The Historical Exclusion of Mexican Americans in Music Education

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Abstract

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Music Education

This historical study explores Mexican American student access to music education programs during the four main periods of Mexican American educational experience identified by Chicano education history scholar Gilbert G. Gonzalez (2013): de jure segregation (1900-1950), the inter-American period (1950-1965), the militant and reformist era (1965-1975), and the neoliberal era of education (1975 to present). This is in an effort to illuminate the influence of U. S. educational policy on Mexican American access to music education programs. Using Critical Race Theory (Taylor, 2016), I explore the intersection of educational policy and local practice to describe how Mexican American students were impacted in terms of full access to music education programs throughout the American Southwest. Additionally, I will explore Mexican American community responses to provide music education to students in each era in an effort to provide counter-stories (Yosso & Solórzano, 2016) of successful music programs

that were developed in Mexican American communities. These counter-stories have the potential to help inform current music educators of effective strategies to create appealing music programs at sites with high Mexican American student populations.

The current underrepresentation of Mexican American teachers (Elpus, 2015) and students (Elpus & Abril, 2019) in music education warrants a deep historical exploration of the various factors that have influenced the participation trajectory of Mexican American individuals over several generations. Using Critical Race Theory (Bell, 1980; Ladson-Billings, 2016; Sleeter, 2012) as an appropriate theoretical framework, this research examines the intersection of educational policy and local practice with attention to the dynamics of power and oppression within these educational systems as well as how individuals are able to successfully navigate these spaces using culturally congruent approaches (Au & Kawakami, 1994) in music education.

The findings of this historical study reflect current strategies of Ethnic Studies scholars in engaging Mexican American youth using Indigenous epistemologies and decolonial pedagogies as a way to counteract the effects of an education system rooted in colonialism. Additionally, the counter-stories presented suggest that community music-making was historically the primary mode of music education for Mexican American students who were excluded from participating in mainstream music education settings. As such, I recommend the development of music programs that are rooted in 1) Indigenous epistemologies, 2) decolonial pedagogies, and 3) community cultural wealth. To accomplish this goal, I present a music framework based on the Mexica knowledge construct process known as the *Nahui Ollin*. To move this framework into practice, I also outline a music composition approach that is rooted in Indigenous knowledge (the Collective Songwriting Process) and can be used as the foundation for engagement of Mexican-heritage students. While my suggestions focus solely on this framework's use in school music

programs with high populations of Mexican American students, they can be implemented in any school music program that is seeking to implement decolonial practices.

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-por Maestro Eduardo Garcia

This dissertation is dedicated to those who find warmth in the space between worlds. May your blossoms serve as a bridge over each border you touch.

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Prologue

Being a cisgender Mexican American man who also hovers (Q)uietly around the periphery of the LGBTQ community has caused me to examine daily many of my intersecting identities, oppressions, and privileges while navigating the overwhelmingly white world of music education. For example, as a Mexican American in academia I occupy a spot within the .2 percent of *mi gente* that have a graduate degree. In music education, I am part of an even rarer breed of "Latine" scholars that make consistent contributions to literature in the profession. As with many of us tucked away in this small corner, my hard fought grasp on this professional rung is often strained by the weight of imposter syndrome, the multitude of daily microaggressions in predominantly white spaces, and an unfaltering commitment to our people that we will help get them through that ever narrowing academic door. However, as a cisgender man in this field, I am endowed with a certain amount of privilege that allows at least some of my voice to be discernible over the din of *white* noise; so long as I police my tone and don't become *too* hungry as a I peck out of the palm of privilege. These daily negotiations have my ROM (racially occupied mind) working in overdrive as I boot up my brain for the next opportunity to make a contribution to conversations pertaining to diversity, equity, and inclusion being had by white scholars in a predominantly *whitestream* (Urrieta, 2009) field. I want to be firm, but not angry. I want to value other voices and honor their intersecting oppressions, but also have my perspective validated. Unfortunately, it is too often that I am left feeling like I have to apologize for my words rattling the fragile white veneer that covers the walls built to house my Brown voice.

In many ways, I feel that my Mexicanness has, at times, become a liability in several instances in the music education world. I would like to share one particular moment that I experienced while attending a popular conference for band directors in Seattle. During the night

of the final concert I came down to the conference room where the event was to be held. A short distance away from the venue I realized that I was not wearing my conference badge. I didn't think it was a problem because I watched several people being allowed to enter even without a badge. Dressed down to business casual, I crossed the threshold and immediately felt a hand on my arm, "Excuse me sir, where is your badge?" As I watched several more badgeless people enter the room I replied, "I left it in my room and the concert is about to start." I will never forget the following words "I'm sorry sir, the concert is for conference attendees only." Confused at this point I pointed to the fact that the majority of the people coming through the doors were also without a badge. Again, came the words except this time with a sly smirk, "I'm sorry sir, the concert is for conference attendees only."

In that moment, a burning flood of historical trauma, the countless racial slurs thrown at me as a kid, the deculturation I was subjected to in school, and the many microaggressions I experienced during my undergraduate years rushed to my ears. With my racially occupied mind overwhelmed in a split second, I turned speechless and walked away. When I see a crowd of white faces staring back at me in music education settings, I am immediately made aware of my visibility and often reminded of the embarrassment I felt in that moment. Whether or not these moments are intentional is irrelevant; the only relevance is the marginalization that I and countless other Mexican American individuals have felt while navigating these spaces over several generations of involvement in music education settings in the United States. For many of us, the overwhelming whiteness of our profession reminds us, like so many storefront signs of the past, that we are still not welcome (Mena, 2020).

Chapter One: Introduction

Music education is built upon a colonial foundation which has impacted the participation of Mexican Americans for several generations. Because of this, and despite their growing population, Mexican American and *Latine*[1] students continue to be severely underrepresented in music education as both students and teachers (Elpus & Abril, 2019; Elpus, 2015). A recent report (U.S. Department of Education, 2014) detailing Latine participation in the arts concluded that only 25% (ages 18-24) of adults surveyed from this population reported receiving any arts education during their enrollment in secondary schools. Considering that 59% of their white peers reported participation in the arts, a clear disparity along racial lines emerges.

In music education, a handful of studies have explored Mexican American students' musical experiences in terms of preference (Abril & Flowers, 2007), student response to culturally relevant music instruction (Abril, 2009; Shaw, 2015; Escalante, 2018), representation of Latine music in the music curriculum (Feay-Shaw, 2002), and the perceived utility of applying skills learned within the music classroom to the community and home settings by Latine students (Kelly-McHale, 2013). However, the reasons for this underrepresentation remain elusive.

For Latine students who do participate, the reasons and perceived benefits of their participation are equally unclear. In their book *The Latino Education Crisis,* Gándara and Contreras (2009) describe how several interviewees used music education as a means to develop cross-cultural friendships that allowed them to obtain access to white culture, proximity to high-achieving students, and the cultural capital that allowed them to navigate *whitestream* (Urrieta, 2009) spaces. This connects to the phenomenon explored by Ethnic Studies scholar Tracy

[1] Latine is a gender-neutral term that has come into common usage to replace Latino as a broad identifier of Latin American individuals. However, when used by other individuals in this study, I maintain the term (e.g., Latino, Latina) they use in quotes of as the name of programs. Another term, Latinx, has also been used, however, I chose Latine because it fits more with the conventions of the Spanish language.

Castro-Gill called the "equitable access to whiteness" (personal communication, March 3, 2020) which describes how notions of success in mainstream classroom spaces are still rooted in white supremacy regardless of their accessibility to BIPOC[2] students.

Similarly, a study by music education scholars Martin Bergee and Kevin Weingarten (2021) linked Latine student gains on standardized tests to their participation in school music. However, in a rebuttal to this study, I (Mena, 2021) mentioned that certain methodological blind spots of the study ignored other factors that might have contributed to this particular group's academic achievements. I (2021) further argued that it was not participation in school music per se that allowed these students to achieve these gains but rather, the *ganas*, or desire, to achieve that was born out of the creative and complex bicultural affirmation responses (Darder, 2012) that these students developed as they navigated predominantly white spaces.

A Note on the Latine Population

One potential confounding factor that could be influencing conclusions drawn from research on this population is the immense heterogeneity of values and educational achievement trajectories found within Latine subgroups that are a result of the various sociohistorical experiences to which they have been subjected (González, 2013). While inequitable access to the arts for this population remains clear, the level of participation of each Latine subgroup (i.e. Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, etc.) has not. Viewing the Latine population as a monolithic culture can potentially lead to a lack of understanding in how these specific sociohistorical factors have influenced each Latine subgroup's access to education, experiences in the classroom, and participation in school music. Research in music education that ignores this

[2] BIPOC is an acronym for Black, Indigenous, People of Color.

reality serves to conceal the vast difference between each group's experience and participation, thus making any conclusions drawn rather murky.

Another potential complication that influences the generalizability of research findings that explore Latine identity as a monolith is the complexity of factors that influence identity, and thus, participation in music education at the individual level. Current models describing identity development (Cross & Cross, 2008) accept that identities are both multiplicitous and constantly changing. If an understanding of specific patterns of participation within Latine subgroups (i.e., Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban) is to be obtained, researchers must account for this heterogeneity and complexity by disaggregating the experiences of each subgroup and further researching them at the subgroup and individual level to find themes that persist across the population.

Need for This Study

To achieve specificity in this exploration of the historical engagement of specific Latine subgroups in music education, I have chosen to focus on Mexican Americans. To that point, one factor that affects our turbid understanding of Mexican American participation outcomes in music education is the lack of historical research pertaining to this population. For example, Sheila Feay-Shaw (2002) conducted a database search of the *Music Educators Journal* to determine the representation of Mexican heritage music in the journal. Her rationale for examining this journal is that "periodicals have long served to inform members of the music education profession. These journals serve as a source of information on the latest practices, newest materials, and crucial issues being considered by the profession" (Feay-Shaw, 2002, p. 84). In short, these professional journals (and within the field of music education, the Music Educators Journal) serve as a weathervane that indicate the direction of the field. In this study, Feay-Shaw (2002) found that the first mention of the term *Mexican* as an ethnic categorization

for students did not occur until 1982. Moreover, most articles mentioning the term *Mexican* presented research that focused specifically on Latin America and the country of Mexico rather than Mexican Americans in the United States. To fully understand their experiences in music education, new historical research must be conducted to provide insight into the various factors that influenced the Mexican American educational trajectory, including participation rates.

The historical reality is that the Mexican American experience in the United States has been one marked by ambiguous ethnic identity categorization and citizenship status. Subjected to widespread assimilation efforts that typically resulted from economic and political objectives, this population was forced to undergo various reconstructions of racial identity and cultural expressions in order to find space within the different political climates of various historical eras. As centering institutions, schools were often the crucible where this process of assimilation and racialization occurred. To understand the current underrepresentation of Mexican Americans in school music programs across the United States (Elpus & Abril, 2019; Elpus & Abril, 2011; Elpus, 2014), the educational experiences of this specific Latine sub-group must be explored. From the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 to the recently passed anti-immigrant SB 3 in Texas in 2023, Mexican American education has been inextricably linked to public policy and economic interests in the United States.

Mexican American history in music education is a topic that is rarely researched or even discussed. Considering the vast contributions that Mexican Americans have made and continue to make to the United States, this lacuna of information is unfortunate at best and highly problematic, negligent, and outright racist at worst. A telling of this history will serve the music education profession in that it will allow for reflection on the ways in which policies, curriculum,

and educational trends have influenced access to a quality music education in school for generations of Mexican Americans. As music education historian Marie McCarthy states:

> It is reasonable to suggest that historians need to look beyond the canon of mainstream educators and music education systems already documented and explore ways to present (and re-present) the voices and accomplishments of individuals, groups, and communities whose stories remain untold (2012, p. 192).

Purpose

It is my intent in this dissertation to examine the experiences of Mexican American students in music education throughout various historical periods of the Mexican American educational experience. Education historian Gilbert G. Gonzalez has identified four periods in particular: 1) the era of de jure segregation from 1900-1950; 2) the period of Mexican American urbanization from 1950-1965; 3) the militant and reformist era from 1965-1975; 4) and the neoliberal era spanning from 1975 to the present (Gonzalez, 2013). Using these dates as a launching point, I slightly modify them to align more closely with key moments in the field of music education. This is mostly due to the disciplinary delay in the implementation of policies and practices as well as the general fuzziness that exist around such historical delineations. As such, the periods I propose are as follows: Exclusion (1910-1935), Integration (1950-1960), Affirmation (1960-1980), and Adaptation (1982-Present).

This exploration is intended to place the Mexican American experience in historical context as well as to illustrate the repeated patterns of policy and politics of education stakeholders that relegated Mexican American students to the academic periphery. One point that I argue is that through their historical preclusion from participation in music education, Mexican American individuals were unable to develop widespread and sustained generational interest in

mainstream music. Moreover, I argue that this generational impact still affects participation levels today. In order to explore the contributions of Mexican Americans to music education, I also aim to present historical examples of Mexican American success in this field. This is in an effort to rectify the reality that these lives and stories have largely been ignored by the Eurocentric focus of music education historiography. This focus is also an attempt to challenge the narrative and widespread belief that Mexican Americans were disinterested in the education of their youth (Sowell, 1981) but rather, active agents in pursuing educational justice.

In choosing to engage in historical research for this study, I seek to explore and bring forth the neglected history of Mexican Americans in music education. Although this Latine subgroup currently accounts for 11.2% of the overall population in the United States and 60% of the Latine population (Pew Research, 2023), there is a severe lack of research pertaining to this group's historical interactions with and contributions to music education. Through an examination of four main periods in Mexican American educational development, I will explore how local implementation of educational policy pertaining to Mexican Americans influenced this group's access to music education programs.

Research Questions

To guide this study through the theoretical thicket, there are three main research questions:

1. Historically, how did changing educational policies influence Mexican American access to music education?
2. In what ways did individuals and/or communities respond to these educational policies?

3. How can these past events inform future engagement of Mexican American students in music education settings?

The focus on Mexican Americans in this research is directly aligned with music education historian Marie McCarthy's proclamation that "historians need to look beyond the canon of mainstream educators and music education systems already documented and explore ways to present (and re-present) the voices and accomplishments of individuals, groups and communities whose stories remain untold" (2012, p. 192).

Historiography

This dissertation is intended as a synthesis of the historical research of two academic fields to construct a historical narrative that focuses specifically on the Mexican American experience in music education. These fields are 1) the history of Mexican Americans in education, and 2) the history of music education. There are several factors for this lack of examination to date, including 1) the systematic historical segregation of Mexican American students into underserved and underresourced "Mexican Schools," 2) the academic tracking of this population into vocational programs based on racist intelligence tests (see Gonzalez, 2013), and 3) the educational policies that prohibited Mexican Americans from accessing comprehensive music education opportunities. As will be explored in this dissertation, this is due mainly to the influence that this group's marginalization had on the number of individuals that were able to pursue a career in mainstream (read: white) music education.

Music Education Historiography

In general, historical research in music education is a relatively recent endeavor in the United States. For example, the flagship historical periodical of music education, *The Journal for Historical Research in Music Education*, was only founded in 1980 by historian George

Heller of the University of Kansas. Prior to this, a column titled *Vignettes of Music Education History* was established by music education history scholar Charles L. Gary and ran from 1956 to 1968 in *Music Educators Journal*. In this column, historical vignettes regarding various topics such as individual educators and other historic music education events were covered. Additionally, articles on historic matters were also published in the *Journal for Research in Music Education* as early as 1953. However, in terms of larger works, only four extensive historiographical treatments of music education have been published.

The first book published on this topic was Edward Bailey Birge's *History of Public School Music in the United States* (1928). In this early text, Birge discusses the development of music education efforts of the United States from the early singing schools in New England in 1723 to the development of Music Teachers' Associations nationwide in the late 1920s (1928). Rather than providing a historical analysis Birge focuses on chronicling the contributions of key leaders and important events that contributed to the development of music education. As such, there is no discussion of the values that informed that purpose of early music education efforts for a two-century period, from the early 18th century to the early 20th century.

The next historiography, James Keene's (1982) *A History of Music Education in the United States* was released 54 years later. In this work, Keene set out to create a volume that would allow music educators to view past developments in music education in historical context so that lessons about the contemporary state of the field could be viewed through a more mature lens. Reflecting this purpose he states,

> Insights based on historical *prospective* will make our profession more mature (more thoughtful when presented with older methodologies masquerading as new) and more

> understanding of the complex interrelationships between our profession, the problems of general education, and the changing values of our society (pg. x).

To explore this historical context, Keene organizes this book into chapters that focus on the philosophical streams that influenced the development of music education in terms of curricular details, pedagogy, and use of technology. Although the stated goal seemed ambitious, this book is essentially a chronicle of key events in music education history as well as an exploration of prominent figures in music education. Admittedly, Keene recognizes that the scope of his book is focused on Eurocentric contributions in its tracing of historical events tracing all the way back to the arrival of Pilgrims. His reasoning for this limited scope is summarized in the following statement:

> The American white man is, after all, a displaced European, while the black man's contributions to American music, particularly in the fields of jazz, have been considerable, though his role in music education has only begun to be explored (Keene, 2009, pg. ix).

As such, there is no clear or in-depth interpretation of how or why these events occurred when and how they did. As for creating a book that allows for music educators to view the field in relation to changing values of society in the United States, there is no specific mention of race or how racialization of certain populations impacted their access to music education. In short, Keene follows the dominant narrative (and limited view) that mainstream public schools were the only spaces where meaningful music education activity occurred. Given that the book was published over 40 years ago, Keene's history reflects a time when American educators at larger were giving limited attention to the interests, needs, and contributions of diverse populations to the America matrix.

The next music education history book to be published was Michael Mark's (2008) *A Concise History of American Music Education*. Mark approached this book from the perspective that music education, historically, has been deemed a worthy of documentation of "triumphs and shortcomings" of the field while also highlighting both leaders and day-to-day music teachers who shaped the discipline. As in Keene's book, Mark (2008) shapes a historical narrative that focuses mostly on the contributions of white philosophers, educators, and administrators. While Mark also claims to explore social context, in the largest section of the book, featuring the development of music education from 1830 to the early twentieth century), there is no mention of how educational policies during these years excluded minoritized groups from participation in music programs. Moreover, the only mention of race is in a short treatment near the end of the book that summarizes the impact of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s on education (contained in one paragraph).

The most recently published book on music education history, *A History of American Music Education*, (Mark & Gary, 2017), was broader in scope than the previous two (Birge, 1928; Keene, 1982; Mark, 2008) and connects the origins of music education in the United States to antiquity, with attention to how music was taught and learned by the ancient Greeks, Jews, and Romans. Like the previous books, this work is organized chronologically and attempts to present a narrative that describes how various social, pedagogical, and philosophical streams influenced the development of music education in the United States. However, as described in the text, these origins also emphasize Eurocentric contributions while lacking any interpretation regarding the historical significance of key moments and figures. This shallow perspective turns problematic at times, and particularly due to a few mentions of race by the authors. For example, during a discussion about the 15th century colonization of Mexico, Mark and Gary discuss at

length the Spanish colonial system of music education that was established in schools across Mexico, and no reference is made to the Indigenous music education practices that were already there and had been present in Mexico for centuries, if not millennia (2017, p.47).

Additionally, in a discussion about musical practices of enslaved individuals in the United States, Mark and Gary ignore both the brutality of conversion that these people endured and their strategies of survival with the following quote:

> The emotionalism and exuberance of revivalist Christianity, especially in the form of the numerous smaller sects, appealed to the slaves. They responded enthusiastically and quickly to the music of these denominations, adapting it for their own needs and developing the gospel music tradition that evolved into a vital and popular contemporary genre (p. 64).

Moreover, the omission of any robust treatment of Black or Brown music education practices (eg, HBCU marching bands, second lines, *mariachi*, *conjunto*, etc.) clearly signals the Eurocentricity of this tome. In terms of historical narratives, this becomes problematic when considering that this book titled, *A History of American Music Education*, essentially conflates music education in the United States with European (read: white) music at the expense of erasing the wealth of cultural and pedagogical contributions that have come from the various ethnic groups in the United States.

It deserves to be mentioned that in the past decade, there have been several articles written that have focused on the histories of Black and Brown contributions to music education in the United States (Battiste, McDaniel, & Sands, 2022; Chappell, 2023: Clark, 2019; Groulx, 2017; Jones & Chappell, 2022; Legette, 2022; Liddell, 2022; Milburn, 2022; Royer, 2022; Wang, 2014; Wiggins & Bey, 2022). However, as can be seen from this brief historiography,

extensive historiographic studies in music education largely lack any robust analysis of intersections between race and education policy. This is highly problematic in that it prevents any in-depth understanding of how educational policies throughout history precluded various marginalized groups, Mexican Americans for this study, from participating in music education in substantial numbers; a phenomenon that is particularly evident during the years that the foundation of the field was being shaped. Without this understanding, the discipline of music education continues to grow on a foundation that is reinforced with rusted beams of white supremacy while concealing its role in perpetuating this harmful ideology behind a weathered I of neutrality.

Mexican American Education Historiography

In order to hone my investigative lens so to challenge dominant narratives in the historiography of music education, I chose to consult historical research pertaining to the Mexican American educational experience. Examining these texts provided me with insight into the various ways that educational policy influenced the Mexican American education experience in terms of racialization, access, community engagement, and overall purpose of music education. As will be described, Mexican Americans were historically precluded from participation in music education and, thus, had little access to write their stories into the mainstream narrative of music education history research. Because of this, I examined research in education broadly to obtain a bird's-eye perspective of the entire educational ecology that had impacted the Mexican American experience in music education from the 1920s forward.

As with music education, historical research on the Mexican American experience in education is a relatively recent academic field. For example, the first published book on the historiography of Mexican American education arrived in 1987 Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr's *Let*

Them All Take Heed. Prior to this, documentation of this topic was limited to book chapters and articles. Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr. (1986) discussed the state of contemporary historiography on the topic while also providing suggestions on how the field might move forward. He stated that prior to this article there had been two main approaches in historiography on this topic: 1) focus on what institutions have done or not done (institutionally-based research), and 2) focus on individual members themselves (minority-based research) (San Miguel, Jr., 1986). According to San Miguel, Jr., most institutionally-based studies focused mainly on the curriculum and content that Mexican American children were exposed to while the minority-based studies emphasized the interests, needs, and contributions of this group and centered them as "active participants in the historical process" (p. 530).

San Miguel, Jr. (1986) mentions that segregation of Mexican American students, both *de facto* and *de jure*, has been the most explored aspect of their educational experience. However, in order to fully understand the Mexican American experience, educational historiography of this group needs to expand to include research on the following: 1) the origins of Mexican American commitment to education, 2) those who attended school and for how long, 3) types of schools Mexican Americans attended and what were they taught, 4) the success with which *Chicanos*[3] have been discrimination in public schools, and 5) what impact did education have on the individual and community (San Miguel, 1986). As a contribution to this new perspective on Mexican American educational historiography, San Miguel, Jr. (1987) offered his own analysis on these various aspects in his book, *Let All of Them Take Heed: Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981*.

[3] In this study, I will often change between Mexican American and Chicano depending on the use of the scholar being cited and/or the historical period being described. Each of the terms used to described Latine subgroups is deeply connected to sociohistorical processes that have influenced self-ascribed identity labels (See Feliciano, 2009).

As Mexican American historiography expanded, so did the investigative scope of researchers. One historian, Vicki Ruiz (2004), discussed racialization in Mexican American historiography through the various ways that identity was conceptualized in these studies. Ruiz (2004) found that Mexican Americans have claimed several identities throughout various movements as an affirmation of various aspects of their historical identities. For example, Mexican American historiography in the 1970s and early 1980s largely ignored aspects of Mexican American indigeneity in favor of identities that were more oriented towards labor issues (Ruiz, 2004). In contrast, Ruiz (2004) mentions that the 1990s brought another shift that led to an emphasis on both indigenous and revolutionary identities; presumably due to the international focus on the Zapatista uprising in 1993. As a final point in her article, Ruiz describes how notions of whiteness has been present throughout the various streams of the Mexican American educational struggle, particularly with the legal strategies used in various desegregation cases in the southwest (2004).

In 2011, education historian Brain Behnken continued to explore the impact of racialization on Mexican American identity in historical studies to provide context for discussions that focused on de facto versus de jure segregation of this group during the civil rights movement of the 1960s. In this text, Behnken (2011) describes how these identity negotiations often created tensions between the Black and Mexican American communities in their fight for educational equality. Departing from previous studies that briefly cover the dynamics of Mexican American racialization, Behnken specifically addresses how various advocacy groups utilized the ambiguous racial categorization of Mexican Americans to inform efforts to secure educational rights in various periods of their struggle. For example, early Mexican American civil rights groups (i.e., League of United Mexican American Citizens,

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, GI Forum) used the early designation of Mexican Americans as "other white" as a legal strategy between the 1930s and 1950s (San Miguel, Jr., 1983) to obtain educational privileges that were guaranteed to white students. This move created several moments of tension between the Black and Mexican American communities from the late 1940s through the early 1960s. In contrast, the more militant and nationalistic Black Power and Chicano movements of the 1960s saw these two groups embrace more political and racialized identities as minority groups which led to increased collaboration based on shared interests.

Another important aspect of the Mexican American historical experience in education to be explored was the political economy that led to educational segregation of Mexican Americans. Historian Gilbert Gonzalez explored this topic in *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (2013). Rather than focusing specifically on cultural issues, Gonzalez focuses on the policies that influenced the Mexican American educational experience as well as the myriad ways that this community responded to these oppressive moments between 1910 and 1950. To illuminate how the educational ideology of this era impacted the Mexican American educational experience, Gonzalez provides a topical treatment of educational policy in relation to language, assimilation, notions of intelligence, and interculturalism. After more than a decade of reflection, Gonzalez provides an update to this text and provided guidance for future historiographers regarding the study of the Mexican American education experience:

> When historians first began to study the Chicano community, their emphasis was on the Southwest and often their home state and, of course, on the Mexican community. Things have changed enormously since then and the Latine population, including the Mexican community, is now spread across the nation...Most historical studies focused on domestic

> issues, but there has been a shift towards transnational conditions that drive immigration (2013, pg. xi).

Picking up on this suggestion, Philis M. Barragán Goetz (2020) expanded the historiographical lens to examine the transnational dynamics of the Mexican American educational experience. In *Reading, Writing, and Revolution: Escuelitas and the Emergence of a Mexican American Identity in Texas* (2020), she describes the historical development of these schools that focused on Mexican American language, culture, and history. Satisfying several of San Miguel, Jr.'s proposed historical topics for exploration, this text challenges the belief that Mexican American families during this time did not value education by presenting a narrative of this community's response to systemic oppression from Anglos on the US Mexican border. Barragán Goetz (2020) states that establishment of these schools, often with the help of the Mexican government:

> functioned as an obstacle to the conquests' completion and a vehicle for Mexican American cultural creation because they encouraged the next generation to speak, read, and write Spanish as a way to negotiate their experience as cultural and political subjects of Mexico and the United States. Escuelitas enabled their student populations to retain their families' language and culture, providing a stronger foundation from which to endure Anglo hegemony in the coming decades (p. 13).

This historical importance of this text lies in its emphasis on bringing to light previously concealed narratives of Mexican American successful adaptational strategies at the local level. As Mexican American education historiography continues to progress, exploration of these moments are essential to changing the perception that Mexican Americans were helpless victims but, rather, effective agents that also exerted influence on their own educational trajectories.

In this study, I seek to fill in the historical negative that has resulted from scholars overlooking the experience of one of the largest ethnic groups in the United States in favor of narratives that reinforce unquestioned norms in current music education practice. As such, the interpretive lens that I will be using for this historiographic project is Critical Race Theory (CRT).

Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory

As an academic discipline, Critical Race Theory (CRT) began in the 1970s with work by legal scholars Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman as an outgrowth of Critical Legal Studies (Ladson-Billings, 2016). According to Ladson-Billings (2016), those engaged in legal studies sought to provide an "analysis of legitimating structures in society" (p. 18). Building on Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, legal scholars sought to "describe the continued legitimacy of oppressive structures in American society (Ladson-Billings, 2016, p. 18). Eventually, scholars from a variety of disciplines sought pragmatic approaches to implement this in their fields and, eventually, Critical Race Theory emerged (Ladson-Billings, 2016). As explained by Solórzano & Yosso (2016), as a method in education, Critical Race Theory is uniquely suited to exploring this topic of the historical exclusion of Mexican Americans from music education because of the following:

> a) it foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process. However, it also challenges the separate discourse on race, gender, and class by showing how these three elements intersect to affect the experiences of students of color, (b) challenges the traditional research paradigms, texts, and theories used to explain the experiences of students of color; (c) offers a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gender, and class subordination; (d) focuses on the experiences as sources of strength and (e) uses the

> interdisciplinary knowledge base of ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, humanities, and the law to better understand the experiences of students of color (pg. 127).

Primarily, Critical Race Theory examines racism in institutions and begins with the understanding that racism is "the larger, systemic, structural conventions and customs that uphold and sustain oppressive group relationships, status, income, and educational attainment" (Taylor, 2016, p. 3). As an academic discipline, CRT emerged out of Critical Legal Studies; a field that focused openly criticizing the "the role of law in the construction and maintenance of racially based social and economic oppression" (p. 2). Critical Legal Studies emerged mainly in response to the stalled enforcement and political regression of the legal victories of the Civil Rights era (e.g., Brown v. Board of Education). In short, the early-Critical Legal Studies scholars legal scholars (i.e., Derrick Bell, Lani Guinier, Richard Delgado, and Kimberlé Crenshaw) sought to "examine how racism [was] perpetuated, despite legal remedies to address it and despite a national rhetoric of racial progress" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 490). From these legal origins, Critical Race Theory expanded to examine how racism was perpetuated in other institutions and practices. For example, education scholar Gloria Ladson Billings (1995) first began to use this theory to examine school inequity through the incorporation of theories from law and the social sciences. Currently in education, scholars utilizing CRT rely on four core tenets: 1) the centrality of racism, 2) the challenges to claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy, 3) whites as historic beneficiaries of racial remedies, and 4) the centrality of experiential knowledge. It is important to note that while the founding of Critical Race Theory is attributed to legal scholars Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman, I will be using interpretations from scholars who have specifically applied this theory to education, Namely Gloria Ladson-Billings, Christine

Sleeter, Daniel Solórzano, and Tara Yosso. This is to help increase the accessibility of practitioners in music education who seek to apply these principles to their learning contexts. However, this is not intended to be a substitute for educators developing their theoretical knowledge of Critical Race Theory, rather, it is an intermediary step to assist them in recognizing these tenets in their specific learning contexts. As such, Christine Sleeter's (2012) concise descriptions of the tenets of CRT will be used throughout this study.

Centrality of Racism

According to educationist and CRT scholar Christine Sleeter, the tenet referred to as *centrality of racism* begins with the assumption that "racism is not an aberration, but rather a fundamental, endemic, and normalized way of organizing society" (Sleeter, 2012, pg. 491). Viewing racism as an ubiquitous reality in the United States allows scholars, particularly in education, seek to examine how conventional understandings and mainstream experiences emerged from systems that continue to be rooted in racism. In music education, this perspective might provide for a deeper understanding of the disparity in participation patterns of Black and Brown students, particularly regarding their access to participation opportunities, as well as the underrepresentation of Black and Brown music educators in the profession (Cronenberg & Williams, 2023; Elpus, 2015).

Exploring the centrality of racism in music education allows for an examination of what music education scholar Juliet Hess (2018) has described as the relegation of "participants with non-Eurocentric musical experiences to periphrastic space, or the margins of school music" (p. 326). As such, I argue that because of American music education's foundations in those colonial practices that sought to assimilate students within the centering institutions of schools, Mexican Americans were relegated to the margins due to racist perceptions of their cognitive abilities and

cultural wealth. To explore the centrality of racism in this research, I examine primary documents relating to policy and curricular decisions to describe how Mexican Americans were excluded from participation through mechanisms such as segregation based on culture and phenotype, intelligence testing, and inequitable funding practices.

Challenges to Claims of Neutrality, Color Blindness, and Meritocracy

Rather than viewing achievement purely as a result of meritocracy in U.S. society, the second tenet of CRT focuses on *challenges to claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy*. In effect, this tenet "challenges the idea that laws and institutions are racially neutral, holding that claims of neutrality and color blindness mask White privileges and power" (Sleeter, 2012, pg. 491). In other words, the historical exclusion of Black and Brown people in various aspects of U.S. society that impacted their outcomes in terms of educational achievement (Siddle Walker, 1996), generational wealth (Rothstein, 2019), incarceration rates (Alexander, 2012) and even health trajectories (Tagorda-Kama et al, 2023) were not a matter of individual failure but, rather, a result of systemic racism. Aligned with this tenet, Gloria Ladson-Billings (2016) offers an additional perspective with a critique of the incrementalism of liberalism. She states that, "CRT argues that racism requires sweeping changes, but liberalism has no mechanism for such change" (2016, p. 19).

To examine *challenges to claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy* in music education, I explore primary documents that describe the values that conventional music education practices are imbued with. This allows for an examination of bias in these foundational values which has led to inequitable generational outcomes specifically for Mexican Americans. Understanding this bias is helpful in music education because it allows for an examination of how past practices (i.e. segregation of Mexican Americans into vocational tracks, use of

intelligence testing to limit Mexican American educational opportunities), and current performance conventions (i.e. honor groups, audition-based placements, entrance examinations to university music programs) continue to conceal the pervasiveness of White privilege in favor of meritocratic explanations that relate success in music education solely to effort.

