

Examining the Ideological Tension and Institutional Constraint of Implementing Hip-Hop-Based Music Education within the Formal Academic Space

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Abstract *This chapter examines the practices, experiences, and narratives of a teaching artist working within a Hip-Hop-Based Education (HHBE) music composition program in Chicago. Using in-depth interviews and classroom observation, it applies qualitative methods to examine the ideological conflicts between host institutions, the program's objectives, and the teaching artist's interpretations of an authentic Hip-Hop music-making experience. This case study focuses on how administrative expectations (or lack thereof) for Hip-Hop's utility in standards of achievement greatly influences how the learning in Hip-Hop programs is, or is not, taking place. It also explores the additional work many Hip-Hop teaching artists undertake to ensure they effectively reach their students. It concludes with the argument that HHBE research must move beyond approaches focused on closing achievement gaps and do more to explain how educational organizations and their practices often inhibit proper implementation of HHBE programs.*

Background and Introduction

Over the last twenty years, several scholars have written extensively about the benefits of Hip-Hop-Based Education (HHBE) programs in formal learning environments (see Petchauer 2015). In creating frameworks that explain the course of action or preferred approach of HHBE, empirical research has consistently linked these programs to critical pedagogy and culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings 1995), identifying them as a great means to teaching social justice or youth activism by addressing dominant issues of race,

racism, and oppression in the lived experience of African American students. Numerous scholars have also produced evidence that suggests the power of Hip-Hop-themed interventions to drive self-empowerment and academic efficacy with underperforming students (Emdin 2010; Hill/Petchauer 2013; Love 2015). These studies have almost exclusively focused on the positive socioemotional outcomes of the students, while expanding on theories of linguistics and emphasizing the capacity that HHBE has to help instructors build rapport/trust within their classrooms (see Petchauer 2009).

However, several book projects have provided models of how we might begin to reconceptualize the purpose of public education and develop Hip-Hop pedagogies with a more critical, liberatory lens (Low 2011; Seidel 2011; Hill/Petchauer 2013; Emdin/Adjapong 2018). Even though there is a well-acknowledged breadth of academic work claiming that successful implementation of Hip-Hop artistic practices within a core subject is plausible, research has yet to fully address the ways in which music teachers negotiate the ideological tension presented by implementing material that many consider to belong in social spaces of “play” and making it the central theme for a “serious” music classroom (Love 2015). The current study aims to add to that legacy by exploring the successes and challenges of using Hip-Hop for music education and teaching digital media literacy in academic spaces.

This chapter addresses those concerns by exploring the narratives of a teaching artist (Malcolm Y.) employed by a Hip-Hop-Based Education program being piloted in Chicago public elementary schools. Employing informal conversations, in-class observations, and in-depth interviews, the paper explores the ideological tensions of teaching Hip-Hop music-making as a formal school subject. In the following sections, I suggest that while school administrators generally feel this type of class offering is based in the cultural-linguistic reality of their students, teaching artists still find that their instructional freedom is marginalized within the academic spaces they serve. In investigating how one teacher mitigated these obstacles, this case study focuses on how implementing HBBE in music education, inasmuch as it takes place in classrooms and is mediated by codified and standardized pedagogical material, involves new challenges and paradoxes for teachers, who strive to inform their teaching by the traditions, ideologies, and ideals of their personal experiences in Hip-Hop artistic communities of practice.

Schooling Hip-Hop: Challenges to Implementation

Since behaviors and representations associated with Hip-Hop identities are frequently punished in school (e.g., Alim 2011), it is logical that “oppositional” students might use expressions of Hip-Hop identity to subvert authority in school. Moreover, many students of color may gain more credibility from their peers and gain a “defiant” school identity by associating with Hip-Hop culture (Evans 2019). Despite this, academic work has yet to fully operationalize the ways in which teachers of Hip-Hop/rap music composition negotiate the ideological tension presented by teaching what many consider to belong in social spaces of play and making it the central theme for a serious classroom. For this reason, it seems, the learning value of formal classrooms that allow the creation of Hip-Hop music with themes driven by students rather than instructors has rarely been depicted in empirical research.

