterprise.” Music education programs provide, at least rhetorically, just such “networks of community” and “channels of enterprise”—because they are believed to be able to train children to become “college-bound”—and are, thus, able to produce the new kind of citizen that the neoliberal city requires.

This kind of “enterprise”-oriented approach to citizenship formation is even reflected in the ways in which students discuss their own engagement with music education. The raw material of the folk song or of the working-class child can be shaped into something that is musically, or economically, functional. Students themselves even speak in these terms as part of a broader complex of strategies for social mobility through secondary and post-secondary

⁵³ Rose, “Governing cities, governing citizens,” 103.

educational attainment. I asked Hibbard Youth Orchestra oboist Alejandro Luna, “What effect has participating in music had on you?” Alejandro responded:

Well, to me, the program hasn’t just taught me how to play music, but it taught me life lessons as well. It has shown discipline and the ways to behave in certain situations. Um, I mean, I’ll admit that when I was a younger—back in fifth grade I was usually a C student, and ever since I got into the orchestra it’s taught me, like I said, discipline, behavior, in different atmospheric environments and how to react. And from then on I’ve been a B and A student because with that I’ve made it to my goal from going to Lane [Technical High School], which I’m very happy to go, it’s my dream high school [MM: Yeah, definitely]. So it’s, I mean, it has taught me so much on how to handle life. I mean, if I’m getting stressed out I’ll just take up my instrument and just play a few notes and instead of using words to describe how I feel, just use music.⁵⁴

I then asked Alejandro, “And can you give me some examples of maybe certain situations where you think your musical training changed the way you would react?” He responded,

Well, one point is, you always have to look at a conductor while he’s talking, even if it’s to another section, cause it may, it may also be towards you in another part of the music. The way to use that in life is if, for example, during school, if the teacher’s talking you want to pay attention to him cause you don’t want to miss the lecture, or else you’ll never know what’s going on and you won’t pass your midterm and then pass the semester.⁵⁵

For Alejandro, the practice of music has, in his own words, taught him “discipline and the ways to behave in certain situations,” particularly in the classroom. Alejandro believes that this discipline helped him achieve the necessary grades and test scores to attend the selective Lane Technical High School. He also told me about the colleges he wishes to attend, and how he is approaching the college application process. For Alejandro, the discipline of learning music, and the discipline required to achieve academic success, are one and the same. I shall return later in this section to the frequent equation of “citizenship” with college attendance. Baker writes,

Borchert (2012) explores how El Sistema’s concept of social inclusion merges with those of productivity, discipline, responsibility, respect, and punctuality. “Social inclusion”

⁵⁴ Alejandro Luna, interview by author.

⁵⁵ Alejandro Luna, interview by author.

thus masks the production not only of inequality but also of disciplined subjects for capitalism (the same ideology that produced their exclusion in the first place).⁵⁶

The frequent evocation of selective high school and college attendance in Chicago’s music education programs, and in its arts education policy more generally, resonates with Baker’s contention that the social component of music education programs thus oriented is primarily about “the production...of disciplined subjects for capitalism”—in this case, the transformation of working-class into middle-class subjects.

The emphasis on the inculcation of discipline, in particular, differentiates the discourse around music education programs from that around arts education programs more generally. Organizations that primarily provide visual arts programs, for example, tend to emphasize “creativity.” Approximately 48 percent of Urban Gateways’ programs are in the visual arts.⁵⁷ Its 2014 impact report stated that “schools and communities increasingly engage Urban Gateways to help youth discover the power of possibility through their own creativity and self-expression.”⁵⁸ Former Chicago Public Schools CEO Barbara Byrd-Bennett wrote in the 2012-2015 CPS Arts Education Plan,

Through a comprehensive arts education, from visual art to music, dance, and theatre, Chicago Public Schools students of every grade and age will have the opportunity to develop into innovative and creative thinkers capable of expressing themselves, understanding others and contributing to their city’s culture and economy for years to come.⁵⁹

Byrd-Bennett’s language is generally more evocative of that used by Urban Gateways in its emphasis on innovation and creativity; however, her turn toward “contributing to their city’s culture and economy” is more reminiscent of the language around discipline and productivity

⁵⁶ Baker, *El Sistema*, 202.

⁵⁷ Urban Gateways, *Impact Report 2014*, 10.

⁵⁸ Urban Gateways, *Impact Report 2014*, 1.

⁵⁹ *CPS Arts Education Plan*, 1.

that is more prevalent in music education programs. In short, the discourse around a given art form influences the ways in which it is believed to contribute to the formation of citizens. The visual arts are associated with creativity and self-expression, and thus these elements are highlighted in discourse justifying the value of visual arts education; music is associated with discipline and achievement, and thus this is emphasized in discourse justifying its value.

Discourse about the value of “arts education” generally tends, as we saw in the excerpt from Byrd-Bennett’s letter, to combine key concepts from various art forms. The structure of the art form influences the structure of its purported social intervention.

As previously discussed, practitioners, funders, and policymakers typically believe that musical learning itself, without additional pedagogical interventions around, say, character development, makes the desired social intervention through the inculcation of discipline. This is in marked contrast to earlier approaches to character-building as a means of city-building in Chicago. Kathryn Neckerman writes that during the 1930s, the Chicago Public Schools similarly emphasized the development of character as a means of addressing the issues of the day affecting youth, such as truancy:

Space in the truant rooms was limited, however, and Chicago educators began to look for new approaches to classroom discipline. What they found was “character education,” a national movement with both academic and popular dimensions....Character education was often taught without much subtlety. Many teachers used “direct instruction,” in which students memorized slogans and pledges or extracted moral lessons from bits of history or literature. Indeed, a Chicago student complained during the 1930s that “all [teachers] think and talk is discipline and good citizenship. Go in the algebra class and get a lecture on being a good citizen—no thought about algebra. The same with the other classes.”⁶⁰

This approach is diametrically opposed to that taken today: indeed, in the 1930s, it appears that explicit instruction on character crowded out actual content-based instruction. Today, music

⁶⁰ Neckerman, *Schools Betrayed*, 155-156.

instruction itself is discussed almost as if it exudes an aura of discipline that can affect students implicitly—no “direct instruction” on character needed. As Baker writes, again of the Venezuelan context, but equally relevant in Chicago, “El Sistema’s social action is supposed to be implicit and unconscious. On a day-to-day level, a núcleo is simply a music school, but one underpinned by a claim that playing orchestral music *automatically* produces positive social action.”⁶¹ The conflict between cultivation through music and the cultivation of music lies at the heart of the dual problem animating the field of music education in Chicago. The notion that music education is cultivating in and of itself has proved a durable, if unstable, means of squaring this circle: it allows educators to focus on music instruction in and of itself, and allows funders and policymakers to believe that dollars spent on music education will yield a social return on investment. Administrators, then, negotiate these two positions, trying to ensure that their programs are of high musical quality while justifying them in social terms to grantmakers and philanthropists.

It is perhaps this desire to reconcile the above-mentioned contradictions, more than hard information about the success of music education in achieving particular social ends, that has enabled key decision-makers to believe that music in and of itself is powerful enough to intervene in entrenched social issues to persist. Baker writes that

Despite hundreds of millions of dollars of investment over decades, robust evidence that El Sistema is effective in achieving its social goals is thus lacking. Future research may demonstrate the program’s effectiveness; but to date, claims of extraordinary success have been founded less on evidence than on the impact of El Sistema’s sheer size, age-old beliefs about the uplifting power of high art, and a sustained PR campaign by the program itself.⁶²

⁶¹ Baker, *El Sistema*, 169.

⁶² Baker, *El Sistema*, 268.

Baker paints a sinister portrait here, the tone of which does not apply here in Chicago. However, it certainly seems that “age-old beliefs about the uplifting power of high art,” rather than hard evidence, have animated much of the recent discourse around and growth of programs in Chicago. Indeed, John Carey writes, after summarizing recent large-scale research reviews on the ability of arts to intervene in public issues,

The widely shared belief that art can instruct the public, and help to attain a better state of affairs, lacks any factual backing. A similarly disheartening conclusion is reached by those who work in arts education. The mid-20th-century confidence that an introduction to the arts at school would have a beneficial effect on the characters of pupils has evaporated.⁶³

Key Chicago philanthropists and policy documents, similarly, assert much about the power of “the arts” to produce social good and social change, but cite very little by way of rigorous evidence.

It should be noted that the facile connection among musical, personal, and social cultivation is likely to become untenable in Chicago within the next several years. All of my interlocutors working in arts administration told me that their funders, particularly the larger foundations (as opposed to family foundations and individual donors), wanted to see harder data showing exactly how, and why, music education worked to achieve social goals. Sherre Cullen, director of development at Urban Gateways, told me that

Everything is about results, and it’s very—it’s hard to quantify the results from arts experiences and arts education. We are getting much better, everybody’s getting much better at it, but we’re getting much better at it out of necessity, you know. Ten years ago, people funded arts education because it was important. Now people fund arts education only if you can *prove* its importance, which is a very different thing.⁶⁴

⁶³ John Carey, *What Good Are the Arts?* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 101.

⁶⁴ Cullen, interview by author.

Cullen continued by describing the ways in which Urban Gateways collects data and distributes it to funders, saying that, even though Urban Gateways is a leader in arts education metrics, it will have to increase its work in this area in the coming years in order to continue to gain enough funding in an increasingly competitive environment.

Similarly, the Youth Orchestras program at The People's Music School was, during the period of my fieldwork, in the process of reformulating the scope and sequence of its curriculum in order to track social development along with musical development. The Hibbard Elementary program has historically had two orchestras: the REACH Orchestra, for younger, beginner students, and the YOURS Orchestra, for older, more advanced students. Up until 2014, teachers advanced students from REACH to YOURS on the basis of musical criteria only: posture, tone production, technical proficiency, and repertory. Beginning in the 2014-2015 academic year, social and behavioral criteria were to be added, such that students who had attained the requisite musical proficiency, but not the requisite social proficiency, would not be able to advance from REACH to YOURS.⁶⁵ This change was undertaken in order to have the Youth Orchestras' curriculum align better with its mission statement and theory of change. Although the curricular shift may seem relatively straightforward, it actually represents a major shift in orientation: the mission statement, rather than simply describing and framing the program for funders and for the public, is now generating approaches to programming.

I return now to the homology drawn earlier, via Rose's work, between musicianship-as-capacity and citizenship-as-capacity. The role of the teacher in this paradigm is to build students' musicianship, and in so doing, build them as citizens. The concept of discipline on which this model hinges means, fundamentally, that citizenship is framed in terms of "middle-class values":

⁶⁵ Sybesma, interview by author.

self-discipline, hard work, perseverance, delayed gratification, contribution to the community through the competent performance of one's own designated role, and educational attainment. Music education programs frame themselves as inculcating these values in a quasi-parental role: either in order to make up for perceived deficiencies in students' own parents, or to supplement students' parents where they are unable to transmit or replicate "middle-class values" successfully (since these parents themselves are not defined as middle class). Citizenship, in other words, is implicitly defined largely as the ability to participate in the twenty-first-century economy, especially as a member of the "creative class" or knowledge sector.

Parents are, then, implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, framed as part of "the problem" that instrumentalized arts education is intended to solve. This problematization of parenting has a long history. Michael Katz writes that poor parents were regularly stigmatized and problematized during what he refers to as the "Poorhouse Era" of the nineteenth century, and that social programs regularly stepped into a parental role:

One other relief strategy of the Poorhouse Era deserves special mention: the separation of parents and children. Distrust of poor parents' competence combined with fears of social disorder to override the sentimental exaltation of domesticity that shaped writing about home and family. Observers repeatedly commented on the negligence and immorality of city parents whose fondness for drink, reluctance to work, and inability to teach middle-class behavior left their children wild, ignorant, and unprepared for work, potential criminals and paupers. As a response, reformers devised various ways of intervening between parents and children.⁶⁶

Although parents' "fondness for drink" and "reluctance to work" are no longer part of the discourse around poor parents as observed in my field sites, the problematization of poor parents on the basis of their "inability to teach middle-class behavior" is still highly salient in contemporary discourse. "Middle-class behavior" is, in the context of contemporary cultural policymaking and arts education program management in Chicago, largely framed as the skills

⁶⁶ Katz, *Improving Poor People*, 39.

and behaviors necessary to graduate from high school and subsequently to attend a four-year college—skills which are believed not to be developed adequately either by parents or by the public schools.

