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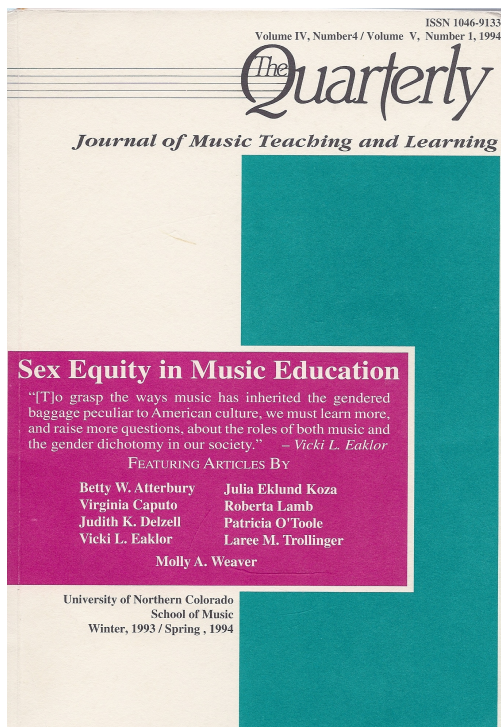
Big Boys Don't Cry (Or Sing): Gender, Misogyny, And Homophobia In College Choral Methods Texts

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It is with pleasure that we inaugurate the reprint of the entire seven volumes of The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning. The journal began in 1990 as The Quarterly. In 1992, with volume 3, the name changed to The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning and continued until 1997. The journal contained articles on issues that were timely when they appeared and are now important for their historical relevance. For many authors, it was their first major publication. Visions of Research in Music Education will publish facsimiles of each issue as it originally appeared. Each article will be a separate pdf file. Jason D. Vodicka has accepted my invitation to serve as guest editor for the reprint project and will compose a new editorial to introduce each volume. Chad Keilman is the production manager. I express deepest thanks to Richard Colwell for granting VRME permission to re-publish The Quarterly in online format. He has graciously prepared an introduction to the reprint series.

Big Boys Don't Cry (Or Sing): Gender, Misogyny, And Homophobia In College Choral Methods Texts

By Julia Eklund Koza
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Choral methods texts, that is to say, books and articles addressing the multifarious details of directing a choral ensemble, often play a role in the college training of choral educators. These texts represent what some scholars have labeled “legitimate knowledge,”¹ the expert knowledge recognized as essential to success in choral directing. Choral texts, like all others, draw from larger systems of ideas, or discourses. They can reflect, reinforce, and challenge dominant discourses, and they also can bring new or alternative discourses into wider circulation. Prompted by curiosity about whether gender and gender-related issues are being discussed in current choral texts, I recently examined a collection of texts published between 1982 and 1992.² I sought to establish whether the subject of gender was ever broached, what was said about gender when it was addressed, and how gender-related issues were explained. I analyzed the references I located, and the discourses from which they drew, from a socialist feminist perspective.

I examined a substantial number of texts in search of references to males or females as a group and to masculinity or femininity; less

than half of the texts contained such references.³ Patterns emerged among those that did, however, in the topics addressed and in the assumptions made about gender; most texts focused attention on males. In the following analysis I draw a single strand from my larger investigation and examine discussions of what some believe is among the most difficult problems facing choral director/teachers today: missing males, a shortage of males in choral music programs.⁴ From these discussions, I conclude that the vast majority of current texts, and the discourses from which they draw, are highly problematic from a socialist feminist perspective. In general, references to gender reflected and reinforced discourses that are both misogynistic and homophobic; I argue that the reinforcement of dominant gender discourses contributes to the perpetuation of unequal power relations, which, socialist feminists assert, are at the heart of the different oppressions of women and gay men.

I begin with a brief discussion of the two theories that informed my analysis: a socialist feminist theory of gender, articulated by Alison Jaggar, and a post-structural theory of gender as performance, formulated by Judith Butler. As part of the discussion, I outline some criticisms socialist feminist and post-structuralist theorists working in gay and lesbian studies have leveled at dominant gender discourses. Next, I describe the ideas forwarded in the choral methods texts them-

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selves, focusing specifically on explanations of the missing males problem and proposed solutions. Finally, I critique these explanations and solutions, as well as the discourses from which they draw.

Theoretical Framework

The many scholars who describe themselves as feminists do not necessarily hold similar views on the subject of gender. Socialist feminist gender theory, as articulated by Alison Jaggar, may differ markedly from theories advanced by Marxist, liberal, or radical feminists, as well as from those implicit in dominant gender discourses. I draw my definition of gender from Leslie Roman and Linda Christian-Smith, who describe gender as the "relational categories of femininity and masculinity at a particular historic juncture."⁵ This definition is consistent with a major tenet of socialist feminist theory, the assumption that gender is a social construct. This assumption stands in opposition to claims that gender-structuring is biologically determined or is in any other respect "natural."

Post-structural theorist Judith Butler expands on the concept of social construction by describing gender as a form of performance;⁶ in a discussion of gender and drag, she maintains that every performance of gender is an approximation, an imitation lacking an original.⁷ She states that belief in a "proper" gender for each sex is invariably a by-product of systems of compulsory heterosexuality:

Drag is not the putting on of a gender that belongs properly to some other group, i.e., an act of *expropriation* or *appropriation* that assumes that gender is the rightful property of sex, that "masculine" belongs to "male" and "feminine" belongs to "female." There is no "proper" gender, a gender proper to one sex rather than another, which is in some sense that sex's cultural property. Where that notion of the "proper" operates, it is always and only *improperly* installed as the effect of a compulsory system. Drag constitutes the

mundane way in which genders are appropriated, theatricalized, worn, and done; it implies that all gendering is a kind of impersonation and approximation. If this is true, it seems, there is no original or primary gender that drag imitates, but *gender is a kind of imitation for which there is no original; ...*⁸

Socialist feminists further claim that constructions of gender contribute to the perpetuation of various forms of oppression, male dominance among them. Alison Jaggar explains:

Socialist feminism claims all of the following: that our "inner" lives, as well as our bodies and behavior, are structured by gender; that this gender-structuring is not innate but is socially imposed; that the specific characteristics that are imposed are related systematically to the historically prevailing system of organizing social production; that the gender-structuring of our "inner" lives occurs when we are very young and is reinforced throughout our lives in a variety of different spheres; and that these relatively rigid masculine and feminine character structures are a very important element in maintaining male dominance.⁹

Oppression is perpetuated, in part, through a rigid binary gender system that not only associates masculinity with males and

femininity with females, but also ties males and masculinity to power, dominance, and "the good." Traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity, which have roots in separate-sphere discourses, ascribe different sets of interests, behaviors, activities, and personality characteristics to each sex. Males and masculinity are typically associated with strength, physical activity (e.g., athletics), power, adventurousness, independence, aggressiveness, assertiveness, rationality, intelligence, and bravery.¹⁰ They also are linked to public sphere endeavors such as careers outside the home and, John Fiske maintains, to maturity. Fiske writes, "'Be a man' is a frequent admonition to young boys that requires them to behave more maturely than

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There is no question that boys are less likely to participate in choral ensembles than girls. Statistics gathered in 1982 indicate that the ratio of girls to boys in choral programs is about 5:2. What I will question in the following analysis, however, are the explanations and solutions given in the texts I examined, as well as the understandings of gender upon which the discussions were based.

