

Claiming Space:
Discourses on Gender, Popular Music, and Social Change

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Claiming Space

Discourses on Gender, Popular Music,
and Social Change

Academy of Music and Drama
University of Gothenburg

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there are many dimensions involved in learning to play music
(quote from the empirical data)

Abstract

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This compilation (portfolio) thesis explores how language is used in the context of gender-equity music initiatives to construct ideas about gender, popular music, and social change. More specifically, it examines the use of spatial metaphors and concepts revolving round the idea that girls and women need to “claim space” to participate in popular music practices.

The empirical material consists of recorded round-table discussions with staff and participants from four different initiatives in Sweden, all with the explicit aim to increase the number of girls and women involved in popular music production and performance. They include a time-limited project by a youth organization, a grass-roots network for young musicians, an adult education course, and a pop/rock music camp for girls. A Foucault-inspired discourse analysis method in six stages was used to examine the data in terms of discursive constructions, discourses, action orientation, positionings, practice, and subjectivity.

The results are organized in four themes – Sound, Body, Territory, and Room – and are discussed in relation to the concepts of performativity (Judith Butler), feminine body spatiality (Iris Marion Young), and gaze (Michel Foucault and others). The idea of “claiming space” is found to be involved in two dialectics. The first dialectic is formed by space-claiming understood as on the one hand extrovert self-promotion to be seen and heard, and on the other hand, as introvert focus on the musical craft. A second dialectic is formed by an ongoing struggle between empowerment and objectification, i.e., between being an acting subject and being the object of a disciplining gaze.

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Foreword

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PART I

Chapter 1

Introduction

PRELUDE: THE DRUMMER WHO GOT STUCK IN THE PRACTICE ROOM

Around the time I turned fifteen, I had a strong sense that it was time for something new. I had taken piano lessons for nine years, sang in the choir, achieved good grades at school and overall performed well. At this stage, I wanted to do something unexpected, to surprise people around me (and maybe myself as well). I declared to my parents that I wanted to play the drums, borrowed an old drum set from a family friend, and dragged it to my room. I had always enjoyed rhythmical music, and on my piano I played pop, gospel music and jazz, from sheet music and by ear. Earlier, when I was around twelve, I had tried to form a band with a girlfriend. We sang, played the piano and the acoustic guitar, rehearsed, and made posters for gigs that were never realized. But this time, I was ready.

I started taking afternoon percussion lessons at the local municipal music school. Quite motivated and aroused by the drum kit's qualities of being a powerful, physical instrument, I did my practice well, struggling with paradiddles and rolls. But how was I supposed to find someone to form a group with? At the music school, I was the only girl taking percussion. Those of my friends who took an interest in music sang in the choir, but I wanted to play in a band, with electric guitar and bass, microphones, and amps. Where was I supposed to start looking? I had no idea, and so I focused on learning as much as possible, practiced drum patterns and styles, double-punches on the bass drum and jazz brush techniques on the snare drum. After high school, I was accepted to a one-year music program at a Folk High School,¹ with piano as first instrument and percussion as second. Soon, I became aware of the distinct roles associated with jazz, pop, and rock – the girls were vocalists, while the guys played instruments and already had years of experience of playing in bands. I was disappointed, already behind on my road to band-playing, and decided again to practice more, doing the samba, reggae, jazz waltz. In the youth orchestra, I played percussion; in the practice room, I played the drums. A couple of years later, I was

accepted to the music teacher program at the university. By then I was starting to think I played the drums fairly well – but did I play well enough? My male friends had by now gathered even more experience of playing in groups, and I still had none. To market myself among them as a drummer seemed out of the question. I decided to try to gather some female friends and start a band. Two or three such attempts came to nothing, perhaps because we had no clear aim with our activity, perhaps because our priorities lay elsewhere, or maybe just because we did not know how to play in a band. Well, yes, we knew how to play our instruments, but other aspects of band culture – routines for rehearsing, sound technology, decision-making procedures – was knowledge seemingly hidden, difficult to access.

After graduating, first in my work as a music teacher and later as a doctoral student, I have wondered how to understand my musical development, the routes I took or did not take and the places I went or did not go. What factors should have been different for me to actually start playing in a band? There was neither lack of motivation, nor of equipment, nor of instruction on how to play the instrument. Was it a matter of not being bold enough? I never regarded myself as lacking courage or self-confidence generally, but for some reason I felt a bit lost when it came to drumming. Although I loved to play the drums, I never quite identified with “someone who would play in a band,” whoever that was.

With a desire to better understand the nexus of musical learning, gender and identity, I carried out three studies at the honor’s/master’s level, interviewing young Swedes and South Africans about their routes for learning and making music. Alongside with this, outside academia, I was for a number of years involved in a labor market project to develop courses for women to enter the field of technology. My engagement in these two practices – the research practice and the “shopfloor” learning context – helped me to conceptualize the learning/gender/identity nexus, but it also left me with a nagging feeling that there was something elusive and double-sided about gender issues. It appeared to me that my texts lived a life of their own, apart from my intentions of raising awareness of the implications of gendered socialization. The texts seemed to do something else also: I suspected that by throwing light on gender issues, they also *reinforced* ideas about gender. In a similar way, in the women/technology project, I witnessed ambivalence amongst both participants and instructors considering the question of being “special” and selected. The outspoken aim of working against gender bias in technology was troubled by the attention the participants got by being selected *as women* for the project.

Because of these paradoxes, for a period of time, I perceived the field of gender and education to be a slippery business, and considered leaving it to be explored by others. About seven years ago, however, my encounter with social constructionist theory, and later with poststructural thinking, served as turning points. I was offered a new concept of power, acknowledging resistance as a double movement of subversion/reinforcement. The poststructuralist focus on the performative functions of language also enabled me to see a way forward

by turning my focus to *conceptualizations* of gender and musical learning. My ongoing enterprise – to better understand how difficulties and paradoxes of gender-equity work in music might be perceived – is driven by an emancipatory desire for musical practices more just, but equally by an ambition to critically reflect on how my own use of words opens up certain ways of thinking and forecloses others.

RATIONALE

The narrative above forms the story I see as the background to my interest to probe further into questions about popular music and gender. A further development of my background would situate me as white, heterosexual, and middle-class, with a background in The Mission Covenant Church of Sweden – the latter providing me with countless opportunities for music making and performance of both popular music and art music, not the least through choirs. These factors, together with many others, have shaped my experiences of learning music and the interest I take in these issues. My accounting for the story above is made in a tradition among postmodern and feminist authors to challenge the idea of a neutral researcher. I adopt a broad definition of feminist theories as those seeking to reveal various forces shaping women's lives. In music education research, such a perspective can reveal various forces shaping women's *musical* lives, but it can also be extended to discuss how gender shapes the musical lives of men as well. During the last few decades, feminist theories have inspired, and intersected with, critiques of various other hegemonies in society. Although gender is the focus of the present study, I am aware that popular music practices are also shaped by markers of difference such as class and ethnicity.

My reason for choosing to study gender and popular music is double. First, from the perspective of formal education, the inclusion of popular music in schools calls for music education research to further investigate the possibilities and limitations popular music offers in terms of gender. Gender appears as most significant for issues of performance, bodily display, competence, and authenticity, and as research has demonstrated, popular music in the classroom does not escape gender delineations (Abramo, 2009; Bergman, 2009; Green, 1997). Second, as there are many settings for learning popular music, the questions posed in the present study are relevant for contexts outside formal schooling. Gender structures in the music industry are at present subjected to vigorous public debate in Sweden, including issues of sexism and gender quotas. If music education research is defined to include all kinds of contexts for learning music, it does not need to be underpinned by a focus on formal schooling, but becomes legitimate by focusing on (conditions for) learning.

Issues of gender and popular music have previously mainly been explored by researchers in sociology, culture studies, media studies, and popular music studies. While many of these studies focus primarily on “white,” Western pop and rock music practices, the body of research also includes texts about a variety

of musical genres, cultures, and topics (see article 1 in Part II). Gender issues in popular music can be examined from two perspectives, which in effect are interdependent. First, there are quantitative matters of sexual representation. From this perspective, some genres have been pointed out as particularly over-represented by males, but an overwhelming structural differentiation between men and women seems to be prevalent in a broad spectrum of popular music practices, where women are in a definite minority in all positions of the popular music field, except for that of vocalist. Second, there are qualitative matters of gendered signification. From my understanding, popular music appears to be broadly aligned with two traits associated with masculinity: first, with assertive and aggressive performance, and second, with technological mastery. These two traits are combined and played out in different ways within different contexts and genres. Aggressive physical and sonic performance is perhaps most strongly played out in various subgenres of rock. Although enactment of technological mastery also shifts depending on the context, it has relevance for popular music practice in broad terms by its connotations with the instrumentalist position, whether we speak of dance music, hip hop, country music, R&B,² or jazz – the latter nowadays sometimes classified as art music rather than popular music.³

Foucault (1982, p. 780) suggests that “in order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations.” I did so, by turning to music initiatives with an explicit objective to increase the number of girls and women in popular music practices. I arranged round-table discussions with staff and participants from four different initiatives in Sweden. My broad initial aim was to examine conversations about gender and popular music in order to explore how the challenges of changing female under-representation in popular music practice can be understood. Early in the analysis of these discussions, I found a frequent use of *spatial metaphors* such as space, place, position, room, territory, area, and domain. A recurring argument was that females need to “claim space” (in Swedish: ‘ta plats’) in order to participate in popular music. The focus of the present study – spatial language – is thereby partly formed by the empirical data.

After making these observations, I noticed that the concept of “claiming space” was also frequently articulated in public debate on social change in Sweden. The expression appears to be particularly common in reports on (young) women’s entrance into traditionally male-dominated labor and leisure spheres, such as technology, the military, politics, sports – and popular music. The expression also appears as closely associated with self-expression, creativity, empowerment, and resistance to oppressive feminine ideals. A Google search combining the Swedish expression for “claiming space” (‘ta plats’) with “girls” (‘tjejer’), performed in June 2010, generated over 19.000 hits covering diverse topics. A quick browsing of the top one hundred hits revealed that they often led to sites for, or media reports on, courses and summer camps for girls, for example to learn self-defense, graffiti, skateboarding, drama, rock, hip hop, and samba percussion. A substantial portion – 23 out of these top one hundred hits

– were related to musical activities. From this, it seems reasonable to assume that a linkage between the concept of claiming space and popular music is not limited to the present study only.

PURPOSE STATEMENT

The rationale, as explained above, forms the basis for the following purpose of the present study, which is *to investigate how spatial discourse is used in the context of gender-equity music initiatives to construct ideas about gender, popular music, and social change.*

Roughly outlined, this purpose is pursued through a design where

- popular music practice provides the backdrop
- discourse on gender, popular music, and social change constitutes the study object
- round-table discussions make up the method for collecting data
- four gender-equity music initiatives provide the context and topic for discussion
- discourse analysis makes up the method for handling the data
- poststructuralism and poststructural feminism form the theoretical lens
- spatial discourse constitutes the delimited study object, following the analysis

CLARIFICATIONS

Before proceeding to describe more in detail how the study was carried out, there are some things that should be clarified from the outset.

The present study is not quantitative, nor is it an ethnological account, or a description about women's situation in musical practice. It is rather placed on a meta-level, exploring *conceptualizations* of musical practice and gendered participation therein, constructed through spatial tropes. The study object is discourse, not individuals – this distinction must be emphasized. Statements are here not seen as the property of supposedly independent, sovereign, speaking subjects; nor are they seen as maps or mirrors of a mind “in there” or a world “out there.” Rather, samples of language are seen as fragments where meaning is “derived from microsocial exchanges embedded within broad patterns of cultural life” (Gergen, 1994, p. 52). As a consequence, my interest lies not in correlating statements to the demographical background of each speaker, but rather in connecting to the larger patterns of speaking and thinking that circulate in the cultural context where these statements are produced.

The term *postmodern* appears a number of times in my text. As I use it, the term refers to a broader societal movement, challenging modernist notions of truth, justice, origin, and authenticity. It is associated with a number of material and historical shifts: “the global uprising of the marginalized, the revolution in communication technology, and the fissures of global multi-

national hyper-capitalism” (Lather, 2007, p. 5). These shifts have resulted in a *crisis in representation*, where there is no certainty in one single or objective version of what social reality is. This has led to a crisis of scientific knowledge, as well. Jean-François Lyotard (1979/2002, p. xxiii) describes how the grand narratives of truth and justice, based on Enlightenment ideas “such as the dialectics of Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject, or the creation of wealth,” have lost their credibility and power of legitimation in science. Lyotard’s account of postmodern tendencies is by now classic; however, I do not adopt his notion of a “postmodern condition.” Preferring to see the postmodern as a movement, rather than a condition or an age, I agree with Fredric Jameson (1979/2002) who, in a foreword to Lyotard’s text, observes that the grand modern narratives have in fact not disappeared, but moved underground, and continue to function as buried, unconscious, but effective ways of “thinking about” and acting. Rather than proclaiming that we live in a “postmodern age,” we might more usefully think of contemporary culture as “a context of bombardment by conflicting messages” (Lather, 1991, p. 118), where high modern, late modern, and postmodern discourses compete and collide with each other. In this view, the “post” prefix marks an ambition to challenge modernist assumptions, rather than an accomplished fact of having left them behind. As a consequence, I use concepts such as postmodern perspectives, thinking, and discourse, whereas I avoid the concept of postmodernity, designating a postmodern age (Kvale, 1992). Finally, I want to draw attention to the fact that postmodern(ist) discourse can go in quite different directions, depending on whether it is conflated with neoliberalist discourse, as discussed in article 3, or with poststructuralist discourse, as in the framework deployed here.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The present study is presented as a compilation dissertation in two parts. Part I forms an overarching text covering the introduction above, theory and method, a description of Swedish gender-equity policies and spaces for learning music, short article summaries, and a discussion.

Part II contains five articles. The first article accounts for the chosen theoretical framework, and then goes on to analyze how previous research presents popular music practice as either “freedom” or “constraint.” The other four articles present four themes emerging from the empirical material. Since each article has to form an independent text, they also account for the study’s theoretical framework, method, and previous research, in each article from a slightly different angle. From now on, I refer to the articles in the ongoing text as follows: article 1 (“Freedom”), article 2 (“Sound”), article 3 (“Body”), article 4 (“Territory”), and article 5 (“Room”). In terms of publication, article 1 is accepted for publication pending revisions, and article 2 has been published. Articles 3–5 are texts in progress to be submitted for publication in the future.

The articles are followed by a Swedish summary. Thereafter, four appendices are included. Appendix 1 is the form of consent given to and signed by all respondents. Appendix 2 contains the Swedish original versions of the quotes from the data, presented in English in the articles. Appendix 3 contains a closer presentation of two of the recorded discussions and longer excerpts from these, serving as contextualizing examples. Finally, Appendix 4 contains the Swedish original versions of the excerpts presented in Appendix 3.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

In article 1 (“Freedom”), I discuss the need for a relevant theoretical framework for studying conceptualizations of gender, popular music, and social change. I argue that the chosen framework, which will be outlined in this chapter, is useful in that it draws attention to discourse as a site where meanings are produced, maintained, and/or subverted, thereby shaping possibilities and limits for the subject. The framework furthermore provides an alternative notion of power in which the self is seen as actively involved in the process of becoming an intelligible subject. The theoretical concepts used in the present study are explained in the different articles, with shifting emphasis depending on the subject of each article. For a more elaborated account of discourse and power, see article 1 (“Freedom”). For a development of the concept of gaze, see article 3 (“Body”). In this chapter, I provide a summary of the theoretical concepts and discuss the consequences of the framework I apply.

In discussions about the persisting under-representation of women in popular music, despite an apparent “freedom for all” to join such practices,⁴ issues of agency inevitably come to the fore. Such issues are, in turn, related to different views of subjectivity. Consequently, in this chapter, I also outline a poststructural view of subjectivity and agency, constituting part of the central basis for my discussion of the results. I elaborate, as well, the concepts of social construction and discourse in relation to ontology and epistemology, in order to delineate my position on these matters.

DISCOURSE, PERFORMATIVE GENDER, AND GAZE

The present study is based on a critical constructionist framework, where knowledge and subjectivity are seen as socially constructed, continuously negotiated, and permeated by *discourse*. I draw on Michel Foucault’s notion of discourse as a way of speaking, constituting a network of rules establishing what is meaningful (Foucault, 1972). Knowledge and discourse are viewed as inseparable from *power* (Foucault, 1977), conceptualized as a sort of productive

energy in constant flow in different directions, present in all human relations, even in relation to ourselves (Foucault, 1988).

I also use Judith Butler's (2006[1999]) argument that gender is not a reflection of an inner female or male core, but rather it is *performative* through a "repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being" (p. 45). According to Butler, the subject is not free to choose which gender to enact, but is faced with limited possibility for action outside of "meanings already socially established" (p. 191). Gender is furthermore always related to a heteronormative framework for understanding, where only certain bodies and performances appear as intelligible. Butler refers to this framework as *the heterosexual matrix*. As Elizabeth Gould (2007, p. 208) asserts, Butler's theory "extends as well to subject formation in terms of musician-ness, claimed in and through performative acts related to music and music education (...) on the basis of our intellectual, emotional, and corporeal engagements with music." To put Butler's thinking to work in music education research thus means to examine how "doing musician-ness" intersects with "doing gender," and how these doings affect how learning might take place.

Finally, I deploy the concept of *gaze* (Foucault, 1977; Mulvey, 1975; Young, 1989), referring to a way of looking which exerts control by mere observation. Feminist scholars have argued that women judge themselves by a patriarchal ("male") gaze. Iris Marion Young (1989), in her examination of acquired feminine spatiality, finds this gaze to be the most profound source of a characterizing tension between subjectivity and being a mere object, with consequences for how women perceive space and move their bodies.

THE PERFORMATIVE CHARACTER OF LANGUAGE

The present study situates itself in a theoretical framework where language is viewed as *performing* something, rather than just reflecting or describing the world. The notion of language as performative stems most notably from the works of Ludwig Wittgenstein's (1953) *Philosophical Investigations*, John L. Austin's (1962) *How to Do Things With Words*, and John R. Searle's (1969) *Speech Acts*. These ideas have been developed by others; for instance Foucault notes, "People know what they do; frequently they know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what they do does" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 187). Discourse analysis examines this very aspect: what language *does*.

Postmodern writers underscore that the language of science is as much of a discourse as any other language, and that the very idea of scientific progress is a literary achievement, where the making of truth claims is performed through particular juxtapositions of words. Lyotard (1979/2002) describes how the technological society has led to an increasing emphasis on performativity, in the sense of productivity, functionality, and efficiency. Performance thereby becomes an increasingly important criterion, also for research; currently, the question is not whether knowledge is true, but rather whether it is useful. Justification

of scientific work is “not to produce an adequate model or replication of some outside reality, but rather simply to produce *more* work, to generate new and fresh scientific *énoncés* or statements, to make you have ‘new ideas’” (Jameson, 1979/2002, p. ix, original emphasis). In postmodern/social constructionist thinking, the constructed and performative character of research is acknowledged rather than concealed.

EXAMINING THE DISTINCTION “CONSTRUCTION VS. REALITY”

While a social constructionist perspective is widely accepted in the humanities and the social sciences today, it is not shared by everyone. From my experience, it is regularly, in academic discussions as well as in everyday talk, challenged by an assumed distinction between discursive construction and “reality.” From a constructionist viewpoint, however, construction is not some artificial opposite of the real; rather, construction *makes* things real to us. It is something human beings always do, and must do, as the most basic principle of epistemology. I here take a moment to examine two arguments I have frequently encountered, both drawing on the assumed opposition between construction and reality.

First, what I call *the practice argument* claims that studying “talk only” entails missing out on “reality” since talk does not always match people’s actions. I agree with this argument to some point, i.e., that humans are inconsistent. However, the assumed opposition between talk on the one hand and practice/reality on the other is dissolved in a social constructionist framework, where language is seen as constitutive instead of referential, creating various realities through its performative functions, for example by offering certain types of subjectivities and excluding others. Talk is thereby viewed as pertaining to the realm of practice, as a form of “doing.” Furthermore, from a poststructural perspective, one does not have to compare verbal and non-verbal practice to find discrepancies and contradictions, but they are built into discourse. Thereby, studying talk is a way of locating, rather than missing out on, such contradictions.

Another form of critique opposing social constructionist perspectives on gender, which I call *the biology argument*, refers to biological differences between men and women, for example to explain differences in musical interest or ability. As demonstrated by historical research (Laqueur, 1990; Sayers, 1982), biological arguments against feminism produced in scientific discourse have, throughout history, often changed along with political and cultural tendencies in society. The discourse of biology is furthermore biased by depicting women as more strongly tied to their biology than men (Butler, 2006[1999]; de Beauvoir, 1949/1997; Dinnerstein, 1976). While biology indeed exists, the studies referred to above indicate that the power of biological *discourse* appears to have strongly governed social existence by promoting truths about female and male constitution. From my point of view, this observation alone makes the theoretical framework of the present study relevant, focusing on the power of discourse.

ONTOLOGY AND DISCOURSE

The assumed distinction between construction and reality, examined above, leads to a related discussion, namely whether there are things outside discourse, i.e., non-discursive or extra-discursive elements. This discussion has a special dimension in a study about music, since music is sometimes argued to be such an extra-discursive element.

As I discuss in article 1 (“Freedom”), Foucault is not altogether clear on this matter. Although he claims that nothing has any meaning outside of discourse, there are some texts where he talks about non-discursive practices, but he also states he does not believe it is important to make that distinction (Foucault, 1980). The stance I take is that discourse permeates everything. Here, it is important to note that discourse is not equated with words, but refers to networks of meaning, structured by language. This means that non-verbal objects and acts – including for example music, gestures, and spatial arrangements – can be seen as discursive as well, by their being made meaningful only within such networks of meaning. I find this to be comprehensibly explained by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985, p. 108):

The fact that every object is constituted as an object of discourse has nothing to do with whether there is a world external to thought, or with that realism/idealism opposition. An earthquake or the falling of a brick is an event that certainly exists in the sense that it occurs here and now, independently of my will. But whether their specificity as objects is constructed in terms of ‘natural phenomena’ or ‘expressions of the wrath of God’, depends upon the structuring of a discursive field.

Butler takes a similar position, claiming that through the materializing function of discourse, nothing is left as extra-discursive, not even biology, whereby the sex/gender distinction tends to collapse:

[O]nce ‘sex’ itself is understood in its normativity, the materiality of the body will not be thinkable apart from the materialization of that regulatory norm. ‘Sex’ is, thus, not simply what one has, or a static description of what one is: it will be one of the norms by which the ‘one’ becomes viable at all, that which qualifies a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility. (Butler, 1993, p. 2)

The argument here is that human existence, down to the most material aspects, cannot go free from discursive norms. Butler furthermore develops the non-existence of a “pure” ontology:

There is no ontology of gender on which we might construct a politics, for gender ontologies always operate within established political contexts (...). Ontology is, thus, not a foundation, but a normative injunction that operates insidiously by installing itself into political discourse as its necessary ground. (Butler, 2006[1999], p. 203)

I interpret Butler's argument to say that ontology is only available to us through epistemology, thereby inevitably taking place in normative truth games. This further supports the argument that the assumed opposition of construction vs. reality is unproductive for inquiries about social existence. While philosophers of science grapple with ontological issues, I regard the object for research in education to be epistemology.

SUBJECTIVITY

Subjectivity refers to experiencing oneself as a coherent and unified individual. In the articles presented in Part II, I refer to the poststructural notion of subjectivity as an ongoing, fluid, and ambiguous process, where the subject is produced by discourse, but also subjected to discourse. This dual performative function of language is demonstrated in Louis Althusser's (1970) concept of *interpellation*, which describes how the way an individual is addressed by an authoritative voice in a certain situation constitutes her or him as a subject. Althusser offers the example of a policeman hailing someone passing by in the street: "Hey, you there!" The person who turns around, recognizing her/himself as the one who has been hailed, thereby becomes a subject. I would here like to develop the ambiguous aspects of subject-becoming. One of the sources for ambiguity is that subjectivity takes place in a draft of various discourses competing for preferential right of defining "truth." The subject may thereby occupy various and often conflicting positions, not the least with respect to gender (Butler, 1997b).⁵

A second ambiguous element involves the act of subjection. Foucault refers to the accomplishment of subjecthood as *subjectification*,⁶ which involves being subjected to, or subjugated by, social powers. According to Foucault, this process is the means through which modern, disciplinary power operates. While his interest lies in the larger discursive shifts enabling certain forms of subjectivity, Butler is more interested in subjectification at the level of the subject. She draws on Foucault's thought, but also on those of Althusser, who was once Foucault's teacher. Butler describes Althusser's idea of subject-becoming as simultaneous mastery and submission:

The more a practice is mastered, the more fully subjection is achieved. Submission and mastery take place simultaneously, and this paradoxical simultaneity constitutes the ambivalence of subjection. Though one might expect submission to consist in yielding to an externally imposed dominant order and to be marked by a loss of control and mastery, paradoxically, it is itself marked by mastery. (...) [T]he lived simultaneity of submission as mastery, and mastery as submission, is the condition of possibility for the emergence of the subject. (Butler, 1997b, pp. 116–117)

Butler emphasizes the *ambivalence* between mastery and submission and extends the idea to the realm of doing gender, as well, where the practice of mastery/submission is related to the enactment of intelligible masculinities and femininities as predicated by the heterosexual matrix.

THE QUESTION OF AGENCY

Another burning issue in scholarly debate about gender and social change is that of *agency*; to what degree there is freedom of individual choice. This question boils down to different views of subjectivity. The humanist notion of the subject as essentially independent, unified, rational, and consistent, with straightforward interests and freedom to act, has been a most pervasive idea since the Enlightenment, underpinning various perspectives, some of which otherwise oppose each other. So, for example, although liberalist discourse asserts agency as freedom of choice,⁷ and Marxist discourse depicts agency as overcoming “false consciousness,” both draw on the idea of the humanist subject. The difference between them is whether they see freedom as already here or as waiting beyond an obstacle.

In contrast, the poststructuralist notion of agency, deployed in the present study, can be seen as a counter-notion, challenging humanist notions of both “freedom” and “constraint” – an issue I go into depth with in article 1 (“Freedom”). Instead of envisioning constraints to be overcome in order to achieve freedom, poststructuralist thinking assumes freedom and constraint to be always and simultaneously present in human relations. Butler and Foucault respectively have been accused of assuming a non-existent agency, which they both refuse. Butler (2006[1999], p. 201) asserts: “Construction is not opposed to agency; it is the necessary scene of agency, the very terms in which agency is articulated and becomes culturally intelligible.” Foucault (1984/1997, p. 292) comments: “I am sometimes asked: ‘But if power is everywhere, there is no freedom. I answer that if there are relations of power in every social field, this is because there is freedom everywhere.’” However, neither of them believes that liberation in its conventional sense is possible. Instead, liberations pave the way for new power relations and new discursive hegemonies.

On the one hand, then, the vision of *unconstrained agency* as “free choice” is rejected by poststructuralism. Agency and subversion of norms are seen as possible only within the limits of discursive possibilities. Butler (2006[1999], p. 199) asserts in an oft-quoted passage: “There is only a taking up of the tools where they lie, where the very ‘taking up’ is enabled by the tool lying there.” The limits of discursive possibilities are set by which subject-positions to inhabit are offered in the process of subjectification – a process viewed as governed by signification, hailing, desire, and intelligibility. Sally Munt (1998, p. 173) observes that

we are able to read some aspects of subjectivity more easily than others, the ones that call to us through social signification, which resonate within us through recognition and direct our desires. There is a space we can occupy already waiting, and we squeeze into it.

For female subjects, then, choices matching feminine ideals may appear as more disposable and thereby “rational” and “logical.” The same applies for male subjects and choices aligned with masculine ideals.

On the other hand, the vision of a *constrained agency* as constrained by false consciousness is also rejected by poststructuralism. Such perspectives of structural reproduction often have the unfortunate effect of victimizing women. Instead, to understand problems of persistently segregated structures, for example in terms of gender and career choices, is a matter of understanding why individuals apprehend their situation as they do and how they choose between the many conflicting interests they encounter (see e.g. Gerson, 1985). By emphasizing the narrative/imaginative aspects of the tracks we follow, the poststructural notion of agency also stands in contrast to traditional models of socialization, where children are thought of as recipients of sex/gender roles, imposed on them by the adult world. Valerie Walkerdine (1990, p. xiii) argues:

It is not that we are filled with roles and stereotypes of passive femininity so that we become what society has set out for us. Rather, I am suggesting that femininity and masculinity are fictions linked to fantasies deeply embedded in the social world which can take on the status of fact when inscribed in the powerful practices, like schooling, through which we are regulated.

In sum, agency and “choice” are in poststructural thinking pictured as bound up with imagination and desire, taking place in a sphere of competing, contradictory and fragmented subjectivities calling us, some more recognizable and available than others.

PERFORMATIVITY AND VALIDITY

Finally, there are some issues to be noted in terms of the theoretical framework's consequences for judging validity. Traditional empiricist research and postmodern/social constructionist research are propelled by different motives. If the role of the former is to stipulate so-called proven facts, the latter seeks to open up, suggest, and invite the reader to alternative understandings. From the former position, one might ask for proof of how large a part of the empirical material in the present study “actually” deals with space, to provide evidence that space “really” is a significant topic. From the framework I adopt, however, such questions are part of a positivist epistemology severely troubled by the linguistic turn and the crisis of representation. Social constructionism dismisses claims of truth, reliability, validity, and objectivity in the way they are normally understood, and these concepts are therefore inappropriate for judging the quality of social constructionist work (Burr, 2003; Gergen, 1994). Instead, other issues are foregrounded, such as what questions are asked, the purpose of analysis, and how social reality is perceived (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000); how to address questions of narrative authority and academic privilege, and how to create multi-voiced texts (Lather, 1991). As Patti Lather (1991, p. 91) suggests, “Data might be better conceived as the material for telling a story where the challenge becomes to generate a polyvalent data base that is used to *vivify* interpretation as opposed to ‘support’ or ‘prove’” (original emphasis). In social

constructionist research, the concept of reflexivity means that the researcher must openly recognize the analysis itself as a social construction and thereby only one out of a multitude of possible “truths,” and that the researcher must explicitly account for her/his personal and political values marking and imbuing the research (Burr, 2003). Social constructionist researchers have also tried to find alternative criterions for validity “to address a science that is empirical without being narrowly empiricist” (Lather, 2007, p. 47). Lather finds that following the crisis of representation, poststructural concerns construct a “*validity of transgression* that runs counter to the standard *validity of correspondence*” (p. 119, original emphasis), where the former calls for incitement, provocation, and crossing borders. In these terms, the validity of the present study lies not in seeking correspondence to some degree of truth; rather, its validity may be judged by whether it may serve as a tool for further discussions about musical practice, education, and strategic intervention.

Having summarized the theoretical framework deployed in the present study and discussed how this framework relates to the concepts of ontology, epistemology, reality, and agency, I now go on to outline the methods used for collecting and analyzing data.

Chapter 3

Methods for Collecting and Analyzing Data

Methods for collecting and analyzing data are outlined in articles 2–5, most at length in article 2 (“Sound”). In this chapter, I will describe these methods more closely. In addition, appendices 1–4 function to further illustrate the methods.

COLLECTION

In 2006, at the time I designed the study, I searched for ongoing initiatives in Sweden with an explicit objective to increase the number of girls and women in popular music practices, and found about fifteen initiatives.⁸ Some were located through Internet searches with various combinations of the Swedish equivalents to words like popular, music, pop, rock, play, learn, gender, gender-equity, girls, women, initiative, and project. Others were found by going through newspaper articles and lists of projects receiving some kind of state funding. None of the initiatives I found were run by a public school, but typically by an NGO⁹ or in the form of a community youth project. The selection of the four participating initiatives was made to include variety in terms of promoter, organizational structure, participants’ age, and geographical location. It was also a matter of being granted access – two initiatives declined to participate, one of them referring to the importance of their students being undisturbed, the other referring to lack of time.

As the phrase “initiatives with an explicit objective to increase the number of girls and women in popular music practices” is quite long, I sometimes refer to them in the text by the shorter phrase “gender-equity music initiatives.” This is a simplistic label, and I am aware it may be problematic in some ways, as are all labels and categorizations. For one thing, one of the participating initiatives formed part of the established coursework at a Folk High School, and they did not label themselves as an “initiative.” Furthermore, the term “gender-equity” is not generally used by the initiatives, for example in their web presentations. Still, I argue it is in line with their objective. “Gender-equity music initiatives”

is thus the label I choose as a practical solution to be able to easily refer to the context where the data was collected.

The four participating initiatives include a time-limited project by a youth organization, a grass-roots network for young musicians, an adult education course, and a pop/rock music camp for girls. They involved at the time a variety of activities, including courses, workshops, and networks, reaching participants from an age of 12 to adults. In short, activities were mostly focused on band-playing, handling an instrument, managing music technology, and forming networks. Two of the initiatives largely depended on unpaid work. While the network for young musicians had chosen to work with more “aggressive” genres like heavy metal (see article 4, “Territory”), the remaining three initiatives had explicit goals to work with a variety of genres, including pop, rock, heavy metal, punk, rap, reggae, disco, country, blues, and electronica.

I invited the initiatives to participate in my study through group discussions, arranged at the site of their choice. In all cases but one, this site was the same location where their activities took place. Seven discussions were recorded in 2006–2007 with a total time of approximately eight hours. Groups included 2–7 respondents, or 3–8 if I am included. All respondents were white, and all were female except for a male instructor at a music camp. Five of the groups consisted of staff (instructors and project leaders), approximately 17 to 50 years old and mostly active popular musicians. One of the groups consisted of students in their 20s, and one group consisted of members in a musicians’ network, also in their 20s. All discussions took place in Swedish and were audio recorded. They were also filmed in order to provide visual support of gestures used and of who said what.

My aim was for groups to preferably include 5–8 people. From my experience, smaller groups tend to be less dynamic and have an undesirable focus on the presence of the researcher, while in larger groups it may be difficult for everyone to participate. I regarded my role to be ideally that of an observer, but depending on the situation, possibly also a moderator, for example to facilitate the continuation of a lagging discussion, or to re-address an issue that had been interrupted. Another aim was for discussions to last at least one hour, preferably longer. This aim was also based on previous experience, where I have found that significant data are often produced only when enough time has been given for a matter to be discussed from various angles. Compared to the ideal situation, some discussions were shorter, and some of the groups were smaller. In one case, my long-planned visit to a Folk High School happened to coincide with the culmination of a project where students performed and recorded their own songs. I communicated my preferred arrangements with the project leader beforehand, but the school had rescheduled the plans. The visit had been planned long in advance and I had traveled by air to get to the location, so I had to make the best of the situation. Since students and staff were all quite busy, I arranged several shorter discussions with two members of staff at a time. In these, I participated myself to a greater extent than I did in other discussions, in order to form a group. At a discussion with a group of students

at the same school, respondents came and left due to their rehearsal schedules. In the end, I still found that all groups generated interesting discussions, and quotes from all four initiatives are included in the articles.

I started each discussion with a short presentation about myself, stating that I was doing research about gender and popular music, that the respondents would stay anonymous, and that they had the right to finish participation at any time if they so wished. This information was also handed out in written form, and all respondents signed a form of consent (see Appendix 1). I then explained that I wanted to talk as little as possible myself in order to find out what the respondents had to say. After asking the groups to discuss what they did and why in the context of the initiatives, I remained present and left the floor open for discussion.

The respondents within each group were well acquainted with each other, but some groups appeared as more tightly knit than others, and the discussion climate varied from one group to another. For example, in the staff group at a girls' pop/rock camp, the atmosphere appeared to be intimate and informal, with frequent laughs, shouts, and curse words; I felt close to invisible in the corner of a sofa. In comparison, the atmosphere in the group of students at another initiative appeared as somewhat tense – a situation which is discussed in Appendix 3. This discussion started out with brief statements but gradually developed to include more interaction and problematizing accounts.

FOCUS

The verbal data were transcribed at lexical level, including hesitations, pauses (not specified in length), and actions (e.g. laughter and sighs). During the analysis phase, I mainly worked with the transcriptions, but also repeatedly went back to listen to different sections of the recordings. I had beforehand defined three categories of analysis to look for in particular: *gender*, *popular music*, and *social change*, all parts the problem area with which the initiatives worked. The transcriptions were thus in the first stage examined to see how these three objects were constructed.