The necessary duality in teaching popular artistic practices in academic spaces is obvious given that art is inherently related to creativity but struggles with constraints of academic core standards. For example, Ethan Wilf (2012, 2013) argues that the integration of jazz in formal music education is a case where individual and collective actors negotiate and struggle around a certain standard of creativity. Situating those findings in terms of Hip-Hop music, Seidel (2011) argues that when considering the engagement and motivation of urban youth of color, education scholars, practitioners, and policymakers could benefit from paying more attention to the organic sites of Hip-Hop cultural production outside of schools. Though institutionalizing Hip-Hop musical practices into music education might seem a paradox, when teaching artists work within educational institutions, they often employ formal learning strategies in their teaching, combining this with their own personal informal training in Hip-Hop communities of practice (Kruse 2016). Hence, it seems as if traditional music and contemporary popular music practices act in a dialectic way, which indicates that Hip-Hop teaching artists with formal music training combine the two to provide a more dynamic form of musical pedagogy.

That said, learning activities based in Hip-Hop music are also not automatically effective for all Black youth. As a prime example, Ayanna Brown (2019) showed how some educators utilizing Hip-Hop within standard history classes did not take into account the personal connection and history that their Black male students might (or might not) have with Hip-Hop culture. She concluded that this was an example of how modern teachers make decisions to use rap

music in their lesson plans that are misguided by cultural assumptions that encourage them to believe that rap music, in all cases, is a useful bridge to academic literacy for Black youth.

Overall, scholarship has elucidated that HHBE continues to aid personal development as well as social development for Black youth in many settings. Still, rap music also remains stereotyped by school administrators and instructors as a negative and antisocial artform. Given these conflicts, more work is needed to delineate how teachers of HHBE can prove to meet both the demands of their employers and passions of their students.

Case Study: Background and Corpus of the Data

Between 2016 and 2020, I studied the impact of Hip-Hop-Based Education within elementary schools on what the popular press has deemed some of Chicago's poorest communities, on the south and west sides. To take evidence from the 2016 Chicago Public Schools' *State of the Arts* education report: of the twenty-three school districts in those communities in which 60 percent or more of the students self-identify as African American/Black or Latino, at least 50 percent of the principals in twenty-two of those districts stated that their students would like to have more programs teaching Hip-Hop composition, deejaying, and spoken word in their school curriculums. Additionally, in ten of those districts, Hip-Hop was the top requested type of programming by students in their survey responses.

Foundations of Music's Songwriting and Production program (SWP) seeks to fill that void.¹ The sponsor of the program is an arts-oriented nonprofit organization in Chicago that aims to deliver culturally relevant arts education to Chicago students in elementary and middle schools. The SWP program introduces students aged ten to fourteen years of age to both the process of writing original Rap/Hip-Hop songs and the technology used to produce them. Within the class experience, SWP participants create a preproduction and recording setup in the classroom with trained teaching artists who travel to the school and set up mobile workstations for the students to record music.

1 Foundations of Music is intended to be a high-level impact partnership within Chicago Public Schools. These programs typically reach fewer students but create enduring relationships between the school, the students, and the arts partner, sustaining a meaningful understanding of arts and curriculum over an extended period.

Following a project-based learning model,² the program's final objective is that the class participants will collaborate to write, produce, record, and mix three original songs over twelve weeks. The data I am drawing from is informed by in-depth interviews completed while doing ethnographic observations in the classroom. Overall, I conducted over 250 hours of classroom observation and completed seven in-depth interviews with the sole teaching artist in this case study.

Methods and Analysis

As the lone researcher on this study, I transcribed my field notes and interview tapes (verbatim) to a word processor and coded them line for line by hand. Employing a grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2014), I traced the concepts and categories that emerged in the process of doing my fieldwork and inductive coding. Recognizing each twelve-week class sequence as a cohort and a unique study of analysis, I returned to the field to collect data relevant to my insight, and then decided to clarify questions to teaching artists and other key stakeholders in semistructured interviews allowing me to connect emerging insights across multiple data sources (e.g., mp3 files, photographs, and lyric journals).