their physical age.”¹¹ Finally, heterosexual orientation is assumed to be a component of masculinity.¹² Andrew Ross summarizes a popular image of the red-blooded male: “competitive, omnipotent, irredeemably sexist, and emotionally illiterate.”¹³

In the traditional binary gender system, males are constructed as rational, and females are characterized as emotional.¹⁴ This binary fits Fiske’s description of masculine narratives, in which “sensitivity is seen as a threat to masculinity. ... Power is confined to the men, sensitivity to the women.”¹⁵ Historically in the United States and England, the rational/emotional binary has contributed to the perception that music, constructed as an emotional activity, is a feminine, and therefore unsuitable undertaking for males.¹⁶

The binary gender system helps perpetuate the oppression of women not only by constructing males as strong and powerful, but also by assigning values such that the masculine/male becomes “the good” and the not masculine/not male is deemed the “bad,” the undesirable “other.” Fiske writes,

These oppositions are patriarchal ones for they carry the connotations derived from their history that the “masculine” characteristics are powerful and valued whereas the “feminine” ones are weaker and devalued. Our cultural development of masculine and feminine identities has built into it notions of male superiority.

These “inferior” and “weak” characteristics of the feminine are repressed in the masculine psyche and *exscribed* from the masculine narrative.¹⁷

As K. Overfield notes, the masculine/male becomes the standard in traditional gender discourse, the “baseline from which everything else is measured” and is found to be wanting — “deviant, prohibited, or an expression of ‘otherness’ Conversely, it is seen as an achievement to *reach* male stan-

dards, to become *equal* on male terms, to attain accredited status.”¹⁸

Females are not the only group portrayed as “undesirable others” in traditional gender discourse. For example, the compulsory heterosexuality implicit in the binary system, together with homophobia “inherent in ‘norms’ of maleness,” help construct homosexuality, in this instance, male homosexuality, as the undesirable other.¹⁹ Diana Fuss explains that a discourse of inside/outside is at work, not only in the masculine/feminine couple, but also in the hetero/homo binary.²⁰ In a discussion of homosexuality as the “outside,” Fuss states that “outside” is the contaminated, excluded, but necessary, other:

Homosexuality, in a word, becomes the excluded; it stands in for, paradoxically, that which stands without. But the binary structure of sexual orientation, fundamentally a structure of exclusion and exteriorization, nonetheless constructs that exclusion by prominently including the contaminated other in its oppositional logic. The homo in relation to the hetero, much like the feminine in relation to the masculine, operates as an indispensable interior exclusion — an outside which is inside interiority making the articulation of the latter possible, a transgression of the border which is necessary to constitute the border as such.²¹

Gayle Rubin asserts that ways of organizing sexuality, what she calls “sex-gender systems,” play a central role in the perpetuation of male dominance.²²

Of course, socialist feminists do not assume that domination results solely from sex-gender systems. As Jaggar notes, they recognize that domination is integrally related to means of production, specifically to capitalism; they conclude that at this moment in United States history, sweeping structural and institutional change is needed.²³ In addition, however, some see links between capitalism

and specific constructions of gender. Fiske, for example, reveals one of these links in a discussion of why an unattainable masculinity is necessary for the continuation of capitalism:

Masculinity becomes almost a definition of the superhuman, so it becomes that which can never be achieved. Capitalism needs this gap between the material experience of men and the ideological construction of masculinity to keep men striving for more and more achievement in order to maintain the "naturalness" of the ideological concept of progress, which is so central to capitalism.²⁴

A feature of socialist feminist theory that sustains an optimism not engendered by more biodeterministic views is the possibility for change. In theory, whatever is socially constructed can be altered or even abolished. Indeed, socialist feminists consider the abolition of femininity and masculinity to be a necessary precursor to ending the oppression of females.²⁵ Further, as Jaggar notes, many feminists believe that elimination of the compulsory heterosexuality implicit in traditional sex-gender systems also "would have an enormous impact on the system of male dominance."²⁶

In seeking a path toward transformation or abolition of discourses that perpetuate oppression, some feminists turn to Gramscian explanations of how domination is maintained. Although Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony was formulated with social-class relations in mind, it also can be useful when considering gender relations. Gramsci argued that domination operates with the consent of those dominated;²⁷ according to Jaggar, such consent results from a dominant group "projecting its own particular way of seeing social reality so successfully that its view is accepted as common sense and as part of the natural order by those who in fact are subordinated to it."²⁸ Those who take a Gramscian position emphasize that developing "alternative ways of perceiving reality and alternative attitudes toward it" is a valuable means of instigating change.²⁹

The Missing Males Problem: Explanations and Solutions Singing and Masculinity

The potential harm resulting from sex-gender systems and from compulsory heterosexuality did not appear to have been on the

minds of the choral methods texts' authors, yet these authors gave considerable attention to the absence or shortage of males in singing ensembles and to establishing effective methods of recruiting and retaining males. Four explanations were given for the shortage of males:

- The perception that singing is not an appropriately masculine activity deflects boys away from choral programs.
- Choral programs have not catered to male interests and preferences; successful director/teachers take male interests into consideration; unsuccessful ones do not.³⁰
- The voice change sidetracks boys.
- Boys avoid singing because they perceive it to be unrelated to their future career plans.

The first explanation was a popular one: Males stay away from singing because they perceive it to be "feminine," "sissy," or not "manly."³¹ Kenneth Phillips explained: "American culture remains rooted in a frontier mentality, and singing is not a part of that traditional male image."³² Apparently the belief that this perception plays a central role in males' reticence to sing was shared not only by most of the authors making reference to gender, but also by choral directors at large; Phillips quoted a study by Perry A. Castelli that asked teachers to cite the primary reasons why boys leave choral programs. Teachers said that "sex role endorsement (the attitude that males do not sing) and peer pressure" were the leading factors.³³

Contributors who discussed the perception that music is not manly were united in their cries for change. The answer to the problem, the texts claimed, lay in restructuring perceptions about music. Music was to be portrayed as a masculine activity; this transformation was to be accomplished by linking singing to "manly" males and to interests and activities presumed to be masculine. The suggested activities and role models provide a sketch of authors' understandings of masculinity. For example, Phillips indicated that athletic coaches (whom he assumed to be male) are good, masculine role models:

Music teachers should stress that singing is a "masculine" activity. Adult male singers need to be introduced as role models: Ask athletic coaches if they sing and would be willing to help, or encourage older boys to serve as

models for younger boys. Recordings and pictures of males choruses also can be used to encourage male interest in singing.³¹

Athleticism and maturity were routinely linked to masculinity; Paul Roe, in an argument favoring recruitment of athletes to choral programs, added strength to the list of masculine attributes. He argued that the presence of athletes brings prestige to the music program, and he apparently assumed that all athletes are male:

It is very important to the teacher of junior or senior high students that the choral groups include athletes. Get the coach to back the choral program if you can. ... The best male singers in these two age groups are almost invariably athletes. The reason for this is obvious: the athletes have the most mature bodies and are the strongest, most vital people. ... The other reason for the importance of the athlete in the program is the prestige it gives to the music department. Other students are attracted because these athletes are in the choir. If music is required through the seventh or eighth grade, use some of the athletes in "small ensembles" to stimulate their involvement and interest in choral music. These *young men* [my emphasis] will then be much more likely to remain in vocal music when it becomes an elective.³⁵

Leadership was another oft-cited attribute of masculine role models. Kenneth Miller linked masculinity to leadership when he wrote, "The problem of convincing boys that singing is sufficiently masculine may take a little longer. It will help if student leaders sing in the vocal music program, but there are other ways to improve interest."³⁶ What was not clear from Miller's statement is whether he believed that female student leaders will convince boys of the masculinity of music or whether he simply assumed that all student leaders are male.

