This is a repository copy of *Fitting in and sticking out: An exploratory study of the Whiteness of the school music curriculum and its effects on Global Majority musicians*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/203625/

Version: Accepted Version

Article:

Hendry, N. (2023) Fitting in and sticking out: An exploratory study of the Whiteness of the school music curriculum and its effects on Global Majority musicians. Journal of Popular Music Education, 7 (1). pp. 25-45. ISSN 2397-6721

https://doi.org/10.1386/jpme_00107_1

© 2023 Intellect Ltd. The definitive, peer reviewed and edited version of this article is published in Journal of Popular Music Education, Volume 7, Issue 1, Mar 2023, p. 25 - 45, https://doi.org/10.1386/jpme_00107_1

Reuse
Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

Takedown
If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.

eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/

Fitting in and Sticking Out: An exploratory study of the Whiteness of the school music curriculum and its effects on Global Majority musicians

Natasha Hendry

natashaehendry@gmail.com

Author biography:

Natasha Hendry is a PhD psychology student at the University of West London with joint supervision from the London College of Music. Her research interests are centred around music psychology related to education, performance and wellbeing. Current projects are based around singing for wellbeing, mental health and the arts and social justice in music education and industry for marginalized people-groups.

ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9362-7301

Abstract:

This exploratory study-followed the journeys of 11 Global Majority[1] teachers and musicians from their early experiences within the UK music education system up to their present professional careers in music. Focus groups with 10 students presently engaged in music education offered a current perspective and comparison with adults' experiences, allowing for reflection on possible trajectories.

The research question asked whether a predominantly White, middle-class music curriculum has an effect on the musical behaviours and identity of members of the Global

[1] *The Global Majority definition:* Global Majority is a collective term that refers to people who are **Black, Asian, Brown, dual-heritage**, indigenous to the global south, and/or have been racialized as 'ethnic minorities'

Majority in the UK. Findings showed that musicians and music teachers had experienced considerable barriers in music education and musical careers, which had an adverse psychological effect, typically recognized later in life.

Key words: Music Education, Anti-racism, Global Majority, Music Industry, Diversity, Inclusion, Social Justice, Mental Health

Literature Review

A lack of racial diversity in music education

Results from a 2015 Department for Education (DfE) report led Rhodes (2017) to calculate that schools needed an extra 68,000 Global Majority teachers to reflect the UK school population at that time. The greatest disparities were shown in the London Borough of Westminster where UK Government figures showed less than 40% Global Majority teachers compared with 85% of students from a similar ethnic background. Hamilton (2021) similarly reports that Black educators are underrepresented in US schools and that this lack is further exacerbated in music education. Supporting this claim, Bates (2019) reported that the Black population represents only 7% of music teachers, whilst accounting for 14% of the US population, whilst only 2% of music teachers were from the Latino population comparative with 18% of the US population. Zippia[2] (2022) reported this year that 73% of music teachers in the US are White, 12% are Hispanic or Latino, 10% are Black or African American, 3% Asian and less than 1% are American Indian and Alaska Native. No existing research was found on UK state school music teachers' ethnicity, showing a lack of knowledge of both the

[2] Zippia is an online recruitment platform who enlist experts in the field of technology, marketing and engineering to gather research, knowledge and tools on a wide variety of career pathways to inform job seekers about what it is like to work in those fields from real world experiences and provide help to meet career goals.

scale of the disparity between student and teacher backgrounds, and the experiences of those involved. The recently published first UK major report on equality, diversity and inclusion in Higher Education music studies (Bull et al., 2022) included some stark findings: data from 2016 to 2020 showed that only 1% of music conservatoire students were Black British, and there were no Black full professors across the UK music higher education sector.

The US and Canada have also led the way with research on ethnic diversity within the Western music curriculum content, reporting the dominance of Whiteness and Eurocentric ideals and a slow pace of change (Bradley, 2007; Hamilton, 2021; Hess, 2018, Robinson, 2017). Bradley has claimed:

> The narrow focus on Western art music found in many university music programs maintains the institution's focus on [W]hite culture. The lack of substantive change in postsecondary music programs (despite profound changes in the school population that music teacher graduates will serve) assures the reproduction of [W]hiteness within music education. (2007, p. 148).

Whiteness in the music curriculum

Colonialism and 'Whiteness' in the curriculum have been hot topics in recent years, with a call to make re-evaluations and challenges in all subjects (Charles, 2019; Sawchuk, 2021). If and how this should be addressed within music education, has been under considerable debate for some time (Campbell, 2002; Collins, 2021). Addressing Whiteness in music education is sometimes misconstrued as an attack on White people. Misconceptions have been fuelled by right ring press and lawmakers pushing for restrictions on the teaching of

critical race theory in schools due to a fear that White children might be dispirited by exposure to the concepts of the theory (Sawchuck, 2021). However, researchers have provided evidence that poor White people can also be disadvantaged by systems of Whiteness in music education (Bates, 2019). Whiteness here refers to an ideology and accompanying culture that privileges some (usually those racialized as White) whilst disadvantaging others (those racialized as non-White, the Global Majority). Whiteness becomes a problem when in this way it is coupled with White supremacy and is forcefully imposed on others (Constantine and Sue, 2006). The result is White privilege, defined as 'the unearned advantages and benefits that accrue to White folks by virtue of a system normed on the experiences, values and perceptions of their group' (Sue, 2003, as cited by Constantine and Sue, 2006, p. 22).

While there is a pressing need to address the imbalance of overwhelming Whiteness in music education, the removal of all Western classical Art music practices from the curriculum would be a simplistic solution that could in fact disadvantage some students and educators, including those from the Global Majority, who would consequently not be nurtured in the skills and practices required of music education culture (Hess, 2017a) and fuel stereotypes that connect certain ethnic groups to distinct genres of music (The Strad, 2021). Instead, it has been suggested that a re-categorization and adjustment to the apparent dominance and power assigned to Western classical music is preferred to eradicating it from curricula (Drummond, 2010; Zamudio et al., 2010). The inclusion and celebration of culturally diverse music practices, as advocated in the research literature (Carter-Enyi et al., 2019; Hamilton, 2021; Sarath, 2018), brings its own challenges, since many music educators and choral directors have been educated through a Eurocentric lens

and so gaps exist in their knowledge of even the most basic music and techniques of non-Western traditions and genres (Cho, 2015). This point gives weight to the argument for more culture bearers in the music classroom (Collins, 2021) who can pass on their knowledge with skill and authenticity, as well as the need for reform and radicalisation in music educator training (Bates, 2019; De Villiers, 2021).