This conception of citizenship development as a necessary response to parental lack rhetorically and ideologically shifts the burden of education and, indeed, economic and workforce development entirely into the most private of private spheres: the family and the home. Linn Posey-Maddox makes a similar critique of parent volunteerism and fund-raising as a strategy for urban school reform, noting that “[p]arents with economic means and access to dominant social and cultural capital are better positioned to fulfill these requests” and thus to support their children’s education.⁶⁷ If the inculcation of middle-class values and behaviors is believed to be the primary factor in a child’s successful completion of secondary and post-secondary education, and thus his or her eventual successful entry into the workforce, and if parents are held to be responsible for the transmission of these values and behaviors, and if citizenship is predicated on one’s employment in the knowledge sector, then the family and parents are ultimately held responsible for educational attainment and workforce development on the urban scale. The nature and character of urban citizenship in twenty-first-century Chicago, as expressed through its cultural policy and the implementation thereof, hinges on the class-based and class-bound values and behaviors of individual families. The fact that music education programs, then, turn conceptions of discipline affiliated with the practice of “classical music” into the particular discipline of middle-class behavioral styles is of a piece with this notion of the city and of urban citizenship.

⁶⁷ Posey-Maddox, *When Middle-Class Parents Choose Urban Schools*, 28.

Significant differences between middle-class and working-class styles of parenting do, indeed, exist. The middle-class style of parenting, often known as “intensive parenting” or “concerted cultivation,” is held by many experts to be the ideal parenting style and has influenced the expectations that key societal institutions, such as public schools, hold of parents’ behaviors with respect to their children and to the institutions in which they are schooled.

Annette Lareau writes that

[T]here is little dispute among professionals on the broad principles for promoting educational development in children, developing their educational interests, and playing an active role in their schooling. Similarly, parenting guidelines typically stress the importance of reasoning with children and teaching them to solve problems through negotiation rather than with physical force. Because these guidelines are so generally accepted, and because they focus on a set of practices concerning how parents should raise children, they form a *dominant set of cultural repertoires* about how children should be raised. This widespread agreement among professionals about the broad principles for child rearing permeates our society. A small number of experts thus potentially shape the behavior of a large number of parents.⁶⁸

Intensive parenting, because of its intimate relationship with the structure and behavior of middle-class institutions, does, indeed, often confer advantages upon children as they navigate the institutions of post-secondary education and of the middle-class workforce. It is, therefore, logical that cultural policymaking seeks to use arts education programs, especially music education programs, as spaces of intensive parenting for students who may not otherwise have access to this parenting style—logical, although, as a policy solution, lacking. This policy solution forces poor and working-class children and families to adapt, in the private sphere, to the cultural logics of institutions in order to gain fundamental educational and employment opportunities, rather than seeking to shape institutions to meet the needs of a varied urban public.

In this section, I follow Lareau’s analysis of middle-class and working-class parenting styles, and apply them to the discourses and practices of parenting at my field sites and in the

⁶⁸ Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods*, 4.

rhetoric of cultural policy in Chicago. I then propose a variation of this model with respect to working-class parents, based on field observations and interviews with parents and students in the programs that I studied. In short, working-class parents who desire upward mobility for their children are emulating middle-class styles of parenting and are using free and low-cost music education programs as an essential technology of their parenting practices. These programs do not inculcate middle-class values into their students so much as students and their families come to these programs already practicing concerted cultivation and the social, educational, and economic benefits that come along with it. Concerted cultivation, then, builds capacity for both musicianship and citizenship (as narrowly and neoliberally defined).

Lareau defines “concerted cultivation” and the working-class “accomplishment of natural growth”:

I delineate a pattern of concerted cultivation in middle-class families and a pattern of the accomplishment of natural growth in working-class and poor families. . . .concerted cultivation entails an emphasis on children’s structured activities, language development and reasoning in the home, and active intervention in schooling. By contrast, the accomplishment of natural growth describes a form of child rearing in which children “hang out” and play, often with relatives, are given clear directives from parents with limited negotiation, and are granted more autonomy to manage their own affairs in institutions outside of the home. These patterns help us unpack the mechanisms through which social class conveys an advantage in daily life.⁶⁹

Lareau’s emphasis on the importance, or lack thereof, of structured activities in middle-class and working-class child-rearing styles is particularly pertinent to the discussion around arts education. Like sports teams, music lessons are a common type of parent-organized extracurricular activity. Music lessons, especially private lessons, can be expensive and require parents to have disposable income to spend on these lessons. Lessons in classical music, in

⁶⁹ Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods*, 32.

particular, have a long association with the process of bourgeois cultivation.⁷⁰ They are a type of Veblen good within the context of concerted cultivation strategies, showing a family's wealth and refinement and maintaining or even advancing the family's social position (in the sense that music lessons, like participation in other kinds of high-status extracurricular activities, are believed to confer an advantage in the context of selective college admissions).⁷¹

Amy Chua heavily emphasizes classical music lessons as a key component of her program of “Chinese parenting”—essentially an even more intensive approach to American upper-middle-class intensive parenting. Here, Chua explains why she was so insistent upon her daughters, Sophia and Lulu, studying classical instruments:

That's one of the reasons that I insisted Sophia and Lulu do classical music. I knew that I couldn't artificially make them feel like poor immigrant kids. There was no getting around the fact that we lived in a large old house, owned two decent cars, and stayed in nice hotels when we vacationed. But I *could* make sure that Sophia and Lulu were deeper and more cultivated than my parents and I were. Classical music was the opposite of decline, the opposite of laziness, vulgarity, and spoiledness. It was a way for my children to achieve something I hadn't.⁷²

Although Chua's writing is somewhat tongue-in-cheek, her work is pop ethnography of the child-rearing habits of the educated upper middle class; its evocativeness is demonstrated by its public resonance and the intense media controversy over her work and parenting approach. In this quote, Chua admits that she and her husband have money, but what money cannot provide in and of itself is refinement: studying classical music (of course, at significant expense), however, can, in Chua's opinion.

Chua's “tiger mother” parenting style is not only advantageous because of the edge it gives children in competitive college admissions. Rather, concerted cultivation corresponds

⁷⁰ See Solie, *Music In Other Words*.

⁷¹ See Thorstein B. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1899]).

⁷² Amy Chua, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* (New York: Penguin Books), 22-23.

much more closely with what educators and policymakers desire and expect from parents and thus helps students to navigate educational institutions successfully. Parents—mainly working-class parents—who do not adhere to intensive parenting methods are then problematized by teachers and policymakers. Lareau writes that

[T]here is a paradox in the institutions that children and their families encounter. On the one hand, there are profound differences in the quality of services provided by institutions. On the other hand, institutions accept and promote the same standards regarding cultural repertoires. Thus, teachers placed a shared emphasis on the cultivation of children's talents through organized activities, the importance of parental development of children's vocabulary, and the importance of responsive and positive parental participation in schooling. As we shall see, these standards privileged the cultural practices of middle-class families over those of their working-class and poor counterparts. This pattern made it more comfortable, and easier at times, for middle-class children and their families to achieve their wishes.⁷³

Lareau's evidence and conclusions stand in stark contrast to, for example, the theory of change and logic model followed by The People's Music School, in which music education opportunities are inputs that lead inexorably to increased high school graduation and college attendance rates. By contrast, I argue that the widespread belief among arts education practitioners that arts education, and music education in particular, leads to a package of socioeconomic benefits associated with concerted cultivation is a confusion of correlation and causation. Families that practice middle-class intensive parenting styles tend to be able to navigate educational institutions to their advantage and also tend to be able to provide music lessons for their children. Both the music lessons and the educational attainment are a result of middle-class behaviors and, of course, of middle-class financial resources, rather than vice versa.

Music education has long been a potent symbol of strategies of concerted cultivation of children. The tight connection between music education and bourgeois cultivation dates, as we have seen, to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe and from there was transmitted to the

⁷³ Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods*, 28.

United States as part of a set of values and practices around European classical music.⁷⁴ In the neoliberal urban moment in which we find ourselves, the ideological and rhetorical homologies formed between genre and citizenship have reaffirmed this connection and forged it in a new way. In Chicago in the 2010s, music education is both a visible symbol of, and synecdoche for, concerted cultivation as parenting strategy both within the family and within the context of public and third-sector institutions. Music education is believed by many practitioners and implied by policymakers to provide the benefits of, or at least serve as a gateway to, the entire package of advantages and practices conferred by concerted cultivation. Former Youth Orchestras program director Albert Oppenheimer alluded in an interview to the tight ideological connections between classical music, concerted cultivation, and wealth:

Albert Oppenheimer: The kind of wealth that is associated with the genre of the orchestra, the traditional genre of the orchestra, is beneficial for the community. It gives them a sense of being a part of that.

Meredith Aska McBride: A part of the tradition?

AO: A part of that tradition, of having access—like when you bring kids to Symphony Center, and you say “Who’s been here?” and no one raises their hands. Their family—they don’t even know what a violin is, they’ve never seen it before. It’s something on TV, it’s an imaginary thing. And so it gives them a sense of wealth, and a sense of having something that others don’t. Eh, I’m not gonna parse that too finely, but I think that’s an added benefit that’s non-intentional.⁷⁵

My sense is that Oppenheimer is on shaky factual ground here with respect to families’ awareness of classical music and orchestral instruments, but that is less important to this argument than the ideology regarding the formation and management of programs at work here. For Oppenheimer, classical music equals wealth—not literally, but figuratively (“a sense of wealth”). Access to classical music, then, through the orchestra program and through the

⁷⁴ See Broyles, “*Music of the Highest Class*”; Gramit, *Cultivating Music*; and Solie, *Music In Other Words*.

⁷⁵ Oppenheimer, interview by author, June 3, 2014.

auxiliary benefits, such as field trips to Symphony Center, that it provides, allows students to “have access” to wealth, if only vicariously. As a policy intervention, then, providing music education is—in theory—equivalent to providing the set of tools and skills needed to maximize a child’s advantage in the public and post-secondary educational system. In practice, this claim needs to be examined further. The obvious logical fallacy on which it is based—mistaking the correlations among intensive parenting, music education, and educational attainment for causation and believing that music education is therefore causative of educational attainment—instantly throws this line of thought into question, and at the very least demands further rigorous evaluative research.

The narrative of Sheila Esquivel, as presented by The People’s Music School, exemplifies the complexities and contradictions around representing musical training as intervention for mobility. Esquivel was a violin student at People’s beginning in 2010, first at the Albany Park núcleo and subsequently at Uptown Academy. She literally became the poster child for People’s: her photo was featured on a large banner displayed in the main lobby of the school in Uptown during the months in which I completed fieldwork there. After only two years of violin study, Esquivel successfully auditioned for Lincoln Park High School’s orchestra program, and placed into its highest-level orchestra. This achievement was notable not only because Esquivel had attained such proficiency in such a short time, but also because her violin skills had enabled her to attend a selective and high-quality public high school: Lincoln Park is a selective-enrollment high school that has a music conservatory program, and Chicago students who are also talented musicians often audition for the conservatory program (which increases their chances of acceptance to the high school) as a means of gaining access to the broader

academic opportunities that Lincoln Park offers.⁷⁶ Esquivel graduated high school in 2014. At the June 2014 concert, People’s staff recognized the graduating seniors and highlighted Esquivel’s accomplishments in particular, emphasizing that she had been admitted to Princeton University, among other elite schools.