In a variation on the theme of male role models, Roe stated that an absence of male teachers contributes to lack of interest among boys. In a discussion of how to recruit males to choral programs, Roe presented side-by-side lists, one enumerating causes of a young man's lack of interest in music, and a second giving ways that a young man's interest might be "aroused." After mentioning "absence of male teachers" in the first column, Roe added an explanation: "Music that is

taught does not seem grown-up or manly."³⁷ In the second column, Roe indicated that interest may be aroused by male teachers, and by thus "emphasizing the manliness of singing."³⁸ His points implied that female teachers, unlike their male counterparts, champion babyish or "unmanly" music and activities.

Obviously, serving as a masculine role model is not an option available to female teachers; however, a passing remark by Sandra Mancuso on the recruitment of adolescent males inferred that other tactics were recommended to women. Mancuso wrote, "A wink of an eye and a hug around the neck may hypnotize some, but getting boys involved with music has been an eternal battle for music educators."³⁹ Although hugging may be a questionable practice for either male or female teachers of adolescents, it would probably be more unacceptable when initiated by males. Winks, hugs, and hypnotizing are part of a discourse of allure, and presumably allure is one of the recruitment practices female teachers have available to them. It cannot be said with certainty that Mancuso recommended these practices solely to female teachers; however, such a recommendation would be consistent with stereotyped perceptions of how women secure power. John Fiske, for example, observed that "women's bodies and sexuality are the main means open to them to achieve power in a patriarchy."⁴⁰

Stressing commonalities between singing and "masculine" characteristics or activities was advocated by some sources. Physicality was among these shared "masculine" characteristics. Phillips suggested, "Another way to help boys view singing as a masculine activity is to stress the physical training required by the psychomotor process"; he later elaborated, "By concentrating on the physical act of singing, students learn that singing requires the same preparation as do sports."⁴¹ A similar argument was presented by Roe, who established a strong/weak, good/bad binary in which strength and virility were deemed necessary prerequisites of good vocal tone:

It takes strength and virility to produce a good singing tone. Remember that when anyone becomes sick, weakness is immediately apparent to everyone through a weak, shaky voice. Challenge them [boys] to hold

The fact that none of the choral methods texts directly addressed the contributing role homophobia may play in the missing-males problem, and that they resorted instead to euphemisms such as “sissy” and “unmanly,” is a measure of the oppressive strength of homophobia at this moment in history. As Fuss writes, one way that oppression operates is through a “domain of unthinkability and unnameability.”

their ribs out and hiss smoothly for 45 seconds or more and hold phrases out to their full duration. This kind of approach counteracts any feelings the young men may have that singing is sissy.⁴²

Finally, organizing all-male ensembles, such as barbershop quartets and male glee clubs, was sometimes touted as an effective tactic for proving that singing is masculine. Miller placed all-male organizations at the top of his list of helpful junior high choral groups:

There is only one type of ensemble that appears to the writer to be particularly helpful in the junior high situation and that is the Mens' Chorus, Male Glee Club, or Barbershop Quartet. Anything that can be done to demonstrate that singing is not an exclusively feminine activity will be helpful in encouraging male singers to participate actively in your program. The institution of an all-male group helps to instill this idea, and allows the director to select some particularly robust texts for the men to sing.⁴³

In a recommendation to establish all-male ensembles for young men, Roe added, “A mixed choir may not interest them [young men], especially if there are many women and just a handful of men.”⁴⁴

A related perception, the belief that high voices are unmasculine and undesirable for males, was sometimes mentioned as a factor contributing to boys' reticence to sing. According to the texts, boys often believe that the changed voice, symbolizing adult manhood, is more masculine than the unchanged; furthermore, given a choice of changed-voice ranges, boys prefer low ones. Thus, boys regard the male voice range farthest from the female as the most masculine and the most desirable. Frederick Swanson referred to the link between masculinity and low voice in his observation that boys “take

pride in the masculine sound of their emerging bass clef tones.”⁴⁵ Miller connected masculinity and adulthood to the changing voice when he suggested that teachers should talk to adolescent boys in a manner stressing manliness:

... most boys look forward with great anticipation to becoming men. The voice change is one of the obvious signs that this is happening. ... Your junior high male singers should always be referred to as “young men,” not as “boys.” Their manliness should be stressed at every opportunity. There is no place in any choral program for the ridicule of any individual. This is particularly important as your young men move through the early adolescent years.⁴⁶

To say that boys are merely looking forward to adulthood is to underestimate the loathing that the texts indicated boys have for high voices, a loathing Miller both underscored and sanctioned in his statement, “No red-blooded American male wants to sing a ‘girl’s’ part when he is in eighth grade.”⁴⁷ Roe expressed similar views; calling the changed voice “a symbol of manliness,” he observed, “Young people tend to be somewhat cruel and unkind by nature. Those whose voices do not sound manly, or are unmanageable, are likely to be ribbed unmercifully by both sexes.”⁴⁸ The pressure not to sing a high part, together with the desire to be viewed as men, apparently leads some boys with unchanged voices to limit their range or attempt to sing baritone. Roe asserted, “These fellows are so anxious to become men that it is common for some of them with unchanged voices to sing baritone until the instructor tests voices and puts them into the proper section.”⁴⁹ Sue Fay Allen remarked that boys with unchanged voices will try to limit their range to what they believe is “macho.”⁵⁰

Also underestimated in the interpretation that boys are merely looking forward to adulthood is the strength of the negativity directed at girls and women. To sound like a female was considered the ultimate humiliation:

The young male desires nothing so much as to sound and look like a man; and unless he can be convinced that he is not detracting from his manly status, he will strongly resist any attempts to have him sing falsetto (which sounds, to him, like a girl singing). Pointing out the effective use of falsetto ... helps take away the stigma of sounding like women. The manly teacher singing for them in falsetto will also help.⁵¹

The texts offered various suggestions for dealing with negative perceptions of high voices. For example, Allen encouraged teachers to help boys with unchanged voices use and be proud of their high notes.⁵² However, Miller indicated that boys may need evidence in order to be convinced that high voices are masculine; he advocated using “manly” role models, including athletes, scholars, and men who have been successful in their careers:

It may be difficult to get boys who have tenor voices ... to sing tenor parts if they think they will be displaying characteristics that are not manly. A teacher can help to counter such an idea by pointing to a graduate or to a more advanced student who sings tenor and who has also excelled academically, in a sport, or in a desirable vocation. It may even be possible to point to a successful professional singer who sings quite high in the male vocal range. Basically, boys need to realize that singing any voice part which is natural to them will be acceptable to other people. They need to be assured that they can use their voice in its best range and enjoy themselves while singing in the choir.⁵³

