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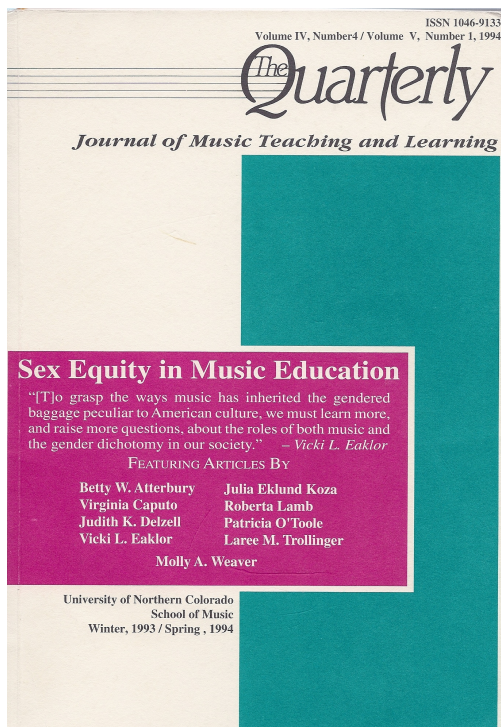
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*It is with pleasure that we inaugurate the reprint of the entire seven volumes of The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning. The journal began in 1990 as The Quarterly. In 1992, with volume 3, the name changed to The Quarterly Journal of 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.*

# Variables Affecting The Gender-Role Stereotyping Of High School Band Teaching Positions

By Judith K. Delzell

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Though women have made advances of late in securing occupational positions traditionally associated with males, progress is still somewhat limited in regard to high school band teaching positions. Variables affecting the gender gap in the ranks of high school band directors are numerous and diverse. With a few exceptions, such as Gould (1992) and Kopetz (1988), a review of literature showed a surprising lack of research or discussion specifically addressing this particular matter. The purpose of this article is threefold: (a) to present an estimate of the current gender distribution among high school band directors, as well as college directors; (b) to propose and discuss possible variables that may be affecting the gender gap; and (c) to discuss signs of change and offer recommendations that may help to continue closing the gender gap.

## Current Gender Distribution

An estimate of the extent to which high school band teaching positions are gender-role stereotyped can be gleaned through consideration of several studies. Of particular importance is the survey on the status of arts education in the schools (Leonhard,

1991), completed by the National Arts Education Research Center at the University of Illinois. In the last section of the middle school and secondary school survey, a number of

questions were asked regarding the backgrounds of the choral and instrumental specialists who had the longest tenure in the school.

It should be noted that the descriptive data reported for teachers from small schools are likely a good representation of the music staff, in that many of these schools have only one choral specialist and one instrumental specialist.

The data from large

schools, however, may be skewed somewhat, in that advances made in closing the gender gap over the past two decades may not be fully represented in the descriptive data of individuals *with the longest tenure*. Moreover, "instrumental specialist" includes both orchestra teachers and band teachers. Though one tends to see more equitable gender balance among orchestra teachers, the smaller number of orchestra teachers is such that the female gender percentages are likely inflated only to a small extent. Given the previous caveats, these data do, however, present at least a sense of gender distribution in the schools.

Findings related to small secondary schools (fewer than 1,000 students) indicate that whereas female choral specialists account for

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54 percent of the teachers, female instrumental specialists account for only 23 percent. Almost identical results are observed for choral specialists in large secondary schools, with 55 percent of the teachers female. The proportion of female instrumental teachers is notably smaller, however, with only 11 percent of the teachers female.

Of concern is the fact that the reported gender distribution of instrumental music teachers at the middle school level is not significantly better. Only 25 percent of the instrumental specialists are female in small middle schools (fewer than 500 students), and only 20 percent are female in large middle schools. Again, this is in contrast to the gender distribution of choral teachers in small middle schools (59 percent female) and large middle schools (59 percent female).

I had hypothesized that the gender distribution of instrumental teachers was more balanced at the middle school level. The higher-than-expected percentage of male teachers may be due, in part, to the fact that the descriptive data were collected from teachers with the longest tenure. These data may reflect the common practice of high school band teachers (predominantly male) moving "down" to the middle school after a number of years, thereby masking any improved hiring practices in regard to gender distribution over the last decade or two.