Case-based qualitative methods are useful in revealing complex processes that unfold over time (Yin 2002). This investigation is a holistic multiple case study. Holistic case studies, which value and investigate the contexts in which cases exist, can blur the lines between case study and ethnography (ibid.). Though the SWP program and its teaching artists that were chosen for this study were convenient to the researcher, introducing a Hip-Hop-centered music class allows SWP students interested in pursuing careers in the music industry to gain exposure to these different pathways from those already in the occupation. This classroom experience uniquely broadens their understanding of potential vocations in creative industries and encourages them to explore their passions. Thus, the SWP teaching artists have an unusual presence within an urban public school system as music and represent an

2 Project-based learning (PBL) is a student-centered pedagogy that involves a dynamic classroom approach in which it is believed that students acquire a deeper knowledge through active exploration of real-world challenges and problems. Students learn about a subject by working for an extended period of time to investigate and respond to a complex question, challenge, or problem (Blumenfeld et al. 1991).

unusual case—one that can drive the ability for researchers to observe the complex creative and learning processes of Hip-Hop pedagogy needed for further study.

There was no incentive for the teaching artist. Study procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Board at the sponsoring institution of the researcher. Finally, a pseudonym was assigned to the teaching artist observed to preserve anonymity. Additionally, pseudonyms were given to the name of the school where he worked, his students, and any other identifying information.

Staying Current, Meeting Expectations? The Case of Malcolm Y.

Malcolm was a thirty-three-year-old Hip-Hop artist and community organizer who worked for Foundations of Music while getting his master's degree in psychology from a local university. During our conversations, Malcolm continually stated that his teaching approach was one that was rooted in getting his students to think about social justice. A former high-school dropout and gang member who found his passion for education and civic life through music and poetry, he used his students' close-knit daily interactions with popular Hip-Hop music to spark discussions of how those interactions could be connected to investigating and/or solving the issues of their communities. In speaking about how school administrators initially responded to his style of instruction, teaching artist Malcolm Y. stated:

Most administrators in public schools here is twenty years older than me. They need it to be prefaced with older music that they're familiar with and then leading into the reality music of today's youth. When I make it palatable in that way, they generally accept the rebellious parts of what and how the kids create. Even then, it looks like chaos to them. (Interview, 23 March 2019)

Malcolm argues here that the administration of his host school believed Hip-Hop was a problematic genre of music and held doubts as to the value of its study. For this reason, his tendency to relinquish the direction of his lesson plans to student interests or allow Black popular culture to provide a central theme for their classroom conversation often directly conflicted with what school administrators deemed “serious learning” in classroom environments.

Even then, Malcolm suggested that this off-brand approach was exactly what should drive modern classrooms centered on Hip-Hop:

These kids (I work with) are learning from Hip-Hop outside of school. Our job is to help translate and synthesize the messages in a mature way. I told them that you can't discuss the Hip-Hop music and the culture in the classroom in anyway without accepting the vernacular, the systems and neighborhoods it originates. If you want to educate poor Black kids, you have to respect their point of view as respectable. (Interview, 31 March 2019)

Malcolm was very aware that there were complex, controversial issues of race, class, and gender being discussed in his students' work. For example, fourteen-year-old Kymani (eighth grade) created a song about her cousin getting locked up for smoking marijuana and how ironic it was that soon thereafter recreational marijuana was legalized in the state of Illinois. After he shared the song with the group for critique, Malcolm facilitated a discussion among his students to talk about systematic racism, Ronald Reagan's war on drugs, the legacy of incarceration that legislation left in Black communities in Chicago, and how Hip-Hop often glorifies recreational drug usage and illicit drug dealing. He elaborated on why he chose to halt the creative process to have that discussion:

I think that was a cool moment where I got to talk to them about politics without it being forced down their throat. They can see the world around them is unfair to Black people, but they often view that in social terms rather than historical and structural terms. I was able to give them a unique history of structural racism related to law enforcement and the prison pipeline for drug offenses in Black neighborhoods. (ibid.)