The case for social justice in music education

Promoting social justice in music education has emerged as a strategy for addressing decolonization and the dominance of Whiteness (Bradley, 2007). Bradley asserted that making music education more inclusive can only be achieved by understanding the experiences of the least advantaged: 'discuss[ing] race directly and meaningfully' affords 'valuable opportunities to confront and evaluate the practical consequences of our actions as music educators' (2007, p 137).

Previous attempts, such as world music and multicultural syllabi, to bring attitudes of tolerance and cultural pluralism into the music classroom have been criticized for not going far enough to redress racial inequalities (Bradley, 2006, 2007; Hess, 2017b). In the same way, an attitude of 'colour-blindness' is described as a misplaced gesture that can be more destructive to Global Majority individuals, by discrediting the presence of and difference within distinct cultures (Caldera, 2018; Glazier, 2003; Morrison, 1992; Zamudio et al., 2010). Content based around traditional multiculturalism has been deemed tokenistic and ineffective in removing barriers to musical progression for non-White music students (Bates, 2019; Carter-Enyi et al., 2019; Hess, 2019). Even the more progressive 'culturally responsive education (CRE)' approach, which has been shown considerable support in music education

research and reform (Brook, Upitis and Troop, 2016; Cain and Walden, 2019; Campbell, 2002) has deficiencies as a framework to combat racial discrimination in that it tends to have a skewed emphasis on diversifying content and repertoire rather than addressing method and praxis (Bond, 2017; Brown-Jeffy and Cooper, 2011; Campbell, 2002). Little changes when curriculum content is decolonized but the colonized (Western classical art) framework remains in place (Carver, 2017; Good-Perkins, 2021).

To step away from multiculturalism towards anti-racism is proposed as a more effective approach to addressing racial injustices in the classroom. Hamilton (2021) proposes that the addition of a critical pedagogy to CRE, such as critical race theory (CRT) (Ladson-Billings, 1998) is the key to creating a culturally relevant teaching framework that is empowering to racialized students and will ensure that *how* educators teach is scrutinized to the same extent as *what* they teach.

Growing numbers of researchers are using Critical Race Theory (Bell, 2004) to expose the distinction between 'White people' and 'Whiteness' (Delgado et al., 2017; Gillborn, 2005; Hess, 2017a; Robinson, 2017; Zamudio et al., 2010). CRT is a theoretical framework which examines how race as a social construct interacts with society and citizenship perpetuating racism not just through individual bias and prejudice but via systemic organisations and institutions such as the legal system and education (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In this way CRT is useful for challenging the ideologies, assumptions, institutions and structures of society that can perpetuate racial inequality. Gillborn (2005), for example, used CRT to critique education reform, noting that it was not extreme, outright displays of racism that posed the most danger 'but rather the taken-for-granted routine privileging of White interests that goes unremarked in the political mainstream' (p 485). In the music classroom, this might

include a heavy emphasis on Western classical music content and methods and the lack of exemplified works, composers, genres and praxis from the Global Majority (Hamilton, 2021; Robinson, 2017).

In her ethnographic study of White teachers and Black students, Hyland proposes that a barrier to tackling Whiteness in education is that it is often enforced unintentionally and 'even [by] doing what is seemingly wonderful for students' (2005, p 432). She highlights 'hidden racism in the helper metaphor' (p 440), which allows teachers to remain in a position of power and labels Global Majority students as having special needs, thus perpetuating a racist status quo. Bull (2019) denotes similar problems in her studies on class and gender inequalities in classical music. Bull references the push for membership to after-school orchestras and similar classical programmes as an oblivious act of cultural racism and classism that assumes the cultural inadequacy of 'at risk' groups of children and the need to bring middle-class culture to them. She fears such initiatives 'may end up reinforcing the very inequality that motivates their creation' (p 142). It appears that social justice in music education calls for a dismantling of an ideology of Whiteness and colonialism, in doing so evaluating and challenging historical practices and traditions with a view to better serve *all* students.

There is no doubt that racism is uncomfortable to talk about and not everyone will be as forthright and vociferous as Bradley (2007) who declares her intent to 'interrogate Whiteness within music education, including my own implications in White privilege' (p 138). The difficulties felt by White academics in talking about race issues (Landsman, 2009), together with the lack of Global Majority academics and educators in the UK (Adams, 2020;

Alexander and Arday, 2015), could partially explain why there is a lack of research on this subject regarding music education in the UK – and an urgent need for this to change. The severe underrepresentation of non-White individuals in music education and the overwhelming Whiteness apparent, may well contribute to Global Majority students feeling alienated in the music classroom and failing to make connections between themselves and careers in music.

An intersection between race and class in the disadvantages experienced by some musicians in training has been linked to a culture of Whiteness in the literature. Working class Global Majority music students have reported that not only is the cost of instrumental lessons a barrier to musical progress, so too is the incongruence between music education culture and a person's culture at home (Scharff, 2017). Hamilton (2021) expressed that the dominance of Western Art music and Whiteness in music education leads Black students to believe that they don't belong. The 'other' group-status posed by a normalisation of Whiteness in music education could put Global Majority students at risk of stereotype threat, which can directly affect academic performance and early exit from academia (Ben-Zeev et al., 2017) as well as career aspirations (Casad and Bryant, 2016). Education scholars agree that acknowledging intersections of struggle is important if the goal is to understand and be advocates for the least advantaged (Bates, 2019; Bradley, 2007).

In summary, with little existing research on the experiences of music students and music professionals from the Global Majority in the UK, it is difficult to predict the long-term consequences of the Whiteness of the school music curriculum for this population. My study aims were to explore the extent to which current and former Global Majority students

of music in the UK were aware of and affected by the Whiteness of the curriculum and its delivery, and to consider the impact of this upon their career aspirations and experiences.

On a final note, there is also a gap in UK academia to hear from Global Majority citizens – both as participants (George, Duran and Norris, 2013) and as researchers (Marchais et al., 2020) – and music education is no exception. Hess (2017b) notes that 'the "who" in anti-racist work matters greatly' (p. 184), referencing the resistance that non-White educators and activists often face in comparison to the voice and privileges afforded to White anti-racist allies. The researcher and author of this paper, Natasha Hendry, is a Black mixed-race British woman who has experience learning and working within music industry and education. Supervision of both the study and authoring of this article was provided by Professor Stephanie E Pitts, a White woman working in academia, who supported this project from start to finish from a position of discomfort and challenge in talking about race that has, we suggest, hindered research in this area until very recently. Consequently, a joint decision was made to not include Stephanie's name on the authorship of this paper in order to be a part of the change we wish to see in terms of making way for the voices of Global Majority researchers and educators. Natasha would like to acknowledge deep gratitude to Stephanie for her continued advocacy and support.