Although he was less specific in his definition of manliness, Roe also agreed that tenors need masculine role models:

Many times a young man won't want to sing *tenor* because he feels it is less manly than it is to sing bass or baritone. The teacher can effectively remove this idea by citing the names of tenors the class knows. These tenors need to have been extremely good at some sport or have a manliness that everyone respects.⁵⁴

Some references advocated disassociating

boys from anything that might be construed as feminine, including girls themselves. Roe argued that the terms “soprano” and “alto” should never be used with boys, even though they accurately describe boys' ranges: “The boy's unchanged voice will ordinarily be soprano, occasionally alto. These words must *not* be used, for the young man does not want a feminine name attached to his voice.”⁵⁵ Miller offered similar advice, suggesting that parts be numbered or that designations for adult males be used with all boys, regardless of whether the boys' voices have changed: “It may be desirable, for social reasons, to designate all of your men (whether they are soprano, alto, tenor, or bass) as tenors, baritones, or basses. Only *you* need to know that your first tenors are really sopranos, or that your first basses are altos. In this way you avoid giving any young man the stigma of singing a ‘girl's’ part.”⁵⁶ Miller indicated that under some circumstances, placing a boy with an unchanged voice in a changed-voice section — giving him music that is too low for him to sing — is preferable to placing him among girls, even if a high-voice section is where he belongs.⁵⁷ Under no circumstances, according to Miller, should adolescent boys with unchanged voices be seated among girls:

In seating the group, arrange things so that all of your men may still sit together, even if some of them sing some or all of the time with the women. It is socially unacceptable for young men at this age to be separated from the rest of the chorus men and placed among the women.⁵⁸

Successful Teaching: The Androcentric Classroom

Some references implied that singing has come to be perceived as feminine because choral directors' decisions and practices have not taken males into account. For example, the title of one of the articles, “Changing Voices: Don't Leave Out the Boys,” hinted that the source of the missing-males problem may be teachers themselves.⁵⁹ Although no text openly blamed teachers for the shortage, several indicated that it was not only within the power of teachers to solve the problem but also was their responsibility. These discussions were based on the assumption that good teachers have many boys in their pro-

grams. Teachers' belief that the presence of boys is a measure of the program's and the teacher's success was mentioned by Joy Lawrence:

Although all music teachers have different goals and ideals, each of them wants to be successful. Nowhere is this more evident than at state and national MENC conventions. ... As they interact with clinicians, attend lectures, and hear performances, choral teachers often make comments like these ...: "I really envy that conductor's success with those kids!" "I can't get four boys to sing in the chorus, and we have fifteen hundred students in our school. Why do thirty boys sing in that chorus when there are only five hundred students in their school?"⁶⁰

Good teaching was assumed to ameliorate or prevent shortages of males. Recipes for good teaching included measures designed to make the curriculum more male centered and thus more interesting for males. One frequently discussed topic was selection of repertoire. Males were assumed to have different and more "masculine" musical tastes than females; catering to male tastes presumably would solve the missing males problem. Specific constructions of masculinity were reflected in the styles and texts males reportedly prefer. The same adjectives used to describe "masculine" men, such as "virile" and "strong," were often applied to "masculine" music. For example, in a section on selecting pieces for adolescent boys, Roe wrote, "Young men of this age will accept SA music graciously, if the music is virile and interesting."⁶¹ He listed "uninteresting rhythms or melodies" as factors that may contribute to a young man's indifference toward singing.⁶² By contrast, he said, "strong" rhythms and "good" melodies will arouse interest.⁶³ Specific works were sometimes cited. Roe advocated "manly music such as 'Stouthearted Men,'" which was to be sung by an all-male chorus.⁶⁴ The piece Roe suggested is a brisk march that alludes to war, bravery, strength, boldness, and comradeship in battle. David Tovey, in a discussion of solo repertoire, indicated that males and females should not sing the same songs because each sex prefers a different type of music; his suggestions provided clues about "masculine" and "feminine" repertoires. He recommended

Gershwin's "I Got Plenty o' Nuttin'" for boys; he suggested Haydn's "My Mother Bids Me," Brahms's "The Vain Serenade," and the "Lullaby" from Menotti's *The Consul* for girls.⁶⁵ The Gershwin piece is an exuberant setting of a text championing independence and self-sufficiency. By contrast, passive, domestic fare was proposed for girls. For example, "My Mother Bids Me" is a sweet diatonic piece in a gentle compound meter that plaintively speaks of a young girl's sadness and distraction during the absence of her lover.

Selecting texts that appealed to junior high males was named as a special challenge. Miller stated, "In teaching junior high music, it is particularly important that the text be appealing to the men."⁶⁶ He commented that if Renaissance texts mentioning "restless nymphs or dying swans" were used with this age group, the "men" would need to have the texts explained to them.⁶⁷ Underlying this statement is the presumption that adolescent boys, unlike girls, would have little experience or interest in emotional matters, specifically in love.

Further evidence of what was or was not assumed to be masculine was found in Roe's recommendation that teachers bypass songs about birds, daisies, and butterflies. Instead, Roe advised directors to select texts "that will thrill the redblooded [sic] male."⁶⁸ A source designed for church choir directors indicated that song texts should help in determining how parts are assigned; this reference said that boys will enjoy singing about "fish and loaves" while girls will appreciate songs about "butterflies and flowers."⁶⁹ Teachers were advised not only to capitalize on differences in musical preference by sex, but also to concentrate on what were constructed as male preferences, on masculine music, if they hoped to attract and retain males. Roe observed that girls are willing to sing boys' preferences, and he implied that boys are not inclined to reciprocate.⁷⁰ Finally, Miller reported that boys tend to like music that can be learned in a short time, an observation that directors presumably are to keep in mind as they select repertoire.⁷¹

Not only was enlisting male role models believed effective in convincing boys that

They accepted as commonsense and natural traditional sex-gender systems, as well as dominant views about males, females, masculinity, femininity, and (implicitly) sexual orientation. The texts recognized boys' anxiety about being "normal" and attempted to solve a problem evolving from that anxiety, but they never interrogated "normalcy." The problem was presumed to be improper placement of singing at the feminine end of the masculine/feminine polarity; the polarity itself was unquestioned.

singing and high voices are masculine, it was also cited as a sound pedagogical practice for attracting and retaining males. One passage indicated that combining male role models and food was an excellent approach for making music interesting to adolescent males:

A young man's interest may also be aroused by inviting outstanding men in any walk of life to tell about the important part music has played in their lives; by visiting male soloists or groups (male quartets are excellent!) ... by attending concerts given by college choirs on tour (or local high school choirs or male choruses); and by social gatherings and parties for music groups, particularly if there is *food* available (undoubtedly one of the real interests of a boy this age).⁷²

Another element in the prescribed male-centered approach was the presence of specific programs or organizations that reportedly would appeal to boys. Usually, all-male ensembles were recommended; however, Mancuso, in an article entitled "Where the Boys Are: Show Chorus," argued that some mixed ensembles, the show choir in particular, would draw boys in large numbers.⁷³

Making the choral ensemble experience more male-centered involved specific pedagogical and curricular decisions. For example, a skill-and-drill method of teaching vocal technique was recommended by Swanson, who reported that this practice would parallel boys' experiences in athletics.⁷⁴ Miller, in a discussion of classroom management, outlined dynamics that revolved around boys only; girls were never mentioned:

It is always best for the teacher to talk to boys directly. Boys usually prefer brief, clear comments which do not require them to sort out subtle ideas or suggestions. They also expect the teacher to make them behave in

class, and boys will accept discipline when they see it is being administered fairly and without hostility. When a boy interrupts, for example, the teacher should correct him in a direct, kind manner, and the teacher must then see that the same problem does not happen again.⁷⁵

A final element of a recommended male-based approach was the showering of special attention and privileges on boys. For example, Miller suggested that all-male groups be given ample opportunity to perform for other students in the school, including for girls' ensembles.⁷⁶ In a passage discussing show-chorus auditions, Mancuso intimated that special attention should be given to boys' feelings; she implied that a higher standard of sensitivity needed to be demanded from girls than from boys if boys were to be retained: "When choreographing, the students function as couples many times. For that reason, a girl making a statement during an interview such as 'Oh, do I have to dance with him?' would automatically disqualify her."⁷⁷

The Traumatic Voice Change

The third explanation for the missing males problem was that the voice change is a traumatic event that deters boys. Swanson argued that learning to read a new staff and to sing in a new range were formidable obstacles.⁷⁸ Indeed, in Castelli's study, the voice change was among the explanations for dropping out most frequently given by boys themselves.⁷⁹

All-male organizations were highly recommended as a solution to this problem, as was delicate treatment of boys on the part of directors. Miller warned that if directors do not attend carefully to matters such as proper voice assignment and selection of repertoire

in a suitable vocal range, boys will be lost.⁸⁰ Although Roe did not state his own opinion on the value of segregated organizations, in a discussion of arguments made by proponents of segregation, he remarked that the voice change is a disconcerting event:

Advocates of boys alone-girls alone say the young man is willing to sing soprano or alto, but *not* with young women. It is less embarrassing to the one with the unmanageable voice to have only men in the class. They understand his problem and singing seems more manly, somehow, in a male chorus.⁸¹

Males and Their Careers

Finally, Phillips, in his discussion of Castelli's study, reported that irrelevance to career plans was a reason boys often gave for dropping out of choir.⁸² Phillips responded to this explanation by advising teachers to emphasize career opportunities for males in music. Although he used the gender-neutral term "students" in one portion of the reference, he offered his advice under the heading "Keeping Boys Singing," and there is little doubt but that he was primarily concerned with how to combat boys' perceptions of their future career options:

The issue of occupational relevance is also a good topic for class discussion. The music industry is a billion-dollar enterprise that employs countless numbers of males. Many students are exposed only to those entertainers popularized on MTV, most of whom are males. Students need to learn about opportunities in the music industry, professional performance careers, and the music teaching profession.⁸³

The Rejected Explanations

Swanson unquestionably rejected a few possible causes of the missing males problem. First, he said shortages were not due to a lack of musical giftedness in boys. To support his statement, he reminded readers that the greatest musicians have almost always been male:

Are we going to offer the excuse that boys are not as musically gifted as girls, that boys don't like to sing because they are less talented, musically speaking? There is no evidence to support that claim. For every famous female composer, you can name 20 males. To match every top-level female conductor, you can name a dozen males. For any all-female choir that tours professionally or is heard on commercial recordings, there

are at least ten all-male choruses. In top symphony orchestras, bands, and jazz ensembles, we find many more men than women.⁸⁴

Swanson also rejected the notion that Americans do not approve of male singers and provided a string of well-known names to support his view:

Shall we say that the American public does not approve of male singers as much as female? If so, explain the popularity of Elvis Presley, Bing Crosby, Frank Sinatra, and Perry Como, not to mention the Beatles and their American imitators. Also explain the popularity of Luciano Pavarotti and Plácido Domingo. Why is it that the Robert Shaw Chorale features not only mixed choral singing but large press runs of "The *Men* of the Robert Shaw Chorale?"⁸⁵

Analysis: Incomplete Explanations and Flawed Solutions

Incomplete Explanations

There is no question that boys are less likely to participate in choral ensembles than girls are. Statistics gathered in 1982 indicate that the ratio of girls to boys in choral programs is about 5:2.⁸⁶ What I will question in the following analysis, however, are the explanations and solutions given in the texts I examined, as well as the understandings of gender upon which the discussions were based.

One shortcoming of all texts contending that boys avoid music because they perceive it to be feminine was their failure to fully explore the feared and undesirable feminine "other." Absent from the texts' discussions of males' fears, for example, was any indication of the multiple and coded meanings evoked when the terms "feminine," "sissy," or "unmanly" are applied to males. What is the "undesirable other" boys so clearly fear and wish to avoid? Because femininity is stereotypically linked to females, the boys' responses may be grounded in gynophobia. Avoidance of "female" activities by males has been reported in non-music educational research, for example, in work completed by Askew and Ross. In observations of boys and girls in British primary schools, these researchers found that boys shunned activities or interactions they associated with females:

It seemed to us that boys have a greater need than girls to identify certain activities as male

Acknowledging the role that homophobia, in addition to misogyny, may play in boys' reticence to sing may shed light on why the missing males problem has been so intractable.

or female. A consequence of this seemed to be that boys would often not only assume dominance over activities they have identified as "male," but also avoid those identified as "female."⁸⁷

However, prevalent stereotypes also associate male homosexuality with femininity. As Fiske notes, "unmanning" typifies "representations of the [male] homosexual in a heterosexual ideology."⁸⁸ Recognizing that "sissy," "feminine," and "unmanly" can allude to male homosexuality leads to the realization that homophobia, in addition to misogyny, may play a role in boys' reticence to sing. Thus, this reticence may be based on discursive binaries that construct females, femininity, and *male homosexuality* as the undesirable "other." Craig Owens, cited by Carole-Anne Tyler, maintained that homophobia and misogyny, while not identical, are closely linked.⁸⁹ Askew and Ross noticed such a link when they observed boys' behavior in all-male settings; in the absence of girls, boys heaped the scorn usually directed at girls onto the least "manly," the "not real" boys, who were derisively called "poofers" (male homosexuals) and "cissies."⁹⁰ Thus, one connection between homophobia and misogyny is the assumption that women and gay men share similar characteristics worthy of a disdain that can be directed interchangeably at either group.

Acknowledging the role that homophobia, in addition to misogyny, may play in boys' reticence to sing may shed light on why the missing males problem has been so intractable. In Askew and Ross' study, boys exhibited tremendous anxiety about perceptions of their sexual orientation; boys responded violently and aggressively to insinuations that they were gay.⁹¹ The fact that none of the choral methods texts directly addressed the contributing role homophobia may play in the missing males problem, and that they resorted instead to euphemisms such as "sissy" and "unmanly," is a measure of the oppressive strength of homophobia at this moment

in history. As Fuss writes, one way that oppression operates is through a "domain of unthinkability and unnameability."⁹²

Explanations that pointed a finger at teachers were incomplete because they displayed a narrowness of vision; they failed to address history and social context. History indicates that the missing males problem has deep roots, but the current texts ignored this fact. One notable exception is a passage by Swanson that recounts his own experiences as a music teacher in the 1930s:

The scandal of few male students in vocal music has been with us for at least half a century. In 1932, I taught my first classes in junior high school vocal music. I have been conscious of the situation ever since. I became aware of it as more than a local problem when, in my middle years, I served as a vocal-choral music adjudicator. Choir after choir had many girl singers, but pitifully few boys. I often spent an entire morning rating female choruses, but all too often there were only one or two male glee clubs in a district. The list of soprano and alto soloists to be rated was long, the number of tenors and basses noticeably shorter.⁹³

Ahistoricity furthered the naive, but generally endorsed assumption (shared even by Swanson) that teachers can solve this problem themselves.