In “the gulf between the totality of possible statements and the finitude of what is actually written or spoken” (Lather, 1991, p. 123), there are a number of themes covered in the recorded discussions which I could have chosen to write about in this thesis. Respondents frequently referred to personal experience of learning and making music, but also to structures of music education and the music industry, discussing how these experiences and structures relate to stereotypical images of feminine and masculine musicianship. The discussions also dealt with possible actions to further gender-sensitive thinking and facilitate girls' and women's entrance at specific sites within the larger structures. In the discussion with staff from an initiative by a youth organization, a significant amount of time was spent on discussing male-dominated structures within the realm of *folkbildning* education,¹⁰ and on the needs for institutions in this realm to find consistent and long-term strategies for working with gender equity. Two

discussions, one with members of a network for young musicians and one with staff from a pop/rock music camp for girls, both largely dealt with difficulties met by young women in the popular music industry, especially in encounters with organizers, audience, and sound technicians in live performance contexts, but also in situations around rehearsals, promotion, and getting record deals. The discussions with staff and with students at a Folk High School program had instead a strong emphasis on pedagogical issues regarding young women learning popular music. It is only with some resistance I summarize the conversations in this way as the range of topics covered in the up to two-hour-long discussions is thereby inevitably simplified. For longer samples of talk drawn from two of the discussions, see Appendix 3.

As mentioned previously, I observed a frequent use of spatial concepts and metaphors at an early stage of the analysis, including the argument that females need to “claim space” (in Swedish, ‘ta plats’) to participate in popular music. At this first stage, I found more than fifty statements containing the following Swedish terms, or variations of them: ‘plats’ (space, place), ‘rum’ (room), ‘utrymme’ (space, scope), and ‘område’ (area, field). I then re-read the transcriptions and found additional spatial metaphors, which had initially been less obvious to me, for example those of doors, steps, gates, and barriers. Such tropes emerged across all discussions, despite the differences between the initiatives in terms of promoter, organization, and location, and despite the differences between the discussions in terms of group size and atmosphere.

Earlier in the writing process, I planned to deal with spatial language in one article only. I found, however, that the use of spatial tropes was less of a topic and more of a tool for discussing a variety of topics. To frame the use of such language within the limits of one single article threatened to simplify rather than diversify. The use of spatial language instead appeared rich and interesting enough to provide the main focus for the entire thesis. I do not suggest this strategy provides an “exhaustion” or “saturation” of the empirical material. In contrast, from the theoretical perspective I adopt, analysis is always partial, incomplete, and open to other interpretations (Burr, 2003; Gergen, 1994; Lather, 1991).

After further examination of the spatial metaphors articulated in the discussions, I found they related to one or more of the themes of Sound, Body, Territory, and Room. Acknowledging that categories can function as powerful means for making truth claims, I want to stress that the four themes, providing shifting focus of the data, are better seen as “provisional constructions rather than as systematic formulations” (Lather, 1991, p. 125). Each thematic section is furthermore not to be seen as a coherent story, but includes different and competing versions of the spatial. In my view, the effects of thematic categorization simultaneously go in two opposite directions here. On the one hand, the disordered multitude of meanings in the empirical material is simplified and unified into manageable blocks. On the other hand, a unified, taken-for-granted meaning of the concept “claiming space” is disturbed as the thematic sections distribute meaning in different directions.

ANALYSIS

At this stage, I broadened the scope from looking at particular metaphors to include spatial language more broadly, e.g. statements articulating movement. A Foucault-inspired discourse analysis in six stages was used, described by Carla Willig (2008). These stages can succinctly be described as follows:

1. *Discursive constructions* – how is the discursive object constructed through language?
2. *Discourses* – with what kinds of discourses do these constructions resonate?
3. *Action orientation* – what are the constructions' implications for the speaker's concerns? To what extent do they fulfill functions such as assign responsibility or promote one version of events over another? How do they position the speaker within the moral order invoked by the construction?
4. *Positionings* – what subject positions do the constructions offer?
5. *Practice* – what are the possibilities for action mapped by the constructions? What can be said and done by the subjects positioned within them?
6. *Subjectivity* – what can be felt, thought and experienced from within various subject positions? (not analyzing if speakers “actually” feel this way)

Below, I examine a quote by using this method, providing a step-by-step example to illustrate more closely the different stages or moves of analysis. The quote¹¹ is taken from a discussion with staff from a pop/rock camp for young girls:

A: they are twelve [years old] now, the youngest ones, they are already rather messed up in some ways, like, just take this anxiety they express about everyone having to sing somewhere because a girl is, like, supposed to sing and it should feel lovely and her hair swooshes around a bit

B: some poses are already rehearsed

A: and it's still not cool for girls to play an instrument – well, here I think there is starting to be a bit of an awakening maybe...

1) *Discursive constructions*

This first stage is concerned with how the discursive object is constructed through language. The three categories of analysis, defined earlier in this chapter – popular music, gender, and social change – are constructed in the quote above. Although none of these three concepts are literally articulated, they are all implicitly articulated. First, *popular music* is referred to as embodied practice through the use of voice, posture, and movement. This practice is pictured as taking place on an arena that, instead of being open for individual choice, is tightly prescriptive in terms of gender and musical division of labor: “everyone

having to sing,” “it should feel lovely.” This prescriptive function is envisioned to limit the full potential of young girls. Second, *gender* is, rather than a thing, constructed as a doing, performed through pursuance of certain scripts. The use of voice and a certain bodily comportment functions to perform intelligible femininity, a way of “doing girl.” These scripts require repetition: they have been “rehearsed.” These scripts are not only constructed as tightly prescriptive, but also as destructive: the girls are “messed up,” they “express anxiety.” Third, *social change* is constructed as a tendency of girls’ freedom being constrained earlier in this moment of history than before. The repeated articulation of twelve-year-olds as “already” strongly adhering to gendered injunctions of embodied musical practice implies that one would not expect them to be so at such an early age. Childhood is thereby assumed to be a more innocent and untainted phase in terms of gender. Twelve-year-olds are however described as regrettably already “messed up” by adult genderhood.

2) *Discourses*

The next stage of analysis looks at the larger discourses with which the constructions resonate. Do they for example connect to notions of subjectivity, social existence, or progress, promoted elsewhere in political or educational debate? The statement constructs girls’ adherence to gendered musical stereotypes as imposed – they are *messed up*, a girl is *supposed* to sing. At first glance, this construction could be seen to draw on a second-wave feminist discourse of socialization, assuming the adult world to actively force gender roles on children, who are, more or less passively, being increasingly affected along with growing up. However, a closer examination of the quote shows that the statement does *not* construct young girls solely as passive recipients, but also as actively taking part in reenacting norms: through rehearsing, through insisting on singing, through expressing feelings. Taking this into account, the statement can be seen to draw on a third-wave feminist, more poststructurally aligned, discourse of gender as actively performed. In line with such discourse, the statement constructs subjectivity as an intertwined process where culture produces subjects and subjects produce culture. Additional elements in line with poststructural thinking found in the statement include the notion of a powerful desire to produce an intelligible feminine body, and the centrality of repetition for gendered performance.

3) *Action orientation*

The third stage focuses on the constructions’ implications for the speaker’s concerns. To what extent do they fulfill functions such as assign responsibility or promote one version of events over another? How do they position the speaker within the moral order invoked by the construction? The statement positions the speakers as judges of whether girls, constructed as a group rather than as individuals, are “messed up” or not, “awakened” or not. It is however difficult to distinguish a specific source stipulating normative injunctions. Who or what “messes up” young girls? In the empirical material, there are other statements

more clearly identifying a perpetrator – for example in a quote presented in article 4 (“Territory”), suggesting it is an advantage to work with young girls as they are hopefully “not yet totally broken down by their male friends” – but more often, perpetrators are less easily identified. In the quote analyzed here, *images* appear to be the implied source of gendered musical stereotypes. The reference to “swooshing hair” is easily associated with aesthetics mediated for example by music videos. Responsibility is thereby assigned, implicitly more than explicitly, to the production and circulation of such images.

4) *Positionings*

The fourth stage of analysis asks what subject positions the constructions offer. Basically, the statement depicts one single popular musician position available for young girls: a lovely, soft, agreeable one, compatible only with the position of singer. In fact, the statement functions exactly to reveal a lack of positions offered for young girls. At the end of the quote, a second position appears, but barely available. This second, “awakened” position is offered more as a future promise, connected to age, described next.

5) *Practice*

The next stage involves looking at what possibilities for action are mapped by the constructions. What can be said and done by the subjects positioned within them? In the quote, a twelve-year-old girl with a desire to make music appears to lack freedom to choose between various femininities. Her space for action is instead tied to “lovely” ways of making music. Preadolescence at the age of twelve seems to be associated with a certain innocence after all, an innocence of girlhood sweetness. Prospects for change are connected to adolescence, but in contradictory ways. On the one hand, adolescence is in the quote implied to be a passage when the power of gendered scripts is expected to be even stronger than at twelve. However, adolescence also paradoxically appears to provide an opening towards potential resistance to the “lovely” femininity. Playing an instrument is “still not cool” at the age of twelve, but an emergent awakening is thought to open up to the position of instrumentalist, and thus to a greater degree of freedom of choice. The notion that something “awakens” implies that this something has been dormant. It is not altogether clear what this something is – sexuality perhaps, a desire, an interest, a consciousness, a willpower? Nor is it clear what exactly is assumed to trigger this process of awakening, if it is reaching greater maturity, the access to alternative embodiment of popular music-making at the pop/rock camp, the encounter with a community of (female) peers with similar interests, or something else.

6) *Subjectivity*

The final, and most speculative, stage examines what can be felt, thought and experienced from within various subject positions. It is not a matter of analyzing if speakers “actually” feel this way, but of what a particular statement produces. In the quote being analyzed, two quite contrasting feelings are mentioned; on

the one hand, the *loveliness* that feminine music making is expected to produce, and on the other, the *anxiety* in which such a narrow script is claimed to result. The first, lovely, feeling is constructed as tied to a certain vocal musical performance, one that does not open up to experiencing control in terms of mastering external artifacts, for example a musical instrument; rather, it opens up to mastering one's own body. The other feeling, anxiety, appears as connected to an injunction to produce an intelligible femininity, as discussed above, but also as connected to a collective. That everyone has to sing implies that not much room is given to individuality – which is paradoxical since the voice in Western culture is often seen as a most individual means to express “inner feelings” and a “true self.” Anxiety to produce a “just-right” femininity is also in line with recent Nordic cultural studies of young girls’ existence (see article 3, “Body”) as maintaining a tightrope balance. Finally, at the end, the quote opens up for a different way of feeling: an awakened, interested subjectivity, where focus is on the musical object for learning.

TRANSLATION

Issues of translation are discussed in article 2 (“Sound”), but partly in end-notes. To ensure these issues are clearly communicated, they are brought up here as well. The translation of quotes has been carried out in collaboration with a professional translator, and I have viewed it as a most important task. Translations from one language to another may be seen as problematic, as some things are lost or changed in the process. However, analyzing discourse is never unproblematic, even if performed and presented in the author’s original language. First, translation from spoken language to written text is problematic in itself. Second, meanings shift between different dialects or sociolects and between different local contexts, or even within the same discourse and/or context. Although it has been a challenge to maintain meanings articulated in the empirical material, writing in a second language has also proved to be an asset. The English language offers new ways of conceptualizing my data. For example, the term “space” appears as inclusive and would need several different Swedish words to cover its various meanings. Moreover, writing in a second language provides an excellent opportunity to reflect on the meanings conveyed by the text, meanings which are more easily taken for granted when using one’s first language.

The expression ‘att ta plats’ can be translated into English in different ways. Translated word by word, it means “to take (up) space.” This, I found, would however not adequately convey the active connotations of the Swedish expression. Therefore, I have chosen to generally translate it as “claiming space.” Furthermore, the Swedish expression may also, in some contexts, be translated into English as “to take a seat (place),” or “to be seated.” The couplet in English of *space* and *place*¹² is thus collapsed in Swedish in this particular expression, referring to occupation of space as well as a certain position *in* space. This

junction may serve to illustrate how space and place are not quite separate categories, but rather two sides of the same coin.

An additional recurring term, which has been a challenge to translate, is the Swedish word 'tjej'. In some cases I have translated it as "girl", in some cases as "young woman." Although the Swedish term is connoted to youth, it is less age-marked than the English term "girl."¹³ 'Tjej' might refer to a little girl, but is also used about teenagers or young adults, or as a youthful (but not belittling) term referring to adult women. It thereby functions to bridge over and blur the age distinction between the Swedish terms 'flicka' ("girl") and 'kvinna' ("woman"). In English, "guy" functions in a similar way for males, but such a bridging term for females seems hard to find, apart from perhaps the old-fashioned "gal." That "guys" in contemporary language may be used to include females can be explained in part by this linguistic lack, but may also be seen as indicative of a male-constituted norm.

PRESENTATION

The present study examines discourse produced in a particular context, and it can be viewed as a case study. I do not claim the study to be generally representative of discourse about gender, popular music, and social change in other contexts. However, the frequent use of the concept of claiming space in media reports on women entering male-dominated areas, commented on earlier, supports the relevance of the topic, indicating that such discourse is not an insular phenomenon, but that it circulates elsewhere in Swedish debate. Furthermore, by connecting a local use of spatial language to larger societal discourses and to previous research, discussion is opened up to a broader framework.

It should be noted that the compilation or portfolio format is significantly different from that of a monograph. On the one hand, there are some disadvantages with the article format. Writing space is limited, as most journals specify a maximum number of words. In this limited frame, sections like introduction, previous research, theory, and method have to be included, as each article has to stand for itself, which also entails some repetition for the reader of the full thesis. On the other hand, the portfolio format has its advantages. It provides opportunities to reach an international audience before the thesis is published. The review process, where editors and "blind" reviewers comment on the submitted article, offers a form of additional supervision. While a monograph is meant to present a fuller picture of the results, the compilation enables a zooming in on certain selected parts of the material, with possibilities to try out different modes of presentation in different articles. As an example, article 2 ("Sound") contains three quotes elaborated on more extensively, whereas article 4 ("Territory") contains twenty quotes with shorter analyses. This does not mean the total body of empirical material contains seven times more talk about territory than talk about sound. It simply means I have utilized different ways of presentation.

Chapter 4

Contextualizing the Study in Sweden

Having in the previous chapters presented the theoretical framework and methods used, I now go on to outline the context in which the study is situated. This chapter provides an overview of Swedish gender-equity policies and different spaces for learning music in Sweden, historically and today. It thereby situates the production of empirical data to a cultural situation where gender-equity has been a subject of public policy-making and popular music has been used in music classrooms for decades.

POLITICS AND POLICIES OF GENDER EQUALITY

Sweden is, along with its neighbors, well known for putting gender equality¹⁴ high on the political agenda. Women in the Nordic¹⁵ countries have been integrated in the democratic process rather early through voluntary organizations with access to the political sphere. In the 1870s and 1880s, women's organizations were established, introducing claims for equality between men and women (Melby, Ravn, & Carlsson Wetterberg, 2008a). Compared to other parts of Europe, these claims were met with less principal resistance, and the state has been allowed to intervene with the private sphere. Such interventions, including provision of public childcare and parental leave aimed at both parents, have contributed to women's increased economic independence and participation in the labor market, which increased rapidly during the postwar period, especially in the 1970s. In 1988, 85% of all adult women worked outside the home, compared to 90% of men, and in contemporary Swedish society, so-called traditional housewives comprise a small minority (Jönsson, 1992). These policies have, however, not only been aimed at equity and personal freedom, but have also functioned as political measures to increase birth rates and the labor force. Being the key to reproduction, women hence became a target for social policy from the very beginning of the 20th century (Melby et al., 2008a).

The image of unceasing efforts to achieve gender equality is often promoted internationally with pride, forming part of a collective self-image of

Nordic governments and citizens (Magnusson, Rönnblom, & Silius, 2008; Melby, Ravn, & Carlsson Wetterberg, 2008b; Rømer Christensen, Halsaa, & Saarinen, 2004). Nordic countries, leading the world in terms of women's overall position as measured by the UN gender-equality indices and holding the top five places in the World Economic Forum gender-gap index (Lister, 2008), are even internationally considered "a type of gender-equal 'utopia'" (Fiig, 2008, p. 199). Nordic men's outtake of parental leave is often observed as a great gender-equality achievement in international press (see e.g. Bennhold, 2010). Perhaps Sweden, where most political parties have promoted themselves as feminist (Christensen, 2008), adheres to this collective self-image in a particularly strong way.

However, despite a long tradition of gender equality policy, where women's labor market *participation* has been extremely high in international comparison, Nordic labor markets also have a horizontal and vertical gender *segregation* among the highest in the world (Melby et al., 2008a). Researchers have tried to explain this paradoxical gap. One explanation is that while legislation already in the early 1900s furthered a dual breadwinner model by giving (married) women the obligation to provide for the family – which was unique in the European context – "no family policies turned men's right to care into obligations" (Melby et al., 2008a, p. 11). Only recently has legislation taken steps towards a dual caregiver vision.¹⁶ Ruth Lister (2008) observes that due to the resistance to significant changes of the domestic division of labor "the *gender-neutral* policies seem to have more of an impact in inadvertently reinforcing the gendered division of labour than do the *gender-explicit* policies in shifting it" (p. 218, emphasis added).

Nordic researchers have also lately begun to critically examine different constructions of what the concept of gender equality means, by analyzing dilemmas and contradictions built into policy as well as everyday discourses. So, for example, Malin Rönnblom (2008) finds constructions of gender equality in Swedish regional policy to be based on three dominant principles: *deviance*, *numbers* and *knowledge*. Women are constructed as deviant from the (male) norm; gender equality is measured by numbers (where equal representation is seen as creating balance); and when these goals are not fulfilled, the problem is constructed as lack of knowledge. Rönnblom finds that handbooks and projects on gender equality often reproduce problematic representations of women as objects in need of special measures and as the site where the problems of gender equality is located. Gender equality is equaled with changing women, instead of changing ordinary politics, leaving the norm unchallenged.

Gender and equality have been, as Ann-Dorte Christensen (2008, p. 183) observes, "hotly debated topics throughout the lifetime of young Scandinavian¹⁷ women." From around the end of the 20th century emerged what is sometimes referred to as "new" or "third-wave"¹⁸ feminism, challenging the discourse of Scandinavia as gender-equality utopia by highlighting various examples of inequality. According to Christensen, third-wave feminism has had enormous media impact in Scandinavia, but remains an intellectual urban discourse.

Christina Fiig (2008) finds Scandinavian feminist debate books to focus on individuality and diversity, in contrast to the unity and collectivity emphasized in the 1970s feminist movements.¹⁹ Fiig finds three contemporary discourses on feminism and gender equality: first, a *discourse of rehabilitation*, seeking to recapture feminism as a concept; second, a *discourse of public recognition*, moving problem complexes (for example sexual harassment and bodily disciplining) from the private and intimate sphere into the public arena; and, third, a *discourse of consciousness-raising*, emphasizing identity-construction, self-reflection, and self-determination in order to change society.

Self-defined feminists thus appear to struggle with the connotations of the concepts of feminism and gender equality. So are those who do not define themselves as feminists. Christensen (2008), exploring attitudes toward feminism and gender equality issues among Danish women in their 20s, finds that feminism appears as a problematic and negatively loaded term. While the interviewees expected equal rights for men and women, they rejected both predefined equality discourses and a strong focus on career, expressing wishes to combine family and work in a way different from the dominant equality policy. Christensen finds an “inherent contradiction between, on the one hand, the gender-based inequalities that are anchored in social structures and in subjective orientations, and on the other hand, the belief that equality is created through free choice” (p. 193). Similar tensions have been found in ethnographic research about Swedish teenage girls (Ambjörnsson, 2004; Werner, 2009). Fanny Ambjörnsson (2004) describes how the High School girls in her study frequently expressed discontent and frustration over women’s subordinate positions in society, but that they had ambivalent relations to the label “feminist.” Ambjörnsson attributes this uneasy relationship, first, to the ways the word was associated (especially by male peers) with difficult and hysterical women and with lesbians; second, to the threat structural explanations seemed to pose to ideas of individual freedom; and third, to threatening links between feminism and a “deficit discourse” portraying girls as weak and lacking.²⁰

GENDER AND EDUCATION

Education has been assigned an important role in the efforts for equality between men and women in Sweden. Coeducation gradually took over single-sex education throughout the course of the 20th century, a process mainly driven by pragmatic reasons (Nordström, 1987). In the 1960s, there was a shift in comprehensive school curriculum, from assuming boys and girls to show traditional differences in behavior, interest, and abilities, to instead emphasize equality between the sexes. Coeducation was then promoted for ideological reasons, seen as a way to equitable education through providing equal access (Wernersson, 2006). In the 1970s and 1980s, measures to promote gender equality were primarily aimed at broadening girls’ choices of education and careers, for example by giving priority to students making non-traditional choices of High School programs, but it is questionable whether these measures showed

any lasting results of women entering male-dominated education (Jönsson, 1992).²¹ Swedish educational research in the 1980s (e.g. Einarsson & Hultman, 1984) showed that boys dominated classroom space while girls often had a background position.²² As a consequence, single-sex groups came to be seen as radical means for gender-equity – an issue dealt with in article 5 (“Room”).

In the latest curriculum for High School level, gender-equity goals are explicitly stated in the following terms:

The school should actively and consciously further equal rights and opportunities for men and women. The way in which girls and boys are treated and assessed in school as well as the demands and expectations that are placed on them, contributes to their perception of gender differences. The school has a responsibility to counteract traditional gender roles and should therefore provide pupils with the opportunity of developing their own abilities and interests irrespective of their sexual identity. (Skolverket, 2006, pp. 4–5)

Here, I might add that in my search for gender-equity initiatives in music, I did not find a single one performed within a context of public, formal schooling. This does not mean that such initiatives did not exist, but if they did, they remained invisible to the public media where I conducted my searches. The closest to formal schooling I found was a non-formal adult education music program at a Folk High School – a form of education I will, among others, describe in the next section.

SPACES FOR LEARNING MUSIC

In a Swedish study of young people’s use of music in school and in leisure time, Åsa Bergman (2009) followed a class of students from their 7th to their 9th school year, when they were 13–16 years old. She found the students to be involved in a whole range of more or less organized musical activities. In addition to compulsory school, more organized settings for musical learning included the municipal school for arts and culture, a church choir, and a rock school. These are some examples of spaces for learning music in Sweden. In this section, I provide an overview of the historical development of such spaces and discuss them in terms of popular music and gender.

One sphere for learning, frequently referred to in my data, is *folkbildning* – a form of voluntary, decentralized, non-formal adult education which has been part of Swedish civil society since the 1800s (FIN, 2010). This sphere of education was, and still is, driven by major popular movements in Sweden, for example the evangelical churches, workers’ unions, and the temperance movement, and *folkbildning* is thus underpinned by the ideologies imbuing these movements. Programs are run separately from the state but financed by public funds. The central idea is to provide broad popular education starting from participants’ own interests and desires to learn, in order to foster citizens and contribute to a democratic society. One way to organize education is through so-called *study*

circles, an educational form of shared learning in small groups first established in the early 1900s. There are at present ten study associations (*studieförbund*) in Sweden organizing circles within a broad range of activities: “the subject could be painting or Italian, botany or how to run a democratic organisation” (Folkbildningsförbundet, 2010, p. 20). Musical activities were organized within *folkbildning* from the 1930s, largely focused on amateur music-making, typically in an orchestra, small ensemble, a choir, or simply a group of people who wanted to learn to play an instrument. Since the early 1950s, music has been the largest subject category within *folkbildning* (Larsson, 2007).

Integral to the context of *folkbildning* are also a form of adult education colleges known as Folk High Schools (*folkhögskolor*).²³ Like the study circles, these schools offer non-formal adult education, but generally as full time programs for one or two years, and students often pay for board and lodging at the school. A majority of these schools are run by popular movement organizations; Folk High Schools offering music programs are for example often connected to a Christian church. As they are run independently from the state, there is no centrally established curriculum, but each school determines its own program (FIN, 2010). The first Folk High Schools to provide music programs were established in the 1950s, partly to answer to the great need for musically knowledgeable teachers, a need which could not be met in full by the Royal College of Music in Stockholm, at that time the only institution for music teacher education in Sweden. (Larsson, 2007).

An additional institution for voluntary music education is the municipal school for music. In the 1950s, an increasing number of teenagers were involved in music study circles for youth, leading a number of Swedish communities to offer extra-curricular music lessons in municipal music schools. By 1976, almost all Swedish municipalities offered some kind of non-compulsory music education. The activities are not regulated by national laws, but by the municipalities. Since the end of the 1980s, there has been a move towards including other arts as well in these schools, hence they are often called culture schools or “schools for music and arts” (SMoK, 2010).

Throughout the history of music education in Sweden there has been a struggle over which genres are to be included in “good” education. The central idea of *folkbildning* has been to educate and foster the masses – in other words, the working class – in order to raise the level of education and cultural preference to “higher” standards. In *folkbildning* as well as in formal music education, popular music was long regarded as irrelevant to the aesthetic and social fostering of children and youth, and in the music circles of the early 1900s, only Western art music was included (Larsson, 2007). In the 1930s, music educator Knut Brodin noted that people showed much greater motivation for popular music than they did for art music. He advocated that popular music – at that time, jazz and *schlager*²⁴ – should be part of music education, an argument which generated a lively and at times fierce debate (Gustafsson, 2000; Larsson, 2007). Critics to Brodin’s argument argued that popular music was simple, shallow, and immoral. By the 1950s, however, jazz music had risen

in esteem and was regarded as good enough to be included in the musical activities of *folkbildning*. Still, the idea was that it would serve as an entrance to appreciate art music (Larsson, 2007). In formal schools, popular music started to move towards a more accepted position from the mid-1960s (Gustafsson, 2000). In 1974, the Swedish government took on a new policy for culture with significant consequences for music education. A committee, appointed by the government to investigate a music teacher education reform, pointed out the moralist dimensions of regarding Western art music as a superior form of aesthetic quality. Instead, higher music education was now to include *all* genres in society, including popular music, Nordic folk music, and musics of other cultures. Ear-training, improvisation, and group teaching became important elements of music education (Larsson, 2007; Olsson, 1993). Conservatory music education was reformed, and new music colleges joined the previously single one. From the end of the 1970s, jazz, rock, blues, gospel, and other popular genres were formally included in the curricula of music teacher training in higher education through the inclusive term “Afro-American music” (Lilliestam, 2006; Olsson, 1993).

Popular music has now made its way into most Swedish institutions for musical learning. In public schools, it has since the early 1980s formed a substantial part of classroom teaching from 7th or 8th grade upward (Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010; Lindgren & Ericsson, 2010; Zandén, 2010). At the High School level, students in various programs may choose to take one or more courses in music, but they can also specialize in music at the arts program. Admissions to the arts program are based partly on school grades and partly on auditions. Popular music instruments and genres are offered alongside art music and other genres. Instrumental lessons are offered individually or in groups, and there is a strong overall emphasis on group music-making, for example through the course Ensemble, which is mostly devoted to Afro-American genres (Zandén, 2010). However, in contrast to the 1974 culture policy of including all genres, there are currently indications of a limited variety of popular genres constituting the canon of the contemporary music classroom. Eva Georgii-Hemming and Maria Westvall (2010) note that easy-to-play pop and rock music dominate music teaching, while Western art music, jazz, folk music or music from other cultures are only marginally integrated.

Popular music constitutes a large part of the musical activities currently offered in *folkbildning*. Rock bands are there organized as study circles, known as rock circles. In 2009, 47,000 participants were involved in these. Folk High Schools (adult education colleges) constitute another forum for learning popular music and function as important preparatory education for students to enter music colleges (Gullberg & Brändström, 2003). In 2010, out of a total of 150 Swedish Folk High Schools, 56 schools offered altogether 141 different music programs,²⁵ many of them specializing in jazz, pop/rock, or folk music. Other sites for learning popular music include churches.²⁶ Students with a church background have been strongly over-represented in Swedish music teacher programs, some years constituting over 50% of the student body (Lilliestam,

2006). Also, in some places, municipality youth centers (*fritids-/ungdomsgårdar*) offer after-school activities and function as important providers of space, equipment, and instruction for band-playing (Bergman, 2009; Fornäs, Lindberg, & Sernhede, 1995; Werner, 2009).

Various possible reasons for the dominance of popular music in music education can be identified. According to Claes Ericsson and Monica Lindgren (2010; in press), these include teachers' growing up with popular culture, music's increasing importance to young people, popular culture's rising societal status, schools opening up to student influence, and the need for schools to appear as attractive and efficient in competition with other channels for learning in late modernity. Ericsson and Lindgren observe that Swedish music education practice and research are past the *what*-question (what music materials should be included) and instead focus on the *how*-question (the process/form of learning).

One institution still grappling with the *what*-question is the municipal school of music and arts. Kristina Holmberg (2010) observes that in this struggle, teachers experience a loss of influence through a changed society and changed students. Statistics have shown sharp declines in choice of instruments among children and youth from the 1990s and onwards (SMoK, 2002). While recorder, clarinet, trumpet, guitar and piano have decreased significantly, instruments like saxophone, electric guitar and base, synthesizer, and percussion have increased. This led the Swedish Council of Schools for Music and the Arts, SMoK, to investigate why young people consider it important to play an instrument, and what expectations they have on their music making (SMoK, 2002). Drawing on questionnaires and group interviews with 13–20-year-olds studying music at a municipal music school or at High School, the study showed among other things that many of the respondents who played other instruments indicated that they would like to play guitar or percussion. More than half of the respondents considered a career as professional musicians, preferably as touring rock/pop musician. Unfortunately, the report does not analyze gender issues.

Substantial sex-based imbalances are however reported from other parts of the popular music education field. For example, member statistics from *folkbildning* education show that in 2009, only 12% of the participants in rock circles were female (Folkbildningsförbundet, 2009). Young men also constitute a great majority of the contestants in different popular music contests for youth. In the 2009 national finals of Musik Direkt,²⁷ Sweden's biggest music contest for young people aged 13–19, only 11% of the contestants were female (Walldén, 2009). Such imbalances match descriptions of the international music industry as an arena where the position of singer is the only one where women are *not* largely under-represented (Green, 1997). At the same time, imbalances do not correspond with students' stated interests. In a questionnaire about leisure habits, sent to all students in Gothenburg (the second largest city in Sweden), 16% of the male students and 20% of the female students in High School stated they were "very interested" in the activity of band-playing (Stockfelt, 2005). Sex-based imbalances can also be seen to change through

active intervention. In the 2010 national finals of Musik Direkt, 28% of the contestants were female (Axelsson, personal communication) – possibly a result of active efforts to raise the number of female contestants.

The realm of formal education also presents imbalances, which can be discussed both in terms of sexual representation (numbers) and gendered signification (norms). Maria Karlsson (2002) conducted a questionnaire study among third-year High School students specializing in music at the arts program²⁸ and found a range of biased factors. Instruments varied strongly; while string and woodwind instruments and voice were more common among female students, male students were over-represented on brass instruments, electric guitar, electric bass, and percussion.²⁹ For example, 34% of the male students and 4% of the female students stated they took percussion lessons, and 30% of the male students and 7% of the female students stated they had played percussion at some point in the course Ensemble. The distribution was more uneven in High School than it was before entering. Karlsson's findings furthermore reveal that students' activities in the course Ensemble were not always well matched with their musical interests, and less so for the female students. For example, although male students only stated a slightly stronger interest in pop/rock, they had significantly more often played in pop/rock ensembles. In fact, many of the male students who did *not* state an interest in those genres had still played it, while a great deal of the female students that *did* state such an interest had not played it. A similar pattern was found for jazz.³⁰ Karlsson concludes that in High Schools, teachers seem to over-estimate gender differences in terms of preference for musical genre, whereby sex stereotypes are reinforced.

Bergman (2009), in her study of 13–16-year-olds' use of music, found the gender-marking of different contexts for learning and making music, in and out of school, to strongly affect where the students would choose to participate. While the boys tended to exclude themselves from the municipal school for arts and culture, the rock school appeared as a setting problematic for the girls to identify with through its masculine connotations, demanding that participants “do masculinity” in a certain hegemonic way.³¹ Bergman argues that uncritical use of the informal rock band as a teaching model in school results in a gender problem, as it requires not only managing the necessary skills but also performing hegemonic masculinity.³² In Bergman's study, this problem was strengthened by a separation into single-sex groups in 8th and 9th grade on students' demands. She found the boys' group to be dominated by students with experience from playing in rock bands outside school, while boys who did not have such experience tended to become increasingly passive. In the girls' group, the skill level was more uniform, but the students seemed to have difficulties assuming the role of musician, especially a skilful one. Normative femininity seemed instead to require care for the group relations, whereby the girls – especially the more skilled ones – continuously downplayed their competence in front of others. But research does not show unanimous results. Another Swedish study, observing music lessons with 15-year-old students at eight different schools, found the task-oriented school culture to efficiently

eliminate possibilities for musical domination (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010; Ericsson, Lindgren, & Nilsson, forthcoming; Lindgren & Ericsson, 2010). Free group work of the rock band model where the teacher was largely absent however enabled boys to dominate the classroom space in other ways, especially in groups with lower levels of musical skills:

The boys often took the leadership in group work, by seizing power over what is allowed to take place in the room. They prevented attempts to create music in quite a number of ways, including expressions of disinterest. The girls most often adopted a distanced wait-and-see attitude, and, when they attempted to assert responsibility for the group's work, were more or less unsuccessful. (Lindgren & Ericsson, 2010, p. 46)

In groups with more musically skilled pupils, such gender patterns were in contrast not observed, but playing and musical creativity instead came to the fore.

The range of spaces for learning popular music outlined in this section makes it clear that the traditional view of popular music learning as taking place outside institutions (Bennett, 1980) is a too simplistic picture, at least in the Swedish context. There are instead various settings with different degrees of formality in which to acquire such knowledge.

Chapter 5

Article Summaries

This chapter provides short summaries of the five articles presented in Part II. Article 1 (“Freedom”) displays the theoretical framework and uses it to examine previous research. The results of empirical analysis are presented in the remaining four articles 2–5, each developing one of four themes – Sound, Body, Territory, and Room. I look at how different versions of spatiality are constructed and what their consequences are, for example what kinds of actions and subject-positions are offered. It should be noted that the reason the articles partly overlap, for example in sections about theoretical framework and research methods, is a consequence of each one being structured to function as an independent text for journal publication.

ARTICLE 1 (“FREEDOM”)

“Freedom or Constraint? Readings on Popular Music and Gender”

Accepted pending revisions in ACT – Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education.

Popular music practices are, in academic research as well as in folk theory, generally associated with informality and leisure time, but also with youth, rebellion, the shaping of identities, and freedom of expression. The aim of this article is to examine how notions of freedom are linked to band-playing and popular musicianship and how these notions relate to gender. First, the article lays out a critical constructionist framework and presents arguments for its usefulness. Thereafter, the article shows how readings of previous research literature reveal two competing discourses depicting popular music practices on the one hand as “freedom,” on the other hand as “constraint.” I conclude by discussing how unproblematized and romantic assumptions of popular music as “free” may function as exclusionary normalization, arguing that such assumptions need to be scrutinized.

ARTICLE 2 (“SOUND”)

“Volume, Voice, Volition: Claiming Gendered Space in Popular Music Soundscapes”

Published 2009 in *Finnish Journal of Music Education (Musiikkikasvatus)*, 12(2), 8–21.

In this article, I use the concept of *soundscape* to examine the ways in which spatiality and sound are constructed in the data. The results show how sound is variously constructed as something that has to be conquered despite feminine fear, as a powerful tool for domination, and as performances of normative feminine and masculine “voices.” In these constructions, *volume* and *voice* are thus entangled with each other and with issues of power, forming crucial gendered problems for making oneself heard in popular music soundscapes. These constructions also display a tension between liberalist/humanist definitions of claiming sounding space as a matter of willpower and other definitions of the act as a matter of structures and norms.

ARTICLE 3 (“BODY”)

“Body-Space, Gender, and Performativity in Popular Music Practice”

Text in progress.

In this article, the concepts of gaze, performative gender, heterosexual matrix, and feminine body spatiality are used to discuss some corporeal problems and contradictions between normative femininity and expectations on women popular musicians to “claim space.” Different versions of body-space are presented, variously constructing the body as self-disciplined in a provocative space; as expandable in a space of possibilities; as an eye-catcher blocking sound; as a struggle for intelligibility on stage; and as means for showing determination. These constructions are discussed in terms of potential subjectivities and knowledges. A discourse of contradictory body-space emerges, where the female body paradoxically appears as being both a means for, and the obstacle to, authenticity and respect, in line with what Young (1989) refers to as subject-object tension. In contrast, the construction of the body as expandable depicts engagement with a musical instrument as providing a *transformative* space where the musician inhabits the locus of subject.

ARTICLE 4 (“TERRITORY”)

“Gender, Popular Music, and Claiming Space: The Territory Metaphor”

Text in progress.