Research methods

I took a qualitative approach for this study, befitting its exploratory nature, carrying out 11 one-to-one interviews and two focus groups with three participant groups: teachers, musicians and students.

I collected data using semi-structured in-depth interviews (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin, 2009) with each individual member of the first participant group who comprised five (one dropped out) music teachers in state and private schools in London and the South East of England (see Table 1). Similarly, I interviewed each of the six participants of group two who were London-based performing artists (see Table 1). Of the 11 participants who were teachers and musicians, 10 were Black Caribbean or Black African and one Chinese/Malaysian. Ages ranged from 31 to 42 years with a mean age of 38 years. Participants self-identified as male and female proportionately, with no non-binary or other options specified.

Insert Table 1 here

I arranged two focus groups with ten secondary school students who had a mixed level of engagement with music in school, comprising of four and six participants respectively (see Table 2). Focus groups were chosen as a preferred method of data collection with the young people as a group context has been shown to encourage free-flowing speech, minimized intervention from the researcher and a less intense environment to share views compared with a one-to-one context (Barbor and Kitzinger, 1999). All data collection was carried out remotely via Google Meet video calls due to COVID social-distancing restrictions in place in Spring 2021 when the study took place.

All student participants identified as male and female proportionately, with no non-binary or other options specified. Student participants attended a Church of England secondary (High) school for boys in London (Focus group 1) and a co-educational independent (High) school in the Midlands (Focus group 2); the latter was a fee-paying school, though the majority of the children in Focus group 2 were attending on bursaries. Students were mixed ethnicity including Black African or Black Caribbean, Armenian, Indian and dual-heritage

British White and Indian. Ages ranged between 12 and 14 years with a mean age of 13.5 years (see Table 2).

Insert Table 2 here

I recruited Teachers and musicians via personal contacts and social media platforms, such as music education forums. Students were recruited via a teacher who agreed to participate in the study and a teacher responding to the request for students in a music education forum. Participants were recruited according to two types of purposive sampling (Given, 2008): (a) criterion sampling, whereby all participants were of Global Majority background and participants in group one and two were professional musicians or music teachers in the UK, and (b) maximum variation sampling as group one and two participants were also chosen for their involvement in a wide range of different musical genres (see Table 1).

Whilst recognising that my personal attitudes and beliefs could influence perceptions during interviews and focus groups, it was ultimately deemed that being of the Global Majority as well as a music professional would be an advantage for conducting this research considering the mutuality of experiences and understanding.

Ethical approval for the research was granted by the University of Sheffield and included considerations of safeguarding, confidentiality and anonymity. A teacher or school representative was present on the Google Meet at all times to assist with focus groups should any students become stressed by intense group discussion. Students were encouraged to share their views freely by both myself and the teacher known to them and did not appear to restrain their opinions. I had detailed conversations with the school Head of Music to make sure that all participating students and their carers, understood the

purpose of the research and were assured of the confidentiality of their responses. Participants were assigned codes to anonymize the transcripts, and the performers (instrumentalists and singers) are referred to collectively as 'musicians' in the findings to reduce identifying features. Participants were invited to review their own interview transcripts and data analysis prior to completion of the study.

Analysis

The verbatim interview transcripts were subjected to Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith and Osborn, 2003). I took an idiographic approach to analysis as recommended by Smith (2015), where, first, one interview transcript at a time was looked at in detail, examining each individual experience before moving on to the next. It was not until much later in the process that general claims were developed. Second, I produced an individual table of themes for each participant or focus group, then a further 3 tables of themes grouping together overlapping themes from each group, the *teachers, musicians* and *students* to illuminate similar or shared experiences across their accounts. Third, I constructed a master table of themes bringing together the main themes from the entire data set.

Research findings and discussion

Overview

The findings of this exploratory study connected with the limited existing literature in some respects, notably a culture of Whiteness (Bradley, 2007; Hamilton, 2021; Hess, 2018; Robinson, 2017) and a lack of racial representation in content and educators (Bull et al., 2022; Hyland, 2005; Landsman and Lewis, 2006). An unexpected finding related to

psychological consequences of barriers experienced in music education and industry affecting mental health. The strongest themes revealed by the analysis were *'Barriers'*, *'Psychological effects'* and *'Agency'*

Author's note: I would like to make known that the stories and lived experiences collected in the data set were so vast and rich in depth that I was unfortunately unable to include all of them. I had to carry out the difficult task of deciding which information most related to the research question and would be included in this paper, and hope I do justice to the stories and sentiments of the participants through the content chosen for inclusion.

Superordinate Theme 1: Barriers

1.1 Parents

Barriers for teachers and musicians of the Global Majority started very early on in life and close to home. The data highlighted an intersection of class and race and a world influenced by being the children of first-generation immigrants. The attitudes and beliefs of immigrant parents, notably Black Caribbean and African, were shown to have an opposing dual effect on their children's relationship with music through reports in the data set. Parents were described as simultaneously steering their children away from musical career aspirations, while also providing them with the characteristics and resilience to succeed in music (see 3.1).

Participants described how parents, who had largely immigrated from African or Caribbean countries, some as part of the Windrush generation, had encountered a hard life of lower paid jobs, long hours and prejudice and racism on their arrival in England, which appeared to have a profound effect on parenting style. Parents reportedly encouraged children towards stable professions, that did not include music, with a desire to protect them from the hardships they had encountered. Parents wanted their children to 'do better [than

them]', teacher 2 explains, 'even though they knew I was good at it, it was, when I first brought up the subject of doing like performing arts for A-level that was like, "absolutely not – because you need to go and be a doctor!"' Other parents, I was told, were not able to be involved with nurturing formal music development because of their socioeconomic situations. Participants did not show hostility to their parents for these attitudes, because they understood that they were 'just always in survival mode' (Musician 3).