It was possible to gain an estimate of the gender distribution of *all* teachers with high school band assignments in the state of Ohio through the coding of data in the directory of state music teachers (Ohio Music Education Association, 1992b). Though one cannot generalize to other states, the data provide an estimate for a midwestern state with the fourth largest secondary school population in the nation (U. S. Department of Education, 1992), as well as good representation of rural, suburban, and urban districts.

Of the 1,094 teachers listed with high school band assignments, approximately 21 percent were females. It should be noted that many teachers in the directory have multiple codes, holding teaching positions across grade levels and, in some cases, across music specializations, so one should not assume that all of these individuals have primary re-

sponsibilities in their high schools. It is clear, however, that composite data on all Ohio teachers with high school band assignments are similar to Leonhard's national statistics of selected instrumental specialists with the longest tenure in sampled schools.

To put these percentages in perspective, it helps to consider the overall gender distribution of all teachers at the secondary level. Unlike the gender distribution in the elementary schools, where female teachers are most prevalent, male teachers have had strong representation in secondary schools (National Education Association, 1992). In 1961, for example, 57 percent of all high school teachers were male. Since then, there has been a steady decline in the percentage of male high school teachers as follows: males comprised 55 percent of high school faculty in 1971, 47 percent in 1981, and 44 percent in 1991. Thus, if gender stereotyping was not a factor, one would expect that about 56 percent of high school band directors would be female.

It should also be noted that in 1989-90, the majority (60 percent) of undergraduate music education degrees were awarded to women, as well as the majority (58 percent) of master's degrees (National Center for Education Statistics, 1992). Breakdowns into instrumental, choral, and general music emphases unfortunately are not available. One could hypothesize that the larger percentage of female music education majors reflects the other notable gender-role stereotype in our field — that of female general music teachers, especially at the elementary level. To gain one estimate of gender distribution of instrumental music education students, I reviewed music education methods course records from the past five years at The Ohio State University and found that there has been a relatively equal gender distribution, with 53 percent of the instrumental music education students being female.

Gender-role association of instrumental and choral conductors was investigated in the 1981 study of sex-role associations of musical instruments and occupations by Griswold and Chrobak. In this study, the authors found that "instrumental conductor" was perceived as having masculine connotations, whereas "choral conductor" was per-

In Feather's 1980 study of college band directors, she cited the feeling of isolation expressed by female college band directors, reporting that "women band directors in higher education were not aware of other women in the field and thus suffered from a lack of relationships with women peers and from the absence of a mentor of the same sex" (p. 957).

ceived as having feminine connotations.

Tuba was perceived as being the most masculine of the instruments, followed by string bass, trumpet, bass drum, saxophone, and instrumental conductor. On the other end of the gender continuum, harp was perceived as most feminine, followed by flute, piccolo, glockenspiel, and choral conductor. It is interesting to note that the gender-role perception for instrumental conductor is clearly reflected in actual demographics. The reported gender distribution of choral conductors (Leonhard, 1991), however, is proportionate to the gender distribution of all secondary teachers and does not reflect gender stereotyping.

Women have also been underrepresented on the college band podium (Feather, 1980; Renton, 1980). Renton analyzed the status of women faculty members in college music positions during 1976 and 1977 and found in her 1976 analysis that the highest proportion of males was found in the jazz field (96 percent), followed by director of bands (95 percent). Though authors frequently comment on high gender inequity in the field of composition, that representation (90 percent) was actually better than the representation for director of bands.

The situation in 1992 shows little improvement, with the College Music Society (CMS) reporting that males still hold 94 percent of the band-director positions (College Music Society, 1993). Though the percentage has seen little change, the total number of females in these positions has increased slightly due to an overall increase in the number of individuals holding this type of position. In 1976, 60 of the 1,173 band positions were held by females, as compared to 101 of the 1,571 positions in 1992. Clearly, females have not made much progress onto the college band podium.<sup>1</sup>

There is certainly an interrelationship between the gender stereotyping of college band directors and high school band directors. On one hand, it is not uncommon for colleges searching for band directors to include successful public school experience as a desired qualification or to state that preference will be given to individuals with such experience. Thus, given the smaller number of female high school directors, the female applicant pool for college positions is limited. On the other hand, the predominance of male college directors reinforces the stereotypic belief that the band podium is a male domain and may continue to directly or indirectly shape female college students' perception regarding the gender appropriateness of aspiring to become a conductor.