Whites as Beneficiaries of Racial Remedies

The third tenet of CRT, which examines *Whites as beneficiaries of racial remedies*, relates to critical legal studies scholar Derrick Bell's concept of *interest convergence* which argues that "the personal responsibility and the potential sacrifice inherent in…[achieving] true equality for blacks will require the surrender of racism-granted privileges for whites (Bell, 1980). Recently in education, Sleeter (2012) states that interest convergence "holds that Whites act on their own self-interest, and advance interests of color only as long as they converge with White interests" (p. 2). Interest convergence was mostly evident during the period following the landmark desegregation case Brown v. Board of Education in 1954. In one example, education scholar Vanessa Siddle Walker (1996) describes the closure of successful schools that served Black students as a result of the primarily unidirectional integration strategies that favored predominantly White schools. Moreover, these closures led to a decline in Black teacher employment in the years following the mandates outlined in the court ruling; a trend the education system in the U.S. has never fully recovered from (Thompson, 2022 p. 979).

In this research, I primarily describe *Whites as the beneficiaries of racial remedies* and interest convergence through the efforts to diversify curriculum and incorporate non-conventional (i.e., outside of Western European Art Music) music practices into existing music education programs. Through an examination of policy and music educators and administrators' rationale for diversifying curriculum, I describe how these implementations were only allowed if

they served the furtherance of *whitestream* (Urrieta, 2009) interests and practices within music education. Furthermore, the examination of interest convergence in music education could provide helpful insights into how non-White musical practices are developed and eventually modified to fit the conventions of conventional music education spaces.

Centrality of Experiential Knowledge

Exploring the history of Mexican Americans in music education requires an interpretive lens that can account for the nuanced interactions between policy and pedagogy on the racialization of this group to determine how these dynamics affected their access to and participation in music education over the past several generations. In order to sufficiently capture this experience, I will be utilizing a technique of Critical Race Theory known as *counter-storytelling* (Solórzano & Yosso, 2016) to help shape the narrative that I craft.

As a method, counter-storytelling is defined as "telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society). The counter-story is a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2016, pg. 133). As seen in the lack of representation in mainstream music education historiography, the story of Mexican Americans in music education has been ignored or, more accurately, looked over by what writer Toni Morrison calls, the *White gaze* (Toni Morrison quoted on Charlie Rose, 2015): the understanding that all artistic efforts must be shaped for the consumption of White audiences. This perspective has rendered the contributions, successes, and achievements of this group invisible. Through uncovering and sharing these counter-stories, I am challenging the dominant discourse in the historiographic tradition of music education. As music teachers struggle to find better, more humanizing ways to engage historically underserved Black and Brown students in music education programs, these hidden histories will benefit them by, 1)

calling attention to how white supremacist roots of music education continue to impact Black and Brown students, and 2) understanding the strategies used by historically underserved and underresourced communities to develop strong music education programs despite being excluded from participation in mainstream music education.

Cultural Congruence in Music Education

To examine the history of Mexican American exclusion in music education, elements of Culturally Congruent Instruction (CCI) were utilized as well. As an approach, the hypothesis of CCI is that:

> students of diverse backgrounds often do poorly in school because of a mismatch between the culture of the school and the culture of the home. Students have less opportunity to learn when school lessons and other activities are conducted, or socially organized, in a manner inconsistent with the values and norms of their home culture" (Au & Kawakami, 1994).

To examine the application of this approach, Au & Kawakami (1994) conducted a literature review of several studies to determine the most successful strategies. They found that learning environments must develop a "composite culture" (p. 22) that is able to successfully respond to the various needs of diverse student populations while focusing on academic success. Additionally, they argue that "home values and processes must be taken into consideration" (p. 22) when cultivating engaging learning environments for diverse student populations. In this study, Culturally Congruent Instruction was used mainly to understand the strategies that music programs that have successfully served Mexican Americans throughout history have implemented to engage this population.

Decolonization in Music Education

In addition to using Critical Race Theory and Culturally Congruent Instruction to analyze this history presented in this study, I also use decolonization approaches (Fanon, 1963; Grande, 2018; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Smith, 2012). According to Indigenous education scholar Sandy Grande (2018), decolonization is specifically focused on Indigenous sovereignty as well as engaging "a method of analysis and social inquiry that troubles the capitalist, imperialist aims of unfettered competition, accumulation, and exploitation" (pg. 234). Additionally, Grande (2018) implores educators utilizing decolonization approaches to "*dethink* the notion of sovereignty from its connection to Western understandings of power and base it on Indigenous notions of relationship" (pg. 234). With this understanding, I utilize decolonization as a way to 1) examine the colonial foundations of music education (e.g., emphasis on performance competitions, the accumulation of 'world music' for use in perfunctory diversification efforts, the focus on assimilation of Black and Brown students), and 2) to provide suggestions on how to structure music classrooms that serve Mexican American students who have been subjected to the generational impact of an education rooted in colonialism and White supremacy through a reimagining of power relationships in the music classroom. While CRT provides a method to analyze historical trajectory of the exclusion of Mexican Americans, decolonization provides pedagogical approaches for teachers who seek to dismantle the oppressive structures that have marginalized Mexican Americans in music education for generations.

Method

In order to understand the historical exclusion of Mexican Americans in school music through a CRT lens, it was necessary that my historiographic approach helped to develop a narrative that "[constructed] the meaning of historical events to promote understanding by the reader and the interaction between society and institutional actors" (Stewart, 2017, p. 149). To

accomplish this, my historiographic approach was rooted in the understanding that identity categories (i.e., Mexican American), and the educational experienced attached to them, are "neither natural nor unmediated, but are produced by the legal and practical codification of difference and efforts to ether enact or dismantle racial inequality" (Stewart, 2017, p. 158). In other words, my method required, 1) the examination of theories that informed educational policy, 2) an examination of efforts and rationales to put these policies in practice, 3) personal experiences of individuals enacting or experiencing these policies, and 4) how communities organized around identity categories (i.e., Mexican Americans) responded to the effect of these policies.

Techniques of Historiography

According to historian John Lewis Gaddis (2002), historical writing is primarily concerned with creating a representation of the past, however incomplete the resources left to the historian may be. Gaddis describes this process with the following,

> We can portray the past as a near or distant landscape…we can perceive shapes through the fog and mist, we can speculate as to their significance, and sometimes we can even agree among ourselves as to what these are. Barring the invention of a time machine, though, we can never go back there to see for sure" (2002, p. 3).

Much like how the archaeologist constructs the activities of a long-lost civilization from the shards of broken pottery, bones, and buried artifacts, the historian constructs a past based on incomplete records and a keen eye honed for the interpretation of existing materials. To craft this historical study, I relied on several historiographic techniques including the consultation and analysis of primary and secondary sources in libraries, digital databases, and physical archives (Gaddis, 2002; Breisach, 2007; Brundage, 2017; Williams, 2020). The sources collected for this

study were primarily manuscripts and included music education periodicals, newspapers, oral histories, government documents, yearbooks, and other written artifacts that captured the intellectual trends of the periods covered.

Music education periodicals. Since professional periodicals "serve as a source of information on the latest practices, newest materials, and crucial issues being considered by the profession" (Feay-Shaw, 2002, p. 84), I primarily examined the most widely read journals in music education: *Music Educators Journal*, *The Journal for Research in Music Education*, and *The Journal for Historical Research in Music Education*. The first of these journals is the most widely read by practitioners in the field and is thus high influential in the making (and re-making) of curriculum and instruction. To locate information about Mexican Americans in music education, online databases of these periodicals were primarily used. Search terms used in this research included *Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, Spanish speaking, immigrant, Hispanic,* and *Latino*. After locating the sources, I then analyzed the articles, editorials, columns, and advertisements contained therein for any information pertaining to the Mexican American experience in music education.

Government documents, newspapers, and yearbooks. In order to capture local histories, events, and information on individuals, I also consulted online databases to search for newspapers and yearbooks from the locales covered in this study. These sources primarily provided biographical information, accounts of local events, and opinions of individuals in these locales. The government documents and official reports collected for this study were primarily used to gain insight into national trends in education policy or other educational matters pertaining to the Mexican American community.

Songbooks. Song books from the periods covered in this study were also collected and analyzed in order to describe how prevalent attitudes of these periods were present in the music being taught to Mexican American students. These manuscripts were able to illustrate a great deal about "society's common, unexamined assumptions" (Brundage, 2017, p. 20), particularly about the function of music education in elementary school.

Oral histories. For this study I also used documented stories from individuals who lived this history. Using techniques outlined in Ritchie (2015), I collected and analyzed several oral histories maintained by various projects (i.e., The Portal to Texas History) in order to reinterpret recollections that were told. These reinterpretations (Ritchie, 2015) helped to verify the new findings regarding Mexican American contributions to music education throughout various periods of their educational experience. Another function of oral histories is to verify events that were recorded in written media. As Ritchie states, "properly done, an oral history helps interpret and define written records and makes sense of the most obscure and decisions and events" (p. 112).

In addition to collecting and analyzing preexisting oral histories, I conducted, recorded, and transcribed several oral history interviews over a period of four years with former students, teachers, and professors who lived through the various historic periods documented in this study. Aligned with the counter-storytelling tenet of CRT, these oral histories helped to reshape historical understandings of music education in the United States by providing a space where concealed stories could emerge and rupture the mainstream narrative. As Ritchie (2015) states, many interviewers who collect oral histories from marginalized communities "see the interpretation of history as a power struggle and have sought to help such groups take control of memory and history" (p. 128).

Description of Chapters.

This dissertation is organized to allow the exploration of the Mexican American experience in music education throughout four main historical periods as defined by education historian Gilbert Gonzalez (2013): de jure segregation (1900-1950), the inter-American period (1950-1965), the militant and reformist era (1965-1975), and the neoliberal era of education (1975 to present). However, in order to align better with developments within the field of music education as well as point to the social context of each era, I have modified them as follows for this study: Exclusion (1920-1950), Integration (1950-1960), Affirmation (1960-1982), and Adaptation (1982-Present). As a general format, each chapter maintains the following structure: 1) introduction to the sociohistorical setting of the educational period being discussed, 2) noting of relevant legislation that was relevant to the education of Mexican American students and its impact on their access to education, and 3) the presentation of *counter-stories* that highlight key music programs or educators that successfully engaged Mexican Americans.

Chapter Two presents an overview of the educational ideologies found in the early 20th century and describe how these ideals shaped the educational policies of this period. Using the tenet of CRT that *challenges claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy*, I will discuss the origins of the current music education and describe how its foundations were rooted in White supremacy. Analyzing this history through the lens of CRT that "challenges the idea that laws and institutions are racially neutral, holding that claims of neutrality and color blindness mask White privileges and power" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 490). This discussion will focus mostly on the work of the *administrative progressives* (Labaree, 2005), the educational systems they developed, and the effects that this process had on the overall educational experience of

Mexican Americans (i.e., segregated Mexican schools, academic tracking, limited learning opportunities).

Chapter Three will focus on the inter-American period that Gonzalez (2013) has labeled the era of Integration. This post-World War II period, spanning approximately from 1950-1960, is seen by many scholars as a watershed moment for the Mexican American community as regards their fight for educational equity. The analysis of this period underscored the exclusion of Mexican Americans as illustrative of the CRT tenet of *Whites as benefits of racial remedies* and its associated notion of *interest convergence*. This chapter begins with an examination of the intersection between two critical post war dynamics: 1) changing relationships between Latin American and the United States in a post war climate, and 2) the burgeoning struggle for Mexican American educational equity. The discussion then focuses on how these dynamics influenced the development of music education policies with particular attention paid to the disparity of effort between the development of multicultural music education and redressing of factors that impacted Mexican American participation in music education.

Chapter Four will focus on the era of Affirmation that mostly coincides with the Chicano movement from 1965 to the late 1970s. This period marked an important shift in Mexican American educational efforts in that it was focused on a more militant approach to obtaining educational equity. This period highlights the presence of the CRT tenets of *centrality of racism* as well as the tenet that challenges *claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy*. I explore how systemic racism in education necessitated the sweeping change advocated for by Chicano communities. This chapter will also describe how Chicano, or *huelga*, schools came to be, and the ways in which Mexican and Chicano musical expressions were a central component of learning at these schools.

Chapter Five focuses on the era of Adaptation for Mexican Americans between the years of 1993 and the present. After the substantial gains made during the Chicano movement faded, political attacks against Mexican Americans began anew in 1994, particularly against immigrants. The response (or lack thereof) to address the impact of educational policies on Mexican Americans' access to music education during this period highlights Ladson-Billings' (2016) critique of liberalism's inability to create sweeping change. During the examination of this period, I describe how, despite music education's increasing attention given to issues of social justice, there were very few efforts to restructure music education in response to these attacks. Additionally, the analysis of this period demonstrates the presence of the CRT tenets of 1) *Whites as benefits of racial remedies*, and 2) *challenges to claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy*. Through an examination of the increased attention paid to diversity in music education and incorporation of diverse ensembles, I will illustrate how these discussions only led to small incremental changes in achieving racial equity in music education. Moreover, I will utilize Ladson-Billing's critique of liberalism to demonstrate that sweeping and transformative change in music education is not possible with current approaches that are rooted in liberalism.

Chapter Six will offer an analysis of these historical examples in terms of how they relate to specific issues in the current practice of music education. The discussion will begin with a review of key contemporary research that describes the current experience of Mexican Americans in music education in the United States. After identifying specific issues, both historical examples and current interview data will inform suggestions for actionable items that music teachers and administrators should consider when developing music programs in schools that specifically serve Mexican American students. In line with the CRT analysis that revealed

that the historical exclusion of Mexican Americans was due largely to music education practices that were rooted in White supremacy and colonialism, these suggestions include completely decolonizing music education programs by rooting them in Indigenous epistemologies. One such example presented here is the Nahui Ollin (four movement) which is derived from the Indigenous Nahua cosmology. Additionally, I provide a pedagogical approach that can form the foundation of modern music education programs that serve Mexican American communities. This process, called the *Collective Songwriting Workshop*, is rooted in Zapatista musical practice and the Indigenous notion of *participatory horizontality* (Figueroa-Hernandez, 2011), which provides multiple entry points for all participants to contribute based on their skillset.

Chapter Two: Exclusion (1910-1935)

De allí me fui a la frontera
Fue mi promer desengaño
Para principios de cuentas
Me despacharon al baño

Yo les dije, "No, señores,
Ya me bañé en el hotel"
Me dijieron, "You se baña,
Si no quiere, go to hell"

Yo el "go to hell" no entendía
Por no hablar nada de inglés
Y el güero aquel se reía
Cuando yo le dije, "Yes"

-Los Hermanos Bañuelos, "Adios Estados Unidos" (1928)[4]

This chapter presents an overview of the educational ideologies found in the U.S. in the early 20th century between 1910 and 1935, and describes how these ideals shaped the American educational policies of this period as well as the development of music education. While there were several educational philosophies during this time, the discussion will focus primarily on the work of the *administrative progressives* (Labaree, 2005), the educational ecosystem they developed, and the effects this had on the overall educational experience of Mexican Americans (i.e., segregated Mexican schools, tracking, limited learning opportunities), including their lack of access to music education. This decision was made because of the large-scale impact that the contributions of the administrative progressives had on the trajectory of education from the 1920s up until the present time. As such, this chapter will discuss the origins of the current music education and describe how its foundations were rooted in White supremacy. From this historical analysis, it is apparent that the second tenet of CRT that *challenges claims of neutrality, color*

[4] The lyrics that introduce each chapter were intentionally left untranslated to encourage readers to seek out colleagues or resources to help them translate them on their own.

blindness, and meritocracy, was present in the enforcement of Mexican American marginalization in music education during this period. In effect, this analysis "challenges the idea that laws and institutions are racially neutral, holding that claims of neutrality and color blindness mask White privileges and power" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 490).

Additionally, this chapter will focus on presenting a counter-story (Solórzano & Yosso, 2016) of the Mexican American educational experience by centering the actions that this community took to ensure that their youth would have access to a high-quality musical education. To accomplish this, I will 1) describe the several legal challenges to the de facto segregation of Mexican Americans during this period, and 2) present the work of one educator, Dr. Antonio Bañuelos, who was able to successfully navigate the educational obstacles presented to this community to center the lived experience of Mexican Americans as agents and advocates of educational equity. Aspects of the life and history of Bañuelos will be recounted, with particular attention paid to his all-female *orquesta tipica* from the Baytown Mexican School in Baytown, Texas, and his music education work at the Our Lady of Talpa school in Boyle Heights, Los Angeles. His life will be explored as an illustration of the creative adaptational strategies that Mexican American communities had to develop during this era of widespread discrimination.

The Progressive Era and De Jure Segregation

To gain an understanding of the social dynamics that influenced the current Mexican American access to both general education and music education, it is important to examine the sociopolitical ecology in such a critical moment in their educational history. Situated during the height of American scientific racism (i.e., the eugenics movement), the birth of Progressivism impacted the Mexican American educational trajectory through several mechanisms that

included standardized testing and eugenics in the form of legally enforced *de jure* segregation. During the 1920s, there were several rapid social changes such as increased immigration, rapid industrialization, and global catastrophes such as World War I, the Spanish Influenza, the Great Depression, and Jim Crow policies that emerged after Reconstruction, that influenced the educational policies of this time. Reeling from these events, policy makers in education were trying to find ways to develop some semblance of stability in the face of these social changes. With its promise of social efficiency and organic society (Gonzalez, 2013), the educational philosophy of Progressivism seemed a natural fit to shape education for the needs of a transforming society. While fuller treatments of the Progressive Era in education have been produced (see Cremin, 1961; Tyack, 1974), a deep and comprehensive exploration is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it is important to understand the main themes and purposes that underpin this period so that the influence of Progressive ideals on music education can become clear.

Main Goals of Progressivism

The Progressive Era was not a monolithic effort that maintained a linear course from conception to implementation. Rather, it was a tumultuous period fraught with disagreements between two main groups that that were attempting to shape education to meet their specific goals. The groups who vying for control were labeled the *pedagogical progressives* and the *administrative progressives* (Tyack, 1974). The pedagogical progressives were largely concerned with shifting instructional practice, including efforts to center students' experiences in the classroom (Rury, 2012). This group included prominent educational figures such as John Dewey and Francis Parker. Many of the reforms that they advocated for can still be found in practice today, particularly with students-centered pedagogical practices.

The other group influencing immense change in education during this time was the administrative progressives. Rather than instructional practice, this group was more focused on the administration of education in the schools, standardization of curriculum, emphasizing vocationalism, and an overall focus on making education more efficient (Rury, 2012). Due to the direct influence of the policies of administrative progressives on Mexican American educational experiences, this chapter focuses on exploring their goals, ideology, methods for implementing their practices. The main focus of administrative progressives was to develop and implement policies that were focused on 1) social efficiency and differentiation (Rury, 2012); and 2) Americanization (Roitman, 1981).

Social efficiency and differentiation. Social efficiency for the administrative progressives refers to the establishment of bureaucratic systems that would allow for the efficient management of schools. Part of this efficient management included increasing the capacity of schools to more efficiently sort students into programs that were aligned with their psychometrically identified innate abilities (Rury, 2012). This process was referred to as differentiation and used widely to educate students for the division of labor that was required in the rapidly industrializing United States during the beginning of the twentieth century.

Americanization. Americanization was an integral component of ensuring the "organic society" that administrative progressives sought to achieve. Overall, Americanization efforts sought to inculcate in students a sense of "American" culture and the democratic ideals to which they could aspire. It was believed that through the internalization of these ideals, students would become loyal citizens and workers able to function in jobs that contributed to the common good (Roitman, 1981).

Phases of the Progressive Movement

As the Progressive Era unfolded, three distinct phases emerged: 1) the science of education movement; 2) the child-centered learning movement; and 3) social reconstructionism (Miller, 1966). Since the second phase is typically associated with the goals of the pedagogical progressives, this conversation will focus on the two key phases primarily connected to the administrative progressives: the science of education movement and social reconstructionism. While the child-centered learning movement had long-standing impact, the administrative progressive impetus that propelled the science of education movement and social reconstructionism arguably had the most impact on the educational trajectory of Mexican Americans and is thus the focus of this section.

The science of education movement. The science of education movement in progressivism was based on the belief that a student's natural talents could be quantified through psychometric means. This was directly aligned with the goal of social efficiency and differentiation, in that students could be tracked into educational pathways based on the scores they received on assessments such as standardized tests. Educational scholars in most subjects, including music, were developing these tests in the 1920s and 1930s to assess student ability. In particular, music tests were measuring such constructs as mood, harmonic sensitivity, and even judgment of orchestral music (Koza, 2021). Moreover, as cited in Alma Norton's *Teaching School Music* (1932), intelligence testing could be used to help track students into an ensemble that best suited their IQ-influenced musical potential.

Social reconstructionism. The next phase to be discussed is social reconstructionism. During this phase there was a widespread emphasis on the previously mentioned Progressive goals of social efficiency and differentiation, and Americanization. Essentially, the goal here was to instill in students the ideals that were necessary to function in the new American society. In

short, social reconstructionism was “concerned, above all else, with social, political, and economic democracy in, and through, education” (Miller, 1966). For immigrant students during this period, education primarily emphasized the learning of key aspects of American culture and institutions as well as training for American citizenship. In a society based on social efficiency this meant providing students with opportunities to learn skills that allowed them to contribute based on where they were situated in the social order. Ultimately, the underlying principle of social reconstructivism was the belief that education was inextricably connected to a perceived natural order.

Music Education and Mexican Americans in the Progressive Era

In order to understand how the ideals of the Progressive Era influenced the educational trajectories of Mexican Americans, especially as relevant to their musical education, it is necessary to examine how the central concepts of Progressivism that emerged from these phases were implemented in educational settings. This next section will examine how the emerging concepts of social efficiency and differentiation, and Americanization intersected and impacted music education. To illustrate how policy and practice interacted within the music education ecology of the time, local, regional, and national contexts will be explored.

Social efficiency in music education. The Progressive Era principle of social efficiency affected music education in several ways. First, social efficiency guided the administrative progressive’s goal of efficient management of schools during beginning in the 1920s. According to education scholar Lawrence Bethel (1940) the perceived needs of the institutions that primarily influenced this standardization movement were:

1. The need for a basis for determining the relative value of credits.
2. The need for agreement on requirements for admission.

3. Recognition of responsibility for protecting the interest of the public welfare.
4. The desire of professional groups to advance and protect the interests and standards of the professions.
5. Legal responsibility for chartering colleges and certifying applicants seeking to enter the professions. (p. 33)

A cursory analysis of the institutional needs presented above reveals that many of these items were directly related to the goals of the administrative progressives. For example, the establishment of admission requirements (point two) relates to the administrative progressive ideals of social efficiency and differentiation. Those who demonstrated that they possessed the prerequisite knowledge were perceived to be more likely to be successful in a college environment and were granted access. However, establishing these requirements that were based mostly on academic knowledge also precluded the participation of huge swaths of the population who were relegated to vocational rather than vocational tracks due to eugenicist mechanisms such as standardized testing (i.e., Mexican Americans) (Gonzalez, 2013).

Another example of these needs that are related to social efficiency and differentiation can be found in the emphasis placed on protecting the interests of the public welfare (point three). The administrative progressives believed it was imperative that social order be maintained through the effective sorting of individuals into societal roles that were best matched with their abilities. Those who were granted access to college would become the future leaders of those who were not, thus creating a perpetual feedback loop that maintained social order and further polarized the asymmetric power relationships between the two groups. As education historian David Labaree (2005) states, administrative progressives

> introduced tracking and ability grouping into American schools; [they] introduced ability testing and guidance as ways of sorting students into the appropriate classes; and [they] institutionalized the educational reproduction of social inequality by creating a system in which educational differences followed from and in turn reinforced differences"(p. 284).

As a result of these efforts, there was a national impetus in music education to standardize music curriculum in the schools. This process of standardization began with the universities (Mark & Gary, 2007) but through collegiate music education programs and partnerships with professional organizations in music education, it would eventually spread to all levels of schooling. A central component of this standardization of curriculum was the broader effort of developing accrediting agencies for universities across the United States.

As mentioned on the list of perceived needs of the administrative progressives, an emphasis was placed on maintaining professional standards (point four). In music education, this manifested itself in requirements for accreditation. These efforts culminated in the founding of the National Associations of Schools of Music in 1924 (Neumeyer, 1954). The goal of the NASM was to create a system of accreditation that music schools could opt into. By becoming a part of the organization, it was believed that members would benefit from "standardization of entrance and graduation requirements, the betterment of conditions of music study, and cooperation with and the support of recognized educational associations" (Neumeyer, 1954, pg. 46). Considering this growth of the organization from 38 members to 149 in just 22 short years, it seemed that these benefits had widespread appeal for institutions across the United States (Neumeyer, 1954). However, membership by institutions in NASM also meant that they gave up local control, since they then had to undergo periodic evaluations to ensure that the curriculum

and policies of the music departments and schools were aligned with the goals of NASM (Neumeyer, 1954).

Of particular interest is the music education curriculum that NASM outlined for university schools of music. With a grant from the Carnegie Corporation in 1925, NASM began to create a standardized system for the granting of units and degrees (Neumeyer, 1954). While university music education programs (also known as *school music* during this time) were in existence prior to the involvement of NASM, it was in 1942 that, through a partnership with the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and the Music Educators National Council, a standardized program was finally established (Neumeyer, 1954). This program included the following requirements: 1) general culture (i.e., non-music subject, educational psychology, music literature, etc.), 2) basic music (i.e., music reading, ear training, keyboard, harmony, counterpoint, composition, etc.), 3) musical performance (i.e., conducting, ensemble performance, major performance area, and 4) professional education (i.e., music education methods, students teaching, professional education courses) (Neumeyer, 1954).

Although NASM was the accrediting body for university music units across the United States, it was through such partnerships as these that they began to exert considerable influence on the standards, curriculum, and pedagogy being developed for and implemented in K-12 schools (Mark & Gary, 2007). As departments and schools of music opted for NASM accreditation, they were required to align their curricula with NASM goals and standards. Pre-service teachers would then learn these values from their educational experiences and then teach in ways that were aligned with how they learned in their music education programs. The school programs they developed would then teach skills that aligned with entrance requirements set forth by NASM, thus closing a feedback loop that perpetuated a musical education that was

imbued with Progressive Era ideals including the exclusion of those who were believed to not benefit from music education. As described previously, this exclusion often came through the use of intelligence testing (see Norton, 1932).

The science of education movement in music education. One of the main goals of social efficiency and differentiation during the Progressive Era in education was to sort individuals based on their perceived talents. The mechanisms through which this process occurred were achievement tests and other measures in music that were developed during the *science of education* phase of the Progressive Era. Rooted in Edward L. Thorndike's "synthesis of scientific method and evolutionary doctrine" (Cremin, pg. 111), the scientifically informed pedagogy of the progressive movement embraced the belief that intelligence and ability in certain disciplines could be measured, ranked, and ultimately used to determine a student's academic trajectory. In line with this perspective, Henry S. Pritchett, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, railed against what he perceived to be lax university admissions policies of the 1920s and stated that, "there must be made a more intelligent effort to point the student who is unfitted for college to some other vocation in which he may obtain both use and happiness" (Pritchett, 1923, pg. 560).

In music education, intelligence and ability tests were used widely to determine students who had "natural talent" in music and were capable of achieving success in this field. In agreement with the prevalent attitudes during this time, this point of view "implied that there were those children of lesser ability who would not profit from a musical education and, therefore, could be excluded from further education in music based upon a performance in a given test" (Miller, 1966, pg. 9). During the science of education phase of the Progressive Era, there were twenty different measures of musical ability developed (Kwalwasser, 1927). Several

studies using these psychometric tests were implemented to study Mexican Americans, specifically including “Musical Talent of Mexicans” (Garth & Candor, 1937), “The Effectiveness of Sight Singing Instruction for Mexican and Negro Children” (Johnson, 1938), and “The Use of Music Activities with Retarded Latin-American Children” (Nelson, 1952).

The findings from these studies varied greatly and often seemed to provide somewhat tenuous verification of the perceptions that Mexican Americans were incapable of advanced musical study due to inherent deficiencies. For example, the findings of the first study indicated that Mexican students did not have a keen ear for melody, but were proficient in rhythm possibly due to their cultural background in dancing” (Garth & Candor, 1937).

In other research from the 1930s, Mexican students were given a six-part musical aptitude test that measure their knowledge of, 1) knowledge of music symbols, 2) knowledge of time signatures, 3) recognition of key signatures, 4) recognition of solfege symbols, and 5) multiple choice section on knowledge of musical terms. Based on test scores, students could be classified into three categories: 1) those with high capacity for music achievement, 2) those with high capacity for appreciation, and 3) those with no capacity for musical achievement or appreciation (Johnson, 1938). In the findings, Johnson (1938) attributed the low achievement of Mexican Americans on the test as a result of their lack of proficiency in English. As Johnson stated:

> The first five parts dealt with purely English American characters while the sixth part dealt with Latin derivatives from which the Mexican language has its roots. As has already been stated, the nearness of many of the Mexican children to their Mexican background mad it inevitable that they would have some difficulty with comprehending clearly all phases of the English language (1938, p. 73).

Ignoring these confounding factors, Johnson concluded that there was a positive, albeit imperfect, correlation between raw intelligence and musical achievement. In line with negative perceptions of Mexican Americans, she stated that "there was a tendency for those in the higher IQ range to score higher in all parts of the test" (Johnson, 1938, p. 74).

The conclusions from yet another research project, this one from the continuing interest in mid-century in the assessment of intelligence (Nelson, 1952), seemed to confirm the widely espoused opinion that music education was useful in cultivating the better qualities in Mexican Americans. Nelson asserted that students' participation in musical organizations, such as band, choir, and orchestra, helped to develop "more normal progress" for Mexican Americans on other intelligence tests. This belief is still prevalent in research today. For example, Bergee & Weingarten (2021) published a study in 2021 that demonstrated some evidence for increased scores on standardized tests from Black and Brown students who participated in school music. However, I (2021) argued that these gains could be attributable to the emotional intelligence gained by these students as they developed bicultural affirmation responses (Darder, 2012) during the refining of the code switching necessary to successfully navigate these predominantly White musical spaces. Essentially, the empowerment these students were able to achieve was a result of their being able to maintain their primary culture through the adoption of an oppositional stance while "acting white" (Fordham, 1991).

Social reconstructionism, Americanization, and music education. Another aspect of Progressivism that is important to discuss is social reconstructionism. This ideal was "concerned, above all else, with social, political, and economic democracy in, and through, education" (Miller, 1966). It is important to note that the scope of social reconstructionism often encompassed Americanization efforts as well. This was due mainly to the large influx of

immigrants that the United States was experiencing during the 1920s. Although proponents of this work often espoused the importance of learning American culture and democratic values as a means for achieving some semblance of stability in a new society, the education that immigrant groups were able to access during this time seldom honored their development into fully agentic individuals that were able to achieve a measure of success without having to embrace Eurocentric ideals that were often instilled through violent processes. Moreover, this education would be congruent with their position in the social order and focus on inculcating in them certain values which would help them adapt and contribute to the well-being of American society. In other words, advocates of the time believed that "Americanization of these migrants was the only means to insure their cultural allegiance to the United States" (Sanchez, 1993, p. 97).

One of the mechanisms through which social reconstructionism and Americanization was enforced was through the development of community schools (Roitman, 1981). The purpose of such efforts was to educate the family as a unit so that the lessons learned in school by children could then be reinforced at home by parents (specifically mothers) who were also being Americanized (Sanchez, 1993). Support for this project at the national level can be found in a quote from the Bureau of Education in a text titled *Community Americanization: A Handbook for Workers* (Butler, 1918)*:*

> We can dissolve these colonies only as we offer a fuller life to those who live in them. When the inhabitants of our foreign districts find full fellowship in our communities and equality of treatment and of opportunity, they will find in the new relation a happiness greater than in the old and disintegration will come about naturally (pg. 16).

While documents such as these point to national support for these assimilative processes, it is important to examine local contexts as illustrations of how these policies were put into practice.

One such instance can be found in the Americanization efforts of the Chaffey School District in San Bernardino, California during the 1920s. During this time, the district was dealing with a large influx of Mexican immigrants being hired to work in the orange groves. These workers would settle in labor camps, or *colonias*, where access to education by children of the farm laborers was often lacking. Administrators at the Chaffey School District went to great lengths to develop an education program that would focus on the Americanization of these families while also training them for a life of labor. To accomplish these educational goals, the district maintained several mechanisms through which Mexican Americans were taught, including a traveling school that would go to the labor camp and provide educational services to both children and women as well as an industrial school where students were provided with vocational training and, for the "exceptional" students, leadership, and managerial experience (Hill, 1928). These efforts were mostly permitted by the Home Teacher Act, which was passed in 1915 (Sanchez, 1997) and allowed for teachers to "work in the homes of the pupils, instructing children and adults in matters relating to school attendance,…in sanitation, in the English language, in household duties,…and in the fundamental principles of the American system of government and the rights and duties of citizenship" (California Commission, 1916, p.8).

In another example of assimilation efforts, vocational programs that were focused on teaching immigrant women labor skills would often use music as means to instill assimilative ideals. This was due largely to the California Commission of Immigration and Housing's efforts to Americanize immigrant women due to their "potential role in the cultural transformation of her family (Sanchez, 1997, p. 481). While all immigrant women in California were subjected to

this, the Mexican experience was unique in terms of the degree of culturally subtractive processes they were subjected to. According to sociologist George J. Sanchez (1997), "little value was given to Mexican culture in Americanization programs; rather, Americanists saw immigrant traditions and customs as impediments to a rapid, thorough integration into American life" (p. 481).