This article explores the use of metaphors referring to surface, such as *territory*, *field*, *area*, *domain*, and *ground*. The results are presented in three sections. *Drawing a Map* deals with how the popular music territory and its subsections are construed. *The Production of Boundaries* deals with the exclusion of,

and self-exclusion by, women. *Entering the Territory* deals with the topology women are described to encounter upon entering and navigating through such territories. I discuss how territorial imagery is used to map power relations at three levels: the level of culture, the level of social interaction, and the level of subjectivity. Notions of home and orientation are also discussed, and whether the conceptualized space to be conquered is the very same space that is inhabited by male popular musicians, or a new space.

ARTICLE 5 (“ROOM”)

“A (Musical) Room of One’s Own: Gender, Space, and Learning Popular Music”

Text in progress.

This article elaborates on some aspects of privacy through the notion of “a room of one’s own” in the data. Gender and privacy in spaces for learning and making popular music are discussed in relation to a public–private dialectic. The article is framed by the arguments made in Virginia Woolf’s book *A Room of One’s Own*, and by the notion of *women’s space* as taken up in educational policy and debate to create single-sex groups for girls’ education. Two models of the room are defined. The first one is a room for collective female empowerment, while the second is a room for individual creativity. These spaces are constructed as providing momentary escape from competition and control, from a gendering gaze, and from disruption. I also discuss how separate spaces appear as paradoxical through their function as gender-neutral when seen from the inside, but gender-marked when seen from the outside.

Chapter 6

Discussion

In this chapter, I discuss the different constructions of space presented in the articles, the core problems these constructions point out, and some tensions between different versions of space. The idea of “claiming space” is found to be involved in two dialectics. The first dialectic is formed by space-claiming understood as on the one hand extrovert self-promotion to be seen and heard, and on the other hand, as introvert focus on the musical craft. A second dialectic is formed by an ongoing struggle between empowerment and objectification, i.e., between being an acting subject and being the object of a disciplining gaze. After discussing the masculine connotations of space-claiming in popular music, I develop on the capacities of spatial language, and on the spatial capacities of music. I conclude with implications for music education and some final remarks.

DISTRIBUTED MEANINGS OF SPACE

Following the analysis of data, I divided the occurrence of spatial language into four themes in order to structure the results: Sound, Body, Territory, and Room. After this was done, I have found other authors to categorize spatial aspects in other ways. For example, in a comparative, cross-cultural ethnographic study of everyday life at schools in Helsinki and in London (Gordon, 2006; Gordon, Holland, & Lahelma, 2000), the authors choose a threefold focus on space: physical, social and mental space. Kirby (1996, p. 15), examining spatial accounts of subjectivity, finds that we have to take into account “topological, geopolitical, corporeal, psychic, discursive, and social spaces,” the last category bringing together all the other aspects. Although the themes I chose to use criss-cross with divisions made by other authors, I find the aspects of spatiality emerging from my data can be recognized in Gordon et al.’s and Kirby’s spatial categories as well.

If viewing my data as forming a joint spatial narrative (which is, of course, a simplification, and I will soon discuss some tensions therein), it may be de-

scribed as a hero narrative of a female musician's quest through popular music territory – a land full of challenges, where she will need to transgress boundaries pertaining to normative feminine corporeal and sonic performativity; navigate smartly through foreign fields where she is not expected to be; defy the observing gaze and inhabit the locus of subject; summon the courage to face and tame high volume; and finally, avoid being ignored or silenced by others through music. Along the way, all-women environments provide momentary escapes or rooms for rest and focus in this difficult terrain. At this point, there is a break in the hero narrative. If the goal of the quest is to reach the subject-position “musician” within an existing popular music territory, she will at worst be positioned instead as “invisible” or “bitch,” and at best she will manage to obtain a gender-marked, *faux* position.

However, my research interest has not been to find a joint, coherent narrative, but to examine variation, distribution, and contradiction, built into and produced by discourse. As I have shown, spatial language in my data works to problematize various aspects of gender/power relations, to others and to the self. In order to illustrate the span of these aspects, a dictionary entry defining space, based on the deployment of spatial language in my data, could be formulated as follows:

Space – possibility; freedom; authority; power; “voice”; integrity; relief; existence

Thus, while the use of the concept of claiming space might at first glance appear as consensual, a closer examination of different versions of spatiality, as presented in this study, reveals a number of interrelated tensions concerning how this space is to be seen and what it means to claim it. First, there is a tension regarding views of the subject, between on the one hand a liberalist/humanist subjectivity, in which courage is the key to liberation and the measure by which exclusion and self-exclusion will be overcome; and on the other hand, a more complex view of subjectivity as an ongoing struggle between empowerment and objectification. Second, there are tensions relating to social existence and gendered spheres. Should female popular musicians share an existing, presently male-dominated domain, or should they find new spaces of “their own?” Are all-women contexts best seen as spaces for collective female empowerment, or as spaces for individual creativity? Can space be given or only taken? And finally, a most important question, is space limited or unlimited?

As I have shown, the location of agency is not altogether clear, partly due to the shifting understandings of subjectivity. In order to gain empowerment, it is argued that girls need encouragement, which the initiatives might provide. In various parts of the data, the mission for the gender-equity initiatives is described by verbs such as to offer, help, pep-talk, kick-start, push, catch, and support. Several of these verbs can be seen as spatial metaphors of either initiating movement (e.g. push) or secure rest (e.g. support). Metaphorical concepts for what the initiatives should offer furthermore often involve the

body: to “stand there with open arms,” or to “take them by the hand,” often signifying the need to invite girls so that they recognize themselves as *hailed* (Althusser, 1970) in order to avoid self-exclusion. Here, space is often depicted as something that women/girls need to be *given*, appearing as a central task for the participating initiatives – a form of nurturing care. But space is also presented as something that *cannot* be given, but must be taken or claimed, especially in mixed-sex settings.

SPACE, VOICE, GAZE: CORE PROBLEMS OF CLAIMING SPACE

Butler’s theory of performative gender envisions social existence in itself as a staging of the self, although in contrast to other performance theories, in Butler’s view it is not possible to go off-stage. To claim space on the popular music scene entails being seen and being heard in the strongest sense of the phrase, and one question is whether performative acts are more intensified in popular music practice, so tightly associated with both live performance and visual technologies, than in other musical practices.

The problems of being seen and heard can be compared to Tuula Gordon’s (2006, p. 1) analysis of “the use of space and voice as sites of problematic gendered agency” in schools. I would perhaps phrase the problem a bit differently, in that I find the use of voice to be one way of using space, i.e., sounding space. The process of space-claiming in musical performance, as portrayed in my data – whether seen in its conventional sense on a physical stage or in a broader sense as the performative aspects of all music-making – can be summarized in three problematic aspects, which all relate to the presence of an inspecting gaze. First, the act of staging oneself as an agentic subject in any type of musical interaction in itself appears as a challenge threatening femininity, at least traditional femininity as un-loud, un-expansive and un-active. The image of a “new”, powerful, action-oriented femininity, despite its prominence in the media, largely appears as inaccessible in the empirical material. To comport oneself in an open and relaxed manner may even produce a sense of corporeal unnaturalness to be overcome. Second, the moment a woman goes on stage, the sonic seems to be blocked through the primacy of the scopic, as the figure she presents is primarily categorized as female. Third, when a woman does make herself heard, there are expectations on her music to adhere to a “voice of femininity,” i.e., she is expected to produce sounds that function as intelligible “expressions” of feminine qualities. The core problematic of claiming space here concerns the implication of an audience or an onlooker exercising an objectifying gaze. Courage and self-confidence are presented as tools to resist the expectations inherent in that gaze; another tool is the formation of separate rooms of one’s own.

OPENING AND CLOSING DOORS: SPACE AS AGENCY OR PRIVACY

Ultimately, the use of different versions of spatiality in the data seems to point in two directions, which I here relate to the metaphor of the *door*. First, there is an “outward-bound” spatiality of opening doors. Here, the spatial signifies possibilities for movement without restrictions, for example entering new and unknown domains of musical knowledge, taking up an instrument you do not master yet, or posing your body (on or off stage) in a variety of ways, less tightly confined to feminine behavior. I call this discourse *space-as-agency*. Second, there is an “inward-bound” spatiality of closing doors. Here, the spatial signifies a desire to avoid (self-)objectification by escaping the constant gaze placing females in certain positions within a gendered framework, and instead become a subject that may focus on knowledge such as musical craftsmanship or creating music. I call this discourse *space-as-privacy*. Although the terms “outward” and “inward” may be seen as a return to the dualistic Cartesian subject, the use of spatial metaphors serves to blur such distinctions by connecting mental and concrete spaces.

The discourse of *space-as-agency* appears to be the one most in line with how the concept of space-claiming is generally used in public Swedish media debate, implying an imperative to make oneself seen and heard without hesitation. Space-as-agency can also be seen as drawing on “advertising and promotional discourse [which] have colonized many new domains of life in contemporary societies” (Fairclough, 1993, p. 139). Such discourse is generally based on liberalist/humanist or neoliberalist definitions of space-claiming as a volitional act – the assumption that it just takes courage, self-confidence, and determination in order to succeed. In the data of the present study, such assumptions are frequently articulated, but they are also challenged by alternative, poststructurally influenced understandings of space-claiming as a process permeated by fluid power relations and normative self-discipline. The second discourse, *space-as-privacy*, works to disturb the hegemony of space-claiming as loud and extrovert self-promotion, and provides dynamics to the concept of claiming space.

In the data, both agency and privacy are described as necessary for changing gender bias in popular music. While agency is depicted as a way of dealing with the gaze, privacy is depicted as a way of (momentarily) escaping the gaze. While agency is needed to face mixed-sex (which usually means male-dominated) popular music practices, privacy is needed as a break from competition, control, and disruption. In this way, the enterprise of social change, as portrayed in the data, certainly involves recognition of facing “reality.” Furthermore, both space-as-agency and space-as-privacy can be seen as desires to resist what Foucault calls *disciplinary power*, a concept developed especially in article 1 (“Freedom”). The uncertainty found in my data as regards the origins of norms, the authority of limits, and the target for transformation, can be related to this concept of power as flowing in different directions. In the data, disciplinary power is often referred to in terms of exclusion, in concrete situations by oth-

ers (male musicians, colleagues, teachers), by norms (expectations), and by self-exclusion (keeping oneself in place). This can be seen as discipline to keep *out of* something. However, the gaze can also be seen to produce a discipline to keep *to* something, i.e., to the subject-position Woman – an eye-catcher, limited to certain voices and figures, and subjected to constant self-reflection. Resisting disciplinary power is thus constructed both as a struggle against invisibility (by exclusion) and visibility (by objectification). In the words of Simon Reynolds and Joy Press (1995, p. 334): “Female artists flit between these extremes – the desire to disappear and strategic exhibitionism – as they struggle with body-trouble.”

The dialectic between *space-as-agency* and *space-as-privacy* appears as similar to findings in other studies, describing feminist discourses as spatial stories of mobility vs. containment³³ (Hanson & Pratt, 1995) or as spatial metaphors of travel vs. dwelling (Shands, 1999). Shands sees “in contemporary feminism an increasing and predominant celebration of mobility and instability metaphors,” while “concepts of home, rest, or dwelling are too frequently left unproblematicized and perceived as simple, static, and lacking in personal development” (p. 2). She explains this as a consequence of the fact that “[r]est and passivity have traditionally been linked to femininity in Western culture while movement has been aligned with masculinity and change” (p. 4). Maybe this is one way to explain the dominant position of *space-as-agency* above *space-as-privacy* in my data, privacy being too much associated with women’s constraints?

THE EMPOWERMENT–OBJECTIFICATION DIALECTIC

Another dialectic in which space-claiming appears to be involved consists of moves between empowerment and objectification, which I will discuss in the following.

The concept of space-claiming is indisputably connected to issues of agency and empowerment. It is repeatedly argued in the recorded discussions that women and girls need to learn to be strong and gain self-confidence. However, the same acts that are connected to empowerment appear to also have objectifying potential, thereby functioning as disempowering. This paradox seems to be a matter of women categorized as others in popular music practice. The act of exposing the body on stage is one example; when a drummer accounts for how the audience interprets her presence on stage as a strong, exotic, and cool girl, she finds it to be “both good and bad” (see article 3, “Body”). The formation of all-female collectives is described as paradoxical by on the one hand providing safe spaces with a sense of home, but on the other hand tying participants to a collective female identity (see article 5, “Room”). Asserting one’s knowledge appears as central to making oneself a credible popular musician, but a woman doing so risks being positioned as difficult (see article 4, “Territory”).

The poststructural notion of subjectification can be used to make sense of the fine line between empowerment and objectification. Butler, drawing on Althusser’s idea of subjectivity as a process of simultaneous mastery and

submission, emphasizes the *ambivalence* between the two. Butler (1997b, p. 13) argues:

Assuming power is not a straightforward task of taking power from one place, transferring it intact, and then and there making it one's own; the act of appropriation may involve an alteration of power such that the power assumed or appropriated works against the power that made that assumption possible.

To claim space can thereby be seen as a work of mastery to make oneself seen and heard, but in doing so, having to subject oneself to the gaze and its disciplining functions, pulling the female subject back into the framework of the heterosexual matrix.

The practice of claiming space through self-confidence can also be seen as what Foucault (1984/1990; 1988) terms *self-technologies*, through which the subject tries to govern and mould itself towards perfection. Gender consciousness may also be viewed as a self-technology to obtain strength, enabling the female subject to distance herself from feminine norms of hiding and diminishing, on or off stage. Although gender consciousness is most often conveyed as positive (both in my data and, I would argue, in feminist discourse elsewhere), there are elements of critique to the idea. A counter-argument articulated in the data suggests that a focus too strong on gender consciousness risks placing a disruptive burden of responsibility on young girls, which they should not have to carry. These ideas resonate with Young's (1989) theory of feminine self-referential objectification, and with Woolf's (1945) claim that gender consciousness hampers creative output.

The use of gender labels, e.g. "girl band," also functions as a positioning gender discipline. Although it is possible to inhabit other positions, such labels work to lay out certain tracks. Butler (1997a) develops Althusser's concept of interpellation to discuss what she calls *injurious speech*. An injurious word is, according to Butler, a "word that not only names a social subject, but constructs that subject in the naming, and constructs that subject through a violating interpellation" (p. 49). Anne Lorentzen (2009) uses Butler's discussion in her examination of discourses around the Norwegian expression 'syngedame,' a chauvinistic term for a lady who sings popular songs for money, translated as "singing lady" or "songbird." Lorentzen finds that the expression can be used as a derogatory border mark, pointing to lack of musicality and musical credibility, thus functioning as an injurious name. However, in line with Butler, Lorentzen finds that the term does not have to function only as oppressive, but that it can also be used in mobilizing terms as a site from which to delimit oneself. Girl band, girl drummer, and similar expressions, as they are described in my data, can be regarded as interpellations, hailing girls to participate in popular music practices in certain prescriptive ways. They could furthermore be seen as injurious names. That a band with male members is generally simply referred to as "band" demonstrates the performative functions of girl labels, singling

female musicians out as “others” and categorizing them with other musicians of the same sex, rather than with, for example, musicians with similar musical influences. However, without the performative perspective on language, the term “girl band” can appear as purely descriptive, simply denoting a band whose members are girls. That the label appears as descriptive, but may insidiously function as injurious, can explain its ambivalent use in the data, where a speaker may apply the term to the band she is in, only to in the next moment distance herself from the term.

In sum, acts and processes that appear as “good” and empowering – a woman taking her stand on stage, arguments to make visible female musicians, audience compliments to the cool girl on stage – may in the same instance function as objectifying. It is reasonable to assume that all musicians are affected by listeners/onlookers, but the position of the female popular musician seems particularly exposed to the risk of objectification.

CLAIMING SPACE MASCULINE STYLE?

As discussed, reports on women’s entrance into male-defined domains are often accompanied by a discourse promoting space-claiming through self-secure, extrovert action, not the least when portrayed by the media. Such discourse is in accordance with a marketing discourse privileging packaging and advertisement (Fairclough, 1993; Taylor, 2001). But it also accords with hegemonic masculinity, and a critique of the concept of claiming space might begin here. Do girls and women have to adopt an aggressive “cock-rock” attitude in their music making in order to be taken seriously? Why should guitar-based rock, for example by Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, or U2, be seen as more serious and “authentic” than, say, soft pop? Does space-claiming necessarily have to be performed masculine style?

But the problem is more complex than these questions suggest, because should a girl or a woman like to embody a masculine rock performance, she will not pass as authentic anyway, but she will still be read through the grid of normative femininity – or, alternatively, be read as male. Steve Waksman recounts how lead guitarist Jennifer Batten, when on tour with Michael Jackson, was constantly asked whether she was a man or a woman, in spite of her long blond hair and red lipstick (Gore, 1989, cited in Waksman, 1999). In order to pass as female, traditional images of a sweet and delightful femininity are offered on one side of the spectrum, and on the other, a strong and sexy “modern” femininity. The latter certainly positions itself in public space, but it is still measured by an objectifying gaze.

Discourses emphasizing the need for females to acquire good self-confidence risk locating the problem of gender equality to females. They might imply that females are generally too submissive and weak, perhaps that it is their own fault that they are under-represented in some public sectors of society. As a consequence, the responsibility for obtaining gender-equal education is

placed on women themselves. And when gender equality is reduced to changing women, it leaves other norms unchallenged (Rönblom, 2008) – in this case, norms of popular music practice.

The discourse of space-as-agency can be compared to the concept of “girl power,” a slogan first used by the feminist underground movement riot grrrl,³⁴ but later taken over by the pop group the Spice Girls (Leonard, 2007; Taft, 2004). The Spice Girls version of girl power is a consumption-oriented and depoliticized power, softer, less active, and more individual compared to the riot grrrl version. It colludes with neo-liberal individualist discourse, conveying the message that girls today can be anything they want. Jessica Taft (2004) examines two initiatives in the USA, organized to empower girls, and finds that their use of the Spice Girls version of girl power results in psychologization and individualization of girls’ experiences, concealing issues of power and normalization as social technologies for boundary-production and exclusion. Although individual subjects may indeed take part in “border work” (Thorne, 1993), for example through self-exclusion, this is not to say that all spaces are open to anybody who is adequately motivated or brave. Space-claiming rather takes place in a complex and dialectic interplay of sharing, receiving, and taking space. According to Taft, we should avoid individualistic, psychologizing models of explanation. She calls instead for a more radical approach giving attention to the various forces shaping girls’ lives. Rather than viewing space-claiming as a matter of individual females’ courage and self-esteem, we need perhaps rather pay attention to the continuous border work produced in musical everyday practice, to the inspecting gaze through which females are measured and learn to measure themselves, and to the affects of such a gaze on musical training and performance. Alternative understandings of space-claiming as creating non-transparent spaces – rooms of one’s own – can make visible needs which are not about marketing oneself on the social arena but rather about integrity, shielding, focus, and allowing oneself to be unavailable at times. Thereby, the picture of what is needed for females to enter new spaces becomes more dynamic.

In the present study, I frequently refer to feminist discourse. As brought up in article 5 (“Room”), it should be noted that none of the initiatives involved in the study use the labels feminist or gender-equity about themselves, for example on their web pages. The word feminist was rarely mentioned in the round-table discussions, whereas the concept of gender-equity was more commonly used. It seems reasonable to relate these observations, at least in part, to the negative connotations of the feminist label to Nordic young women, as described earlier, and the prevalence of a “post-feminist” discourse, as noted for example by Angela McRobbie (2008) and Anita Harris (2004). In my view, however, the conversation in the recorded discussions draws on various feminist discourses, including the riot-grrrl version as well as the Spice-girl version of space-claiming.

THE CAPACITIES OF SPATIAL DISCOURSE

Approaching the end of Part I, I here want to take a moment to reflect on the occurrence of spatial discourse in my empirical material in relation to a broader perspective. How can we understand such metaphors? And where does such imagery come from?

During the past two decades, scholarship in a variety of disciplines within the humanities and the social sciences has turned to spatiality in the development of theory as well as analysis. This movement is referred to as the “spatial turn” (Warf & Arias, 2009). This turn is often traced to Foucault’s writings, where he claims that “[t]he present age may be the age of space” (1998, p. 175), and that “space is, in today’s language, the most obsessive of metaphors” (2007, p. 163). Especially within postmodernist and feminist scholarship, space “has been ‘mapped’, ‘explored’, ‘contested’ and ‘colonized’” (Munt, 1998, p. 163). Rose (1996, p. 157) notes

that subjects are often diagnosed as decentred; that theory travels, knowledges are local, identity is deterritorialized; that nomads, vagabonds and exiles are proliferating; that epistemologies of the margin, the borderland, the diaspora and the closet are being elaborated; that cognitive maps of this postmodern moment are being demanded.

During the past one hundred years, there has been a shift towards viewing space as *relational*. Anne Cranny-Francis (2005) describes how the universe was (in the West) earlier conceived of as a “huge empty space dotted with objects” (p. 116), “a neutral territory waiting to be given meaning” (p. 114), but that in the early twentieth century, there was a reconfiguration or re-visioning of space as a “model of interconnectedness” (p. 117). Following the spatial turn, the concept of space has furthermore been reconceptualized as *productive*. Rather than being an arena or a context *within which* interactions and social relations take place, space is viewed as “made *through* the social” (McGregor, 2004, p. 2, original emphasis). In social geography, this reconceptualization has generated the proposition for a pragmatic approach to space, “a shift from geographies of ‘being in space’ towards geographies of ‘doing with space’” (Lussault & Stock, 2010, p. 11) in order to analyze how individuals’ spatial competences are mobilized and to thereby understand more about “space as problem or as empowerment” (p. 13).

One way of explaining the proliferating use of spatial discourse is to examine what it offers. First, spatial discourse points at *organization* – what things in the world are conceived of as belonging or not belonging together. As Shands (1999, p. 2) notes, “[c]oncepts of space carry a structuring and orientating force.” Through this organizing capacity, spatial discourse also points at social *relations*. Contemporary understandings of space “derive from and can be linked directly to social action, to the way in which we use space in acting out social practices” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 88). Foucault (1980/2007) argues

that spatial metaphors enable us to view the formation of relations, whereas the use of temporal metaphors leads to a model of individual consciousness.

The relational aspect leads over to the next aspect, *power*. Viewing power as imbuing all relations, Foucault (1973/2007, p. 177) says that analyzing knowledge in spatial terms makes it possible to “capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power” – what Doreen Massey (1994, p. 4) terms “the ever-shifting geometry of social/power relations.” Spatial discourse may thus be described as providing “an active and empowering epistemological tool for challenging existing knowledge/power structures” (Price-Chalita, 1994, p. 236). This, in turn, leads to the capacity of spatial discourse to describe and promote *social change*. Shands (1999) argues that spatial metaphors occupy an absolute centrality in feminist literary discourse, constituting a “shared but shifting ground upon which feminist thought is built” (p. 4). She argues that the imagery³⁵ of space relates to feminism’s central agenda, which has “everything to do with surveying and assessing environmental conditions – and changing them” (p. 2). The capacity of spatial discourse to describe social change can also be related to its structuring function, where metaphors like “standpoints” and “movements” stake out directions for change. Finally, spatial discourse has an *inclusive* capacity to bridge various dualistic gaps. As Kirby (1996, pp. 17–18) notes: “It brings together the quantifiable and the qualifiable, the material and the abstract, the body and the mind, the outside and the inside.” So, for example, some scholars (e.g. Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Rose, 1996) argue that a distinction between material (or “real”) space and metaphoric (or “non-real”) space “cannot be maintained with either clarity or firmness” (Rose, 1996, p. 59). The inclusive capacity of spatial discourse, then, may also serve to undermine dualistic versions of space.

In summary, I argue that while spatial discourse seems both to reflect and produce postmodern notions of fluidity and instability in contemporary society, such discourse also appears to have some *uniting* function by providing a language for describing the world. Through its inclusive and structuring properties, spatial language produces meaning and coherence, as demonstrated in the following quote.

‘The spatial’ then, it is argued here, can be seen as constructed out of the multiplicity of social relations across all spatial scales, from the global reach of finance and telecommunications, through the geography of the tentacles of national political power, to the social relations within the town, the settlement, the household and the workplace. (Massey, 1994, p. 4)

The present study, however, does not focus on literary or academic discourse, but examines the use of spatial discourse produced in verbal interaction of round-table discussions. Although these discussions were set up for research, they provide a quite different form of text than that of critical scholarship and may, at least to some extent, be described as everyday discourse. What is the relevance of the above account of spatial discourse in relation to the results of the present study?

Kathleen Kirby (1996) regards the popularity of spatial language in everyday speech as ornamental and “less serious: we maintain a mental separation between the two worlds of expression and reality, allow words to dance over the surface of their unexplored implications, and are less likely to build them into significant dimension” (p. 5). In contrast, she views the use of spatial metaphors in theory as powerful but also risky, arguing that critics’ deployment of such language “infiltrates their depictions of subjectivity to ends that are not always intended or even recognized” (p. 36). As a consequence, Kirby argues, the trope of space as used in theory must be carefully scrutinized to evaluate its influence. I do not agree with Kirby’s distinctions between theory and everyday speech in this matter. While the use of spatial language and metaphors in my data might be less “conscious” or well thought through, it is certainly a way of serious meaning-making. Furthermore, theories disperse and discourse travels, and even in case none of the respondents of the present study had taken university courses in gender studies, theories might have reached them through other channels, albeit perhaps fragmented and changed on their way.

In line with postmodern thought, spatial thinking challenges modernist ideas of progress as one-way-forward linear. This is succinctly worded by Lawrence Grossberg (1993, p. 7): “Spatial power is a matter of orientations and directions, of entries and exits, rather than of beginnings and ends.” Tia DeNora (1986, p. 92) similarly argues that music listening and production of meaning

ought not be conceived of as a bounded linear or additive progression (as if actors move along a column or tube of meaning) but as a multi-dimensional space. This space may be retrospectively reduced to a linear account for the purposes of use, as, for example, an account of what happened or a history.

In terms of gender, education, and change, Lyn Yates (1998, p. 157) argues: “The stories we tell, the ways we evaluate what has happened, the contemporary media debates, frequently assume a ‘givenness’ about girls, women and education as a project of reform, that this has a clear and self-evident character.” As Yates points out, the two main parameters for such evaluation – “girls” as a category of attention, and visions to be pursued – have both been reshaped throughout the decades. Similarly, Máirtín Mac an Ghaill and Chris Haywood (2005) explain that while gender and social change can be measured for example by counting the number of women participating in the labor market, or by documenting men’s changing notions of fatherhood, the authors instead adopt a processual approach where processes of change are themselves gendered. This position, they note, “collapses the notion of change and gender as disparate variables that can be measured” (p. 7). In this way, the discussions about popular music, gender, and social change, constituting the empirical material of the present study, may be viewed not only as talk about change but also as a participation in that process.

In line with the rejection of linear stories of progress, researchers have tried to find new concepts for discussing gender and social change. One such

attempt is to “tell a double story” (Nordberg, Saar, & Hellman, 2010), double by its dialectic between norms and agency. Other examples are the two concepts “moments of normalization” and “moments of equity,” which “highlight the motor of the changing process in the bodies of the participants” (Berge, 2001, p. 281). The concept of “moments” is also articulated in my data, as discussed in article 5 (“Room”).

THE SPATIAL CAPACITIES OF MUSIC

Parts of the discussion in the present study may be applied to discussions about other societal arenas and areas of knowledge. However, in popular music practices, the significance of spatiality relates in particularly powerful ways to issues such as sound and performance, voice and gaze. When popular music is used in the classroom, students are expected to turn up the volume, raise their voice, position themselves behind the instrument and assert their knowledge on and off stage. As discussed, expectations concerning the production of sound, performance on stage, and the establishment of positions, are all gendered.

At the end of article 5 (“Room”), I discuss how popular music in the classroom distinguishes itself from most other traditionally male-dominated school subjects, for example technology and natural science. One of those aspects, *sound* (examined more closely in article 2), strongly contributes to the production of space. The sonic properties of music carry spatial qualities to create a topology, conceptualized in research as an acoustic room, a soundworld, or a soundscape (Revill, 2000; Smith, 2000; Valentine, 1995). DeNora (1986) points out that meaning is not inherent in musical materials, but listeners also take part in the production of musical meaning. According to DeNora, music thereby “provides a forum, *par excellence*, for the ‘work’ of appropriation, that is, a place and space for ‘work’” (p. 93, original emphasis).³⁶ And, as DeNora observes, by recognizing that such work takes place through a struggle over whose aesthetic definitions are to count, “one begins to see why music aesthetics has been and is a ‘political’ issue, political in all senses of that word” (p. 93). The functions of music as a space for work is further developed in terms of subjectivity by DeNora (2000, p. 74):

Music may be understood as providing a container for feeling and, in this sense, its specific properties contribute to the shape and quality of feeling (...). Music is a material that actors use to elaborate, to fill out and fill in, themselves and to others, modes of aesthetic agency and, with it, subjective stances and identities. (...) this is much more than an idea that culture underwrites generic structures of feeling or aesthetic agency (...) individuals not only experience culture, but also (...) mobilize culture for being, doing and feeling. Anything less cannot address and begin to describe or account for the mechanisms through which cultural materials get into social psychological life.

Following DeNora, music can thus be seen as a space also for gender work, where the musical material can be mobilized for new ways of being, doing, and feeling, exceeding those ways that dominating gender norms currently lay out for us.

Börje Stålhammar (2000; 2003; 2006) explored young people's musical values and meanings through interviews and conversations with six English and six Swedish 15-year-olds. One important theme to which the interviewees drew attention was the environments or spaces in which music appeared in their free time. Stålhammar found music to proceed chiefly within three spaces, which he labels as individual space, internal space, and imaginary space. *Individual space* was a way of escaping and shutting the external world out, for example through headphones, in order to relax and reflect. *Internal space* included listening in the company of friends, but still involved a "shutting off," marking a distance in relation to others. *Imaginary space* implied a sphere where, for instance, style, appearance, activity, and attitude to music were uniting factors. Stålhammar describes the two latter spaces as connected to creating social identities. Through the interviewees' accounts "emerges a complex image where both personal integrity and social affiliation are of central importance" (2006, p. 55). Stålhammar concludes that spatial aspects are essential for elucidating young people's musical experience.

These accounts demonstrate the intertwinement of musical material and social signification. Similar to my own findings, those of DeNora and Stålhammar describe musical situations and the musical material itself as creating spaces, functioning both to include and exclude (compare to article 2, "Sound"), both to reach outwards and inwards (compare to article 5, "Room"). The social signification of playing loud music, or of strapping on an electric guitar, may be theoretically separated from questions of the musical material "itself." However, in line with DeNora's and Stålhammar's arguments, I do not see the point of doing such a separation, because without meaning-making, we have no epistemological access to music. And epistemology, as I have argued earlier, is at the heart of educational research.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MUSIC EDUCATION

Recent studies indicate a tendency among Swedish music teachers to describe their role as virtually unnecessary for creative popular music processes in the classroom (Holmberg, 2010; Zandén, 2010). There seems to be a widespread notion that students are better off without the involvement of a teacher, a scenario Randall Allsup (2008) points out as a risk of informal teaching methods. When no teacher is guiding space-claiming processes in the classroom, possibilities are opened up for social hierarchies to govern instead. Gendered border work appears to be stronger when teachers stay in the background, while their presence can reduce such divisions (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010; Thorne, 1993). But as discussed earlier, research does not provide a unified picture of how gender affects the popular music classroom spatially. Endeavours to strive for gender-

equity in the popular music classroom must hence consider different schools' governing cultures, the composition of student groups, and different teachers' and students' various ways of "doing gender" in the classroom. If music education is to develop ways of addressing sex-stereotyped structures in popular music, music teacher students need to encounter such issues through the course of their training. Spatial thinking may here provide a tool for reflection. Some suggestions for questions to be discussed are:

- How is sounding space distributed in the classroom?
- How does sound's capacity to dominate space affect teaching – is music a particularly difficult subject to teach gender-equitably?
- What is the (gendered) scope for students in terms of musical expression? How do we react to transgressive acts, say, if a boy sings sweetly or if a girl growls?
- How do we speak about music in the classroom – is it possible to avoid gender labels?
- How are female and male performers read and measured in terms of musical talent and achievement, for example in television shows like *Idol*, or at auditions for music programs?
- How may different ways of spatially organizing a music lesson affect the impact of gender? What are for example the advantages and disadvantages of division into single-sex groups? What places, rooms, or spaces could be arranged to break the usual routines, at least momentarily?

For a reflexive practice of music education, teachers must develop skills to critically observe how norms are produced and maintained in and out of school. It takes time to learn to see how gender is "done" because it usually goes without notice. It requires practice and a will to reassess one's own framework for understanding. At times, it may result in feelings of hopelessness. But, in the long run, it also provides possibilities to make more conscious decisions, in the classroom as well as in other spaces.

FINAL REMARKS

Popular culture and gender are two areas currently receiving quite a lot of attention, both in academic spheres and in everyday spheres, for example through the media. Still, to my knowledge, a critical analysis of discourses on gender, popular music, and social change has not been carried out before in the discipline of music education research.³⁷ In my view, part of the originality of the present study furthermore lies in its interdisciplinary and bridging qualities. First, I have included previous research, theories, and ideas which are not commonly referred to in music education research, but which I regard as potentially useful for the discipline, produced in different fields within the humanities and social sciences. Second, I have also made an effort to include Nordic references written in English, many of which have until recently been

available only in the writer's original language. Third, I have chosen an analytic approach that connects the level of conversational interaction with the level of larger discourses.

When I started the present study, I brought certain assumptions with me. They included that musical practice and music education are formed by power relations, and that gender is an important aspect of such relations. Things I have learned along the way which surprised me include the discursive connections between power, knowledge, and spatiality, which I discovered by way of its prevalence in the recorded discussions; the counter-discourse of space-as-privacy, offering an alternative to more dominant notions of space-claiming; and that empowerment and objectification may exist simultaneously, as described earlier in the discussion. I also learned that a gaze might be performed by the researcher's eye or camera lens, leading to ethical questions.

My aim has been for the present study to be evocative, rather than descriptive or prescriptive (Lather, 1991). In the series of snapshots provided by the empirical material, I have chosen to craft a text about an aspect I found particularly interesting. My analysis provides but one out of many in a spiral of reflexive meta-levels, where the respondents make a critical analysis of the state of things; I perform a critical analysis of their analysis; my account may then be scrutinized by the respondents and others, and so on, in line with what Michail Bakhtin (1981) terms the "dialogic" character of literary work and of language itself. Viewing my study as one voice in a polyvocal and intertextual space, I also, at least to some extent, remove myself from a clearly distinguishable expert position. Indeed, it may be argued that practitioners such as therapists, counselors, and educational specialists can be seen to "have a far greater impact on cultural life than the academician" (Gergen, 1994, p. 62) through their direct interaction with relational practices. Following this view, it is not the author of the present study who knows how the enterprise of facilitating girls' and women's entrance into popular music practice should best be carried out; rather, the workers within different gender-equity music initiatives are the "experts" of this matter, and this is why I refrain from "how-to" prescriptions. The task of the present study has been to examine different understandings of such work in order to open up for potentially new ways of seeing.

The main conclusion of the present study is that the concept of claiming space risks being equated with a loud self-presentation, and that the discussion would gain by being seen in terms of more complex issues of subjectivity. If the act of "claiming space" is thought of as simply being seen and being heard – being "onstage" – without considering what comes before and after, we are mistakenly simplifying the act. Thinking in terms of subjectification enables a different view, where space-claiming is not an act achieved and completed once you make yourself seen and heard; rather, it entails an ongoing struggle between empowerment and objectification. Making oneself seen and heard as a popular musician *may* be empowering, but only if one also perceives oneself as an acting subject. In contrast, to the extent such acts involve being positioned as an object by a (self-referential) gaze – e.g. a sexual object, an object for

gender-equity strategies, or an object for self-technological control – space-claiming performance may instead function as disempowering. Perceived as subjects, by themselves and others, girls and women may better focus on the music, the instrument, and the sound – rather than themselves – as the objects to be manipulated.

“Claim space! Make your voice heard! Don’t stay in the background, but move into the spotlight!” Such calls are made within the space-as-agency perspective, and might appear unproblematic from a liberalist/humanist epistemology. However, from a space-as-privacy perspective, or within postmodern/poststructural epistemology, they appear as instantly problematic through the notion of a gaze requesting feminine performativity. In the present study, gender-equity work in popular music is described to navigate in this space: between empowerment and objectification, between different discourses promoting transgression into unbroken musical grounds or undisturbed room-of-your-own focus on the subject-core of music.