Sheila Esquivel’s narrative, as told in People’s promotional and fundraising materials, is framed as a perfect example of music’s power to “transform lives”: a Latina student from the working-class northwest side of Chicago is admitted to an Ivy League university due to the power of her musical achievements. I wish to nuance this story somewhat and tease out its implications. First, admission to any selective-enrollment high school in Chicago is extraordinarily competitive—many of these schools have single-digit acceptance rates—and relies on a comprehensive application which must include high middle-school grades and excellent performance on a standardized test for high school admission. Esquivel’s achievements as a violinist may indeed have helped her gain admission to Lincoln Park High School, but she would not have been a competitive candidate for admission without the requisite grades and test scores, which speak to intelligence, academic dedication, and a strong work ethic dating back to before she would have started playing violin. Second, though Esquivel is a strong violinist for her age, and her accomplishments thus far are a testament to her commitment to intensive practice and her passion for the violin, she is not a prodigy. As former program director Albert Oppenheimer observed,

She’s gonna need a lot of work to repair the damage—not even damage, but poor habits—incomplete habits, let’s use good language here. She has incomplete habits when it comes to technique because she was taught how to play the repertoire and drilled like that. She wasn’t taught as a whole musician, she wasn’t taught in a separate lesson, so if

⁷⁶ Oppenheimer, interview by author, May 21, 2014.

she wants to pursue music, she's gonna have a lot of work to redo—complete those habits.⁷⁷

The limited resources of the YOURS Project prevented Esquivel from receiving the same intensity of training that students from more-affluent families can access through private lessons. The notion that Esquivel's life chances were fundamentally altered through her access to music education at People's seems overstated. I suggest, by contrast, that Esquivel's success in the high school and college admissions process is due in large part to her track record of academic achievement, and that her musicianship likely was not the deciding factor in inspiring her academic achievement—just as extracurricular achievements are important, though not by themselves sufficient, in the ways in which middle- and upper-middle-class students navigate selective admissions processes. In short, People's did not transform Esquivel's life course, but rather gave her access to a set of extracurricular opportunities similar to those that are funded privately by wealthier families on behalf of their children. These opportunities, in turn, provided Esquivel with a form of social currency that amplified—though did not substitute for—her academic attainment and perhaps enabled a greater degree of mobility through the educational system.

I turn now to an alternative model of working-class parenting observed in my fieldwork that challenges both Lareau's model and the problematization of working-class parents discussed in Chapter 2. I argue that a not insignificant number of working-class parents, many of whom are immigrants to the United States, intentionally adopt intensive parenting tactics as a strategy for upward mobility for their children. These parents do not have much, if any, disposable income to spend on structured extracurricular activities for their children, but they are very savvy in seeking out free and low-cost opportunities. They care deeply about their children's education

⁷⁷ Oppenheimer, interview by author, May 21, 2014.

and maximize their children's educational advantage within the context of the public-school system—for example, by familiarizing themselves with Chicago's selective-enrollment system so that their children can attend public magnet high schools. In other words, these parents pursue the same strategies of concerted cultivation practiced by middle-class parents, but on a tighter budget. Affordable and in-school music education programs, then, are not a venue in which their children can develop skills that they would not otherwise have had; instead, they are simply the budget-friendly version of the private music lessons enjoyed by middle-class children.

The Luna family, stalwarts of the Youth Orchestras program at Hibbard Elementary, is a prime example of this phenomenon. The Lunas originally hail from Mexico and now live in Chicago's Albany Park neighborhood. Mr. Luna is employed full-time and Mrs. Luna is a full-time mother. All three Luna children—Alejandro, Gerardo, and Marycarmen—attended Hibbard Elementary and play in the El Sistema-inspired Hibbard Youth Orchestra. The boys play oboe, and Marycarmen plays violin. All three attend selective-enrollment high schools: Alejandro and Marycarmen attend Lane Technical High School and Gerardo attends Lincoln Park High School, although they return to Hibbard after school for rehearsals. Program administrators regularly extol the Luna children as success stories, and praise the devotion of their mother, Martha, who volunteers regularly at the program and works at Hibbard as a parent liaison. However, the Luna children's extra-musical achievements are not due to their participation in the Youth Orchestras program (although their musical achievements certainly can be credited to the orchestra): Mr. and Mrs. Luna practice intensive parenting strategies, including close engagement with their children's academics and arranging for their participation in budget-friendly extracurricular activities.

In an interview, I asked Mrs. Luna how her children came to participate in the orchestra and about their participation in music more generally. Mrs. Luna said that she was extremely happy when Gerardo came home one day and told her that he wanted to sign up for the new orchestra program at school: when the children were small, in early elementary school, she wanted to provide them with music lessons, but could not afford to do so since she and her husband wish to treat their children equally, and thus would have wanted to enroll all three children in music lessons at a cost that would have been prohibitive. By chance, Mrs. Luna happened across a flyer for The People's Music School, entered the lottery, and won spots for all three children to begin lessons there. However, the allotted lesson times were not conducive to the children's school schedules, and thus Mrs. Luna had to decline. This turn of events was very upsetting to her, and from then on she was constantly on the lookout for low-cost opportunities for music education. The tuition-free orchestra program at Hibbard was a stroke of luck for the Luna family. The children were able to study instruments, like they had always wanted; the schedule and location were convenient; and the price was right. Mrs. Luna stressed to me that music lessons are part of the overall educational program that she and her husband desire for their children. She views this as part and parcel of their approach to their children's educational achievement, akin to getting the children into Hibbard's gifted and talented program and helping them with the CPS selective-enrollment high school application process.⁷⁸ As Lareau writes,

In working-class families the most intensive family-school relationships were among high-achievers, not low-achievers. It was parents of high-achievers who were most likely to attend school events, read to their children, send back slips for the Read-at-Home Program, ask the teachers for ideas of educational activities to do at home, and carefully review children's school papers.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Martha Luna, interview by author. Digital recording. Chicago, Illinois, July 3, 2014.

⁷⁹ Annette Lareau, *Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education* (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1989), 134.

In the context of Lareau's fieldwork, in the 1980s, working-class parents of high-achieving students were brought closer to the institutional life of the school as a consequence, not a cause, of their children's achievements. By contrast, though Lareau's general principle holds true here—the Lunas are high achievers, and their parents are closely involved with the school—the causation is reversed. It seems clear that a significant portion of the Luna children's success can be attributed to their mother's close involvement. Finally, the Lunas are focused on college—Mrs. Luna told me that “La primera objetivo en el que yo trabajé es—de los más pequeños—es que ellos aprendieran a visualizarse que quieran ir en la universidad. Pienso que es el punto más importante.”⁸⁰ Alejandro, Gerardo, and Marycarmen Luna, then, would likely have attended selective high schools and gone on to college regardless of their exposure to the El Sistema model. Participation in the Youth Orchestras program has greatly enriched their lives and helped them to realize their long-held dream of taking music lessons, but the Luna family's focus on education existed before the program came to Hibbard and exists independently from the program. Hibbard's Youth Orchestras program did not work a “gradual miracle” on the Luna family, as Hibbard's principal Scott Ahlman is fond of saying of the program.⁸¹ Rather, the Lunas already practiced concerted cultivation, but because they are doing so with limited financial resources, were happy to take advantage of a tuition-free extracurricular opportunity. I propose the working-class emulation of concerted cultivation as a means of achieving upward mobility as another key working-class parenting style, one that is highly prevalent among the families participating in the programs in which I did fieldwork. This model has, most likely, been

⁸⁰ “The primary objective toward which I've worked—since they were very little—is that they learn to visualize themselves wanting to go to college. I think that this is the most important point.” Martha Luna, interview by author. Interview conducted primarily in Spanish; the translation to English is mine.

⁸¹ Ahlman, interview by author.

present in American culture for some time, and tracks closely with many of the stereotypes of immigrant parents—in the Chua quote above, she obliquely refers to her background as the child of immigrants and implies that her parenting style is similar to that practiced by immigrants to the United States—but is not found in the literature and certainly not in policy discussions around working-class parents of color in Chicago.

Conclusion

The model of citizenship formation espoused in current arts-education-policy discourses in Chicago is essentially coterminous with late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century middle-class paradigms of intensive parenting. Children that have been parented according to these methods and who graduate from high school and attend college are deemed statistical successes. The practice of classical music—associated with the elite, demanding intense study, and requiring significant outlays of time and money—is a skill that, in short, must be concertedly cultivated. It fits well with conceptions of intensive parenting and thus meshes seamlessly into the equation of concerted cultivation with the cultivation of citizens.

The performance of classical music affords students from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds to perform class. To the extent that these students are not already middle-class or upper-middle-class, performing classical music is a means by which they can perform symbols of class mobility. The performance of mobility is thus linked to actual mobilities, largely anecdotally (i.e., the story of Sheila Esquivel) rather than statistically. This is a profoundly domestic approach to urban public life: the citizen is formed in the home through various techniques of bourgeois *Bildung*—here, practicing orchestral instruments—and is prepared for public life when he or she is capable of participation in the white-collar workforce—here,

through admission to four-year universities. Ruth Solie writes of the nineteenth century, but her analysis is applicable to the present day:

The cultural reasoning might proceed as follows: music was necessary to society, not as mere entertainment but (in the well-regulated and enlightened nineteenth-century home) as a sort of combination spiritual therapy and mental hygiene. The family, laden with symbolic responsibility in its newly intimate configuration, was the natural and proper locus for this *Herzensbildung* along with other kinds of education and socialization. The father's job was to provide for the family's material sustenance, which he now ordinarily did outside the home; the emotional or spiritual well-being of the family, inside the home, was the responsibility of the women.⁸²

Intensive parenting in the twenty-first century, like piano education in the nineteenth century, is women's work, and work to be done in the context of the family.⁸³ If the family is incapable of this type of classed social reproduction, music education programs purport to provide alternate family structures to facilitate social reproduction and social mobility.

Urban citizenship, then, is rather narrowly defined through the lens of cultural policy in contemporary Chicago. Citizens are held to be formed in private life as a result of intensive parenting strategies, and emerge into the public sphere largely as well-educated, middle-class economic actors capable both of production for and consumption in the global city. Citizenship is defined not as a set of political rights but rather as a set of economic obligations and responsibilities. As Isin writes,

In a very complex relay of events, nation-states have retrenched from certain citizenship rights and instead imposed new obligations on their citizens, which has in turn intensified tensions within states where taken-for-granted citizenship rights began to disappear (e.g. unemployment insurance, welfare, or right to legal counsel) and new obligations (e.g. workfare) were implemented.⁸⁴

Of third-sector, quasi-public music education programs, one could say that the right to music education as the right of a citizen has disappeared, and the obligation to behave "appropriately"

⁸² Solie, *Music in Other Words*, 95.

⁸³ Lareau, *Home Advantage*, 94-95.

⁸⁴ Isin, "Introduction: democracy, citizenship and the city," 2.

and “productively” in the context of and as a result of participation in these programs is now incumbent upon students.

Citizenship claims made about or in the context of music education programs in Chicago differ based on the aspect of the dual problematization of music education in Chicago to which one subscribes. To those for whom the primary issue is lack of music education access, urban citizenship—often simply defined as residence in the city—confers the right to education and the right to arts education. To those for whom music education is an instrumental means of solving other “urban issues,” citizenship is a set of obligations placed upon the problematized in order to facilitate their acceptance into the bourgeois public sphere.

The increasing relevance of obligations, and their relation to acculturation, is more akin to European models of citizenship formation, as described by Bryan S. Turner:

In this European tradition, the cultured citizen is somebody whose lifestyle and mentality has been cultivated by a process of discipline and education, because, in addition to being constituted around a juridic identity, the citizen is also somebody whose personality has been, in ideal terms, moulded by a civil culture, which this chapter refers to simply as ‘virtue’. These virtues of the citizen are typically described within a framework of obligations and duties, which stand alongside the rights and immunities that are enjoyed by the citizen.⁸⁵

The ways in which discourses of urban citizenship in Chicago’s music education programs track discourses of cultivation around European-derived classical music is reminiscent of Turner’s notion of “virtue.” Under this paradigm, citizens earn their citizenship through the cultivation of virtue. (Classical) music, in the early-twenty-first-century Chicago context, provides an easy means of accessing this type of cultivation. Citizenship discourse also closely tracks genre discourse for pragmatic reasons: due to the instability of arts and arts education funding since the 1970s, practitioners match their personal and often idiosyncratic beliefs about music education to

⁸⁵ Bryan S. Turner, “Cosmopolitan virtue: loyalty and the city,” in *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, ed. Isin, 130-131.

the broader belief systems at play in the philanthropic and governmental sectors. As Baker writes of El Sistema's transformation into a "social program" in the 1990s:

Any discussion of El Sistema as a social project needs to bear in mind the crisis Abreu faced in 1998 when his political foe came to power, with zero interest in classical music but considerable concern for social inclusion....El Sistema's "turn to the social" in the 1990s may thus be seen as responding to broad ideological shifts at both national and international level.⁸⁶

Chicago's music education programs have "respond[ed] to broad ideological shifts" in ways far less sinister than Baker's portrayal of the Venezuelan El Sistema, but no less forced. Genre informs citizenship in this historical moment because genre *must* inform citizenship in this historical moment: citizenship formation is relevant to funders, and thus practitioners must find a way to make it connect to work that they are already doing.