In one example, the *Primer for Foreign Speaking Women* (a text that was used to teach the English language to Mexican immigrant women contained song that emphasized Americanization (California Commission, 1918):

We are working everyday,

So our boys and girls can play.

We are working for our homes and country, too;

We like to wash, to sew, to cook,

We like to write or read a book,

We are working, working, working, every day.

Work, work, work,

We're always working,

Working for our boys and girls,

For our homes and country, too

We are working, working, working every day.

The purpose of this text was primarily to teach English to working mothers, however, it was also imbued with pro-American democratic ideals that encouraged these women to fulfill their role as laborers and to demonstrate the relation between "a unified working force, speaking a common language, and industrial prosperity" (California Commission, 1917, p. 21).

Overall, music education in the early decades of the 20th century saw increasing support for such Americanization efforts. This occurred in several areas including professional journals, advertisements from publishers, and curriculum design. For example, an editorial in the *Music Supervisors Journal* (Back Matter, 1927) shared the following,

> To Americanize an alien is to make him an American citizen in every sense of that term, conscious of and responsive to his privileges and responsibilities; a home-builder, a respecter of established law and order and a respecter of himself. How is this achieved? Through enlightenment by education, not in the principles of democracy alone, but by education in the essentials of good citizenship: good will toward our neighbors; faith in men and our country; hope for the future; charity for weakness; joy in life courage to face and overcome defeat; cleanliness of soul and body; aspiration to be morally great; practice of the Golden Rule. These are essentials. Millions of our people have learned some if not all of them; millions have learned few if any. The way to true American Citizenship leads through the school of America" (pg. 40).

As for publishers, several advertisements from companies offering services in music education exclaimed how their products were effective in Americanization. In one such instance, a tagline from a popular advertisement from Victrola states: "Americanization through music. A slogan of the hour" (Back Matter, 1919). It goes on to explain that "music is an universal language that needs no interpreter. It is the common ground and most natural approach to the foreigner in welding him into the spirit of true Americanism" (1919 p. 17). In another advertisement from Silver-Burdett, the tagline read "Americanization! A vital theme in public school music today. Good citizenship through music" (Back Matter, 1920, pg. 27). While it is important to recognize that marketing campaigns often sensationalize claims to sell products,

there is evidence to suggest that several sites in the American Southwest did not view these statements as hyperbole, but rather fact.

Echoing this sentiment, in the early 1930s, a school principal from Los Angeles stated that "We find that the Mexican children love music. We foster this by teaching them *good music* [emphasis my own] giving them a great deal of appreciation through the use of the Victrola" (quoted in Reynolds, 1933). Essentially, the belief during this time was that *good music*, especially from the Western instrumental tradition, was an essential component in preparing immigrant populations (Mexican Americans in particular) for citizenship in a society steeped in whiteness. In line with this thinking, Superintendent of Texas Schools B.B. Cobb stated at the time, "It is only through the schools that we can reach the masses of our people and implant early in their lives a love for the best in musical art, which will leave no room for ragtime, for blues, or for other popular but degrading forms of music" (1923, p. 6). This approach eventually became an integral discussion point in music education advocacy work in the early 1920s.

The examples presented above connect to music education scholar Juliet Hess's (2018) statement about the relegation of "participants with non-Eurocentric musical experiences to periphrastic space, or the margins of school music" (p. 326). In order to embrace a common "American" identity, students were subjected to the elevation of European musical traditions while their own were denigrated. Additionally, the underlying belief here was that the *goodness* of European music was immutable, and that the aesthetics of this musical tradition could transcend cultural boundaries and transform students from lesser musical backgrounds into more enlightened citizens. Viewing this process as purely aesthetic and not violently assimilative, the educators and administrators of this period were choosing to embrace a color-blind perspective that served to "mask White privileges and power" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 491)

Otto Miessner, Music Education Advocacy, and Americanization

Another important moment in the development of music education during this period occurred in 1924. Up until this point, music education had not been widely embraced by public schools in the United States. According to a 1924 report by the National Research Council in Music Education, *Study of Music Instruction in the Public Schools of the United States*, less than one-half of the public schools in the United States offered some type of music instruction (Miller, 1962). One member of the research team was Otto Miessner, a music educator who was elected national president of Music Supervisors National Council (MSNC) in 1923.

During his presidential tenure, Miessner launched a letter campaign to 6,100 school superintendents across the United States (Miller, 1962). This letter campaign had a profound impact on music education in that it provided a both powerful rationale and a prescribed course of study to music educators and administrators in an effort to expand music education across the country (Miller, 1962). In this letter campaign, as well as in other essays espousing the benefits of music education, Miessner used language that appealed to the Progressive Era impulse of the time by referring to music education's potential use in both Americanization and social efficiency. For example, in the first letter sent on November 15, 1923, Miessner expressed his belief that training students for citizenship, and Americanization in particular, was the primary goal for public schools. He stated that: "We believe that better music helps to make a happier school, a finer community, and a better citizenship…music is one of the great constructive forces in Americanization and in the inculcation of universal brotherhood" (Miessner, 1923 pg. 21).

Although the origins of Miessner's thinking remain elusive, these comments by Miesnner clearly reflect that he embraced Progressive Era attitudes towards education. In particular, this quote reflects the notion of social reconstructionism in that social order could only be

accomplished with the cultural homogenization that occurs through Americanization. Moreover, a 1962 interview revealed that he was well acquainted with Progressive ideals, having read works by Progressive Era educational philosophers John Dewey and Felix Adler (Miller, 1962).

Because of Miessner's profound impact on the development of music education in the 1920s, it is important to understand the educational programs that he was involved in, especially those connected to colonial projects such as the American occupation of the Philippines (1898-1946). This connection is important to make in order to fully understand how the expansion of music education during Meissner's tenure was imbued with assimilative techniques that were initially put into practice elsewhere. Music education's function as an assimilative tool was first put into practice in Native American residential schools (Winston, 2019) and then exported to the Philippines (Ruscetta, 1998) via the American occupation's focus on instilling nationalism in their Filipino subject. Through the imperial *boomerang effect*, or process of internal colonization that occurs when perpetrators of colonization transport these techniques back to their country of origin (Foucault, 1997), this emphasis on music education in instilling nationalism was brought back to the United States for use in its own assimilative music education projects.

Through his work with Silver-Burdett & Company, a textbook publishing company, Miessner also influenced U.S. education projects abroad. Beginning in 1911, Miessner served on the editorial board of Silver-Burdett & Company (Miller, 1962). As a part of this work, he helped to compile a textbook whose advertisements proclaimed its effectiveness in Americanization: *The Progressive Music Series*. A selling point of this book in an advertisement from 1919 claimed that Americanization was "a vital theme in public school music today" (p. 27). and that "good citizenship" could be accomplished through music. This book would

eventually be adopted into different versions, including one that would be used for the schools established during the American occupation of the Philippines from 1896 to 1948 (Miller, 1962).

One of the goals of the American occupation of the Philippines was to create a system of universal education that would "guarantee the loyalty of its new Philippine subjects" (Zimmerman, 2006, p. 84). An illustration of the immensity of this project can be found in the 1.2 million Filipino students that were enrolled in these public schools in 1923, thus making it the third largest American education system only behind New York and Pennsylvania (Zimmerman, 2006). An integral component of this educational project was music education. As seen later with Mexican Americans in the United States, music was a powerful tool for developing a strong sense of nationalism and inculcating "non-Americans" with the fundamental ideals of the country. Otto Miessner's role during this time was as a contributor and compiler of the original *Progressive Music Series* that would then be adopted in the Philippines. First published by Silver-Burdett in 1914, this text contained songs that espoused the virtues considered necessary for individuals to become citizens. As stated in the text, "the teaching plan of The Philippine Progressive Music Series, for the Primary Grades, outlines the use of music as one of the most effective means of helping boys and girls to grow into finer citizens" (1948, p. 190).

In one example that aligns with the progressive ideal of social reconstructionism, a song composed by Miessner, "Sewing School", was featured in the Philippines version of the song book:

Four little girls

Sat in a row;

Gay little girls,

Learning to sew.

Needle and thread,

Thimble and spool

Oh, it is fun,

Sewing at school (p. 180).

With its theme of happiness through hard work, this song espouses the core principle of division of labor that was associated with social reconstructionism. This was a goal set out by the General Superintendent of Public Instruction Fred W. Atkinson when he appointed by U.S. president William Taft in 1900 to develop the public instruction system in the Philippines during the American occupation (Ruscetta, 1998). Since Atkinson believed that the Filipinos were incapable of anything beyond manual work, he emphasized vocational training as a core component of the education system in the Philippines (Ruscetta, 1998).

In another example, Miessner composed a song titled "Traffic Rules" that illustrates the importance of respect for authority; an essential component in maintaining order in the Progressive Era organic society:

Traffic cop makes us stop,

There upon the busy street;

Be polite, for he's right,

Nod to him when next you meet (pg. 188).

In the Philippine context, this connects to the United States' goal of creating an effective counterinsurgency force during the early days of the American occupation. As such, President Taft approved the founding of the Philippine Constabulary that "with harsh laws and an efficient police network…gave him the means to suppress both armed resistance and political dissent"

(McCoy, 2009, p .60). This song provided another example of the social conditioning that music education helped to accomplish in this context. As stated previously, the goal of this songbook was "helping boys and girls to grow into finer citizens" (1948, pg. 190)

Understanding how Miessner's contributions assisted the American occupation of the Philippines allows for a connection to be established that traces the arc of the imperial boomerang from the colonial project in the Philippines to the Mexican American in the U.S. music classroom. Much as the work of American educators in the Philippines was to prepare the minds of those students to become loyal colonial subjects, the intent in the American context was to prepare the minds of the increasing population of Mexican Americans to become good laborers. This can seen with the Mexican American mothers learning English through work songs composed for the Commission of Immigration and Housing in California in 1918, the focus on Americanization in US music classrooms, and the tracking of Mexican Americans into vocational programs.

In order to understand the full implication of how the principles of Progressivism impacted educational policies, it is important to examine local contexts as illustrations of the ways in which they were put into practice. In terms of understanding the history of Mexican American access to music education, the Tempe State Teacher College and the Eighth Street Training School provides a rich illustration of how educational philosophy, policy, and practice converged during this period and impacted the widespread participation of Mexican Americans in school music programs.

The Progressive Impetus in Local Context: The Eighth Street Training School in Tempe

During the 1920s-1930s, the Tempe State Teacher College in Arizona maintained two training schools to help teachers put their newly learned pedagogical skills into practice: The

Tempe Campus Training School and the Eighth Street Training School. There were many differences between these sites but fundamentally, the Eighth Street School was a segregated school for Mexican Americans that served as a lab to "furnish special teacher training to college students who [were] interested in Americanization work" (Tempe State Teachers College, 1928).

Unlike African American students, there were no specific laws that mandated the educational segregation of Mexican Americans. This was mainly due to provisions in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1849 that established citizenship for Mexican Americans (del Castillo, 1990). However, education historian Gilbert Gonzalez suggests that "educators did invoke the state power granted to school administrations to adapt educational programs to the special needs of a linguistically and culturally distinct community" (2013, p. 2). In this context, the power to establish this segregated school was granted to the institution by the school laws adopted by the state legislature. Section 1064 of the *School Laws of Arizona*, 1929 that pertains to classes "for adult illiterates and foreigners" offers this statement:

> The state board of education shall adopt rules and regulations for the establishment and conduct of classes for immigrant and adult elementary education and the teaching of English to foreigners in the public schools, and shall adopt a course of study in the common schools, high schools, normal schools, and university...to stimulate and correlate the Americanization work of various agencies, including governmental, throughout the state (Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Arizona, 1929, p. 17).

Although there was no language that specifically calls for *de jure* segregation of Mexican American students, the provisions in this article provided legal justification for segregation based on language and culture.

The 1925 court case *Romo v. Laird* specifically addressed this issue. This court case is considered to be the first desegregation case initiated by Mexican Americans (Valencia, 2008). In 1925, a rancher named Adolfo Romero sued the Tempe Unified School District, citing that the Board of Trustees of the Tempe State Teacher College were allowing Mexican American students to be segregated based on language (Valencia, 2008). Additionally, Romo complained that much of the teaching staff at the school were unprepared to teach and lacked similar qualifications to those at the predominantly white Tenth Street School (Valencia, 2008). The presiding Judge Joseph S. Jenckes eventually ruled in favor of Romo stating that all students were to be admitted "on the same terms and conditions to the public schools of said Tempe School District No. 3, Maricopa County, Arizona, as children of other nationalities are now admitted" (Valencia, 2008) While technically a legal victory, the implementation of the ruling was less than adequate as segregation based on culture and language continued. Conveniently, board meeting minutes indicate that the budget for the 1926-1927 year of the Tempe School District included a line item to purchase intelligence tests to be used at the Eighth Street School (McMillion-DeForest, 1991, pg. 27).

As in all segregated Mexican schools, educational disparities also existed at the Eighth Street School. In one study, differences in time devoted to academic subjects and enrichment activities at school were found. The researcher stated that "this variation in [time at] the Eighth Street School is apparently due to the large amount of time being given to home economics, gardening, art and shop work; more of social science study might be devoted to homemaking and citizenship problems" (Wivel, 1934, pg. 20). The focus on homemaking and citizenship problems is an indication that the school's operation was in line with the Progressive goals of social reconstructionism and social efficiency.

The emphasis on citizenship training was also found in the goals of the music department of the Tempe State Teachers College as well. The implementation of music education at the Eighth Street School was directed by Olive Gerrish and Alma Norton; both faculty members at Tempe State Teachers College. The description of the goals of the music education program stated:

> Of all subjects introduced into the public schools during the last half century, music is conceded to be one of the most valuable in social and ethical standing. It appeals to the best that is in the individual and is a powerful element in training for good citizenship. The aims of the music department are: first to develop an appreciation and love of *good* [emphasis my own] music, to develop the emotional nature and aesthetic sense by interpretation of *good* [emphasis my own] music, to teach the language of music for reading and singing second, to prepare the students who are taking the professional course for the teaching of music in the public schools (Tempe State Teachers College, 1928, p. 63).

From this description, key pieces of evidence suggest the goals of the Tempe State Teacher College was to inculcate preservice music teachers with the principles of Progressivism: 1) the emphasis on citizenship, and 2) the focus on *good* (read: European) music.

Further evidence of Progressive leanings of this teaching program are found in the topic of the supervisor Olive Gerrish's MA thesis at the University of Washington, Seattle titled *Measuring the Musical Accomplishments of Young Children* (1932). As the title suggests, this study connected to the broad efforts of intelligence testing that grew out of the psychometric impulse of the Progressive Era. Additionally, co-supervisor Alma Norton also embraced the scientific principles of Progressivism in her pedagogical approach. In her book *Teaching School Music* (1932), Norton strongly advocates for using the raw intelligence of students (as indicated

on intelligence tests) to determine their ability for learning advanced musical concepts because, in her words, “music reading and musical performance will generally call for an aggressive type of mind” (p. 88). Additionally, Norton proposes grouping students into three ability groups based on a normal distribution of intelligence so that “those of the superior group…would be able to work up to their highest level instead of being retarded by those of lesser ability” (p. 88).

In terms of access to music education, the Mexican American students at both the Tenth Street School and the Eighth Street School were provided with a variety of musical opportunities such as glee club, choir, and some instrumental training (Wivel, 1934). Moreover, one study indicates that the time spent on this subject was actually more than the state-required 75 minutes per week with 150 minutes at the Campus Training School and 125 minutes at the Eighth Street School being dedicated weekly to music education (Wivel, 1934). Although the time dedicated to music at each site was similar in the elementary grades, the goals and access to resources for each program contributed to different outcomes. For example, language in the *Bulletin of the Tempe State Teacher College 1928-1929,* indicates such with the following descriptions of opportunities at each site:

Eighth Street School:

> The music and art work is under the supervision of members of the college faculty and opportunity is offered for glee club and orchestra work”

Tenth Street School:

> Pupils with special musical ability are permitted to play in the junior high school orchestra (p. 49)

While the language for the Tenth Street School indicates that students will be permitted to perform in the school orchestra, the stated opportunities for students at the Eighth Street School

remain ambiguous especially when considering the disparity in quality of the facilities presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Music departments at the Tenth Street (above) Eighth Street (below) Schools ca. 1928

In the top photo is the music room at the all-White Tempe Tenth Street School. As is illustrated, the ensemble is set up in a conventional string orchestra configuration with high quality instruments, chairs and stands. The bottom photo presents the music room of the segregated Mexican Eighth Street School. As can be seen, the students are arranged in an ad-hoc ensemble configuration with mixed instruments, folding chairs, and few music stands. Moreover, evidence from school board meetings suggest that there was little effort made to provide the Eighth Street

School with adequate resources to develop a music program. In the 1926 budget of the Tempe Unified School District, the hiring of a Band instructor at $250 a week was approved for the Tenth Street School, with no similar provision being made for the Eighth Street School (Mcmillion-DeForest, 1991).

Since it was governed by a Board of Trustees that were accountable to the state, it is important to point out that the music education efforts at the Tempe State Teacher College were also connected to and influenced by state level policy, particularly with their emphasis on the principles of Progressivism. For example, language of the Tempe State Teacher's College music education goals found in an Arizona state document titled *Course of Study for Elementary Schools: Music* (1933) parrots Progressive ideals. Here, the language used also emphasized the importance of music education in citizenship training, social efficiency, and assimilation. In the foreword to the music education section, they stated that "Music contributes to social welfare and effective citizenship as it emphasizes common experiences in singing and listening to *good* [emphasis my own] music" (1933, p. 5). While these terms seem neutral and perhaps even desirable outcomes for students, I argue that the terms are imbued with the previously described Progressive values that emphasized assimilation through social efficiency (social welfare), effective citizenship (differentiation), and the teaching of *good* music (Americanization). The enforcement of these assimilative processes often led to students being "pushed out" of educational spaces for their perceived inability to conform and, as will be explored later, affected matriculation rates of Mexican American students into secondary schools.

More evidence of Progressive ideals such as social efficiency and differentiation, can be found in other state educational documents. For example, the *Course of Study for Elementary Schools of Arizona: Bulletin Number Thirteen, Instruction of Bilingual Children* (1939),

specified different purposes for Mexican American (coded as bilingual) music education. Here, it is suggested that:

> The emphasis in music should be on joyous and enjoyable performance. The learning of techniques should be subordinate, as in art. Learning to play *simple* [emphasis my own] instruments, such as harmonica, guitar, ukelele, gives the bilingual child great joy and is an accomplishment that he can constantly use outside of school (p. 11).

The language used here to describe the purpose of music education for Mexican Americans alludes to widespread stereotypes of this period that painted this group as simple, capricious, and academically deficient. According to education historian Gilbert Gonzalez, these stereotypes "embodied as positive those aspects of Mexican culture that seemed to emphasize the spiritual rather than the material, to value the artistic and musical, and to encourage hand crafts rather than mental or intellectual labor" (Gonzalez, 1991, p. 300). This was a popular sentiment that permeated educational circles during the Progressive era. In another example, Robert McClean, a social worker in 1929, stated:

> The Mexican worker has a sensitiveness to tone and color which would make him a real asset if our racial superiority did not prevent us from seeing it. No Mexican can live without his music. In our public schools many teachers declare that in handiwork, in art, in music, the children of these Mexican laborers excel (quoted in Reynolds, 1933, p. 17).

While it is a noble goal to provide all students with an access to music education, the emphasis on vocational tasks, hand crafts, and arts rather than academic endeavors for Mexican Americans during this period of de facto segregation, becomes an issue of inequitable access and discrimination.

Music Education and English Language Learning

Another limitation of Mexican Americans being allowed to fully participate in music education was the focus on English instruction for this group. The common belief during this time was that difficulty in speaking English created an insurmountable obstacle for Mexican Americans to become full citizens of the United States (Sanchez, 1993). To rectify this perceived problem in education, researchers and administrators in Arizona sought to discover effective ways for removing "speech deficits" and implementing these strategies widely. One way that this was accomplished by researchers was to study the ways that schools were currently using music in bilingual settings. One study in Arizona titled *Musical Experiences to Aid Mexican Bilingual Children in Correcting Speech Defects* sought to use music to address the accent of Spanish speakers including problems with vowels, consonants, misuse of pronouns, and even "the habit of the use of 'es' before certain English words" (King, 1946, pg. 2). In a demonstration of the efficacy of this project, King surveyed several teachers and superintendents in the region to determine the need for this study. The results of her survey suggested, overwhelmingly, that both teachers and superintendents supported this study. State education documents in Arizona also espoused support for using music in this capacity. In the *Course of Study for Elementary Schools of Arizona: Bilingual Children,* (1939), it is stated that:

> Art and music are of great importance in the curriculum of bilingual children because they offer good opportunity to unify groups, wide possibilities to add to the joy of living, and provide a means of creative expression to children who are handicapped by limited ability to put ideas into words (1939).

As for school administrators across the American southwest, they also viewed music education as an effective vehicle to teach English. In California, a document titled "A Guide for Teachers of Beginning Non-English Speaking Students" from the State Department of Education

offered "specific suggestions for the removal of speech difficulties and for developing facility in language expression through activities relating to health, play, and *music* [emphasis my own]" (quoted in Reynolds, 1933, p. 15).

Similar efforts across the southwest. With these examples it becomes clear that systemic factors such as destructive stereotypes, overemphasis on vocational training, and Americanization programs precluded Mexican Americans from participating in school music at any significant level in Arizona. Moreover, an examination of similarly situated schools in the American Southwest suggest that this exclusion was regional, and possibly nationwide. One study of similarly situated Mexican schools in California (Stanton and Magnolia) indicated poor conditions as conveyed through observations stating that "equipment for music and visual education is badly needed at both schools" as well as "very little provision is made for shop, domestic arts, and musical education" (Mendenhall, 1937, pg. 89). This lack of access to a quality music education was then justified with the belief that "for many Mexican children, the elementary school will be practically the summation of school experience. For this reason, much time in the upper grades should be spent on practical arts" (Mendenhall, 1937, pg. 97).

In essence, the administrative progressive emphasis on social efficiency, differentiation, and Americanization essentially created a bifurcation between those students who would benefit from the enrichment of participating in music, and those who would not due to their societal role, psychometric score, phenotype, last name, or accent. Essentially, this exclusion only served to further relegate this historically underserved population to the academic periphery in music education spaces.

Music Education in Mexican Communities

Although most public schools during the Progressive Era focused on social efficiency, social reconstructionism, and Americanization, there remained spaces where Mexican children were still able to participate in Mexican cultural activities. For example, Mexican Americans who resisted the migration to urban centers (i.e. Los Angeles) and remained in rural farming communities were allowed to maintain strong connections to their culture. In one instance, the laborers and inhabitants of *La Habra*, a work camp, organized annual celebrations of winter holidays. According to one report:

> The Naciemento, (the birth of Christ) was Celebrated at the Mexican camp with great impressiveness Monday evening. The affair was a beautiful pageant of song, music, and color. A group of 23 men gave the Pastoris and by another group of children who sang Pasadas (Holiday Pageant, 1923, p. 1).

In addition to these celebrations, La Habra even maintained a youth band called *La Chancha* that would perform for various functions within the camp (Gonzalez, 1991).

Mexican American students undergoing their own bicultural journeys in urban areas also demonstrated resilience by finding creative ways to reappropriate and redirect the skills that were being used to assimilate them in educational settings. It is important to note that although most schools were segregated, there were examples in secondary schools across the American southwest where Mexican students were provided were able to access a robust musical education. In one instance in Los Angeles, Hollebenck Junior High School (37% Mexican-heritage) and Roosevelt High School (27% Mexican-heritage) were both schools that the famous Mexican American musicians Paul Lopez, Chico Sesma, and Don Tosti attended. Recounting his experience at the school, Don Tosti described Roosevelt High School as having "an ROTC band,

a symphony orchestra, and a Ice orchestra...[and] three music theory classes taught by three different music teachers who also ran the bands" (quoted in Macias, 2008, pg. 20).

Another site that allowed Mexican Americans to access a high-quality music education in Los Angeles was the Neighborhood Settlement Music School. This school, founded by Progressive educator Pearl O'Dell in 1932, was connected to the broader *settlement school* movement that sought to create opportunities for artistic and musical enrichment to newly arrived immigrants. Despite this noble purpose, the goal of the school was in line with Progressive Era ideals in that it sought to develop "solid-Americanization in teaching of music to the underprivileged" (Macias et al, 2008, p. 22). Presumably, the solid-Americanization in this quote, as in all other Americanization efforts in music, referred specifically to instruction in Western Art Music.

Despite this, several famous Mexican American musicians such as Paul Lopes, Chico Sesma, and Don Tosti were able to develop their musical skills there (Macias, 2008). After honing their craft, these musicians would then use this knowledge in their own bands that performed, and helped to popularize, new pan-Latine and specifically Mexican American musical styles in Los Angeles. Although these individuals were also subjected to Americanization like their peers, they were able to maintain a sense of their Mexicanness. This ability to maintain both identities was an integral component of their musical contributions and helped these musicians to develop specifically Mexican- American musical styles that became the roots of Chicano music in East Los Angeles during the 1960s. Although these moments were integral to securing the contributions of Mexican Americans to the cultural fabric of the United States, there was one specific group that shines as a beacon for Mexican Americans' search for

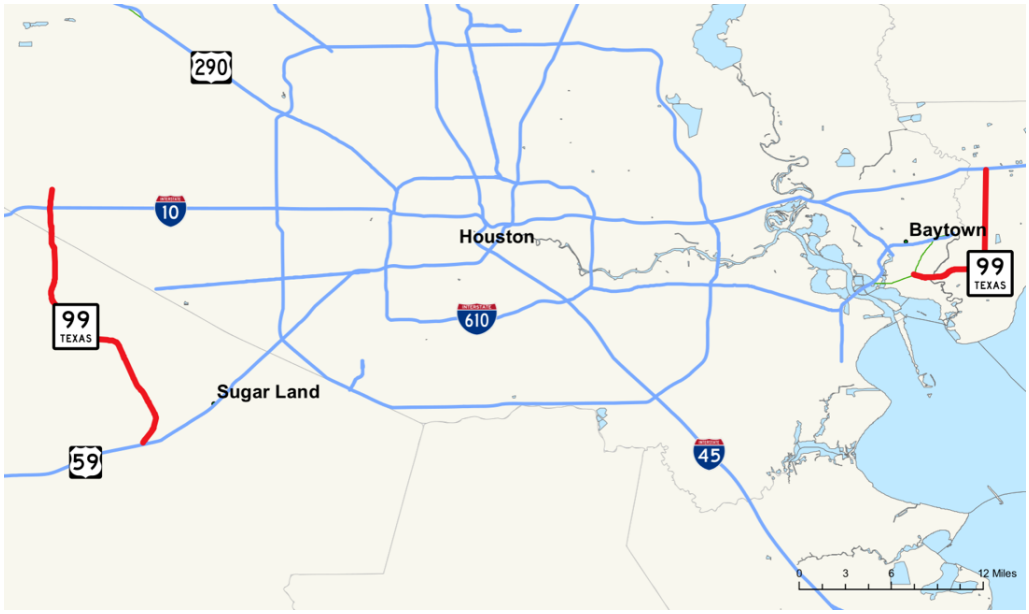
equity in the face of overwhelmingly oppressive educational conditions: Dr. Antonio Bañuelos and the Orquesta Tipica of the Baytown Mexican School in Baytown, Texas.

Mexican American Education in Baytown, TX

Baytown, Texas, is a small city situated on the northern gulf shores of Galveston Bay that became a permanent settlement in 1923 (Figure 2). After establishing an oil refinery, Humble Oil and Refining Company (now Exxon-Mobile) developed the infrastructure of the town to accommodate the workers and facilitate growth of the oil industry in the area. As with many cities and towns centered around industry in the southwest United States, Baytown maintained segregated communities for their workers.

Figure 2

Map of Baytown, TX



To accommodate the children of the Mexican workers at the refinery, De Zavala Elementary School was established in 1928 near the Missouri Pacific Railroad tracks in Baytown (Pumphrey, 1952). This school was classified as a Mexican school and served the segregated population of Mexican students that lived in the area (Rios & Martinez, 2014). According to

Jesse Pumphrey, a historian and reporter on Baytown Mexican School, during that first year "there were 72 children in the first grade, there were 35 children in grades two, three, and four, and there were 17 children in grades five, six, and seven" (Pumphrey, 1952). As with the majority of Mexican schools in the American southwest, the conditions and curriculum at the school were severely lacking. For example, during the first years of operation there most of the teachers were new to the profession and did not speak Spanish although this was the language of the majority of students at De Zavala. In terms of facilities, "there were no lights, no bells, no gas, and no janitorial service" (Pumphrey, 1952). Moreover, the original teachers of the school were not certified professionals but, rather, female high school students from the nearby Robert E. Lee High School (Rios & Martinez, 2014). In an oral history interview, Elvira Martinez, a former member of Bañuelos' Orquesta Tipica in the 1920s, describes these "teachers":

> The girls from that school came and they were supposed to be the teachers, but all they did was learn to dance and they played games. I'mma say though, that, because they spoke no Spanish and the children spoke no English, there was that form of communication, so in a sense the children were being transitioned into English, but apparently the schedule was such that it was mainly dancing and games. So the children didn't really learn that much English (Martinez, 2016).

Although Martinez stated that there was very little instruction occurring, she does share a fond memory for musical activities that she experienced at the school:

> And I remember, Ms. Jessie, Jessie Lee Pumphrey, who later became the principal, would teach music. She could play the piano and she realized that some of us love music and that we love good music from things that she heard. And she would bring her victrola. They were old victrolas and little victrolas. She would bring her victrola from home and

she would bring the records, the long playing records. And that is how I…I don't know about the others but that is how I was introduced to the classics" (Martinez, 2016).

As mentioned before, during the 1920s, the time of Martinez's recollection, there was a push by educators, administrators, and publication companies to use music, specifically records and the Victrola, to Americanize students. Ms. Martinez's experience reflects this practice. However, these practices would be short lived, due to the hiring of music teacher Antonio Bañuelos.

Antonio Bañuelos, from Durango, Mexico, was an accomplished musician based in Houston, Texas. In Houston, he was involved in several musical groups in a variety of capacities that included violinist and cellist in the Houston Symphony (Orton, 1972) and conductor of the Tri-Cities Orchestra (Baytown Sun, 1983). Additionally, he maintained a private music studio which eventually became affiliated with the Southern School of Fine Arts in Houston (Baytown Sun, 1945). At one point, Bañuelos was even appointed as the head of the Baytown chapter of the League of Latin American Citizens, an early civil rights group for Mexican Americans (Baytown Sun, 1987). However, Bañuelos' long-lasting contributions to Baytown would come through his dedication as a music teacher.

Bañuelos at the Baytown Mexican school. Parents of Baytown Mexican School noticed that the majority of their children had an interest in music education. Because of this, they petitioned both the school board and the Humble Oil and Refining Company to hire Bañuelos as the music teacher. During his time at the Baytown Mexican School (later named DeZavala Elementary), Bañuelos developed an "all-girl Tipica Orchestra, with appropriate Mexican dress, an' a uniformed boys' band" (Parker, 1947, pg. 13). The flagship program of Baytown, the *orquesta tipica*, went on to perform in several states across the American southwest (Martinez, 2016). In addition to maintaining high musical standards, Dr. Bañuelos also required his

members to maintain an A- average in order to participate in performances (Goose Creek, n.d.) as well as to adhere to a strict attendance policy. As former member Elvira Martinez stated, "But the law, the rules were very stringent. You had to be there every day for rehearsal and you had to behave and there were certain things" (Martinez, 2016).

In terms of music methods and repertoire, Bañuelos focused specifically on Mexican-specific music education materials. According to Martinez (2016), the *metodos* (method books) that were used in the group were ordered directly from Mexico and focused on teaching music theory through the use of Spanish terminology. Eventually, this Tipica Orchestra would hone their Mexican sound and tour extensively throughout the American southwest. As they gained popularity, they were eventually recruited by a local venue to provide an opening performance for legendary Mexican musicians and celebrities such as Jorge Negrete, Pedro Infante, Inverto Parra, Lydia Mendoza, and Cantinflas (Martinez, 2016).

Bañuelos in Boyle Heights. After Baytown, Bañuelos relocated to the Boyle Heights community in Los Angeles, and developed similar programs primarily in parochial schools such as Our Lady of Talpa. As with Baytown, in forming these groups in Boyle Heights, Bañuelos specifically focused on creating an intervention for Mexican American youth, one which was successful in promoting high standards and respectful conduct. As one reporter described, "[Bañuelos' group has] a particularly interesting feature in that its constant rehearsals and tours make juvenile delinquency unknown in the youthful center in which it operates" (Daily News, 1949). These ensembles would go on to perform in a variety of settings including parades, community gatherings, Mexican festivals, and even wrestling matches (Covina Argus, 1951).

As with Baytown, Bañuelos focused on using Mexican music as the core of his groups' repertoire. For example, one concert reporter stated, "they play semiclassical and Mexican folk

tunes. Their repertoire includes 'Tema,' a theme representing the bells of the cathedrals of Mexico, 'Recuerdo,' a waltz, and ‘Asi es mi tierra,' a potpourri” (Daily News, 1950). Another reporter (Daily News, 1949) described one of Bañuelos’ group performances as having featured a mix of American band music and Mexican band music as well as girl dancers performing folk dances of Mexico.” Bañuelos’ Mexican musical influence also inspired professional groups in the Los Angeles area. For example, Arthur Babich, conductor of the Los Angeles Symphonic Band in 1949, mentioned that Bañuelos’ Mexican inspired composition “Talpa” was one of their most popular pieces to perform (Wilmington Daily Press, 1949).