In this study, the parental styles and beliefs influencing the lives of participants were in some part shaped by past experiences of racial discrimination. Parents are key influencers on musical development (McPherson, 2009; Pitts, 2012) and the interview findings suggest that these experiences and attitudes may have material outcomes for members of the Global Majority in the music industry as they are dissuaded from further education and careers in music. This finding supports the multicultural guidelines of the American Psychological Association (2017) which highlight the importance of taking an ecological approach to research and practice for studies on race and ethnicity, taking into consideration matters of context, identity and intersectionality (APA, 2017). The APA multicultural guidelines (2017) assert that researchers should take into account the role of historical context and hardship in contributing to institutional barriers, which could include systemic racism. This study, accordingly, acknowledges that the described experiences have shaped the identities and attitudes of those who have come into contact with such oppression and can be passed on through generations.

1.2 Lack of diversity and racial representation

The teachers' experiences illustrated various issues related to race representation in the music curriculum, notably a lack of diversity and a 'heavy-weighting toward Western classical music' (Teacher 5). Some argued that a paucity of diversity within curriculum decision-makers perpetuated a cycle of lack of change:

> A lot of people who end up writing the textbooks and writing the exams and all that are the products of that particular conveyor belt of education, so it's understandable in a way. But of course, it's a vicious cycle. If you [...] don't teach kids about that in school, then the music teachers from the new generations are not going to know about it and won't be able to teach it. (Teacher 5)

Bradley et al. (2007) recognized this cycle in their research in the US and expressed a concern for the next generation of music teachers who the researchers claim are being trained to perpetuate a lack of diversity in music education. Teachers and musicians also reflected on a lack of diversity and representation in the music industry that made it harder to give positive examples to students:

> [Western] classical music has been the last of the arts to really understand and take up what diversity is … it hasn't infiltrated classical music because we're still perpetuating these things and calling them tradition. (Musician 1)

When representation was attempted in the curriculum, teachers identified it as more of an effort at multiculturalism than breaking down racial barriers, mirroring findings in the literature (Bond, 2017; Carver, 2017; Good-Perkins, 2021). They expressed that some efforts offered a monolithic and stereotypical view of Black music, such as the go-to inclusion of African drumming in the syllabus. Student participants also appeared to make a

connection between Western classical music and 'White culture': 'the songs and the things that we're taught are very much White' (Student 6).

A lack of student racial representation was also evident in the music classroom in terms of teachers. 'All my [music] teachers were White' (Teacher3) was a sentiment paraphrased by every adult participant in this study and a large proportion of the students. Teacher 2 noted the disparity between ethnic diversity in pupils and teachers in today's schools that is well documented in the HM Government (2020) Department for Education report: 'until I came along, or at the particular school that I'm working with at the minute, I'm the only person of colour in the faculty, but they've got so many kids in that school who are not White' (Teacher2).

Experiences shared with me by participants put forward a compelling argument for the need for more Black and ethnically diverse teachers in music education. Black teachers told me they felt they can connect with and talk to Black students 'in a way that my White counterparts can't' (Teacher 2), a point of view evidenced in the wider literature (Haque and Elliott, 2017; Villegas and Irvine, 2010).

> To have a teacher who is of colour, who is Black, who can really connect with students for specific topics, which are actually very powerful, is important. (Teacher 3)

Participants in this study generally believed that access to Black [and Global Majority] teachers in their childhood, no matter how limited, had a positive impact on them and their music education.

> I know from growing up, if there was a Black teacher, Black music teacher or musician or any kind of experience, I was like, you know … "tell me more, I wanna learn", because I could identify with that person, you know. (Teacher 1)

Students too expressed that if there were more ethnically diverse teachers, they would bring something extra to music education and have more awareness of the Global Majority students in the classroom:

> I think the main reason why there's not enough representation in class, is because there's no one to represent it for us. Like many of our teachers are…mainly White so, if they're the ones that are helping build the curriculum…they wouldn't necessarily think, "oh yeah, let's think of the two people in our class that are Black or Asian". (Student 6)

Musicians and teachers reflected on how a lack of representation in their music education shaped their aspirations and self-efficacy later on in life: 'If you don't see people that look like you doing something, it doesn't cross your mind that you can do it' (Teacher 5). Lack of representation in the music education system appeared to be mirroring the music industry:

> Most of the time in my career, I've been the only Black guy in the room. And I'm not talking in the band, I mean the whole room, so, lights, sound, band, make-up, hair, wardrobe, runners, stage-crew, even the stagehands that come in. (Musician 2)

Whilst being in the minority is not an example of racism in itself, it can nonetheless have a negative effect on wellbeing (Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey, 1999). Participants expressed how this made them feel: 'there have been some situations in very White settings

where I felt very awkward and uncomfortable' (Teacher 3). Others commented on the seemingly immutable and persistent narrative of a lack of racial representation in music they had experienced across their lives; 'the only Black people I saw at school were the cleaners', '[as an adult I was often] the only Black person in the whole tour' [Musician 5). Hamilton (2021) warned 'this lack of visible minority role models for Black students has serious implications for the future of music education' (p 22).

The experiences of the musicians evidenced under-representation in all areas of the music industry, including the wider workforce surrounding Black music. This was particularly apparent in terms of senior and gate-keeper roles such as casting directors. Musician 6 worked in a major West End musical centred around a Black story and commented on the fact that it was 'a whole Black show written by a Black woman, about a Black woman, and the only Black people who are involved in it are the cast!' (Musician 6). When a lack of representation was experienced in Black music settings, participants felt particularly devalued and exploited: 'it's like they want our sound but not us' (Teacher 2). This was a sentiment shared with me by numerous participants. These findings support the wider evidence that achieving change in the music industry is impeded by the lack of members of the Global Majority in senior roles, without whom there remains a limited understanding of culturally diverse experiences of the profession (Black Lives in Music, 2021).

1.3 Normalizing of Whiteness

Closely related to lack of multi-ethnic representation is the ideology of normalized Whiteness in the data (Bradley et al., 2007; Hess, 2021; Hyland, 2005). However, student participants were starkly unaware that this might be a problem, with one professing, 'you

do need to learn about the classical music, we can't just change the entire curriculum for coloured[3] people' (Student 7). Adult participants too used phrases that suggested an acceptance of the dominance of Eurocentric ideals when they were at school and a normalizing of Whiteness, for example, 'that's not their fault, it's just how it was' (Teacher 3), and 'as a child you just do what the teacher tells you, so you don't think "am I being represented or underrepresented?"' (Teacher 4).