Malcolm was keenly aware that he was not brought into the schools he serviced to talk about anything beyond music production. Even so, he felt that if you want to create authenticity in a Hip-Hop classroom, school administrators would have to be trained to accept the contradictory and problematic parts of the music as well as the cultural experiences attached to it—because to him, that was where the best teaching moments happened. Though it was possible for him to censor his students' lyrical content and/or divorce the authenticity and culture of their perspectives from the art form he was teaching them, Malcolm refused to do so. He used these ideological tensions to forge critical discourse on race, gender, and class in American popular culture.

As such, this meant he also dedicated his time to educate school staff members and administrators on the history of Hip-Hop, its place in Black and Latino cultural heritage, and the complexity and academic utility of its messages. In one classroom moment in fall of 2018, I observed him talking to the seventh-grade students about making a song dedicated to the trial of the former Chicago Police officer Jason Van Dyke, who was on trial for the alleged murder of seventeen-year-old Laquan McDonald in 2014. Malcolm not only used classroom discussion to show the officer's body cam footage that had been released on YouTube; he also was very candid in expressing that he thought Van Dyke deserved life imprisonment. Students firmly agreed with Malcolm's viewpoint and openly expressed their sentiments within their other classes.

Giving his personal opinion to his students caused an uproar because the principal had sent an official email to staff telling them to remain neutral. Malcolm "doubled-down" to me on why he chose not to be neutral in this situation:

I've had teachers in schools quit or take leave due to the stuff that I taught in my program. They kind of gave their schools ultimatums about me because they were offended. I was letting them challenge stereotypes and talk about how White men have done and continue to do racist things to Black kids [...] White teachers and administration gave push back. How can we talk about Hip-Hop without mentioning race or anger? (Interview, 23 March 2019).

Malcolm's comments were in line with empirical research that has suggested that many public school districts reject HHBE because of a belief that it disrupts education tradition and challenges typical imperatives and definitions of formal learning in many elementary and middle schools (Wilson 2007, 2013). Historically, HHBE has struggled in school systems that are trying to manage the cultural contradiction between the mandate to instill in every student a set of distinctly middle-class values—humility, civility, obedience, and self-control—and Hip-Hop's penchant for autonomy, resistance to authority, braggadocio, and individuality. As such, Malcolm also expressed frustration with implementing the SWP curriculum in the school setting:

The schools I work with usually buy in somewhat because they see Black students saying they don't feel included. However, I still face much kickback. But I know what I do works. However, it only works if you let me do what

it is that I actually do [...] We can't address culture without addressing the reality of the system, the kids' background or their everyday struggles. Their background isn't as clean and seamless. Why would their music reflect and clean and seamless life? (Interview, 23 March 2019)

Malcolm often heard from his students that they believed their other teachers did not want to hear their voices during class and sometimes rejected any expression of their Blackness or lived experiences inside the classroom. What Malcolm's quote above exemplified was his thought that when Hip-Hop was used to speak to community issues in his classroom, it was his duty to take on a role that extended beyond that of a teacher of musical skill. As a teaching artist for a community organization who simply delivered services within school buildings, Malcolm saw himself more as a youth life coach, a mental health counselor, and a community organizer. As a result of my classroom observation, I witnessed Malcolm juggle these roles when he lectured to students about how to respond to police, make meaning of their life situations through lyrics, and confide with them his personal viewpoints on what to make of certain current events. Much like when he talked to them about Jason Van Dyke, students generally responded to Malcolm with a real reverence, and they valued his opinions as a moral compass.

Unfortunately, this philosophy didn't always fit with the way teachers at his host school were typically assessed for job performance. Thus, Malcolm stated he often had to be strategically diplomatic about voicing his views within the school:

It's just the way it is. People don't want to lose their jobs! As much as I want to tell them about the progress some of the kids are making as musicians, it doesn't matter if the kids aren't increasing their performance in their core classes. This (class) is seen by principals as a way to fix kids who are underperforming or reward those who are on honor roll. In reality, it should be available to everyone and basic knowledge of the culture should be required for every teacher. (Interview, 31 March 2019)

Like Prudence Carter's (2005) findings in New York high schools, Malcolm understood that the dominant tropes of education at his host school were directly in conflict with many of his students' active participation in Hip-Hop culture and that this had a profound impact on their social development as academic learners.