Antonio Banuelos’ career, which ended with his death in 1954, is an important historical moment to highlight because it is an exemplary illustration of the power of providing students with a culturally congruent experience in music education. His contributions provide an essential hue in the otherwise predominantly white historical narrative of music education history. By providing a successful example of where an educator was able to use Mexican specific musical knowledge, culture, and community connections to develop culturally congruent music programs for students, it offers an understanding of how to accomplish such a feat that is desirable today.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have argued that the foundation of Mexican American exclusion from music education was systematically implemented during the Progressive Era through mechanisms such as intelligence testing, tracking into vocational programs, and the use of musical learning as an assimilative tool rather than an enriching activity. As seen in the Mexican American context during the Progressive Era (1920s-1950s), music learning was often a culturally subtractive undertaking that did not directly relate to the lived experiences of this

group. Moreover, a CRT analysis of this period specifically challenged the claims of neutrality, colorblindness, and meritocracy in the construction of early music education systems. It was revealed that policy and curricular decisions were imbued with Eurocentric values as seen with 1) the musical aptitude evaluation of Mexican Americans using Eurocentric assessments, 2) the perception of "good music" being culturally neutral and objectively desirable, and 3) the de facto segregation of Mexican Americans into schools that offered little in the way of musical offerings.

In recent years, studies have begun to emerge that explore Mexican American students in these culturally incongruent music learning environments. The findings continue to support the idea that a disconnect between home and classroom musical goals still exists and continues for these students. For example, Kelly-McHale (2013) found that this incongruence impacts their musical identities and self-concept as well as leads these students disengage with musical learning in schools because of its lack of relevance to their lived experiences. As seen in early Americanization effort, the benefits were often offset by the deficits of full assimilation without sensitivity to the cultural histories and heritages that were deeply a part of Mexican identity.

Considering our more nuanced understandings of assimilation's negative effects on children and youth in schools (Cano & Castillo, 2010; Lueck & Wilson, 2011), might this underrepresentation also suggest that the culture of mainstream music ensembles in the United States is antithetical to, or at the very least incongruent with, Mexican American identities and values? Moreover, for those who do participate, might this incongruence in the classroom place them at odds with their home and community culture and perhaps compel them to seek spaces outside of school to develop their genuine musical identities as occurred in the Progressive Era. Perhaps it will just lead them to disengage altogether? As the field of music education moves

forward, it is important to seek a better understanding of the historical context from which our discipline emerged so that we may understand how to engage diverse student populations of the future with both care and consideration for their unique cultural needs.

Chapter Three: Integration (1950-1960)

Tengo mi esposa y mis hijos
Que me las traje muy chicos
Y se han olvidado ya
De mi México querido
Del que yo nunca me olvido
Y no pudeo regresar

De que me sirve el dinero
Si estoy como prisonero
Dentro de esta gran nación
Cuando me acuerdo hasta lloro
Aunque la jaula sea de oro
No deja de ser prisión[5]

Los Tigres del Norte "La Jaula de Oro" (1983)

This chapter explores how the intersection of international relations with Latin America, educational policy in the United States, and local practice in municipalities across the American southwest influenced the music education experience of Mexican American students during this period. In analyzing the ten-year period presented in this chapter, the CRT tenet of *interest convergence* which states that, "the interests of [marginalized groups] in gaining racial equality have been accommodated only when they have converged with interests of powerful whites" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 493) emerged as an appropriate explanation of the activities that precluded Mexican Americans from full participation in Music Education. To begin, I describe how the national shift towards an internationalist multicultural perspective in music education began with, and was driven largely by, the United States' "good neighbor policy" with Latin America (Hetrick, 1941). This policy focused specifically on developing programs in this region in order to "increase hemispheric security, win over influential cultural figures, and rehabilitate the image of the United States in Latin America" (Bannerman, 2023, p. 229).

With policies and initiatives that focused on cultural exchange during this time, there was a rapid expansion of access to music and culture from this region. This historical moment is important to explore for two reasons. First, it allows us to contextualize the early impetus of the multicultural shift in music education and its linkages with government policy and education. Second, this period is important to examine because, as described below, it is in this context that the emergence of a fundamental contradiction in multicultural music education practice occurred: the increased emphasis on performing music from diverse cultures as a means to achieve the goals of the "good neighbor" policy versus challenging the continuation of policies that precluded marginalized populations (in this study, Mexican Americans) from participating in music education.

While widespread performance of culturally diverse music would not occur until the late 1960s as an outgrowth of the establishment of ethnomusicology programs in American universities (Campbell & Lum, 2019) and as a result of an awareness by educators of underserved student populations (Volk, 1998), it is important to note these early attempts to incorporate culturally diverse musics because of their importance in establishing the early practices and perspectives of multicultural music education. As will be seen throughout the chapter, historical evidence suggests that structural injustice and inequity during this period in the United States was largely ignored, or in some instances perpetuated, by proponents of music education. In short, I will describe how, despite internationalist multicultural efforts in music education, Mexican Americans were still unable to achieve parity of participation in school music programs because their plight was left largely ignored by multicultural music education advocates.

In the next section, I will zoom in on the city of Weslaco, TX as a case study to illustrate the experiences of Mexican American students in the educational ecology of the American southwest. This site was selected for several reasons, including its history of geographical segregation of the Mexican American population, its maintenance of a separate elementary school for Mexican American students, and the fact that the city maintained only one junior high that all students (including Mexican American) would attend. This last feature is important for the purpose of this research because it allows for an examination of matriculation patterns to the upper secondary school grades for Mexican Americans, rates of participation in music programs, as well as the adaptational strategies that they were able to develop while integrating into a predominantly White schools.

Speaking to this last point, in alignment with trends in Chicano historiography (Blanton, 2016) and CRT (Solórzano & Yosso, 2016) to place agency back with marginalized populations, the final section will describe the life of an exemplary Mexican American music educator named Manuel Garza. The reason for selecting Garza is that his life maps cleanly over the period of integration. Additionally, I argue that Garza's life can be viewed as an exemplary illustration of a Mexican American developing successful adaptational strategies that helped him to successfully navigate the predominantly white music education ecology during this important period of Mexican American educational history.

Mexican American Education During the Inter-American Period

The period between 1950 and 1964 is known by scholars of Mexican American history as the era of integration (Gonzalez, 2013). Building from the educational gains of Mexican Americans in the courts with cases such as Alvarez v. Lemon Grove School (1931) District, Mendez v. Westminster (1946), and Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District (1948),

Mexican American students across the American southwest began to integrate more fully into public schools throughout the region. These legal desegregation victories, compounded with a returning population of Mexican American veterans who spent years fighting fascism in World War II and demanded respect and equity at home, contributed to what is considered to be a watershed moment of increased educational access for this group. However, while the overall trajectory of this period arced towards educational justice for Mexican Americans, a universal implementation of equitable access across the region was still far off on the historical horizon.

Musical relationships between the United States and Latin America (1940s and 1950s)

Historical dynamics rarely occur in neatly confined ranges of year but rather, exist on a spectrum where one context blends into the next. As such, to explore the dynamics of the inter-American period, a brief foray into the late 1930s needs to be taken to understand how those dynamics influenced the post-World War II inter-American period. This period between the late 1940s and 1960s not only saw an increased push for equity in the Mexican American community in the United States but, in general, a push for improved relationships with Latin American countries overall (Hetrick, 1941). One such effort focused specifically on music education to achieve this goal.

Music education ambassador trips to Latin America. In 1939, the Pan American Union, an organization founded in 1890 to promote relationships between the United States and Latin American countries, established a specific division focused on issues pertaining to music education. The stated objective of this group was the "furtherance of cultural cooperation with and better understanding of our neighbors to the south" (Seeger, 1941, pg. 17). In 1941, a "good neighbor" policy was established throughout public schools in the United States with the support of Music Week Committee secretary C.M. Tremaine, and chief of the Division of Cultural

Relations in the US State Department Dr. Charles A. Thomson. As a result of this effort, one day of the already established "National Music Week" was specifically dedicated to the exploration of what was then called "inter-American music" (Hetrick, 1941).

During this time there were also several documented educational and advocacy trips to Latin American countries with music education representatives from the United States. One such trip was led by Chief of the Music Division for the Pan American Union Charles Seeger in 1941 (Seeger, 1941). One goal of these trips was to demonstrate the quality of music education programs in the United States through various presentations. After talks in Brazil by then director of music instruction for the Los Angeles schools, Louis Woodson Curtis, and then director of the Northwestern University School of Music, John Beattie, one audience member had this response:

> It enchanted us, and also filled us with envy to see the admirable equipment and wonderful installations in North American schools, the attractive school buildings, comfortable and beautiful with gardens, and more especially to see the healthy-looking children and adolescents, and their discipline without constraint, and the work they accomplish with so much evident pleasure" (quoted in Muricy, 1942, translated by Gustavo Duran).

During these trips, Curtis and Beattie documented their experiences and eventually published a series of six articles in *Music Educators Journal* between November 1941 and June 1942. The series, titled *South American Pilgrimage*, focused on their cultural and musical experiences in Latin America as well as the specific collaborations that they were engaged with in the service of helping to promote the United States music education model in this region (Beegle, 2004).

In another example of these ambassador trips, a group of participants from Columbia University conducted a field course in Mexico City in 1939 that focused on finding creative

solutions to "problems in music education" (Who's Who, 1940, pg. 7). This interest in Mexico City would eventually lead to it becoming the site for another key moment in the development of these international music education efforts. Years later, in 1947, the second General Council of UNESCO met in Mexico City and, during one session, a person described only as a member of the United States delegation proposed the establishment of the International Music Council (Lawler, 1955).

Increase of Latin American music performance in the US. During 1940s the largest professional organization for music educators, the *Music Educators National Conference* (MENC), also sought to expand its involvement with this international movement. As a part of this work, the assistant executive secretary of MENC, Vanett Lawler, was appointed as a consultant to the music division of the Pan American Union in 1941 (Smith, 1941). This increase in international awareness within MENC carried on through the 1940s and 1950s and led to several projects being undertaken by the organization to promote Latin American music in the United States. One such effort was the establishment of the Editorial Project of the Pan American Union in 1941 (Lawler, 1943). This project emerged out of a collaboration between the Music Division of the Pan American Union, an appointed committee of MENC, and music publishers in the United States. The goal of this project was to curate a cache of Latin American music "especially suitable for use in the schools" (Lawler, 1943, pg. 23) that could be brought into music curricular programs in the United States. Additionally, loaning libraries were also established in Latin American countries so that they could access music materials from the United States (Lawler, 1943). In another effort to increase these international exchanges, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Institute of International Education established an exchange program for Latin American students to travel to the United States to study music

education during the 1942-1943 academic year (Lawler, 1943). This cohort was comprised of seven individuals from various Latin American countries, including one woman from Mexico City (Lawler, 1943).

This interest in Latin American music would carry on well into the late 1950s and early 1960s. In one way, the attention to music south of the United States was reflected in the increasing amount of school event programs that contained Latin American-inspired music and presentations. For example, a conference program for music teacher in 1957 described a concert that featured music from Latin America including a lecture discussing the “Afro-Rhythms" of Brazilian and Afro-Cuban music (Arizona State Music Teacher, 1957). Another indication of this increased interest was the development of a Latin American Music Center at Indiana University in 1961. The primary objective of the Center was,

> The promotion of research and performance of Latin American ’music, both in the field of art composition, and folk music. It is hoped that through these endeavors the flow of Latin American culture to the United States will be increased, and that a wider exchange of music and live performances will be accomplished (Orrego-Salas, 1963, p. 105).

To the international community, these efforts demonstrated a benevolent willingness of the United States to help improve the lot of music teachers and students abroad. However, within the United States this period was still rife with discrimination and educational exclusion for Mexican Americans (Gonzalez, 2013). As will be described in later sections, there was a stark incongruence between music education’s outwardly facing actions in the international community, and their lack of advocacy for educational equity, particularly in music education, at home.

Mexican American Educational Experiences During the Inter-American Era (1940-1960)

The post-World War II era is considered by many scholars of Mexican American history to be the watershed moment for this group in the United States. As Mexican American veterans returned to the United States with a sense of empowerment gained from defeating eugenicist, racist, and fascist regimes abroad, they were ready to wage war against discrimination at home. Sociologist Charles Wollenberg reflected on these views and circumstances:

> The doubts expressed about segregation in the thirties evolved into new convictions during the forties. By the end of World War II, spokesmen for California's educational establishment were vigorously condemning school segregation. The war had identified racism with Hitler and the Axis powers, while equality and justice were said to be the principles of the Allied cause" (Wollenberg, 1974, p. 323).

Building on the educational advocacy work of other established Mexican American civil rights groups such as *La Orden Caballeros de America* (The Order of Knights of America) and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), returning veterans established the American G.I. Forum (AGIF) to contribute to this cause (Rios, 2013). This post-war era saw several documented points of success for Mexican American educational advocates in their search for equity across the American southwest. These included school desegregation cases such as Mendez v. Westminster (1946), Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District (1948), Gonzales v. Sheely (1951), and Romero v. Weakly (1955). Other successes aimed at broad educational integration were also achieved such as the establishment of the Little School of the 400 in 1957 which established a statewide bilingual education program in Texas that eventually became a national program implemented by President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration (Rios, 2013).

However, it is worth mentioning that the roots of this work were planted years earlier. While the cultural branch of the United States diplomatic machine was working feverishly on fostering improved relationships with Latin American countries, Mexican Americans were likewise working indefatigably to secure their place in public education. During the 1930s, the effort for Mexican American educational integration accelerated throughout the southwest. The first influential Mexican American desegregation case, Independent School District v. Salvatierra, occurred in Texas in 1930 (Valencia, 2008). This lawsuit, filed on behalf of Jesús Salvatierra by the Mexican American advocacy organization the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), sought to challenge de facto segregation of Mexican Americans. As an illustration of the ubiquity of the segregated "Mexican school", it was documented that at the time of this lawsuit 40 districts in the state of Texas maintained segregated schools for Mexican Americans` (Tijerina, 2015).

The legal strategy of Independent School District v. Salvatierra utilized the ambiguous, albeit legal, racial categorization of Mexicans as "other-white" to argue successfully that they were in fact being illegally segregated based on race (Valencia, 2008). However, the school district successfully argued in their appeal that separating students by language and other educational factors (eg, transience of migrant worker students) were within its legal rights (Valencia, 2008). This ruling is important to understand in the context of this period of integration for two reasons. First, it demonstrates how legal interpretations that influence educational access for Mexican Americans students often serve the dual function of racializing them as well. In this case, the legal identification of these students as "other-white" provided them with court-mandated access to a higher quality education. However, the subtext of the label "other-white" also served to reinforce notions of acceptable and valued racial, ethnic, and

cultural identities in educational spaces. This was evident in the contradictory ruling that prohibited Mexican American students from being segregated by race but allowed for them to be segregated for instructional and linguistic purposes, thus legalizing continued segregation (Donato & Hanson, 2012).

Second, this ruling is important to examine because the prohibition of segregation by race undoubtedly increased the access to higher quality education for at least some Mexican American students. This was mainly due to the ruling granting district administrators with the power to regulate educational matters as they see fit (Valencia, 2008) including the determination appeals from Mexican American families to have their students attend predominantly White schools. As will be seen later in this chapter with the exploration of specific music programs, this increase in access also meant that at least a trickle of Mexican American students were able to begin participating in music education programs in the Texas public schools during the years following this ruling until it was finally overturned with the Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District ruling in 1948 that prohibited any form of segregation (Valencia, 2008). Viewed through the lens of CRT, this moment clearly aligns with the notion of *interest convergence*, which occurs when those invested in dominant whiteness only allow progress for marginalized groups if the outcomes serve their interests (Sleeter, 2012). In this instance, a small number of Mexican Americans were allowed to access education only if they possessed the requisite knowledge and skills (i.e., English language mastery, knowledge acquired through access to academic programs) to navigate the predominantly White schools of this period.

The increase of Mexican American integration. This trend towards integration in schools was not limited to Texas but also became part of a broader conversation occurring at the

national level within this period. During the White House Conference on Education in 1956, several education stakeholders from around the United States convened to discuss the national educational trajectory in a post-Brown v. Board desegregated public school system. In a report that documented the proceedings, one quote in particular describes the overall attitude of the attendees towards educational access for all students. The report states:

> The people of the United States have inherited a commitment, and have the responsibility to provide for all a full opportunity for a free public education regardless of physical, intellectual, social, or emotional differences, or race, creed, or religion... we believe that education is necessary for the fullest development and enrichment of the individual...education is a sound and necessary investment in the future well-being of our nation and its citizens (Lawler, 1956, p. 27).

This statement also reflects a focus on "intergroup exposure", which was the theme for an annual conference sponsored by the School Section of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare just a few years earlier in 1954. As multicultural education scholar Cherry Banks (2012) describes:

> Intercultural education in the United States began in the early 1930s as a movement grounded in values of cooperation, respect, and acceptance of others. Intercultural educators were committed to reducing intergroup tensions, prejudice, and discrimination directed toward immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities. A major goal of intercultural educators was to reduce the fears and misconceptions of mainstream Americans about new immigrants, improve intergroup relations, and increase the social status of immigrant children who were known as the "second generation" (p. 2239)

At this conference, a working group was established to summarize the specific needs of students that emerged from the conference. Stated in point nine of their summary, "there is need for greater understanding of and respect for differences in persons in our changing social order" (Gildersleeve, 1964, p. 47). As an indication of the sentiment of this time, Superintendent of Los Angeles schools C.C. Trillingham clarified that the United States provided ample opportunity for social mobility that even "a boy with a foreign name or a dark skin can make the first team" (1959, pg. 21).

This emphasis on respecting differences was also reflected in music education. In a publication titled *We Recommend* (1955), MENC members proposed a list of recommendations of how to improve music education programs. As a part of these suggestions, there was an expressed need to focus more on the experience of minoritized populations. The document states:

> That all classroom teachers and music educators use music to encourage better human relations, including improved attitudes toward minority groups within the community and friendly feelings toward people of other cultures. Music can help us to realize basic similarities between peoples, to recognize precious differences when they exist, and to appreciate our debt to other peoples (We Recommend, 1955, p. 21).

Taking these suggestions to heart, some school music programs engaged in their own efforts to encourage these intercultural connections. For example, band director Robert Fielder and the Abilene Texas Concert Band partnered with the Mexican-North American Institute of Cultural Relations in Monterrey, Mexico to perform a series of five concerts in two days across northern Mexico (In the News, 1960). It was even documented that one of these concerts was televised and seen by 100,000 people.

The Persistence of Disparities in Music Education Access for Mexican Americans

Despite the well-meaning intent behind these statements and actions, an examination of Mexican American participation rates in music programs across the American southwest reveals that parity of access for this population still lagged behind their White counterparts. For example, a dissertation titled *A Musical Training Survey of Secondary Instrumental Music Teachers in the Los Angeles City Schools* revealed that in 1955, the majority of schools in Los Angeles with populations of 50 percent or more Mexican Americans had the lowest percentage of student body participation in school music programs (Keeler, 1955). Demographic shifts during this period, namely an increase of Mexican Americans at a site, also seemed to affect the overall quality of music programs at a school. One study by Francis Hill Baxter (1960) describes the connection between the number of Mexican Americans at a school and the overall participation rates of music ensembles in Los Angeles. Baxter found that changing demographics, socioeconomic status of students, and "racial problems" (p. 212) at Belmont High School in the 1940s had led to a decline in the quality of musical opportunities. This coincides with an increase from 4% of seniors with Spanish surnames in 1939 to 8% in 1947 (as indicated in Belmont High School yearbooks).

One potential reason for the slow growth of access to music education programs by Mexican-heritage students could have been that the presence of de facto segregation during this period was still widespread and often reinforced locally rather than nationally. For example, nine years after the Mendez v. Westminster case arose which mandated desegregation in California schools, another lawsuit aimed at the El Centro School District and the Imperial County Board of Supervisors (Romero v. Weakley) claimed that the district was maintaining separate education facilities for Mexican Americans, African American students, and White students. While the case would eventually be settled out of court, thus preventing any legal precedent to be

established, it is documented that the defendants admitted the culpability of the school district by agreeing to terminate these discriminatory practices (San Miguel, Jr., 2005). More evidence of this continued practice of segregation can be found in a 1948 survey of over 100 school districts that determined that almost 20 percent still maintained separate “Mexican schools” (Wollenberg 1974).

The impact of Mexican segregation on the access to music education cannot be understated. For example, a study of south Texas schools in the 1950s indicated disparities in access by students to music education in predominantly white schools and segregated Mexican schools. In this study, which examined the facilities of the North Edcouch school and the Elsa Mexican school, both in the Edcouch-Elsa Independent School District in Texas, it was found that “the children of [the predominantly White] South Edcouch received on a regular basis, instrumental instruction of an able band director and music instructor” (Calderon, quoted in Valencia, 2008, p. 48). Furthermore, “the [Mexican American] children attending North Edcouch and Elsa never had the opportunity to receive such band or music instruction” (Calderon quoted in Valencia, 2008, p. 48).

An examination of both recruiting practices and demographics of students participating in instrumental music programs near the Mexican border in El Centro, California during this period potentially reveals the generational effects that these discriminatory practices had on participation rates for Mexican American student. As documented in a 1963 dissertation that outlined the comprehensive music program (pre-K to 12) of El Centro, California, student access to prior musical training was a primary determining factor of student participation in school music. As stated, “The instrumental music teacher should be aware of the training the pupil has received at school and at home before he enrolls the pupil in the instrumental music program”

(McJilton, 1963, pg. 33). Considering that of the 75-member Spartan Band of Central Union High School in El Centro, only three members maintained Hispanic surnames in 1963 (Central Union High School Yearbook, 1963), I argue that this underrepresentation of Spanish surnamed, most likely Mexican American, students was an indication of the generational impact of the lack of access to instrumental music education programs for Mexican Americans during their elementary and middle school years.

An additional factor that possibly influenced student participation in the El Centro school in the early-mid 1960s were the linguistic and socioeconomic disparities that existed between the school and the community. For students who were interested in pursuing instrumental music, it was a requirement to have a parental permission slip that was written in English, signed and returned to the music teacher (McJilton, 1963). These parents would then be invited to a required informational session (presumably in English) to learn about the music offerings at the school. Current research has demonstrated that parents whose primary language or heritage culture are not reflected at the school, tend to remain disengaged from site-sponsored activities (Barajas & Ishimaru, 2016). Moreover, the work demands placed upon Mexican Americans who primarily worked on the farms in El Centro, California, could have potentially affected their attendance at these events and, thus, limited their students' opportunity to participate in school music.

The persistence of Progressive ideals in the inter-American period. Overall, it is likely that the lack of access to comprehensive music programs caused by the de facto segregation of Mexican Americans in the American southwest during this period inhibited essential skill development in formal educational spaces that could have been built upon for advanced study. This process was similar to what was seen during the Progressive Era in the 1920s and 1930s where Mexican American students had access to non-ensemble music activities

that focused on English language learning or other assimilative efforts. Moreover, general music programs during the inter-American period also served the same Progressive education purposes of assimilation and Americanization. For example, a music program in Corpus Christi, TX called "The Music Trail" was focused on engaging Mexican Americans with music activities (i.e., sing-a-longs) that focused on assimilation and education for citizenship with units titled "Patriotic Unit" and "Democracy vs. Dictatorship" (Rhea, 1951).

The continued assimilation of Mexican American students during the inter-American period was essentially a continuation of the attitudes that were established decades earlier during the Progressive Era. An additional activity that persisted from the Progressive Era into the inter-American period was the use of psychometric tests, especially in music, to justify the placement of Mexican American students into vocational tracks rather than academic ones. This widespread practice that began in the 1920s situated segregated Mexican schools as laboratories where half-developed pseudo-scientific theories of Mexican intelligence were used to justify assimilationist programs and segregationist policy (Torres-Rouff, 2012). Likewise, musical studies of Mexican Americans during the inter-American period continued to seek scientific justification for the perceived musical deficiencies of Mexican Americans. As such, research studies on the musical talent of Mexican American students were undertaken during this period, including one titled *Pitch Improvement in Anglo and Latin American Children* (Brown-Winkle, 1951) and another titled *A Comparative Study of Class and Individual Instruction in Latin and Anglo Classes* (Martin, 1951).

Additional statements made by music educators about Mexican Americans further indicate the continued prevalence of deficit thinking about these students. For example, a music

teacher of Tranquility Union High School in California described the predominantly Mexican American student body with the following quote:

> We have a large migrant [Mexican student] problem with children shifting from school to school within the year. These students are a bit more ill-kept, dull eyed, and apathetic than our permanent student body. Our school's IQ is below average. We have a 50% drop out rate because of the poor socio-economic living standards of our students. The language grade placement is the lowest in the county. What is the role of music in the school? Students at Tranquillity Union High School are in the main apathetic. We have discovered that apathy is a defense mechanism. It makes an intolerable situation tolerable. The conditions under which they live are poor; we can assume what their diets are. We have slow moving, passive minded students. We sometimes wonder what we can do to get them to move, to think, to act (Duckworth, 1955, p. 33)

Eventually, this music teacher, Guy Duckworth, would become a professor of music at several universities including the University of Minnesota, Northwestern University, and the University of Colorado, Boulder as well as an award-winning piano pedagogue (Coats, 2015). However, Duckworth's propensity towards deficit thinking persisted throughout his career. For example, in an article on piano pedagogy, Duckworth (1965) describes his method to develop critical listening. He states that:

> the easiest way to do this is a small, homogenous, cooperative group where individual attention can be focused not only on an individual performance but on an individual listening process…in a heterogenous group it is inefficient, with the well-prepared and talented person usually taking a back seat to the mediocre (p. 42).

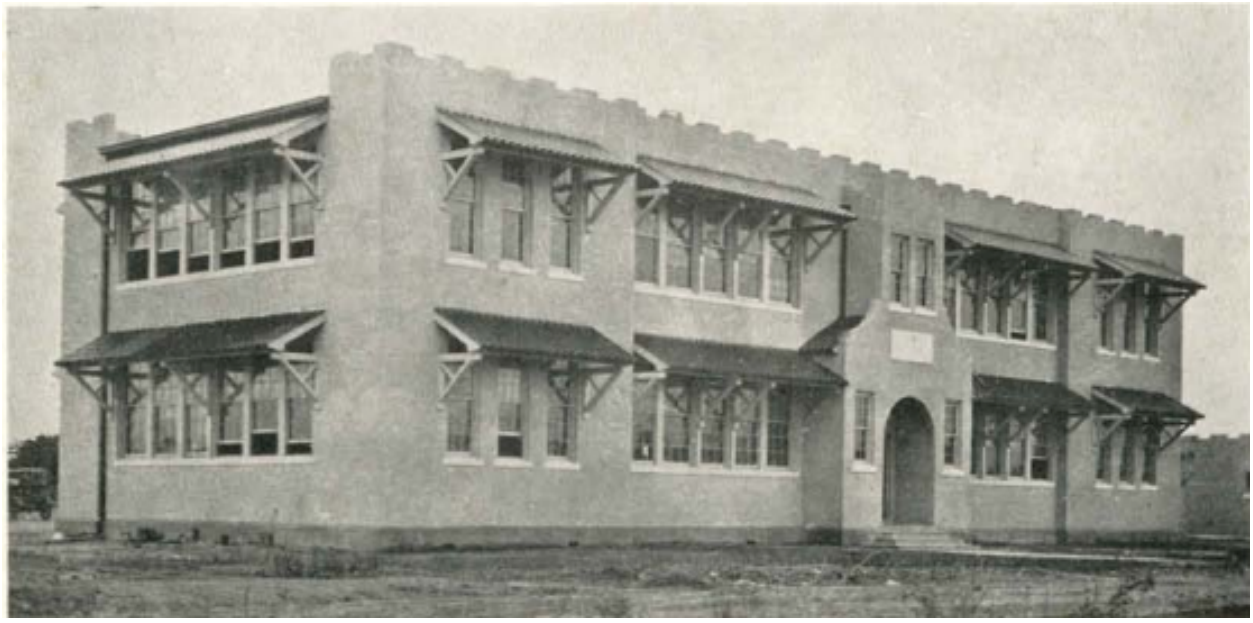
While this comment was not aimed specifically at Mexican Americans like the previous one, it does provide evidence of the how his pedagogical approach was imbued with Progressive Era practice of maintaining social efficiency through the grouping of students by ability.

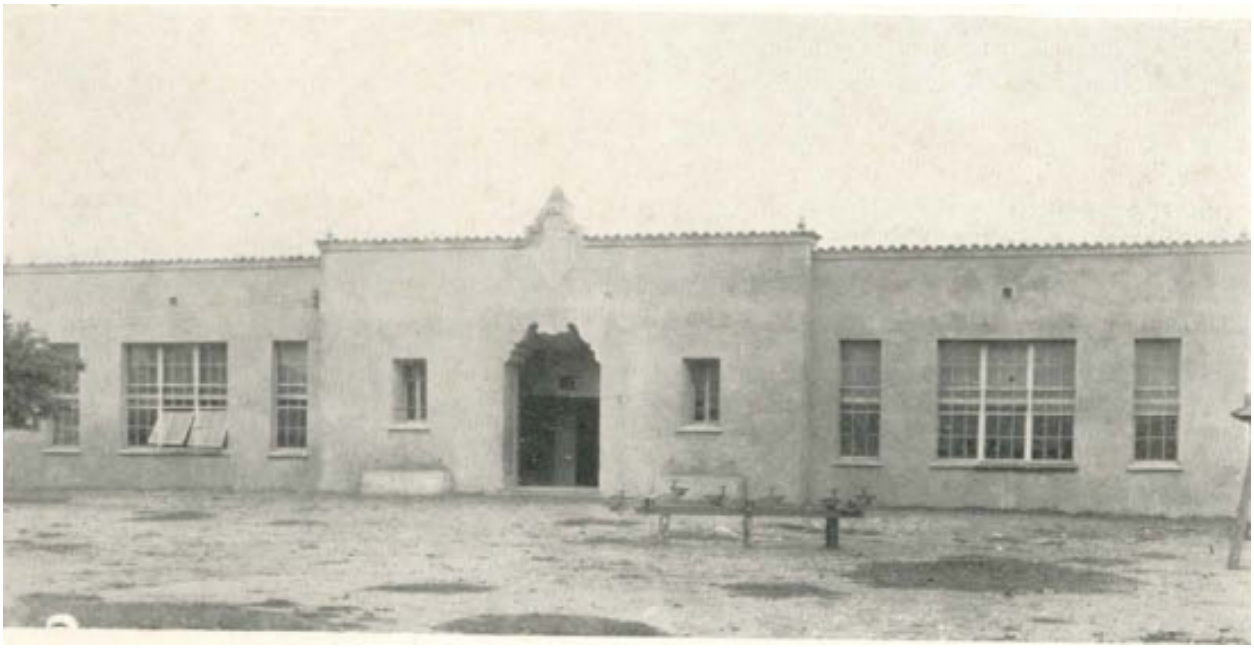
Educational Policy Meets Local Practice in Weslaco, Texas

While these discriminatory practices occurred region-wide across the American southwest, a thorough exploration of a specific site could help to reveal the nuanced dynamics that occurred in similarly situated settings. To further explore the interconnection between education policy, local practice, and Mexican American student participation outcomes, I would now like to shift to a city in Texas that exemplifies this process. Weslaco is a small town founded in 1919 (Texas Historical Commission, 2008) that is located in south Texas near the Mexican city of Reynosa. Like many southwestern cities, Weslaco maintained segregated neighborhoods and schools for Mexican and white residents (Figure 3). The dividing line in Weslaco was the Missouri Pacific Railroad tracks that relegated the Mexican Americans to a barrio north of the city limits (Tijerina, 2015). Since Mexican Americans were not allowed to settle within city limits, the Weslaco School Board that was formed in 1921 established a segregated K-5 "Mexican school" north of the railroad tracks in 1925 (Texas Historical Commission, 2008).

Figure 3

Stephen F. Austin Elementary (White students, top) and Mexican School (bottom)





Because Weslaco was a small rural city during this time, provisions were made for only one Junior High school which accommodated both Mexican and White students. However, as with other segregated elementary schools such as the Tempe Eighth Street School in Tempe, Arizona, few Mexican students matriculated into the upper grades in the 1920s and 1930s (Avila, 2012). Table 1 illustrates the matriculation of Spanish surnamed students during this period. This

attrition was mainly driven by labor needs as the children were required to help provide for their families (Avila, 2012).

Table 1

Comparison of 6th Grade Students by Surname

Year	Total Number of Students	Spanish Surnamed Students
1929	88	13
1931	121	15
1934	113	24

Source: Weslaco High School yearbooks (1929, 1931, 1934).

When the attrition of these students past sixth grade is examined, a bleak picture of the retention of Mexican American students begins to emerge. For example, of the original cohort of 13 Mexican American sixth grade students in 1929, only one student, Juanita Garza, remained in school by 1931, when she had then matriculated to the local middle school. Continuing, of those Mexican American sixth grade students in 1931 that were enrolled, only one remained in school by 1934. While both students would eventually go on to graduate from Weslaco High School, it does not render the attrition rate for Mexican Americans during this period any less astonishing.

As a rural community, Weslaco serves as an interesting historical example in the specific context of integration because it maintained only one junior high within the city limits. This meant that all students who successfully graduated from either the predominantly white or Mexican elementary schools were permitted to attend. Regardless of access, attrition still remained high for Mexican American students. There are a number of possible factors that could have contributed to this including migrant work, including transience, district transfers, or

poverty. However, it is arguable that the legal segregation policies based on English proficiency established in court case ISD v. Salvatierra, had a negative impact on this population's educational trajectory.