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NOTES

- 1 The Folk High School concept is described in Chapter 4, and also at www.folkhogskola.nu.
- 2 R&B is an abbreviation for rhythm & blues. Modern R&B combines elements from hip hop and traditional rhythm & blues.
- 3 To what extent the discussions of the present study are relevant for jazz music needs to be examined further by future research. There are indications, at least in the Nordic setting, that gender is a most pervasive factor in jazz practice, for example in higher education (Annfelt, 2003). In Sweden, debates on gendered imbalances in music include jazz practice.
- 4 Legal restrictions have hindered women to enter some musical practices; for example, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra did not allow women as full members until 1997. To my knowledge, there are no such overt examples of legal restrictions in popular music practices.
- 5 This idea relates to what Laclau and Mouffe (1985) discuss as the symbolic or *overdetermined* character of social relations, referring to the condensation of multiple and often opposed forces simultaneously active in any political situation. The concept of overdetermination is drawn from Althusser, who in turn borrowed it from Sigmund Freud.
- 6 In French, *assujettissement* (sometimes translated as subjectivation).
- 7 For an exposition of the liberalist subject, see Lorraine Code (1991)
- 8 Initiatives with similar objectives can be found in other countries, see for example girlsrockcamp.org, GoGirlsMusic.com; Indiegrl.com; and GuitarGirls.com.
- 9 NGO is an abbreviation for Non-Governmental Organization, a term in general use for organizations with no participation or representation of any government.
- 10 This form of education is explained in Chapter 4.
- 11 Original quote in Swedish: (A:) nu är dom tolv dom yngsta, dom är ju redan ganska sabbade på vissa sätt liksom, bara den här ångesten dom uttrycker om att alla måste få sjunga nånstans för en tjej ska liksom sjunga och det ska va ljuvligt och det är lite rörelser med håret (B:) vissa poser är redan repade (A:) och det är inte coolt med instrument fortfarande för tjejer- alltså här tror jag det börjar vakna lite kanske...
- 12 This couplet is often deployed as an analytical tool in research about spatiality. *Place* is linked to identity, while *space* is linked to relations and agency (see e.g. Massey, 1994).
- 13 For a critical discussion on the English term “girl” in relation to popular music, see Whiteley (2005).
- 14 In Swedish, there is a single word designating equality between the sexes: ‘jämställdhet’. In other parts of this thesis, I use the word “gender-equity” which, I argue, implies fairness and respect of diversity, rather than the notion of sameness evoked by equality. The reason I use “gender equality” in this section is because that terminology is used in the publications I refer to.
- 15 The Nordic countries include Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, and Finland.
- 16 In 1974, the previous maternity leave system was changed to a parental leave system aimed at both parents, but at the end of the eighties, fathers’ share of taking parental leave was still only about 10%. In order to increase gender equality in the

Notes

- public and private spheres and to facilitate an early and close contact between the father and the child, one month of reimbursed parental leave was reserved for fathers in 1995 and increased to two months in 2002 (Eriksson, 2005). Today, there is an ongoing discussion about distributing the leave between the two parents more evenly (Melby et al., 2008a).
- 17 Scandinavia includes Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, three Nordic countries sharing characteristics of language and other cultural elements.
 - 18 For an explanation of the notion of different “waves” of feminism, see Code (2000).
 - 19 These findings are in line with third-wave feminist ideas in an international perspective.
 - 20 Similarly, Beverly Skeggs (1997) found young English working-class women to refuse identification with feminism, clashing with “their investments in being a multitude of caring, familial, respectable, glamorous, feminine, heterosexual selves” (p. 139).
 - 21 Some successful examples have later been shown in higher education (Wistedt, 2001).
 - 22 These findings were in line with studies performed elsewhere, for example in the UK.
 - 23 More about this form of education can be found at www.folkhogskola.nu.
 - 24 As noted in article 4 (“Territory”), *schlager* is a European genre associated with simple, catchy melodies and lyrics centered on love and feelings.
 - 25 These numbers were obtained through through a search at www.folkhogskola.nu on July 23rd, 2010.
 - 26 See for example Stig-Magnus Thorsén’s (1980) case study about musical life in a Pentecostal assembly.
 - 27 Musik Direkt (www.musikdirekt.se) is open to all genres, gathering more than 5,000 contestants annually since 1986. Apart from being a contest, the event also functions as a platform, meeting place, and site for learning. Musik Direkt is part of Jeunes Musicales Sweden, member of the worldwide organization Jeunes Musicales International.
 - 28 The sample included 61% of all third-year students of this program in Sweden in 1998/1999. The respondents were approximately 19 years old.
 - 29 Rock instruments were in addition found to be more common among boys with working-class background compared to boys with upper-middle class background.
 - 30 28% of the female students stating a great interest in pop/rock and 57% of those stating a great interest in jazz rarely or never got to play in such ensembles. The corresponding number for male students was 14% for pop/rock and 39% for jazz. Vice versa, 2/3 of male students stating a great interest in folk or art music rarely or never get to play in such ensembles. At the same time, 42% of the boys stating a *small* interest in pop/rock, and 19% of those with little interest in jazz, still got to play such genres in ensembles.
 - 31 For an explanation of the concept hegemonic masculinity, see R. W. Connell (2005).
 - 32 These findings are in line with those of Joseph Abramo (2009).
 - 33 Hanson and Pratt describe stories of containment to deal with, for example, spatial restrictions in feminine bodily comportment, and women as objects of “the gaze,” while stories of mobility portray continuous shuttle between center and margins.

- 34 The riot grrrl movement emerged in 1991 within so called “indie” music in the USA (Leonard, 2007).
- 35 “[F]eminism, in its exploration of geographical and discursive terrains, employs an imagery of spaces, boundaries, circles, and cycles, as well as imagery of movement within or out of limited spaces” (Shands, 1999, p. 1).
- 36 DeNora (1986) emphasizes that such work processes of meaning construction are not entirely “free” but are constrained by taking place in a “setting” where preparatory work has already been done, and so the listener “is offered, prior to the listening, a sketch or cognitive map of how to get the work done” (p. 91).
- 37 Lorentzen’s (2009) examination of discourses about Norwegian female artists’ transformation from “songbird” to producer provides a close-lying example produced in the discipline of media studies.

PART II

Chapter 7

Article 1. Freedom or Constraint? Readings on Popular Music and Gender*

INTRODUCTION

Learning popular music¹ takes place in many different contexts and educational practices, for example in clubs, garages, at home, and in classrooms. During the past few years, debate in music education research has resulted from Lucy Green's (2001; 2006; 2008) suggestions that formal music education look to how popular musicians learn and use informal learning as a model.² The inclusion of popular music in formal education varies greatly between different countries and different local situations. In Sweden, where I live and work, it has been standard procedure for several decades to use Western popular music in classrooms in various ways, including the use of instruments (drums, electric guitar, bass guitar, synthesizer/keyboard), of music technology equipment, and learning how to sing, play, and compose. It is, for example, common for students to be assigned the task of forming bands with other classmates to rehearse and perform popular music songs.³

Popular musicians have been reported to join bands in early stages of learning an instrument (Bennett, 1980; Finnegan, 1989; Green, 2001). Band-playing thus seems significant for acquiring knowledge. For some students, learning the basic structure of a pop song and the basic skills of playing keyboard or electric guitar at school is the beginning of a band-playing "career." Interest in these activities appears to be more than marginal: a 2005 survey of leisure-time activities among all students aged 10–19 in Gothenburg, Sweden – the home town of my University – shows that 16% of the boys and 20% of the girls in high school (grades 10–12) stated they were "very interested" in the activity of singing or playing in a band (Stockfelt, 2005). But is band-playing a "free" option open to anyone who has an interest in it?

The aim of this paper is to examine how notions of freedom are linked to popular music practices in previous research literature. I make no attempt

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to look at what freedom “really” is, but begin from the perspective of freedom being an invented idea (Patterson, 1991). I will discuss how two competing discourses depict popular music practices on the one hand as “freedom,” on the other hand as “constraint,” and how these ideas relate to gender. I will also argue that unproblematized assumptions of popular music as “free” may instead function as exclusionary normalization.

The term *gender* was originally introduced to signify social and cultural interpretations of sex.⁴ The sex/gender distinction was then used by feminist researchers, starting in the 1970’s, with the aim of moving beyond biologically oriented explanations of female subordination in order to show how social and cultural patterns form our conceptions of the sexes. Since then, the term has been used in various and distinctly different ways. In the 1990’s, the sex/gender distinction was criticized, among other things for simplifying the relation between sex and gender. Some scholars (e.g. Butler 2006[1999]) rejected the distinction altogether, arguing that sex and gender are both constructed. I use terms such as *gender*, *masculinity*, and *femininity* to signify the constructedness of these concepts. Terms such as *female*, *male*, *women*, and *men*, are used in some instances; not with an intention of referring to any assumed core differences, but rather because it seems very hard to avoid these categories if one wants to talk about structural imbalances.

Gender in Western popular music practices has been studied mainly by researchers in sociology, culture studies, media studies, and popular music studies (see e.g. Bayton, 1998; Clawson, 1999; Cohen, 1991; Gaar, 1992; Jarman-Ivens, 2007; Leonard, 2007; Reynolds & Press, 1995; Schippers, 2002; Whiteley, 1997). Most of these studies focus primarily on “white,” Western pop and rock music practices, but the body of research also includes texts about rap (Haugen, 2003; Pough, 2004), country music, (McCusker & Pecknold, 2004) and jazz (Ceraso, 2006; Johnson, 2000); about Asian (Baranovitch, 2003; Cogan & Cogan, 2006; Spiller, 2007), Australian (Corn, 2007), Latin American (Aparicio, 1998; Thomas, 2006), Caribbean (Lake, 1998; Mahabir, 2001), Arabic (Schade-Poulsen, 1999), and African (Gilman & Fenn, 2006; Gondola, 1997) popular music. The significance of gender is shown to be evident in a number of areas: for the construction of popular music history; the perceived masculine or feminine nature of particular genres/styles; audiences, fandom, and record-collecting; occupation of various roles within the music industry; youth subcultures; and gender stereotyping in song lyrics and music videos (Shuker, 2005). Although some genres have been described as particularly masculinized, or even misogynist – most notably traditional rock ‘n’ roll,⁵ heavy metal, and gangsta rap – an overwhelming structural differentiation between men and women seems to be prevalent in a broad spectrum of popular music practices. Women are in a definite minority in all different positions of the popular music field, from musicians to sound technicians, record agents, and festival organizers. The only exception is the position of vocalist. If one assumes that there is equal opportunity for anyone

who desires to pursue an interest in popular music practices as a hobby and/or career, then the conclusion must be that men's outnumbering women in such practices reflects either greater interest or greater capabilities among men compared to women. If, however, the imbalances are seen as problems of a more complex character, they can be classified as issues of social justice.

Marion Leonard (2007, p. 181) argues that the differentiation between men and women in the music industry is

not simply a hangover from the domination of early rock 'n' roll by male performers, nor is it premised solely upon the fact that male performers in rock have been more visible within rock practice . . . but results from a process of reproduction and continual enactment.

Leonard, drawing her examples from the genre of so-called "indie-rock," provides a number of close analyses of how discourses operating within the music industry contribute to this reproduction, and how they thereby uphold "systems of evaluation and aesthetics and produce particular constructions of the nature of the artist" (p. 181). One example is the heroic language used to describe male musicians in the written media. Similarly, Green (1997, p. 192) refers to how school

takes part in the perpetuation of subtle definitions of femininity and masculinity as connotations of musical practices, linked to musical styles, in which pupils invest their desires to conform, not necessarily to the school only, but to the wider field of gender and sexual politics.

From this perspective, popular music discourse appears as a significant study object for understanding differentiation between the sexes in popular music practices, in and out of school. Moreover, the scrutiny of such discourse in research literature provides a tool for music education researchers striving for critical reflection of their own academic practice.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory I deploy is based on a critical constructionist framework. I have chosen this framework for a number of reasons. First, it gives attention to the construction of meaning through discourse. Second, it is concerned with issues of power and provides ways of discussing subjectivity, agency, resistance, and change without yielding to paradoxes. Third, it has a problematizing approach that does not just accept the "nature" of things but instead seeks to identify what is excluded as possibilities by unquestioned normativity, thus exploring how alternative organizations of the social world would offer other possibilities. In the following sections I outline some of the main ideas of the framework.

Discourse and Embodied Experience

The term *discourse* has acquired various meanings in the field of social sciences, each “laden with particular assumptions about the social world and the way we attain knowledge of it” (Howarth, 2000, p. 3). From a *constructionist* view, meaning is constructed in and through language. Michel Foucault (1972) describes a discourse as a “way of speaking” which constitutes a network of rules establishing what is meaningful. Meanings may shift between different discourses and they may change within a certain discourse as well. Discourses are further relationally structured into *discursive formations* (Foucault, 1970), which could be described as a number of (competing) discourses operating within the same conceptual terrain. These formations are created through *discursive practices* – culturally and historically specific set of rules for organizing and structuring knowledge. For example, music education is a discursive formation comprised of discourses such as musical literacy, value of large ensemble performance, nurturing value of music, and the emerging discourse of informal learning of popular music. This discursive formation is created through practices such as classroom teaching, educational policies, student discussions, and research literature.

Foucault (1972) rejects the idea of language as constituted by the world, as a reflection of a pre-existing reality. Instead, he sees language as constitutive, which is to say it permeates our thinking and shapes how we see things. Discourses are thus “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (p. 49). Although Foucault claims that nothing has any meaning outside of discourse, there are some texts where he talks about non-discursive practices, but he also states he does not believe it is important to make that distinction (Foucault, 1980).

Judith Butler (1993) more clearly denies the existence of non-discursive practices. In her perspective, everything is permeated by discourse. She argues that because discourse is a prerequisite for something to become meaningful and thereby possible to understand, nothing can be seen as outside discourse – not even one’s sex, the being “female” or “male.”⁶ Embodied experience – for example feelings of what seems “natural” to oneself in terms of conduct and postures – are interwoven with the (discursive) norms that regulate femininities and masculinities. Accordingly, discourse makes “gendered sense” of bodies and actions.

Power, Resistance, Freedom

Among the various discourses surrounding us, certain ones have stronger authority than others. Foucault (1980) calls these systems *regimes of truth*, defining what may be said or thought in certain eras or cultures, and what is seen as true or false. This idea of knowledge as inextricably linked to power and discourse provides new perspectives for considering learning. For example, learning to play the electric guitar or learning how to play in a band – or, for that matter, learning music history or music theory in a conservatory context – are practices

where participants must relate to the “truths” of how to do things and what is seen as significant.

It should be noted that Foucault’s (1977/1991) take on power is quite different from a traditional one. He points out that power is still generally conceived of as *sovereign power*, which in previous societies functioned as an oppressive force from above (for example by the state or the king). In contrast, he argues that the *disciplinary power* of today is present in all human relations, a sort of energy flow in constant circulation in which we are all to some extent taking part, even in relation to ourselves. Foucault’s attention is consequently turned *not* to the grand, overall strategies of power, but to the small, local level, what he calls the “micro-physics of power.” Further, power is not necessarily seen as negative, but above all is productive: “it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse” (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). Finally, power is seen as a relation, rather than an entity. This is to say, power is not something that can be possessed, but only executed.⁷

Like his concept of power, Foucault’s ideas of freedom and resistance demand a new and different way of thinking. While a common definition of freedom is usually the *absence* of constraints or interference,⁸ Foucault instead conceptualizes both freedom and resistance as *immanent* to power relations; they are necessary for power relations, but cannot exist outside such relations.⁹ In other words, it could be described as a “package deal.” This idea implies that *liberation*, in terms of moving outside power, is a utopian notion; furthermore, that resistance can never stand apart from that which is resisted.¹⁰

Subjectivity, Performativity, Normalization

The use of popular music in everyday life is often associated with youth and self-identity (see e.g. DeNora, 2000). In order to avoid associations to psychological notions of identity as inner, stable, and coherent, I choose to use the term *subjectivity*,¹¹ connected to a notion of subject- becoming as an ongoing, fluid, and ambiguous process. The subject is here seen as involved in a dual structure; it is produced by culture, but also reproduces culture; it is produced within discourse and at the same time subjected to discourse (Butler, 1997). Moreover, this is a conflicting and contradictory process, not the least with respect to gender:

[T]he very injunction to be a given gender takes place through discursive routes: to be a good mother, to be a sexually desirable object, to be a fit worker, in sum to signify a multiplicity of guarantees in response to a variety of different demands all at once. (Butler 2006[1999], p. 199)

Butler claims that gender, and even sex, are enacted in our daily actions and in our lives in broad terms: that we “do” gender through words, gestures, movements, and styles. This is to say, gender is *performative*.¹² Simply speaking, according to Butler, a feminine gesture does not reflect some inner feminine core,

and can therefore not be seen as expressive of such a perceived core or essence.¹³ Rather, it should be seen as productive, as it is that which *produces* femininity. Subjectivity thus cannot be revealed to show “what we really are.” Although it appears to be stable and unitary, it is always fluid (Butler, 1993), produced in a continuous and necessary process of negotiation and *becoming*, where the subject is interwoven in the many meanings and demands encountered through life. When discussing popular music practices in terms of “freedom” or “constraint,” this perspective of subjectivity troubles¹⁴ both the idea of “free choice” and the idea of a coherent subject making that choice.¹⁵

In order to be taken seriously within a certain community or society, a subject needs to fulfill certain conditions. Along with statements, this includes gestures, behavior, rituals; a whole range of signs (Foucault, 1970/1981). These conditions constitute *norms* for human behavior, for what and who is to be seen as normal or deviant. Foucault calls these procedures *normalization*. He argues that each discourse offers only certain available positions for the subject (Foucault, 1982). These *subject-positions* represent a distribution of the “places” from where a subject may speak.

Looking at normalization in terms of gender, certain sexual relations, desires, movement patterns, and discourses become more eligible, privileged, significant, and comprehensible than others. Those who trespass such gender norms are not only perceived as provocative but they are so because they are perceived as *unintelligible*. Butler (2006[1999]) conceptualizes this as a *heterosexual matrix*,¹⁶ which can be described as a framework, screen, or grid making sense of gender. It is a model of “gender clarity” with the prerequisite that culturally intelligible bodies are based on stable and binary genders, where masculine expresses male, and feminine expresses female. In Foucauldian terminology, the heterosexual matrix may accordingly be seen as a regime of truth about sex/gender, where the “truths” conveyed are that women and men are fundamentally different, where one sex (male) is given a dominant position over the other (female), and that relations between men and women are based on heterosexual desire.¹⁷

Summary and Relevance

I link this theoretical framework to issues of gender in popular music practices in the following ways. First, the framework inevitably gives discourse a central role in research, as it is seen as the site where meanings are produced, maintained, and/or subverted. Examining discourse not only gives an insight to how certain issues are “talked about,” but provides the means for understanding the different and competing logics that constitute the base for knowledge formation in a certain field or discipline. A careful reading of discourse on popular music and gender can thus reveal and clarify how these things are understood.

Second, the framework provides a new and radical conceptualization by viewing power, resistance, and freedom as fluid and always already present in all human relations. The concept of power relations challenges notions of

freedom as unproblematic and self-evident. If we think of resistance as necessarily performed *inside* power relations, rather than produced independently from that which is resisted, it follows that resistance against gender norms in popular music is to some extent embedded in those very norms, taking place within what Butler calls a heterosexual matrix.

Third, the concept of normalization directs attention to how discourse on popular music and gender shapes possibilities and limits for the subject: who can become a popular musician? These limits are not found solely in oppression from above, but are also produced by the self in the process of becoming an intelligible subject. The concept of performativity provides ways of understanding how actions involved with a certain musical practice, such as band-playing, can produce feelings of bodily “unnaturalness” when different subject-positions contradict each other.

What this framework offers is, above all, a shift of focus. It is a shift of focus by searching for what is multi-faceted, dispersed, contradictory, and ambiguous, instead of homogenous and consistent. It is a shift of focus by viewing human actions as performative and producing something, instead of viewing them as expressing something (an inner core, identity, ability, for example). This in turn shifts the focus towards the action that is performed, rather than the acting individual. Finally, it is a shift regarding the idea of the researcher. Rather than discovering the truth (or at least getting one step closer to it), the role of the researcher is to investigate how truths are made to work and how they may be challenged. This means I shift my focus from thinking about gender in terms of “how girls and boys are,” “how women and men learn,” and instead look at dominant and/or competing assumptions of gender and of musical learning.

RESEARCH ON POPULAR MUSIC AND GENDER

Having outlined a theoretical framework for considering gender issues in popular music practice, I now use that framework to look at how previous research¹⁸ relates band-playing and popular music practice to issues of freedom and constraint.

Popular Music Practice as Freedom, Autonomy, and Ownership

Stith Bennett (1980, p. 3) finds that “[w]hile elite musicians are required to train and pass tests, the status passage to *rock musician* is easy – anyone who can manage to play in a rock group can claim the identity.” This illustrates how band-playing and popular music can be conflated with notions of freedom. Popular music practice is, in academic research as well as in folk theory, generally associated with informality and leisure time, but also with youth, rebellion, the shaping of identities, and freedom of expression. An early example of this is a study of jazz musicians by Howard Becker (1966) in which he describes the profession as “deviant.” Becker argues that the ethos of the profession fosters a disregard for the rules of society in general through a desire for freedom from

outside interference. The theme of popular musicians as resistant to control is again taken up by Johan Fornäs, Ulf Lindberg, and Ove Sernhede (1995) in a study of learning processes in rock bands. These processes are described as *voluntary* and *informal*, as opposed to compulsory schooling, and as *open*, in the sense of being largely without fixed learning goals. In the study, three young Swedish rock bands were followed during the course of a year. Band-playing is described as a *free-zone*, an activity in most cases located outside adult-supervised institutions and thus functioning as a *collective autonomy*. Fornäs et al. argue that formal education should not interfere with, but rather leave alone, the expressions of young people's "own" music.

This conception of "one's own" comes back in a number of studies. For example, Ruth Finnegan (1989) found that local rock and pop players in an English town stressed the importance of individuality and artistic creation, especially through composing their own music. In this way, "playing in a band provided a medium where players could express their own personal aesthetic vision and through their music achieve a sense of controlling their own values, destiny and self-identity" (p. 130). Claes Ericsson (2007), drawing on data from group interviews with Swedish eighth and ninth grade students, found the adolescents defined motivation and interest as conditions for learning music, and that these aspects were made meaningful in relation to *identity* (to find a music "to call one's own")¹⁹ and to *autonomy* (to understand oneself as in power regarding artistic expression). These studies stress the importance of autonomy, being in charge, and finding "one's own" music when it comes to learning and making popular music. Ultimately, these arguments bring up questions of power and *ownership*: who "owns" a piece of music or a musical learning process?

The notion of "one's own" is problematic in several ways. First, when it is linked to *individuality*, collective aspects are easily obscured. This happens for example if the "one" – the perceived individual subject – is implicitly assumed to be male. Second, if it is attached to *a group*, for example by referring to "young people's own music," it obscures both individual and cultural variation within that group. Eva Georgii-Hemming and Maria Westvall (2010, p. 22) find,

One objective with an informal pedagogical approach is to emphasise the individual student's personal experiences and his/her freedom to choose. Although Swedish music teachers' general intention is to take account of the students' 'own' music, studies have shown that this purpose is not fulfilled since not all students' musical life worlds are represented.

Instead, easy-to-play pop and rock music dominate music teaching in Sweden, while Western art music, jazz, folk music or music from other cultures are only marginally integrated into the teaching, leading the authors to question whether this pedagogical strategy is, in fact, leading to participation, inclusion, and emancipation.

Third, the notion of ownership is problematic when it is linked to concepts like "personal taste," as it may evoke an image of subjectivity as fixed identity

rather than a fluid process of becoming. Georgii-Hemming and Westvall observe, "It seems that the primary goal is for every student to be offered the opportunity to discover his/her own musical preferences rather than widening their knowledge about different forms of music and different ways of engaging with music." The authors trouble the stability of ownership by pointing out that "[m]usic can represent and give rise to identities . . . as well as be a way to explore and visualise life experiences" (p. 22).

Popular Music Practice as Threat and Constraint

So what happens with the discourse of freedom when the focus is turned to women in popular music practices? To what extent are women included in the "one" of "one's own" in such practices? Previous research paints a rather bleak picture in this respect. Women and girls are seldom referred to as "autonomous" or "free" in relation to popular music making, but rather they are linked to expressions like "lack," "threat," "risk," "fear," and "exclusion." Instead of depicted as doing their "own" thing, playing in a band seems like endlessly striving to achieve someone else's territory. Mavis Bayton (1998) explains the lack of female instrumentalists in terms of social "constraining factors." Bayton divides these constraints into "material" (such as lack of money, lack of access to equipment and transport, and lack of time) and "ideological."²⁰ Ideological constraints are, according to Bayton, primarily constituted by hegemonic masculinity²¹ of rock music-making – the perceived masculinity of the musical discourse itself and that embedded within rock instruments and associated technology – but also by hegemonic femininity²² "which encourages young women to spend a lot of time on the physical presentation of self and the pursuit of the boyfriend" (Bayton, 1998, p. 188). Green makes a similar argument, but discusses it in terms of how musical meanings may "affirm" or "interrupt" femininity and masculinity. She points out a conjunction of sexual display and loss of musical value for the woman instrumentalist: the more overt and affirmative her bodily display, the more she signifies a lack of commitment to the music itself as an art form, "the less likely she is to be regarded as a serious musician, and the less seriously her music itself will be taken" (Green, 1997, p. 81). Bayton, like Green, talks about the risk of not being taken seriously, but defines this risk as triggered by the mere fact of being female: "The status 'woman' seems to obscure that of 'musician'" (Bayton, 1998, p. 195). This may be referred to as contradictory subject-positions, entailing one's having to choose between being a "real musician" or a "real woman."²³ One may navigate between the two, but they are not compatible, according to Bayton and Green.

Bayton points out that as a result of this incompatibility, female musicians face a double rebellion. If rock music signifies rebellion against authority, for girls it also entails rebellion against gender norms – at least as regards playing instruments. In the music classroom, Green says, the act of *singing* popular music may offer girls opportunities to resist conformity to school norms, while it still affirms patriarchal constructions of femininity. In contrast, Green finds

that “performance of popular music involving drums, electronic instruments and other technology is interruptive to femininity, and provides a space into which masculinity can enter” (Green, 1997, p. 192).

This could be discussed in terms of exclusion and oppression, but the concept of the heterosexual matrix gives another dimension to such discussions: if band-playing is interrupting femininity, if it is to be seen as a performativity which produces masculinity (getting dirty finger nails, spreading legs, being loud, manipulating technology, for instance), then the woman playing popular music is an unintelligible one, one who we may only “read” if we redress the balance of the matrix by making her a sexual object.

Popular Music Practice as a Male Free-Zone

So far, I have shown how the notion of “freedom” in popular music making is on the one hand portrayed as significant in such practices “in general” (and note that the “general” popular musician is male); on the other hand, it is conceived as problematic for female musicians, who do not seem to be self-evidently included in the ownership and autonomy associated with such practices.

If we go back to the characterization of popular music practices as “free,” we find that they are not only portrayed as a space free from authority or adult supervision, but also as a refuge from females and/or femininity. The bands in Fornäs et al’s (1995) study are said to represent a type of male *free-zone*,²⁴ in which the uncomplicated single-sex male conviviality is idealized. This expresses, according to the authors, “a need to test and experiment with one’s own masculinity in peace” (p. 204). To one of the bands in their study, girls in general represented a threat to the joint project, since the male members believed romantic relations would entail a decline in the group’s musical priorities. Moreover, “taking a girl into the band would seem inconceivable as it could create rivalry and break up the band. Only as an audience do girls fill an important role: their response confirms sexual identity” (p. 195). Again, this is possible to discuss in relationship to the heterosexual matrix, where women are intelligible only as different to men. Sarah Cohen (1991) found that in local rock culture in Liverpool, women were not only virtually absent from the practice of popular music-making, but they were *actively* excluded, as they were often viewed as threats to the male loyalty within the groups. Two things, women and money, were seen as enticing objects of desire but also as common reasons for groups to split up. In Becker’s (1966) study of jazz musicians, the resisted “outside interference” was represented by employers, audience – and family/wives.²⁵

It occurs to me that perhaps it is not freedom from members of the female sex *per se* which is desired in these cultures, but a freedom from the heterosexual family project and the restrictions that it may pose on one’s agency. Typically, women have been seen as the holders of such demands through their expected roles as caretakers, whereby they become representatives of family ties. However, as I discuss below, the family project, or heterosexual relations in general, may

be viewed as a threat or obstacle to a musical career not only by male musicians but by female musicians as well.

Popular Music Practice as a Heterosexual Matrix

Bayton's (1998) study is rich in its descriptions of the various obstacles facing a female musician in popular music – or, in Foucauldian terminology, of the local micro-physics of power. Bayton brings up various ways in which relationships and creating a family systematically constitute barriers. At younger ages, this happens when girls prioritize the search for a boyfriend instead of playing in a band (in line with what Bayton calls hegemonic femininity). When marrying, Bayton argues, women are expected to give up their careers and their interests to support those of their men – which may be problematic in any type of career but particularly so for a free-lance musician, as the profession demands “total dedication” of time and energy. When babies are in the picture, even less time and energy is available for the female musician, as domestic work and childcare are usually expected to take more of her time than the father's time. Bringing babies to work, or the mere fact of having children, divert women from concentrating. In addition, breast-feeding and diapers do not go well with the heroic rock image.

We may assume that any relation can produce restrictions in the form of obligations and expectations to fulfill, which could compete with the pursuit of a musical career. Through heteronormativity, these obligations and expectations are tightly related to a matrix where male and female are seen as necessarily different. I propose that the “freedom” from norms and restrictions associated with popular music may partly, for both female and male musicians, be a desire for freedom from the heterosexual matrix. In the literature, men's resistance against the heterosexual family project is mainly associated with freedom or deviance, whereas women's resistance is mainly associated with struggle and constraints. However, there are times when female resistance *is* associated with freedom, such as in the case of all-female environments, which I discuss in the next section.

Popular Music Practice as a Male-Free Zone

We have seen that popular music practices are described as male free-zones. However, the image may be reversed and band-playing may be depicted as offering autonomy and freedom not *from* but *for* women, by providing *male-free* zones rather than male *free-zones* (note the placement of italics and hyphen). Green (1997) finds that some girls express resistance against playing certain instruments in front of boys. The question of single-sex teaching is, according to Green, most relevant in situations where learners work together towards a performance, a group composition or an improvisation. When learners are required to perform in front of each other, she argues, the gendered meaning of music is especially strong as a result of the enactment of display. Green suggests that the

aspects of musical meaning that are interruptive and threatening for femininity . . . are strengthened by the physical presence of males as onlookers to the display of the female musical performer. For these reasons, all-girl groups present distinct advantages as learning environments in which the sexual risk of female display and the interruption and threat to femininity caused by masculine delineations can be reduced. (Green, 1997, p. 248)

The presence of a “male gaze”²⁶ is here seen as increasing the pressure on girls to perform normative femininity correctly, whereas an all-female environment would reduce that imperative. The conceptualization of the all-female context as a safe space is also found when Bayton (1998) discusses “women’s music projects” providing a safe atmosphere for young women in which girls can learn traditionally “masculine” instruments and sound engineering, thereby offering possible escapes from exclusion by male music-making peers. In an all-female environment, Bayton says, girls have more of a chance to express themselves and to engage in learning processes without having to fear being ridiculed by boys or competing with them for time and attention. Women’s music projects can provide “some male-free, protected spaces (in schools, community centres, youth clubs, and so forth) in which young women can be supported in learning to play” (Bayton, 1998, p. 191).

Collective movements, such as the punk movement of the 1970s and the *Riot Grrrl* movement of the 1990s, have gained some attention in research (Gottlieb & Wald, 2006; Kearney, 1997; Leblanc, 1999) for challenging male norms in popular culture. Leonard (2007) describes how the *Riot Grrrl* and *Ladyfest* movements managed to open new spaces for female participation in performance and communication, but also how calls for unity resulted in some women feeling on the margins because they sensed they did not fit in. She also describes how the expression *girl power* was emptied from its potentially radical connotations into a “marketable media soundbite” as it became synonymous with the pop music group, the Spice Girls. I find Leonard’s study to be an example of how different discourses compete for the preferential right of interpretation to a concept or a category (“girls”). It also highlights the double-sided aspect of representation: that joint identities through naming and claiming the category or subject-position “girl” may be empowering and uniting, but may also have normalizing functions. The call for common ground, evoked by resistance to a male norm, constructs a fixed female subject – a new norm which, in turn, may evoke new resistance.

CONCLUSION

Freedom, autonomy, and ownership are concepts central to humanist liberalism and liberal individualism. These concepts are closely linked to each other and to concepts of self, power, and governance, and they have been described as some of the most controversial and least agreed-upon concepts (Reeve, 2003). The (seemingly gender-neutral) discourse on popular music practice as “freedom”

hence draws on broader liberalist discourse, communicating that if the subject has a desire to acquire popular music knowledge, there is freedom to pursue that desire. The “constraints” discourse, drawing on broader structuralist discourse, challenges that notion by claiming that for women, the acquisition of popular music knowledge is a difficult journey full of obstacles. Structuralist discourse is also evident in some of the texts on “general” (i.e., male) popular music practice. For example in Fornäs et al.’s study, rock music is presented as *offering* freedom by being a *means* in the struggle against authority. However, both liberalism and structuralism begin from the idea of an autonomous humanist subject; in the freedom discourse, that subject is already free to choose, act upon, and own music; in the constraints discourse, the subject first needs to be liberated, but beyond the obstacles there is freedom. The two discourses are hence politically opposed, but philosophically related.

Furthermore, from a perspective of performativity, both discourses *do* something by linking together certain concepts and ideas. The freedom discourse puts the entire responsibility on the subject and disregards the significance of power, (gendered) norms, and self-regulation. The constraints discourse, on the other hand, risks placing girls and women in a victim position by the linkage to concepts like “lack,” “threat,” “risk,” “fear,” and “exclusion.”²⁷ The constraints discourse may further be seen as producing resistance²⁸ to the freedom discourse, making the latter *visible as discourse* by questioning its assumptions and raising issues of inclusion and exclusion. The constraints discourse thereby demonstrates deconstructive²⁹ potential.

While concepts such as *autonomy* and *ownership* are, in previous research, mainly constructed as resistance to, or dissociation from, authoritative supervision and control (for example by adults or employers), the concepts of *space* or *free-zone* are contrasted both against the adult/authoritative and the feminine – or, alternatively, against masculine dominance. However, the concepts are used with various meanings: as space for experimentation, protection, expression, or empowering communication. Some new questions that arise are: may popular music then be conceptualized as free or liberating from *any* type of control? Where may such emancipatory aspects of popular music be conceptually located: are they related to musical expressions and sonic qualities? Or to cultural spaces free from domination? And, furthermore, how are those “outer” elements constructed which are to be escaped (the control, the authority, the female/femininity, the male/masculinity)?

Notions of free-zones, escapes, and autonomous spaces found in the literature align with the traditional notion of *sovereign power* as oppression from above. This line of thinking implies that once that assumed authority is (temporarily) absent, so are the restrictions. In this view, if women represent control in terms of family ties and heterosexual demands, the absence of women (e.g. in an all-male band) grant freedom from such ties; and conversely, if men represent some kind of objectifying “gaze” or control over women, an all-female environment would be void of that objectifying power. In contrast, the theoretical perspective presented here disturbs these assumptions. If subjectivity is

performative, producing a sense of “what I am” through subjection to gendered norms, it entails that an all-female environment, for example, does *not* simply free girls and women from normative pressures. However, I am not implying that all-female environments function exactly the same way as mixed or all-male environments. Here, Green’s (1997, p. 248) statement that an all-girl group can *reduce* the pressure provides nuance.

The opposition between the two discourses of freedom and constraint is illustrated most clearly by the two statements about the subject-position “rock musician,” where one asserts that “anyone who can manage to play in a rock group can claim the identity” (Bennett, 1980, p. 3), while the other claims that “[t]he status ‘woman’ seems to obscure that of ‘musician’” (Bayton, 1998, p. 195). While the first quote presents the subject-position as fully available for anyone who cares to grab it, the second presents it as contradictory for women, thereby exposing the genderedness of “anyone” and adding complexity to what it means to “manage to play in a rock group.” Bennett further notes, “it should be understood that the learning processes which I delineate take place *after* a person has initiated a self-definition by becoming a member of a rock group” (Bennett, 1980, p. 4, emphasis in original). If self-definition, in this case as rock musician, is to be seen as the starting point of popular music learning processes, and if that subject-position is continuously marked as incompatible with femininity, this constitutes a crucial point of consideration for understanding gender imbalances in popular music practices, in and out of school. From my experience, when issues of popular music, learning, and gender are debated among teachers, concepts such as “interest” or “motivation” often come up. However, from the theoretical perspective presented in this article, interest and motivation are problematic concepts, as they are entangled with issues of normalization, producing desires to appear as intelligible subjects – for example, a “real” girl or woman.