### Historical Perspective

To gain a sense of the variables affecting gender-role stereotyping of high school band positions, one must consider a historical perspective. The gender-role stereotypes that have been part of music since the colonial period have received increasing attention from scholars, including works of Ammer (1980), Bowers and Tick (1986), and Pendle (1991). Certainly, there is a parallel between societal delineation of roles and activities appropriate for women in general, as compared to those in the field of music. Over the years, roles and occupations in music viewed as appropriate for males but not for females have included conducting, composing, singing in early colonial churches, performing in professional symphony orchestras and jazz groups as instrumentalists, and teaching music in higher education (Ammer, 1980; Bowers & Tick, 1986; College Music Society, 1993; Feather, 1980; Pendle, 1991; Renton, 1980).

In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, a woman's place was in the

home and certainly not on the orchestra podium. A desire to gain access to the podium, as well as performance opportunities in symphony orchestras, led to the establishment of "all-girl" orchestras in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the twentieth century (Ammer, 1980; Bowers & Tick, 1986; Pendle, 1991).

Women's access to the professional symphony orchestra podium is still limited today. This is especially true of major symphony orchestras, which set the standard in that performance medium. In 1990, there were a total of 99 orchestras in the United States and Canada with annual budgets in excess of one million dollars. Of these, only four orchestras had women as the principal conductor (Pendle, 1991). The percentage of women serving as college directors of bands is very similar to the percentage of women serving as principal conductors of major professional orchestras.

To understand women's access to the band podium, an historical perspective is also important. Formal organization of bands in this country began around 1800 and was associated with military posts and local militia (Keene, 1982). During the latter part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century, a number of different types of bands existed, including town bands; minstrel bands; military bands; touring professional bands, such as those of Patrick Gilmore (1829-1892) and John Philip Sousa (1854-1932); public school bands; college bands; and youth bands. Gender segregation of youth bands was a common practice. According to Keene, a review of *Trumpet Notes* and *Musical Truth* showed all-boy bands were cited as early as 1877, all-girl bands from 1900, and mixed juvenile groups from 1894 (p. 285).

Though there were established high school bands in the late nineteenth century, the major band movement in the high schools occurred in the first part of the twentieth century. The formation of the Committee on Instrumental Affairs in 1922 by the Music Supervisors National Conference helped establish professional standards and laid a firm foundation for bands as a component of music education in American schools.

The first significant pool of instrumental

music teachers in the schools came from several sources, including military bands following World War I, and it stands to reason that this connection with military bands and "bandmasters" has been one of the variables influencing the gender-role stereotyping of high school band positions. Other sources of high school band directors were vaudeville-house orchestras and movie-theater orchestras that accompanied silent films; the latter group, of course, sought new employment with the advent of "talkies" in the late 1920s. Interest in teaching instrumental music in high schools was also fostered by the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929 (Mark & Gary, 1992).

The gender-role stereotype was reinforced by the connection between bands and the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). In the first quarter of the twentieth century, for example, all the bands in Chicago were connected with ROTC (Keene, 1982). The ROTC connection was also observed at land-grant universities such as Ohio State, Illinois, and Purdue, where bands were needed for the "pass in reviews" of military cadets. Informally organized in the late 1870s, for example, the Ohio State Marching Band was officially connected with ROTC through an agreement reached in 1929 between the music, athletic, and ROTC departments (Littlegreen, Mailer, & Yabroff, 1989). As part of this agreement, ROTC provided the all-male band with military advisers and academic credit through the ROTC department.

It is likely that all-male marching bands influenced the gender stereotyping of high school band directors in two different ways. First, major land grant universities played a role in setting the standard for marching bands, and the fact that the standard was all-male in some schools certainly did not go unnoticed. Second, female instrumental music education students from these schools were disadvantaged during the decades of all-male marching bands because that experience was not available to them. Thus, a female applicant from that type of university did not bring the same credentials to a high school band position as a male applicant from the same university who had participated in the marching band.

All-male marching bands were commonplace until the passage of Title IX of the Higher Education Act of 1972, which forced such groups to accept female members. In January, 1973, for example, the Ohio State University Marching Band officially changed its policy and membership was opened to women, and in 1974 the University of Wisconsin Marching Band admitted its first female members.

The perceived importance of marching band training in the 1950s is clearly delineated in Fennell's 1954 treatise on the use of wind instruments in bands, orchestras, and wind ensembles. Fennell stressed the importance of marching bands to the general public and noted that "the public appearances of school and college marching bands are the services by which the general public best knows and judges the value of institutional music. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first "requirement" for the training of a college or high school band director in the eyes of the public and those who administrate its schools is his proficiency in the art of the marching band" (p. 48).