Students participating in these programs, and their parents, however, tend to view citizenship and its attainment through music differently. They do not view music education programs as teaching their families how to parent. Rather, parents like the Lunas are drawn to programs that emphasize discipline, citizenship, and academic achievement because they are congruent with values already held by the family. For example, Mrs. Luna mentioned to me several times that she was initially drawn to the orchestra program at Hibbard in part because it imposed a strict grade-point-average requirement, and she felt that this would incentivize her children to study more; she was extremely displeased with program administrators when they discontinued the requirement, and let them know this.⁸⁷ The African-American middle-class and upper-middle-class students whom I encountered at Sphinx Performance Academy similarly viewed their participation in the program as an affirmation of preexisting beliefs about their relationships to American society and their identities as classical musicians. Indya Grey said,

⁸⁶ Baker, *El Sistema*, 35-36.

⁸⁷ Luna, interview by author.

Being an African-American female cellist, there's certain stereotypes. First there's certain stereotypes for an African-American. And there's certain stereotypes for a cellist. So it all gets combined into one category. And it feels like a burden sometimes, but then again, there is a specific level of poise and dignity that you have to hold, and keep up with, which is sometimes—it can be hard. Because you don't want to let anybody down, and allow them to believe that those specific stereotypes are true. You know, everybody expects the African-American female to be really *angry*, and just, *bitter*, you know? I'm not bitter, I'm not angry, I've never been an angry type of person, I've always been very happy and very open to anything that's been thrown at me. So I like to put myself on the pedestal and show that even though there is no space for error, I'd still like to show people that I am human but I don't like to follow those same stereotypes, because it's very degrading.⁸⁸

By contrast, Grey said that at the Sphinx Performance Academy she did not feel nearly as much pressure to challenge these stereotypes with her behavior—she could relax and be her normal, happy, easygoing self, knowing that her teachers and peers already accorded her respect and did not stereotype her identity as a cellist or as a person. Similarly, students like Monica-Nia Jones, quoted above, who are being raised in African-American middle-class families that practice concerted cultivation—Jones herself attends a selective public high school, is an excellent ballerina in addition to her violin playing, and aspires to attend an elite college and medical school and eventually become an orthopedic surgeon—view the Sphinx Performance Academy as a place where Black practices of concerted cultivation are affirmed, in contrast with other musical settings (notably, the Chicago Youth Symphony Orchestra, mentioned multiple times as a challenging and racialized space for students to navigate).⁸⁹

The homologies observed here between classed discourses of genre and discourses of citizenship are, in other words, contingent. In a neoliberal moment, the disciplinary implications of musical genre resonate strongly with the disciplining concepts of urban citizenship in circulation. As funders and municipal policymakers start to require more rigorous assessment

⁸⁸ Grey, interview by author.

⁸⁹ Indya Grey, Monica-Nia Jones, Michelle Manson, and Sana Moore, interviews by author. Evanston, Illinois, August 2013.

and evaluation practices, however, the causal relationship may reverse direction and paradigms of citizenship may become more influential on curriculum and repertory selection. The homologies between genre and citizenship have been strategically useful to arts education practitioners and have allowed “results-oriented” education administrators and philanthropists to justify their investments in arts education. As research begins to demonstrate that arts education involvement does very little to promote the desired kinds of “citizen-like” behaviors, and if a political critique of neoliberal, creative economy-oriented citizenship gains traction, the terms of the alliance between genre and citizenship will have to be renegotiated.

CONCLUSION

THE LIMITS OF MUSIC

On April 22, 2015, I attended an event entitled “Creative Cities: Research Past and Future” at the Chicago Cultural Center, a grand and richly detailed 1897 edifice that stands on the corner of Michigan Avenue and Randolph Street in downtown Chicago, right across from Millennium Park’s famous reflective “Bean” sculpture (officially named *Cloud Gate*). “Creative Cities” was jointly hosted by the Cultural Policy Center at the University of Chicago, the Joyce Foundation, and the City of Chicago’s Department of Cultural Affairs and Special Events (DCASE). Angelique Power, Senior Program Officer for Culture at the Joyce Foundation, gave the event’s introduction, and Ra Joy, Executive Director of Arts Alliance Illinois (a statewide arts advocacy agency) moderated the discussion after Betty Farrell, Executive Director of the Cultural Policy Center and Ann Markusen, Director of the Arts Economy Initiative at the University of Minnesota and principal at Markusen Economic Research, spoke. Major figures in the Chicago arts and cultural policy world were in attendance, including Michelle Boone, commissioner of DCASE, and leaders of many important arts organizations.

The “Creative Cities” event was the culmination of a yearlong collaboration between the Joyce Foundation and the Cultural Policy Center, which co-hosted “a series of discussions with the Chicago arts community to envision Chicago as a creative city in 2050” throughout 2014. These discussions’ ultimate goal “was to develop a crowd-sourced research agenda—asking, what do we need to know now in order to position Chicago as a global cultural city of the 22nd

century?”¹ The Cultural Policy Center coalesced discussion participants’ responses into a graphic representation that is reproduced below.

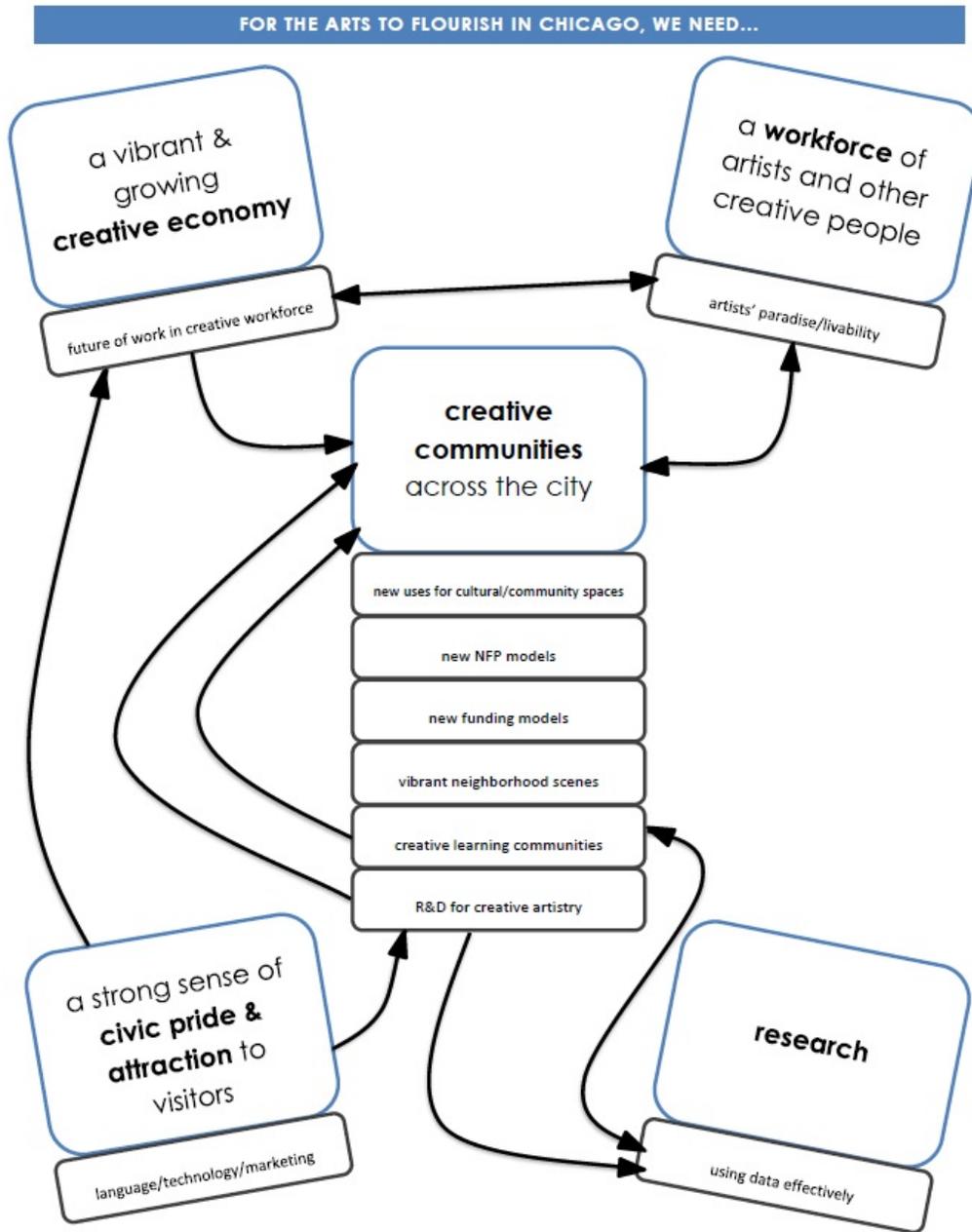


Figure 3. An agenda for a creative Chicago of the twenty-second century. Courtesy Cultural Policy Center at the University of Chicago.

¹ Cultural Policy Center at the University of Chicago, “CPC workshop on creative cities at the Chicago Cultural Center,” April 8, 2015, accessed May 17, 2015, <https://culturalpolicy.uchicago.edu/news/cpc-workshop-creative-cities-chicago-cultural-center>.

The text in the blue bar at the top of this graphic states the ultimate end of this process: “For the arts to flourish in Chicago, we need...” The roadmap, as it were, is tangled, with no clear direction or sequential plan for implementation of these ideas. However, several key concepts emerge. The word “creative” is used six times: “creative economy,” “creative workforce,” “artists and other creative people,” “creative communities,” “creative learning communities,” and “R&D for creative artistry.” Economic concerns are also paramount: “a vibrant and growing creative economy,” “a workforce of artists and other creative people,” “new funding models,” “a strong sense of civic pride & attraction to visitors” (i.e., tourism), and “language/technology/marketing” in order to accomplish this last objective. Communities, spaces, and places are mentioned several times: “artists’ paradise/livability” is related to the creative workforce, and “creative communities across the city” is a major priority (indeed, placed at the center), with many issues of space and place—including, notably, “vibrant neighborhood scenes”—comprising this priority.

It is also important to note what is *not* featured on this diagram. “For the arts to flourish in Chicago,” one might imagine, for example, that the quality of artistic output may be a concern; that the cultivation of enthusiastic and supportive patrons and audience members may be desired; that the development of robust critical and media coverage may be important; that artistic collaboration may be relevant; and that arts education may also be a priority. It is also notable that “the arts” are discussed as a bloc: there is no specific attention given to any particular art form or practice. Furthermore, “the city” is not subdivided in any way (except, perhaps, by “neighborhood”)—there is little attention given to the varying ways in which “the arts” might be practiced by different people in different spaces at the sub-urban level of scale.

Pleasure, enjoyment, and satisfaction, on the part of artists, audiences, or other kinds of stakeholders, are similarly not mentioned.

The agenda set by the Cultural Policy Center and by the Joyce Foundation reflects a city that is primarily concerned with representing itself both to itself and to the outside world via its arts and culture sector, and with supporting and subsuming artists and “creative workers” into the broader workforce. This project was undertaken by a partnership among a major university, a major foundation, and a city agency—a hybrid public-private group setting the agenda for the city, similar in structure to the alliance forged around arts education (i.e., Ingenuity, CPS, nonprofit arts organizations, and philanthropists). Chicago, as represented at the “Creative Cities” event, is concerned with justifying the arts almost exclusively in terms of their economic contribution to the city’s well-being and in the ways in which they can make the city more attractive (largely for the purposes of tourism, investment, and reputation) on a global scale. It is especially poignant, then, that this event was held at the Cultural Center—an earlier effort to represent Chicago to itself and others—and across from Millennium Park, the twenty-first century’s first large-scale attempt at city beautification and repackaging. It is not irrelevant here that “the Bean,” visible from the windows of the room in which “Creative Cities” was held, is one of Chicago’s most prominent public art interventions and one of its most popular tourist attractions, the sculpture’s reflective surface making it particularly appealing for taking photos of oneself with what has become a Chicago icon.