As demonstrated, concepts of freedom and constraint in relation to popular music making are in no way unproblematic, and I suggest they should be scrutinized. The romantic notion of freedom is a strong one, and it needs to be “troubled.” I argue that discussions on gender and popular music would benefit from the theoretical framework presented in this article, in order to not get stuck in criticism but take the deconstructive approach one step further. Viewing power, resistance, and freedom as co-existing only in relation to each other offers a conceptual framework different from both liberalist and structuralist ideas. This would add useful complexity to conceptualizing the problems of gender and popular music, which so clearly relate to both subjectivity and social change. From this perspective, popular music practices, like any other practices, are exclusionary and regulated by norms. Consequently, popular music making may function as empowering but also as disempowering. I propose that music teachers and music education researchers start raising questions about social justice: For *whom* are such practices perceived as liberatory or empowering, and in what ways? What femininities *and* masculinities are excluded or silenced? Are there ways to open up the possibilities for potential subject-positions and

thereby broaden the field to accessible musical knowledge? Can music education and gender-equity initiatives help in broadening the limits for “one’s own?”

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NOTES

- 1 The term popular music “defies precise, straightforward definition” (Shuker, 2005, p. 203). While the term “popular” connotes such diverse ideas as “of the folk,” “contemporary,” “mass-produced,” and “oppositional” (as in counter-culture), particular genres or songs often – if not always – blur these categories (Kassabian, 1999). I regard the issues discussed in the present article as relevant to popular music in broad terms, but the specific meaning and nuance will shift between different genres/context.
- 2 Responses to Green have been provided by e.g. Heidi Westerlund (2006) and Randall Allsup (2008) In addition, an issue of the ACT journal (*Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 8, no. 2, 2009) provides a series of essays and responses based on Green’s most recent book from 2008, *Music, Informal Learning and the School*.
- 3 For a contextualization of music education in Sweden and the use of popular music therein, see Eva Georgii-Hemming and Maria Westvall (2010).
- 4 Robert Stoller (1964) is usually said to be one of the first to use the term gender.
- 5 Especially the aggressive rock style which is labeled “cock rock” by Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie (1978/1990).
- 6 “[O]nce ‘sex’ itself is understood in its normativity, the materiality of the body will not be thinkable apart from the materialization of that regulatory norm. ‘Sex’ is, thus, not simply what one has, or a static description of what one is: it will be one of the norms by which the ‘one’ becomes viable at all, that which qualifies a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility” (Butler, 1993, p. 2).
- 7 Foucault (1984/1997, pp. 291–292) describes his concept of power accordingly: “[W]hen one speaks of *power*, people immediately think of a political structure, a government, a dominant social class, the master and the slave, and so on. I am not thinking of this at all when I speak of *relations of power*. I mean that in human relationships, whether they

involve verbal communication . . . or amorous, institutional, or economic relationships, power is always present: I mean a relationship in which one person tries to control the conduct of the other. So I am speaking of relations that exist at different levels, in different forms; these power relations are mobile, they can be modified, they are not fixed once and for all” (emphasis in original).

- 8 See Andrew Reeve (2003).
- 9 Foucault (1984/1997, p. 292) says that “in order for power relations to come into play, there must be at least a certain degree of freedom on both sides. . . This means that in power relations there is necessarily the possibility of resistance because if there were no possibility of resistance (of violent resistance, flight, deception, strategies capable of reversing the situation), there would be no power relations at all. . . I am sometimes asked: ‘But if power is everywhere, there is no freedom.’ I answer that if there are relations of power in every social field, this is because there is freedom everywhere.”
- 10 Butler (2006[1999], p. 203) develops these ideas with regards to the women’s movement, which, she argues, builds on the same rationalities and discourses as patriarchy: ”There is no ontology of gender on which we might construct a politics, for gender ontologies always operate within established political contexts . . . Ontology is, thus, not a foundation, but a normative injunction that operates insidiously by installing itself into political discourse as its necessary ground.”
- 11 For an immanently understandable and useful discussion on subjectivity, see Alison Jones (1997).
- 12 Butler’s use of the concept *performativity* draws on John Austin’s (1962) ideas that words or utterances do (or perform) something and thus are performative. Butler’s concept should not be confused with *performance*, where an actor can remove a mask and costume when offstage. Her notion of performativity instead disputes the very notion of an independent subject.
- 13 For a discussion about gender and essentialization, see Diana Fuss (1989).
- 14 To ”trouble” an assumption here means to problematize, disturb, and thereby destabilize it. For an exposition of the concept, used in this sense, see the 1990 preface to Butler (2006[1999]).
- 15 This is not a denial of agency. On the contrary, as Butler (2006[1999], p. 201) points out, ”[c]onstruction is not opposed to agency; it is the necessary scene of agency, the very terms in which agency is articulated and becomes culturally intelligible.”
- 16 Butler states she builds the concept on Monique Wittig’s (1989) notion of a “heterosexual contract” and on Adrienne Rich’s (1986) concept of “compulsory heterosexuality.”
- 17 Butler argues that feminism has, in fact, *not* challenged, but rather depended upon, the heterosexual matrix in order to build a case of representing women.
- 18 The selection of literature leaves out a number of other relevant texts; my intention, however, is not to examine certain authors, but rather certain discourses.
- 19 Ericsson compares these findings to Theodor Adorno’s (1941/2002) claim that popular music listeners tend to speak of music as if it were a property.
- 20 Bayton asserts her division of constraints into material and ideological is “merely an analytical distinction and the dimensions are inevitably interrelated” (p. 188). Nevertheless, such division is problematic in that it conveys a dualism between material as associated with “real” or “body,” and ideological as associated with “mental” or “mind”.

Chapter 7

- 21 The concept of hegemonic masculinity was developed by R. W. Connell (2005), who joins the constructivist view of “doing gender.” The concept describes the hierarchical interaction between multiple masculinities, where some characteristics (aggressiveness, strength, drive, ambition, and self-reliance) are more socially endorsed and encouraged in males and also perceived to guarantee a dominant position over some men, and the subordination of women.
- 22 Hegemonic femininity is not yet a broadly developed concept, partly due to the point of view that femininity *cannot* be hegemonic since it is not a dominant position. Connell prefers to use the term *emphasized femininity*. Besides Bayton’s study, the term hegemonic femininity has been used in research about female athletes (Choi, 2000).
- 23 In sociology, this phenomenon is referred to as a *master trait*. A master trait “tends to overpower, in most crucial situations, any other characteristics which might run counter to it” (Hughes, 1993, p. 147).
- 24 In the English translation, the expression *male enclaves* is used.
- 25 For more about jazz cultures as all-male environments, see Valerie Wilmer (1987).
- 26 See Laura Mulvey’s (1975) exposition of cinematic objectification of women as viewed by a “male gaze.”
- 27 Bayton (2000, p. 161) denies such conclusions: “This does not mean that women are simply ‘victims’ or passive in the face of this oppression because the very shared knowledge of that oppression can be, and often is, the source of empowerment and change: there is both ‘agency’ and ‘structure.’”
- 28 In Foucauldian terms, a *counter-discourse* (Foucault, 1977).
- 29 Deconstruction is a mode of analytical inquiry associated with Jacques Derrida. It denotes an approach for examining and “undoing” the meaning of a text or a discourse, emphasizing its inconsistencies, contradictions and unspoken assumptions.

Article 2. Volume, Voice, Volition: Claiming Gendered Space in Popular Music Soundscapes*

INTRODUCTION

Popular music¹ is increasingly being used in school music programs in part because of its accessibility and currency among young people. Previous research – primarily within musicology, sociology, and cultural studies – describes popular music practices outside school as male-dominated and masculinized (see e.g. Bayton, 1998; Gaar, 1992; Schippers, 2002).² Studies of the use of popular music in schools show that although formal education certainly provides a learning context different from that of a garage, a club, or a bedroom, the classroom does by no means escape the gendered meanings of popular music (Green, 1997, 2002). As Lucy Green (1997, p. 192) observes, “[g]ender enters the delineations of the music with which girls and boys are associated, and from there gets inside the very listening experiences, and indeed the very performance experiences, of pupils and of teachers.” Apart from these studies, not many questions have been raised in music education research about the gendered conditions for learning popular music, in and out of classrooms.

In response to this, I decided to look for initiatives intended to facilitate women’s participation in popular music. I wanted to examine how the problems of such work were conceptualized, and carried out a study which included round-table discussions with staff and participants from four different music initiatives in Sweden. In the analysis of these discussions, I found *spatial* concepts and metaphors to be central articulations, specifically revolving around the notion of “claiming space,” and *sound* appeared as one of the central themes. The purpose of the present article is to examine the ways in which *spatiality* and *sound* are constructed in my empirical research.

Over the last two decades, the concept of spatiality has had a significant impact in various disciplines within the humanities and the social sciences. This theoretical movement, exploring the social production of space, has even

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been labeled as a “spatial turn” (Warf & Arias, 2009). In the mid-1990s, this turn was experienced by the discipline of popular music studies (Saldanha, 2009), where researchers saw “possibilities of a cartography of sound as a territory of power” (Herman, Swiss, & Sloop, 1998, p. 3), in other words a mapping of power relations. Such spatialized analyses often make use of the term *soundscape*³ “to conceive how sound gives meaning to spaces and places” (Saldanha, 2009, p. 1). Philip Tagg (2006, p. 45) suggests that “music plays an essential part in socialising us as subjects in whatever culture we belong to (...) [through] our changing relationship as subjects to the soundscape.” He observes that soundscapes function as spaces for power struggle, where factors such as class provide different degrees of possibility to take active part in the production of sounds. This will result in different readings of the very same sounds, and, thus, different relations to that soundscape. Consequently, according to Tagg, soundscapes have impact on the social construction of subjectivity. What, then, are the implications of popular music soundscapes for gendered subjectivity? And conversely, what are the implications of gender relations for popular music soundscapes?

In the following, I will briefly outline some theoretical starting points and applied methods for collecting and analyzing data. Thereafter, the results of the data analysis are presented. Finally, I will discuss some central problems suggested by the results.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are various social and psychological approaches available to choose from for studying talk. The engagement in analysis of discourse arguing for social change calls for a theoretical perspective acknowledging power relations. I will here mention a few basic assumptions of the theoretical framework I have adopted; for a developed account, see Björck (accepted pending revisions).

The present article is based on a theoretical framework, where knowledge is seen as socially constructed, continuously negotiated, and permeated by discourse. I draw on Michel Foucault’s notions of *discourse*, *power*, and *subjectivity*. Accordingly, a discourse is seen as a way of speaking, constituting a network of rules establishing what is meaningful (Foucault, 1972/1989). Language is not seen to reflect an objective reality, but rather to construct reality; language is thereby seen as *performative*, a habitual process central to human epistemology. Further, Foucault’s (1977) take on power is quite different from a traditional one. He points out that power is still generally conceived of as the *sovereign power* of previous societies, where it functioned as an oppressive force from above. In contrast, he argues that the *disciplinary power* of today is present in all human relations, a sort of productive energy in constant flow in different directions in which we are all to some extent taking part, even in relation to ourselves (Foucault, 1988). I also draw on Foucault’s notion of subjectivity as a continuous, dialectical process of *subjectification*, where the subject is created through discourse, but also subjected to discourse. From this perspective, discourse not only produces reality and truths,

but also *subject-positions* – places from which a subject may speak (Foucault, 1982). Foucault's thoughts on performative discourse and subjectivity have been developed by Judith Butler. In particular, her concept of *performative gender* (Butler, 1990/2006) has provided me with tools for understanding the data.

METHOD FOR COLLECTING DATA

As mentioned, the collection of data took place by arranging round-table discussions with people from four different music initiatives. At the time I designed the study (2006), I searched the Internet and found approximately fifteen current initiatives in Sweden with an explicit objective to increase the number of women involved in popular music practices.⁴ None of these were run by a public school, but typically in collaboration between NGOs,⁵ community youth projects, and private individuals. What I here call “initiatives” have similarities to what elsewhere has been referred to as “women’s music projects” (Bayton, 1998). I selected four initiatives differing in regard to promoter, organization, and location: a time-limited project by a youth organization, a grass-root network for young musicians, an adult education course, and a rock music camp for girls. These four initiatives involved a variety of activities, including courses, workshops, and networks. Despite their differences, I sensed a spirit of community or shared identity when staff in one initiative referred to other initiatives with similar goals.

Seven discussions were recorded in 2006–07 with a total time of approximately eight hours. Groups included 2–7 interlocutors, who were all women except for a male instructor at a rock music camp.⁶ Five of the groups consisted of staff (instructors and project leaders), one of the groups consisted of participants (students), and in one group the interlocutors were involved in a musicians’ network where no staff/participant distinction had been made. The staff groups included interlocutors ranging in age between approximately 17 to 50 years, and a majority were active popular musicians. The group with participants consisted of people in their twenties, although it should be noted that some of the initiatives included much younger participants, from 12 years of age. Some of the staff I met were accordingly younger than some of the participants, and I find the distinction between staff/instructors on the one hand and participants/students on the other less relevant to this study in terms of authority compared to more formal education contexts. In all cases but one, the discussions took place at the same location as the music activities. I started out by asking the groups to describe the initiatives they were involved in – what they did and why – and then tried to interfere as little as possible.

METHOD FOR ANALYSIS

After transcription, I used a Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis method in six stages (Willig, 2008) to examine the data in terms of discursive constructions, discourses, action orientation, positionings, practice, and subjectivity.

I have chosen this particular method because it enables an analysis that (1) examines how discourse both opens up to and limits possible positions and actions; (2) focuses on discourse at a micro level, but also looks at connections to larger discursive formations on a macro level of society; and (3) is relatively openly displayed in the presentation of results, so that each reader may judge the plausibility of the analysis. The choice to examine spatiality was based on readings of the data – where spatial concepts and metaphors turned out to be central articulations – rather than on theoretical points of departure. I grouped these concepts and metaphors into four themes: *Sound*, *Body Space*, *Territory*, and *Room*. The first of these is in focus for the present article.⁷

This text gives centrality to language and how it is used to form discourse. It should be noted that the research object is discourse – not individual subjects. A poststructural view of the subject entails letting go of individual interlocutors as origins of discourse. Following this perspective, I do not report on who said what. I also want to note that the original data in Swedish was first transcribed and then partly translated into English. This process of translation, from one language to another, may be seen as problematic. However, analyzing discourse is never unproblematic, even if performed and presented in the author's original language. First, any translation from spoken language to written text can be problematic. Second, meanings shift between different dialects or sociolects and between different local contexts – or even within the same discourse and/or context. The translation of the quotes presented in this article has been carried out in collaboration with a professional translator, and I have regarded it as a most important task and a challenge.

One central and recurring expression in the present article provides an example of this challenge. The expression, in Swedish *att ta plats*, may be translated into English in different ways. Translated word by word, it means *to take (up) space*. In English, however, this expression might in some cases be associated with passivity (as in “just taking up space” without being very useful), whereas in current Swedish usage, I argue it has a rather active ring. Therefore, in this study, it generally seems to be better translated as *claiming space*.⁸

RESULTS

The examination of the total amount of data shows that the discussions revolve specifically around the seemingly consensual argument that girls and women must “claim space” in order to take part in popular music practices, and that the participating initiatives should facilitate this space-claiming. However, the specific meanings of claiming space are subject to negotiation.

Sound is repeatedly brought up as one of the most specific gendered features of popular music practices. To claim and to occupy space in the sounding universe is presented as a prerequisite for playing. Three quotes from the data will be presented.⁹ I will examine how spatiality is related to sound in these quotes and what the consequences are, for example what kinds of actions and subject-positions are offered by different discursive constructions.

Sounding Space as Threatening Volume

In the following quote, the space to be claimed is constructed in terms of *volume*, something that must be conquered despite initial fears and reluctance.

it's about taking up a lot of space, you know, in the real meaning of the word, like, on *stage*, with the *sound* and everything, it's like – you *can't* play stuff like rock *quietly* you know... not sounding very much... and that is what that's how almost all girls act in the beginning, you know with the drums [gasps for air, opens her eyes wide]: “oh!” like, or with the electric guitar [gasps for air]: “oh god is it really supposed to be this loud, can't we turn it down a bit?” you know like... that's the thing... you sort of have to-

Here, girls¹⁰ appear as the obstacle for their own access to popular musicianship through their portrayal as frightened, even terrified, of encounters with loudness. Beginners are described as trying to negotiate a feminine, not so loud, version of rock. Such negotiations for maintaining a subdued femininity are however presented as futile. There is only one possibility for action here: if you want to play rock, you must sooner or later learn to overcome your fears of occupying sounding space through loud volume. Otherwise you will appear silly, girly, weak, and inauthentic.

Girls' reluctance and boys' attraction to high volume have been discussed in previous studies about learning popular music in schools. Green (1997, p. 176) found that in the discourse of teachers and students, girls were “seen to avoid performance on electric or very loud instruments, especially those associated with popular music, most notably electric guitars and drums,” while boys were “depicted as flocking to these instruments.” Joseph Abramo (2009) found distinct differences between the popular music practices of boys and girls, as the boys in his study used loud volumes while the girls rehearsed at a softer volume.

The issue of conquering loudness is also described by Mavis Bayton (1990), whose women instrumentalist interviewees talked of “initial fear of feedback,” a fear Bayton says guitarists have to overcome in order to see feedback “as one of the distinctive resources of the electric guitar, to be tamed and exploited for effect” (p. 242).¹¹ Bayton's remark constructs sound as an object to be manipulated by the musician, who acts as subject. But, as Iris Marion Young (1989) argues, feminine spatiality entails viewing oneself as an object rather than a subject.¹² Young exemplifies with sports like softball or volleyball: “We [women] frequently respond to the motion of a ball coming toward us as though it was coming *at* us, and our immediate bodily impulse is to flee, duck, or otherwise protect ourselves from its flight” (p. 57). I suggest that *loudness* may, in feminine spatiality, be similarly perceived as an attacking object that “comes at you,” rather than an object to be mastered and controlled, and that this is one way to make sense of the fear of loud volume that beginners are here said to display.¹³

Sounding Space as Struggle Over Power and Participation

However, having courage to speak up by claiming space in terms of volume is not the only challenge: if others are speaking at the same time, you still might not be heard. In the following quote, a speaker argues that it is very different, and more difficult, to achieve gender equity in a music class compared to other school subjects.

I think it has to do with this thing about the instrument, that you find yourself in a situation where you may... on the one hand you have a sort of like... how can I put it... you can produce sounds... you can sound, you can ignore by sounding or by, you know, being quiet and listen or you have so many more other things available... (...) I think it has to do with the sound level maybe, just that simple, that you are *able* to, you *can* sort of sit down and play, just play for yourself a bit, like, and then: "oops was she talking"

Here, instrumental sound is constructed as a powerful multi-tool and potential weapon for disregard and domination, by making a person *able* to call on people's attention. The quote challenges the notion of jamming as harmless spontaneity by claiming that when a person chooses to play, that act also entails an occupation of the sounding space at the expense of others. In the moral order evoked by this discourse, responsibility is assigned to musicians and music teachers to act ethically through an equitable distribution of sounding space and through *listening*. In contrast to the previous quote, this one does not construct girls or women as their own obstacles for access to musical practices. Instead, it depicts such practices as spaces for struggle over power and participation, and it locates the obstacle in the interaction of those spaces. The quote opens up for potential action where awareness of sound as a powerful tool might help musicians to avoid dominating others.

Abramo (2009) recounts a situation with strong relevance to the quote above. In his study on popular music and gender in the high school classroom, he describes how one of the girls, who appeared to have a great deal of musical and educational power upon entering her gender-mixed group, was gradually marginalized and silenced. Abramo partially ascribes this to a "battle of rehearsal processes" where the girls preferred to separate talk and performance, while the boys preferred musical gestures as a mode of rehearsal. The boys in this girl's group continually played over her talking, and her comments were often ignored. Accordingly, there was a two-way silence; on the one hand, the silence that met many of her comments, and on the other hand, her own silence when the electronic instruments drowned her unamplified voice. "Engrossed in their own playing, and listening for musical material that would work with their musical 'doodling,' it is possible they simply did not hear [her], both metaphorically and literally" (p. 174).

This gestural process with little talking has been described in music education research as the "popular music process," serving as a suggestion for how popular music might positively affect formal instruction. Abramo finds it to be a male-dominated process, as the girls in his study exhibited other processes.

One of his conclusions is that “[i]n some ways, the girls’ processes challenge the idea in instrumental music education that talk inhibits ‘music making’” (p. 283). But he also cautions that “educators should be aware that these gendered actions are cultural, and avenues to different discourses will allow them to access different practices and interpret common pedagogies and research in new and freeing ways” (p. 343). In addition to this caution, the construction of sound-as-space-for-struggle in my data calls attention to how such “cultural gender preferences” are enmeshed in gendered power relations, which is also supported by Abramo’s own analysis of the silencing process.

Sounding Space as Gendered Voices

In some parts of my data, the desired sounding space to be claimed is described in terms of *expression* – at least when it comes to more aggressive forms of music.

girls in the music business *are* often very much like this [sings in a sweet voice]: “la-di-doo”, or you know: “mo-ni-mo” and it’s [the other interlocutors burst out laughing]... very sweet and shy, like, and, like, cute, sort of, and it’s those... maybe that’s where the unbroken grounds are, music with aggressions and-

Here, sounds are described as performatives of certain femininities. While the quote in the previous section constructs sound in terms of a struggle to *maintain a voice*, this quote constructs a struggle to *avoid containment to one single feminine voice*. The quote presents a parody of a normative feminine performance: soft and sweet musical expression at moderate volume. The popular music soundscape is here portrayed as a highly gendered terrain, where girls only occupy certain places and produce certain sounds, while other, aggressive, sounds are still unexplored or out of reach.

John Shepherd (1987) in his discussion of music and male hegemony points out how certain styles of popular music seem to have “archetypal timbres” associated with them. He describes the two oppositional stereotypes of typical macho or “cock rock” vocal sound (hard and rasping, produced overwhelmingly in the throat and mouth) and the typical sound of “woman-as-nurturer” (relaxed use of the vocal chords, using the formants of the chest). He further points out two other styles which are more ambiguous in terms of gender: the sound of the “boy next door” (softer and warmer than the “cock rock” sound, but maintaining masculinity as rational “head music” through use of head tones) and the typical sound of “woman-as-sex-object” (also based on head tones, and thus different from the all-mouth “cock rock” timbre).¹⁴ Shepherd finds that singers sometimes move between voices types in performing a song, but he concludes that “[t]he qualities of sound which speak so strongly in various ‘popular’ music genres to a sense of individual identity (...) achieve little but a reinforcement of the traditional gender types that both result from and serve to reproduce an essentially masculine view of the world” (p. 171).

While Shepherd concentrates on styles associated with certain gender stereotypes, more recent musicological studies have explored voices transgressing such stereotypes (Goldin-Perschbacher, 2007; Halberstam, 2007; Whiteley, 2000). In my data, parodies of narrowly stereotyped feminine sounds – such as the one above – are frequently articulated, while transgressive performances are described as lying beyond existing positions.

DISCUSSION

In summary, the quotes account for three challenges of women claiming space in popular music soundscapes. In all three, volume and voice – here not only referring to vocals but also to sound/timbre and musical “expression” more broadly – are entangled with each other and with issues of power. The challenges are, first, to summon the courage to face and tame high volume; second, to avoid being ignored or silenced in the competition for sounding space; and third, to transgress boundaries pertaining to normative feminine performance. Sound is thus constructed as something that has to be conquered despite feminine fear; as a powerful tool for domination; and as performances of normative feminine and masculine “voices.” The quote on feminine-fear-of-loudness relates more strongly to volume, while the one on sound-as-gendered-voices relates more to the concept of voice. The quote on sound-as-space-for-struggle is where aspects of volume and voice, displayed as engagements in power relations, converge most clearly.

As mentioned in the introduction, the concepts of spatiality and soundscape have been used in popular music studies to map territories of power. The constructions found in my data can from this viewpoint be seen as sketching a map of particularly gendered zones of the popular music soundscape, providing particularly difficult terrain for women’s entrance into popular music and sustained existence therein. By locating these most difficult terrains, the map could be seen as a *strategic* map for claiming space. It should be noted that I do not deploy the word “map” as mapping of a specific soundscape. Within the broad label of popular music, various genres form different soundscapes that are more or less interrelated. Nevertheless, generalizations like *popular music* or *pop and rock* are used in my data, suggesting that these soundscapes or practices are seen as connected parts of a shared territory.

Volume and Power: Issues of Hierarchy and Mastery

Seen as broad categories, volume and voice are presumably relevant for participation in any soundscape, but to different degrees and with different specific meanings. For example, one could expect volume to be particularly relevant in certain genres. The compact middle register in heavy metal music has for example been described as an impenetrable “wall of sound” (Tagg, 2006, p. 47) which may be compared to the urban soundscape of a busy city street. The use of the metaphor *wall* also evokes a spatiality, where sound itself might form part of

the perceived boundaries blocking women's entrance into male and masculine soundscapes, for example in heavy metal and other aggressive musics which in one of the quotes from my data is described as *unbroken ground*.

The use of high volume can be seen as exercising power in order to assert a position. Murray Schafer (as cited in Tagg, 2006) describes how in pre-industrial urban soundscapes, the church was allowed to make the loudest noises through ringing bells. Those at the bottom of the social ladder (beggars, street musicians, for instance) could be prosecuted for making far less noise. Tagg observes that similarly, in our society, when people with less economic, social, or political power (for example rowdy teenagers) make noise, they disrupt the dominant socio-acoustic order, thus creating greater disturbance than do even stronger sounds produced by people with such powers, for example the sound of a jet plane. Feminist analyses of power hierarchies examine how women as a group, and the femininities with which they are associated, are positioned as subordinate. Based on this perspective, feminine-fear-of-loudness can be regarded as a fear of disrupting the dominant gendered socio-acoustic order in Western society in general and in popular music soundscapes in particular.

Conversely, loud volume strengthens certain forms of masculinity. Abramo (2009) reflects on the loud rehearsal volume used by some of the boys in his study, noting that “[e]lectronic instruments (...) have the luxury of increasing the volume simply by a turning a knob and the drums are easily played at a full volume. This allowed the boys to overpower any extraneous sounds that were not part of the rehearsals” (p. 280). Abramo suggests that loudness could be a consequence of the fact that the boys’ main form of communication was through their instruments rather than verbal communication. On the other hand, he adds, the loud soundscapes could be used for a commanding presence to establish a male identity through popular music: “Perhaps, their need to create volume was a way to show power, to call attention to themselves, and to carve out their own physical space through sound” (p. 165). Loudness can thus be said to construct stereotyped masculinity through the rejection, exclusion, and drowning of foreign elements, in particular feminine sounds and verbal communication.

Arun Saldanha (2009, p. 3) points out that

“[v]olume” is not only a linear measure of amplitude, but a three-dimensional quality of sound. It is precisely the “scape” of the sound-scape. The “higher” the volume, the greater its extension, the more impact it has on present bodies. The location of a body within the volume, say the distance from the speakers or the stage, affects the way that body inhabits the soundscape.

Discussions about sound volume thus cannot disregard embodiment. Considering Young's (1989) description of feminine spatiality as bodily objectified existence, entailing a feminine tendency to take oneself as an object for attack, I argue that the notion of feminine-fear-of-loudness must be seen in relation to such bodily objectified existence. But, does that mean that popular musicians must view music,

instrument, and sound as objects to be manipulated in order to claim musical space? Is mastery the only alternative to objectification? The linking of creative processes to “activity,” “mastery,” and “ownership” in aesthetic education discourse is criticized by Julia Koza (1994), who argues that such imagery functions to exclude women, who are generally socialized into cooperation rather than competition. Koza notes that the implication of such discourse, emphasizing stereotypically masculine characteristics, is that women must appropriate masculine characteristics in order to be artists. Instead, she suggests other ways of looking at the creative process, such as working *with* the material instead of mastering it.

Voice and Power: Subject-Positions in Popular Music Soundscapes

Thinking of musical sounds as *voices*, the claim for loud volume and aggressive expression may be seen not only as ways to make one’s voice heard, but also as ways of accessing a wider variety of subject-positions.¹⁵ However, there are some “voice problems” in the process of making oneself heard.

Tagg (2006) recounts how he met two psychotherapists in a noisy street outside a conference which all three had attended. The psychotherapists, Tagg says, “could no longer speak to each other in the wonted pacificatory and confidential tone of their trade” (p. 46), but had to shout above the din of the traffic in order to make themselves understood. Tagg continues:

In this context, the word ‘above’ has four senses: (1) *louder* than the ambient noise; (2) *higher* in fundamental pitch; (3) *sharper* in timbre and (4) *closer* to the ears of their interlocutor. I suggested that there was a struggle between them and the ambient noise as to who or which would gain the sonic upper hand (by being ‘above’). (p. 46)

The map provided by my data connects to at least two of these four aspects of making oneself heard, in conveying the notions that women need to be *louder* and *sharper* (more aggressive) in timbre than normative femininity permits in order to be heard in popular music. The aspect to be *closer* might be connected to the very aim of the participating initiatives of my study, namely to increase women’s *presence* in popular music practices. The aspect of going *higher* in pitch in order to be heard seems however to be a more complex question in terms of gender and authority:

Men use the higher regions of their pitch range to assert themselves and to dominate – only the very highest regions (for example counter-tenor) can become ambiguous in gender terms. (...) Women, on the other hand, use the lower end of their pitch range to be assertive. It is difficult however to do so while at the same time being loud (...) and so women are faced with a dilemma. Either they speak low (which is assertive) and soft (which is intimate), which can invoke the ‘dangerous woman’ stereotype, or they speak high (thus ‘belittling’ themselves) and loud (thus being assertive) which can invoke the ‘shrill and strident fishwife’ stereotype. In either case the dominant norms of the public, assertive (and ‘masculine’) voice will be at

odds with the dominant norms of the private, intimate (and 'feminine') voice. (van Leeuwen, 1999, p. 134)

The references to men and women here construct these groups as unitary and with essential voice qualities, obscuring the fact that individual voices vary within these two groups as well as between the groups. When comparing two individuals, a particular woman may for example have a voice stronger and darker than that of a particular man. It is difficult to disentangle biology from socialization in Theo van Leeuwen's discussion. However, the quote serves as an example of Butler's (1990/2006) argument that the distinction between nature and culture through a sex/gender division is impossible to make. In Butler's view, femininity is not a reflection of an inner essence of a woman or a female identity, but a set of gestures and enactments which constitute such an identity. Gender is thus seen as performative.¹⁶

Feminine-fear-of-loudness and sound-as-gendered-voices both present feminine sound as parodic performance, invoking negative stereotypes of a girly femininity in terms of voice/sound/volume. Butler sees parody (specifically in cultural practices of drag) as disturbing the division into and relation between imitation and original by revealing the imitative structure of gender itself. While the imitation of girls as cautious and cute presents itself as derogatory, it may also, using Butler's perspective, be seen as pointing to such feminine comportment as fabricated rather than authentic, consequently challenging the perceived limitations of feminine enactment.

The parodies in the quotes are performative of girlishness rather than of a mature feminine style; this deserves some further notice. As Sheila Whiteley (2005, p. 92) notes, in Western popular music discourse "[t]he human voice is often interpreted as a metaphor for the internal, subjective world of the individual." Whiteley argues that singers like Kate Bush, Tori Amos, and Björk are stereotyped by the media as the "little girl," "girl child," or "child woman." She observes that "[d]espite the evidence that all three women employ their full vocal registers, it is their 'little girl' voices that are most commonly drawn into association and interpreted as demonstrating their girlish femininity" (p. 117). Whiteley believes that this media characterization draws on romantic stereotypes with roots in the late eighteenth century, constructing femininity as childlike, immature, naïve, and whimsical, thereby presenting women as less capable than men. Framing my data with Whiteley's discussion, the parody can be seen as producing distance to the "little girl" stigma, since the sonic position within a soundscape is not only gendered but age-marked as well, deciding to which degree you will be taken seriously.¹⁷

Potential Action: Any Chance of Being Heard?

In terms of prospects for change, the presented quotes call for different measures in claiming space. Feminine-fear-of-loudness calls for a self-discipline¹⁸ where the feminine subject must acquire courage and remove fear in order to obtain rock authenticity. Sound-as-space-for-struggle reveals masculine

practices of over-playing feminine voices as means for exclusion, and calls for more ethical practices, in which everyone has the right to a voice. Finally, sound-as-gendered-voices calls for transgression beyond normative feminine sonic performance by revealing these as fabricated and narrow. One might say that the three identified targets for operations are feminine subjectivity, musical practices, and normative performativity. These constructions display a tension between liberalist/humanist definitions of claiming space as a volitional act – the notion that it just takes courage and determination – and other definitions of the act as a matter of structures and norms.

However, what happens when a girl or woman *does* claim sounding space? Will she automatically be applauded? Research demonstrates that this is not necessarily the case. In a gender-equity project in a Swedish school including children aged 7–12, teachers were reported to express strong resistance towards children who acted crosswise to accepted gender stereotypes (Berge, 1997). Boys were expected to be rowdy, competitive, demanding, and dominating. Girls, on the other hand, were expected not to claim too much space or attention. When children did not act according to these expectations, their behaviour was treated as a problem. Similarly, in a context of music education, Abramo (2009) notes that a girl in his study was alienated because her “attempts to reach outside the bounds of traditional feminine musical role of singing (...) were thwarted. When she tried to play rhythm guitar, keyboard, and bass, instruments that are seemingly disruptive to traditional feminine roles (...) she was met with resistance” (p. 287–8) by other group members.

Apart from the risks of exclusion and disciplinarity, there is also the risk of being dismissed as a function of reductionism. Anna Feigenbaum (2005) finds that music critics tend to shelve all women who express anger in their music under a single heading, such as “angry women” or “pissed-off female,” and that it is assumed that the reader understands these pre-existing categories. This, Feigenbaum says, disregards their individuality and capacity for expressing a plurality of emotions, with the effect that the majority of listeners/fans – men as well as women – simply *do not hear* the various components of these women’s expressions or articulations.

What, then, are the possibilities for resistance to normative sonic performance and for transgression? Butler (1990/2006) contends that resistance and subversion can only take place within existing norms. Similarly, when Nicola Dibben (2002) examines the musical material in a track by the 1990s all-girl group All Saints¹⁹ she finds that from a feminist perspective, the representation of adolescent femininity found in the musical material

both enables mobilization of women as assertive and independent (...) and retains other aspects of female subordination in which women are aligned with nature rather than technology, and in which female aspirations are channelled towards the attainment of a heterosexual relationship. (...) [B]y working within the forms of the dominant ideology, compromised materials may allow listeners to situate themselves amid competing ideological forces in a way that reflects the tensions of lived experience. (p. 172)

This idea of resistance, as not being able to take place outside of norms but only inside them, provides an alternative to the liberalist, humanist, and structuralist accounts of resistance. But this alternative notion also demands a shift in the view of power and an acknowledgement of the performative character of norms.

The mapping of how volume and voice form crucial gendered problems for claiming space in popular music soundscapes, as described by this article, does not provide a single solution. Instead, my hope is that by addressing the complexity of these issues, music educators might avoid assumptions of women's participation in popular music as simply a matter of access to musical instruments, or as a matter of courage and self-confidence; it is also a matter of subjectification, objectification, and normative gender performativity. When teachers and instructors working with popular music recognize these complexities, multiple possibilities for conceptualizing gender and music are opened.

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NOTES

- 1 The term popular music “defies precise, straightforward definition” (Shuker, 1998, p. 203). While the term “popular” connotes such diverse ideas as “of the folk,” “contemporary,” “mass-produced,” and “oppositional” (as in counter-culture), particular genres or songs often – if not always – blur these categories (Kassabian, 1999). In this article, I examine questions relevant to popular music in a broad sense. The shifting relevance to different genres will be addressed in the Discussion section.
- 2 Most of these studies focus mainly on practices of “white” Western rock and pop music.
- 3 The concept of *soundscape* was developed in the late 1960s by the Canadian composer and pedagogue R. Murray Schafer, who insisted that musical composition includes an aesthetic appreciation of everyday sounds as music (Saldanha, 2009).
- 4 There are projects with similar objectives and activities based in other countries, which you can find on the Internet, for example girlsrockcamp.org (Girls Rock Camp Alliance, which includes a number of participating organizations); GoGirlsMusic.com; Indiegrl.com; GuitarGirls.com; and Ladyfest, a culture festival with local organizations worldwide with individual websites such as ladyfestottawa.com and www.ladyfestoxford.org.uk.
- 5 NGO is an abbreviation for Non-Governmental Organization, a term in general use for organizations with no participation or representation of any government.
- 6 Some of the initiatives consistently used the strategy of all-women environments, even if the staff sometimes included one or two men, usually because of difficulties with finding women instructors on certain instruments. Other initiatives allowed bands where at least half of the members were women.
- 7 The present article forms part of a doctoral dissertation, in which the other themes of Body Space, Territory, and Room also will be analyzed.
- 8 Moreover, the same expression in Swedish may also, in some contexts, be translated into English as *take a seat*, *be seated*, or *take a place*. Thus, the couplet in English of *space* and *place*, which is often deployed in spatialized studies, are collapsed in Swedish in this particular expression which may refer to occupation *of* space as well as a certain position *in* space. In my data the expression is used referring to space, but there is a possibility that the second connection to *place/position* is relevant although it gets lost in translation.
- 9 In these quotes, words pronounced with greater emphasis are in italics. Some actions relevant to the analysis are put in square brackets.
- 10 Although the original term in Swedish, *tjejer*, is connoted to youth, it is less age-marked than the English term *girls*. I interpret this quote to refer principally to teenagers. For a critical discussion on the term girl in relation to popular music, see Whiteley (2005).
- 11 Bayton also comments on amplified sounds being associated with technology as a reason to why girls “tend to stay ‘unplugged’” (p. 41), since technology is strongly defined as masculine and thereby disruptive to femininity.
- 12 Young views this spatiality as a consequence of a “feminine existence” which does not have its source in any biological condition but should be seen as “a set of structures and conditions which delimit the typical *situation* of being a woman in a particular society” (p. 54, italics in original).