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### **Instrument Gender Associations**

The instrument a child chooses to play in elementary school can have a secondary influence on his or her qualifications for a high school band position, for some instrumentalists are limited in their performance experiences. An oboist will likely have performance experiences in concert band and orchestra, but not in jazz band, marching band, or summer drum corps (unless playing a secondary instrument).

A number of studies have been conducted on instrument gender associations and preferences (Abeles & Porter, 1978; Delzell & Leppla, 1992; Fortney, Boyle, & DeCarbo, 1993; Griswold & Chrobak, 1981). In both

the Abeles and Porter study, as well as the Delzell and Leppla study, drums were considered the most masculine of eight instruments, followed by trombone, trumpet, and saxophone. Fortney, Boyle, and DeCarbo found in actual choices made by middle school children that the majority of female students (70.7 percent) chose flute and clarinet, 10 percent chose saxophone, 5.4 percent chose percussion, and only 10.5 percent chose any member of the brass family. Compare this to the choices of male students, 50.3 percent of whom chose a brass instrument, 18.1 percent saxophone, and 17.6 percent percussion.<sup>2</sup>

The percentage of girls choosing flute and clarinet is particularly striking. By virtue of the instrument chosen, these students will not have jazz ensemble or drum corps experiences unless they perform on secondary instruments. Consider the high school principal who reviews the resumes of two applicants, one of whom (a male) plays trombone and has performance experiences in concert band, marching band, orchestra, jazz ensemble and summer drum corps, and the other (a female) who plays oboe and has orchestra and concert band experience, but no jazz or marching experience. In such a case, the female applicant does not present as strong an application in regard to broad performance experiences, unless she has accounted for these voids in some other way.

### **Hiring Practices**

Kopetz (1988) completed a study examining whether personnel officers used non-job criteria to make interview decisions for instrumental music positions. The non-job criteria addressed in his study included gender, applied instrument (trumpet, clarinet, oboe, and violin), and type of institution attended (music education-oriented versus performance-

oriented). To complete his study, Kopetz constructed hypothetical job applications with various combinations of gender, applied instrument, and type of institution attended.

Kopetz found that gender and type of institution had significant but small effects on the decision regarding who was chosen for an interview, with male applicants preferred over female applicants and applicants from music education-oriented schools preferred over those from performance-oriented schools. The applied instrument played by the applicant had a greater effect than gender or type of institution, with trumpet players most preferred, followed by clarinet, oboe, and violin. When considering the type of personnel officer making the interview judgment, he found that superintendents preferred female applicants, but music supervisors and both elementary and secondary principals preferred male applicants.

Not surprisingly, research by Turner (1987) did show that principals were the single most important factor in a candidate's ranking during applicant screening; therefore, it becomes particularly important for principals to be at least aware of issues related to gender-role stereotyping. As with any gender-stereotyped occupational role, the default position for those individuals involved in screening and hiring applicants is the past stereotype unless the individual has been sensitized to these issues.

Instrumental music teachers traditionally have performance responsibilities at high school athletic events such as football and basketball games. Due to this relationship with high school athletics, it is conceivable that some principals may view high school band directors, at least to some degree, like high school coaches — another occupational role that is associated with males. Moreover, a principal may believe that female applicants have little or no interest in marching band, basketball pep band, or sporting events in general, and therefore fear that female applicants will not embrace those aspects of the position.

The fact that high school concert bands are usually two to three times the size of the traditional academic class, and marching bands are up to five to seven times larger, may

cause another intervening bias. Principals holding a bias that females have less effective classroom management skills than males would likely pass over female applicants.

Lastly, the common gender-biased belief that female applicants are hindered by time constraints due to family responsibilities could influence some principals. They may feel that female applicants are unwilling or unable to work the extra hours required in most high school band positions. Certainly a parallel theme is experienced by female athletic coaches. Though I found no research related to instrumental music teaching, a national study comparing 2,719 male coaches and 1,449 female coaches (Hasbrook, Hart, Mathes, & True, 1990) indicated that male coaches, not female coaches, reported greater difficulties with time constraints due to family obligations.

### Signs of Change

There are signs of change regarding the closing of the gender gap since passage of Title IX. Some signs have been immediate and dynamic, such as opening of membership in previously all-male marching bands, whereas other changes are evident but incrementally smaller.