The third explanation, namely that the voice change is a source of the problem, may have merit, especially since boys themselves gave voice change as the primary reason why they drop out. However, contrary to Swanson's assertion, the voice change is probably neither the sole nor the primary determinant. There were no indications in texts other than Swanson that avoidance and attrition are limited to adolescent and post-adolescent males.

The explanation that boys do not participate in singing because they perceive it to be irrelevant to their career plans indirectly alludes to stereotypes linking males to public sphere activities such as employment outside the home. That some boys may give this ex-

planation is not questioned here. What is challenged, however, is the acceptance of this explanation as truth. Boys enthusiastically embrace many other school activities holding little or no realistic promise of contributing to future careers. Athletics is one example, but activities more closely related to singing can also be named. For example, there is no shortage of boys in bands, and bands presumably are no more or less related to careers than choirs are.⁹⁴ Historically, however, bands have been bastions of masculinity from which, until fairly recently, females largely have been excluded. Thus, the gendering of musical activities is a more plausible explanation of boys' musical choices than is music's career potential.

The fact that no attempt was made to explore why a concern for career relevancy would not similarly deter girls indicates that the author of the reference, like boys themselves, accepted as commonsense and natural public/private sphere rhetoric that links males to the public sphere. However, if we assume that girls are equally as concerned about careers as boys, then one may conjecture that girls participate in singing because they believe prospects in music are brighter for them than for males, an assumption not supported by statistics from most music-related occupations.

Of course, the career relevancy explanation is related to the highly debatable assumption that the primary purpose of education is to prepare children for future employment. This assumption was not questioned by the text offering this explanation, however. Rather, solutions attempted to demonstrate links between music and careers; advice reinforced rather than challenged the education-for-employment assumption.

Flawed Solutions

Explanations of the shortage of boys varied, but the list of proposed solutions was short; all of these solutions, to some degree, drew upon and reinforced discourses that socialist feminists find problematic. For example, problems appeared in discussions of the need to prove that music is a masculine activity. Faced with an issue clearly related to dominant constructions of gender, a socialist feminist might suggest that the most

equitable and lasting solutions to the missing males problem are based on changes in traditional constructions of gender or on the abolition of gender altogether. This was not the tack taken in the texts, however; instead, all texts that explained the problem in terms of gender accepted and reinforced traditional binaries in their proposed solutions. In contrast to Butler's concept of gender as performance, the texts simply assumed there is a gender, "which is in some sense that sex's cultural property." They accepted as commonsense and natural traditional sex-gender systems, as well as dominant views about males, females, masculinity, femininity, and (implicitly) sexual orientation. The texts recognized boys' anxiety about being "normal" and attempted to solve a problem evolving from that anxiety, but they never interrogated "normalcy." The problem was presumed to be improper placement of singing at the feminine end of the masculine/feminine polarity; the polarity itself was unquestioned. The proposed solutions involved changes in perceptions about singing or voices but not about gender or sexual orientation. The key to recruitment and retention lay in identifying what is masculine and then linking the "masculine" to singing. Although several references openly argued that singing is masculine, and one suggested that it is both masculine and feminine, no text recognized that like mathematics, sports, and needlework, singing is not intrinsically gendered.

Reinforcement of traditional constructions of masculinity was evident in the role models, activities, and music the references recommended for recruiting and retaining males. For example, the traditionally "masculine" characteristics sought in role models included maturity, athleticism, leadership, and success in career. Approbation of a stereotypical connection between masculinity and maturity was evident not only in discussions of appropriate role models but also, for example, in passages emphasizing the importance of calling boys "men." Masculine music bore characteristics typically ascribed to males themselves: It was energetic, strong, "robust," bellicose, and even defiant; action took precedence over sensitivity. Females and femininity were stereotyped as domestic,

From the perspective of a feminist educator, the cries for a more masculine or male-centered curriculum are ironic and distressing; ample research exists that indicates schooling already is overwhelmingly male-centered and tends to pay far too little attention to females.

emotional, weak, passive, and soft; this stereotyping was especially evident in recommendations concerning suitable repertoire. By advising teachers who instruct boys to avoid delicate, tender, or sensitive music, the references sanctioned practices that perpetuate the emotional illiteracy to which Ross, quoted earlier, alluded. The advice to implement an action or skill-based curriculum, and the suggestion to emphasize the physicality of singing, were grounded upon and, in turn, reinforced dominant constructions of masculinity — constructions based on gendered active/passive and rational/emotional binaries. Placing an exhortation to emphasize career opportunities in a section entitled “Keeping Boys Singing” reinforced a stereotype that constructs careers as a singularly masculine concern. Given sobering statistics on the underrepresentation of women in many music-related occupations, especially highly paid and prestigious ones, the decision to aim career exhortations primarily at males seems misdirected and anachronistic. Of course, when references reinforced links between males and careers, they also reinforced connections between males and economic independence, a point worth considering when assessing the full impact of exclusionary discussions of careers.

Not only were traditional constructions of masculinity, femininity, males, and females portrayed as commonsense and natural, but in addition, the masculine, the (heterosexual) male was rendered as the “good”; in particular, the “red-blooded” male, the “manly” man, was the standard. Good singing tone was a product of the “masculine” attributes of strength and virility. The good, the successful program was one replete with males, and good teaching was equated with that which attracted and retained males. These assumptions were evident, for example, in Roe’s call for male teachers. Because they purportedly would attract and retain male

students, male teachers were not only deemed necessary, but also the best. By arguing that music not taught by men would be dismissed by boys as unimportant or childish, Roe reinforced the perception that males teach the most important subjects. The unexamined assumption that the best choral programs are those that attract many boys led to the endorsement as commonsense and good of male-centered approaches to teaching and of a masculine curriculum. The best choral organizations were all-male groups or mixed groups that appealed to males. The good curriculum was skill and drill based because that approach reportedly was most effective with boys. Teachers were advised to use good melodies because they would appeal to boys, and this suggestion seemed to assume that girls are less discriminating in their musical preferences; however, if girls are socialized to define “good” in different ways than boys, the “good” school repertoire nonetheless remained that which appeals to boys. Females’ willingness to accept male preferences and male reticence to reciprocate, a phenomenon discussed in one passage, implies that males and females alike are socialized to equate the masculine with the good. The reference making an observation about girls’ willingness to yield to male preferences did not challenge the wisdom of this yielding; rather, it implied that the phenomenon will work to a teacher’s advantage by minimizing conflict over whose preferences will be honored. Of course, this reference raises the question of the purposes served by such socialization, a question not addressed in the text itself.