Chapter 8

- 13 I want to stress that the discussion here does not evaluate the legitimacy of fear of loudness in terms of health hazard. I might add that anecdotes narrated elsewhere in my data portray male musicians and sound technicians as marginalizing women who question loud volumes as harmful, positioning them as silly or difficult.
- 14 Shepherd argues that the transition from “woman the nurturer” to “woman the sex object” could be seen to represent “a shift, physiologically coded, from the ‘feminine heart’ to the ‘masculine head’” (p. 167).
- 15 The concept of *voice* is central to feminist discussions on empowerment. In feminist scholarship, the concept has been developed by Carol Gilligan (1982).
- 16 It should be noted that Butler does not depict gender as a *performance* by an actor who can remove a mask and costume when offstage; the notion of *performativity* instead disputes the very notion of an independent subject: “My argument is that there need not be a ‘doer behind the deed,’ but that the ‘doer’ is invariably constructed in and through the deed” (Butler, 1990/2006, p. 195).
- 17 The notion of the “little girl voice” as a cliché which can be adopted in flirtatious conversation (van Leeuwen, 1999) further denotes such voice as produced in response to the demands of normative heterosexuality, calling for women to be smaller and cuter than men and thereby invitingly open up a space for stereotyped masculinity.
- 18 In Foucauldian terms, a *self-technology* (Foucault, 1984/1990, 1988).
- 19 The song is called “I know where it’s at.” Dibben examines the musical techniques, such as particular vocal timbres and placement of the voice in the mix, and cultural references to other, notably black, male identities.

Article 3. Body-Space, Gender, and Performativity in Popular Music Practice

INTRODUCTION

Although the image of the body has been historically varied in Western culture, one element remains constant: the construction of body “as something apart from the true self (whether conceived as soul, mind, spirit, will, creativity, freedom...) and as undermining the best efforts of that self” (Bordo, 1993, p. 5). As a product of European high culture ideology, this Cartesian mind/body split forms part of the construction of Western identities from the nineteenth century on, working along with other dualisms such as high/low and culture/nature; the “higher” the cultural expression (as in fine arts), the more connected to the mind, the serious, and the aesthetic; the “lower” (as in popular culture), the closer connection to the body, fun, and the hedonistic (Frith, 1996). In line with this dominant Western tradition, large parts of scholarship in the humanities and the social sciences have overlooked issues of the body. Recently, however, there has been an enormous proliferation of discussions on embodiment, reconceptualizing the body as crucial for knowledge and subjectivity (Grosz, 1994). From the perspective of music education, researchers argue that music might best be understood as an embodied practice (Bowman, 2000, 2004; Hebert, 2009)¹ and, conversely, from the perspective of philosophy, it is claimed that bodily sources of meaning can be better understood by studying aesthetic dimensions of experience, including musical ones (Johnson, 2007).

However, this turn to corporeal issues also evokes questions of *difference* (Gould, 2004, 2007b; Lamb, 2010). In Arun Saldanha’s (2009, p. 4) words: “If a soundscape is necessarily embodied, the question becomes what kind of bodies we are talking about, what they are allowed to do, and in which circumstances.” Feminist scholars have long contended that within the framework of the Cartesian split, men are associated with mind and reason, while women are associated with body and feelings, supposedly constrained by biological processes and thereby unable to exercise full rationality (Butler, 2006[1999]; de Beauvoir, 1953; Dinnerstein, 1976). As a consequence, feminism has been deeply concerned with the body, viewing it either as something to be rejected

and escaped in order to claim women's rational and intellectual capacity, or as something to be reclaimed as a valued female essence. Recently, however, a third alternative has developed through feminist postmodernism, seeking to emphasize embodiment as an inescapable but fluid construct, subject to potential change (Shildrick, 2000).

Based on this third epistemology, the present article deals with the entrance of female bodies into traditionally male domains of popular music. It draws on data from round-table discussions performed by staff and participants from four music initiatives in Sweden, all with the objective to increase the number of girls and women in popular music practices. Within these discussions, *spatial* concepts and metaphors proved to be central articulations, specifically revolving around the notion that women need to "claim space" in order to participate in popular music practices. The purpose of the present article is to explore how problems of space-claiming are articulated in relation to the body.²

The construction of music itself draws on the mind/body split and its gendered associations. By stimulating the senses, engaging the body, and evoking emotion, music presents the danger of sensual subversion of reason. As such, it is constantly under the threat of being seen as "feminine" (McClary, 1991). The tendency of music theorists to ignore the body by constructing music as "a kind of 'safe,' mind-centered and mind-contained, psychologistic affair – disembodied and purged of things like muscle, blood, bone, sex, ritual, struggle, power, politics, and so on" (Bowman, 2000, p. 3) can thus in part be understood as due to a "fear of music's 'feminizing' effects" (Walser, 1993, p. 48), which threatens loss of cultural prestige.

Popular music is widely assumed to be especially close to the body (Middleton, 1990).³ In such assumptions, there is a common equation of rhythm and sex, intersecting with notions of race. African and African-American musics, striving to animate the body in dance, have by the logic of mind/body split been variously dismissed as "primitive," or romanticized as directly in touch with the "natural," sexual body (Frith, 1996; McClary & Walser, 1997). The history of popular music's popularity in Europe also shows how the mind/body split and its associated dualisms have worked to construct gender and class hierarchies (Washabaugh, 1998). Academic scholarship has brought attention to how gender shapes participation in a broad range of practices in contemporary popular music, varying from rap to rai, from calypso to country music.⁴ Although gender intersects differently with issues like class and race in different genres and local practices, thus presenting different problems, there seems to be a common trait where women's participation is "defined by their status as numerical minority and symbolic anomaly" (Clawson, 1999a). In other words, gender imbalances in popular music can be seen as a matter of both numbers and norms. In particular, rock music has been described as rebellious, aggressively masculine, or outright misogynist, leaving little space for women as participating agents (Frith & McRobbie, 1978/1990). The notion of certain popular music cultures (such as rock) and certain positions (such as the instrumentalist) as male and/or masculine affairs affects popular music practices, from learning practices

at school (Abramo, 2009; Green, 1997) to the professional lives of rock bands (Bayton, 1998; Clawson, 1999a; Leonard, 2007).

METHOD

Four initiatives participated in my study: a time-limited project by a youth organization, a grass-roots network for young musicians, an adult education course, and a rock music camp for girls. I recorded seven round-table discussions with 2–7 respondents (all female except for one) with a total time of approximately eight hours. A Foucault-inspired discourse analysis method in six stages (Willig, 2008) was then used to examine the data. For further details on the collection and analysis of data, see Björck (2009).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, I lay out some basic theoretical starting points concerning embodiment, language, subjectivity, and knowledge.⁵ I also explain some concepts used in the discussion, including performative gender, heterosexual matrix, intelligible bodies, and gaze.

Discourse, Power, Subjectivity, and Body

My discussion is based on a critical constructionist framework, where knowledge and subjectivity are seen as continuously negotiated and fluid constructs. Language is seen as *performative* by its function to construct reality, drawing on Foucault's (1972) notions of discourse as a way of speaking, constituting a network of rules establishing what is meaningful. Knowledge and discourse are further seen as inseparable from power. However, it is crucial to note the fundamental ways in which Foucault's (1977) take on power differs from a traditional one. Instead of seeing power as an oppressive force from above, he sees it as a sort of productive energy in constant flow in different directions, present in all human relations, even to ourselves (1988). Power is not seen as something that some people "have" and others have not, but as something that can only be executed through relations.

In contrast to ideas of an independent human subject as provided by classical philosophy, Foucault subscribes to a view of subjectivity as created through discourse, but also subjected to discourse in a continuous, dialectical process where power is always already present through various discourses competing for the preferential right of defining "truth." From a Foucauldian perspective, discourses do not belong to a person making an utterance, and quotes are not seen as personal opinions. Attention is instead drawn to how certain utterances are connected to each other to form logics promoting certain assumptions as better, true, and "normal."

Foucault suggests that effects of power are best studied on the level of the body, rather than the level of ideology.⁶ So, for example, in his book *Discipline*

and Punish (1977), he examines the practices of nineteenth-century military discipline and the surveillance of prisoners. While traditional Christian theology explains the body as the prison of the soul, Foucault conversely argues that “the soul is the prison of the body” (1977, p. 30). Judith Butler interprets Foucault’s view of the body in *Discipline and Punish* as “the site of transfer for power”:

Power happens to this body, but this body is also the occasion in which something unpredictable (and, hence, undialectical) happens to power (...). In the place of a theory of agency located *in* a subject, we are asked to understand (...) the way that power is compelled into a redirection by virtue of having the body as its vector and instrument. (...) [T]he conceptual point at issue here is to think agency in the very relation between power and bodies, as the continued activity of power as it changes course, proliferates, becomes more diffuse, through taking material form. (Butler, 2004, p. 187)

Butler here points out Foucault’s rejection of the humanist view of an independent subject trying to shield itself off from power. Instead, the body is viewed as a principal site of power transformation, constituting a fundamental base for processes of subjectivity formation and agency.

Performative Gender, Intelligible Bodies

Although many feminist scholars have found Foucault’s concepts useful for analysis, they have frequently seen a need for a development of his ideas in order to analyze “the conflicting investments of men and women” (de Lauretis, 1989, p. 3).⁷ Butler (1993) elaborates Foucault’s thoughts on performative discourse and its materializing effects. She views the relation between embodiment and discourse as inseparable, arguing that “there is no reference to a pure body which is not at the same time a further formation of that body” (p. 10). One of Butler’s central arguments is that gender is not a reflection of an inner female or male core, but rather a performance, a “repeated stylization of the body” (Butler, 2006[1999], p. 45) which, by its repetition, asserts that there is such a core. The ways in which we move, talk, and comport ourselves thus function to “produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being” (p. 45). According to Butler, gender performativity always takes place within a constraining “highly rigid regulatory frame” which she calls *the heterosexual matrix*. This matrix forms a grid for making sense of gender, centered around the dualistic mind/body split, where masculine is perceived as reflecting male on one side of the spectrum and feminine as reflecting female on the other. In this heteronormative framework, only certain bodies and certain performances appear as intelligible or “legible.” The subject is consequently, in Butler’s thinking, not free to choose which gender to enact, but is faced with limited possibility for action outside “meanings already socially established” (Butler, 2006[1999], p. 191).⁸

The Concept of “Gaze”

Another tool I have found useful for the present study is the concept of *gaze*, referring to a way of looking which exerts control by mere observation through the establishment of a subject/object power relation. The concept has been developed most notably through accounts of the doctor’s gaze in modern medicine (Foucault, 1973), the overseer’s gaze in carceral supervision (Foucault, 1977), the patriarchal gaze created by cinematic codes (Mulvey, 1975), and a self-referential gaze in feminine bodily existence (Young, 1989). Foucault sees the gaze as disciplining, and feminist scholars define the disciplining look as rooted in patriarchal society’s definition of woman as object, whereby it is sometimes referred to as a *male gaze*.

Central to the concept of gaze is that the objectified incorporates the objectifying look. In his examination of a new 19th century carceral system based on constant surveillance, Foucault (1977) stresses that the idea was for criminals *themselves* to interiorize an inspecting gaze. This was to enable a non-violent and efficient control at low cost, where the convicts would commit themselves to improvement and remedy.⁹ From this, Foucault (1980b) draws parallels to modern society at large and ideas of supervision, inspection, and application of norms of acceptable behavior. Similarly, Mary Devereaux (1990) argues that the female spectator in cinema *herself* assumes the way of seeing which positions her as the object to be controlled and gazed upon rather than the locus of narrative action. Iris Marion Young (1989), in her examination of acquired feminine spatiality, finds the gaze to be the most profound source of a characterizing tension between subjectivity and being a mere object, with consequences for how women perceive space and move their bodies. The feminine relation a woman has to her own body, according to Young, involves *self-reference* or *self-consciousness*, where her attention is directed upon her own body rather than upon the act to be accomplished *through* the body. The notion of the gaze as incorporated has also been conceptualized as a “male-in-the-head” through which young women measure themselves, explaining their difficulties in resisting male dominance in sexual relations (Holland, Ramazanoglu, & Sharpe, 2004).

Summary and Relevance

Recognizing knowledge as inseparable from body, power, and discourse, this framework does not draw attention away from “actual” knowledge (for example, musical knowledge); rather, it puts focus on the very process of knowledge formation. It opens up to ways of understanding gender and power in musical practices not as static structures, but as fluid and ongoing participatory activities. Butler’s theory of gender as performatively produced within a heterosexual matrix, where only certain bodies appear as intelligible, at the same time producing the appearance of “natural” gender, raises questions about *how* gender is performed. The concepts of gaze and feminine body spatiality

provide further tools for understanding women's own participation in normative gender orders.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

While music may at first glance seem to be mainly an aural practice, musicians are in some way always on display. Popular music has, ever since the 1980s global breakthrough of the music video channel MTV, experienced an increasing emphasis on the visual or "scopic." The music press has been found to perform a male gaze; for example, "Articles on women tend to be written from the position of a male voyeur, focusing more on the body, image or persona of the artist than on her music" (Feigenbaum, 2005, p. 38). Visual and aural aspects furthermore cannot be entirely separated; inherent meanings affect what we hear when we listen, the sound, that which "we take to be the 'music itself'" (Green, 1997, p. 56). Issues of embodiment in popular music hence appear to be entwined with the visual and the aural, along with other senses, such as the tactile. Below I review previous research on body, gender, and popular music, and start by locating the body within contemporary culture.

The Body in Contemporary Culture

Nordic and British studies indicate that young people are greatly concerned about their bodies. While boys focus on height and weight and express desires to be bigger and taller, girls more often regard size and shape as problematic and desire a small and slim body; while boys are more concerned with others' bodies, girls are more concerned with the state of their own bodies and how others' view them (Bengs, 2000; Liimakka, 2008). Young women have been found to engage in practices to alter and control their bodies in continuous processes of self-maintenance (Ambjörnsson, 2004; Bengs, 2000), where "[n]o aspect of physical appearance can be unattended to" (McRobbie, 2008, p. 66). This meticulous construction work is however perceived as striving for the "natural" feminine body. Expressing dissatisfaction with one's body is common (Bengs, 2000; Holland et al., 2004; Liimakka, 2008) and has even been described as a central aspect of producing femininity – a girl who expresses self-confidence with her body risks being seen as arrogant and boyish (Ambjörnsson, 2005). Inconsistently, however, the individual, modern young woman is expected to resist the pressure of body ideals through her positive self-confidence (Liimakka, 2008).

In order to explain these contradictions, feminist scholars have examined the ways in which contemporary Western discourse closely connects the body to ideas about choice, independence, and empowerment. Susan Bordo (1993) and Angela McRobbie (2008) examine how a postmodern discourse is articulated in politics and in popular mass culture (movies, television talk shows, popular music lyrics and videos, and fashion and exercise ads). Bordo finds a "postmodern imagination" to be "fueled by fantasies of rearranging, transforming, and correcting, an ideology of limitless improvement and change" (p. 245).¹⁰ She argues

that this discourse is based on the liberalist/humanist idea of an independent subject, but that it is also “fed by the currents of consumer capitalism [and] modern ideologies of the self” (p. 245). Similarly, McRobbie finds consumerist ideology to be enmeshed with post-feminist ideas of gender equality as already achieved, co-existing with neo-conservative values. Bordo and McRobbie both contend that this combination of discourses has dangerous consequences in terms of gender, as women are exposed to a “dual demand” (Bordo), or a “double entanglement” (McRobbie), still urged to embody traditional domestic “feminine” values as emotional and physical nurturers, while at the same time also embody the “masculine” values of the public arena – “self-control, determination, cool, emotional discipline, mastery, and so on” (Bordo, 1993, p. 171). The shaping of the feminine body, for example through diet and clothing, once seen by feminists as obligation and entrapment, is today largely seen as a matter of choice – possibly even an empowering, (post-)feminist choice. The governing function of norms is thereby concealed by the discourse of the independent, “free” subject, emphasizing personal choice, offering a pseudo-type freedom of choice (Werner, 2009), and any failure to produce the “right” body or sexuality is perceived as a *personal* failure. Female bodies pursuing these contradictory ideals “may find themselves as distracted, depressed, and physically ill” (Bordo, 1993, p. 184).

Body and Gender in Popular Music: Dualisms and Ambiguity

In rock music, the white, heterosexual male has been described as *the* identity: The “adolescent male body has continued to occupy the centre stage of rock’s imagination: boys keep swingin’, to the exclusion of female experience” (Reynolds & Press, 1995, pp. 332–333). The discourse of rock histories reveals “stereotypical views regarding women’s capabilities to be anything other than entertainers of the most passive kind: a malleable ‘body with a voice’” (Gaar, 1992, p. xii). An influential early attempt to explain this dualistic construction of male as active and woman as passive was conceptualized through the two contrasting stereotypes “cock rock” and “teenybop” (Frith & McRobbie, 1978/1990). The emphasis on rock as masculine and the rejection of femininity can also be understood as continuous maintenance work to “save” rock from loss of cultural prestige. For example, 1990s French rock artists were found to “under-perform” corporeality and neutralize gender on stage, in the media, and on record covers, in order to present an authentic “protest body,” reasserting male prestige (Lebrun, 2005). Another example is how a Swedish reality talent TV show portrayed male contestants holding guitars and working in the studio, functioning to associate them with technology rather than with the “feminine” pop vocals they were there to perform (Ganetz, 2009).

Staging the Feminine Body

Popular music practice offers a range of situations where femininity is interrupted in very material ways. The effects of display are perhaps the strongest when a musician performs on stage. Bayton (1998) found that her woman

instrumentalist interviewees had often been faced with the tricky dilemmas of physical presentation only right before their first public gig. Issues of “how shall I stand/hold my instrument/move my body” (p. 116) were experienced as unresolved dilemmas and as sources for great self-consciousness, involving a troublesome balance act of *sexy-but-not-too-sexy*,¹¹ which Bayton describes as a virtual mission impossible since “for any woman, being on stage *in itself* connotes sexuality to the audience” (p. 108, italics in original). This dilemma has been observed to have bearing on credibility and esteem. Auslander (2006a, p. 204) notes: “Because rock is culturally understood to be a male form, female rockers are automatically assumed to be inauthentic,” and Green (1997, p. 78) finds that “the more affirmative the display she enacts, the less seriously she is liable to be taken.”

While vocalists and instrumentalists are both on display, they engender qualitatively different delineations, with consequences for perceived ability and authenticity. A female vocalist’s use of her own body as a source for sound-making is in line with patriarchal definitions of femininity as in tune with nature, while a woman instrumentalist, in contrast, assumes the position of controlling an object, a technological position associated with masculinity (Clawson, 1993; Green, 1997; Lorentzen, 2009; Marsh & West, 2003). Green argues that this image of controller interrupts femininity and makes her display less open to interpretations of sexual invitation.¹²

Instruments have been described as imbued with gender connotations, symbolic and yet material. The electric guitar, in masculinist rock discourse “seen virtually as an extension of the male body” (Bayton, 1998, p. 120), seems to present the biggest problems for woman rock musicians in terms of how to hold and play their instrument. Despite the fact that the guitar is easier to play held at waist or chest level, Bayton argues, in order to “look right” they have to adapt to hold their instruments low down, at pelvic level or lower, functioning as a “guitar-as-phallus.” Bayton also found that while a legs-apart posture puts you in a more stable position, the masculine image of such a position produced ambivalence, or even straightforward antipathy, for some women musicians.¹³

Androgynous Performance

Androgyny, in the sense of gender-ambiguous performance, has received quite a lot of attention in popular music research (Auslander, 2006a; Bruzzi, 1997; McClary, 1993; Reynolds & Press, 1995; Valentine, 1995; Walser, 1993; Whiteley, 1997b, 2006). The deployment of androgynous performance is often discussed in terms of “borrowing” characteristics from the opposite sex. In this way, male performers have been described as parasitizing on femininity as a strategy to attract attention (Green, 1997; Walser, 1993) and assert power over women (Coates, 1997).¹⁴ Similarly, the performance of women rockers rejecting femininity has been described as purely imitation, a mimicry of male rebellion (Reynolds & Press, 1995).

Some scholars raise the question of *who* can play with androgyny. Rosa Reitsamer (2009) argues: “In rock and pop it is especially white male musicians that gain advantages from their gender and their race. They are allowed to play with conventional masculine stereotypes and with any gendered and racialised image.”¹⁵ Green (1997, p. 79) observes: “If you are a man, you make an initial choice about the make-up and spandex. But if you are a woman, especially in the popular realm, you are displaying by default, or wearing at least metaphorical make-up.” Another question posed concerns *what* is challenged by androgynous performance. Some scholars have drawn attention to the fact that musical cultures such as the hippie counter-culture, glam rock, and heavy metal – all deploying androgynous style – have been sites for homophobic and sexist ideologies rather than gender equality (Coates, 1997; McRuer, 2002; Schippers, 2002). Other authors have observed that androgynous performance might disturb orders *other* than the relation between masculine and feminine, for example rock’s ideology of authenticity (Auslander, 2006b) or the hegemonic order between different masculinities (Walser, 1993).

Summary

The previous research I have referred to here presents various sensory channels to be enmeshed in musical activity. Through the Cartesian mind/body split, the body however constitutes a dubious and potentially devaluing aspect for popular music. Not the least through the centrality of performance, the body forms the object of a gaze, appearing to be particularly problematic for women through narrow feminine ideals which are to be conveyed as “just-right” sexual display. Such normative injunctions are pointed out as producing great self-consciousness and anxiety, especially as they are largely disguised by dominant postmodern/neoliberalist discourses of freedom and personal choice.

RESULTS

In the recorded discussions constituting the empirical data, respondents discussed different measures for facilitating girls’ and women’s entrance into popular music practices and their sustained existence therein. In these discussions, the body was repeatedly referred to as a point of significance in women’s participation in popular music. The body takes up space, even more so together with an instrument, and it was often portrayed as problematic through its function as a target for looking. In addition to words, the respondents used voices, gestures, and poses to underscore, illustrate, mimic, or parody musical situations. Thereby, around the discussion table, corporeal musical practice was re-embodied in a new context.

In the following, I will examine a number of quotes by how they construct body-space. I will also discuss the consequences of these different versions of spatiality.

A Self-disciplined Body in a Provocative Space

To begin, the feminine body is described as a compressed body:

a body language that you- well, that almost all women have- (...) you have a built-in body language (...) well body language is really interesting like, because it gives so much, like, status, how you are treated like. And it's a like, well, *thing* for me, it would never be natural for me to sit like *this* [spreads her legs]. But I do it sometimes just to *provoke*, but I would never do it naturally like this, you know, because as a girl you should sit in a curled up way, like this, and like hide in some way, while guys open up, you know, and it- you know it's very much about those kinds of things too... (Quote A)

In this quote, the body is constructed as self-disciplined. There is no need for explicit prescriptions on how to act, as the posture is already integrated into the sense of self. Space is constructed as both restrictive and provocative; to open up and take more body space requires gestures and postures not perceived of as natural to a woman. Femininity is instead performed through closing the body in order to conceal and protect it. A tension appears between on the one hand a submissive “built-in” self-discipline, and on the other hand, a space for actions to defy and resist the limits of feminine body-space. According to this construction, a woman learning to claim more space in a “masculine” manner consequently has to resist a sense of unnaturalness in her own body movements. A practice of change, where women can access the open, non-hiding body seems to imply an operation: removing the built-in body-language seemingly natural to women. Butler’s concept of performativity is useful here. If repeated acts, such as keeping one’s legs together, in themselves “produce the appearance of (...) a natural sort of being” (Butler, 2006[1999], p. 45), then no wonder moments of resistance against normative feminine performance might evoke a sense of “unnaturalness.” In consequence, claiming space can result in discomfort and uneasiness.

In the participant’s quote, male space-claiming is understood as an inter-relation of *openness* and *size* (extension in space). Both of these features are problematic for femininity. First, while openness may in male performance be read as relaxed self-confidence, such postures displayed by a woman signify something completely different:

The objectifying regard which ‘keeps her in place’ can also account for the spatial modality of being positioned and for why women frequently tend not to move openly, keeping their limbs enclosed around themselves. To open her body in free active and open extension and bold outward directedness is for a woman to invite objectification. (...) The woman lives her space as confined and enclosed around her at least in part as projecting some small area in which she can exist as a free subject. (Young, 1989, p. 67)

Second, size is interruptive to normative femininity. Petite and slender feminine ideals can be seen as just the opposite of taking up space, and women taking up large spaces risk being perceived as monstrous:

To be physically huge or to take up immense amounts of space in discursive or psychological ways constitutes, for women in patriarchal society, an enormity and a monstrosity. Extending the space allotted to femininity is thus per definition an outrageous affront to the boundaries laid down by patriarchal culture. (Shands, 1999, p. 53)

As articulated in Quote A, keeping oneself within the boundaries of feminine body-space demands self-policing discipline.¹⁶ In terms of size, the slim body may today be seen as a symbol of self-control. In her discussion of anorexia, Bordo (1993, p. 168) notes how “taking up space, and whittling down the space one’s body takes up” have symbolic and political meaning in the construction of gender. I find this particularly interesting in relation to another knife metaphor for “claiming space” in English, namely “to carve out a space/place of one’s own/ for oneself.” Looking at these two metaphors together acutely points out the problematic double bind in terms of spatiality: while women and girls are today expected to be assertive in their pursuit of freedom through personal choice (carve out a space), they are still expected to pursue a femininity demanding as little space as possible (whittling down their space). These contradictory demands can explain the ambivalence toward legs-apart postures as articulated in Quote A.

An Expandable Body in a Space of Possibilities

So what happens when a body occupies space together with a musical instrument? In the next quote, the speaker argues that the instrument is highly significant for gender issues in musical learning:

the thing is that you take up space with an instrument, right, you take up a lot more space behind a *drum set* or a *piano* or a *guitar* or... it’s like physical, there’s something... and I think that’s where... where the transformation takes place sort of... into... [long silence] well into something different [inaudible], something is added there, like, to your personality or something, like, well is added with this instrument and something happens... (Quote B)

Here, the body is constructed as expandable rather than compressed, and space is constructed as transformative rather than restrictive. Rather than being presented as an interaction between a human body and an object, playing an instrument is in this narrative depicted as a fusion between body and instrument, forcing a subject to take up more space. While the process is physical, one’s personality is augmented in the process, as if both something outer and something inner were reshaped. Playing an instrument is portrayed as a merg-

ing, offering potential new ways of being, possibilities to be transformed into new shapes, something different and larger. Musicianship is thus constructed as a transgressive challenge and a promising adventure.

Unlike Quote A, Quote B makes no reference to provocation, nor to a gaze. The body/instrument merge forms the center of action, possibly rescuing the instrumentalist from being gazed at. Bayton (1998) argues that compared to the position of the singer, playing an instrument means your body is less on show, suggesting the instrument can function as a shield: “you are less physically exposed and you are hidden behind a weight of symbolic signification” (p. 117). Such symbolic signification is, however, hardly gender-neutral. Green (1997, p. 192) finds that “the performance of popular music involving drums, electronic instruments and other technology is interruptive to femininity, and provides a symbolic space into which masculinity can enter.” In Green’s account, the instrumentalist position is less exposed and thus “safer” not so much by virtue of providing a shield, but by offering a masculine position of controller, which makes bodily display less open to interpretations of sexual invitation. In this view, while playing an instrument might require a body posture of risky openness (for example, playing a drum set with your legs held together is virtually impossible), it can also make the body image less open, thus less vulnerable.

However, in quote B, the instrument is not constructed as an object to be controlled. It is true that the notion of something being “added” can be seen as drawing on the common conception of the instrument as a “prosthesis” or body extension (Schroeder, 2006). However, unlike the notion of the electric-guitar-as-phallus, where the instrument constitutes a limb to be controlled, the notion of transformation in Quote B instead constructs the instrument as one that the body inhabits and navigates, rather than grasps (Harris, 2006).¹⁷ Following Young (1989), the body is in feminine spatiality not perceived as a locus *of* control but rather as an object *for* control. A “negative” reading of quote B spells out that women do not easily find themselves as in control in artistic processes. A more “positive” reading finds that the concepts of merge and transformation challenge views of the artist as controller (Björck, 2009; Koza, 1994) by articulating a less *phallogocentric*¹⁸ conceptualization of the relation between musician and instrument.

Notions of the subject as involved in embodied processes of transformation or metamorphosis have also been conceptualized as *becoming* (Braidotti, 2002; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988), opening spaces for change. In the context of music education research, Elizabeth Gould (2007a) deploys these theories to discuss the transformative potential in terms of “musical ways of becoming in the world”:

When we interact with each other (...) multiple responses to problems related to difference become available. We are free to play together, take risks, fail, and try again, because no single response is ever finally right, just, or true. (...) Deleuze provides vocabulary for working with concepts that envision potentialities of music education’s impossibilities. (p. 216)

June Boyce-Tillman (2009) also develops on the transformative qualities of musical activity, but in terms of new realms of consciousness. Drawing on the writings of Martin Buber, Emanuel Levinas, and Mihály Csikszentmihályi, among others, Boyce-Tillman suggests that a musical experience of engaging in an intimate relationship with a musical instrument might become a fusing experience. The fusion of four different domains – expression, values, construction, and materials – causes the musician¹⁹ to enter a *liminal space* of potential power and transformation. This liminal experience, Boyce-Tillman argues, has connections to religious, spiritual, and mystical experiences, and is characterized by a sense of encounter, empowerment, realization, unity, infinity, transformation, and change.

The Body as Eye-catcher Blocking Sound

Next, a music instructor talks about her experience as a popular musician. The quote deals with visual aspects of exposing oneself on stage:

I play in a band, and I'm the only girl... and I get a *whole* lot of comments about: "You're so damned *good-looking* on stage, you look so damned cool among all the guys, alone", "hell what a cool girl with lots of drums" (...) and that's a huge compliment, like, that's really awesome. And many girls say things like this. But it's still, like... there is something very *extreme, special*, with me being there, sort of (...) it's both good and bad, I think, it 'd been good if people, just, down with – don't look, but just listen and say: 'it sounded awesome'... (Quote C)

Here, the body is constructed as eye-catching. The anomaly of being a female musician on stage, distinct from and alone among other people and objects, becomes the primary aspect of this drummer's performance. She is the exotic Other, at the same time marginalized and at the centre. The visual is portrayed as blocking the sound, entailing the female body "getting in the way" of access to the sounding space. The narrator draws attention to the fact that not only men utter the comments after the gig, but the gaze is performed by both sexes. These comments are defined as compliments – acknowledgements that she is qualifying as an intelligible (i.e., attractive) woman, although a powerful and "cool" exception to the norm. However, the focus on looks puts the music in a subordinate place. Through their positioning function, the compliments are double-edged, in the quote articulated as *both good and bad*, as they perform both affirmation (of the subject-positions real woman and powerful norm-breaker) and disruption (of the desired subject-position of real musician/drummer).

The construction of mutually exclusive subject-positions is discussed by Bayton (1998) who maintains: "The status 'woman' seems to obscure that of 'musician'" (p. 195). "Woman" here constitutes a phenomenon which in sociology is referred to as a *master trait*, a category which "tends to overpower, in most crucial situations, any other characteristics which might run counter to

it” (Hughes, 1993, p. 147). However, Quote C produces resistance to this master trait, and the gaze through which it is underpinned, by picturing the opposite: if audience members were to close their eyes or look down (imagine that at a rock concert!), restricted from seeing her, she would instead *be heard*.²⁰ Visual space is thereby constructed as gendering while sounding space is portrayed as more gender-neutral – an account contrasting with other quotes from the data constructing sound as highly gendered (Björck, 2009).

The “primacy of the scopic” (visual) has been debated within as well as without disciplines of music. John Shepherd (1987) argues that in music, as in other aspects of social life, the supremacy of vision stresses separation and distance. This, he says, corresponds to a hegemonic masculine control of other senses which instead stress the integrative and relational, for example the aural and the tactile. Similarly, in geography, cultural and feminist scholars have criticized the discipline’s disproportionate dependence on vision. They have questioned “whether visual technologies do not actively block out the other kinds of information that surroundings contain. The marginal status of the geography of sound, smell, touch and the other senses would strongly suggest so” (Saldanha, 2009, p. 1). The primacy of the scopic has also been discussed in relation to pop promos and music videos in terms of visual devices “competing with the sounds in structuring the experience of the audience” (Whiteley, 1997a, p. xxxii). Quote C constructs the primacy of the scopic as relevant not only in visual presentation on film, but in live performance situations as well.

Intelligible Bodies on Stage

The next quote points out the limited number of feminine positions available in a masculinized genre. The participation of two respondents in the quote is marked with A and B to denote that interaction is taking place.

A: *god* I’ve really felt that, when I’ve been on stage with that metal band I was in, the thing with: you know, I don’t know what I should look like! I don’t know what to wear when I’m standing on stage. Because there is *no*... you know, either you are that blond girl wearing one of these goth dresses, standing like this and sort of: [makes a gesture], and the guys play really hard. But if *I’m* to be like a... like a hard person, standing there singing [smiles], then there is like *no* ideal...

B: no, because the only ideal there is is long hair and a beard...

A: yeah, right, that’s the only thing there is, right, you have to have a beard... and you definitely shouldn’t have breasts either, because you should like wear one of these cut-off t-shirts, and that’s bloody difficult to [bursts of laughter from the respondents]... what should you have, like? (Quote D)

Here, performance on stage is characterized by contrasts: the feminine distinct from the masculine, the singer separated from the instrumentalists. While

clothing and posture provide solid and clear markers for contrast, the shape of the body itself appears as the ultimate obstacle and limit for passing as an intelligible heavy metal musician – a position for which “men with beards” qualify, while “women with breasts” do not.²¹ The female body thus gets in the way for an authentic performance in this genre. According to the quote, a woman desiring access to aggressive musical styles finds no such identity available, because should she approach masculine performativity, her body is still there as a statement. The space available is constructed as restrictive, providing a single mould to fill as a feminine contrast the other, masculine, shape (bearded, flat-chested, playing really hard). Like the drummer in the previous quote, being the only female on stage here appears to be an utterly lonely position, severing her from the musical context and the collective experience. Note the repeated assertions of what *there is* and what *there is not*. In a way, the result is that *she does not exist*. However, no clear origin of the norm is pronounced (“there is like no ideal”, “you have to have a beard”), and no clear moral order is evoked. Consequently, the quote does *not* put males in the role of “authorizing” female restrictions.

Beards and breasts are symbols invested with certain values. Facial hair – side burns, beards, and moustaches – can be read as strengthening a certain masculinity through evoking nostalgic ideals of the “traditional” and “natural,” resisting middle-class ideology of decency and cleanliness (Kimmel, 2000). In music, the long hair often worn by male rockers could similarly be seen as a resistance to such clean-cut middle-class ideals (Horgby, 2007).²² The image of the bearded rocker is revived in current popular music discourse, for example in the US and the UK, where “the beard has become one of the crucial, era-defining signifiers for non-mainstream rock in the noughties”²³ (Reynolds, 2009). *Beard rock* and *bearded music*²⁴ are current classifications widely used in music reviews and music blogs, sometimes simply to designate bands where the members have facial hair, but also commonly denoting certain subjectivities and certain sounds.²⁵ Simon Reynolds decodes these beards as a yearning for wilderness and a protest against modernity, and he finds it “tantamount to a visual rhetoric, almost a form of authentication, as though the band are wearing their music on their faces (...) invoking a hallowed era of rock history: 1968-69.”²⁶

Breasts constitute an entirely different cultural marker. They been described to constitute an important component of many women’s body self-image, ambiguously representing both power and vulnerability in a tension between sexuality and maternity, but always subjected to a normalizing male gaze (Young, 2005). Mimi Schippers (2002, p. 118) calls breasts “the quintessential marker of feminine sexuality objectified,” and Bordo (1993, p. 178) observes that many anorexics want to get rid of their breasts as they “represent a bovine, unconscious, vulnerable side of the self.” In similarity to open body postures, such as spreading one’s legs, breasts then seem to signify risk and vulnerability. Furthermore, as feminine markers, breasts seem to signify inauthenticity for positions associated with masculinity. For example, women DJs describe how dressing in clothes which accentuate the breasts is one of the most unthinkable

acts for attaining credibility in their profession (Gavanas, 2009). The assumption of a popular musician being un-breasted is also articulated through very material conditions. Women guitarists have for example commented on the problem of their instruments not being designed to allow a player with breasts when held at chest level (Bayton, 1997).