We are in an historical moment in which Chicago is trying, as it has since right after the 1871 Chicago Fire, to reshape its identity in order to accede to “global city” status. Ross Miller observes that “the image of the phoenix rising from the ashes pervades all of the

postconflagration literature.”² This sense of reinvention after destruction is highly relevant here, as Chicago seeks to reshape itself in an era when its “City of Broad Shoulders,” manufacturing-dependent identity is no longer applicable nor economically workable. Just as the “City Beautiful” ideal and the establishment of major institutions like the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the Art Institute of Chicago were important in defining the city’s artistic significance in an earlier era, so too is art at stake in defining twenty-first—or, perhaps, twenty-second, as the Cultural Policy Center’s research agenda suggests—century Chicago, to the outside world, and to itself via the outside world.

“Creativity” and its business-inflected shadow concept, “innovation,” are widely associated with this process. They are framed in all cultural policy documents as both integral components of raising the city to global significance, and as amenities for those working in and visiting Chicago-as-global-city. “Creativity” and “innovation” are less important for those who live in Chicago, except in terms of developing the city’s residents as members of a workforce ready to be employed by “global” organizations. Cultural planning around “the arts” in the 2010s, then, is less about artistic practice itself and more about a dual agenda of, first, reshaping the city for the benefit of its citizens, and, second (and positioned as far more important), reshaping citizens and the city through the arts in order to achieve a certain vision of the city. The 2012 Chicago Cultural Plan and the 2012-2015 Chicago Public Schools Arts Education Plan, and the processes associated with forming them, were crucial moments of urban self-fashioning around “the arts.” These plans and the discourse around them continue to resonate several years later as practitioners continue to struggle with what, exactly, this vision means and how it might be implemented. (Few, however, seem to question the desirability or the political

² Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 52.

implications of the particular paradigm that has been put forth.) Music education and its practitioners have thus been torn between two competing visions of the practice of music education itself and of the resulting city: one vision that seeks to improve music education for its own sake and for the sake of students and, perhaps, teachers, and another vision that seeks to improve music education as a means of improving the city.

Music education in Chicago is, as we have seen, shaped by a narrative of failure and of problem-solving. In the early 2010s, this has resulted in the privatization of public music education and the push for private (philanthropically-funded) music education to justify itself in terms of “return on investment” in social change and in urban re-shaping. The narrative of music education is akin to the broader narrative that the city of Chicago maintains about itself: as a flawed city that yet always has the hope of attaining utopia through creative destruction and rebuilding.

In this dissertation, I have asked, “What happens when music education is framed as a problem to be solved within a fundamentally problematic city?” The problem of music education has two layers. The first is the problem of access: music education is inequitably distributed across the city, with programs clustered around the city’s center and on its north side, and comparatively far fewer in the city’s peripheral south and west side neighborhoods. It is also inequitably distributed by class: before the CPS Arts Education Plan authorized additional funding for arts teachers and arts partners, better-funded schools in wealthier areas of the city had far more music offerings than did poorly-funded schools in poor and peripheral areas of the city.³ Furthermore, private music education is often quite costly and out of financial reach of many poor and working-class families.

³ See Donaldson and Pearsall, *Arts in the Chicago Public Schools*.

Because race and class are so strongly correlated in Chicago, opportunities that are financially inaccessible to poor and working-class families mean that children of color have disproportionately poor access to formalized music education. According to the 2008 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts report *Arts education in America*, whereas 59.2 percent of white children, 50.9 percent of African-American children, and 47.2 percent of Hispanic children surveyed in 1982 had had some access to any form of arts education, the figures had declined significantly for children of color by the 2008 survey. In that survey, 57.9 percent of white children, 26.2 percent of African-American children, and 28.1 percent of Hispanic children had had any access to arts education.⁴ This decline is drastic and disproportionate. The much larger decline of arts education access among African-American and Hispanic children is attributed almost entirely to the decline of arts education availability in public schools, the primary venue in which children of color have access to formal arts education.⁵

The second layer of “the problem” has to do with the problems of the city of Chicago itself. As described in Chapter 2, poor and working-class children of color in the city of Chicago are believed by funders and policymakers to be inherently “at risk” due to the city’s high levels of crime, relatively poor educational attainment statistics, and poor job opportunities for low-skilled workers. Music education specifically, and arts education broadly, are framed, on the basis of little hard evidence, as tools of social intervention that can put “at-risk” students on the path to a “successful,” that is, middle-class, life. Music education programs requiring high levels of philanthropic support are especially susceptible to this rhetoric. To put it extremely bluntly—which I feel is necessary given the unspoken, yet powerful, politics at work here—the poorer and darker-skinned the children that a program serves, the more intense the discourse around “fixing”

⁴ Rabkin and Hedberg, *Arts education in America*, 16.

⁵ Rabkin and Hedberg, *Arts education in America*, 47.

them through music education becomes. This correlation is troubling, to say the least, and deserves a much higher level of open discourse and critical analysis than it currently receives.

The new paradigm of support for arts education in Chicago since 2012—from the public schools, from the city, from funders, and from the public—has been framed as a major victory. It is, indeed, a victory, in that it has greatly expanded financial and political support for arts education across the city, and has laid the groundwork for continued support in the coming years. Many more Chicago students—the numbers are not yet official—have been able to participate in formalized arts education over the past three years than would otherwise have been the case.⁶ These hard-won efforts should be lauded. Music education institutions have benefited greatly from this expansion and music educators have enjoyed increased job opportunities. There is a palpable sense of excitement and opportunity among working music educators and music education administrators in Chicago.

However, I wish to push those engaged in this work to think more radically, deeply, and broadly about what is possible for arts education, and especially for music education. (Indeed, separating the two is a key component of this re-visioning.) The Cultural Plan, the CPS Arts Education Plan, and associated efforts are victories in the context of thinking of music and arts education as perpetually threatened. However, the CPS Arts Education Plan has created a semi-privatized, hybrid system that destabilizes employment opportunities for music educators, creating far more temporary, part-time jobs with “arts partners” than it does for unionized faculty, and which requires no particular curricular standards for these third-party programs, making it not only possible, but quite probable, that students will not receive an appropriately

⁶ Forty-seven percent of CPS elementary schools met their arts goals in the 2013-14 school year, as compared with 40 percent in 2012-13 and somewhat less than that previously. Ingenuity, Inc., *2013-2014 Progress Report*, 2.

scoped or sequenced arts education throughout their 12 years in the CPS system. The plan, in short, simply represents an improvement on what came before, but is far from ideal. We have yet to see arts education practitioners articulate a far-reaching and affirmative vision of what is desirable and what is needed; instead, we stay in the realm of the possible, advocating for incremental gains on the wrong terms.

The new system that has been put in place, post-2012, for arts education delivery in Chicago is trying to solve two problems at once. Music education, in particular, is being asked to solve a number of persistent urban problems that arose due to systemic, large-scale policy decisions and which cannot be solved by one simple and simplistic intervention. I argue, instead, that arts education should not be problematized at all. It should be viewed as an integral component of the public school curriculum and of children's extracurricular experiences, and simply planned for adequately, as any other self-evidently worthwhile endeavor should be—as matter-of-factly as CPS plans for math education, for example. Rigorous research has shown that no form of arts education can be proven to “solve” any persistent social problem.⁷ The fact that arts education is continually asked to do so reveals not arts education's curative social power, but rather a deep suspicion toward the arts, and a devaluation of education therein—that is, arts are not worthy of support unless they can achieve other goals. As Marjorie Garber writes, the arts are doubly patronized, both overvalued and undervalued, in the United States:

By undervaluation, then, I mean the idea that art is an add-on, a recreational activity, something that supplements the real hard work of, say, economics or politics or medicine or physics or business. Thus when school budgets are tight, the first things to be cut are classes in art or music. No one would think of cutting science or history. In these examples, art suffers from being considered somewhat worthless for the work of the “real world.” Overvaluation, on the other hand, results in a different sort of difficulty in the placing of values upon art and its products. Some people feel that it is beyond the realm of regular experience, therefore the *work* of art (art as object and as process) is also

⁷ See McCarthy, et al., *Gifts of the Muse*.

beyond, or even above, a normal discussion of valuation and evaluation—it is “priceless,” as they say.⁸

This logic, when applied to arts education, results in the arts simultaneously being asked to do too much for children—to solve deep-rooted issues that they are powerless to really change—and valued too little, with a constantly precarious position in education policy, and required to “add value” beyond that of arts skill attainment. (The title of Josephine Lee’s lecture in the below poster illustrates this.)



Figure 4. Note the title of Josephine Lee’s lecture-concert. Image from University of Chicago e-invite received by author for this event.

⁸ Garber, *Patronizing the Arts*, xi-xii.

Over the eleven years of my career in music education, I have searched for a definitive argument that would justify the inclusion of arts education as a default policy—incontrovertible evidence that the arts, and preferably (from my perspective) music specifically, have transformative power. During the three years in which I have worked on this dissertation, I have come to the opposite conclusion: that deciding to spend public, private, or personal resources on arts and/or music is, in the end, a value judgment. Either individuals, families, and institutions value arts education, or they do not. As poet Maureen McLane has said, “Poetry isn’t like vitamins. It isn’t good for you. Read it or don’t read it. I feel that very passionately. If you want some kind of linguistic intensity in your life, then read poetry. But if you don’t feel a need for that, then you don’t feel a need for that.”⁹ Similarly, I believe that music education is not a vitamin. It is not “good for” the individual, nor for the city, except insofar as it brings meaning, satisfaction, and pleasure to those who practice it. But this seems to me to be of immense value, and a sufficiently worthwhile justification for making music education widely available.

Furthermore, it is crucial to advocate here for the right of urban children, particularly poor and working-class children of color, to experience pleasure and meaning through their formal education. As Wendy Steiner writes, “What we need is a situation in which art and the life of the mind can be enjoyed with a knowing pleasure, one that thrills to every richness art can offer, yet does not shrink from the issues art can raise.”¹⁰ Increasing access to music education is important not because it will allow Chicago’s children to become disciplined bourgeois citizens through the study of music. It is important because it will allow children to have one more

⁹ Lydialyle Gibson, “Poet creates personal art,” *University of Chicago Magazine*, December 1, 2014, accessed December 19, 2014,

http://www.uchicago.edu/features/poet_creates_personal_art/.

¹⁰ Wendy Steiner, *The Scandal of Pleasure: Art in an Age of Fundamentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 211.

avenue through which to “enjoy with a knowing pleasure” and to create meaning in their lives. Music will not be the appropriate or desired avenue for all children to do so, but it can certainly provide a space in which some children can have this experience. Music is not magical; many children have a similar experience of richness through other forms of art, or sports, or math, or any number of other activities and kinds of inquiry. But insofar as we, as a city and as a society, feel that it is important for all children to have access to a rich and stimulating education, and insofar as we recognize that all children are unique and that education cannot, therefore, be fully rationalized, high-quality music education must be one option among many for engagement, richness, and pleasure.

In Chicago, children whose families have the means to provide private music education have the ability and, indeed, the right to study music simply because they desire to do so, to choose a particular instrument because they like its sound, or to play in a particular ensemble because they have friends in it. By contrast, children whose families do not have these means often can only access music education in contexts in which their own pleasure is not considered a sufficient justification for their participation. Despite the fact that literally every child with whom I spoke, in the context of my fieldwork, about his or her motivations to participate in music spoke of their pleasure in their playing, this, unfortunately, seems not to be good enough for many key decision-makers around music education in Chicago. That is, for example, none of the children at Hibbard Elementary told me that they joined the orchestra program in order to become better citizens and to become economically productive in the long run. Instead, they told me that they had long desired to play an instrument, were not able to do so in the past for various logistical and financial reasons, and were thrilled when their school began to offer a free orchestra program, because they could finally realize their longstanding wish. Or, more simply,

they told me that some of their friends had already joined the orchestra, that it seemed like fun, and so they signed up. Leveling access to music education means allowing poor and working-class children to access music education *on the same terms* as do children from families of greater means.