For example, Malcolm often encouraged his students to post on social media about the projects they were working on. He explained that in his observation, academic achievement for his students was directly based upon the extent to which they could feel safe to reveal their racial identities and perspectives while in the learning environment:

Blackness has to be welcomed within the school environment; I feel I am aiding in that. These boys are shown almost every day that they need to lose their identity to become successful so on some level, the fact that I'm here to do what I do, is an anomaly. I'm establishing a different type of role model for them. (Interview, 31 March 2019)

Both poverty and income strongly correlate with race in the United States. Among all racial groups, being Black is stereotypically most associated with experiencing poverty. Additionally, schools and community centers aren't nearly as authentic as typical sites for Hip-Hop music production and composition (basements, studios, and bedrooms with recording set-ups) that these professional artists would be used to. Though well-meaning, these ideologies and circumstances have been shown to limit HHBE's effectiveness with the youths it attempts to serve (Levy 2012).

As such, Malcolm often expressed frustration over not having the freedom in schools that they had at the informal sites they normally used to understand the Hip-Hop context through their students. During one informal conversation, Malcolm expressed to me his feelings that social relations in schools shouldn't be made to differ from the out-of-school contexts he felt his students usually thrived in:

Most real rappers learn by freely spending endless hours in the studio among a creative community. Them knowing I have credibility in those spaces allows me to have their trust in the classroom. However, our class (process) is almost like "a little secret" that we keep from the administrators. For me to run it like I do, it has to be that way. I can only let principals see the end product. (Interview, 23 March 2019)

In this exchange, I felt Malcolm was expressing that most of his students don't associate making professional-level music with needing a school or a classroom to help them. To combat that, his teaching approach tried to create an "informal feel" to the formal space. Beyond the ideological differences in the

role that Malcolm and school administration perceived autonomy should be given in the classroom, there were also differences in the way in which each sides viewed its own employment of technology in the classroom:

It's funny. Most rich suburban digital media classes that operate out of these tech rich rooms full of the latest digital tools and kids barely even think twice about using it because they have the same stuff at home or at some program. My mobile workstation only had two laptops which were shared by two to six youth at a time and they're like fighting over it [...] They (sometimes) give up because my kids think their school is seen as ghetto and unworthy of resources [...] if a student's self-esteem and efficacy is taken from them, underperforming is just a self-fulfilling prophecy. They don't believe they're allowed to be good at rap music while here and have it mean something. (ibid.)

At Malcolm's host school, students were already very aware of limitations to their experiences with technology and digital media in school. He said that though the school had computer labs in the library room, he only witnessed them being used during an optional typing class for seventh- and eighth-graders and during an afterschool digital photography program. Outside of that, personal devices (mobile phones and tablets) and laptops were generally frowned upon in the building. For that reason, the basic technology needs of the SWP program were often unable to be met. For example, per school policy, computers logged on within the classroom were not allowed to use video sites like YouTube or music streaming services like Spotify to explore topics brought up in lesson plans.

As a teaching artist, Malcolm felt the social conditions and the cultural heritage of his youth were directly tied to their learning outcomes. Malcolm expressed great discomfort with the fact that his students shared so many stories about their negative experiences in the classroom dealing with perceived racism, discrimination, and negligence of their host school. This racist sentiment was felt although the staff at his host school were over 85 percent African American. He simply couldn't understand how Black teachers could bring themselves be racist (or carry out racist policies) towards Black students. Even though the remarks of his students perplexed him, they drove him to try to rewrite rules within his classroom to counter what he perceived as social injustice to his students. Ultimately, this meant that he often utilized his classroom as a cocoon or a haven where his students could be their authentic

selves with him, even if that meant taking the chance that school staff would halt the continuation of the SWP program at his school.