Consequently, only certain bodies appear as authentic for occupying certain positions in popular music performance. Quote D conveys a yearning for a “third” position beyond masculine and feminine performance, but it is depicted as beyond reach. In Butler’s terms, this unimaginability can be explained by its non-existence within the heterosexual matrix.

The Determined Body

Performativity in a Butlerian sense includes daily repetitions of seemingly trivial acts. Such acts are also described in the data, e.g. in the following quote, where an instructor at a girls’ pop/rock camp talks about how he can contribute:

then also to sort of be able to give them the strength to believe in themselves, you know... to not stand in the background hiding, not daring, but instead to just go forward and do it, like I said to you before, like, just such a thing as taking a cable and folding it properly or the way guys do it, you know, like a crew person would do it, for real, like, and I... I imagine that would be quite cool, like, that it makes you look different straight away, that... because if there’s a tough guy in a band rehearsal studio running this girl down, like, if a girl comes in and strides in and just does it straight away, puts her foot down and shows: “I am here” (Quote E)

The rehearsal studio here constitutes an arena for proving oneself, a challenging stage of its own with background/front stage positions, with the body as means for announcing one’s presence and existence. Space-claiming is constructed as entering center stage in a resolute and self-confident manner. In addition to producing sounds, musical learning here involves rehearsing the proper ways of managing one’s body and controlling equipment in order to fit in and appear natural, experienced, and casual. The quote implies that the problem of men harassing girls and women in sites for rehearsal or performance can be solved if girls and women learn the normalized performative acts of popular music practice, such as striding in, occupying centre stage, or folding a cable “the way guys do it” – implicitly meaning *not* the way girls would do it (if girls do it at all, that is). By this logic, a girl or woman who leaves the traditional feminine subject-position of standing in the background will promptly look different and thereby qualify as normal and authentic. A possible escape of the objectifying, devaluing gaze is implied, depending on her courage and self-confidence. In conclusion, a girl or woman must liberate herself from “feminine” behavior, take on a proper, “masculine” one to qualify for accreditation as a respectable musician. The quote echoes along with Bordo’s (1993) remark, quoted earlier, about women being urged to embody “self-control, determination, cool, emotional

discipline, mastery, and so on” (p. 171) as masculine values of the public arena. The ostensible simplicity offered by the discourse of determination in Quote E is however complicated by the troubling presence of a gaze, as articulated by Quotes A, C, and D. This complication appears to work along the lines of the “double bind” described by Bordo. In addition, Quote E above says something about doing masculinity. “Guys” are presumed to already know how to fold a cable properly, *for real*, and intelligible male bodies do not hide, nor hesitate – that is construed as feminine behavior.

CONCLUSIONS

As Elizabeth Grosz (1992, p. 241) argues, “the body itself may be regarded as the locus and site of inscription for specific modes of subjectivity.” She also links learning to embodiment by stating that “[k]nowledges are a product of a bodily drive to live and conquer” (1995, p. 37). Following Grosz, the aspects of body spatiality voiced in my data are connected to questions of potential subjectivities and knowledges: “What can I be?” and “What can I know?” Viewed along these lines, the process of women moving into the male-dominated fields of popular music must be recognized as necessarily embodied. I now go on to make some conclusions.

A Contradictory Body-Space

Postmodern analyses, drawing on notions of fluid subjectivities, have described popular music performances to transgress and subvert gender norms – one of the most common objects for such analysis is the performance of pop star Madonna. However, in analyses of women musicians’ lived experience, such transgression does not appear to be easily available, but issues of the body appear as unresolved dilemmas in a contradictory process of resistance and reproduction (Bayton, 1998; Clawson, 1999b).

In the quotes presented in the previous section, the feminine body is constructed variously as enclosed, expandable, and exoticized; as a means for authenticity and respect, but also as inevitably inauthentic. Space is variously depicted as restricted, provocative and transformative; as gendering (visual space) and gender-neutral (sounding space). The female body appears to be, first, torn between self-disciplined feminine enclosure and provocative, space-claiming openness, and second, torn between making itself heard as a musician and being observed as a woman. Using Young’s definition of feminine spatiality as characterized by a subject–object tension, I find that the construction of space as *transformative* is made from a position where the female musician inhabits the locus of subject by engagement with the musical instrument. Contrastingly, constructions of space as *disciplining* and *exoticizing* are made from a position where she inhabits the locus of object to an observing gaze. Finally, the construction of space as *provocative* falls in between the other two by acknowledging, but also challenging, the gaze and the limits of “natural” femininity.

The combination between a restrictive spatiality and an imperative to gain respect through determined, space-occupying bodily presence, entails a contradictory pressure – in previous research conceptualized as a subject-object tension (de Beauvoir, 1953; Young, 1989), a double bind (Bordo, 1993), a double entanglement (McRobbie, 2008), and as a pseudo-freedom of choice (Werner, 2009). On the one hand, women popular musicians are expected to close their bodies enough not to invite objectification; on the other, they are urged to expand and open their bodies, counter to normative femininity, in order to appear self-confident and authentic in popular music practice. Both ways imply self-disciplining practices, something Foucault (1984/1990; 1988) calls *self-technologies* – practices through which the subject tries to govern and mould itself towards perfection. Following Young (1989), a woman takes herself as the object through an acquired feminine spatiality, resulting in her attention being directed upon her own body rather than upon the act to be accomplished *through* the body, producing a gap between aim and enactment. Women therefore, due to a lack of entire trust in their bodies to carry them to their aims, “often approach physical engagement with things with timidity, uncertainty, and hesitancy” (p. 57). Hesitancy is, however, most undesirable in the discourse of determination, requesting modern women to “claim space” in a resolute manner in order to earn respect. Young further finds that the feminine self-reference produces feelings of incapacity, frustration, and self-consciousness, and a tendency to underestimate one’s bodily capacity. A modest assumption is that such great self-consciousness and the tension resulting from the double bind, evident in results from previous research as well as those from the present study, take a great deal of energy – energy which could have been directed towards the music and the instrument. Rather than just resulting in a leakage of energy, the disempowering functions of such self-reference holds potentially devastating consequences for an individual’s musical futures.

Body Relations and the Gaze

As Schippers (2002, p. 123) observes, “[w]hen we situate the body and embodied gender in the ongoing process of social structuration, how the body is presented and used is always in relation to other bodies within the localized context.” Examining such relational aspects in the quotes in the previous section, I find they all (except for one, to which I will return shortly) portray women’s bodies as a *contrast*: to men’s open bodies, to the audience, and to (male) musicians on and off stage. A “third position” is yearned for but imagined as out of reach, out of sight. The depiction of contrast can be understood as produced within the framework of the heterosexual matrix, where female bodies are intelligible only as counterparts to masculine bodies. The female body is constructed as getting in the way of authentic musicianship by being read first and foremost as “woman” by the gaze. In this way, the gaze, manifested for example by audience responses, functions to discipline female bodies so that they maintain their position as a contrast and complement to male bodies in popular music. The body is also

depicted as getting in the way of the musical sound itself through a visual blockage of the aural. Visual and aural intertwinements suggest that when a woman popular musician is confronted with issues of what to wear, how to stand, and how to hold her instrument, what is at stake is not just a matter of accessories and visual surface, but the ways in which she presents herself and the ways in which she is looked upon will decide how her music is read, what kind of space her music is able to produce, and thus what her music is perceived *to be*.

Some strategies for escaping the objectifying gaze are suggested in the data. One is to make a determined body go center-stage. However, the seemingly simple strategy of self-confident stride into the spotlight overlooks the compelling power of gaze to read the female body as feminine, thereby drawing attention from her musicianship and the sounds she produces. It thus seems that an escape from the gaze calls for drastic measures. The Swedish singer/composer Karin Andersson Dreijer²⁷ provides an example by largely refusing to perform or to be photographed unmasked. At the Swedish popular music award *P3 Guld 2010*, she accepted a prize without a word, dressed in a burqa-like veil.²⁸ In various articles and blogs, in Sweden as well as abroad, the act was read variably as shyness, laziness (suggesting she sent someone else to accept the prize), a freaky gimmick, and a political statement. Andersson Dreijer has, however, explained in several interviews that she refuses to expose her face because she wants the focus to be on her music only (see e.g. Bergin, 2006; Petridis, 2009). In contemporary Western popular culture, a woman's body shielded from the gaze is evidently not an intelligible body.

A Space for Transition, Transformation, Becoming?

A second strategy for escaping the objectifying gaze is to expand oneself by merging with an instrument. In contrast to other quotes from the data which construct the body as contrast and as subject to a gaze, Quote B instead portrays the body as engaged in an empowering body-instrument fusion,²⁹ with prospects of transformation and augmentation. In terms of prospects for change, the musical instrument seems to hold potential to counteract objectification and strengthen subjectivity. In the context of child developmental psychology, Donald Winnicott (1958) has described a transitional object³⁰ to allow a child to gradually let go of the parent to move into a wider reality through a safe *transitional space*, a concept he extended to include the potential space of the adult's life in culture. Can the musical instrument perhaps function as a "transitional object" empowering the subject to gradually, to some extent, detach itself from the control of the gaze and cross limits of containment? Such an object is not necessarily to be seen as a technical object for control, but as one that the body inhabits and navigates (Harris, 2006). In such terms, we might even see the instrument itself as a space – a liminal, transitional, transformative space of becoming.

Final Remarks

Richard Shusterman (2008, p. 126) argues: “More than guitars or violins or pianos or even drums, our bodies are the primary instrument for the making of music.” My hope is that the present article’s discussion of gender and body-space in popular music might provide tools for further critical discussions about music and musical learning, in and out of classrooms.

Using Butler’s (2004) interpretation of Foucault’s writing about the body and power, we may see the body engaging with a musical instrument or displaying itself on stage in musical performance as an instrument in itself, through which power “plays.” Not only does something happen to the subject in a musical situation, but something also happens to power itself. When a female body finds a limited number of available shapes/figures to inhabit on stage, in that body’s search for authenticity, the power of norms of musical genres and performance, of femininity, and of sexuality flows through the vector of her body to take on new directions. Agency is found in the relation between power and the body, in the moment of simultaneous desire to be recognizable through conformity and desire to resist that attachment in order to become something different.

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NOTES

- 1 Providing an additional example of this emerging interest, an entire issue of the ACT journal (Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education, vol. 9, issue 1, January 2010) was recently devoted to discussing Richard Shusterman's book *Body Consciousness*.
- 2 The present article forms part of a doctoral dissertation in which three additional themes, *Sound, Territory, and Room*, are also analyzed.
- 3 As Middleton (1990) explains, this relation has been variously conceptualized through instinctualist explanations (as libidinal energies channeled into musical forms), sociological ones (as socialization into sex roles), or semiological/structuralist explanations (as musical pleasures linked to systems of significance).
- 4 For a list of references in varying genres, see Björck (forthcoming).
- 5 For a more elaborated exposition of the theoretical framework, see Björck (forthcoming).
- 6 In an interview, Foucault (1980a, p. 58) once said: "I'm not one of those who try to elicit the effects of power at the level of ideology. Indeed I wonder whether, before one poses the question of ideology, it wouldn't be more materialist to study first the question of the body and the effects of power on it. Because what troubles me with these analyses which prioritise ideology is that there is always presupposed a human subject on the lines of the model provided by classic philosophy, endowed with a consciousness which power is then thought to seize on."
- 7 As Bordo (1993) points out, the perspective of the body as focal point for power struggles was discovered by feminism "long before its marriage with poststructuralist thought" (p. 17).

- 8 The element of repetition is according to Butler required for the maintenance of norms, but at the same time it is the gateway opening up to some form of agency (and thus to gender transformation) through “occasional *discontinuity*” or “failure to repeat” gender in the exact same way twice (Butler, 2006[1999], p. 192, original emphasis).
- 9 Foucault (1980b, p. 155) writes: ”There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself.”
- 10 Bordo describes how in the 1980s, this imagination was manifested in an explosion of interest in exercise and cosmetic surgery, but also showed itself in academic research, where resistance was conceptualized as individual choice and creative playfulness.
- 11 Similarly, cultural studies researchers have described the production of a normative feminine body among Swedish teenage girls as a tricky tightrope balance act to achieve a “just-right” (Swe. *lagom*) sexuality: a girl has to be sexual, but not too sexual (Ambjörnsson, 2004; Werner, 2009).
- 12 “Whereas the display of singing reproduces femininity by locking the woman singer in an affirmation of the contrary definition of femininity as susceptible, natural, desirable and dangerous, women’s instrumental performance threatens to break out of patriarchal definitions and offer a femininity which controls, a femininity which alienates itself in an object and impinges on the world.” (Green, 1997, pp. 53–54).
- 13 In contrast, the bass has been argued to be more appropriately a woman’s instrument by virtue of being more supportive/nurturing or more primal/earthy than the guitar. Examining such discourse, Mary Ann Clawson (1999b, p. 208) found women entering rock bands as bass players to be “engaged in a contradictory process of resistance and reproduction” – resistance by exploring hitherto unavailable opportunities; reproduction because their “self-portrayal as either caring and group-oriented or intuitive and primal” served to reinforce notions of gender differences as natural.
- 14 Robert Walser (1993) notes, however, that such performance entails a risk of devaluation for the male heavy metal performer, as signs of androgyny are read by fans as “an abdication of metal’s usual virtuosic prowess” (p. 128).
- 15 bell hooks (1992) points to racial prerogatives by analyzing Madonna’s play with gender and sexuality in terms of a privileged white appropriating and devouring blackness.
- 16 An example of this is how the talk of Swedish High School girls has been found to include constant fearing, loathing, and discussion about fat, detested as an evil object of horror, lurking even inside their bodies (Ambjörnsson, 2005).
- 17 Harris explores new understandings of the instrument/body relation, resulting from new forms of technology.
- 18 *Phallogocentrism* is a term coined by Jacques Derrida, which refers to the perceived tendency of Western thought to locate the center of any text or discourse within the *logos* (reason) and the *phallus* (as representation for masculinity).
- 19 *Musicking* and *musicicker* are terms introduced by Christopher Small (1998, in Boyce-Tillman, 2009) to emphasize that music is not a thing but always an activity.
- 20 Compare this to the emerging orchestra audition practice to play behind a curtain.

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- 21 Constructing men and women as solid groups of course obscures the fact that some men have very little facial hair; that in Western culture, women who do have facial hair are likely to remove it; that some women's chests may be flatter than those of some men, and so on.
- 22 Hair length at times also functions as a dividing marker between different popular music subcultures, for example between metal and punk (Waksman, 2009).
- 23 "The noughties" refers to the 2000s (the decade), derived from "nought" which means zero.
- 24 These expressions also exist in Swedish, the language of my original data: *skägrock*, *skäggig musik*.
- 25 The labels are often used about indie rock (in particular, "the new Seattle sound"), but also about other genres like death metal. It seems to be associated with a certain kind of traditional masculinity: rawness, lumberjacks, plaid shirts, the Southern US, and bourbon. Musically it is often associated with (acoustic) guitars, folk music influence, and a "dirty" sound.
- 26 There is plenty of evidence of the symbolic value of beards in music to be found on the Internet. In the UK, there are for example two magazines about indie music, called *Beard magazine* (<http://beardmag.blogspot.com>) and *Bearded magazine* (<http://beardedmagazine.co.uk/wp>).
- 27 Andersson Dreijer is most well known as a member of the group *The knife* and by her recent solo project *Fever Ray*.
- 28 When the present article was written, a clip showing the act was available on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ymCP6zC_qJU
- 29 This image can be compared to Donna Haraway's (1991) idea of the cyborg.
- 30 The most typical transitional object for children is perhaps the teddy bear.

Article 4. Gender, Popular Music, and Claiming Space: The Territory Metaphor

INTRODUCTION

How can we understand the challenges of working for gender equity in popular music, an industry described as “permeated by gender norms and expectations at all levels” (Connell & Gibson, 2003, p. 8)? In 2006 and 2007, I arranged round-table discussions with staff and participants from four different music initiatives in Sweden who all had the explicit purpose to increase the number of girls and women in popular music practices. My broad aim was to examine discourses about gender and popular music in order to explore how the work of such initiatives might be conceptualized. Early in the analysis of these discussions, *spatial language* stood out as central and significant, specifically revolving around the idea that girls and women need to “claim space” to participate in popular music. Among the numerous spatial metaphors used in the discussions, some refer to surface, such as *territory*, *field*, *area*, *domain*, and *ground*.

I soon discovered that theory, especially in postmodern perspectives, is also imbued with spatial language. Notions of margin and center, space and place, subject positions, and of mapping out terrains or fields reveal just a small portion of the current rich and proliferating vocabulary. This movement within the social sciences and the humanities, to view social existence as profoundly connected to spatiality, has even been called a “spatial turn” (Warf & Arias, 2009). The increasing interest in spatiality has been generated most notably in the disciplines of human geography, media studies, architecture, and literature studies, often by feminist scholars. In the discipline of popular music studies, the spatial turn has prompted researchers to examine how sound gives meaning to spaces and places in globalizing urban cultures (Saldanha, 2009).

In such spatialized analyses, maps play a central role as tools for orientation. “Mapping exercises (...) fulfil the function of providing a partial overview. Further, as cartographic devices they may also point out exegetic tools for critical thought and creative theoretical alternatives” (Åsberg, Rönnblom, & Koobak, 2010, p. 68). But maps also function to display power relations in a field or between fields.¹ Such analyses are often inspired by the writings of Michel

Foucault. In describing the force provided by territorial metaphors, Foucault (1980/2007, p. 177) argues: “Once knowledge can be analyzed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture a process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power.” In line with this thinking, popular music researchers have seen “possibilities of a cartography of sound as a territory of power” (Herman, Swiss, & Sloop, 1998, p. 3).

Territorial metaphors consequently appear as tools – tools for orientation, for critical analysis of power relations, and for articulating alternatives. Framed by these accounts, the purpose of the present article² is to examine how territorial metaphors are deployed in the context of gender-equity music initiatives, and on what larger discourses they draw. My discussion is based on the poststructural assumption that language constitutes the world rather than simply reflecting it. The constitutive power of discourse thus underpins the rationale for the present article: that an examination of spatial discourse might elucidate how the nexus of gender, popular music, and social change may or may not currently be understood.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In this section, I refer to selected ethnographic studies specifically deploying spatial approaches mapping popular music, all of which identify gender as a significant factor of the demography and the hegemonies of popular music.

In her examination of local music-making in an English town, Ruth Finnegan (1989) found the practices in her study to be upheld “through a series of socially recognised pathways which systematically linked into a variety of settings and institutions within the city” (p. 299). She defines pathways as “a series of known and regular routes which people chose – or were led into – and which they both kept open and extended through their actions” (p. 305). One of the patterns Finnegan found was a striking predominance of male players among groups performing jazz as well as rock and pop.

In another British study, Mavis Bayton (2000) describes how public urban spaces for rock music – for example pubs, clubs, and music shops – are dominated by men. In contrast, Bayton (1998) describes a series of spaces offering young women “more cultural space” and thereby enabling them to escape some constraints keeping women from successful careers and find “routes into rock.” Bayton thus uses the concept of “space” to designate sites where women are included and also less tightly positioned. These spaces include “musical families, classical music training, art school, drama, gender rebellion, musician partners, higher education, accessibility of female musical role models, feminism, lesbianism, punk, and Riot Grrrl” (1998, p. 189).

In a third study, Sarah Cohen (1991) mapped local rock culture’s use of certain conventions, rituals, norms, and beliefs, situated in the specific social, economic, cultural, and political space that the city of Liverpool offered. As a

consequence of the production of masculinity in these practices, Cohen found, women were often viewed as threats to the male loyalty within the groups and thereby actively excluded from the rock scene, which thereby appeared as a male preserve. In a later discussion of her study, Cohen (2002, p. 276) develops the theme that music simultaneously reflects place and takes part in a sensuous production of it: "Individuals can use music as a cultural 'map of meaning,' drawing upon it (...) to articulate both individual and collective identities." Cohen thereby accounts for how the production of "place" in musical practice may be seen both to include and exclude by boundaries of identification of who belongs, or not, in certain territories. The practice of "border work" is also examined by Lauraine Leblanc (1999) in her examination of the instrumental ways in which male punks establish and maintain boundaries for keeping punk rock culture a "boys' turf."

The spatial/territorial analyses of different musical practices in the studies referred to here demonstrate how such territories are not fixed or static structures. Instead, the production of space and place takes place through active and ongoing border work connected to movement, imagination, identity and desire. I will now proceed to give a brief account of method, design, and theoretical framework used in the present study. Thereafter, the results are presented and discussed.

METHOD AND DESIGN

The present article draws on a data provided by round-table discussions with staff and participants from music initiatives with an explicit objective to increase the number of girls and women in popular music practices. Through searching the Internet, newspaper articles, and lists of projects receiving state funding, I found about fifteen ongoing initiatives in Sweden. Four initiatives participate in the present study: a time-limited project by a youth organization, a grass-roots network for young musicians, an adult education course, and a pop/rock music camp for girls.

Seven discussions, which could be referred to as focus group discussions, were recorded in 2006–2007 with a total time of approximately eight hours. Groups included 2–7 respondents, who were all female except for a male instructor at a music camp. Five of the groups consisted of staff (instructors and project leaders), mostly active popular musicians and approximately 17 to 50 years old. One of the groups consisted of students in their 20s, and one group consisted of members in a musicians' network, also in their 20s.

The data was then transcribed and partly translated into Swedish in collaboration with a professional translator. A Foucault-inspired discourse analysis in six stages, described by Carla Willig (2008), was used to examine the data in terms of discursive constructions, discourses, action orientation, positionings, practice, and subjectivity.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK³

The present article examines discourse. The value of studying discourse lies, for me, in the poststructural understanding of discourse as a network of rules establishing what is meaningful, producing reality rather than reflecting it (Foucault, 1972). This means discourses produce “truths,” what we understand as knowledge (Foucault, 1980). How we talk about things, or how language “talks us,” thereby shape how we can apprehend things in the worlds. Language is also seen as crucial for the process of subject formation, offering only certain subject-positions (Foucault, 1982), collective identities (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), and (heteronormative) gender identities (Butler, 2006[1999]). Subjectivity is furthermore seen as produced in a draft of competing, and often conflicting, discourses (Butler, 2006[1999]). In sum, this framework offers a view of language as more than “just talking,” as a practice in itself which is irrevocably intertwined with how we understand ourselves and the world and thereby also with how we act. This means that examining the ways language is used can on the one hand shed light on our current epistemology, in this particular case concerning gender and popular music, and on the other hand also open up to new understandings of practices and problems.

RESULTS

In the following, a number of quotes are analyzed in terms of how they spatially map popular music as a gendered territory: its topology, borders, routes, dwellers and strangers. The mapping is performed both through *generalizations* and *particularizations*. While generalizations are produced by constructing areas of commonality, particularizations are produced by dividing areas into subsections, providing nuance to generalized accounts, and by relating to lived experience. The results are presented in three sections. *Drawing a Map* deals with how the territory and its subsections are construed; *The Production of Boundaries* deals with women’s under-representation in certain practices of popular music; and *Entering the Territory* deals with the topology women encounter upon entering and navigating through such territories.

Quotes are presented in block text. Words in italics have been spoken with emphasis. Following that discourse is not seen as the property of individuals, the participation of several respondents in a quote is only marked with A, B, etc. to simply denote that interaction is taking place. The use of a label (e.g. “A”) does not denote the same speaker from one quote to another. My own participation is marked with “Cecilia.”

Drawing a Map

One way of drawing a map is to view the field from the perspective of *genre*. I deploy the term genre as referring not only to musical style, but also more broadly to the cultural practices surrounding these styles, governed by distinct aesthetic rules.

it's a very male-defined area... talking about music ... of course it depends on what music you're talking about but if we are talking about pop and rock and not... and not about schlager and stuff like that because then I guess it's more... but especially when you're actually *playing*, and that... and things like hip hop are also very...

In the quote, denoting some genres as “male-defined” implies that women’s under-representation in certain genres is not only a matter of numbers, but also a function of cultural spheres claimed by and/or associated with men. Here, pop, rock, and hip hop are pointed out as such areas, while *schlager*,⁴ a European popular genre, is defined as part of a different domain. Playing a popular music instrument is also defined as a male-defined practice, implying that vocals are not. Hence, the mapping of gendered territories in popular musics may be defined in terms of musical expressions, musical practices, musical positions, and division of musical labor.

The next quote is drawn from a discussion on female under-representation in “hard” genres such as heavy metal.

A: but I think aggression is a really big reason, like, that it's not quite all right to be a woman and be aggressive. And with men, it is.

B: but now we are presupposing a lot and it's the same as when I said that it's loud, we presuppose a certain musical style, like... and then it's not singer/songwriter or rock and pop and stuff like that
(...)

B: that's not exactly where efforts are really needed, like, because if you want to play like soft music and stuff, then there *is* like already more room for that than there is for- (...) the more aggressive, the more, like, unfeminine... and (the) incredibly much harder...
(...)

A: maybe that's why [our network] has mostly gone in the other direction, because (that's) what we feel isn't there, while, yeah, pop- I mean, the cute stuff is already there, while, in some way, at least- well, not enough- not to the same extent, but it is there, like ...

B: you can see it anyway in these [local] music clubs with guys (...) then there are always a *few* girls involved, and those girls always play like pop. So it's like this- but there are never any metal girls participating, like, (...) any (...) hard music (...) it's not quite about the same thing, either, one thing is about claiming a huge amount of space, and the other, like... [silence] yes...

Genres are here depicted as representations of, or channels for, different emotional expressions. Genres however appear as slippery and contingent labels. If the previous quote generally defined “pop and rock” as pertaining to a male-

defined space, they are in this quote instead categorized along with singer/songwriter music, while more aggressive genres are pointed out as particularly void of females as a function of their clash with normative femininity. By doing so, the quote particularizes the map by discerning musical substyles with particular features.

The discussion then goes on to describe soft/pop and hard/metal as contrasting musical categories. The construction of genres as sites for what there “is” and what there “is not” can be seen to draw on different spatial dimensions. From a quantitative perspective, the quote depicts hard/metal as a territory where females appear as absent, or at least invisible. From a social perspective, soft/pop is described as a practice offering a space for women, while hard/metal is not. From a musical perspective, the genres are defined as “about” different things; hard/metal is about claiming a huge amount of space, while softer genres provide a different quality, although exactly what is not articulated. These different perspectives – quantitative, social, and musical – demonstrate the dynamics between images of popular music field as, on the one hand, a field inhabited by males, on the other hand, a field offering certain subjectivities. A lack or vacuum is articulated, where female musicians’ settlement in hard/metal territories yet constitutes a “white” or blank spot on the map, defining a need for space-clearing efforts by the network in focus for discussion.

The notion of a blank, unexplored spot on the map is also conveyed by the following quote.

there’s a tradition that the girls who actually do it [play music in a band] tend toward the sweet little pop side, like that- that that’s what, you know, that’s the ground which is unbroken in some way is the really hard music with girls, which doesn’t quite...

The description of hard music as “unbroken ground” for girls can be seen as drawing on a strategic discourse of conquest to clear space for the unfeminine. However, rather than occupying land that is already settled, the concept evokes an image of pioneers, settlers clearing new land. Such a narrative instead constructs the territory to be conquered as new space, implying women are not to inhabit the very same places as men, in competition with them, but that female musicians will instead have to form their own “home place” in popular music.

If the previous quotes described women’s limited presence in and access to certain particularly male-defined genres, the next quote depicts male musicians as more free to move between various genres.

after all it’s OK if guys are a bit soft, like, doing some nice singer-songwriter pop, or like Håkan Hellström,⁵ then it’s beautiful and nice, too, like, in some way it feels like guys are allowed to be... in different ways, but girls are supposed to be in one way when in that situation... [in a very weak voice:] I don’t know why it is like that... [silence]

At times, resistance to generalized mappings is articulated, for example in the following quote where a student argues that her previous musical experience of playing trumpet in a klezmer⁶ band falls outside dominant stories of women in rock:

A: sometimes I feel that, I have played quite a lot before but because I play the *trumpet* my experiences don't count here, because only pop and rock instruments count so my experiences don't count, [louder:] well it *is* like- I *feel* that way (...) because I feel I have been very *well* treated before, but... [silence]... and *also* badly treated or like... you know, treated as being a girl... but, yeah... [silence]

Cecilia: what did you say last now? You have been treated...?

A: before when I have played the trumpet in a band, I have both- or in the band for example I feel really good, I have as much of a say, like, and stuff, and it... um, but um, and out there, when we've been out playing I've both experienced being treated like the rest, but also [in an affected voice:] "Oh, that's great, you have a *girl* there too, how nice, fun... super with a girl playing the trumpet," and even "How cute..."

The quote begins by dismissing a generalized narrative of women's exclusion in pop and rock as it has been discussed in class, claiming that such a narrative itself may function to exclude. Referring to lived experience, the quote promotes positions as individually formed rather than collectively, contending that girls and women can participate in popular music practices on equal terms. However, this contention is in turn revised when the speaker observes that her experiences also include moments of being belittled and labeled as exceptional because of her sex.

In addition to mapping by genre, popular music territory can be described as a structured system of institutions for learning and making music. The following quote constructs a backdrop for the initiation of a one-year rock and pop course for young women.

you know the reason we started this was because there is such a huge... well it's fairly obvious, there are so very few... women within the pop rock genre playing music, I mean instrumentalists, and it's quite ... quite stereotyped this situation... and there are very few... platforms for getting started, and to be introduced, interest, and then to develop this interest, to find the paths to develop... if you look at educational options you will find ... well from the high school arts program to the rock programs at adult education colleges or whatever, yeah, they are attended by very few girls (...) staff, that also follows this traditional pattern that if it is a woman that's teaching it is most often singing they're teaching, possibly occasionally keyboard perhaps, or... yeah no but mostly singing if you look at these programs, and then men are teaching, well, everything else, ensemble, sound technology, instrumental lessons, first instrument, and so on... [sighs] [silence] yes

Similarly to Finnegan's (1989) study, the popular music area here appears as a network of interrelated learning paths. The trope of platform is connected to several functions. First, the platform seems to provide a starting point for *orientations* from which to enter the area and situate oneself. Second, it appears as a site for *relations*, to be "introduced" to the area (and its people, props, problems, for example) in order to awaken and maintain an interest. Third, the trope of platform also evokes an image of *grounding*, a sort of "home base" from which paths lead further on towards development. The observation that learners as well as teachers along these paths are almost exclusively male implies a regenerating pattern. The sigh at the end of the quote makes this pattern seem depressing, but the initiative referred to is constructed as possibly providing new routes.

The Production of Boundaries

Territories by definition have limits, but it is not always clear who draws or withholds the limits of perceived musical territories. One explanation is that of culture or *tradition*, articulated in a short quote referred to earlier, saying that "there's a tradition that the girls who actually do it [play music in a band] tend toward the sweet little pop side." A somewhat different explanation draws attention to the actualization of cultural traditions on a more individual level through *upbringing*, for example in the following quote from a discussion about why few girls are visible in practices of aggressive musics such as heavy metal:

I think *that's* the reason mayb- [quietly:] or, yes- [louder:] so *that's*- [quietly:] well, I don't know, the reason for it being like this, like... yeah... [louder:] it's not something we were raised to do really, maybe, so that's why it becomes... [silence] a greater step in some way

The task of explaining the reason for female under-representation appears tricky, as if the speaker is negotiating with herself, dismissing different explanations before even articulating them. Finally the speaker opts for socialization as the most reasonable logic. The idea that entering such practices becomes "a greater step" for females (compared to males) suggests that they, through their upbringing, are situated further away from these practices.

References to traditions and upbringing mostly locate the production of limits to culture. References to *expectations* imply the presence of power relations, but often in a diffuse way without defining a counterpart, as in the quote referred to earlier, saying "it's not quite all right to be a woman and be aggressive." Some references to expectation however point more strongly to the subject's active self-relation to boundaries, for example in the following quote uttered in a student discussion about the challenge of trying to play new instruments:

you limit yourself a bit... to your- or, I do anyway, to my territory sort of, which you are expected to stick to

Through the use of passive form, “expected to,” expectations here appear as without clear *origin*; they are simply there, indicating boundaries. Nevertheless, the *actualization* of boundaries is located to the subject through the use of active form; first generalized through “you limit yourself,” then specified as a personal experience: “I do anyway.”

Issues of subjectivity may also be articulated through the linkage between claiming space, courage and self-confidence.

A: they might learn to support other girls... here and later on... to claim more space... when they are getting on [with playing their music], you know

B: know their worth

A: make an effort and start bands and, you know, dare

According to this quote, the female musician not only needs to learn about music, but also about daring to claim space. This learning process is at times described as problematic because it involves a form of reversed learning or unlearning of a femininity taking up as little space as possible, partly explaining feminine reluctance to claiming space. Another explanation for such reluctance points at problems of *orientation*, for example in the following passage referring to women learning music technology:

this particular fear, that there is something I don't recognize, I don't understand this, I can't do this, and that it becomes... that there is some sort of perspective of power in it, that it is something I don't, well, I'm inferior, this is not my field, this doesn't belong to me, I'm not expected to know this, and it makes you react emotionally and you sort of “tcht!” close up like, and so, well, you get a bit of a black out

Here, learning is constructed as navigating through forbidden territory of knowledge where women have the position of unwelcome strangers. The speaker puts herself in the “I” position, although she is referring to her students, with the effect of placing all women in a common framework of experience. It also portrays the speaker as having empathy for her students; she understands them. The speaker claims there is a “perspective of power,” but to whom the power relation is directed is unclear. Even if the feeling of inferiority implies the counterpart of someone superior, the power relation is related primarily to oneself and to a foreign and frightening landscape. The possibility for action offered by this construction requires that women feel more “at home” in a domain like music technology to be able to open up to knowledge. Conquering territory is portrayed as a question of identity: to feel you are not misplaced.

The problem of disorientation is brought up in the next quote also, drawn from a discussion with students in a rock/pop course for young women. In this course, the pedagogy strived for students to initiate and govern their own learning processes, partly to resemble informal learning processes outside school:

it is based on people's own commitment, the whole concept is like: "okay, here's the whole- here's the playground," like that, "come and play," and then you yourself will have to want to play, it's not so controlled... which might be... carefully thought-out, that it should be like that, but coming from a society where, where someone always give directions, telling you what to do, when suddenly you don't have that, you are at a loss what to do

If the previous quote pointed out disorientation in a field of technological objects and knowledge about such objects, the quote above points to the problem of disorientation in a learning environment providing less authoritarian control and guidance. A third source of disorientation refers to the lack of social networks:

they don't know where to *turn* to... you know, I've felt so much like that, even though I've had a burning interest and even though I'm where I am today, but many times I've felt like this: Where should I turn to? Where is my place? Where can I go? Who can I contact? Where is my source of feedback? Where is my mentor? There's no natural network as a consequence of inequality, like

The following quote further illustrates the conflicting expectations displaying boundaries as produced by exclusion or by self-exclusion:

A: so I feel I want to change something and... especially when I think about what space there is for girls on stage, that... there's not much space for girls... not that there is a shortage of girls that could stand there but... unfortunately girls are not given as much opportunity nor space and that can make me angry and therefore I think this is an awesome thing to start with, like, they are young and they... hopefully they're not yet totally broken down by their male friends, like, and starting here I think they won't be as easily trampled on in the future, then, already learning to... just enjoy themselves and get to hear they are good, like, and be pepped up and stuff (...)