I turn now to the question, “Why music?” Throughout this dissertation, I switch rapidly and often between the notion of “arts education” and that of “music education.” In the Introduction, I explained that this was due to the frequent slippage of terms by practitioners; the fact that policy documents refer almost exclusively to “arts education” rather than to any particular form thereof; and that “arts education” is far more commonly used in the relevant literature than is “music education.” There is a persistent slippage between “arts education” and “music education” (or “theater education,” “dance education,” “visual arts education,” and so forth) in the literature and in the field. The particularities of given arts disciplines are often subsumed to the discursive whole of “arts education,” and individual disciplines are not often discussed as to the distinctive contributions they make to the field as a whole and to the education of individual students. This slippage contributes strongly to the vagueness of arts education programs’ social missions and forces a vagueness around the educational value of these programs, compelling “arts education” to justify itself almost exclusively on the basis of social-emotional learning targets and not on the particular richnesses that its component disciplines and practices can provide.

It would be worthwhile to write at much greater length on the particular pedagogical and social contributions of music education to a holistic primary and secondary education. A few that I have observed in the context of my fieldwork, and in my own life, include: the depth and intensity of relationships formed between teachers and students, and among students; the ability

of programs to engage families and broader communities; the deeply engaging experience of shared passion for and commitment to the task at hand; the cultivation of sociability; the development of self-discipline and self-mastery; the formation of craftsmanlike habits of practice and embodied skill; powerful emotion; the ability to work in continuity with traditions and communities yet to innovate; and, last but not least, the inherent value in musical skill attainment, which provides children with the ability to produce music and eventually to produce music of very high artistic quality. I wish to emphasize that I do not list these contributions of music education by way of justifying music education on these terms. Rather, I believe that education in music, like education in any specific art form or practice, or indeed in any academic field of study, has unique contributions to make and should be valued as a unique entity, not as a component of “arts education” broadly.

What kind of city is ultimately imagined through, by, and for Chicago’s music education programs? Recent cultural policymaking, and persistent discourse around cultural policy such as that exhibited at the April 22, 2015 “Creative Cities” event, clearly imagines a city that is, frankly, neoliberal, in which endeavors must be justified according to their economic value. The imagined city at stake here is also a “global city,” imagined to be a source of unalloyed good for Chicago and for its residents, sparking a twenty-first century renaissance.¹¹ However, this is a vision made by and for elites, and those who stand to benefit from Chicago’s transformation in this way: foundation officers, philanthropists and high-level businesspeople (often members of the same class), city officials, arts executives, and, dare I say, scholars of the arts and of cultural policy at elite universities. The voices of the students, families, and teachers in these music education programs at the fluid and vague boundaries and intersections of the public, private, and

¹¹ See Madigan, ed., *Global Chicago*, in which leading Chicago figures present their perspectives on how to turn Chicago into a global city.

third sectors are nearly silent. One has to wonder—and I certainly wonder—how the discourse would shift if all stakeholders were to be included on equal terms in envisioning the city, and urban music education. I am particularly suspicious of the above-mentioned significant overlap between programs that serve and target poor and working-class children of color, and programs that advance theories of citizenship formation essentially premised on the inculcation of “middle-class values,” as described in chapter 5. The disadvantages faced by poor and working-class communities of color in Chicago have been caused by complex and intersecting forces operating over long periods of time, to say the least, and it is overly idealistic and simplistic to think that music education is capable of overcoming this history, and that this is the best justification for providing music education.

What the discursive emphasis on arts education’s purported transformative power truly reveals is a retreat from politics, a lack of political will to tackle these issues at the appropriate level of scale. As Jean Anyon argues,

[M]acroeconomic policies like those regulating the minimum wage, job availability, tax rates, federal transportation, and affordable housing create conditions in cities that no existing educational policy or urban school reform can transcend. Thus, in my view, low-achieving urban schools are not primarily a consequence of failed education policy, or urban family dynamics, as mainstream analysts and public policies typically imply. Failing public schools in cities are, rather, a logical consequence of the U.S. macroeconomy—and the federal regional policies and practices that support it.¹²

Small music education organizations can provide many wonderful things in partnership with struggling public schools. What they cannot do is prevail against macroeconomic forces. This is not to discount the many anecdotes of music education’s contribution to the success of individual students—for example, at its June 2014 concert, Uptown Academy highlighted a student who had matriculated at Princeton University, in large part on the strength of her musical

¹² Jean Anyon, *Radical Possibilities: Public Policy, Urban Education, and a New Social Movement* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 2.

accomplishments. Rather, what I am saying is that individual anecdotes do not a policy prescription make.

We must think about what is possible for music education in a much more rigorous, expansive, and democratic way. This must begin with critical thought about the relationship between philanthropy and democratic decision-making. Now that “arts partners”—that is, privately-funded nonprofit arts education organizations—are a critical part of the Chicago Public Schools’ system of arts education delivery, and now that the privately-funded Ingenuity, Inc. has assumed a position of prominence and influence, philanthropists and foundations have direct influence over arts education policy in Chicago through what they do and do not choose to fund, and on what terms. As prominent former foundation executive Gara LaMarche writes,

[H]owever many well-intentioned and high-minded impulses animate philanthropy, the favorable tax treatment that supports it is a form of privatization. Money that would otherwise be available for tax revenue that could be democratically directed is shielded from public control for private use.

Therefore, he continues, “the rise of very large philanthropies that are not shy about playing for big stakes in the public sphere raises crucial questions about philanthropic power and to whom it is accountable.”¹³ Although LaMarche refers, primarily, in this last comment to mega-foundations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the impact of much smaller foundations resonates as loudly in the arts education sector in Chicago because the dollar amounts at stake are so small.

In a city in which the public schools’ Office of Arts Education has only a \$1.5 million annual budget, it is very easy for foundations to spend the kind of money in the third, rather than public, sector that gives them significant clout—as they have done in founding Ingenuity, Inc.

¹³ Gara LaMarche, “Democracy and the Donor Class,” *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, Fall 2014, accessed May 15, 2015, <http://www.democracyjournal.org/34/democracy-and-the-donor-class.php?page=all>.

and supporting it as it has risen in influence. Since 2010, the impact of local foundations on arts education policy and practice has been significant and visible. Based on my fieldwork and professional interactions with foundation staff, it seems that the vast majority of foundations seeking social change through music education, and their employees, are extremely well-intentioned and genuinely believe that arts education has the kind of power they ascribe to it. They are not intending to manipulate children, but rather truly wish to do good in the arts and for cities, and believe that this is an excellent way in which to do so. It should be noted that there are also foundations, such as the Lloyd A. Fry Foundation, that seek primarily to expand access to arts education and attach few “citizenship” strings to their funding. Despite the good intentions of many decision-makers, though, it is incontrovertible that decision-making around arts education has moved further away from public input and oversight over the last five years.

Foundations that support arts education and value democracy and equity should, then, ensure, first, that they are supporting public, rather than private or shielded, initiatives wherever possible. Second, foundations should ensure that, where they do choose to fund private or privatized initiatives for reasons of efficiency or efficacy, they create mechanisms for transparency and democratic input, especially by communities most affected by their decision-making. It should be noted that, unfortunately, public mechanisms for arts education reform have, in the 1990s and 2000s, been extremely limited in efficacy, largely due to the toxic and stagnant cultures in many large urban public school districts.¹⁴ This is probably why Chicago’s philanthropy community chose to fund Ingenuity as a separate entity, rather than simply donating additional funds to CPS’ central office. Nonetheless, in situations where efficacy demands

¹⁴ See Bodilly, et al., *Revitalizing Arts Education Through Community-Wide Coordination*.

privatization, foundations must think carefully about democratic oversight and about ways to transition these functions back into the public sector at some point.

Foundations should, furthermore, drop social and behavioral change metrics in grantmaking and grant evaluation. Music education has largely been proven ineffective in enacting this kind of change, and requiring social and behavioral results both forces programs to be shaped around these goals and jeopardizes their very existence if—when—they fail to deliver. Foundations seem largely to have implemented these metrics out of a desire for “rigor” and a romanticized belief about the transformative power of the arts. Rigor is a worthy objective in and of itself, but must be enacted with a sober and clear-eyed understanding of what music education programs can actually provide. Foundations that desire to support music education and to be rigorous in their evaluation of programs they support can easily require these programs to show strong evidence of musical skill attainment. Forcing “evidence” of “social change” is not necessary and is actually harmful to building successful and impactful music education programs insofar as it pulls faculty and staff time attention away from focusing on educational and artistic quality in favor of implementing social programming and reporting on social metrics.

Music educators and administrators of music education programs, particularly development officers, must do what they can to challenge the prevailing paradigm that music education is only justified if it produces “results”—if it responds to either of the ways in which music education has been problematized. It is hard to challenge funders for fear of losing funding, but there are more subtle ways in which administrators, in particular, can shape and present their programs. These ways include restructuring mission statements, job descriptions, and hiring procedures; foregrounding musical skill attainment, musicality, and other musically specific achievements in promotional, communications, and branding materials, and most of all

in the curriculum; and using rigorous assessment tools for musical skill attainment, proving to funders that rigorous results can be had without resorting to social and behavioral change assessments. Administrators can also familiarize themselves with the literature on arts education, and come to terms with the facts on the ground: that music education cannot do as much as one says it can when one is trying to win funding by any means necessary. Administrators will, of course, have to think strategically about how and whether to deploy this information in the context of funder relationships, but can certainly use their knowledge of the literature in more subtle ways, to shape their own approach to and expectations of programming, and to develop pitches for their programs that are grounded in research.

The field of arts education advocacy and practice as a whole must separate the various arts disciplines and practices, and assess, implement, and advocate for them as individual entities in addition to advocacy for them as a bloc. Over the past several decades, it has been politically advantageous to advocate for “arts education” in a unitary fashion. However, now that funders are seeking more rigorous metrics, it has become clear that “arts education” as a unit cannot meet the expectations that have been placed on it. “Arts education” covers such wide and diverse terrain that it is impossible to make a rigorous, research-tested case for its advantages. It is, however, possible to advocate for individual art forms on their own terms. Counterintuitive as it may seem, foregrounding individual forms, practices, and disciplines will ultimately prove a more successful strategy as the field begins to move toward understanding and advocating for the value of arts skill attainment on its own terms, insofar as individual forms, practices, and disciplines can speak very specifically to particular components of a well-rounded education.

In the end, the conversation around arts education is really about making education broadly holistic, compelling, meaningful, and useful to students. The development officers

whom I interviewed touted the notion that arts education, as a unit, does seem to make a real difference (beyond arts skill attainment) in students' engagement with school: the theory is that high school students, for example, are more likely to come to school on days when they have arts classes, increasing attendance, which in turn increases graduation rates very slightly.¹⁵ This theory is widely touted as evidence that the arts are wildly compelling. I take the more pessimistic and sober view, that what this fact really reveals is that nothing else about their educational experience compels certain students to attend school, and that this is highly worrisome. We should, by all means, celebrate that students (may) find the arts engaging, but we must work to ensure that other subjects are taught in a compelling and meaningful manner as well.

I advocate a vision of a city in which it is not radical to say that music has unique value; in which all children should have access to music education simply because learning music may prove important to some of them; in which music educators can expect a stable and decently-paying career; and in which poor and working class children of color—really, in which all children—deserve pleasure, joy, and fulfillment without question or additional justification. The fundamental paradigm of Chicago as “dual city” has severely limited the political and educational imagination, locking practitioners into a paradigm of believing that the city's class of the “elegant façade” are responsible for “fixing” those living in the “deeply shadowed backstage” regions of the city.¹⁶ We cannot ask music education to solve problems that political

¹⁵ The only recent and somewhat well-done research on this topic comes from a 2009 report from the Center for Arts Education, which found that New York City high schools with higher graduation rates also tended to have rich arts education offerings. The study does not ascertain whether this is simply correlation, or truly causation, and promotes arts education as a partial solution to the dropout problem. Center for Arts Education, *Staying In School: Arts Education and New York City High School Graduation Rates* (New York: Center for Arts Education, 2009).