Aside from hinting that both the SWP and the principals showed favoritism toward KP (another SWP teaching artist) since he held a master's degree in administration, Malcolm felt that his own unwillingness to tone down his personal views and individuality in the school buildings he worked left him working within schools that put stricter boundaries on the implementation of the SWP program. He felt that the schools that he was in were not enthusiastic about innovative pedagogy but rather interested in appearing inclusive:

The fact of the matter is that even if I only get to impact these kids for a few months and I get fired, these few hours I spend with them every week will pique their interests in learning. Most of these kids will seek me out online and I can connect them to more opportunities for personal growth. They may still hate going to school but they may begin to like to learn and have critical discussion. (Interview, 31 March 2019)

Along with focusing on social justice, Malcolm was passionate about providing pathways for the students to build on their classroom experiences in nonacademic spaces. He made it a point to make himself accessible to students on social media and connect them to other creative spaces that would allow them to hone their craft and network with like-minded individuals. Instead of tying the value of the program to traditional learning metrics such as grade point average or graduation rates, he instead focused on how students were further motivated to envision their future careers, on gauging their satisfaction with that vision, and on measuring milestones reached specific to executing each individual's vision.

The portfolio of skills for music professionalism demanded by Malcolm included, but weren't limited to, how to work collaboratively, developing a public-facing voice for their identity, an understanding of the commercial landscape of mainstream media, mastery of computer software, and a grasp on their personal integrity (i.e., being role models for their community or fighting for social injustices) as creatives. None of these skills could be taught through his mere delivery of information. They were a manifestation of his personal experience, reflection, and critique from peers in the SWP class's communities of practice. Even so, Malcolm routinely faced backlash for this unorthodox approach from the administration of the academic spaces he worked in. Though the SWP program directors openly and outwardly ex-

pressed their belief in Malcolm's abilities as a teacher, they utilized KP to help repair any strained relationships that Malcolm might have created at the school. KP ultimately succeeded in quelling backlash from school staff by offering the principal increased approval rights for Malcolm's lesson plans. Ultimately, Malcolm believed that authenticity in the Hip-Hop classroom is bigger than writing a rap or making a beat but is rather connected to gaining knowledge of self and one's community.

Discussion and Conclusion

Local Hip-Hop cultural producers are often idolized by school-aged youth as "a glimmer of hope" to reach that dream (without rejecting their Blackness or low-income background): they are often looked to as mentors and called upon as teaching artists within academic spaces. In this chapter, I have retraced how Malcolm continually discussed the ways in which his students' environment and social/cultural/economic context impacted their learning and in which he sought to intervene. Malcolm also noted that the rules and policies surrounding the value of Hip-Hop culture during the school day often left him (and his youth) feeling constrained and alienated. This lack of cultural continuity between his students' recreational creative experiences and their educational creative experiences put them at a great disadvantage when looking to develop expertise for a career pathway. In analyzing the ways in which Malcolm had to fight against meeting the demands of their school's learning cultures, he challenged the status quo by doing what's necessary to give students freedom for authentic debate, discussion, and deliberation, even if it meant ignoring school rules.

Though Malcolm's case suggests that Hip-Hop is a tool to teach Black youth effectively, he also recognized that designating a safe space for Hip-Hop musical teaching is not the solution in and of itself. He suggested that meeting the true objectives of the SWP program would have required school administrators to make a stronger investment to aid in its implementation. As a result of this deficit in resources, Malcolm often had to go above and beyond his duties in ensuring the program's success and his interviews revealed much frustration and disillusionment about how his work was valued in the academic space. Furthermore, this chapter suggests that within the teaching of Black cultural practices such as Hip-Hop, formal, and informal strategies must be under-

stood to act in a dialectic way.³ Although Hip-Hop civics has the capabilities to cultivate critical thinking and classroom engagement among Black students, many administrators who have the ability to change the typical imperatives are unable to see its relevance to formal achievement standards. Thus, providing support for HHBE classrooms is often seen as optional. Still, Malcolm's narrative suggests that when academic achievement benchmarks are reoriented to value student's interests in Hip-Hop culture, Black youth not only become more academically engaged but also leaders in the classroom.

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3 Rap musicians often combine formal and informal learning strategies in their practice of musical learning (Söderman/Folkestad 2010).

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