Suggestions to give males special care, consideration, attention, opportunities, and privileges were additional means by which a male-centered curriculum was rendered commonsense and good. From the perspective of a feminist educator, the cries for a

more masculine or male-centered curriculum are ironic and distressing; ample research exists that indicates schooling already is overwhelmingly male-centered and tends to pay far too little attention to females.⁹⁵

Swanson's argument that boys' lack of participation is not due to lack of giftedness, an argument he supported by asserting that the world's best composers have been male, not only equated males with goodness but also forwarded the exclusionary concept that a biological or genetic factor, possessed by some but not by others, is a prerequisite for success in music. Thus, he rejected the possibility that males are innately inferior, but he did not question the assumption that inferiority or superiority is innate. In his appeal to "giftedness," he did not recognize that discourses of talent and genius are themselves social constructs, which historically have been used to explain and maintain male dominance.

Reinforcement of the feminine/female (the not masculine) as the undesirable "other" was another problematic aspect of many proposed solutions. By catering to boys' aversions, many of these solutions not only acknowledged but also reinforced discourses that construct femininity, females, and homosexual males as bad. Thus, these proposed solutions were misogynistic and, due to the multiple meanings of "feminine" discussed earlier, homophobic. For example, when the texts advised conductors to avoid "feminine" terminology or to seat boys away from girls, they not only recognized the existence of anxieties and stereotypes but also recommended capitulating to them. Construction of the feminine as the "bad" was also evident in discussions of repertoire. Sensitivity, gentleness, delicacy, and tender emotions, as symbolized by butterflies, flowers, and birds, were the culprits. Often the underlying message was that big boys should sing, but they still should not cry; tender emotions repeatedly were deemed feminine and, thus, undesirable. Physical, psychological, and discursive distancing of males from the undesirable feminine/female "other" frequently was encouraged. By accepting as a matter of course inside/outside rhetoric, however, these references masked the reality that, as

Fuss put it, "most of us are both inside and outside at the same time."⁹⁶

One final noteworthy feature of the texts' explanations and solutions was their remarkable similarity to those appearing in music education materials published during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Apparently expert knowledge pertaining to the missing males problem, as embodied in educational materials for teachers, has changed little in this century.⁹⁷

Conclusions

As I have argued, nearly all the texts I examined drew from and reinforced systems of ideas that tend to perpetuate unequal power relations and that foster the continued oppression of women and gay men. Although some people, perhaps those perceiving themselves as having the most to lose and the least to gain, may argue that dominant discourses are in no need of reconsideration, socialist feminists join in a growing chorus of voices calling for change, both in and outside of schools. Such cries for change may seem revolutionary; however, a commitment to creating schools, and a society, where all children feel welcome and respected, and where all can learn, stems from long-held democratic ideals. If "alternative ways of perceiving reality" do, indeed, serve as precursors to change, then educators who are dedicated to democratic goals must explore ways of fostering such alternative perception. Challenging taken-for-granted assumptions and scrutinizing ideas and practices regarded as commonsense and natural are critical elements of an agenda for change. Equity issues need more attention than they currently are being given; problems in music education should be examined within their historical and cultural contexts; most importantly, new ways of thinking about old problems must be explored.

I have no magic solution to the missing males problem, but I suggest that as we grapple with this issue and others facing our field, we constantly need to scrutinize the larger systems of ideas upon which our understandings and solutions are built. We have reached a moment in history when constructions of gender and representations of many oppressed groups are being interro-

gated, contested, and renegotiated; music education should be involved in this important work. Socialist feminists and post-structural theorists working in gay/lesbian studies speak of alternative ways of thinking about males, females, gender, and sexual orientation. The time has come to listen.

Acknowledgment

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Notes

1. See, for example, Michael Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 6.
2. Articles, new books, new editions of books, and reprints of books, published between 1982 and 1992, were considered. No claim is made here to have examined every possible source. For example, the scope of the indexes I searched was such that materials published by the American Choral Directors Association were not included. The texts examined in this study were located by searching the following reference materials:
 1. *Subject Guide to Books in Print: 1991-1992*, 5 vols. (New Providence, NJ: R. R. Bowker, 1991). The following headings were searched for pertinent titles: choral music; choral singing; choirs (music); conducting, choral; music — instruction and study; and music — manuals, textbooks. I did not examine anthologies, collections, bibliographies, historical studies, dictionaries, essays about choral music, or pronunciation guides appearing under those headings.
 2. ERIC, encompassing the period from 1982 through September 1992, using relevant terms and descriptors.
 3. Arneson, Arne J. *The Music Educators Journal: Cumulative Index 1914-1987: Including the Music Supervisors' Bulletin and the Music Supervisors Journal*. Stevens Point, WI: Index House, 1987. The following headings were searched: Choirs and Chorus Festivals; Choirs and Choruses; Choirs and Choruses — A Cappella; Choirs and Choruses — Boys; Chorus and Choruses — Women; Choral Directors; Choral Music; Glee Clubs; Madrigal Singers; Vocal Ensembles; Singing; Pop Music Choirs; Singing — Study and Teaching; Singing — Study and Teaching — Class Method.
3. I found no references to gender in 16 of the articles and three of the books I located:

Armstrong, Kerchal, and Donald Hustad. *Choral Musicianship and Voice Training: An Introduction*. Carol Stream, IL: Somerset

- Press, 1986.
- Bass, Lisa P. "In the Swing of Things." *Music Educators Journal* 68 no. 6 (February 1982): 49-50, 61-62.
- Bennett, Peggy. "A Responsibility to Young Voices." *Music Educators Journal* 73, no. 1 (September 1986): 33-36.
- Cooper, Morton. "Prescriptions for Vocal Health: Medication and the Voice." *Music Educators Journal* 69, no. 6 (February 1983): 41-43.
- Cooper, Morton. "Prescriptions for Vocal Health: Finding the Right Vocal Register." *Music Educators Journal* 69, no. 6 (February, 1983): 40, 57, 59, 61.
- Cox, Dennis K. "Suzuki, Choral Speaking." *Music Educators Journal* 71, no. 9 (May 1985): 43-45.
- Cox, James. "Choral Conducting: More Than A Wave of the Hand." *Music Educators Journal* 75, no. 9 (May 1989): 26-30.
- Dwiggins, Rose Reeves. "One Step At A Time for Show Choirs." *Music Educators Journal* 70, no. 6 (February 1984): 41-45.
- Goetze, Mary. "Wanted: Children to Sing and Learn." *Music Educators Journal* 75, no. 4 (December 1988): 28-32.
- Heffernan, Charles W. *Choral Music: Technique and Artistry*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1982.
- Itkin, David. "Dissolving the Myths of the Show Choir." *Music Educators Journal* 72, no. 8 (April 1986): 39-41.
- Johnson, Ernest L. and Johnson, Monica Dale. "Planning + Effort = A Year of Success." *Music Educators Journal* 75, no. 6 (February 1989): 40-43.
- Kaplan, Abraham. *Choral Conducting*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1985.
- Lynch, Ruth Ann. "Don't Just Teach Singing, Teach Music." *Music Educators Journal* 69, no. 6 (February 1983): 42-43.
- Neuen, Donald L. "The Sound of A Great Chorus." *Music Educators Journal* 75, no. 4 (December 1988): 42-45.
- Phillips, Kenneth. "Training the Child Voice." *Music Educators Journal* 72, no. 4 (December 1985): 19-22, 57-58.
- "Point of View: Should Elementary Choruses Be Select or Non-select?" *Music Educators Journal* 72, no. 3 (November 1985): 33-36, 45-48.
- Smith, Janice P. "Selecting Music for the Elementary School Chorus." *Music Educators Journal* 73, no. 8 (April 1987): 54-57.
- Toms, John. "Extensivity: A Tonal Concept for Choral Conductors." *Music Educators Journal* 72, no. 4 (December 1985): 16-18.
- Eight articles and five books included qualifying references; however, not every text that referred to gender specifically discussed the missing-males problem. Some contained general references to gender; some discussed other topics (e.g., the

changing voice). Only two sources, Allen and Mount, were free of the types of references that feminists find problematic, and Mount was the only source to devote the majority of space to a problem affecting girls:

- Allen, Sue Fay. "The Potential of the Junior High Voice." *Music Educators Journal* 73, no. 3 (November 1986): 29-31.
- Herman, Sally. "Unlocking the Potential of Junior High Choirs." *Music Educators Journal* 75, no. 4 (December 1988): 33-36, 41.
- Lamb, Gordon H. *Choral Techniques*. 3d ed. Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown, 1988.
- Lawrence, Joy E. "The Right Stuff: Success Begins With the Director." *Music Educators Journal* 75, no. 6 (February 1989): 36-39.
- Mancuso, Sandra L. "Where the Boys Are: Show Chorus." *Music Educators Journal* 70, no. 3 (November 1983): 56-57.
- McRae, Shirley W. *Directing the Children's Choir: A Comprehensive Resource*. New York: Schirmer, 1991.
- Miller, Kenneth E. *Vocal Music Educations: Teaching in the Secondary School*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988.
- Mitchell, Barbara, and Cheryl M. Staats. *Making Children's Choirs Work*. Cincinnati: Standard, 1986.
- Mount, Timothy. "Female Tenors... How to Ruin An Alto." *Music Educators Journal* 69, no. 4 (December 1982): 47-48.
- Phillips, Kenneth H. "Choral Music Comes of Age." *Music Educators Journal* 75, no. 4 (December 1988): 22-27.
- Roe, Paul F. *Choral Music Education*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1983.
- Swanson, Fredrick. "Changing Voices: Don't Leave Out the Boys." *Music Educators Journal* 70, no. 5 (January 1984): 47-50.
- Tovey, David G. "Between the Last Choral Concert and Summer Vacation." *Music Educators Journal* 69, no. 8 (April 1983): 41-42.

I was unable to locate several books published during this time that seemed to qualify for the study. When two major university libraries did not own these books, I resorted to writing to the publishers asking for review copies:

- Bartle, Jean A. *Lifeline for Children's Choir Directors*. Oxford, 1988. [Publisher did not reply.]
- Corbin, Lynn A. *Vocal Techniques for Choral Ensembles*. Schirmer, 1991. [Publisher replied that title has been cancelled.]
- Garretson, Robert L. *Conducting Choral Music*. 6th ed. Prentice Hall, 1988. [The publisher waited until the seventh edition (1993) came out and sent a complimentary copy. However, the study was completed by the time the text arrived, and the new edition publication date disqualified the text from consideration.]
- Gordon, L. *Choral Directors Rehearsal and Performance Guide*. Prentice Hall Interna-

tional, 1989. [Publisher did not reply.]

Montgomery, Charles. *The Choral Director's Handbook*. Ed. Jane Montgomery. Light Hearted Publishing, 1984. [Publisher did not reply.]

4. For example, Kenneth E. Miller, *Vocal Music Education: Teaching in the Secondary School*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988), 26.
5. Leslie G. Roman and Linda K. Christian-Smith, "Introduction," in *Becoming Feminine: The Politics of Popular Culture*, ed. Leslie G. Roman and Linda K. Christian-Smith (London: Falmer, 1988), 4.
6. Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," in *Inside/Out*, ed. Diana Fuss (New York: Routledge, 1991), 28.
7. Butler, 21.
8. Ibid.
9. Alison M. Jaggar, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (Brighton: Harvester, 1983; repr., Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1988), 127.
10. For discussion, see, for example, Sue Askew and Carol Ross, *Boys Don't Cry: Boys and Sexism in Education* (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1988), 2; and John Fiske, *Television Culture* (Methuen, 1987; repr., London: Routledge, 1989), 186, 220.
11. Fiske, 200.
12. K. Overfield, "The Packaging of Women: Science and Our Sexuality," in *On the Problems of Men*, ed. S. Friedman and E. Sarah (The Women's Press, 1982), 67-70, quoted in Askew and Ross, 107.
13. Andrew Ross, "Miami Vice: Selling In," *Communication* 2, no. 3-4 (1987): 317.
14. See, for example, Overfield cited in Askew and Ross, 107.
15. Fiske, 220.
16. See, for example, Richard D. Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 22, 24, 127, 129; and Julia Eklund Koza, "Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1830-1877," *The Music Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 104-106.
17. Fiske, 204.
18. Overfield, quoted in Askew and Ross, 107.
19. See, for example, Diana Fuss, "Inside/Out," in *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*, ed. Diana Fuss (New York: Routledge, 1991), 2; and Askew and Ross, x.
20. Fuss, 3.
21. Ibid.
22. Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review, 1975), especially 159 and 165-166.
23. Jaggar, 147.
24. Fiske, 210.

25. Jaggar, 317.
26. Jaggar, 323.
27. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International, 1971), 12.
28. Jaggar, 151.
29. Jaggar, 333.
30. For simplicity, I will usually use the term "teacher," even though teacher/director may be a more accurate term because some of the texts were expressly designed for directors in educational settings.
31. See, for example, Miller, 28; and Paul F. Roe, *Choral Music Education*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1983), 176, 177.
32. Kenneth H. Phillips, "Choral Music Comes of Age," *Music Educators Journal* 75, no. 4 (December 1988): 24.
33. Perry A Castelli, "Attitudes of Vocal Music Educators and Public Secondary School Students on Selected Factors Which Influence Decline in Male Enrollment Occurring Between Elementary and Secondary Public School Vocal Music Programs" (Ph. D. diss. University of Maryland, College Park, 1986), cited in Phillips, 25.
34. Phillips, 25.
35. Roe, 176-177.
36. Miller, 28.
37. Roe, 176.
38. Ibid.
39. Sandra L. Mancuso, "Where the Boys Are: Show Chorus," *Music Educators Journal* 70, no. 3 (November 1983): 56.
40. Fiske, 188.
41. Phillips, 25.
42. Roe, 177.
43. Miller, 88-89.
44. Roe, 177.
45. Swanson, 50.
46. Miller, 83.
47. Miller, 86.
48. Roe, 179.
49. Roe, 180.
50. Sue Fay Allen, "The Potential of the Junior High Voice," *Music Educators Journal* 73, no. 3 (November 1986): 29.
51. Roe, 177.
52. Allen, 29-30.
53. Miller, 26.
54. Roe, 177.
55. Roe, 180.
56. Miller, 87, 84-85.
57. Miller, 105.
58. Miller, 84.
59. Frederick Swanson, "Changing Voices: Don't Leave Out the Boys," *Music Educators Journal* 70, no. 5 (January 1984): 47.
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