One sign of change can be seen in membership of the American School Band Directors Association (ASBDA). Membership in this association is by invitation only, and candidacy for membership requires that an individual have at least seven years of demonstrated achievement, documented by a sponsor and three additional directors who have observed this achievement. ASBDA was formed in 1953, and available records from ASBDA show no female teachers on the original charter. A review of the 1992-93 membership list, however, shows 141 female members of the total membership of 1351 (American School Band Directors Association, 1992). The ASBDA membership list also indicates the year an individual was invited to join. Of the 1992-93 female membership, 1.4 percent ( $n = 2$ ) were invited to join in the 1950s, 5 percent ( $n = 7$ ) in the 1960s, 13.5 percent ( $n = 19$ ) in the 1970s, and 62.4 percent ( $n = 88$ ) in the 1980s. The remaining 25 female members (17.7 percent of the total female membership) were invited

to join during the first three years of the 1990s. In addition to the obvious growth in female membership, it should also be noted that female members are assuming leadership roles in this association, holding two of the ten 1993 ASBDA Executive Board positions.

To gain another estimate of change, I reviewed the results from the 1982 and 1992 state competitions for concert bands in Ohio (Ohio Music Education Association, 1982; Ohio Music Education Association, 1992a). Since the early 1980s, this information has been published annually in the state journal, *Triad*. In 1982, 6.5 percent of the high school bands participating in state competitions ( $N = 185$ ) were conducted by women, as compared to 7.7 percent of the concert bands ( $N = 182$ ) that chose to enter state competition in 1992. Though the change is not dramatic, it does show an increased presence of women band directors at state concert band competitions.

As more females hold positions as high school and college band directors, the opportunity for role models and mentors increases. Though at times the progress seems slow, women in these positions, whether in an overtly deliberate fashion or not, serve as role models for other females. In Feather's 1980 study of college band directors, she cited the feeling of isolation expressed by female college band directors, reporting that "women band directors in higher education were not aware of other women in the field and thus suffered from a lack of relationships with women peers and from the absence of a mentor of the same sex" (p. 957). Similar sentiments regarding the need for a network and support system likely served as part of the impetus in the establishment of the Women Band Directors National Association in 1969.

Female students interested in pursuing a career as a high school band director or college band director should be encouraged to do so. In a study of career choices of high school honor band students, Davis (1991) observed that when all factors were examined collectively, the strongest predictors of career choice related to the influence of others. It is likely that more female students will pursue such careers if others give them encouragement.

Particular attention should be given those students, irrespective of gender, whose principal instruments preclude them from performance experiences in jazz ensembles and marching bands. Since the majority of high school positions require working with a marching band and jazz ensemble, students should be encouraged to gain the experience necessary to make them strong candidates for such positions. Students whose principal instrument does not lend itself to experiences in jazz ensemble and marching band should consider gaining those experiences with a secondary instrument, or electing methods courses for these ensembles, or both.

The music education profession as a whole must also continue all possible efforts toward shaping high school band positions into manageable jobs — jobs that are attractive to candidates of both sexes. There are still many high school positions where the extra-curricular time demands made of students and teachers are clearly disproportionate to the rest of the school program. The classic examples of this are the excessively competitive marching band in instrumental music and show choir in vocal music. Female and male applicants seeking to develop and foster balanced music programs are understandably disinclined to pursue such positions.

Recognizing that the process of acculturation is ongoing and largely below the surface, efforts must be made to monitor unconscious biases. The issue of access to occupations and musical experiences, irrespective of gender, is important for all individuals. Males should be comfortable playing the flute, and females at ease playing the tuba, and males should be as welcomed in the elementary general music classroom as females should be on the college band podium. By opening access and providing opportunities to all individuals, the entire field of music benefits.

## Notes

1. It should be noted that gender specification in the CMS database is currently being done informally, through on-site coding of gender based on first name. Individuals with first names used by both genders (e.g., Terry and Pat) are presently coded as male. To determine the approximate percentage of first names that would have been affected by this procedure, I scanned the 1992-94

CMS Directory and estimated that less than 4 percent of the first names of college band directors would be questionable regarding gender.

2. These percentages are not reported by the authors but instead were calculated from the raw data presented in Table 1 (Fortney, Boyle, & DeCarbo, 1993, p. 33).

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