¹⁶ Abu-Lughod, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, 100.

leadership has no will to tackle at their roots. We can, instead, fiercely promote music education on its own terms. Music education does not have to be all-powerful to be profoundly worthwhile.

APPENDIX 1

Teaching Artist Manifesto, Teaching Artists Guild.

WE ARE TEACHING ARTISTS.

WE WORK WITH: *schools + libraries + concert halls + museums + wellness centers
community facilities + families + businesses (and other partners.)*

**TO MAKE THE ARTS ACCESSIBLE TO ALL,
REGARDLESS OF CIRCUMSTANCES OR "TALENT."**

TO PROVIDE OUR COMMUNITIES WITH *inspiration + critical thinking + creativity*
QUALITY ART-MAKING EXPERIENCES *joy + understanding + self-expression*
THAT STIMULATE: *curiosity + innovation*

TO EMPLOY THE ARTS AS A MEANS OF BRINGING COMMUNITIES TOGETHER
CELEBRATING THAT WHICH MAKES US JOYFUL,
CALLING OUT THAT WHICH WE WANT TO CHANGE.

WE ARE STORYTELLERS. WE ARE OBSERVERS. WE ARE PERFORMERS.
WE ARE WRITERS. WE ARE CREATORS. WE ARE DESIGNERS. WE ARE MAKERS.
WE REPRESENT ALL ART FORMS.

and...

**WE ARE STRONGEST
WHEN WE ALL WORK TOGETHER.**

Thus, we pledge our commitment to:

**BUILDING STRONG, PASSIONATE, AND ENGAGED NETWORKS OF TEACHING ARTISTS
WHO ARE READY AND WILLING TO BOTH CONTRIBUTE TO
AND BENEFIT FROM THE POWER OF OUR COLLECTIVE WORK.**

**PROMOTING FAIR AND HIGH QUALITY STANDARDS IN THE FIELD.
ADVOCATING FOR WAGES THAT ENSURE TEACHING ARTISTS
CAN MAKE A LIVING WHILE DOING THEIR WORK.**

**MOBILIZING AND SUPPORTING THE LEADERSHIP OF TEACHING ARTISTS
AT THE LOCAL, REGIONAL, AND NATIONAL LEVELS
TO MAKE CHANGE HAPPEN IN THE COMMUNITIES WE SERVE.**

SHARING *resources + research + news + opportunities
projects + curriculum and stories from the field.*

**PRODUCING AND SUPPORTING NATIONAL EVENTS, CONVERSATIONS,
AND CONVENINGS THAT ALLOW TEACHING ARTISTS TO
LEARN, CREATE, PLAY, AND WORK TOGETHER
TOWARDS COLLECTIVE ACTION.**

JOIN US. HELP US MAKE THESE GOALS REAL.

APPENDIX 2

The People's Music School, logic model (draft version, December 2013). Courtesy The People's Music School.

Logic Model The People's Music School

Program Inputs:

Area 1

Committed and Highly Trained Instructors:

Provide high quality instruction and act as non-parental mentors in our students' lives

Area 2

Scope and Sequence of Curriculum:

Consistency of instruction for every class, instrument, level, and student

Area 3

Performance Opportunities:

Provide numerous and varied performance opportunities for students

Area 4

Musical Assessment and Evaluation:

Data from assessment and evaluation is used to inform decision making related to students, teachers, and program structure

Area 5

Diversity of Educational Experiences:

Access to multiple supplemental educational experiences, both on and off site

Area 6

Intensity of instruction both individualized and communal:

Significantly higher than average engagement time for group instruction, individualized attention, and diversified areas of musical study

Short Term Indicators of Success Musical Impact

Area 1

Physical Evidence of Success:

- Percent of instructors with advanced degrees¹
- Average number of years teaching at TPMS

Abstract Evidence of Success:

- Qualitative feedback: Students' perceptions of teacher
- Quantitative feedback: Students' sense of belonging

Area 2

Physical Evidence of Success:

- Standardized curriculum with scope and sequence of instrument levels

Abstract Evidence of Success:

- Qualitative feedback: Musical progress is assessed through "jury" ratings
- Quantitative feedback: % of students progressing

Area 3

Physical Evidence of Success:

- Number of annual performances
- Diversity of performance locations and audience types

Abstract Evidence of Success:

- Qualitative/Quantitative feedback: Musical progress assessed through jury ratings and % progressing satisfactorily

Area 4

Abstract Evidence of Success:

- Quantitative feedback:
 - Teacher-report of students' musical proficiency (YO Only)
 - Teacher-report of students' ensemble musical proficiency
 - Student-report of their instrumental teacher's quality of instruction
 - Student-report of their theory teacher's quality of instruction
 - Student response rate for both teacher quality surveys

Area 5

Physical Evidence of Success:

- Number of Master classes offered
- Number of concerts attended
- Number of social events held
- Number of students accepted into advanced music programs

Area 6

Physical Evidence of Success:

- Total number of contact hours per student
 - Number of group/private lesson hours
 - Number of ensemble rehearsal hours
 - Number of theory class hours
- Human capital hours (Instruction Time) -> Approx. #

***Meets National Association for Music Education Standards
***Far exceeds grade level expectations of IL Fine Arts Standards

Model for Music School

ess:

 her quality
 g in school scale

 expectations across all

 by student peer-to-peer
 satisfactorily

 ypes
 ss is assessed by student

);
 r (YO Only);
 nstruction (UA Only);
 tion (UA Only);

 cal groups (e.g. CYSO, ChiArts)

 of \$ invested annually

 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9
 s 25 and 26

**Short Term Indicators of Success:
Social and Academic Impact**

All Areas

Abstract Evidence of Success:

- Qualitative feedback:
 - Student Self-Report
 - Social development (trust; communication skills; general self-efficacy)
 - Parent-Report
 - Behavior at Home
- Quantitative feedback:
 - Student Self-Report
 - Conduct Scale,
 - Hyperactivity/Inattention Scale,
 - Peer Relationship Problems Scale,
 - Prosocial Behavior Scale,
 - School Sense of Belonging Scale,
 - Self-Regulation Scale
 - Academic Engagement Scale (Self-Efficacy, Cognitive Engagement, Social engagement)
 - Parent-Report
 - Child's Value of Music Scale
 - Child's Academic Engagement Scale
 - Child's Social Engagement Scale
 - Child's Emotional Well-Being Scale
 - School-Report
 - Grades
 - Illinois State Achievement Test Scores (ISAT)

Long Term Indicators of Impact:

All Areas

High school graduation rate of TPMS students will exceed Chicago Public Schools average of 63%

Post-secondary enrollment rate of TPMS students will exceed Chicago Public Schools average of 60%

In and out of school suspension rate is significantly less than CPS average of 10.6%.

APPENDIX 3

The People's Music School, winter/spring term 2014 schedule.

W/S 2014

The Pit	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday			
4:00-4:05	Theory D Greg							
4:05-4:10								
4:10-4:15								
4:15-4:20			Theory C1 Chris	Theory A1 Anne	Theory A2 Anne	Theory I Scott		
4:20-4:25								
4:25-4:30								
4:30-4:35								
4:35-4:40								
4:40-4:45								
4:45-4:50								
4:50-4:55								
4:55-5:00								
5:00-5:05	Theory E Greg							
5:05-5:10								
5:10-5:15			Theory B1 Anne	Theory B2 Anne	Theory G Scott			
5:15-5:20								
5:20-5:25								
5:25-5:30								
5:30-5:35								
5:35-5:40								
5:40-5:45								
5:45-5:50								
5:50-5:55								
5:55-6:00								
6:00-6:05								
6:05-6:10								
6:10-6:15		Theory C2 Chris	Choir B1 Anne	Choir B2 Anne	Theory H Scott			
6:15-6:20								
6:20-6:25								
6:25-6:30								
6:30-6:35								
6:35-6:40								
6:40-6:45								
6:45-6:50								
6:50-6:55								
6:55-7:00								
7:00-7:05	String Ensemble Terrance	Choir 2 Chris	Teen Choir Monica	Jr. String Ensemble Stephane				
7:05-7:10								
7:10-7:15								
7:15-7:20								
7:20-7:25								
7:25-7:30								
7:30-7:35								
7:35-7:40								
7:40-7:45								
7:45-7:50								
7:50-7:55								
7:55-8:00								

Room 201 Group Piano-Jaime

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
3:30-3:45			
3:45-4:00			
4:00-4:15	Piano Class 7	Piano Class 6	Piano Class 5
4:15-4:30			
4:30-4:45			
4:45-5:00			
5:00-5:15		Piano Class 3	Piano Class 10
5:15-5:30			
5:30-5:45			
5:45-6:00			
6:00-6:15	Piano Class 12	Piano Class 2	Piano Class 11
6:15-6:30			
6:30-6:45			
6:45-7:00			
7:00-7:15	Piano Class 9		Piano Class 4
7:15-7:30			
7:30-7:45			
7:45-8:00			

Room 202 Piano

upright

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
3:00-3:15			
3:15-3:30			
3:30-3:45			
3:45-4:00			
4:00-4:15	Ismael Lopez Ben		Minh Le Stephane
4:15-4:30			
4:30-4:45	Brian Blanco Ben	Violin Class 5 Silvia	Thien Ba Le Stephane
4:45-5:00			
5:00-5:15	Kokou Mlope Ben		Violin Class 3 Stephane
5:15-5:30			
5:30-5:45	Sebastian Vergara Ben	Mimi Nguyen Silvia	Isaac Ingerson Stephane
5:45-6:00			
6:00-6:15	Karla Gonzales Ben	Catherine Herrera Ben	Rebecca Yeh Stephane
6:15-6:30			
6:30-6:45	Steven Le Ben	Dante Shalaveyus Ben	
6:45-7:00			
7:00-7:15			
7:15-7:30	Guitar Ensemble 1		

Thursday	Friday
Piano Class 8	
Piano Class 1	

Thursday	Friday
Mila Baumgartner Stephane	
Avner Tomulet Stephane	
Bao Tran Le Stephane	
Jessica Esteves Stephane	
Violin Class 4 Stephane	
Violin Class 2 Stephane	

7:30-7:45	Ben		
7:45-8:00			

Room 203 Piano

baby grand

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
3:00-3:15	Samuel Martin		
3:15-3:30	Jaime		
3:30-3:45	Joyce Matanguihan		Phuong M Le Jaime
3:45-4:00	Jaime		
4:00-4:15			
4:15-4:30			
4:30-4:45			
4:45-5:00			
5:00-5:15	Allison D. Leon		
5:15-5:30	Jaime		
5:30-5:45	Samantha Herrera		
5:45-6:00	Jaime		
6:00-6:15			
6:15-6:30			
6:30-6:45			
6:45-7:00			
7:00-7:15		Jacopo DiMarinis Jaime	
7:15-7:30			
7:30-7:45		Kevin Criollo Jaime	
7:45-8:00			

Room 204 Percussion/Jazz Ensemble

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
4:00-4:15		Brian Yaye Greg	
4:15-4:30			
4:30-4:45		Mark T Matanguihan Greg	
4:45-5:00			
5:00-5:15		Perc. Ensemble 1 Greg	Percussion 5 Domonique
5:15-5:30			
5:30-5:45			
5:45-6:00			
6:00-6:15	Abel L Yolich	Perc. Ensemble 2 Greg	Percussion 6 Domonique
6:15-6:30	Greg		
6:30-6:45	Noe Xavier Sarmiento		
6:45-7:00	Greg		
7:00-7:15	George Navarro	Percussion 3 Greg	Percussion 4 Domonique
7:15-7:30	Greg		
7:30-7:45	Daniel J Garcia		
7:45-8:00	Greg		

Room 208 Piano

upright piano

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
3:30-3:45			
3:45-4:00	Jonathan Martin		
4:00-4:15	Terrance		
4:15-4:30	Christian Luciano		
4:30-4:45	Terrance		Matthew Esteves
4:45-5:00	Gabrielle Escalante		Valerie
5:00-5:15	Terrance		Flute Class 1 Valerie
5:15-5:30	Victoria Escalante		
5:30-5:45	Terrance		
5:45-6:00	Quynh Mai Le		Rachel Martin Valerie
6:00-6:15	Terrance		
6:15-6:30	String Duo 2 Terrance		Teresa Morco
6:30-6:45			Valerie
6:45-7:00			
7:00-7:15			Flute Class 2 Valerie
7:15-7:30			
7:30-7:45			
7:45-8:00			