Musicians and teachers reflected on a growing awareness that came when they were much older: 'I never felt like it wasn't a level playing field until I finished school' (Musician 3). The student participants, meanwhile, showed apathy and unawareness surrounding race representation: 'in a way it doesn't matter' (Student 2). The Global Majority students displayed an acceptance of the status quo and a lack of consideration towards how they might be in any way disadvantaged by the existing state of affairs. This generation of learners appeared to be more oblivious to the occurrence and effects of racial inequality, perhaps both as a consequence of being further removed from the overt acts of racism their grandparents experienced, but more poignantly as a result of normalized Whiteness they experience all around them. The comparison of the students' views with the later

[3] It was shocking to hear the term 'coloured' used in one of the focus group discussions, more so because it was used by a Black teenager. 'Coloured' was considered an offensive term when both authors were at school due to the links with colonialism and apartheid but was used here without apparent connection to historic racism. The term was kept in the transcripts not to offend anyone or embarrass the participant who was likely referring to 'people of different colours', but to highlight the ways in which language often presents a barrier to discourse on the subject of race. The following advice confirmed the decision to not edit out this terminology: 'The important point when using and discussing words for talking about 'race' is to be continually receptive and sensitive to the words that other people use and their reactions to yours' [https://www.lawsociety.org.uk/en/topics/ethnic-minority-lawyers/a-guide-to-race-and-ethnicity-terminology-and-language]

realisations of the adult participants shows the need for further investigation of the possible long-term effects of the acceptance of under-representation and the ideology of Whiteness.

Further analysis showed that the musical roles and opportunities open to the Global Majority were limited by stereotyping, which kept some spaces normalized as White by protecting them from an ethnically diverse presence:

> I confuse people and that was one of the things that came out of my doing my Musical Theatre diploma, they don't understand people like me, I'm not the right type of Black for them… I've been given notes before to 'be more Black'...and I'm like... what does that mean? (Teacher 2)

Amongst the adult musician participants, stated claims of having not experienced any racial barriers in music education were presented alongside examples of being 'the only Black person in the orchestra' (Teacher 3). Acceptance of the status quo appeared to mask the possibility of potential disadvantage or discrimination. One participant recalled being dissuaded from playing a woodwind instrument 'because my lips were apparently too big', but explained although he felt 'gutted', 'I don't know if I want to call it racism or anything like that…I still talk to that teacher to this day and we get on absolutely great' (Teacher3). These comments suggest a normalizing of being othered and marginalized. For the past students, these types of microaggressions, as they would be called today, had evidently been difficult to characterize as racism at the time, without the language to name what many simply described as 'a feeling'. On later reflection, adult participants who had been through the UK music education system expressed a clearer view: 'I finished school [and]

looked back and realized new things' (Musician3). Musician 2 states, 'I just know the pathway for me if I had White skin would just be different'.

Superordinate Theme 2: Psychological effects

Where much past research has made the link between barriers faced by Global Majority students in music education and a lack of engagement and progression in musical careers (Bradley et al., 2007; Hamilton, 2021; Hess, 2019, 2021; Robinson, 2017), this study highlights the lesser explored consequence on mental health. Numerous interrelated psychological effects associated with the multiple barriers discussed under Theme 1 were experienced by musicians and teachers as members of the Global Majority throughout their education and careers.

2. 1 Not belonging and not fitting in

A sense of not belonging or fitting into their musical environments due to race, was expressed by all musician participants and most teachers: 'I've always been aware I'm a Black person in classical music' (Musician 1), and 'I know I'm not going to fit into one world' (Musician 3). This had often had an adverse psychological effect on participants: 'so I think psychologically there is that feeling of "oh ok, there is no space for me"' (Musician 4). The lack of acceptance and belonging was described by one participant as a 'battle that you're fighting through in your head' (Musician 4). Some adult participants reported adopting multiple identities in order to navigate the spaces in which they felt marginalized. Typically, this involved acting in a way that was expected of them, rather than being their whole authentic self.

> I didn't used to have this accent, I mean I used to have quite a thick accent…moving, going to music college…I brushed it over to articulate, to fit into this, what I saw at the time as an 18-year-old, very middle-class profession. (Musician 1)

Others reported needing 'to dumb myself down a lot to get on' (Teacher 2) or experiencing self-censorship: 'I don't feel like 100% me and I'm censoring myself in different situations and that has a psychological effect on me' (Musician 3). Teacher 1 referred to this as 'playing the game' and explained how he had been taught the rules of 'the game' via his parents, again born out of their experiences of racism.

Participants' multiple identities were not always self-appointed but could also be imposed upon them through stereotypes. This was apparent early on in school music education as well as in musical career experiences. Musician 6 recalls, 'I absolutely fell in love with classical music, but was pushed into jazz'. Teachers 1 and 2 spoke about how young Black boys can be at risk of stereotype threat in schools when they are restricted by what is expected of them, and diverted away from the 'Whiteness' of classical music to 'like other things' (Teacher 2):

> I think if we empower our kids to be themselves, not to feel they have to emulate a certain stereotype…I think they'll achieve so much more than we'd ever even think, more than they would think of and, you know, this whole cultural diversity will just blow up. (Teacher 1)

This statement suggests that a release from conforming to stereotypes and enforced multiple identities could be pivotal in driving forward diversity and inclusion. The 'glass-ceiling effect' was frequently mentioned as participants described invisible barriers and a

‘stunting’ (Musician 2) of career options, that left them despondent and lacking belief in themselves and the industry.

2.2 Low self-belief and mental strain

A lack of self-belief was strongly reported by the music teacher participants, who despite being competent in multiple instruments, having completed numerous graded music examinations and received music scholarships, doubted themselves to the point that many did not opt to engage in further music education. Teacher 1 explained, ‘I didn’t think my [music] theory was up to scratch’ and Teacher 2 simply said, ‘I didn’t think I was good enough’. The musician group, likewise, included MOBO (Musicians of Black Origin) [4]award winners, musicians with sold-out stadium tours, and members of some of the most renowned orchestras in the world. Nonetheless, Musician 1 stated that ‘Still even now I get huge amounts of imposter syndrome […] I just didn’t think I was good enough’ (Musician 1). The second Mode of Influencing in Bandura’s (1990) model of Self-Efficacy shows how seeing people who are like yourself achieving goals increases self-efficacy, and these participants provide numerous examples of how, if Global Majority role models had been visible to them, ‘my mindset about what I am capable of would be different’ (Teacher 1).