Despite the heavy attrition of the vast majority of Mexican American students during this time, there were still moments where individuals were able to successfully navigate a hostile education system. Educational historian David Tyack (1974), who researched the academic trajectory of immigrant students, provides two cautionaries as regards the monolithic narratives that are often told of immigrant populations:

> Merely coming from a home where the parents spoke a language other than English or struggled to preserve their folkways did not by itself explain poor performance of the second generation in school. Among immigrants, as among the general population, poverty correlated highly with academic failure, yet not only individuals but whole groups transcended initial poverty to succeed in school (1974, pg. 248).

Weslaco High School was a space where Mexican American students could explore activities that provided them with opportunities to engage in *social closure* (Noguera, 2008), that is, to participate in activities that would allow them to acquire assimilative social capital. As prolific ethnomusicologist and Weslaco alumnus Manuel Peña recalled, "our indoctrination at Weslaco High, through our participation in band, choir, clubs, and other high school activities, was inescapably transforming us into Americans, even if hyphenated, as in Mexican-American" (2008, p. 82). It would be in the Green-and-Gold Weslaco band that Manuel Peña would experience a rarity: a college-educated Mexican American assistant band director named Manuel Garza.

Manuel Garza: An integration success story. During this period of integration, there was an increasing number of college-educated Mexican Americans, due to the proliferation of the G.I. Bill. However, mention of music educators with Spanish surnames in music education journals was rare. Because of this, I selected band director Manuel Garza's experience as an exemplary counter-story (Sólorzano & Yosso, 2016) of Mexican American adaptational resilience, because his life clearly illustrates the process of assimilation that Mexican Americans had to endure in order to achieve success in predominantly White spaces. As a core tenet of CRT, counter-stories provide narratives from the subaltern about how these groups experienced oppression, developed adaptational strategies, and navigated dehumanizing systems. In other words, "CRT challenges the experiences of Whites as the standard and refutes traditional racial paradigms by claiming a distinctive minority voice" (Taylor, 2016, p.7).

Manuel Garza was born in San Benito, Texas on Nov. 2 in 1931 to Guadalupe and Manuel Garza, Sr. (Garza Death, 1978). During his childhood the family migrated to Weslaco, Texas, where he would eventually become a student at Weslaco High School. During his time there, Garza was involved in a variety of clubs including Key Club, the La Palma Staff, and the Choral Club. Additionally, he was also involved in several drama club events, including a play about good citizenship and the "tree of liberty," as well as a regional interscholastic event where he performed a monologue (Weslaco Hi-Life, 1950). However, it was in the school band that Garza took a central leadership role. During his senior year in 1950, he was named one of the student conductors and would also receive a teacher's nomination for being an outstanding student (Weslaco Hi-Life, 1950). As a musician, Garza excelled and consistently received "excellent" and "superior" ratings in trumpet and conducting at various solo and ensemble competitions throughout Texas (Kroulik, 1966).

After graduating in 1950, Garza continued his success and attended Tarleton State College on a scholarship (Garza Death, 1978). He received his A.S. degree before transferring to the University of Texas at Austin to pursue a degree in music education as well as serve as an ROTC cadet. Rather than to go straight into teaching, Garza joined the military like so many Mexican Americans before him and served in the Army Armored Corps at Ft. Lewis Washington (Garza Death, 1978). One of his duties in the Army was to serve as a war games umpire, which is an individual who enforces rules of specific battlefield scenarios. After two years of service, Garza returned to Weslaco High School and become an assistant band director with Marion Busby.

During his time as an assistant band director at Weslaco, Garza led the developing ensembles at the high school as well as the junior high groups. As with other efforts, Garza found success in this role and during his first year, led the junior high band at Weslaco to a first division concert rating at a regional competition; his was the only junior high group to accomplish this goal (Southwestern Musician, 1959). Eventually, Garza would go on to lead his first program as the director at Danbury High School in 1965 after receiving a master's degree from the University of Texas at Austin. Coincidentally, this was the same year that this school was integrated, as 17 Black students were admitted that year (Brazosport Facts, 1965). While at this school, Garza would lead multiple groups to superior ratings at various UIL contests. One year at Danbury High School, Garza even planned a "south-of-the-border" themed homecoming show that even featured a live bullfight (Brazosport Facts, 1966).

Eventually, Garza would leave Danbury and go on to lead bands at various schools throughout Texas. However, Garza's involvement with schools was not limited to the music programs. At each school he taught, Garza took on multiple roles in order to integrate himself

within the school community. During his career he was a PTA chairman, coordinator of community events, and also held frequent family dinners for both his students and their families. His former students also recalled fond memories of his dedication to them. One such student, Lawrence (Larry) Garcia, who was a seventh-grade student of Garza's in 1977, shares a particular act of kindness. When Larry, a Mexican American student, first started playing saxophone, his family was rather poor and could not afford an adequate instrument. After struggling for some time to produce a characteristic tone on a subpar instrument, he was about to quit altogether when Manuel Garza pulled him into his office after rehearsal one day. As Larry (Figure 4) recalls,

> A month later he called me back in his office. I thought I was in trouble [laughter] but no. He calls me back in his office and he goes…he had a saxophone case on his desk. He says, 'hey, um, I have something for you.' I say, 'ok.' And so, he points at the sax case and says, 'I want you to open that sax case.' So, I opened it up and there was a saxophone that was re-lacquered and re-padded. It was like a brand new saxophone. And I was, like, "ok." And he says, 'that's your sax.' And I said, 'my sax?' And he said, 'yes.' I was like, 'Wow! How the heck am I going to pay for this?' And he said, 'it's yours to keep, I want you to have it.' [sniffles] And I still have that sax and I still play it, and that was, like, forty-five years ago. And I always felt that I had to do right by him. What he did for me then, it was something I'll never forget (personal interview, 2021).

Manuel Garza, one of the first Mexican American band directors in Texas, suffered a fatal stroke and passed away on May 18th, 1977. Larry recalls the shock that the students felt when receiving the news,

> It was sad. Everybody was in shock because it kind of just happened in a day.

> We didn't know much but I remember going to class in the morning to the middle school band class and then I saw the high school band in there. A couple of minutes later our principal came in with one of the other band members and, like, you know. I could tell something was not right. And then he told us that he had passed. And it was quiet, like, you could hear a pin drop. But the whole community was in shock because he had that impact on the community in the short time that he was here (personal communication, 2021).

Figure 4

Manuel Garza presenting Larry Garcia with an award.

To reiterate, Manuel's Garza's life is important to examine because of how it exemplified the lengths that Mexican Americans went through in order to successfully navigate a new educational space that was opened to them during the inter-American era of the 1950s: the predominantly White band director world. Garza took every opportunity that was available to

him in order to build his career and demonstrated success after success in the band world with superior ratings, sweepstakes awards, and other accolades that are valued in that community. However, as a Mexican American, Garza also straddled the line of maintaining his own Mexicanness in an effort to serve as a role model for other Mexican American youth. Larry shared how he would meet with Garza and "talk his ear off" (personal communication, 2021) about his family band and old Tejano music. This was mainly because of Garza's roots and understanding of this genre. It was during these discussions that Larry began to feel his own identity as a musician develop,

> I felt comfortable with him. I was starting to see myself like him. A lot of the same background, both Mexican, and both loving music. And I felt like, wow! I felt like we were meant to come across each other's lives at that time. He kinda took me under his wing and I flew right along with him (personal interview, 2021).

In line with Angela Valenzuela's (1999) notion *authentic caring*, which states that Mexican American students view building relationships with teachers as a necessary component to the learning process, perhaps these early interactions, relational moments, and the sense of empowerment that a Mexican American teacher can provide a young similarly situated student, are what provided Larry with the encouragement to persist and continue making music through his adulthood.

Conclusion

As described in the chapter, the inter-American period was a period where Mexican Americans began to make some progress in achieving some semblance of educational justice. Through their advocacy efforts, court cases, and policies that facilitated integration, Mexican Americans began to increase their representation in secondary schools throughout the American

Southwest. These changes eventually led to increased performance of Mexican heritage music and increased access on the local level, however, national progress was yet to be achieved. As indicated in the professional journals of music educators, efforts aimed at diversity were less concerned with confronting the educational condition of Mexican Americans and, instead, focused on incorporating music from Latin America that were more aligned with Eurocentric aesthetics. From a CRT perspective, this represents the interest convergence in that efforts aimed at increasing diversity are allowed insofar as White interests are still maintained.

Despite this interest convergence, there were moments where Mexican Americans were able to demonstrate their ability to overcome these systemic barriers. As Manuel Garza's life demonstrated, there were some Mexican Americans who were able to achieve success in mainstream music education spaces while maintain aspects of their cultural identities to connect with Mexican American students who were able to access these predominantly White music education spaces.

Chapter Four: Affirmation (1960-1980)

I think that I shall never see
Any Chicanos on TV
It seems as though we don't exist
And we're not ever even missed
And yet we buy, and buy their wares
But no Chicanos anywhere

The situation comedies
The Jeffersons and the Cosbys
Just change the channel and you'll get
Another Webster on the set
Their TV families are white
But not a Mexican in sight

There are Chicanos in real life
Doctors, lawyers, husbands, wives
But all they show us on TV
Are illegal aliens as they flee
Or some poor cholo that they bust flat on his face, he's eating dust
Don't buy the products if you see
No Chicanos on TV

-Lalo Guerrero "No Chicanos on TV" (1999)

After the increased integration of Mexican Americans that occurred in the late 1920s through the early 1950s during the inter-American period, there was much progress for those that assimilated into American life. However, this success would not be achieved for all. As found in the response to their continued marginalization in education, the Mexican American efforts during this period are aligned with CRTs assertion of the centrality of racism. Essentially, Mexican Americans began to understand that "racism is endemic to society rather than an aberration" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 490) and sought other efforts to achieve educational success outside of assimilation. Because of this, an increasing number of Mexican Americans, being disillusioned with the failures of schools to serve the needs of Mexican American students, sought to build their own programs. Tired of bearing the brunt of failed educational policies,

Mexican American education activists and advocates also turned to direct action to achieve educational equity. This period, called the Chicano Movement, saw the rise of efforts that sought to challenge an educational system that had, for generations, discriminated against Mexican Americans.

To begin, this chapter provides a description of the overall educational condition of Mexican Americans in the early 1960s and examines the factors that led to the rise of the Chicano Movement that occurred between the early 1960s to the middle of the 1970s (MacDonald, 2004). Additionally, a broader examination of national educational policy, particularly the shift towards more equity-based initiatives, is undertaken here. This establishing of context helps in determining how the field of music education responded to the educational dynamics of this period. As will be discussed, the language and focus of institutional music education began to grapple with these issues academically but did little to address the material conditions that led to disparities in Mexican American access to and participation in formal music education programs. This analysis demonstrates the impact of the CRT tenets of 1) centrality of racism, and 2) claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy on Mexican American access to music education. Additionally, this chapter will ~~also~~ illustrate~~s~~ how the lack of direct efforts to combat the disparities of access to music education for Mexican Americans aligns with Ladson-Billings' "critique of liberalism" that argues that "racism requires sweeping changes, but liberalism has no mechanism for such change" (Ladson Billings, 2016, p. 19). I argue that a rise of attention to multicultural music education did not go far in addressing white supremacy and power dynamics inherent in music education, such that inequities continued to persist.

In the last section, I utilize counter-stories, a key component of CRT, to describe Mexican American efforts of the time to create music education programs that serve specific cultural needs. These counter-stories are important because they ground this research "in a sense of reality that reflects the distinctive experiences of people of color" (Ladson Billings, 2016). To uncover these counter-stories, I explore the music education programs developed at Chicano schools to provide a description of successful strategies that these learning centers used to teach culturally congruent music to predominantly Chicano student bodies. Additionally, I present stories of professors at US colleges and universities who challenged the hegemony of university music programs by creating culturally congruent music ensembles outside of predominantly White music departments. These counter-stories are used mainly to illustrate the grassroots organizing that occurs in Mexican American communities when they have no access to institutional music spaces.

Educational Conditions of Mexican Americans During the 1960s

During the 1960s, Mexican Americans were still experiencing widespread discrimination and systemic racism, particularly in education. In some cases, the outcomes of discrimination in education would even become a life and death matter, particularly during the height of the Vietnam War. After examining conscription rates of Mexican Americans during this time, Chicano scholar Ralph Guzman (1970) discovered that Mexican Americans rarely received draft deferments for attending college. Considering the frequency with which they were *pushed out*[6] of high schools during this time, such that only 60% of Chicanos made it to their senior year (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1971), this appears to be accurate.

[6] The term "pushed out" refers to the influence of push factors on student's decision to drop out. Push factors are factors that make school "frustrating, punishing, or something a student wishes to avoid and is so pushed towards quitting" (Jordan et al, 1996).

In another study, sociologist Richard Leiva (1967) examined the disproportionate deaths of Mexican Americans in the Vietnam war. According to his statistical analysis, he found that between December, 1967 to March, 1969, 19.4% of the casualties in Vietnam were Mexican American. Considering that scholars determined that Mexican Americans composed only 11.8% of the population in the United States during that period (Rowan, 1968), an overrepresentation of casualties emerges. In addition to low matriculation rates, there were several other factors that led to this overrepresentation of casualties, including that Mexican Americans had long been perceived as a "foreign minority" and subject to immense pressure to demonstrate their loyalty to the United States and would volunteer for more risky military jobs (Vigil, 1999). Conversely, Guzman also found that Mexican Americans were also selected to participate in more dangerous activities. This was confirmed in an interview with a Marine Corps veteran who served in a force reconnaissance unit in the late 1960s. He recounts the day he was drafted:

> We were all told to line up and they were going to sort us into branches. I remember the person going down the line pointing at somebody and saying 'Army, Army, Navy, Marine Corps. I noticed that he kept pointing to the Mexicans and saying Marine Corps and I thought to myself 'aww, shit. He's gonna put me in the fucking Marines.' Sure enough, he came up to me, pointed and said, 'Marine Corps' (personal communication, 2006).

The Marine Corps' motto "first to fight," describes the danger that is inherent in this branch of the military. Often seen as the 'shock troops' of the United States military, this expeditionary force is often the group that is given the most dangerous combat missions in the US military. Placing his story in context with other factors demonstrates how systemic racism contributed to the overrepresentation of Mexican American casualties in Vietnam.

As described in earlier chapters, systemic oppression in education hindered the development of educational structures that served to cultivate the widespread success of Mexican American students. In one study, Rowan (1968) determined that Mexican American students in Texas would typically drop out after only eight years of schooling. In terms of the quality of their experience, her study indicated that this group did not have widespread access to adequate resources for their educational success. For example, her research indicates that in California, over 57% of Mexican American students still attended segregated schools in the late 1960s despite rulings to desegregate locally (i.e., Mendez v. Westminster, 1946) and nationally (i.e., Brown v. Board of Education, 1952).

In agreement with previous research about the conditions of these schools, Rowan (1968) also found that these segregated schools operated with "crowded and run-down facilities, large class size, poor counseling and guidance, poor vocational education, testing and tracking practices that isolate Mexican Americans within schools if they are not in segregated schools, [and] inappropriate textbooks and other teaching materials" (p. 27). The impact of this lack of access to resources cannot be understated. For example, Rowan (1968) found that 40% of the Mexican American population in Texas was functionally illiterate. Her research also indicated that on intelligence tests, scores suggested that "one quarter of Mexican American students were, in her words, "mentally retarded" (p. 33); a term that has historically been used to describe the perceived cognitive deficiencies of Mexican Americans. Perhaps the most condemning indictment of the failure of this educational system comes from a student recollection of an educational experience during this period:

> The teachers' negative opinion of Mexico would not bother me so much, except that this is the only image portrayed to us here in America of what we are. We look around for

> something to be proud of we, question our parents, but all they tell u', 'just be proud you are Mexican,' because they are too busy working or taking care of the little kids or too uneducated to Il us all we have to be proud of... all the thousand things we have to be proud of. And since they cannot tell us these things and the schools will not, we begin to think that maybe the Anglo teacher is right, that maybe we are inferior, that we do not belong in his world, that, as some teachers actually tell students to their faces, we should go back to Mexico (Rowan, 1968, p. 31).

Although these practices were widely proliferated and entrenched in educational institutions across the southwest, the Mexican American community overall did not view them as insurmountable challenges. Rather than accepting this deliberate marginalization as normalized, they developed a robust understanding of their condition as well as specific reforms that could be implemented to improve their educational experiences. For example, Rowan (1968) describes the demands of her interviewees which included more representation in textbooks and curriculum and more access to educational resources. These demands would be echoed all across the American Southwest during this period as Mexican American communities began to organize and advocate for educational equity.

Origins and Demands of the Chicano Movement

Tired of this discrimination and empowered to create sweeping change in the late 1960s, Mexican American youth, educators, and communities engaged in protests, demonstrations, and direct action (eg, walkouts) to demand changes to their educational experience. As a part of the larger Civil Rights movement across the United States, the impetus for Chicano Movement was the years of exclusionary education practices that had been occurring for decades for them across

the country (MacDonald, 2004). As a result, there were activist events sparking in all states of the American Southwest.

It has been documented that the first walkout in protest of Mexican American discrimination in the schools occurred on March 1, 1968 at Wilson High School in Los Angeles. According to education scholar Victoria-Maria MacDonald (2004), this walkout occurred after the school canceled a student production of the play, *Barefoot in the Park,* as it was considered by the school administration as "too risqué" for a Mexican American audience (Contreras, 1968). While this event was not cited as a specific example of discrimination, it was the spark that ignited the accumulated tinder of the generations of educational exclusion that these students had endured. This moment of widespread resistance led to over 15,000 students participating in the walkouts by the middle of March that year in Los Angeles schools (MacDonald, 2004). Fundamentally, this movement of resistance was focused on creating change that would improve the educational experience of Mexican American students. As such, these walkouts, protests, and moments of direct action eventually attracted the attention of education policy makers (MacDonald, 2004).

Demand for increased Mexican American representation. In the wake of the initial Chicano Movement surge, several state and federal government entities began to research the Mexican American educational experience. For example, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights conducted a study to explore this phenomenon. One report of this series titled *The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican Americans in the Southwest* (1972) confirmed many of the educational demands of the Chicano movement activists. One of the most common complaints in the report pertained to the lack of Mexican American representation in the curriculum. This report found that Mexican American contributions to the history and

development of the American Southwest were either diminished or excluded altogether. For example, across the only 4.3% of elementary schools and 7.3%of secondary schools contained any course or curriculum that focused specifically on Mexican American history (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1972). Moreover, when such a course was allowed taught, it was often done so with perfunctory effort. As one San Antonio teacher stated in the report:

> I think Latin Americans in San Antonio talk so much about their Latin American Heritage, their Latin American history, but they actually know very little about it. There's no opportunity that they could possibly learn anything. The Texas history that is taught on the 7th grade level is done within a semester and they have to race through it (p. 31).

Another aspect of curriculum that Chicano Movement activists wanted to address was the bias against and underrepresentation of Mexican American contributions and that was found in the mainstream curriculum. As a representative of the Chicano activist group Crusade for Justice stated,

> It is basic to the development and adjustment of an individual to have an identity, a conception of his own origin to assess his worth. The public schools do not help matters any by totally disregarding the history, customs, and contributions of the Chicano to this country and society. The effects upon the student are such that they destroy his self-conception and cause his character to be warped. In many cases, the Chicano student is alienated from the positive values of the way of life his parents, and yet, is not totally accepted into the "mainstream" of life of this society. A Chicano student, therefore, is caught between his filial attachment to his parents and his people and the seductive attractions of conforming to the requirements of "the cookie factory" to receive the approval of his teachers. It is in a way encouraging to us, that in the majority of the cases

> the Chicano student rebels and is pushed out of the school system and becomes a 'drop out statistic.' It is, in a more real sense, sad that the educational process could meet the needs of these students because then they, the students, have lost the opportunity to learn some of the positive things the educational system could offer (Crusade for Justice, 1970, pg. 6).

In another effort to bring attention to this bias, the founder of the Association of Mexican American Educators, Marcos de Leon, noted that:

> textbook after textbook supports the notion that early settlers of the Southwest, Spanish and Indian and mixed-blood pioneers who came from Mexico, as well as Indians native to the region, wandered around in confusion until the Anglo-Saxon with his superior wisdom and clear vision vaulted the Rocky Mountains and brought order out of chaos (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1972, p. 31).

Further evidence of White bias in curriculum was found in a study titled *Study of Mexican American Education in the Southwest* (Uranga, 1972). In the rare moments where there was representation of Mexican American history and culture, the focus was primarily on the "superficial and exotic elements; the fantasy heritage of the Southwest" (p. 12). Historian of the American southwest John Macias has described that this fantasy heritage was largely informed by Anglo perceptions that Mexicans in the southwest were nothing more than "contented pastoral laborers in the bucolic fields and vineyards" (Macias, 2023, p. 34). Additionally, Macias (2023) argues that such portrayals of Mexican as laborers only served to reinforce damaging stereotypes that prevented Mexican American students from developing pride in the truth of their cultural contributions by "denying their former social and political dominance over the region, portraying recent immigrants from Mexico as nineteenth century peons destined to remain poor

and landless laborers" (p. 34). However, despite the pervasiveness of such harmful representations, there were moments where state representatives also recognized this bias. In the late 1960s, the Texas State Board of Education's Committee on Confluence of Texas Cultures accused public schools of exhibiting a curriculum with "an inexcusable Anglo American bias" (US Commission on Civil rights, 1972. P. 31).

In terms of Critical Race Theory, these negative perspectives towards the underrepresentation of Mexican Americans in curricular programs during the 1960s and 1970s points to the endemic nature of racism in society (Sleeter, 2012). Additionally, the perception that the academic outcomes of Mexican Americans during this time were a matter of apathy rather than an issue of racial justice, perpetuates the myth of meritocracy and colorblindness that the concealment of White supremacy relies on to persist through generations.

Demand for improved pedagogical practices. In addition to issues of curricular content, education activists of the Chicano Movement sought to address the harmful pedagogical practices and policies of educators. One example of these harmful school policies described in a report on the educational experience of Chicanos described how Chicano parents and other family members were alienated through English-only policies at school (Uranga, 1972). According to the findings, 91.7 percent of the elementary schools and 98.5 percent of secondary schools in the American southwest did not use Spanish during PTA meetings (Uranga, 1972). This was despite allocations of over 260,000,000 USD of Title I and VII funding to Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas for bilingual support (Uranga, 1972)—a clear example of interest convergence at play during this time.

Many public school administrators and educators of the time felt that their practices were excused because they were in the service of "improving" Mexican Americans' educational

experience through assimilation. The report found that administrators who were interviewed felt that the goal of curriculum “is to teach Americanism, meaning not merely the political and patriotic dogma—but the habits necessary to American life--a common language, common tolerances, a common political and national faith" (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1972, p. 35). In other words, exclusion of Mexican American culture was not the goal so much as inculcating American ideals into the minds of Mexican American students. Regardless of the reason, the Texas State Board of Education’s Committee on Confluence of Texas Cultures negated the appeal of local authorities to the ignorance of the consequences of these practices by stating “the fact that [this exclusion] is not consciously done, does not lessen its impact” (US Commission on Civil rights, 1972, p. 31).

Mainstream Music Education and Mexican Americans during the Chicano Movement

As education at large was being challenged by activists, educators, and community members during the Chicano Movement in the United States, several music organizations such as MENC were, instead, focusing their interest on music education matters in Mexico. Continuing with the increased awareness of Latin American music that was developed during the inter-American period (ca. 1940-1950), publishers and institutions continued to embrace this interest. Aligned with past efforts in music education to emphasize Eurocentric, or *good*, music, the pieces collected and the music education efforts that were documented were often those that were aligned with European musical expressions rather than those that would be considered culturally congruent to Chicanos.

In terms of CRT, these efforts relate to the tenet of *interest convergence* which allows for BIPOC progress and access to power as long as it is still in the interest of proliferating Eurocentric perspectives. I argue that although Mexican music and music education efforts

during this time were being documented and highlighted, they were still rooted in Eurocentric practices and, thus, aligned with the goal of perpetuating White supremacy.

For example, in 1964, the University of Texas and the University of Mexico hosted an Inter-American Symposium in support of a musical exchange between the United States and Mexico to benefit students through exposure to new orchestral works that featured Canadian, Polish, and Mexican composers (Klein, 1964). In documenting this binational exchange, Kosloff (1966) wrote an article for *Music Educators Journal* that recounted an interview with the Joaquin Amparan, the director of the National Conservatory of Music in Mexico. Replying in language that Kosloff (1966) described as "a clear-cut, cultured Spanish" (p. 97), Amparan told of the founding and practices at the National Conservatory of Music in Mexico, with particular attention paid to youth engagement.

Similar efforts were also undertaken at several institutions across the American Southwest. Another example that highlights this binational musical exchange at the University of Texas was the development of a Mexican music catalog project at the Texas College of Arts and Industries (Research in Progress, 1966). In partnership with the National Conservatory of Music in Mexico and the Pan American Union in Washington, D.C., graduate student Jose Luis Gomez led this project that focused on cataloging the works of Mexican composers of "serious" music as well as documenting the history of Mexican music overall. The initiation of this project was perhaps due to a growing recognition of the quality of Mexican classical music, understood as associated with the aesthetics of Western art music and yet also taking on the nuances of sound and structure of Mexican traditions. For example, in 1961, Mexican composer Carlos Chavez signed a ten-year publishing contract with Mills Music (In this Corner, 1961).

The growing interest in music education in Mexico was also evident at the fifth assembly of the *Consejo Internamericano de Music* (CIDEM) in 1968. Musical representatives from all across the Americas met in Toronto, Canada to discuss the various music projects in progress. In 1968, Rose Marie Grentzer (1968) published an article in *Music Educators Journal* that highlighted the efforts in Mexico to explore indigenous folklore and music, develop a system to teach music through radio and television, and initiate a robust government sponsorship of various extracurricular music activities such as choruses and instrumental groups.

These efforts attracted increased attention from the United States federal government and eventually led to the funding and support of various musical exchanges across the American Southwest. In 1968, the "1 O'clock Lab Band" of North Texas State University went on a tour to perform jazz throughout northern Mexico as an official representative of the Department of State (Bulletin Board, 1967). Similarly in 1970, the Tucson Symphony toured through several Mexican border towns (Hill, 1970). Funding for the trip, in the amount of $10K was secured after representatives from the Music Educators National Conference (MENC) provided testimony to Congress in support of the expansion of the National Endowment of the Arts and Humanities. In 1971 and 1972, the National Endowment of the Arts and Humanities also awarded 40 fellowships totaling $695K to support research into Black, *Mexican*, and Indigenous scholarship in music (Klotman, 1972).

On the surface, these moments convey an increase of representation of Mexican music in US institutions. However, when analyzed through a CRT lens, these moments are an illustration of *interest convergence* in that it allowed for documentation of Mexican musical activities so longs they are aligned with Eurocentric performance practices.

Mexican Representation in Music Education Materials During the Chicano Movement

While the vast majority of efforts to increase Mexican representation were focused on international exchange between the U.S. and Mexico and collecting Mexican music as a step beyond the continuation of standard Eurocentric school repertoire, pedagogical discussions and curricular materials gradually began to occur on the musical education of Mexican American students. As seen from the previous mentions, the performance of Mexican music in the United States was on the upswing by the early 1970s, particularly within schools. For example, the MENC conference in San Diego in 1971 featured a "mariachi sing-along" as well as an optional overnight trip to Tijuana (MENC Western Division, 1971). Additionally, there was a conference presentation that focused on Mexican music titled *Mexican Culture and Music* (MENC Western Division, 1971). In Chicago, there was a folk music festival held in 1970 at the University of Chicago that also featured Mexican American musical groups (Bulletin Board, 1970).

These efforts emerged from the belief shared at the 1967 Tanglewood Symposium that music teachers were "not properly prepared to cope with the severe problems created by poor housing, unemployment, poverty, and other intolerable conditions that exist in the cities throughout the United States" (Overtones, 1970, pg. 29). As such, there was a slight increase in the interest of issues pertaining to the Mexican American educational experience and MENC began to publish articles that addressed many of the issues that led to the community uprisings during the Chicano Movement. For example, a special issue on Urban Music Education was published in 1970, with several articles on music in Mexican American communities. Moreover, this special issue clearly articulated that Black and Brown children were not able to equitably access music programs (Awareness May Save our Skins, 1970).

During this time, an article titled *Identity Crisis in the Barrios* was published in *Music Educators Journal*. (Ramirez, 1970) The author provided a robust exploration of the bicultural

tension and marginalization that Mexican Americans experience in education, factors that led to the Chicano Movement. Evidence from this study was eventually cited by MENC as evidence for the need to increase the development and implementation of curricular materials that focused specifically on Mexican American music (Overtones, 1970, pg. 29).

As if on cue, publishers also increased advertisements in MENC's journal, thus lending a focus on Mexican American music, culture, and students. In 1971, Silver-Burdett published several dual-track sing-along recordings that featured music from Mexican American communities in Chula Vista, California (Professional Materials, 1971). In another journal advertisements that focused on Mexican music shared that a resource titled *An Introduction to Certain Mexican Musical Archives* was available for purchase (Professional Materials, 1971).

MENC also began to promote professional development materials in their journals that were aimed at developing teachers' understanding of their Mexican American students. In 1970, a video titled *Education and the Mexican American* was advertised in *Music Educators Journal*, with rental cost at $18 (Professional Materials, 1970). The description of the video ensured teachers that this would help them to engage Mexican American students. Other videos on Mexican culture were also for sale by the professional organization, including titles such as *Mexican American Culture: Its Heritage*, *Mexico: A Cultural Portrait*, and *Rio Grande: Where Four Cultures Meet* (Professional Materials, 1972). Despite these efforts, Mexican Americans during this time sought to develop their own educational systems that would successfully serve their specific cultural needs.

The Emergence of Huelga and Chicano Schools

Although there was an increase of interest in and materials for teaching and performing Mexican music, the lack of Mexican American access to music education programs still persisted

nationally. In 1971, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights published a report that documented the educational experience of Mexican Americans across the American Southwest. Findings indicated that Mexican American students did not have proportionate representation in extracurricular activities including music (The Unfinished Education, 1971). Several factors were found to influence the minimal participation of Mexican American students, including the financial demands of their families as well as their own disinterest in music that did not represent them culturally. Additionally, minimum grade requirements for school music participation prevented some Mexican American students from activity in school ensembles. Their absence from ensembles then took away opportunities for them to receive academic and social benefits of such activities. This report also explored the impact of limited participation on academic outcomes and determined that matriculation rates were directly correlated with participation in extracurricular activities. For example, out of the 798 Mexican Americans in the study who did not complete high school in the nationwide sample, 73% had never participated in an extracurricular activity (The Unfinished Education, 1971).

Mexican American educational activists and scholars who experienced educational disparities such as Eurocentric curriculum and cultural denigration first-hand, held a deeper understanding of these conditions than government-funded research could hope to achieve. Because of this, many communities sought to develop their own schools that served the specific needs of Mexican American communities. These sites, also known as *Chicano schools* or *huelga schools*, emerged all across the American Southwest including in Houston, Texas; Berkeley, California (La Casa de La Raza); Blythe, California (La Escuela de la Raza Unida); Denver, Colorado (Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco); and Santa Fe, New Mexico (Escuela y Colegio Tonantzin) (San Miguel, 2016). According to San Miguel (2016), there were three curricular

components of the Chicano schools: 1) an academic component that focused on developing competence in the "3 Rs"; 2) a political component that emphasized the importance of addressing the issues that led to the Chicano Movement, and 3) a cultural and historical component that explored Mexican American contributions in an effort to instill pride in these students. In short, the goal of these schools was to provide an education to young Mexican Americans that validated their experience through the teaching of a culturally relevant curriculum while simultaneously moving them into social action.

While these three components were all essential to elevating the educational experience of Mexican American students, topics of Mexican American history and culture were of prime importance in the curriculum of these schools, with music education operating as an essential vehicle for transmitting this knowledge. The next section will describe music's place in selected Chicano schools.

Music Education at Escuela Tlatelolco

One of the first Chicano schools to be opened was Escuela Tlatelolco in Denver, Colorado. Founded in 1968 by the prominent Chicano organization Crusade for Justice, Escuela Tlatelolco's goal was to "instill ethnic pride in young Chicanos" (San Miguel, 2016, pg. 266). All aspects of Tlatelolco were designed to serve the unique needs of Chicano students. As stated in the school's newspaper *El* Gallo, by a representative of Tlatelolco in 1971, "Chicanos can do the best job of educating our people" (Tlatelolco Graduates Three, 1971, n.p.). As curricular representation of Mexican American culture and contributions was espoused by activists during the Chicano Movement, a main component of this cultural education at Tlatelolco (as well as all other Chicano schools) was the music and dance programs that they established for students.

Rather than focusing on Eurocentric conceptions of music education, the educators at Tlatelolco turned to specifically Mexican styles of music and dance. For example, the school maintained a robust *ballet folklorico* program. Called the Ballet Chicano de Aztlan, this group was founded in the first years of the school and became a central component of the cultural education at Tlatelolco. As stated by representatives from Tlatelolco, "knowing the importance of Mexican dance to the development of the Chicano, [we have] it as part of the curriculum" (Ballet Chicano de Aztlan, 1973, p. 5). Their first performance was held during the 2nd National Chicano Youth Conference held in Denver in 1970, with four couples performing a dance routine to the traditional Mexican song *La Negra*. According to a report in an issue of the school's newspaper *El Gallo,* "the response was so overwhelming, that after the conference, the dancers continued to study dancing" (Tlatelolco Graduates Three, 1971). After this positive reception, Tlatelolco sent a cohort of dance teachers to Mexico to study *ballet folklorico* to ensure that the teachers were able to teach these dance styles authentically (Ballet Chicano, 1971). Upon their return, this cohort of teachers was able to recruit 50 students from all grades (Ballet Chicano, 1973).

Throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, Ballet Chicano de Aztlan would continue to grow in both numbers and skill, which led to several invitations for performances locally (i.e., Cinco de Mayo festivals in Denver), statewide, and regionally in states such as Kansas, New Mexico, Nebraska, Texas, and Wyoming (Ballet Chicano, 1973). Eventually, they would come to maintain a repertoire of over 50 dances (Ballet Chicano de Aztlan, 1973). Several spectators of Ballet Chicano de Aztlan's performances shared the pride that they were left with after attending them. In one instance an attendee shared, "watching them gives one a feeling of pride, and reinforces the greatness of our culture" (Cinco de Mayo, 1979, p.3).

Another important aspect of maintaining Ballet Chicano de Aztlan was that it was a community endeavor. The dancers provided culturally relevant entertainment at important school and community functions, and in return, the elaborate costumes were made by "mothers, friends, and supporters" (Ballet Chicano, 1973, p. 5). This was directly in line with one of the founding concepts of the school: the *familia* model, which was meant to ensure that all aspects of the school's curriculum were designed so that "students, teachers, and parents [were] able to relate to one another as a familia" (Escuela Tlatelolco: A Model, 1978, p. 3). By tapping into the *funds of knowledge* of the surrounding community, the school was able to create an intergenerational space of mutual support in a school setting during an era where the educational needs of Mexican Americans were often ignored.

Instrumental and vocal music education was also a core part of the curriculum at Tlatelolco. School records indicate that Tlatelolco employed several music teachers, including a guitar teacher, a choir teacher, a music theory teacher, and a trumpet teacher (Gonzales, n.d.). The students also had access to a fully functioning recording studio at the school. For one recording project in 1970, the school's house rock band, "Los Alvarados," recorded and edited a 10-song album for the documentary "El Movimiento Chicano" with the help of students from the music department (Escuela Tlatelolco, 1974, p. 2). The school also maintained a lively vocal music program. Archival event programs describe several choirs that would perform sing-alongs at various school functions (Gonzales, n.d.).

As with all aspects of the school, the purpose of the music department was aligned with the goal of community service and social justice. An El Gallo (1974) advertisement for the album *El Movimiento Chicano* (recorded at the school) featured a poem describing the function

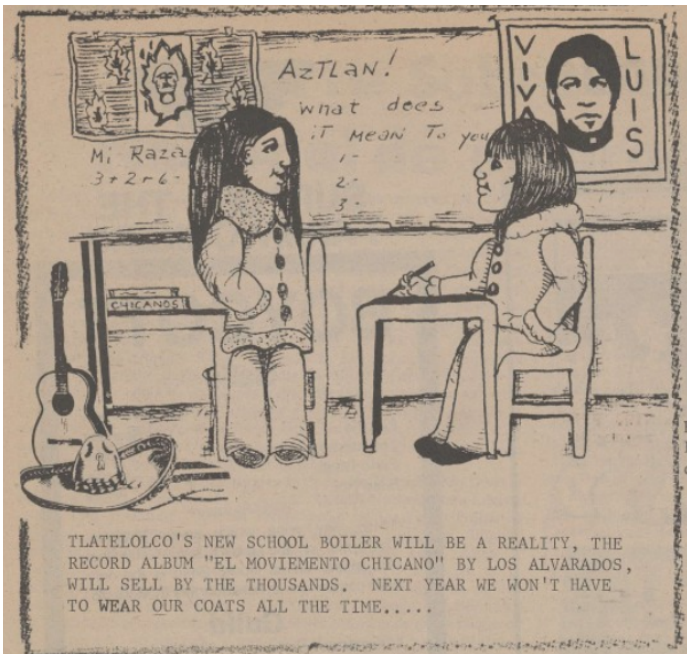
of music in the Chicano Movement and thus, the values that influenced the music department at Escuela Tlatelolco:

> Guitars, singers, and songs silence weapons of oppression, inspire a noble people to struggle for Our Cause [sic]. From Ayala to Aztlan, the spirit of liberation resounds and recites songs of love and victory, blood, and determination helps us choose our role. Our music recruits [are] fearless soldiers to fuel the ranks of El Movimiento Chicano (El Movimiento Chicano, p. 16).

Essentially, music learning at Tlatelolco was a means to build community connections in the service of liberation. To accomplish this, the school maintained performance groups that were able to compose and record songs that could be used for cultural education. For example, the house rock band, Los Alvarados recorded an album specifically to be used as a resource to teach Mexican history through music (El Movimiento Chicano, 1974). Another group at the school, *Coro de Mujer Politica*, was composed of mothers, teachers, and activist women affiliated with the school. Their focus was on researching and singing revolutionary songs as a component of historical and political education at the school. In line with the *familia* concept at the school, this group also helped to maintain an economic base for daily operations by raising money through performance. As described in a comic from El Gallo (News Exchange, 1974), the funds from Los Alvarado's performances and record sales would often go to support daily operations at the school (Figure 5).

Figure 5

Tlatelolco's new school boiler will be a reality. The record album "El Movimento Chicano" by Los Alvarados, will sell by the thousands. Next year we won't have to wear coats all the time.



Other Chicano School Music Education Programs Across the Southwest

Another Chicano school founded in 1973 in Santa Fe, New Mexico (Escuela y Colegio Tonantzin), offered a musical curriculum similar to that of Tlatelolco. Samuel Leyba, a co-founder of the school, shared that the music program primarily focused on teaching popular music styles (personal communication, 2022). Much like Tlatelolco, Escuela Tonantzin emphasized Chicano culture and music at the school, however their approach was slightly different. At Tlatelolco, the historical evidence suggests that the majority of the music and dance curricula at the school emphasized specifically Mexican styles such as *ballet folklorico* and *corridos*. Much like the *pachuco* musicians in the late 1940s who were embracing their bicultural roots, Tonantzin focused on both mainstream popular music and Mexican American popular music. For example, Leyba shared his decision to teach his students a particular song from the Beatles,

> It had a lot to do with us. There was a song that had the downbeat of a ranchera…they were doing songs like us. And the stories they were telling sounded like ours. We didn't

> think about it as *white* music, we thought about it as fucking cool music (personal communication, 2022).

As mentioned in Chapter One, there is immense heterogeneity in Mexican American identity. While the Chicano Movement emphasized a reclamation of Mexican indigeneity, it also recognized that Chicano identity is a synthesis of both US and Mexican cultural identities. This was reflected in Leyba's personal experience as a youth performing in a band called Soul Searchers that performed soul music exclusively, (personal communication, 2022). Likewise, Mexican American ethnomusicologist Manuel Peña also performed in both a community-based soul band, the Matadors, and the Weslaco High School Band (Peña, 2008). Viewing the Mexican American experience as inextricably linked to US culture, Leyba and the other teachers at Santa Fe's Tonantzin provided a space for students to embrace both aspects of their hybrid identities while still maintaining the uniqueness of the Chicano experience. Speaking to this, Leyba commented

> There has been so many things that have happened to Chicano music and the reason we focused a lot on it at Escuela Tonantzin was because that was our blood, that was what we had in common. And that was what the kids loved…and they loved it. We had a bus load of kids singing [*Tejano* musician] Little Joe songs in Spanish, but they couldn't speak Spanish on their own, just sing the Little Joe songs (personal communication, 2022).

Chicano Music Education at the University Level

During the late 1960s, Chicano Studies programs were developing in colleges and universities. As was the case at Tlatelolco and other Chicano schools, music was an integral component in these undergraduate programs in Chicano Studies. One such example occurred at

CSU Fresno in 1973. During his first years on the Fresno faculty, ethnomusicologist Manuel Peña established a musical group that focused on performing Mexican music (personal communication, 2016). *La Comparsa Universitaria de Fresno*, a group that did not have standardized ensemble instrumentation but often featured guitarists and singers, was not part of the music department but was sponsored by the burgeoning La Raza Studies department. One of the defining features of this group was that it was open to students regardless of their formal musical training. Peña shared: "I was writing arrangements for them [because] a lot of them couldn't read music, especially the singers. It was by word of mouth, rote learning" (personal communication, 2016). Considering the documented underrepresentation of Mexican Americans in school music programs of the time (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1971), perhaps the accessibility of this experience is what led to its popularity. According to Peña, by the second year the group had already recruited more than 40 members (personal communication, 2016).

A similar group that focused on performing *rondalla* was also established at San Diego State University in 1968 by Chicano Studies professor Pepe Villarino. As an ensemble, *rondalla* is a group of plucked string instruments that has roots in medieval Spain and spread to both the Philippines and Mexico during Spanish colonization (Christoforidis, 2018). According to Villarino, his rondalla was "an ensemble [that has] anywhere from 10-18 singing and guitar playing troubadours…a lead guitar, and an upright bass that did nothing but Latin America and Mexico's finest romantic music" (personal communication, 2022). The university rondalla was founded in 1968 at the beginning of the Chicano movement. Of its founding, Villarino disclosed that he conceived of the group "as an incentive so that students could stay in school, get a degree, and then go out and work" (personal communication, 2022). However, as with many of the musical groups that emerged during the Chicano Movement, Villarino's student rondalla also

engaged in political activities, performing protest music for the farmworkers when they would strike (personal communication, 2022). As a testament to the efficacy of this group, several members, including four PhDs, still perform with this group. Moreover, they were recently featured in October 2022 during the grand opening of the Chicano Park Museum in San Diego, CA.

Considering that these counter-stories of Chicano community music efforts were not recognized by formal music departments at the universities where they were founded, points to the CRT tenet that challenges claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy. By relegating these ensembles to the periphery, these university music programs were essentially conveying that their curricular choices and valuation of musical cultures were not racially neutral, but rather, were masking their White privileges and power through the perpetuation of conventional music education practices.

Conclusion

In this chapter I described how Mexican American continued to fight for equity in education despite the gains that they had made during the inter-American period. In terms of a CRT analysis in education broadly, I describe how the lack of Mexican American representation and contributions in curriculum pointed to the centrality of racism, in that mainstream historical representation were often biased and depicted Mexican Americans as nothing more than laborers in the American southwest. In music education, specifically, I described how interest convergence was the primary reason that there was an increase in Mexican American musical representation. As seen with the establishment of libraries, archives, and musical exchanges, these efforts to increase Mexican American representation in music education were only allowed so long as they were aligned with the Eurocentric status quo.

Next, I challenged claims of claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy when describing how Chicano serving musical groups were not allowed to be part of university music departments. The implication of this exclusion suggests that musical talent and quality of performance is not a neutral characteristic, but rather, subject to a process of valuation that determines musical validity through a culture's proximity to Eurocentric aesthetic norms.

Lastly, I presented counter-stories to challenge conventional music education practices and describe programs that successfully served Mexican American students. The counter-stories revealed, as did past historical counter-stories, that successful music education programs for Mexican American students were culturally congruent rooted in deep community connections, organizational strategies, and pedagogical approaches.

Chapter Five: Adaptation (1982-Present)

Por mi madre yo soy Mexicano
Por destino soy Americano
Yo soy de la raza de oro
Yo soy México Americano

Yo te comprendo el inglés
Tambien to hablo en castellano
Yo soy de la raza de oro
Yo soy México Americano

Zacatecas a Minnesota
De Tijuana a Nueva York
Dos países son mi tierra
Los defiendo con honor

Dos idiomas y dos países
Dos culturas tengo yo
En mi suerte tengo orgullo
Porque así lo manda a Díos

Por mi madre yo soy Mexicano
Por destino soy Americano
Yo soy de la raza de oro
Yo soy México Americano

Los Pingüinos del Norte, “México, Americano” (1995)

After the sweeping changes in education that were facilitated by the Chicano Movement, Mexican Americans continued to fight for educational equity. For example, Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr (1987) states that, “after 1967 Mexican American educators began to pressure officials at all levels of government to support bilingual education” (p. 195). Despite several years of legal challenges, these advocates for bilingual education were able to pass S.B. 477 in 1987, which mandated bilingual services from kindergarten through the elementary grades in school districts that qualified (San Miguel, Jr, 1987). Riding on the back of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1974, S.B. 477 provided a much-needed support ensure the

implementation of bilingual education in the state. However, despite these local gains, national success of policy ultimately depends on the presidential administration. In the case of bilingual education, the Reagan administration incorporated "more assimilation provisions" (de Jong, 2014) that sought to expand the implementation of primarily structured English language instruction in the reauthorization of the BEA in 1984 and 1988 (de Jong, 2014). Rather than viewing the ELL students' primary language as an asset to facilitate knowledge building, these provisions treated it as a hindrance to English language acquisition.

Through the next several decades, during what education scholar Gilbert Gonzalez would call the "neoliberal era of education" (1993), the anti-immigrant sentiment would specifically affect Mexican Americans in the American Southwest in a variety of ways. Primarily, there would be a shift in focus to a "crimmigration approach" (Stumpf, 2006) which, as defined, is "the merger of [criminal and immigration law] in both substance and procedure [that] has created parallel systems in which immigration law and the criminal justice system are merely nominally separate" (2006, pg. 376). In other words, this shift of perspective toward newcomers from Mexico from the 1990s onward was akin to the criminalization of immigrants. This attitude was present in three laws that impacted Mexican Americans' access to education during this period: 1) Plyler v. Doe (1982); Proposition 187 (187), and 3) the DREAM Act (2002). Understanding how each of these laws impacted Mexican American access to education regardless of their citizenship status helps us to better understand the potential impact of legal policy on student participation, a theme that has been present in the Mexican American educational experience for decades.

As such, this chapter will trace the development of music education's pedagogical and curricular response to the rise in Mexican American and Mexican immigrant students throughout

what education scholar Gilbert Gonzalez (2013) defines as the period of "conservative retrenchment" (p. 3). As Gonzalez (2013) describes, this period is "marked by political conservatism emphasizing on reliance upon traditional individualism and the marketplace and de-emphasizing and questioning the effectiveness of state-sponsored reforms" (pg. 3). He continues, "This period has witnessed a halt and, in some instances, a rollback of the reforms enacted during the previous period" (pg. 3).

Rather than begin in 1975, as Gonzalez has marked as the beginning of this period, the chapter will begin in 1982 with the US Supreme Court case Plyler v. Doe in order to align with key legislative moments that impacted Mexican American educational experiences broadly. To accomplish this, I will first offer an examination of primary documents and articles in key music education publications, to discuss how music education's response to issues pertaining to Mexican American students' needs in music education. In the final section of the chapter, I will examine the experience of recent Mexican American students through a variety of materials including brief oral history interviews conducted for this study.

As with previous periods, the historical analysis demonstrates the impacts of the CRT tenets of 1) Whites as benefits of racial remedies, and 2) challenges to claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy (Bell, 1980; Sleeter, 2012). Additionally, Gloria Ladson-Billings' critique of liberalism can also be used to describe the lack of attention given to redressing Mexican Americans' continued lack of access to music education programs. According to Ladson-Billings (2016), this critique argues that "ending racism requires sweeping changes, but liberalism has no mechanism for such change" (p. 19). As will be seen, despite decades of discussion and development of resources on how to engage this population, a substantial increase in their participation has yet to be realized.

Factors Impacting Mexican American Education in the 1980s

Following the liberalization of US immigration laws in 1965, there was a large influx of immigrants from Asia and Latin America (MacDonald, 2004). In response to this, there were local efforts in the American Southwest that sought to restrict rights for these immigrants. In one instance, Texas schools in 1975 began to restrict funding for schools that provided education for undocumented immigrants (MacDonald, 2004). In response, Mexican American educational advocates challenged this practice, which eventually led to the supreme court case Plyler vs. Doe (1982). This landmark case was used in several instances during this period to "defend the right of undocumented children to receive public services" including access to public education (MacDonald, 2004). Eventually, there were challenges to this ruling, including Proposition 187 in California, that denied public services to undocumented children in California (MacDonald, 2004). While eventually ruled unconstitutional, the passing of this legislation disrupted Mexican immigrant students' access to school and, as a result, music education.

Articulating the Need for Diversity in Music Education: 1980s

The same year that Plyler v. Doe was ruled, MENC hosted its 75th Anniversary with a conference in San Antonio (News Brief, 1982). The theme of this gathering was a Mexican Fiesta with all the associated pageantry, including a mariachi group (News Brief, 1982). Also, that year then-senior music education historian, Allen P. Britton, reflected on issues discussed during the first meeting of MSNC in 1907 at Keokuk, Iowa. Grappling with the underrepresentation and marginalization of minoritized groups in music education during the 1980s, Britton traces this reality to those early meetings in MENC:

> For another thing, so far as the records reveal, those attending the 1907 Keokuk meeting felt themselves to be living in an untroubled, homogenous social environment, so much

> that they did not think to remark upon it. They knew, of course, that their country contained blacks, Indians, and Mexicans, and that the cities of America were full of immigrants from Europe and Asia, but they gave no evidence that these facts presented educational problems to them (Britton, 1982a, p. 43).

It is no surprise that Britton would bring attention to these issues. Throughout his career, he seemed to be aware of the contributions of Mexican Americans to music education. For example, in a 1982 article, he mentions the history of Mexican American music education at the hands of the Spanish, although he fails to provide any details to explain its status or substance. In line with his belief in the musical talent of Mexican Americans, he mentions "the red man's talent for music" (p. 91), an erroneous descriptive word, “red”, that was typically used to refer to Indigenous people. Additionally, he made the blanket-claim that “today there is no people more musical than the Mexican" (p. 92). Perhaps this profound respect for Mexican American music and culture is what led him, during his tenure as Dean of the School of Music at the University of Michigan, to stand “in the hallway outside his office wearing a sombrero, strumming a guitar, and singing Mexican folk songs to students and others passing by in the hallway” (Goble, 2001).

Keeping with this changing perspective during the 1980s, other scholars began to question the Eurocentric foundations of music education. For example, music education scholar René Boyer-White (1988) offers a critique of music education and its historical exclusion of perspectives and contributions from minoritized cultures. Calling out contemporary multicultural shortcomings she states,

> The melting pot society has never existed in the United States. It is, however, a value that many people accept and nurture without fully understanding it. The stereotypical melting pot portrays the ideal American as a person of northern European (primarily English)

> heritage. American education has traditionally presented non-Western culture as inferior, and we as a society are only now beginning to perceive other cultures as having intrinsic worth (1988, p. 51).

As with Britton's critique of the early organizational meeting of music educators at Keokuk, Boyer-White calls into question the assimilative aspects of music education and the severe lack of exposure of many university music students to the different cultures in the United States. Acknowledging the mostly white demographic of music teachers during this time she states that "to be effective, educators must continue to learn about the multicultural aspects of our society and the world" (1988, p. 54).

Confronting changing demographics. In response to music education scholars' call for an increased understanding of the diversity of cultures in the United States, the *Music Educators Journal* (MEJ) began to publish articles addressing this issue. During the early 1980s, there was an increasing number of articles on the need for music educators to understand the changing demographics in the United States. Specifically, there is evidence of a shift towards understanding the increased populations of Mexican Americans during this period. For example, in 1983, the journal published an article that presented the statistics of recently arrived immigrants to help inform music teachers about these shifting demographics. This report found that Spanish-speaking immigrants, specifically from Mexico, were the fastest growing population in the United States (Deans, 1983).

In addition to increasing attention paid to changing demographics, the Music Educators Journal began to feature articles that provided cultural considerations to music educators grappling with these changing demographics. In one rare instance where a Mexican American scholar was featured in the journal, ethnomusicologist Robert Garfias (1983) called for an

increased study of the nuances of music in the United States, giving particular attention to Mexican music. He warned against the continued attention by educators to Western art music at the risk of neglecting the reality of the multiple American musical cultures in diverse communities across the country:

> To speak of an American musical tradition, or to behave as though we were, in fact, one big happy musical family, is to completely ignore the nature of music in our society. We only perpetuate a kind of cultural neocolonialism that serves us ill. Until we address the discrepancy between the reality around us and our practice as teachers, scholars, and performers of art, we will continue to find ourselves edged further toward the periphery of life in America" (p. 31).

Maintaining an international perspective. American music educators had been growing an interest in international music education issues for several decades, and by the early 1980s there was subtle attention, through announcements and advertisements, to music and music education in Mexico. There are mentions in the *Music Educators Journal* of former music director of the Dallas Symphony, Eduardo Mata, and his appointment as artistic advisor of the National Opera of Mexico in Mexico City (Changing Scene, 1983). In the following year, an advertisement featured in the journal for the Third International Congress on Women in Music, an event sponsored and hosted by Belles Artes in Mexico City. Two years later, another advertisement appeared, this one for the 18th annual International Boys Singers Festival in Monterrey, Mexico (1985). To entice participants, the advertisement promised piñatas, tacos, and sombreros to attendees. These mentions appeared so close together in time as to give certain evidence of a rising consciousness of Mexico, Mexicans, and Mexican music.

Increase of Mexican American music education resources. In conjunction with an increased awareness of Mexican American contributions to music education in the 1980s, there was also an increase of Mexican heritage songs in music textbooks. In her content analysis of music textbooks, Sheila Feay-Shaw (2002) found 31 Mexican songs among those that were in common use in K-8 classrooms in the 1980s (and 1990s). Additionally, there were advertisements in the *Music Educators Journal* of resources for teaching Mexican-heritage music including a band arrangement of "Las Mananitas" (Back Matter, 1982) and a choir book that featured sacred Mexican songs from 1717 (Study Shelf, 1982).

During this time, there was also an increase of interest in teaching mariachi. For example, *Los Mariachis*, a small book appeared, co-authored by Mark Fogelquist and Patricia Harpole, which focused specifically on teaching one mariachi song: it was advertised by MEJ in 1989. There were earlier efforts, however, to develop mariachi programs in US schools. Belle San Miguel Ortiz, a Mexican American educator, had been teaching mariachi in public school in San Antonio, TX, since at least 1966 (Ricketts, 2013). Despite this early implementation of mariachi programs in the Texas schools, she received no mention within the journal and had remained, along with other Mexican American educators of the past, unknown and concealed from teachers who should have been informed of her pioneering work.

The increased number of available resources offered to music educators suggested repertoire emanating from Mexican cultural heritage. By the mid-1980s, music education magazines announced to help educators develop their sociohistorical understanding of the Mexican American experience in the United States. For example, a series titled *New World: America's Ethnic Heritage* appeared in 1985, provided half-hour audio documentaries that explored various immigrant musical cultures in the United States, including those of Mexican

heritage. To complement these offerings from other publishers, *World Music Press* was founded in 1985 to develop curriculum specifically for multicultural music education. One of their early texts, Luvenia George's *Teaching the Music of Six Different Cultures*, specifically contained resources to help educators teach both Mexican music and Mexican culture (George & George, 1988).

In addition to providing resources to music educators, publishing companies were being proactive in assessing the needs of music educators in terms of repertoire that they could use for their changing student populations. In a survey by the Music Educators National Conference requesting of teachers their top choices of music cultures they hoped to feature in their classrooms, they listed (in order of most to least selected) African, Afro-Cuban, Haitian, Eastern European, Greek, South Slavic, Albanian, East Asian, Latin American, Mexican, and Middle Eastern (George & George, 1985). Of interest is the mix of named cultures, from whole continents (African) to regions (East Asian) to single countries (Haitian, Greek, and Mexican).

The Persistence of Progressive Era Ideals: Psychometrics in in the 1980s

As in past eras, Mexican Americans in the 1980s were still subjected to psychometric tests that were focused on measuring their musical ability. For example, Manny Brand (1986) conducted a study of Mexican American students using the Musical Achievement Assessment Form and the Home Musical Environmental Scale, with the intent of determining the relationship between their musical environments at home and their musical performance in general music classes. In this study, Brand found a strong correlation between parent-child musical interactions at home and their improved performance in general music classes at school. Brand's study ultimately concluded that "the families of the culturally disadvantaged (sic) Mexican American subjects did indeed support school music" (1986). As with most psychometric tests used to

evaluate Mexican Americans, the results seemed to measure the degree of their assimilation rather than the successful methods that were used at the home or in the community to develop the musical understandings and experiences of students outside formal education spaces.

Music Education in the 1990s

While Plyler v. Doe was ultimately successful at ensuring that immigrant students received educational services, there was a measure in California that was passed in 1994 with the sole purpose of disrupting these gains: Proposition 187 (MacDonald, 2004). Fundamentally, Proposition 187, the *Illegal Aliens, Ineligibility for Public Services Verification, and Reporting Initiatives Statue*, illustrated the increased anti-immigration sentiment during this time by limiting immigrants' access to public services including education. Despite these efforts to disrupt the education and, consequently the musical education, of Mexican youth, community music-making efforts in Mexican American communities persisted. As Martha Gonzalez (2017), recalls, "it was at the height of Pete Wilson's anti-immigration policies, Proposition 187, the aftermath of the Los Angeles uprising, and neoliberal push that set the community of artists and activists in motion" (p. 268). Unfortunately, this sentiment was not reflected in the response from music education at large.

Despite an increase of anti-immigration fervor sweeping the country, music education scholarship and practice were focused less on these policies and more on expanding multicultural music education efforts, with an emphasis on the curricular inclusion of music from throughout the world. As a result, comparatively little attention was given to Mexican or Mexican American music, nor were pedagogical efforts particularly directed to the needs and interests of Mexican-heritage students.

The Expansion of Multicultural Music Education Materials in the 1990s

One of the first expressions of MENCs commitment to diversifying music education came with the publishing of Anderson and Campbell's (1989) *Multicultural Perspective in Music Education*. This book was unique in that it featured scholarship by ethnomusicologists, culture-bearers, and music educators. This text covered several regions including North America, Latin American and the Caribbean, Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, The Middle East, India, East Asia, and Southeast Asia. Lastly, this text focused on providing musical examples and activities in addition to in-depth discussions of the sociohistorical contexts from which these musical cultures emerged.

Another key moment in the development of multicultural music education during this decade occurred just prior to the 1990 MENC national in-service (Anderson, 1991). The first pre-conference symposium of its kind, held three days in advance of the biennial conference, was co-hosted by MENC, the Society for Ethnomusicology, and the Smithsonian Institution. The symposium was dedicated specifically to addressing issues pertaining to musical and cultural diversity in schools. Aligned with this new direction in music education, MENC president Charles R. Hoffer stated in his opening remarks "we need to know more than just one culture" (Anderson, 1991, p. 29). Another presenter at this in-service, Creek tribal member and educator Edwin Schupman, also spoke to its importance of reflecting on the shortcomings of previous generations in their implementations of "multicultural methodologies and pedagogies" in music education. He stated, "I believe the potential role of music educators has not yet been realized in terms of broadening the multicultural horizons of their students, of promoting human understanding, and tolerance for racial and cultural differences" (quoted in Anderson, 1991, p. 31). In an effort to demonstrate their commitment to diversifying music education, conference

organizers featured a mariachi led by Daniel Sheehy, ethnomusicologist and scholar of Mexican musical forms, which featured many Mexican American musicians (Anderson, 1991).

Another important moment in this conference came with the sharing of the Symposium Resolution for Future Directions and Actions (Anderson, 1991). As reflected in the following excerpts, this resolution sought to synthesize a variety of perspectives on the importance of diversifying music education and established goals for the field to move forward:

> WHEREAS: * Americans are increasingly exposed to other world cultures through travel and the media, * Demographic data document the increasing multicultural nature of the United States, * American schools now contain large percentages of students from various cultural backgrounds, * Organizations such as the Music Educators National Conference, the Society for Ethnomusicology, and Smithsonian Institution have placed increasing emphasis on the importance of learning and teaching a broad musical traditions, BE IT RESOLVED THAT: * We will seek to ensure that multicultural approaches to teaching music will be incorporated into every elementary secondary school music curriculum. * Multicultural approaches to teaching music will be incorporated into all phases of teacher education in music. * Music teachers will seek to assist students in understanding that there are many different but equally valid forms of musical expression. * Instruction will include not only the study of other musics but the relationship of those musics to their respective cultures; further that meaning of music within each culture be sought for its own value. * MENC will encourage national and regional accrediting groups to require broad, multicultural perspectives for educational programs, particularly those in music (Anderson, 1991).

During this time, MENC was not the only organization holding music conferences that were focused on diverse musical cultures. For example, another organization, the Sonneck Society (now called Society for American Music), held a meeting in Madison, WI in 1995 that specifically called for papers on Mexican and Canadian music (News, 1995). That same year, the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, also organized the first of several years' run of their National Symposium on Multicultural Music. A variety of musical cultures, including Mexican American music, were advertised in an announcement of the symposium in the Music Educators Journal.

While a focus on diversifying repertoire seemed to be the prevalent perspective of MENC during this time, other scholars were questioning the core assumptions upon which music education was founded. In an article discussing multiculturalism in music education, music professor Carroll Gonzo (1993) advocated for cultural equity in music education by challenging common misperceptions and misunderstandings of multiculturalism in music education. He accomplished this by defining and presenting the goals of four viewpoints of multiculturalism: antiracism, globalism, assimilation, and global pluralism. Additionally, Gonzo shared the drawback of focusing only on repertoire ("materials") to be performed:

> In an effort to accommodate this problem, some professional meetings of music educators focus solely on materials and on process. For example, some convention sessions are nothing more than the handing out and examination of classroom materials accompanied by a modicum of instruction. One teacher recently observed that the only thing multicultural about her state convention was the use of the word in the session titles. Music teachers complain bitterly that singing a few songs and listening to music from other countries is not going to make them multicultural educators (p. 52).

Increased collaboration with culture bearers. Reflecting Gonzo's call for a more nuanced understanding of sociocultural aspects of multicultural music education, the Music Educators Journal featured an interview of Mexican American ethnomusicologist, Steven Loza, conducted by music education professor Patricia Shehan Campbell (1995). In this interview, Loza spoke specifically to his perspective on Mexican American community musical practices. He described the richness of these experiences: "I go home and I get fed…not just food, but life…I go home and my dad is listening to Mexican music…it's his music and his reality…*arroz con pollo, carne asada,* Sunday's Mass, my mother's rightful nagging, and my father's explosions" (quoted in Campbell, 1995, p. 46). In the interview, Loza also describes the participatory function that Mexican American music serves as accompaniment to important community events. The article contained a musical activity based upon "The Hands", a poem on Chicano culture by Gina Valdes, which Loza and his band had recorded with Latin percussion instruments.

While the Loza interview spoke specifically to the participatory function of music in Mexican-heritage families, a later journal issue included a letter to the editor from a white music educator who chided Loza for excluding reference to the classical music of Latin America (Tavis, 1996). The comment illustrates the historically reinforced myopic focus that music educators often held regarding the importance of Western European Art Music and low valuing of a culture's folk and popular music. Recall that in the inter-American period of the 1940s and 1950s, MENC had already embraced European classical music across Latin America and had been instrumental in disseminating this music into schools.

Call for increased diversity in music education history. Music education historians were also grappling with the lack of representation of minoritized groups in scholarly articles.

Marie McCarthy (1999) provided a content analysis of the first twenty volumes of the *Journal for Historical Research in Music Education* that explores this underrepresentation. She concluded that women music educators and minority groups were underrepresented both by way of topical areas of study as well as among the journal authors. In an effort to remedy this issue, she stated that:

> It is reasonable to suggest that historians need to look beyond the canon of mainstream music educators and music education systems already documented and explore ways to present (and re-present) the voices and accomplishments of individuals, groups, and communities whose stories remain untold (1999).

Mexican American specific resources. While the conversation around how to best navigate the increasing number of students from Mexico was developing in academic circles, publishers were already increasing the number of resources to help educators teach an increasing number of Mexican students. For example, several books, including *Music in Motion* (1992), *Songs of Hispanic Americans* (1991), and *Cancionero: Children's Folklore in Spanish* (1991) were being advertised in MEJ. In addition to repertoire, resources to help music educators grapple with the more nuanced aspects of teaching an increasingly diverse student body were being developed. One such multicultural music education resource that was advertised in MEJ was called *Making Connections* (1998). This resource, compiled from presentations given at the 1996 MENC Conference, focused primarily on the integration of multicultural content with National Standards.

Beyond print resources, videos were also being developed to provide teachers with resources. One such video series, *Teaching Music with a Multicultural Approach* (1991), was advertised as featuring a section that specifically focused on music of Hispanic Americans

through activities focused on mariachi music. In one activity, *Group Soup,* shared on the Shari Lewis show in 1991, creators used the traditional Mexican tune, "Chiapañecas" as the theme of a segment where characters on the show helped their ambiguously Latine classmate Miranda study for an immigration test to become a US citizen (Back Matter, 1998). For musical activities, students are encouraged to play along with the song using maracas and claves.

Maintenance of an international perspective. Topics of Mexican and Mexican-American music continued to appear amid the research articles that gave coverage to international issues. De Couve et al. (1997) outlined the pre-Columbian education system in Mexico as well as the developments of music education during Spanish colonization. Similarly, David G. Tovey (1997) described the life of Mexican music educator José Mariano Elízaga and his impact on music education in Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century. The author made comparisons between Elízaga and American music educator Lowell Mason as important advocates and architects of music education in their respective countries.