Room 209 Piano

upright piano

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
4:00-4:15			
4:15-4:30			
4:30-4:45		Wendyam Ouedraogo	
4:45-5:00		Christa	
5:00-5:15	Edward Kasule	Isaac Eubanks	
5:15-5:30	Steve	Christa	
5:30-5:45	Robin Bartell	Charles Eubanks	
5:45-6:00	Steve	Christa	
6:00-6:15	William Quan	Jackson Masada	
6:15-6:30	Steve	Christa	
6:30-6:45			
6:45-7:00		String Duo 1	

Thursday	Friday	
	<i>Ester Rossi</i>	
	<i>Melissa</i>	
	<i>Ulani Luu</i>	
	<i>Melissa</i>	
Miles Guerra	<i>Clarinet Class 1</i>	
Chris		<i>Melissa</i>
	<i>Brandon Le</i>	
	<i>Melissa</i>	
	<i>Clarinet Class 2</i>	
		<i>Melissa</i>

Thursday	Friday
	Nathan Martin
	James
	John Truong
	James
	Nolan Baumgartner
	James
	Vittorio Petrosino
	James
	Joshua Huynh
	James

7:00-7:15		Christa	
7:15-7:30			
7:30-7:45			
7:45-8:00			

Room 210 Piano
baby grand

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
3:30-3:45	Cassi Chung		
3:45-4:00	Mio		
4:00-4:15	Megan E Gary		
4:15-4:30	Mio		
4:30-4:45	Tiger Chung		
4:45-5:00	Mio		
5:00-5:15	Micki Chung		
5:15-5:30	Mio		
5:30-5:45			Hillary Pham
5:45-6:00			(cello) Desiree
6:00-6:15			
6:15-6:30			
6:30-6:45			
6:45-7:00			
7:00-7:15			
7:15-7:30			
7:30-7:45			
7:45-8:00			

APPENDIX 4

Program for Uptown Academy's spring concert, June 14, 2014.



	Program	
<i>Dragonhunter</i>	Junior String Ensemble , Stephane Collopy, Director	Meyer
<i>Under the Sea</i>	Music, Alan Menkin; Lyrics, Howard Ashman Choir A , Anne Katzfey, Director	
<i>Eine Kleine Nachtmusik</i> , mvmt. 1	String Duo , Rebecca Kuo, Director	W.A. Mozart
TBA	New Music Ensemble , Jesse Langen, Director	TBA
<i>Let It Be</i>	Teen Choir , Monica Laytham, Director	John Lennon
<i>Folias del Pueblo</i>	Guitar Ensemble 2 , Steve Vazquez, Director	S. Vasquez
<i>Flinging It Threefold</i>	Percussion Ensemble 3 , Dominique Louis, Director	R.W. Buggert
<i>Quartet, Op. 20, No. 4, Allegro do Molto</i>	String Ensemble , Terrance Gray, Director	W.A. Mozart
<i>You Can Get It If You Really Want</i>	Desmond Decker, arr. C. Neal Choir C , Chris Neal, Director	
<i>Choral</i>	Guitar Ensemble 1 , Ben McMunn, Director	J.S. Bach
<i>Balafon</i>	Percussion Ensemble 1 , Greg Fundis, Director	Walt Hampton
<i>Gavotte</i>	Flute Choir , Valerie Simosko and Margaret Austin, Directors	Gossec
<i>Just Buckets</i>	Percussion Ensemble 2 , Greg Fundis, Director	Brian Justison
<i>Rap (from The Lego Movie)</i>	Music/Lyrics, Gesner; Arr., Gillock; Prologue, Choir B Students Choir B , Anne Katzfey, Director	Akiva Schaffer
<i>Happiness Is</i>		
<i>Tornado</i>	Joint Guitar Ensemble , Ben McMunn, Scott Scharff, and Steve Vasquez, Directors	Steve Vasquez
<i>Watermelon Man</i>	Jazz Ensemble , Dominique Louis, Director	Herbie Hancock
<i>Happy</i>	Choir C, Choir 2 and Jazz Ensemble , Chris Neal and Dominique Louis, Directors	Pharrell Williams

HAVE A WONDERFUL SUMMER!!!!!!

Student Performers

Junior String Ensemble: Salina Barih, Mila Baumgartner, Jannie Esperon, Isaac Eubanks, Charles Eubanks, Isaac Ingerson, Minh Le, Thien Ba Le, Quanzell Marshall, Natalia Rubalcaba, Pearl Williams

Choir A: Andrew Alvarracin, Luna Benitez, Jocelyn Cruz, Logan Delgado, Karen Doan, Kevin Doan, Kai Dreicer, Nicholas Espinoza, Lucille Favorite-Perdoux, Willa Gebhardt, Audrey Hunter, Trigo Lopez, Ellie Madrigal, Sherie Marshall, Robbie McDonnell, Lance Moon, Dibora Ogbé, Zachary Oporto, Patrick Pamula, Omar Polsky, Baron Shalaveyus, Abigail Torres, Esau Vergara, Vince Vergara, Andre Zare

String Duo: Gabrielle Escalante, Jackson Masada

New Music Ensemble: Manuel Aguilar, Endre Roman, Hugh Yeh

Teen Choir: Elyzabeth Alvarez, Cassi Chung, Micki Chung, Tiger Chung, Kevin Criollo, Jacopo DeMarinis, Paulo Esteves, Megan Gary, Samantha Herrera, Anna Ingerson, Phuong Le, Allison Leon, Karla Sanchez

Guitar Ensemble 2: Edward Kasule, Ismael Lopez, William Quan

Percussion Ensemble 3: Aidan B. Davick, Talib Grant, Endre Roman

String Ensemble: Victoria Escalante, Jessica Esteves, Quynh Mai Le, Jonathan Martin, Avner Tomulet
Choir C: Evelyn Arellano, Daniel Bartell, Nolan Baumgartner, Daniel Belay, Yafit Belay, Eric Benitez, Antonio Cruz, Kaylle Flores, Luka Gebhardt, Karla Gonzales, Miles Davis Goolsby, Catherine Herrera, Bella Rose Kozy, Juan Landi, Meg Li, Ulani Luu, Mia Madrigal, Ramiro Maldonado, Quanzell Marshall, Samuel Martin, Alan Mendoza, Julianna Mendoza, Simona Mesgina, Jeremiah Ortiz, Abril Parga, Sophia Petrosino, Ashley Reyes, Daniel Rossi, Hellen Sales, McTyler Tong

Guitar Ensemble 1: Brian Blanco, Kokou Mlope, Sebastian Vergara

Percussion Ensemble 1: Kevin Edgardo Johnson, Mark T. Matanguihan, George Navarro

Flute Choir: Angel Alvarez, Matthew Esteves, Jailene Juanacio, Rachel Martin, Theresa Morco, Helen Sales

Percussions Ensemble 2: Daniel Garcia, Noe Xavier Sarmiento, Bryan Yaye, Abel Yolich

Choir B1: Michelle Arzet, Anthony Blanco, Mandy Bu, Scott Cheung, Alejandro Garcia, Miles Guerra, Briseyda Jimenez, Jennifer Lopez, Dylan J Mace, Eliana Masada, Pierre Morrow, Jaz Rios, Sally Roman, Dante Shalaveyus, Viet Tong, Brian Vazquez

Choir B2: Hilary Adjei, Anabel Alvarracin, Tyler Cema, Angel Criollo, Theo Goldman, Babak Hatami, Maria Hernandez, Mariel Hernandez, Amelie Liebhaber, Jane McPheron, Joseph Morco, John Nguyen, Mimi Nguyen, Frank Nieto, Wendyam Ouedraogo, Emmett Polsky, Joshua Reyes, Angela Ruan, Katie Sales, Francisco Santos, Lazar Sestovic, Avner Tomulet, Michael Vondrasek

Jazz Ensemble: Talib Grant, Nathan Martin, Joyce Matanguihan, Laniah Moon, Emmanuel Oluwinners, Praise Oluwinners

Choir 2: Edrei Y. Alaban, Aman Barih, Senite Barih, Cynthia Di, Andrea Esperon, Gabriela Espinoza, Glorimar Flores, Nicholas Garcia, Melinda Jara, Samuel Martin, Kevin Martinez, Alan Mendoza, Juliana Mendoza, Simona Mesgina, Karoline Navarro, Abril Parga, Engari Parga, Jose Perea, Sophia Petrosino, Diana Pham, Ashley Reyes, Daniel Rossi, Esther Rossi, Andrea Rubalcaba, Helen Sales, Maximiliano Sanchez, Amy Sotamba, McTyler Tong



MISSION

Our mission is to cultivate access to free, quality music education. Through intensive instruction and performance our students learn more than music. They grow socially, emotionally and intellectually, and develop a foundation of responsibility, self-esteem and purpose.

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Lilly Torres — Operations Manager
Natalie Butler — Uptown Academy Director
Randi Bergey — Development Director
Renee Davis — Development Manager
Albert Oppenheimer — Youth Orchestras Director
Ayriole Frost — Program Director
Nicole Negrete — Program Director, Evanston
Cara Sawyer — Program Director, Logan Square
Carolyn Sybesma — Program Director, Albany Park
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Anna Carlson — violin, viola
Stephane Collopy — violin, viola
Julia Coronelli — harp
James Davis — trumpet
Greg Fundis — theory, percussion
Terrance Gray — violin
Anne Katzfey — voice, theory
Yueun Kim — piano
Rebecca Kuo — cello
Jesse Langen — guitar, theory
Monica Laytham — voice
Dominique Louis — percussion, jazz

UPTOWN ACADEMY FACULTY, cont'd

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Ben McMunn — guitar
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Mio Nakamura — piano
Chris Neal — voice, theory
Scott Scharf — guitar, theory
Valerie Simosko — flute
Steve Vazquez — guitar
Silvia Suarez — violin, viola

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APPENDIX 5

Burbank Elementary School Urban Gateways touring programs, 2013-2014 school year.
Courtesy Tarah Durnbaugh, Touring Programs Manager, Urban Gateways.

September 23rd and 24th: La Bamba: Latin American Journey.
October 1st and 2nd: Danzas Ceremoniales de Mexico
October 8th and 9th: Hooked on Cuba
October 15th and 16th: Spain's Dancing Rhythms
October 22nd and 23rd: Voice of Dance
October 29th and 30th: Third Coast Percussion: Think Outside the Drum
November 5th and 6th: African Village Folktales 1
November 13th: History of Rock & Roll
November 19th and 20th: Puppet Place: The Magic Onion
November 26th: History of Rock & Roll
December 3rd and 4th: Bluegrass Music
December 10th and 11th: Storybox for Kids
December 17th and 18th: History of Jazz
January 7th and 8th: Tom Sharpe's World Music that Rocks!
January 14th and 15th: Guitar Legends
January 21st and 22nd: The Birthplace of Rhythm: West Africa
January 28th and 29th: Chinese Folk and Classical Dance
February 4th and 5th: Celebration Dances of West Africa
February 11th: African Village Folktales Part 2
February 18th and 19th: The Evolution of African-American Music
February 25th and 26th: The Largest African Empire Revealed
March 4th and 5th: No programs—Illinois Standard Achievement Tests (ISATs)
March 11th and 12th: No programs—ISATs
March 18th and 19th: 20th Century Women of Song
March 25th and 26th: The Make 'Em Ups
April 1st and 2nd: The Birthplace of Rhythm—Global Show
April 8th and 9th: Puppet Place: The Wonderful World of Puppets
April 22nd and 23rd: The Sounds of Soul
April 29th and 30th: String Groove
May 6th and 7th: Cha Cha Cha: Latin American Dances
May 13th and 14th: Fandango!
May 20th and 21st: chiBAM! We All Got Rhythm
May 27th and 28th: World Tales
June 3rd and 4th: Music from Steel

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