The sense of having to ‘play the game’ and ‘work twice as hard for half as much’ (Teacher 2), as immigrant Black parents repeatedly asserted to the participants of this study, is a huge weight for Global Majority people in musical careers to bear alongside their usual occupational stressors:

[4] The MOBO Awards are an annual British music award presentation honouring achievement in "music of black origin", including hip hop, grime, UK Drill, R&B, soul, reggae, jazz, gospel, and African music. https://www.mobo.com/content/about-us

> If I'm the Black one in amongst a sea of White faces and I do something out of line, I'm the one you're going to remember…I have to be a little bit better behaved sometimes. (Musician 1)

This was an accepted pressure by many participants, whereby 'you have to do everything that you can do to show that you're still the best person despite your race' (Teacher 4). Musician 2 expressed the weight of responsibility he often felt,

> 'I knew all these young black [instrument] players and musicians were watching me because I'm the black guy that managed to get on that platform. He's the only black guy in the band again. So, if I screw up, I'm screwing up for everybody and that's legit what was going through my head'.

Previous literature evidences an additional 'hidden workload' for members of the Global Majority based around navigating racial inequalities (Tereshchenko, Mills and Bradbury, 2020), and this was keenly felt by our participants, with consequences for health and wellbeing.

Superordinate Theme 3: Sources of agency

Participants pointed to sources of agency around them that contributed to boosting a belief in their own ability to progress in music and additionally provided them with musical skills in a way that their music education had not. Informal music learning in church and community settings was heavily reported by Black musician and teacher participants and included skills absent from the music curriculum such as improvisation and playing by ear.

3.1 Black culture

A strong finding in this study was how much Black culture provided a sense of agency for the progression of Global Majority people in music education and musical careers. Many teachers and musicians described the Black Pentecostal church as an informal musical training ground which offered their first and most comprehensive music learning: 'I think I learned to harmonize definitely in church, I learned to sing in the car with my mum when she played Shirley Caesar'[5] (Musician 5).

> Playing in church, just flowing, during the worship becomes a part of your DNA, so essentially you're making up songs on the spot, just putting chords together and all that kind of stuff. (Musician 2)

Participants described to me how informally learned musical skills such as improvisation and playing by ear, were often admired by teachers and music colleagues. Musician 2 remembered being asked to play improvised music on the piano as students arrived for the school assembly in place of an absent teacher, a skill he learned playing in church. School teaching staff responded with surprise, '"oh my gosh...how do you guys play by ear?" like [you] church musicians?' (Musician 2).

Support for the church community being a source of empowerment to Black people can be found in the literature. Byfield (2008) claims that the church offers Black people a cultural and social capital that helps them to succeed. Byfield studied the effect of the church on the academic success of US and UK Black students finding that the church is 'a place for

[5] Pastor Shirley Caesar is an US gospel singer, songwriter and recording artist, who was honoured with a Grammy Lifetime Achievement award in 2017.

skills development and nurturing' (p 195) which provides positive Black role models within the congregation who build esteem and aspiration in younger members. A real sense comes through the data that in spite of doubts and wounded self-belief, the adult participants were proud of their achievements as musicians of colour.

> So yeah, of course, people probably do see me as a Black musician [as opposed to just a musician], but you know, I wear Black with a capital B, it's part of who I am. I own that Blackness, so I'm very happy for people to identify me as a Black musician and a good Black musician. (Musician 1)

> This supports earlier evidence that pride in Blackness is part of Black resilience (Byfield, 2008) and a key factor in Black achievement.

Participants also reported often being unaware that they had skills that were coveted by formally trained musicians:

> I didn't realize that they looked at me the same way [I looked at them] and thought I was amazing and so clever, because I could hear things without seeing them written down. (Musician 5)

Hess (2021) calls for a wider appreciation of musical skills in music education outside of formal Westernized music theory, for example a turn towards aurality, noting the prevalence of oral tradition in many other cultures. This could give value to students who do not necessarily fit middle-class music education culture and be used as a means to 'unsettle Whiteness' (p 18).

Musicians and teachers also described to me how music was heavily involved in their early development via parents, home-life and community gatherings:

> I think it was unintentionally encouraged [into music] because it was such a huge part of family gatherings. Ghanaian Hall parties were like a huge thing when I was growing up… it was like, you know, one big family. (Musician 3)

3.2 Teachers, mentors and opportunities

Many participants reported that a supportive mentor or teacher had acted as a significant person in their development by championing them and 'going the extra mile' for them with regards to their education and music development. In school this was usually a White person, outside of school it tended to be someone who was Black. This 'someone' believing in them was immensely powerful in terms of encouraging them to have belief in themselves and giving them the direction and confidence to take steps towards the next part of their musical journeys.

> I had some really influential teachers, who pushed me to go in that direction, where my own faith in my own ability lacked, they made up for it (Musician 1)

> My actual GCSE[6] music teacher took me under her wing, quite literally, after-school rehearsals, she contacted my mum, and mentored me. Said "you can play, you can

[6] General Certificate of Secondary Education, the elective examination in Music offered to 14-16 year olds in most UK schools.

> do this, this is how you do it", and really taught me the way I needed to be taught, which I understand now, as a teacher. (Teacher 1)

Musician 1 explained that teachers and mentors 'who've had faith in me along the way, has been the best support that you can have'. My findings suggest that White allies who are willing to 'stand in the gap' and take an invested interest in Global Majority students have a strong enabling influence and are a key to lasting change in the music profession that can begin in the school environment, alongside culturally relevant community support.

Performance opportunities and job offers in addition to moral support gave, musician 3 offered, 'a glimpse into the future'. In the words of musician 1, these openings pointed the way towards 'opportunities that I wouldn't know where to look for'. Tangible support like this appeared to be vital, including scholarships and financial help. Despite the abundance of accounts of informal musical learning, my findings did not report a desire to abandon formal education practices altogether. Many adult musician participants expressed a wish to have learned an instrument or how to read music in their childhood had they had better access. Many of the musician participants reported having financial barriers to instrumental lessons, and some of the teacher participants relied on instrument loan schemes to initially learn their craft. Subsidized instrumental lessons are therefore important to address the intersections of class and race apparent in the data from this study. The opportunities, mentorship and encouragement experienced by successful musicians and teachers were often, for legitimate reasons, not provided in the home, making their availability in schools all the more important.