Music Education from 2000-2010

The Incorporation of Social Justice and DEI perspectives in Music Education (2000-2010)

Between 2000 to 2010 there was an explosion of publications, resources, and events that focused on multiculturalism, social justice, and DEI (diversity, equity, inclusion) in music education. Building on work presented in an early co-authored book titled *Sound Ways of Knowing* (Barrett, McCoy, & Veblen, 1997), one of the early multicultural music education articles came from Janet Barrett (2001). In this article, Barrett (2001) introduced the *Facets Model* for studying artistic works as a way to explore sociopolitical dynamics of music. She used the sonic similarities between Latin American marimba and Ghanaian balifon as a way to engage

students and encourage them to exchange what other aspects of culture are shared through musical exchange and colonization.

Continuing with the focus on exploring the sociopolitical aspects in music education, Patricia Shehan Campbell (2002) offered a more sophisticated argument of the need for multicultural music education than had been seen in previous decades. She began to explicitly call out the historical racism and discrimination as an issue that multicultural education should begin to address. Additionally, she provided a critique of contemporary implementations of multicultural music with the following:

> We are not there yet, multiculturally speaking. In shaping music education in this time of cultural transformation, there are grand leaps forward but also concerns that the profession may become complacent with its accomplishments in diversifying the curriculum. There is even indication of a backlash, of a pendulum swinging past the center to programs that use 'world music' without thoughtful consideration of its cultural meaning to the people of its place of origin or to the varied population of students within the classroom. Also, some teachers have not yet moved out of a one-track, Eurocentric valuing of the music of their earlier training that they wish to pass on to their own students (2002, p. 31).

However, this scathing indictment of music educators' complacence stopped just short of calling for a reckoning that could force the discipline to confront how its development in a racist society imbued the discipline with racist ideals (see Chapter Two).

During the 2000s, music education scholars continued writing specifically on Mexican American experiences in and contributions to music education. In one example, music education scholar Sheila Feay-Shaw (2002), sought to explore how the musical heritage of Mexican

Americans was treated in mainstream music education. The goal was to examine how the Mexican Americans were represented in Music Educators Journal from 1935-1999. She conducted a content analysis of textbooks and issues of Music Educators journal. Considering the lack of representation that she found, Feay-Shaw called for more efforts to "offer courses and conference presentations on the musical heritage of Mexican American musical traditions, and to publish resource lists of quality materials and recordings" (Feay-Shaw, 2002, p. 102).

In another article, John A. Lychner (2008) reflected on how he could use his musical experiences in Mexico during a sabbatical to engage the increasing number of Mexican students in his program. While in Mexico, Lychner explored several public schools and saw that there were few formal music education programs. However, in his exploration of various communities, he recognized that there were many community programs established including *bandas del pueblo* that performed at important community functions. Rather than discussing ways that music programs could be transformed to base their primary ensembles on Mexican musical cultures, he argues for incorporation of multicultural music for comparative purposes. Essentially, Lychner does not call for effort to push for an incorporation of new ensembles, but rather, focuses on incorporating additive approaches that relegate Mexican music, in schools with large Mexican populations, as secondary to conventional school ensembles. As he stated, "The important thing is to do something to celebrate the cultural heritage of the students in our classrooms. This could be done simply by programming a piece of music and teaching the students about its cultural significance" (pg. 44).

Increased Representation of Publications by Latine and Mexican American Scholars

Beginning in the 2000s, there was also a significant increase of publications by Latine scholars that addressed issues specific to Latine communities. In one example, Beatriz Aguilar

(2002), a Mexican-born music scholar, was the lead author for an article in the *Journal for Historical Research in Music Education* that outlined pre-Columbian education practices in Mexico as well as the colonial music education system set up by the Spanish. She emphasized the importance of recognizing the influence that Spanish colonial educators, such as Pedro de Gante, had on the mission schools that were established in the southwestern United States, all in an attempt to understand the educational contributions that came from Mexico.

The following year, Carlos Abril (2003), a Cuban American music education scholar, wrote an article addressing strategies for ELL student engagement. Beginning with the reality that Latine students are *pushed out* of schools at a rate four times higher than their White peers, Abril was compelled to share strategies with music educators. His recommendations include, 1) showing respect, 2) provide positive experiences, 3) get students involved in any way they can contribute, 4) maintain high standards, and 5) studying the culture. It is important to note that many of these approaches echo the strategies that previously mentioned Mexican American music teachers such as Antonio Bañuelos (ca. 1920 in Baytown, TX) and Manuel Garza (ca. 1950 in Weslaco, TX), each of whom applied them to engage their Mexican American students successfully.

Considering how the academic outcomes of this group are deeply connected to their access to bilingual services, Abril also argues that engagement in music classes is a possible way to address Latine student academic outcomes. Moreover, he articulates the negative impact on ELL students' opportunities to socialize with their peers due to the mandated ELL classes they take in lieu of electives such as music. Lastly, Abril implores music educators to begin examining the heterogeneity of Latine students as a way to understand the specific cultural needs of the various Latine subgroups. Considering each group's different sociohistorical interactions

with the United States, blanket approaches intended to serve Latine students as a monolith might not work in all contexts.

In another article, Abril (2006) began to grapple with strategies for selecting music from various cultures. Abril (2006) described a Cultural Respect Selection Model that has music educators consider cultural validity and bias in their repertoire selection. Abril (2006) recognized that many multicultural pieces used by music educators, such as "Ten Little Indians" and "Carry Me Back to Old Virginy" often reinforced harmful stereotypes or were completely disconnected from culturally specific performance contexts and practices.

Mexican American music educator Amanda Soto (2008) explored community music expressions for knowledge about how it could be used to diversify music education. Similar to previous scholars, she cited the increasing Latine population as reason for music educators to begin learning musical styles from Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. In the article, she also provided activities that explore the social dynamics that led to the emergence of Latin American music forms. Lastly, she offered practical strategies for teachers to engage Latine students including connecting this music to contemporary political movements. By expanding the scope from focusing specifically on performance in music education, Soto provided music educators with strategies for how music could be used to examine and call attention to inequitable power dynamics affecting Mexican Americans. In her case, it was connecting musical activities to contemporary marches for Mexican immigrant rights.

Disseminating Social Justice and DEIJ Perspectives

As in all decades, there was a focus on disseminating new perspectives to music educators and administrators. In terms of in-person meetings, there were several held throughout the decade that featured Mexican music specifically. For example, in 2002, 2004, and 2010, MEJ

advertised the National Symposium on Multicultural Music held at the University of Tennessee. In terms of print resources, MENC (2003) published an anthology that contained readings on implementing equity and inclusion into music education classrooms. One such reading, *Mariachi: Ethnic Music as a Teaching Tools* by Keith R. Ballard and C. Rene Benavidez (2002), specifically focused on how mariachi could be used to engage Latine students. Near the end of the decade, MENC took a step towards bringing Mexican music into mainstream music education with its publishing of *Foundations for Mariachi Education: Materials, Methods, and Resources* (Gradante, 2008). The chapters of this text, written by notable mariachi educators and performers such as Noe Sanchez, John A. Vela, and Mack Ruiz, outlined all necessary information to establish a robust, and authentic, mariachi programs.

Music Education from 2010-Present

Continued Underrepresentation of Mexican Americans in Music Education

Despite the expansion of publications on diversifying music education, Mexican Americans still continue to experience challenges in music education. For example, a 2011 report by the US Department of Education indicated that the achievement gap between Mexican Americans and their white peers had not improved since the 1990s (Armario, 2011). Additionally, a study by the US Department of Education (2016) indicated that while Latine students compose 19% of high school graduates, they compose only 13% of bachelor degree holders. In music education, these inequities also persist. According to Elpus and Abril (2011, 2019), Hispanic, and by proxy Mexican American, students continue to be severely underrepresented in school music programs compared to their white peers. This underrepresentation is not only limited to music education students. In a follow up study, Kenneth Elpus (2015) found that only 1.94% of music teacher candidates are Latine.

In order to understand the depths of this Mexican American underrepresentation, education scholars are beginning to look at all areas where Mexican heritage students are impacted, particularly in ELL programs. In a study examining ELL student participation in music education, Lorah et al. (2014) found that these students were unable to enroll in electives such as music because of mandatory language classes. Additionally, in a study of ELL students' access to music education and other electives, Benita Scheckel (2019) echoes this finding and describes how these students in her study also had limited access to music education opportunities due to their impacted schedule filled with mandatory language classes. Considering that 77.7% of the 4.9 million ELL students in the United States identified as Latine (NCES, 2019), the full scope of this inequity can be seen. However, when placed into historical context, this seems to echo de facto segregation practices of the past where Mexican American students were segregated from mainstream spaces based on their perceived language abilities (see Chapter Two).

New Directions in Public Schools

Despite decades of research, policy statements, and program initiatives on engaging Mexican American students in school music programs, educational inequities still persist for this population. Aligned with the CRT tenet of *Whites as benefits of racial remedies*, the incorporation of these multicultural perspectives rarely addressed how the pedagogical practices and conventional structures, values, and priorities within music education were contributing to the lack of participation of Mexican Americans. Instead, the focus was on how music educators could incorporate diverse content to increase participation in conventional music programs, rather than restructuring existing programs to be more culturally congruent in terms of power dynamics, purpose for performance, and musical outcomes.

However, progress is apparent in that some secondary schools are offering music programs that focus specifically on teaching Mexican American music to Mexican American students (as well as to students of various other cultural communities). Palmview High School in Mission, TX maintains a *conjunto* program for its predominantly Mexican American student body. Giovanni Guerrero, A member of the school's ensemble known as *La Tradicíon*, went on to win the 16-and-under category at the 16th annual Big Squeeze accordion competition in Texas (Cantu, 2023). Conjunto music has become so popular in southern Texas that a competition for high school groups is now annually scheduled in Brownsville, TX, where, in 2023, at least ten different schools were represented at the competition (Whitehead, 2023). Despite the popularity of conjunto among students in schools where it is available for enrollment, the ensemble is not typically offered as a formal class. This is due to the fact that conjunto is not a University Interscholastic League recognized ensemble (Whitehead, 2023).

Another Mexican heritage musical style that is beginning to emerge in secondary schools is *banda*, a traditional Mexican style of brass band music. In 2017, a student-led group from Compton High School in California posted a video of them performing a song called "*Zapateado*" from the *banda sinaloense* tradition (Compton High School, 2017). As of this writing, the video has received over 1.4 million views, a clear indication of interest. At Hamilton High School in Los Angeles, a student-led banda called *Banda los Alebrijes* was featured in a news article in 2022 (Pantazes, 2022). The group's founder, Jesus Santiago, was featured in describing the history of the band and its cultural importance to Mexican American students at the school (Pantazes, 2022). The Fresno Unified School District Extended Learning department held a summer workshop for 7th-12th grade students called *Making the Banda* (Fresno Unified, 2023), in which students could participate in activities such as "Banda Music Instrument Skills,

Audio Engineering, Choreography, Multimedia Production, Photo/Video" (Fresno Unified, 2023). As the capstone event of the workshop, students performed a concert at a local park in Fresno. While there is a rise in popularity of banda in modern schools, it should be noted that this type of music had already been a staple for over a century to provide for youth participation in Mexican American communities. As early as the 1920s, *colonias* (or work camps) in southern California maintained student bandas to perform for special celebrations such as *fiestas patrias*, and holiday celebrations (see Chapter Two).

In another example of a Mexican musical style forming the basis of a school's music program, Freedom University (FU), a high school in Georgia whose student body is primarily Latine, created a *son jarocho* ensemble. The group's founder, Eduardo Garcia, joined the faculty of the school in 2020 and developed the ensemble. Speaking to the student outcomes that are influenced by the son jarocho ensemble, one of FU's DACA staff members, Rafael Aragón, shared that "it really change[s] people's perspectives and the way they see themselves in the world" (Canjura, 2020).

Mexican American Music Education in the Community (2010-Present)

While various Mexican musical styles are beginning to be incorporated into the foundations of music programs across the United States, many do not have institutional backing (nor are students receiving academic credits for their participation). Instead, community music programs are emerging across the country that specifically serve Mexican American and Latine students. For example, Los Centzontles, an arts academy founded in San Pablo, CA in 1989, specifically focuses on teaching Mexican heritage music to participants in their program. As stated in their mission statement, Los Centzontles is "a nonprofit cultural arts academy, a band, a production studio, and a community space for youth and families, working together to amplify

our Mexican roots here in the Bay Area and beyond" (Los Cenzontles, 2023). Another group, Sones de Mexico, in Chicago, IL, shares a similar mission. Founded in 1994, their mission is to "to promote greater appreciation of Mexican folk and traditional music and culture through innovative performance, education, and dissemination" (Sones de Mexico, 2023). Currently, their "Mexican Music School," offers instruction on guitar and violin. As stated on their website, their classes are "grounded in Mexican culture and repertoire for all ages" (Sones de Mexico, 2023).

The Latino Strings Project, founded in 2002 by Dinorah Marquez, is a notable community music program for its provision of musical training to historically underserved K-12 Latine students in Milwaukee (Ramos, 2022). Its goal is to help create a cultural bridge between the community music space and the participants' families. As Marquez stated, "The idea from the very beginning was for students to take home songs that their parents recognized" (Ramos, 2022, pg. 266). Recognizing that many of the music students in her program also performed in school ensembles, she wanted to develop the bimusicality of her Latine students so they also understood how to navigate white spaces (Ramos, 2022). Francesca, a former student of Marquez, spoke to the benefits of this bimusicality:

> So, in this instance we actually went to my middle school to perform for my classmates. And in that moment the teacher, I had mentioned her, cause, yeah [laughter] I remember I had gotten up from my orchestra concert, from my concertmaster chair, I had got up with my violin to go to the other side of the gym with the mariachi to play with them. So I got to perform to my classmates and then I got to perform for my Orchestra. I got to perform Mariachi for my Orchestra and I got to perform classical music for my Latinx classmates…I think I also had a solo in that Mariachi concert. Again I felt highly visible

> there. In that moment I felt proud that I have both of these things. I remember that there were maybe five of us who got up from our Orchestra spots and went over to the Mariachi to perform. And like in that whole room of 300 people or 400 people, five of us could say that we had a relationship with both of these kinds of music (personal communication, 2019).

Another function of Latino Strings Project is that it also serves as a space where students could holistically be themselves without having to be subjected to assimilative forces. As former student Francesca stated, "I continued to be part of [the Latino Strings Project] through high school because I enjoyed performing in ways that my classical experiences didn't allow" (personal communication, 2019). An important component of this program was the emphasis placed on learning both classical (Western European Art Music) and mariachi styles. Francesca described details of her musical experience in the program:

> Dinorah's vision for this music program, switching between Latin American mariachi music and classical music didn't feel like a big deal. The boundaries were permeable, though a lot of the 'folk songs' and simple tunes I learned early on through the Suzuki method were new and strange to me, whereas I learned later through my orchestra experiences in the Milwaukee Youth Symphony, my white peers grew up with them. Dinorah supplemented the Suzuki method's books by writing out simple versions of Latin American songs. I learned Twinkle Twinkle alongside Cielito Lindo, and, eventually, Lalo's Symphonie Espagnole alongside a re-orchestration of el Huapango de Moncayo (personal communication, 2019).

This experience, particularly with the unfamiliar classical tunes that Francesca learned through the Suzuki method, illustrates the constant assimilative pressure that Mexican American students

frequently negotiate as they navigate predominantly white spaces while possessing an in-depth knowledge of musical styles outside of the Eurocentric canon.

Other examples reflect this pressure to assimilate. One Mexican American jazz musician from southern California, José, describes a memory from his first-semester college level music theory class:

> I remember somebody asking me if I have ever watched the 'Sound of Music.' I said no, and I guess that set people off because it seemed like all the white students turned around and start saying things like, Really? Why not? What is wrong with you? The professor even joined in at one point. After a couple of seconds I had enough and shouted 'Hey! How many of you have ever danced *ballet folklorico*?' Crickets. They all just turned back around like nothing ever happened" (personal communication, 2020).

Another project participant, Antonio, describes how he felt when a local band director relegated his mariachi group to a lesser status during a performance that was organized by that band director,

> I do remember one experience I had that kind of made me a little bit upset. There was like, some concert going on and different ensembles were, like, invited. Like wind symphonies, jazz combos, jazz bands and then, like, initially we thought that the mariachi was going to play but then they told us that we were not going to play the main event that we were going to play outside. And I was like, ‘what the fuck?’ I felt like the mariachi group wasn't like really a… that made me feel like other music groups for being prioritized in relation to us. That was one thing I remember” (personal communication, 2020).

These hidden curricula and microaggressions, or what Francesca referred to as "signals constantly going on under the surface" (personal communication, 2023), are the persistent pummeling that, historically, has crumbled the confidence and well-being of Mexican American students in music education spaces.

The Incorporation of Mariachi in Mainstream Music Education

Although many styles of Mexican heritage music exist, and in some cases flourish, outside of mainstream music education, mariachi has been embraced by music educators as a way to engage Mexican American students. Mariachi has been in schools in some form since Belle San Miguel Ortiz started one of the first programs in 1966 in Texas (Chappell, 2023), and yet it was only recently that it began to be recognized as a school ensemble on par with band, choir, and orchestra. For example, some 51 years after its introduction to schools, the Texas University Interscholastic League, the body that governs music competitions in the state, finally recognized mariachi in 2017 as an official ensemble for festival performance (Kelley, 2017). While there is progress being made at the state level, the largest national professional organization for music teachers, NAfME (formerly MENC), still refused in 2023 to develop a space for mariachi educators to perform as one of the national honors ensembles. It is worth noting that NAfME made the decision to cancel the All-National Honor Ensemble Program in November of 2023 citing “financial sustainability and inherent challenges to equity and access that are intrinsic to the All-National Honor Ensembles experience” as a reason for suspending the program (NAfME, 2023).

Mariachi teaching materials. In addition to its increased presence in public schools, there has been an increase in instructional materials for mariachi in recent years. For example, there are several methods books available including “Mariachi Mastery” by Jeff Nevin,

"¡Simplemente Mariachi!" By Marcia Neel and Francisco Grijalva, and "Habits of a Successful Beginner Mariachi Músico" by John Nieto and Scott Rush. Additionally, instrument makers such as pBone have partnered with award-winning mariachi educator Ramon Rivera of Washington to promote mariachi education.

Growth of mariachi festivals. Regardless of institutional support, many schools and organizations continue to host their own festivals. In San Diego, Mexican American mariachi educator, Serafin Paredes, hosts an annual mariachi conference at the University of San Diego. This event, which was initiated in 2012, annually hosts ensembles from all across the American southwest and provides them with workshops from leading mariachi educators as well as performance opportunities to showcase their groups (Mariachi Ensemble, 2023). In another example, mariachi educators in Fresno, CA established their own festival in 2023. This festival, hosted by Fresno City College, featured ten local mariachi groups that competed for cash prizes and recording sessions (High Schools Across the State, 2023).

Benefits of mariachi education. While mariachi educators continue to fight for recognition, researchers are examining the effects that participation in mariachi programs has on Mexican American students' achievement outcomes. Recently, the research has indicated that mariachi has had positive impacts on students' academic outcomes and family engagement. For example, a study by Fang Yuan Liu (2017) indicated that a mariachi program at the Pueblo Magnet School in Tucson, AZ helped to improve the learning environment of Mexican American students. In the study, Liu found that the mariachi program helped to facilitate more family involvement and fostered better peer relationships for Mexican American students. One student in the study had commented that "I feel free to be myself here because we are all Mexican Americans, and we play mariachi [that] is part of our culture" (quoted in Liu, 2017, p. 68).

Echoing this sentiment, Antonio, a Mexican American mariachi musician interviewed for this research, reflected on the peer relationships he developed during his high school mariachi experience.

> I feel Mexicans are more personable. And like, probably because [there are] less degrees of separation. And also, like, less degrees of judgment from other ethnic groups. I definitely feel like early on in school it's kind of like a weird, or I don't know, I felt that growing up in an area that was mainly white I felt like I was made to feel like it was weird having to explain or having to kind of tell my friend's that, 'oh yeah, my mom doesn't really speak English well.' Like, she's more of a Spanish speaker you know what I mean. Kind of like a prologue to them meeting her. So, like, being with other Latino kids in a majority Latino space I just felt, like, so comfortable. Like there are things you don't have to explain. You know what I mean? So, I think that kind of contributed to it" (personal communication, 2019).

In another study of the impact of mariachi on students' achievement and engagement, Victoria Lynn Smith (2018) found that there is a positive impact on students' achievement outcomes and perceptions towards school. Moreover, these participants overwhelmingly found this space to be impactful on their desire to graduate, allowed for deeper connection with peers, instilled a sense of discipline, and helped them to connect with their families. While the study did not specifically focus on Mexican American students, the majority of the students in the study identified as such.

Conclusion

As seen throughout this chapter, there has been an explosion in the last forty years of music educators' curiosity and concern relative to Mexican American students, and of Mexican-

heritage music in the curriculum. Unfortunately, as aligned with Ladson-Billings' critique of liberalism, there have been few efforts to create sweeping change in music education to embrace a system that simultaneously calls attention to and challenges exclusionary policies while creating inclusive spaces for all students to participate in music education. Moreover, the operation of interest convergence (Bell, 1980) was found in the incorporation of non-conventional ensembles so long as they adhered to notions of musical legitimacy as defined by state entities (i.e., mariachi competitions in Texas UIL). As seen in previous chapters, this chapter affirmed that music programs that successfully serve Mexican American students mostly occur in groups that exist outside of the institutional reach of mainstream music education. The following chapter will explore how music education can move past these restrictions rooted in colonial epistemologies to truly create change that allows for music education spaces to incorporate meaningful change that appeals to the musical sensibilities and pedagogical needs of Mexican American students.

Chapter Six: Community and Decolonization as a Way Forward

The Mexican American experience in music education has been impacted by a variety of sociohistorical, cultural, and political dynamics. As such, the conventional musical offerings that have been provided to this population for at least a century of documented practice has not allowed for the broadest participation of Mexican American students in school music programs. Due to the impact of the sociohistorical factors on their access to music education, many Mexican American students have not had the privilege of enrolling in music education programs, of learning music befitting their interests and needs, or of benefiting from instruction that validates their innate musicality and their right to a relevant program that enhances their musical development in culturally meaningful ways.

The purpose of this dissertation was to understand the current underrepresentation of Mexican Americans in public school music programs by exploring their historical interactions with the institution of formalized music education. The following section provides a summary of the findings for each of the three research questions that directed this research. Following this summary, recommendations are provided for redesigning music education programs. These are based on the successful strategies that leading Mexican American music educators (and their communities) have implemented in order to ensure that their children and youth were given access to culturally congruent musical offerings.

Question 1: Historically, How Did Changing Educational Policies and Practices Influence Mexican American Access to Music Education?

One of the key factors that historically impacted Mexican Americans' access to music education in the United States was rooted in the perceived differences between Mexican American and predominantly White communities. As shown in previous rationales that provided

justification for their historical segregation,-beliefs held by educators in the mainstream across many decades were that Mexican Americans were 1) cognitively deficient (via psychometric tests), 2) without possession of any educational aspirations (as per their low matriculation rates, especially in the 1920s-1960s), and 3) incapable of learning English (segregation based upon language) and thus requiring separate classes and limited involvement in opportunities to experience and study music and the arts. In terms of CRT, these practices align with the tenet that provides "challenges to claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 492). Rather than interrogating the bias in systems and interrupting them, proponents of these harmful beliefs placed the onus to adapt and achieve on Mexican American communities.

Reinforced by an unwavering belief in meritocracy as a natural condition of social efficiency, these perceived differences, often unfounded or exaggerated, ultimately led to the development of policies and practices that permitted the segregation of Mexican Americans, thus impacting their equitable access to education for generations. Since there was no legal mechanism in U.S. history for segregating Mexican American students from the mainstream (as there had been for Black students), these perceived differences were the primary justification for the historic segregation of Mexican American students from the 1920s through the 1940s, as illustrated in "the Mexican schools" such as the Eighth Street Training School (Tempe, Arizona); Baytown Mexican School (Baytown, Texas); North Edcouch Elementary (Edcouch, Texas); and countless others. In terms of music education, it was illustrated that these schools in which Mexican-heritage students were placed were often under-resourced, inadequately staffed, or lacking any musical offerings altogether.

Perceptions of Mexican American cognitive deficiency. A primary factor that historically impacted Mexican American students' access to music education was the perception

that they were cognitively deficient. This perception was largely influenced by the results of Mexican American students on psychometric tests which were mostly in a language (English) in which they had limited experience. This was the mechanism through which the Progressive Era emphasis on social efficiency, or the sorting of individuals into roles based on their perceived intelligence, was enforced. Ultimately, school administrators determined, as a result of their misperceptions, to sort Mexican American students into vocational tracks with little to no access to musical study. Additionally, the persistence of perceptions of Mexican American cognitive deficiencies led to the normalized practice of de facto segregation, which became the justification for the under-resourcing of music programs at segregated Mexican schools from early in the 20th century until the end of the 1960s. The suggestion by Mendenhall, (1937), that "for many Mexican children, the elementary school will be practically the summation of school experience", was a widely embraced in schools that served Mexican American children and, as a result, there were rarely any provisions provided for advanced musical study. When viewed through the lens of Critical Race Theory, these practices reflect the *centrality of racism*, with the understanding that "racism is not an aberration, but rather a fundamental, endemic, and normalized way of organizing society" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 492).

Mexican American access through assimilation. The access by Mexican American students to mainstream music education was influenced by the degree of assimilation or integration that they were able to achieve in schools throughout the United States. By way of example, Mexican American musicians of the 1930s were a product of their access to quality music education in the public schools and local settlement school (named *Neighborhood Music School*) of East Los Angeles. By successfully navigating the possibilities for musical study in

schools, these musicians had learned skills in school music programs that they later applied in the development of their own Mexican-influenced musical styles as professional musicians.

Another example of this assimilative process by which Mexican American students were integrating into school music programs was illustrated in the life of band director Manuel Garza (1931-1978). Garza had grown up in the segregated border town of Weslaco, TX but was able to achieve a degree of success in music education spaces throughout Texas. As a high school student, he had worked hard to integrate into and navigate these predominantly white musical spaces such that he eventually achieved the top status (in every band program) of student band director. Following his university training in music, he returned to Weslaco as an assistant band director, eventually earned a Masters degree, and continued to build successful band programs throughout the state of Texas. This level of success in music education was achieved through his determination to assimilate into spaces outside that of his Mexican American community, an assimilation that was rarely achieved by Mexican Americans during the inter-American period.

In terms of Critical Race Theory, this assimilative process that Garza underwent also reflects "challenges to claims of neutrality, color blindness, and meritocracy" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 492). The myriad activities that Garza engaged in at the various schools he taught (e.g. PTSA president, hosting community dinners, student clubs, etc.) demonstrated the inordinate amount of work that was required of him to be successful within a predominantly White profession. Eventually, he would die at 47 years of age due to a massive stroke. While the true cause of his stroke has been lost to history, research has indicated that assimilation has produced negative health outcomes in Mexican American communities (Hamilton et al, 2011). While Garza's success is ultimately a testament to his resilience, his assimilation demonstrates the legal scholar Cheryl Harris' (1993) notion of *whiteness as property* which states: "whiteness as property has

taken on more subtle forms, but retains its core characteristic – the legal legitimation of expectations of power and control that enshrine the status quo as a neutral baseline, while masking the maintenance of white privilege and domination" (p. 1715). In other words, the extra effort that was required of Manuel Garza to achieve success as an educator was due to in part to a subtle form of hegemony that called for his maintenance of a status quo that was steeped in dominant Whiteness and further concealed by meritocracy and colorblindness.

Question 2: In What Ways Did Individuals and/or Communities Respond to These Educational Policies?

Despite systemic barriers that prevented Mexican Americans from being fully able to historically participate in music education, particularly between the 1920s and 1960s, they were still able to successfully create musical learning spaces for their children. Critical Race Theory's research tool of "counter-storytelling" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2016), is utilized in this dissertation as an illustration of the "centrality of experiential knowledge" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 493). These counter-stories of Mexican American success in Music Education construct narratives that challenge dominant historical understandings. For example, during the era of de jure educational segregation in the early 20th century, Mexican American communities maintained musical groups for children (e.g., the La Habra work camp band in California) who learned to play instruments in order to perform *banda* music specifically for the variety of festivals focused on sustaining Mexican culture. In another example, Mexican American parent groups at segregated schools such as the Baytown Mexican School in Texas went so far as to fund-raise in order to pay the salaries of music teachers who would teach their children culturally congruent music (Pumphrey, 1952).

Other examples of Mexican American community music education developments include the Mexican heritage music programs developed at Chicano schools in Denver and in New

Mexico during the 1960s, and the Mexican-specific community music programs developed in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Northern California. These examples challenge the dominant narrative in music education history, that the only viable music education programs were those developed in mainstream schools by mostly White educators. Moreover, they also demonstrate the historic failure of school music programs to serve the specific needs of Mexican Americans, one of the largest populations among all ethnic groups in the United States.

Question 3: How Can These Past Events Inform Future Engagement of Mexican American Students in Music Education Settings?

The historic evidence suggests that the system of musically educating children in elementary and secondary schools was imbued with attitudes and acts of white supremacy during the period of the standardization of public education in the 1920s. As such, policies and practices in music education reflected these ideals which, ultimately, led to the exclusion of Mexican Americans in music education for many decades. While there has been no comprehensive study to determine the trend of Mexican American music teacher or music professor hirings, current data indicate that 1.9% of music teacher candidates are Latine (Elpus, 2015). However, no reliable data is currently available for Mexican American music professors. Regardless, an increase of Spanish surname authorship in music education journals suggests that there has been a slight increase over the past 100 years of Mexican American representation.

Despite this anecdotal evidence, very little has changed in terms of the structure, focus, pedagogical features, and valued outcomes of American music education as relevant to the music that Mexican-American heritage students are experiencing today. I argue that this is mainly due to the feedback loop that is established in mainstream music education: 1) university music education students are admitted through an audition process that values conventional practices, 2) music education students are trained and certified in conservatory-style music departments

that reward conventional practices, 3) these pre-service music educators are hired in public schools that value conventional music education practices, and 4) these music educators become faculty at degree granting institutions that certify future music educators. Consequently, this cycle repeats ad nauseum, and the resulting generational impact continues in the current under-representation of Mexican American students in school music programs (Elpus & Abril, 2019). While some leaders in music education's professional organizations attribute this lack of representation to the antiquated deficit model thinking, such as "Latinos lack the keyboard skills needed for this field (of music education)" (Butera quoted in Cooper, 2016), in this research I argue that the bigoted bedrock on which the discipline was built is to blame.

Recommendations for Adjustments to Music Education Policy and Practice

Understanding the sociohistorical factors that have led to Mexican American underrepresentation in music education and the feedback loop that created through the standardization of conventional music practices in the 1920s, the following section will provide recommendations to interrupt this exclusionary cycle. Rooted in historical knowledge and aligned with Critical Race Theory's "commitment to working for social justice" (Sleeter, 2012, p. 493), the following recommendations provide a path forward for educators who seek to create more culturally congruent spaces for their Mexican American students.

The Role of Community in the Musical Education of Mexican Americans

Just as the antiquated thinking of music education's racist past persists, so too does the resilience of Mexican American communities and their desire to provide their youth with empowering musical experiences. As music scholar Martha Gonzalez states, "Mexican music education begins at home" (2017, p. 268). As such, music education efforts that successfully served Mexican American youth were historically found outside of mainstream music education settings

in spaces with deep family and community ties (Campbell et al, in press). Examples of community-supported music education include 1) the segregated Mexican American laborers in Southern California who maintained community bands for their youth in the 1920s; 2) the parent-funded *orquesta tipica* at the segregated Baytown Mexican School in Baytown, Texas, in the 1920s and 30s; and 3) the Chicano music program that was built on the *familia* principle at Escuela Tlatelolco in Denver, Colorado, in the late 1960s.

While there has been a good deal of attention given to incorporating community music practices in music education settings (Higgins, 2012), the legacy of community-rooted music education as a primary mode of music education for Mexican heritage students still persists in groups such as Los Cenzontles Cultural Arts Academy in San Pablo, California, the Latino Strings Project in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Sones de Mexico in Chicago, Illinois. However, there are also countless Mexican American family and church groups who also provide high quality musical education to their children and youth (Campbell, Mena, and Cantarelli-Vita, 2024), who would otherwise continue to be pushed to the *periphrastic spaces* in mainstream music education settings (Hess, 2018). In summary, the findings of the current research suggest that culturally congruent music education has been prominent in Mexican American communities for at least a century. As such, music educators in the U.S. will do well to learn from these examples of community-fostered musical experience and study if their school music programs are to encompass and support the music learning of Mexican American children and youth.

Importance of culturally congruent musical spaces. Considering that achievement outcomes are often correlated with participation in extracurricular activities (Pollard, 2021), particularly for Mexican Americans (Villareal, 2017), it is imperative that music educators begin

to widely embrace alternative pedagogical methods that are rooted both in non-Western epistemologies and community-specific needs. The current American music education paradigm is imbued with colonialist philosophy, one that creates a "hierarchy of musical epistemologies [that] then places a Western classical epistemology at the top" (Hess, 2023). As such, it does not serve the cultural needs and interests of many Mexican American students and their communities. In order to understand best practices in engaging Mexican American students, we must engage with scholars that are currently focused on this work in education broadly. For example, Ethnic Studies scholar Sean Arce makes this point:

> Relative to Xicana[7]/o youth, within the greater context of the colonization of the Xicana/o community, public schools traditionally and currently do not provide safe and healthy spaces for their development; culturally responsive curricula and/or pedagogy; or programmatic offerings where youth can cultivate a sense of honor and dignity for themselves, their families, and/or their communities (Arce, 2016).