Conclusions and implications

This study has highlighted the normalizing of Whiteness in the music curriculum and exposed its long-term consequences in terms of musical behaviour, musical identity and mental health for Global Majority musicians who make it into musical careers. The changing but pervasive nature of racism is evidenced in this study via composites of White privilege, implicit bias and microaggressions. Findings revealed a lower level of awareness of racial inequalities in music education than anticipated amongst students and were often perceived by musicians and teachers only in retrospect. This raises further questions about how to address and challenge race issues in the music classroom and mitigate the potential harm that was apparent in Global Majority teachers and musicians, given the more subtle mechanisms at work. Present students' unawareness could result in them being ill-prepared for a future in which their race and ethnicity will bring particular pressures and responsibilities in a slowly-changing culture. The risks for policy and practice in minimizing the recognition of racism in music education are profound.

The message is clear, that representation matters, diversity and accessibility matter, and viewing them with an anti-racist eye is necessary for a more inclusive music curriculum if we are to dismantle the invisible barriers that Whiteness yields. My research substantiates claims in the literature that the music industry too has a responsibility to play a part in addressing racial inequalities in music (Dei, 2000). This study shows that improvements to race issues in the music industry, such as representation of Global Majority people in a diverse range of roles, including senior and 'gate-keeper' positions, would not only positively affect the lives of Global Majority people with musical careers but also filter down

into music education. A surge of interest and activism surrounding Black and Global Majority lives caused by the racially-motivated violence and atrocities of 2020 has emerged, bringing with it an opportunity, and indeed a responsibility, for action within the domains we occupy. As new research by and for the marginalized makes way for their voices to be heard, it remains to be seen if they are listened to and what action ensues.

The Global Majority participants in this study expressed the desire to have the freedom to bring their whole selves into the room – their colour, their culture, their backgrounds, their true selves. This I consider not only important for them but also future generations of Global Majority people with implications beyond music education and careers, but also pertaining to their mental health. I finish this article with the powerful and empowering statement of Musician 1, and a hope that with changes to our music classrooms and the music industry, everyone will have the freedom to feel like this:

> I'm going to come into the space and I'm going to bring my Blackness with me, and you are going to acknowledge it, because it's a part of who I am. It's a part that for so long, I've not necessarily been ashamed of but, we kind of, we just don't talk about it...So, I mean I don't care what anybody else thinks, I bring my Blackness, I own my Blackness and I'll bring it with me.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1.Participant identity is anonymized. See Tables 1 and 2 for participant data.

The indices of deprivation 2000 report had to be sourced from the National Archives (https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100407204456/http://www.communities.gov.uk/archived/general-content/communities/indicesofdeprivation/indicesofdeprivation/)

References

Adams, R. (2020), Fewer than 1% of university professors are Black. *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/feb/27/fewer-than-1-of-ukuniversity-professors-are-black-figures-show [Accessed 5th April 2021].

Alexander, C. E., & Arday, J. (Eds) (2015), Aiming higher: Race, inequality and diversity in the academy. *Runnymede Trust.*

American Psychological Association. (2017), *Multicultural Guidelines: An Ecological Approach to Context, Identity, and Intersectionality.* https://www.apa.org/about/policy/multicultural-guidelines.pdf [Accessed 13th April 2021].

Bandura, A. (1990), Perceived self-efficacy in the exercise of personal agency. *Journal of applied sport psychology*, 2:2, pp. 128-163.

Barbor, R.S., & Kitzinger, J. (Eds.). (1999), Developing focus group research. *Politics, theory and Practice*. Sage.

Bates, V. C. (2019) Standing at the Intersection of Race and Class in Music Education. *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education*, 18:1, pp. 117–160. https://doi.org/10.22176/act18.1.117

Bell, D. (2004), *Race, racism, and American law*. Aspen Pub.

Ben-Zeev, A., Paluy, Y., Milless, K. L., Goldstein, E. J., Wallace, L., Márquez-Magaña, L., Bibbins-Domingo, K., & Estrada, M. (2017), 'Speaking truth' protects underrepresented minorities' intellectual performance and safety in STEM. *Education Sciences,* 7:2, p. 65. https://10.3390/educsci7020065

Black Lives in Music (BLiM) Report. (2021), *Music Creators & Music Industry Professionals: Part 1 Being Black in the UK Music Industry.* https://blim.org.uk/report/ [Accessed 13th October 2021]

Bond, V.L., (2017), Culturally responsive education in music education: A literature review. *Contributions to Music Education*, *42*, pp. 153-180.

Bradley, D. (2006), Music education, multiculturalism and anti-racism: Can we talk. *Action, criticism, and theory for music education*, 5:2, pp. 2-30.

Bradley, D. (2007), The sounds of silence: Talking race in music education. *Action, criticism, and theory for music education*, 6:4, pp. 132-162.

Bradley, D., Golner, R., & Hanson, S. (2007), Unlearning Whiteness, rethinking race issues in graduate music education. *Music Education Research*, 9:2, pp. 293–304. https://doi.org/10.1080/14613800701384516

Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999), Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *77*:1, pp. 135.

Brook, J., Upitis, R., & Troop, M. (2016), Developing responsive curricula for studio music instruction in Canada. Problems in Music Pedagogy, 15:1, p 7-21.

Brown-Jeffy, S. and Cooper, J.E., (2011), Toward a conceptual framework of culturally relevant pedagogy: An overview of the conceptual and theoretical literature. *Teacher education quarterly*, 38:1, pp. 65-84.

Bull, A. (2019), *Class, Control, and Classical Music*. Oxford University Press.

Bull, A, Bhachu, D, Blier-Carruthers, A, Bradley, A and James,S. (2022), *Slow Train Coming? Equality, Diversity and Inclusion in UK Music Higher Education*. Equality, Diversity and Inclusion in Music Studies network.

Byfield, C., (2008), The impact of religion on the educational achievement of Black boys: A UK and USA study. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29:2, pp. 189-199.

Cain, M., & Walden, J. (2019), Musical diversity in the classroom: Ingenuity and integrity in sound exploration. British Journal of Music Education, 36:1, p 5-19.

Caldera, A., (2018), Woke pedagogy: A framework for teaching and learning. *Diversity, Social Justice, and the Educational Leader*, 2:3, p.1.

Campbell, P. S. (2002), Music education in a time of cultural transformation. Music Educators Journal, 89:1, pp. 27-32.

Carter-Ényì, Q., Carter-Ényì, A., & Hylton, K. N. (2019), How we got into drum circles, and how to get out: De-essentializing african music: Canadian journal of music. Intersections, 39:1

Carver, M. (2017), Knowledge transfer: Indigenous African music in the South African music curriculum. *African Music: Journal of the International Library of African Music*, 10:3, p 119-141.

Casad, B. J., & Bryant, W. J. (2016), Addressing Stereotype Threat is Critical to Diversity and Inclusion in Organizational Psychology. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *7*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00008

Charles, E. (2019), Decolonizing the curriculum. *Insights*, 32:1, pp. 24. https://doi.org/10.1629/uksg.475

Cho, R. (2015), Cultural appropriation and choral music: A conversation that can make both our music and community better. Choral Journal, 55:10, pp. 59-63.

Collins, M. (2021), Decolonizing the music room. The Canadian Music Educator, 62:4, p 6-7.

Constantine, M.G. and Sue, D.W. eds., (2006), *Addressing racism: Facilitating cultural competence in mental health and educational settings*. John Wiley & Sons.

Dei, G. S. (2000), *Power, knowledge and anti-racism education*, Halifax: Nova Scotia, Fernwood Publishing.

De Villiers, R., (2021), The Force Field Model applied to a Music Education teacher training framework in a South African context. *British Journal of Music Education*, *38*(3), pp. 219-233

Delgado, R., Stefancic, J., & Harris, A. (2017), *Critical Race Theory (Third Edition): An Introduction*. New York University Press.

Drummond, J. (2010), Re-thinking Western Art Music: A perspective shift for music educators. *International Journal of Music Education*, 28:2, pp. 117–126. https://doi.org/10.1177/0255761410362854

George, S., Duran, N., & Norris, K. (2013), A systematic review of barriers and facilitators to minority research participation among African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders. *American Journal of Public Health*, 104:2, pp. 16–31. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2013.301706

Gillborn*, D. (2005), Education policy as an act of white supremacy: Whiteness, critical race theory and education reform. *Journal of Education Policy*, 20:4, pp. 485–505. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930500132346

Given, L. M. (2008), *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods [electronic resource]*. SAGE.

Glazier, J. A. (2003), Moving closer to speaking the unspeakable: White teachers talking about race. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 30:1, pp. 73. http://www.proquest.com/docview/222854413/abstract/2AE90CC204934D9DPQ/1

Good-Perkins, E., (2021), Culturally sustaining music education and epistemic travel. *Philosophy of Music Education Review,* 29:1*,* pp.47-66.

Hamilton, D. (2021), #BlackMusicMatters: Dismantling anti-black racism in music education. The Canadian Music Educator, 62:2, pp. 16-28.

Haque, Z., & Elliot, S. (2017), Visible and Invisible Barriers: the impact of racism on BME teachers. *London: National Union of Teachers.* https://neu.org.uk/media/2936/view

Hess, J. (2017a), Equity and Music Education: Euphemisms, Terminal Naivety, and Whiteness. *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education*, 16:3, pp. 15–47. https://doi.org/10.22176/act16.3.15

Hess, J. (2017b), Critiquing the critical: The casualties and paradoxes of critical pedagogy in music education. Philosophy of Music Education Review, 25:2, pp. 171-191

Hess, J. (2018), Troubling Whiteness: Music education and the "messiness" of equity work. *International Journal of Music Education*, 36:2, pp. 128–144. https://doi.org/10.1177/0255761417703781

Hess, J. (2019), *Music education for social change: Constructing an activist music education*. Routledge.

Hess, J. (2021), Becoming an anti-racist music educator: Resisting whiteness in music education. Music Educators Journal, 107:4, pp. 14-20. https://10.1177/00274321211004695

HM Government. Department for Education. (2020), *Ethnicity Facts and Figures. School Teacher Workforce* [online]. Available from: https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/workforce-and-business/workforce-diversity/school-teacher-workforce/latest [Accessed 21st March 2021]

Hyland, N. E. (2005), Being a Good Teacher of Black Students? White Teachers and Unintentional Racism. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 35:4, pp. 429–459. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-873X.2005.00336.x

Ladson-Billings, G., (1998), Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education?. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 11:1, pp.7-24.

Landsman, J. (2009), *A White Teacher Talks about Race*. R&L Education.

Landsman, J., & Lewis, C. W. (2006), *White Teachers, Diverse Classrooms: A Guide to Building Inclusive Schools, Promoting High Expectations, and Eliminating Racism*. Stylus Publishing, LLC.

Marchais, G., Bazuzi, P. and Amani Lameke, A., (2020), 'The data is gold, and we are the gold-diggers': whiteness, race and contemporary academic research in eastern DRC. *Critical African Studies*, 12:3, pp. 372-394.

McPherson, G. E. (2009), The role of parents in children's musical development. *Psychology of Music*, 37:1, pp. 91–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0305735607086049

Morrison, T., (1994), Playing in the dark: Whiteness and the literary imagination. *Modern Philology*, 92:2, pp.267-271.

Pitts, S. (2012), *Chances and Choices: Exploring the Impact of Music Education*. Oxford University Press.

Rhodes, D. (2017), [online] *Schools need 68,000 extra BME teachers to reflect Population.* BBC News. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-40568987 [Accessed April 22nd 2021]

Robinson, D., (2017), A Labor of Love: A Rationale and Second Grade Music Curriculum for a More Just and Equitable World. *Topic for Music Education Praxis*, pp.75-116.

Sarath, E. (2018), *Black music matters: Jazz and the transformation of music studies.* Rowman & Littlefield.

Sawchuk, S. (2021), *Education Week* https://www.edweek.org/leadership/what-is-critical-race-theory-and-why-is-it-under-attack/2021/05 [Accessed 21st June 2021]

Scharff, C. (2017), *Gender, Subjectivity, and Cultural Work: The Classical Music Profession*. Routledge.

Smith, J. A. (2015), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., Larking, M. (2009), Interpretive phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research. London, UK: SAGE.

Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2003), Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* pp. 51–80). Sage Publications, Inc.

Tereshchenko, A., Mills, M., and Bradbury, A. (2020), Making progress? Employment and retention of BAME teachers in England. London: UCL Institute of Education.

The Strad, (2021), *Black America: A race for change* https://www.thestrad.com/playing-and-teaching/black-america-a-race-for-change/13766.article [Accessed 19 November 2022]

Villegas, A. M., & Irvine, J. J. (2010), Diversifying the teaching force: An examination of major arguments. *The Urban Review*, 42:3, pp. 175-192.

Zamudio, M., Russell, C., Rios, F. and Bridgeman, J.L., (2011), *Critical race theory matters: Education and ideology*. Routledge.

Zippia, 8 Sept (2022), The Career Expert. *Music teacher demographics and statistics in the US* https://www.zippia.com/music-teacher-jobs/demographics/ [Accessed 18th November 2022]