In music education programs and practices in the United States, the lack of widespread access to culturally congruent programmatic offerings (i.e., culturally relevant musical genres), and to safe and healthy musical spaces (i.e., culturally relevant ensembles) is testimony to the disservice done to Mexican American students for whom the current Eurocentric music education model is not fitting or relevant. Antonio, the high school student featured in Chapter Five, expressed how culturally congruent his initial experiences in a Mexican mariachi were after having played saxophone in the school's concert band: "So, like, being with other Latino kids in a majority Latino space I just felt, like, so comfortable. Like there are things you don't have to explain. You know what I mean?" (personal interview, 2019). The examples provided in this

[7] Xicana/o is a recent term replaces the 'ch' in Chicano with an 'X' to pay homage to the Indigenous roots of this group (Ortiz, 2018).

study from multiple locations over the course of many decades drive the point home, that access to majority Mexican American spaces (including music ensembles) by Mexican American students have historically empowered them.

While the Eurocentric model is still maintained today in the curricular vision and content of the vast majority of schools in the United States, Chapter Five recognized how a growing number of music programs, both inside and outside of public elementary and secondary schools, are fulfilling the cultural needs of Mexican American communities. Aligned with Arce's (2016) observations, these music programs are offering safe spaces for identity development, culturally relevant curriculum and pedagogical approaches, and course and ensemble offerings that develop dignity in participants. And yet the overall mainstream educational system in which these programs exist remain rooted in a colonialist foundation, in which Eurocentric curriculum and pedagogies persist.

As described in Chapter Two, the system of music education in the United States that was conceptualized in the 1920s, is still replicated in its current incarnation. This includes practices such as standardization of Eurocentric curriculum (emphasis on large ensemble performance and competition) and an emphasis on assimilation (focus on performing music by predominantly White composers, stage deportment, and concert dress). These developments occurred during the same time that colonial educational practices were being implemented in the Philippines (i.e., instilling nationalism through music education). Eventually, these practices rode the imperial boomerang back to the United States to be integrated into this newly emerging system of widespread music education in the 1920s. As such, music education conceptions and practices need to be reckoned with, and re-imagined for current times, in which new pedagogies and principles can be applied in order to undo this harmful and antiquated colonialist system.

The field of music education is in need of strong and consistent attention to alternative pedagogies in order to proactively undo the historical racism that has appeared throughout the history of school music in United States, and that still underpins the majority of institutional music education programs in the country. Juliet Hess recently expressed the continuing Eurocentric model operating in schools in no uncertain terms:

> We see Whiteness reproduced through the instruments available for study. In the Western ensemble paradigm, instruments typically available to students include instruments that belong in the concert band, wind ensemble, or orchestra. These instruments predetermine the music played, and the music played simultaneously dictates the instruments required—an uneasy cycle that centers Eurocentric music and upholds Whiteness. (2021, p. 16)

While there have been attempts to disrupt this process, particularly within the recent pedagogical approach known as World Music Pedagogy (Campbell 2004; Campbell & Lum, 2018; and Montemayor, Coppola, & Mena, 2018), the status quo still persists in the majority of music education spaces, thus illustrating Ladson-Billings' (2016) critique of liberalism and its inability to enact sweeping transformative change.

From the current research, it is evident that successful educators of Mexican American students were able to provide music education experiences that were directed at their needs and interests rather than rooted primarily in colonial *whitestream* perspectives and practices (Urrieta, 2011). These music educators were successful in that they developed programs that were based on cultural practices that were familiar to Mexican American students and modes of learning that were community-based and culturally sustainable. In line with this historical evidence, I argue that music educators should be embracing these efforts in order to shift their curriculum and

instruction towards pedagogical practices that are more equitable and oriented towards true inclusivity.

Moving beyond multiculturalism. As examined in Chapter Four, merely focusing on multiculturalism in music education, as was surely the case at the onset and development of that movement in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, without an analysis of power, or an understanding as to how current systems continue to exclude marginalized populations such as Mexican Americans, only serves to repackage and reinscribe systems of oppression. Additionally, simply performing a "culturally diverse" piece of music without transforming the pedagogy or modifying the old power structures that influence classroom dynamics, only serves to maintain a system that has historically precluded Mexican Americans from participation.

While there have been critiques of multiculturalism by music education scholars (Campbell, 2004; Hess, 2018; Howard, 2014; Schippers, 2009), the majority of music educators rarely move past the selection of "material" that students can perform. Multicultural education scholar James Banks (2010) argues that perfunctory performances of diverse repertoire often found in most music education settings "results in the trivialization of ethnic cultures, the study of their strange and exotic characteristics, and the reinforcement of stereotypes and misconceptions" (p. 48). Moreover, continuing to embrace antiquated models of music evaluation through competition and standardization, such as what happened to jazz education and is currently happening with Texas UIL and mariachi, only serves to reinscribe the values of dominant Whiteness through the emphasis on quantifiable performance metrics (i.e., performance ratings) and standardization of performance practices.

While competition is a cross-cultural phenomenon in music, the way it is expressed in schools in the United States is unique in that accessing success within this competitive paradigm

often requires access to resources and a comprehensive education in Western European Art Music. As illustrated in this research, these pathways to success have been systematically denied to Mexican Americans throughout history. Additionally, the organization of mariachi competitions by both White and Mexican American scholars demonstrated the process of interest convergence described in CRT, in that mariachi was only allowed into the Texas University Interscholastic League system as long as it followed the norms already established: conventional practices that are steeped in Whiteness.

Fortunately, a complete restructuring of pedagogical approaches in music education is a discussion that is neither new nor radical, but rather a concept that has been present in music education for many decades. James A. Banks (1989) proposed a model of four approaches to clarify degrees of consideration of "ethnic content" in the curriculum: *contributions, ethnic additive, transformations approach, and social action* (1989). Through each approach or level, the curriculum potentials move from the perfunctory inclusion of ethnic content (contributions), to the incorporation of themes and concepts without changing the fundamental structure of the classroom or curriculum (ethnic additive), and through a process that focuses on using various modes of learning to challenge the fundamental assumptions of curriculum that allows students to view key concepts, issues, and themes through the experiences of various ethnic groups in the United States (transformation). This final approach, social action, fundamentally changes the classroom in that it requires that the students apply their knowledge through praxis by developing their knowledge around an issue in order to engage in societal change.

Disrupting the replication of colonial models of music education. Along with several other music education scholars (Feay-Shaw, 2002; Howard, 2014; Klinger, 1996), I argue that in music education, the higher levels of reform, as proposed by Banks, are rarely accomplished.

This progress is often inhibited by a narrowly-focused program of music teacher education that focuses on a conventional view of musical success (i.e., musical literacy in Western notation, performance in conventional ensembles) that is reinforced at the pre-service teacher level. Coupled with a lack of in-depth training in Ethnic Studies (a field that examines asymmetric power relationships within and between ethnic groups) or other decolonial pedagogies, these myopic approaches inhibit the abilities of music educators to grapple with and implement non-conventional musical approaches in their classrooms. Ultimately, this leads back to the feedback-loop that replicates the long-standing exclusionary model of music education. In one historical illustration of this feedback-loop, Dennison Mason Wheelock, an Oneida band director at the notorious Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania, in the late 19th century, described his own heritage music after completing his Western classical training:

> During the first year's existence of the school, the two great musical instruments to be heard were the "tom tom" and Indian flute, which were as annoying and unmusical as they were constant in their use. From early morn until obligated to retire at night, the only musical sounds coming from the boy's quarters were the tom tom, tom tom, tom tom and or other like melody (Wheelock, 1896).

In exemplifying this feedback loop, Wheelock had successfully navigated the process of assimilation. He had learned Western art music and had achieved success within the musical culture that it is. So engrained was the supremacy of Eurocentric music in his mind that he had only disparaging remarks about his heritage music. This led to him focusing the training of future music students at the Carlisle School on primarily Eurocentric music (Hauptman & McLester, 2006).

While an analysis of this history through the tenets of CRITICAL RACE THEORY has demonstrated that this assimilative feedback loop is not a vestige of the past, but rather, a living perspective that continues to proliferate by means of the Eurocentric musical training featured in schools and university programs of music education, it does not provide a mechanism with which to disrupt it. Thus, students from a vast array of cultural communities who are drawn to formalized musical study often have no choice but to learn Western European Art Music, such that they frequently leave their family and heritage music behind them as less valued than the institutionally approved music of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms. In order to undo the settler-educator approaches that have formed the fractured foundation of music education and still allows students to perpetually slip through those curricular cracks, I argue that music educators must focus specifically on decolonizing approaches in music education as their praxis.

Decolonizing Music Education

The CRT analysis of the historical exclusion of Mexican Americans illustrated that this group was largely excluded from access to mainstream music education spaces due to mechanisms that were largely rooted in colonial practices and White supremacy. Because of this, I argue that music education will need to incorporate decolonial approaches in order to undo the harmful effects of this colonial foundation upon which music education was built.

In effect, decolonization seeks to undo settler-colonial processes that create a condition of *internal colonialism*. As defined by Tuck & Yang (2012), internal colonialism is:

> the biopolitical and geopolitical management of people, land, flora and fauna within the 'domestic borders of the imperial nation. This involves the use of particularized modes of control – prisons, ghettos, minoritizing, schooling, policing – to ensure the ascendancy of a nation and its White elite (p. 5)

As music education in the United States is built upon a colonial foundation that emphasized musical training in Eurocentric modalities, there is work ahead to undo the practice of excluding non-whites, and in particular Mexican Americans, from opportunities to learn music in public schools. To build truly inclusive music programs, music education scholars and practitioners will need to build programs on decolonial pedagogies and curricular content.

While some music educators are beginning to research, publish on, and discuss the approaches to decolonizing music education (Adeogun, 2021; Batisla-ong &Waller-Pace, 2023; Hess, 2015; Oberhofer, 2020;), these contributions have still not proliferated widely in music education practice. Moreover, some educators who have made mention of decolonization in music education, have often done so without fully understanding the goals of decolonization. For example, a recent music education podcast discussing decolonization in music education (Peresta, 2021) failed to mention core issues that decolonization attempts to address, including the dismantling of colonial systems through the implementation of indigenous epistemologies (Smith, Tuck, & Yang, 2018). Rather, the host and guest's description of decolonization focused mostly on diversifying curriculum (a surface level approach that ignores important systemic issues that perpetuate settler-colonial pedagogical practices), music integration, antiracist approaches, and creating equitable classrooms. While these are worthy goals to achieve, they are not decolonization.

In their critical analysis of contemporary implementations of decolonization strategies in education, Tuck and Yang (2012) offer a reminder that "decolonization, which [they] assert is a distinct project from other civil and human rights-based social projects, is far too often subsumed into the directives of these projects with no regard for how decolonization wants something different that those forms of justice" (pg. 2). Focusing on how the majority of decolonization

efforts often fail any mention of "Indigenous people, our/their struggles for the recognition of our/their sovereignty, or contributions of Indigenous intellectuals and activists to theories and frameworks of decolonization" (pg. 3), they problematize the efficacy of uninformed decolonial projects as well as describe how they function to reinscribe *settler-scholar* approaches that replicate the marginalization of those intended to be served. Continuing with this thought, decolonization scholars Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Eve Tuck, and K. Wayne Yang (2018) offer the following precaution regarding the implementation of decolonization efforts:

> Indigenous and decolonial theories are unfairly, inappropriately expected to answer to whiteness and to settler relationships to land in the future…we write that incommensurability is an ethic that contests reconciliation—reconciliation is about rescuing settler normalcy, about ensuring a settler future. A settler future is preoccupied by questions of, *What will decolonization look like?' What will happen after abolition? What will be the consequences of decolonization for the settler?*… decolonization is not obliged to answer questions concerned with settler futures. Decolonization is not accountable to settlers, or settler futurity. Decolonization is accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity. The answers to those questions are not fully in view. What I am coming to more fully understand is that the questions of "What will decolonization look like?," when posed by settlers, are a distraction to Indigenous theorizations of decolonization. They drain the energy and imagination of Indigenous scholarship—they pester, they think they are unique, and they are boring. I want time and space to sketch the next and the now to get there. Decolonization is not the endgame, not the final outcome of a long process, but the next now, the now that is chasing at our heels. I am lucky to come from the long view (p. 16).

Translated to practice, this means that music educators must seek out approaches that counter the effects of the current system built on colonial beliefs. However, since there is no prescribed paths or blanket approaches, this necessitates music educators to understand their specific community context in order to guide their decolonization efforts.

Specifically speaking to the decolonization of education geared towards Mexican American students, Arce (2016) states that "Eurocentric knowledge, which has in great part worked toward maintaining the subjugation, oppression, and colonization of the Xicana/o community should also serve as a consciousness-raising catalyst for the community's demand for our K-12 public schools to implement comprehensive…approaches that embrace Indigenous Epistemologies" (p. 17). This study has shown that, historically, music education programs that have successfully served Mexican American students have occurred in community spaces and in structures that exist outside of the colonial influence of mainstream music institutions. Reflecting the historical examples outlined in this study, I argue for the development of music education programs that are rooted in Indigenous epistemologies. In the next section, I describe a potential framework that could be used to frame such music education programs that specifically serve Mexican American students: the Nahui Ollin.

The Nahui Ollin as a Decolonial Framework for Pedagogy

Ethnic Studies scholar Sean Arce's focuses his research on best practices for developing educational programs that facilitate positive educational outcomes for Mexican American youth. His deep understanding of the subtractive, or assimilative, educational practices (Valenzuela, 1999) that these students have been subjected to led him to find pedagogical approaches to better serve these students. As such, he turned to Indigenous epistemologies to explore frameworks that would counter the negative effects of the deculturation and assimilation that Mexican American

students continue to face. Arce (2016) explains his work, which gives consideration to decolonization efforts:

> I believe that when put into critical praxis these strategies can effectively counter the colonizing and dehumanizing structures, policies, processes, and practices in schools that have and continue to adversely impact Xicana/o youth. Xicana/o Indigenous epistemologies served as the pedagogical and curricular framework from which [Tucson Unified School District's Mexican American and Raza Studies] operated, resulting in the positive and fluid development of identities and the unprecedented academic success in closing the pervasive achievement gap for and with Xicana/o youth in public schools' (Arce, 2016, p. 12).

In developing the Tucson Unified School District's Mexican American and Raza Studies program that specifically serves Mexican American students, Arce and his colleagues focused on incorporating Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies, Xicana/o specific arts and literature courses, and activities that focus specifically on examining contemporary community issues and strategies to address them through social action (Amor, 2012). In reference to the curriculum of this program, one of Arce's former high school students offered the following, "What they started teaching us was so interesting. I just could not stop thinking about it. I would go home with articles and I would just read them over and over again. So now that I'm learning more, it's becoming more important to me. Man, I started to get As and Bs" (Amor, 2012). As a testament to the efficacy of this program, two independent evaluations of the Mexican American Studies program confirmed a positive impact on students' academic outcomes (Cabrera, et al, 2012; Cambium Learning, 2011). Specifically, it was found in both evaluations that participating in the

Mexican American Studies program was a positive predictor of graduation for participants in this program.

One of the foundational epistemologies of the Mexican American Studies program was the *Nahui Ollin* (Figure 6), a *Mexica* (an indigenous group from central Mexico) concept that describes their process of knowledge construction. The Nahui Ollin, which translates to "four-movement", derives from Nahautl, an Indigenous language of Mexico still spoken today by over 1.5 million individuals (Schmal, 2019). The origin of this term is derived from the Mexica concept of the universe, and refers to the current era which began with the creation of humans (Leon-Portilla, 1963). According to Mexica cosmology, as outlined in the ancient manuscript *Annals of Cuauhtitlán*, the universe has formed and transformed over the course of four cycles of destruction and rebirth. During the origination of time, Ometéotl, the Aztec lord of fire and time, created four sons who represented the directions of the universe. They were referred to as the Four Tezcatlipocas, each of them representing a specific power that propelled the cycle of the sun. They were Xipe Totec, the oldest son, represented by the color red and who was situated in the east; Tezcatlipoca, whose color was black and who was situated in the south; Quezacóatl, whose color was white and who remained in the west; and Huitzilopochtli, the last son, represented by the color blue and who lived in the north.

It is believed by the Indigenous Mexican group of Central Mexico that each of these Tezcatlipocas were associated with a specific natural phenomenon that vied for supremacy above all others. These battles are what led to the end of the previous four cycles of destruction and rebirth, which were referred to as suns. Our current era of human existence, the fifth sun, was only able to be brought about through the restoration of balance among the Four Tezcatlipocas.

A core belief of the Mexica is that only through this balance can the sun perpetually cycle through the cosmos. (Leon-Portilla, 1963).

Figure 6

The Nahui Ollin. Courtesy of Washington Ethnic Studies Now.

Tupac Enrique Acosta, an Indigenous scholar, educator, activist, and practitioner of Nahua tradition, shared with Sean Arce his interpretation of these Four Tezcatlipocas and how they can be used to develop healthy educational ecologies for Mexican American students (Arce, 2016). Beginning with the black Tezcatlipoca, this *movement* of the sun's cycling represents "a reflection, a moment of reconciliation of the past with the possibilities of the future—not a vision of light but an awareness of the shadow that is the smoke of light's passing. It is the 'Smoking Mirror' into which the individual, the family, the clan, the barrio, the tribe, and the nation must gaze into to acquire the sense of history that calls for liberation" (Acosta, 2006). In educational spaces, this reflection is what allows individuals to take stock of their efforts, determine what was learned in terms of what is working and what is not. Additionally, it is through this process of reflection that new futures are able to be envisioned.

A second movement, Quetzalcóatl, represents what is called “precious knowledge”. As Acosta describes it, this knowledge derives and develops:

> from the memory of our identity, the knowledge of our collective history, we draw the perspective that draws us to the contemporary reality. From this orientation we achieve stability, a direction found in time-tested precepts that allows our awareness and knowledge of the surrounding environment to develop. This awareness and knowledge merge to form the ‘consciencia’ of a mature human being (Acosta, 2007).

Arce (2016) conceptualized this precious knowledge in terms similar to the Freirian notion of *conscientization*, or critical consciousness. In education, this process encourages individuals to reclaim a sense of collective history in order to uncover the trauma, deculturation, and systemic barriers that prevent them from becoming fully realized and mature human beings.

A third movement, Huitzilopochtli, is associated with the warrior spirit. Educationally, this approach is connected to praxis and social action. As described by Acosta, [Huitzilopochtli] is:

> La voluntad. Will. The warrior spirit born with the first breath taken by each newborn infant in the realization that this human life we are blessed with is a struggle requiring physical effort for survival. The exertion of this life-sustaining effort evolves into a discipline, a means of maximizing the energy resources available at the human command which in order to have their full effect must be synchronized with the natural cycles (2007).

The final movement, Xipe Totek, is associated with rebirth and transformation. Acosta explains Xipe Totek as, “transformation. Identified as our source of strength that allows us to transform and renew. We can achieve this transformation only when we have learned to trust in

ourselves" (2007). In education this allows us to accept that change rooted in knowledge, reflection, and action is necessary for healthy educational ecologies to exist.

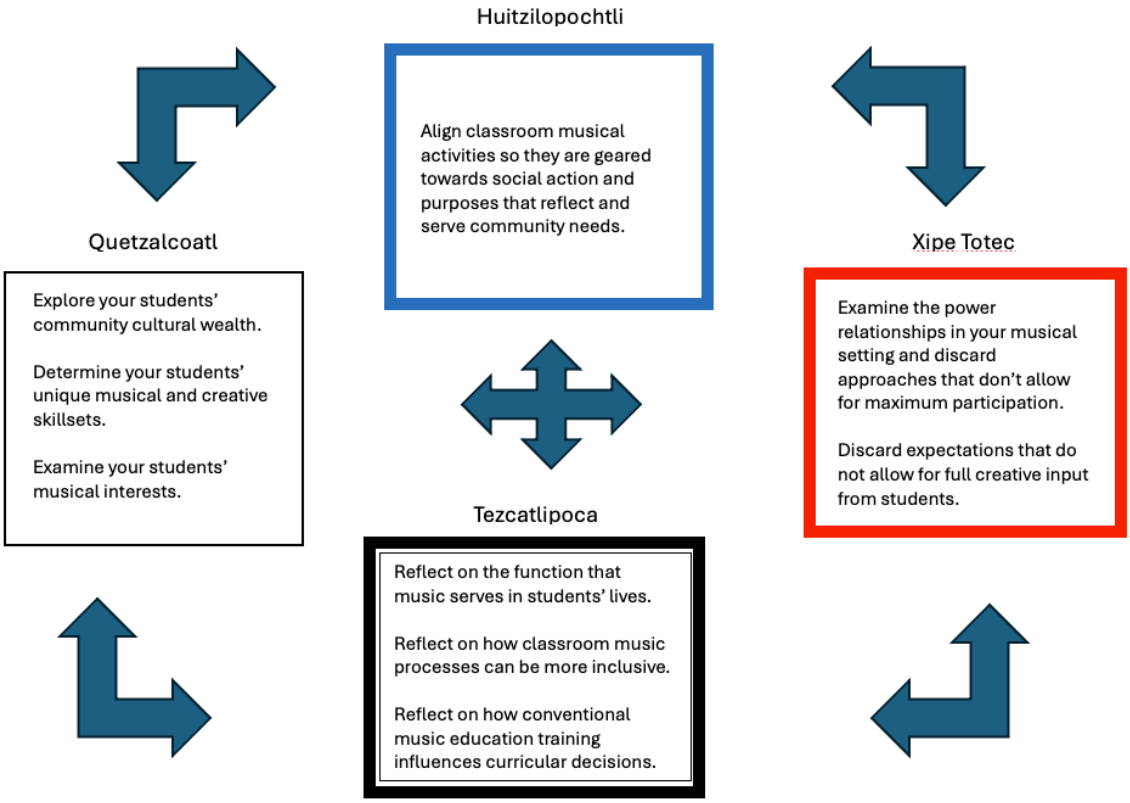
This framework, which challenges the White male knowledge validation process (Collins, 1989), describes how knowledge is constructed in Mexica culture. Considering Arce's (2016) description of benefits to Mexican American students that result from the incorporation of Indigenous epistemologies, I argue for its use as a foundational framework in programs that specifically serve Mexican American students.

The Nahui Ollin in Music Education

As described through the historical tracings of the Mexican American presence in, or exclusion from, school music experience and study, those programs that do serve Mexican American students successfully are often rooted in deep connections to the community and to the cultural knowledge they maintain. The application of Nahui Ollin as a framework for music education in schools (Figure 7) can accomplish the community connections and cultural knowledge that support and serve the interests and needs of Mexican American students, particularly those for who have not found occasion to participate in school music programs. Recommendations follow for the application of Nahui Ollin as a guide to fostering the musical learning of Mexican American students. The Nahui Ollin movements are listed in customary order, and yet, as with many Indigenous epistemologies, the framework utilizes a cyclical and non-linear process.

Figure 7

Nahui Ollin in Music Education



Beginning with Quetzalcoatl, or precious knowledge, the lesson for music educators is to explore the community and cultural wealth of their students (Yosso, 2005), and to inform themselves of their students' prior musical experience and knowledge, and of their instrumental or vocal proficiency. Many Mexican American students come from rich musical backgrounds, and the honoring of this knowledge by music educators as a valid characteristic (again, "precious knowledge") can be a precursor to engaging in *authentic caring* (Valenzuela, 1999), that is, in developing meaningful teacher-student relationships that serve to enhance learning. It is in this movement of Quetzalcoatl that music educators also determine the interests of their students in learning particular musical styles and techniques, in order to facilitate this learning. Whether it be beat-making, guitar-playing, song-writing, sound-designing, or learning to play conventional

wind and string instruments, skill-building and technical proficiency is most likely when it fosters student interest.

In Tezcatlipoca, the point of reflection, music educators can give their attention to the facilitation of discussions about the meaning that music possesses for students. Often, musical listening is highly prized by students for its ability to assist them in developing their emerging identities and engaging in meaningful self-expression (MacDonald et al, 2002). However, musical performance can also serve a wide variety of functions that include community-building, cultural affirmation, and social service endeavors. By reflecting on the wide and varied musical experiences and functions of music in their lives, students can then determine the direction they wish to take in their exploration of music as engaging them variously in listening, vocal and instrumental performance, and creative work.

Huitzilopochtli pertains to the implementation and praxis of musical learning. Based on the conversations in earlier stage of their musical dreams and desires (Tezcatlipoca), students can then hone skills and repertoire for performances that are personally meaningful to them. Their studies in the school music program can lead to performances in the school and out to the community depending on the purposes they wish their musicking experiences to serve. These musical offerings could serve a variety of functions including accompaniment for community dances, protest gatherings, and other culturally relevant community gatherings. Of importance is that students have a voice in determining how their musical learnings will be applied, where and when, and for what purpose.

Xipe Totek, the transformation, translates to a process through which both music educators and their students identify, problematize, and ultimately, discard aspects of the learning process that are no longer meaningful to them. These could potentially be ensemble

configurations, rehearsal strategies, power dynamics between teacher and student, or any other aspect of the musical learning process. Rather than stubbornly embracing irrelevant pedagogical practices in the name of tradition, educators and students are invited, via the Xipe Totec movement to shed the weathered husk of conventional approaches in music education in order to ensure that the musical learning process remains relevant, valuable, even consequential to contemporary needs.

This set of examples is by no means a comprehensive list of applications, bit is meant to serve as illustration that may assist in the creation of pathways to many more applications. This is due to the fact that, in decolonization, there are no prescriptive approaches. Rather, it is incumbent upon the music educators to engage in the personal work of reflecting upon these principles, learning about their specific teaching context, and restructure their music programs in ways that are culturally congruent for their students. In summary, The Nahui Ollin is a decolonial framework that provides non-settler considerations for the construction of musical knowledge and experiences, however, it is up to the teacher to determine how it is put into practice.

While the Nahui Ollin demands interpretation by music educators for their specific learning context, there are approaches that can assist in creating decolonized music education spaces that are rooted in Indigenous epistemologies. To illustrate how decolonial approaches can take shape in music education spaces, the next section will describe a specific pedagogical approach known as the Collective Songwriting Process that’s also rooted in Indigenous knowledge and can be used in conjunction with the Nahui Ollin as a part of a decolonial approach to music education.

The Collective Songwriting Process as a Decolonial Method in Music Education

A pedagogical approach known as the Collective Songwriting Process (CSP) serves as illustration of how decolonial approaches can take shape in music education spaces. CSP is rooted in Indigenous knowledge, and is applicable to teaching/learning alongside and in balance with the Nahui Ollin model. The Collective Songwriting Process is a composition protocol with roots in Zapatista communities in Chiapas, Mexico (Gonzalez, 2020). The Zapatistas, an autonomous Indigenous group in Mexico that is composed of various Mayan cultures that speak a variety of languages (Gonzalez, 2020), gained global recognition due to their popular armed uprising against the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994 (Khansnabish, 2012). In Zapatista spaces, the philosophy of *Zapatismo* guides interactions within this group. This philosophy is based on indigenous worldviews and focuses largely on the principle of, what some scholars have called, "participatory horizontality" (Figueroa-Hernandez, 2007, pg. 79). Additionally, followers of Zapatismo often subjugate their own political desires to the needs of the communities they serve, and embrace the power of collective decision-making (Khansnabish, 2012).

The Collective Songwriting Process was brought to the United States and developed for community projects by activist musicians Martha Gonzalez and Quetzal Flores (Gonzalez, 2020). After studying these techniques with the activist musician Rosa Marta Zarate in Chiapas, Mexico, Gonzalez and Flores further refined this approach for use in a variety of settings including juvenile detention centers, community music and education forums, and transnational musical collaborations (Gonzalez, 2020). As an Indigenous approach, CSP is imbued with the philosophy of Zapatismo in a variety of ways. First, this collaborative musical process provides opportunities for all participants to share their lived experiences and community concerns while

participating in a collective decision-making process regarding the development of lyrical and musical themes. While this process is inherently musical, it is not necessary that the participants possess any previous musical knowledge. This relates to the notion of "participatory horizontality", in that all members are allowed to participate in ways that honor their specific skill set. Whether they are instrumentalists, vocalists, lyricists, dancers, or even visual artists, all participants are provided with an opportunity to contribute. When connected to the Nahui Ollin, this process fits squarely within Quetzalcoatl.

As a second means of carrying forward the constructed knowledge of the community, CSP provides a space where individuals can theorize on their community needs and develop these thoughts and perspectives into "sung theories" (Gonzalez, 2020, pg. 94). Through sharing their narrative developments of lived experiences and perspectives, or *testimonios* (Reyes & Curry Rodriguez, 2012), participants can reimagine new ways of engaging community issues that are in line with their specific modes and conceptualizations of action. Additionally, these testimonios also serve to document community worldviews thus allowing for a more thorough understanding of the ways in which they make sense of their specific contexts. This process clearly illustrates activities that would occur in Tezcatlipoca.

The Collective Songwriting Process is also aligned with Xipe Totec in that it challenges and sheds Eurocentric notions of knowledge validation and, is thus, a decolonizing process. Rather than focusing on mechanical composition procedures that prioritize specific musical techniques and theoretical principles, the principal epistemologies that guide the creative process in CSP are "*convivencia* [coexistence], testimonio, trust, healing, and knowledge production" (Gonzalez, 2020, pg. 94). This allows for the creative process to always be grounded in community needs and modes of artistic expression (Campbell et al, 2019).

As a compositional process, CSP is a flexible approach that has several entry points. As such, there is no sequence that must be followed but rather, there is a loose framework that allows for the community of participants to guide the creative process. As documented by Mena and Campbell (2023), the compositional activity begins with skilled facilitation by an educator of community conversations that serve to draw out from students their testimonios or views on community needs, concerns, and desires. These testimonios are then crafted into verses and choruses through a collective decision-making process. Concurrently, while the testimonios developed by one group of students from a collage of expressed thoughts into stanzas that emerge as song lyrics, a second group of students begin to generate musical ideas that reflect and amplify the tone that these testimonios have taken. Music educators are there to provide questions and comments as prompts for the development of lyrics and music, and to facilitate and encourage ideas to flow. Depending on the dynamics of the musical space, music educators may even join in with an instrument alongside the students to provide an intergenerational experience. The core principle of this process is the maximizing of participation by all students. As such, all members of the community are welcomed in as contributors to musical ideas regardless of their proficiency with voice or instrument.

After elements of the collective song are finalized, the two groups of students rehearse the musical artifact, be it the lyrical or the instrumental component. The focus of the rehearsal is not about presenting a perfect performance but, again, on maximizing participation from all group members. The final performance, whether in class or to the public, a group of friends, or family members, is documented and shared with the group. This performance and its recording is an important step in the process because it allows the final product to serve as an artifact of a collectively mediated expression of new possibilities, or what Holland et al (2003) would refer to

as a "figured world" (p. 41). The experience of repeated listening to these "sung theories" (Gonzalez, 2020) is what compels the participants toward action by allowing them to "*pivot* or shift into the frame of a different world" (Holland et al, 2003, pg. 51). In terms of the Nahui Ollin, the musical artifact is the Quetzalcoatl, or the precious knowledge produced by the process that the students will use to help them navigate their lives.

Conclusion

Considering the complex history of Mexican American exclusion in music education, and the methods that this community has historically used to provide a musical education to their youth despite systemic barriers that have impacted their generational interactions with this institution, it is time for sweeping and transformative change. As such, music educators need to be flexible in that they can provide a variety of musical experiences to their Mexican American youth in terms of pedagogical approach and outcomes, and not only diversification of repertoire. Mexican American communities have understood the musical needs of their youth and have continuously fought for space for them to explore music in their own unique and culturally congruent ways. As seen throughout the study, these successes were hard fought and, in many instances, in spite of mainstream music educations' efforts to assimilate Mexican Americans at the cost of their heritage musical practices and pedagogies. In closing, the history that I have presented has demonstrated Mexican American communities have always held high their own music education hopes and culturally congruent pedagogies to engage their youth. As such, it is incumbent upon music educators to learn from this history so that they can disrupt the exclusionary practices of a system built on a flawed foundation.

Epilogue

As I sit here putting the final touches on this tome, I am still left with uncertainty about how to feel. On one hand, I am grateful to have achieved a milestone that so few Mexican Americans have: a PhD. In some small way, I feel like I have beat a system that was rigged against me. However, the degree that I will eventually frame and hang in my office will only provide evidence for one aspect of the struggle I endured throughout this process. The academic trudge is one thing, but bearing the weight of assimilation is quite another. Like so many of the individuals that I highlighted in my research, we who were able to achieve access to the upper echelons of mainstream music education constantly had to fight for our legitimacy within this field. Oftentimes, this was at the expense of our precious community cultural wealth. When I first began my undergraduate musical education, I willingly shed valuable aspects of my musicianship that was acquired in the loving embrace of community music settings, for the rigorous and often sterile "serious study" of academic music. I did so willingly, because I didn't know any better. The stories that I uncovered in my research, the struggle they expressed, and the victories they highlighted, helped me to realize that none of this was necessary. In the music education ecosystem, there is plenty of space for an entire world of musical expression to be equally valued. From my experience in the past few years, the new generation of music educators that I have encountered are more adept at facilitating these welcoming spaces and I am hopeful that we, as a profession, are straddling the precipice and ready to leap into the misty panorama in front of us. Without fear. Without apology. Without the weight of White supremacy keeping us tethered to the old, crumbling edifice. We will soar on the winds of our ancestors that has been gusting immutably through generations, waiting to carry us back home.

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