B: but it seems as if [music] organizers, not just that girls don't have the guts, like, but then when something's at stake, because now there are quite a lot of girl bands but the organizers still opt for guys, like when we were in N-town and played we were the only girls on stage and we were introduced as a girls band even though we took a guy into the band, we are still a girl band

Both speakers here argue that the space for females in popular music performance is scarce. The possibility for action varies, however, as stage space is negotiated as either something that can be given or something that must be taken. Empowerment is first presented as a solution for claiming space beyond what is given, but then attention is drawn back to issues of exclusion by an account of lived experience, pointing out the gate-keeping function of organizers. The statement made by the second speaker describes a dilemma where females, even

when self-confident enough to perform on stage, are not assessed by what they *do* but rather by what they *are*, or rather, what they are perceived to be – that is, they are primarily categorized by their sex. Female under-representation on stage is here constructed as being reproduced through a limiting quota; that there is “just so much space” for women to fill. This second part of the quote also shows the slipperiness of the label “girl band.” The expression is acknowledged as a derogatory and limiting marker, positioning women musicians by their sex, but only after the term has been used in a qualitatively different way by the same speaker to describe a positive increasing presence of females in the business.

Entering the Territory

One way of legitimizing the initiatives in focus for discussion is to describe them as means for opening up to spaces which would otherwise be closed or off-limits for females. In such discussions on entering spaces, the issue of address is given special importance. In the following quote, an instructor refers to memories of contacting the local music night school:

I think the way you're treated the first time you introduce yourself is important as well, if like a twelve-year-old gi- one knows what it was like making that phone call, like, and then just: “Hi, like, I wanna start playing”, and being answered by a rough male voice going “Uuuh” [laughs], because that's actually the way it was where I grew up, so one knows what it's like, it's a part of one's baggage, sort of [in a small and high-pitched voice]: “Well I'm not really sure, or I want to play the guitar a little,” like, sort of. Taking that step is not the easiest thing to do, but you rather have to basically stand there [laughs], stand there, you have to like stand there with open arms

This quote gives attention to the positioning function of interaction, recounting how the rough male voice makes the young girl respond by belittling herself and her aspirations through voice pitch and choice of words. The argument put forward is that offering equal opportunities for musical learning and participation for all is not enough; if the female subject does not consider herself addressed, she is likely to exclude herself from such offers. The address thus needs to be inviting, personal, and explicitly inclusive.

The concept of opening up to off-limit spaces is also strongly conveyed by the deployment of the metaphor of *door*, which may be seen as a gateway or a rift breaking the closed borders to male-defined territory.

we exist as an alternative to the rest... (...) both to make it clear [to girls] and to create a possibility in these girls' minds that since we exist and girls find this music course, they may also in their... well, create a picture in their minds that this is possible, to make them aware, to open up a door, even if they don't apply [to the course] you kind of open a door that this possibility exists, we are addressing you

Again, the issue of address is presented as crucial; girls will not open this door if they do not, so to speak, see their name on it. The last two quotes both raise issues of imagination and identification, stressing the importance of providing not only maps of the present demography, but also imaginary maps of future possibilities.

In the next quote, the doors to popular music territory are imagined to burst open one day:

but then it's about reaching a certain mass, like a critical mass... and above a certain, whatever percentage it turns out to be, then: "brrrr" the gates burst open, I am absolutely sure... because it's not like *we* sit here with the opinion that girls and women will play rock- it's not *we* who made that up but surveys show that girls and women *want* to play... more girls attend concerts, and this investigation of leisure habits shows that more girls than boys write that they want to play in a band, like

As discussed in the section about production of boundaries, the assertion of knowledge is described as a crucial matter, problematic through its conflict with normative femininity and through the marginalizing function of marking female musicians as exotic others. The centrality and the problems of asserting one's knowledge are also discussed in relation to female musicians' possibilities to occupy legitimate positions even after years of navigating in a field.

A: well then, you know, you start like realizing: "hey, I'm a *musician*, that's right!" Or, of course you identify yourself somewhere somehow as a musician, but still you're like: "Right, I started ten years ago..." like that. (...) so many things are still there, that one struggles with one's own... identity and struggles with one's own position and one's own... like... "this is me, and I can do it," sort of. Still. To not be the person who backs down (...)

B: But it's a bit like this for girls, it's like bad to take up space, well claim space, it's a bit bad to say you are good

Here, a position in a musical territory is constructed as something that has to be continuously reclaimed, but still appears to be just out of reach. The ambivalence of the issue is emphasized by the many interrupted sentences. Identification with the position of "musician" appears as difficult, and the speaker describes the process of reaching for that identity as a negotiation with herself, a dialogue where a more self-confident voice talks to the struggling, less self-confident self, trying to direct attention to issues of competence and achievements. The struggle to be someone who doesn't "back down" seems to be the difficult part, while backing down would be an easier option. This can be compared to the trope of *taking a step* occurring in earlier quotes, pointing to the spatial dynamics between requests for either decisive movement or standing firm. The response uttered by another respondent at the end of this quote connects the act of establishing a position with the concept of claiming space. The response

also reframes the problem to be seen as a struggle for breaking norms rather than just a struggle for self-confidence.

In the next quote, the problem of feminine self-discipline as an obstacle to asserting one's knowledge is described in relation to interaction with male musicians:

you don't want to claim space, like, although I know what works, I know what um the problem is, if I come across a guy, you know, a sound technician or a, a guy in another context... and I say like this, but you know, I hold my own ground: "It's like this and that" and the guy firmly maintains the opposite, then there is, there is a barrier for me, where I say to myself: "Well if I push this too far I'm not very nice"... (...) in a normal conversation, the fact is a girl mustn't assert her knowledge too hard, because then you're, then you take up too much space and then you're not very nice and then you're a bitch or whatever, like, "don't think you are somebody." You *have* to go over every little detail indeed before you... then it's best to double-check three more times, even though you're sure

A woman who does assert her knowledge might also be ignored, as described in the next quote:

A: once we were the warm-up band to In Flames⁷ for some really strange reason... um, and after the concert we like talked to the singer, first *I* said: "Yeah, it was really good," like that, and he goes: "Well, okay," like that. And then- right after me was my boyfriend, he said like: "Yeah, it was really good," and he goes: "Oh hell thanks!" like. He said that, the singer, to my boyfriend. Because apparently when a guy considered something to be good, then it was, like, it counts, as if he thought it was, like: "Yes!"

B: but still you were a colleague, weren't you, the two of you had been on the same stage... right?

A: it was so obvious, I felt like: "I can go home." I thought. Or like, yeah [laughs]. "It doesn't matter what I think, obviously, because I'm just a girl..." then... probably... yes... it, then you sense the importance of how you say something... so if you, being a girl or woman, know something, you have to be able to- it feels like you have to fight your way ahead, really, for them to understand, prove yourself for them to really understand that... "but I know this," like

Finally, the following quote constructs the act of claiming a position through self-confident assertion of knowledge as a double trap:

A: well, on the one hand if you claim a lot of space then you're a bitch, and if you claim too little, then you can go and hide somewhere, like-

B: then it's your own fault

A: yes exactly, then you are, then you somehow fall into, like, not wanting to... you don't want to be... you want to be *included*, like, *part* of things. And if you want to be part of things, then you will be like judged, in different ways... [silence] and... either it's because you're good because you're... a girl, like... good as far as being a girl is concerned, or, but it's like you can never have a real, like proper position

In the presented dilemma “bitch vs. invisible,” two subject-positions are available, both marginalizing. Either the female musician might assert her knowledge, which entails passing as a difficult bitch. Alternatively, she might decline asserting her knowledge, which means accepting invisibility, affording her both shame (of being outside) and blame (of appearing as not strong enough to dispute the outsider position). Both strategies will bereave her of being included among those who count. In both cases, she is left fully responsible for her marginalized position. There are two ways, but no way of doing it right – a mission impossible, and a form of “damned if you do, damned if you don’t” dilemma. This quote, like the previous one, conveys a yearning for a possibility of a real (unmarked, authentic, legitimate, domesticated) position as musician/artist. There is hope that such a position may be achieved by a woman who navigates smartly through the foreign territory. At the same time, that place is depicted as unattainable, whereby the search appears as a never-ending journey, where at best, a female musician may be approved of with a reservation: good as far as being a girl is concerned.

DISCUSSION

The territorial tropes deployed in the quotes presented in previous section convey notions of home, ownership, and of maintenance and trespassing of boundaries. Although dealing with the challenges of conquest, territorial imagery is used in a non-combative style, and rather than promoting aggressive takeover of territories in order to dominate or rule, the objective is portrayed as existence. Conquering territory is in my data described as a quest in order *to be included* – either in a known field or in a new field yet to be explored.

Foucault (1984/1997) describes power to imbue relations at different levels: “[I]n human relationships, whether they involve verbal communication (...), or amorous, institutional, or economic relationships, power is always present (...). So I am speaking of relations that exist at different levels, in different forms” (pp. 291–92). Furthermore, following Foucault (1980/2007) as cited in the introduction of this paper, territorial imagery can be understood as drawing attention to such power relations. I find the portrayal of popular music territories, as described in the quotes from my data, to refer to power struggles at three levels: the level of culture, the level of social interaction, and the level of subjectivity. Which level an explanation refers to has bearing on how the problem of women’s under-representation in popular music practices is understood. Simply speaking, when referring to *culture*, under-representation is understood as a function of long-term, collective reproduction. When referring to *interaction*, under-representation is understood as a function of exclusion

and marginalization in daily life situations. Lastly, when referring to self or *subjectivity*, under-representation is understood as a function of disorientation, too much self-discipline, or too little self-confidence. The categories do of course blend into one another; it is only in theory that such categories can be described as clear-cut. In a certain quote, one level of explanation may dominate but is often challenged by other explanations.

Sara Ahmed (2006) discusses a phenomenological view of orientation, that is, as a matter of how we reside in space and apprehend the world of shared inhabitation in terms of distance and proximity:

The work of inhabitation involves orientation devices; ways of extending bodies into spaces that create new folds, or new contours of what we could call livable or inhabitable space. If orientation is about making the strange familiar through the extension of bodies into space, then disorientation occurs when that extension fails. Or we could say that some spaces extend certain bodies and simply do not leave room for others. (p. 11)

This disorientation, a result from redirecting our attention towards objects that are less “proximate,” can cause a certain dizziness or nausea. Ahmed talks about this in relation to what she calls a queer phenomenology, that is, a spatiality following from a sexual orientation different from the expected. I find Ahmed’s discussion useful for exploring not only how sexuality but also how gender relates to orientation and production of knowledge. In this case, the notion of queer phenomenology can be used to discuss how women (of any sexual orientation) orientate themselves towards popular music objects and practices generally understood as “masculine.” Similarly, Kathleen Kirby (1996, p. 95) in her examination of spatial concepts of subjectivity describes vertigo as a possible result “of trauma, or the anticipation of the withdrawal of support, the detachment of the subject from its physical site, or a dissonance between subjective experience and cultural assumptions, or the unexpected mobilization of subject or location.” These accounts of disorientation open up to new ways of understanding what “taking a (great) step” might mean. Rather than simply picturing such a “great step” as a big leap forward, it might be seen as a step sideways or diagonally, or as a blindfolded step into the unknown.

The picture of a never-ending journey in search for an unattainable “proper place” is not only articulated in the field of popular music, but also in art music. Pirkko Moisala (2000) discusses contexts where women are positioned as being of the “wrong” gender. Investigating the career of the internationally acknowledged Finnish composer Kaija Saariaho, Moisala suggests that Saariaho applied a strategy to find a gender-neutral position, freeing her from marginalization. However, Saariaho reported that despite her hope, attempts to marginalize her because of her gender never ended, not even with age. This account of the perpetual, inescapable, and excluding gender-marked position resonates with the stories in my data. Similar accounts can be found in the writings of various feminist scholars attempting to convey more positive images of non-fixity and

constant moving, for example in Rosi Braidotti's (1994) concept of the *nomadic subject* as a utopian figuration set on transition, resisting the fixity of dominant narratives. Elizabeth Gould (2005, p. 153), applying Braidotti's concept in a context of gender and music education, writes that "[n]omadic mobility, then, holds promise for women in terms of freedom that previously has been denied – literally, intellectually, and creatively – in spite of *inevitable homelessness* that may result" (emphasis added). The question is then, is there no place of home for women musicians in existing popular music practices?

As Foucault (1980/2007) explains, territorial tropes draw on geographical, juridico-political, military, and administration vocabularies. Mappings hence necessarily construct space as an economic resource. Although the data contains occasional statements saying "there is room for all," other accounts draw attention to the struggle for participation in popular music domains as taking place in competition. The question can then be reformulated accordingly: is the conceptualized space to be conquered the very same space that is inhabited by male popular musicians, or is it a new space? The metaphors of "door," of fields to be "entered," and of women as "strangers" in male-defined territory, all promote the "same-space" version. The notion of "unbroken grounds," either seen as drawing on a strategic military discourse in making room for the unfeminine or as a pioneer story of settlers clearing new land, constructs musical territory to be conquered as new space.⁸

The spatial tropes discussed in the present article are produced in the context of round-table discussions with staff and participants in gender-equity music initiatives. The use of territorial metaphors may be seen as structuring tools for assessing the situation in which such work takes place. As Kirby (1996, p. 66) observes, "Mapping can make us conscious of big divisions, larger patterns, and how we are situated in global divisions. It allows us to measure our relation to boundaries already set up." However, territorial metaphors may also serve to stake out future directions for changing female under-representation in popular music. My hope is that the examination of meaning-making in such discourses as provided by the present article, demonstrating joint constructions as well as contradictions and tensions, might serve to better understand the challenges involved in such an enterprise.

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NOTES

- 1 For example, Patricia Price-Chalita (1994, p. 236) finds that many contemporary feminist scholars have been found to “employ spatial language as an active and empowering epistemological tool for challenging existing knowledge/power structures.” Gillian Rose (1996, p. 157) similarly observes that spatial metaphors are used “as a means of articulating the intersection of subjectivity, power and the production of knowledge.”
- 2 The present article forms part of a doctoral dissertation where, in addition to Territory, the themes of Sound, Body, and Room are also analyzed.
- 3 The theoretical framework underlying the present study is more extensively developed in Björck (forthcoming).
- 4 Schlager, German for *hitter*, is a genre mostly prevalent in Central and Northern Europe, associated with simple, catchy melodies and lyrics centered on love and feelings, either in a ballad or a pop song style. A musical television event which has, at least historically, been focused on schlager is the annual Eurovision Song Contest.
- 5 Information about and music clips by Swedish singer Håkan Hellström can be found at www.hakanhellstrom.se or at www.myspace.com/hakanhellstrom (both in Swedish only).
- 6 *Klezmer* is a secular Jewish musical tradition emanating from Eastern Europe.
- 7 In Flames is a Swedish death metal band with an internationally successful career. See www.inflames.com or www.myspace.com/inflames.
- 8 This can be compared to Homi Bhabha’s concept of a *third space* where, in processes of political articulation and political negotiation, “multiple forms of identification [are] waiting to be created and constructed” (Rutherford, 1990, p. 220).

Article 5. A (Musical) Room of One's Own: Gender, Space, and Learning Popular Music

V

INTRODUCTION: POPULAR MUSIC AND THE PUBLIC–PRIVATE DIALECTIC

In her discussion of girls' entrance into male-dominated occupations and study programs in Australia, Victoria Foster (1998, p. 81) argues that education policy and curriculum development have failed to address "the public–private dialectic in social life and in schooling itself, and men's and women's different and asymmetrical relations with that dialectic." Musical practices align with general gender asymmetries in such a dialectic. As Lucy Green (1997, p. 15) points out: "The division of musical work into a largely male public sphere and a largely female private sphere is a trait of Western music history and also of many musical cultures from all around the world." Popular music is no exception; rather, the male-dominated and masculinized popular music industry has been described as "permeated by gender norms and expectations at all levels; some of the most unequal labour relations can be found there" (Connell & Gibson, 2003, p. 8). The purpose of the present article is to examine how all-female environments for learning popular music are discursively constructed as private spaces – as "rooms of one's own." A number of quotes are examined, drawn from round-table discussions among staff and participants from Swedish gender-equity initiatives to bring more girls and women into popular music practices.¹

Popular music is an area of knowledge strongly connected to the urban public. As Simon Reynolds and Joy Press (1995, pp. 347–348) declare: "Domesticity has never been a sexy subject for rock'n'roll; the home is the last place you'd look for action." When a band starts to perform, it is referred to as "going public." Popular music receives a lot of public attention through the media, and a celebrity pop or rock star is perhaps the essence of our image of a public person. But popular music knowledge and production also have strong connections to the private realm. The concept of "garage bands" refers to the space of a private house where noisy activities might be allowed. Furthermore, most bands are far from celebrity status, as shown for example in Ruth Finnegan's (1989) ethnographic study of the "hidden" practices of local urban music making. Also, learning to

play popular music is commonly viewed as “informal” learning, mainly acquired through autodidact processes or by playing with peers, although the formal–informal distinction is easily blurred, most notably by the recent movement to include popular music in schools. New technology enabling individuals to create and record music in their private homes further blurs categorizations of what musical activities take place in which spaces. Popular music hence takes a multiple and changing position in the public–private dialectic.

Feminist scholars have pointed out the gendered characteristics of the public and private spaces of popular culture and music. Angela McRobbie (1980/2000) provides an early critique of sociological research on youth culture which, she claims, focused on spaces inhabited by young men with the consequence of rendering young women invisible. The street – the typical place of subcultural activity – is dubious or even in some ways taboo for women in terms of security and morality, McRobbie argues. Girls therefore have to negotiate different personal and leisure spaces, which in turn offer them different possibilities for “resistance.” For example, girls forming “bedroom cultures” with exclusive and tight-knit friendship groups are explained as a response to “their perceived status as girls and to their anxieties about moving into the world of teenage sexual interaction” (McRobbie & Garber, 1976/2000, p. 24). Mavis Bayton (2000, p. 161), in her examination of women’s popular music making, observes, “The urban spaces within which rock exists are populated overwhelmingly by men and culturally saturated with a masculinist value system which operates, at every level, to exclude women.” Describing the challenges of women resisting such classification of public and semipublic rock spaces (like pubs and clubs) as “masculine-coded” domains, Bayton finds that girls learning to play rock have to challenge “common sense,” which takes great courage. She concludes that active intervention is crucial to ensure that girls who do get access to music-making facilities maintain some privacy and support, which can be provided for example by women-only contexts.

The need for private space is discussed by Iris Marion Young, who notes:

At least in modern societies, an important aspect of the value of privacy is the ability to have a dwelling space of one’s own, to which a person is able to control access, and in which one lives among the things that help support the narrative of one’s life. (Young, 2005, p. 155)

Here, the issue of privacy is presented not only as a question of being secluded, “in private,” but also as a central issue for maintaining a sense of control and coherence. A lack of private space may, accordingly, result in a sense of discontinuity and of things being out of control. Young continues by observing that philosophical concern with privacy has tended to focus on issues of state or institutional intrusion. She calls instead for recognition of the value of privacy as personal space – “forms of social interaction, bodily comportment, and the opportunities for expression and reflection that come under the idea of social freedom” (p. 164).

Perhaps the best-known discussion of the need for private space is that of Virginia Woolf, whose concern with location and space has strongly influenced Western feminist practice. Her essay *A Room of One's Own* was first published in 1929. Analyzing how patriarchal English society limits women's opportunities and the various ways that women are interrupted in their everyday life by men and by the family, Woolf's main argument is that a woman needs money and privacy in order to write creatively – strictly speaking, she needs financial independence and “a room with a lock on the door” (Woolf, 1945, p. 103). In the 1960's, Woolf's concept of a room – which can be seen as a metaphorical but also a concrete space – was adopted as a manifesto for feminist criticism and the development of *women's space* (Showalter, 1987, p. 37). On the physical level, women's space was conceptualized as safe space free from male intrusion. On the psychological level, it was a way “to find a ‘free space’ in the liberating practice of consciousness-raising” (Shands, 1999, p. 63) and “a breathing space to reflect, meditate, gain strength and recover a sense of identity” (Rose, 1993, p. 153). It was also thought of as a space where women could speak proudly from a standpoint of women, as women, departing from their own experiences. While some feminists argued for a total separatism from men by setting up women's communities, others have seen the safe space as a strategy for preparation, like that of a “cocoon” (Leathwood, 2004; Shands, 1999).

The disposition of the present article is as follows. First, I give a short account of the theoretical ideas from which my examination proceeds, and the methods used for collecting the data. I then examine how the notion of women's space has been taken up in educational policy and debate. A number of quotes from my empirical data are presented and analyzed, and the different constructions of a “room of one's own” are finally discussed in relation to larger discourses.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK²

I deploy a critical constructionist framework, based on Michel Foucault's (1972; 1980) concept of discourse as a network of rules establishing what is meaningful and what counts as knowledge. Language is seen as *performative* by producing something rather than simply reflecting a pre-existing reality. Discourse thereby constitutes the epistemological tool shaping how we understand ourselves and the world.

I also use Judith Butler's (2006[1999]) argument that gender plays a central role in discursive constructions. She theorizes this as a *heterosexual matrix*, a pervasive framework for making sense of gender, where women and men are seen as fundamentally different, where masculine expresses male and feminine expresses female, where relations between men and women are understood as based on heterosexual desire, and where one sex (male) is given a dominant position over the other (female). This framework for understanding requires that culturally intelligible bodies be based on stable and binary genders. In contrast to the matrix, Butler argues that gender is performative, meaning that rather

than reflecting some inner core, gender is something we “do” through words, gestures, movements, and styles, thereby repetitiously producing femininity and masculinity. In terms of subject formation, different discursive practices are seen to offer only certain *subject-positions* from which the subject might speak (Foucault, 1982). Subject formation is viewed as a conflicting and contradictory process, especially with respect to gender: “to be a good mother, to be a sexually desirable object, to be a fit worker, in sum to signify a multiplicity of guarantees in response to a variety of different demands all at once” (Butler, 2006[1999], p. 199).

Finally, in the framework I deploy, power is not understood in the traditional sense of a negative oppressive force from above, but is viewed as a productive and fluid energy, always already present in all human relations (Foucault, 1980), inseparably tied up with resistance and freedom (Foucault, 1984/1997). Power is also seen as something we exercise in relation to ourselves, conceptualized by Foucault (1988) as *technologies of the self*, a concept which has been widely used in feminist scholarship (see e.g. de Lauretis, 1989; McLaren, 2002). Self-technologies are partly shaped through a *gaze*, a concept referring to a disciplining way of looking, exerting control by mere observation through the establishment of a subject/object power relation. Foucault, from his examinations of an ever-present inspecting gaze in modern medicine (1973) and prisons (1977), draws parallels to modern society at large and ideas of supervision, inspection, and application of norms of acceptable behavior (1980). A central idea is that the objectified incorporates the objectifying look to inspect her/himself. Feminists exploring the gaze, most notably in the contexts of cinematic codes (Mulvey, 1975) and feminine body spatiality (Young, 1989), define the gaze as patriarchal, by which women are positioned and also position themselves as objects to be controlled and gazed upon rather than as agentic subjects.

I use this framework because it provides useful tools for examining how people talk about gender and social change. By examining how language is used to describe a certain practice or a problematic, we might better understand the different and competing logics by which such practices and problems are construed, which in turn opens up the potential for new understandings. Foucault’s alternative notion of power, together with concepts like gaze and the heterosexual matrix, helps to analyze conflicts and resistance which might operate in processes of gender and social change.

METHODS FOR COLLECTING AND ANALYZING DATA

The empirical data presented in this article are drawn from recorded discussions among staff and participants from initiatives intended to facilitate women’s participation in popular music. The broad initial purpose of my research project was to explore how the challenges of changing female under-representation in popular music practice can be understood. Out of approximately fifteen current initiatives in Sweden found on the Internet, four were selected, differing in regard to promoter, organization, and location. They include a time-limited

project by a youth organization, a grass-roots network for young musicians, an adult education course, and a rock music camp for girls. The initiatives involved a variety of activities, including courses, workshops, and networks, reaching participants from an age of 12 to adults. Some of the initiatives consistently used the strategy of all-female environments, even if the staff sometimes included one or two male instructors, usually because of difficulties with finding female instructors on certain instruments. Other initiatives allowed bands where at least half of the members were female.

Seven round-table discussions were recorded in 2006–07 with a total time of approximately eight hours. Groups included 2–7 respondents, who were all women except for a male instructor at a rock music camp. Five of the groups consisted of staff (instructors and project leaders) ranging in age between approximately 17 to 50 years, out of which a majority were active popular musicians. One of the groups consisted of students in their 20s, and in one group the respondents (also in their 20s) were involved in a musicians' network where no staff/participant distinction had been made. In all cases but one, the discussions took place at the same location as the music activities. I started out by asking the groups to describe the initiatives they were involved in – what they did and why – and then tried to interfere as little as possible.

All discussions were carried out in Swedish. The quotes presented in the present article were translated into English in collaboration with a professional translator. After transcription, I used a Foucault-inspired discourse analysis method in six stages (Willig, 2008) to examine the data in terms of discursive constructions, discourses, action orientation, positionings, practice, and subjectivity. At an early stage in the analysis, I found *spatial* concepts and metaphors to be central articulations, specifically revolving around the notion of “claiming space.” In the discussions, it was generally agreed that females need to claim space in order to participate in popular music practices, and that the initiatives in focus for discussion should facilitate this process. However, the specific meanings of “claiming” and of “space” were issues for negotiation. One space to be claimed was conceptualized as a “room of one's own,” which is the theme in focus for the present article.³

DEBATES ON COEDUCATION VS. SINGLE-SEX GROUPS

Spatially, feminism has sought to work for women's entrance into educational spaces where they have been excluded, but also to question male and/or masculine domination of space in settings where women have been included, focusing on inequalities “from subject segregation and school curricula steeped in masculinist knowledge and assumptions to sexist practices in teacher–pupil/student relationships and classroom dynamics” (Leathwood, 2004, p. 449). British and American studies of gender and classroom talk in mixed-sex classrooms in the 1970s and 1980s, showed, first, that teachers gave boys as a whole more (and better) attention, and second, that boys talked more than girls (Kitetu & Sunderland, 2000). A common interpretation was that (many) girls' learning

opportunities suffered because of the behavior of (some) boys. “These foci and interpretations can be located theoretically within the ‘dominance’ paradigm of language and gender, i.e. that in mixed sex contexts male speakers dominate female ones – not only linguistically, but also, through this linguistic domination, socially” (Kitetu & Sunderland, 2000, p. 2).

One way of responding to the problems of both exclusion and inclusion was to create separatist spaces which consisted of “both women-only groups and organizations for political campaigning and support, and alternative classes, courses, and institutions for girls’/women’s education (Leathwood, 2004, p. 449). These were seen as “safe” spaces for growing, learning, and experiment, where women could define the terms. As Carole Leathwood observes, such strategies have been debated and criticized by non-feminists as well as feminists, accused of a range of things: of being based on the experiences of middle class girls and on ideas of “natural” sex differences; of discriminating against boys; and of constituting “artificial environments” different from that of “real life.” These points of criticism have in turn been countered – so, for example, the latter argument of “artificial environments” has been criticized for assuming the reproduction of male supremacy in mixed-sex settings to be more “natural.” Research on boys’ domination of classroom space has also been criticized for invoking a monolithic notion of patriarchal power by focusing on girls as “disadvantaged” (Jones, 1993). Similarly, women’s activities and provision have been seen to “collude with a deficit model of girls/women, i.e. that they are lacking in confidence, ability, etc., and unable to cope in the ‘real’ world with boys/men” (Leathwood, 2004, p. 451). In the debate, co-education and mixed education have thus both been described as progressive as well as regressive.

In Sweden, where the present study was carried out, coeducation gradually took over throughout the course of the 20th century, mainly for pragmatic reasons (Nordström, 1987). From the 1960s, coeducation was regarded as a means for equal education in terms of both gender and class. Separatist ideas had less impact on the women’s movement in Sweden than it did for example in the USA (Arvidsson, 2008), but still affected education through research. In similarity to some British and American studies, Swedish research (e.g. Einarsson & Hultman, 1984) showed that girls often occupied a background position in the classroom, while boys were allotted more space and attention. Consequently, single-sex groups came to be seen as a radical means for gender-equity. Inga Wernersson (2006) defines three feminist arguments claiming that single-sex groups provide opportunities for girls to (1) develop their knowledge better in the absence of rowdy boys, (2) try out a wider variety of social positions which are generally occupied by boys in gender-mixed settings, and (3) develop strategies to resist oppression taking place in everyday gender interaction. In contrast to the model of girls as disadvantaged or lacking, a number of Nordic studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s pointed to the emergence of a “new” kind of girl – publicly confident and active, extrovert, strong and independent (Öhrn, 2000). However, as Elisabet Öhrn points out, the new findings can partly be related to changes in theoretical and methodological perspectives to focus on

variation, agency, resistance and change. Results showing that boys dominate space in Nordic classrooms also continue (see e.g. Aukrust, 2008).

In the context of formal music education, Green (1997) discusses possibilities for intervention with gender boundaries in musical learning, seeing both advantages and disadvantages with single-sex and mixed-sex teaching. She points to the fact that some girls express resistance against playing certain instruments in front of boys, which is also supported by some teachers' statements. Green suggests that the

aspects of musical meaning that are interruptive and threatening for femininity (...) are strengthened by the physical presence of males as onlookers to the display of the female musical performer. For these reasons, all-girl groups present distinct advantages as learning environments in which the sexual risk of female display and the interruption and threat to femininity caused by masculine delineations can be reduced. (p. 248)

The question of single-sex teaching is, according to Green, most relevant in situations where learners work together towards a performance, a group composition or an improvisation. When learners are required to perform in front of each other, she argues, the gendered meaning of music is especially strong by the enactment of display. She suggests that within co-education, "a judicious mixture of single-sex groups, crossed-over roles and mixed groups might be the most educative set-up, although difficult in practice to achieve" (p. 249).

Ann Colley, Chris Comber, and David Hargreaves (1997) find that the presence of boys has a negative effect on girls' self confidence of working with masculine stereotyped music technology in music classrooms. Drawing on questionnaires and interviews with 11–12-year-old and 15–16-year-old students from coeducational and single-sex schools in the UK, the results showed a greater decline in confidence with age among the girls than the boys in co-educational schools, but not in single-sex schools. The lowest self-ratings were given by older girls in co-educational schools, especially when they were asked to compare themselves with male peers. Colley et al. define two interrelated problems; first, that most girls do not have the substantial computer experience of their male peers, and second, that when this becomes evident in the presence of boys, girls lose confidence. The authors conclude that these findings "suggest that a single sex teaching environment can encourage girls to gain the initial confidence in using music technology which is crucial to ensuring that they are not excluded from important and exciting developments in the music curriculum" (p. 127). One interesting result, only briefly mentioned in Colley et al.'s article, was that interviews conducted with students from single-sex schools "failed to produce observations or speculations concerning the different use of computers or music technology by girls and boys. *Gender differences appeared not to be a concern of these pupils*" (p. 124, emphasis added). Contrary to the authors' description of this being a "failure," I regard it as an interesting result, indicating that students in co-

educational and single-sex learning environments have different concerns, and accordingly different foci for attention.

Studies of popular music in Swedish classrooms show varying results regarding gender. Åsa Bergman (2009) found that in mixed-sex settings with 13–16-year-olds, the classroom was dominated by those boys who played in bands outside school. Another study of 15-year-old students in eight schools (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010; Ericsson, Lindgren, & Nilsson, forthcoming; Lindgren & Ericsson, 2010) found, by contrast, that popular music learning was governed by a task-oriented school culture which efficiently eliminated boys' possibilities to dominate. Bergman further found that when the students demanded that the class was divided into single-sex groups during music lessons, female students constantly belittled their own competence verbally in front of each other. This accords with research showing a discourse of self-depreciation to be an important element of young women "doing girl" (Ambjörnsson, 2005), indicating that any all-female context does not automatically liberate girls from "doing gender."

Bayton (1998) describes how women's music projects can provide "some male-free, protected spaces (in schools, community centres, youth clubs, and so forth) in which young women can be supported in learning to play" (p. 191). Many of the female rock musicians Bayton interviewed pointed out such environments as of central importance for their routes into rock, leading her to suggest they function as "escapes" counteracting some of the constraints that female popular musicians encounter:

Such projects offset material constraints by providing (free or cheap) access to equipment, space in which to be noisy, and music tuition by women who also act as role models, showing that it is perfectly possible for them to play rock. In particular, these projects confront technophobia and give women both skills and confidence in dealing with equipment. (Bayton, 1998, p. 192)

In Sweden, a number of all-female courses and workshops for learning popular music, aiming to provide the kind of spaces described by Bayton, were arranged in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Arvidsson, 2008). During the past decade, a number of projects with similar objectives have been initiated, constituting the context I turned to for collecting data. The perhaps best known of these initiatives, attracting substantial media attention, is Popkollo,⁴ an organization which since 2003 arranges music camps for girls aged 12–18.

In addition to attempts to create separate spaces for girls and young women in contexts of formal music education and in semi-formal contexts of music projects, such attempts have also been carried out in contexts entirely outside formal institutions. One example is the *riot grrrl* movement, developed in 1991 out of the "underground" indie music communities of Olympia, Washington, and Washington DC, critiquing "the masculine culture of indie rock music and the wider music industry" (Leonard, 2007, p. 115). The movement was built on a strong Do-It-Yourself (DIY) ethos and partly operated "from

within the sphere of the home” (Leonard, 1998, p. 101) through the production and distribution of *zines*.⁵ The terminology of “grrrl” was a reclamation of the word “girl,” signifying a “feisty, assertive girl or woman, who relished a political engagement with feminist issues” (2007, p. 117). The movement claimed to host a plurality of goals and agendas and rejected media attempts to pinpoint what the phenomenon was about, leading to a refusal to speak to the press. Leonard (2007, p. 124) concludes that the riot grrrl movement “challenged conventions of performance and feminine display, including ways of which they created spaces of communication at gigs and through *zines* by encouraging involvement and motivating girls and women to assert themselves.” Riot grrrl terminology has also spread to informal networks on the World Wide Web through sites with names like www.gURL.com or [Nrrd Grrl](http://NrrdGrrl.com).⁶ Such sites frequently use spatial language (Leonard, 1998), which is also evident in research describing such sites as semi-private “rooms of one’s own” (Reid-Walsh & Mitchell, 2004) or “clubhouses for girls” (Takayoshi, 1999). In the next section, I describe how such spatial rhetoric is used in my data.

RESULTS

The issue of all-female environments comes up in all the recorded discussions. The objectives for and the profits of providing women and girls with “a room of their own” are, however, presented in various ways. In this section, a number of quotes are examined in terms of their different constructions of such space and what form of privacy it might provide. Following that the object of analysis is discourse, which is not seen as the property of individuals, speakers are only marked with A, B, etc. in quotes where several respondents participate, to simply denote that interaction is taking place. The use of a label (e.g. “A”) does not denote the same speaker from one quote to another. My own participation is marked with “Cecilia.”

A Space for Escaping Competition and Control

The primary argument for forming all-female environments appears to be that while men and boys are self-evident and unproblematic holders of space, they are so at the expense of women and girls, who remain in the background.

A: it’s difficult, it’s just down right difficult... you know you can see how boys and girls of that age [around twelve], what a difference there is since the guys take more space than the girls do. So, you can see that the guys are more forward, like, sort of... you can see that-

Cecilia: how can you see that?

A: I’ve noticed it, well most of all I’ve noticed it in schools where I’ve worked as a substitute, you know, that- especially during music lessons, that the guys, they help

themselves get what they want more and girls hold back a bit more, that's in groups with both guys and girls, but often if you put the girls by themselves then it's, it's not the same, but... then they get their own space, like, where they can... where they can just be, I don't know why it's like that, but I guess it has to do with gender roles and how we are brought up... and so on

Observations based on lived experience here forms the basis for concluding that boys dominate classroom spaces in general and music classrooms in particular. The separate room for girls is constructed as a way to change such a prevailing pattern. A potential for alternative action is offered by giving girls "their own space," where they are supposedly liberated from their roles as passive. Whether boys are liberated from their roles as well when separated from girls is not discussed as a relevant issue. In the separate space, girls "can just be." This implies first, that the mixed-sex classroom is a place where girls cannot "just be," and second, that "just being" will somehow lead girls to be more active. The reference to "gender roles" draws on a larger socialization discourse where sex/gender roles are seen as imposed on individuals by parents, teachers, schools, and the media. While in current feminist theory such discourse is usually seen as long outdated, it is still deployed in everyday talk (Zábrodská, 2009). On the other hand, the quote also draws on a spatial discourse by focusing on the power of spatial arrangements to offer certain relational subject-positions. In a different space, girls' actions might be different. The possibility for girls to "just be" evokes images of less restriction, of multiple possibilities, of an open field.

The following quote produces a variation on the theme of men as unproblematic holders of space, constituting an argument for the most significant contribution of an all-female environment for learning popular music:

yes well you know they [the female students] get all the space, that's got to be what's most important, um, that... there's no one else who controls them, the thing is that it's more equal... it's a huge difference compared to competing with men, in a situation like this, or to share the space with men. Because we know that if there's at least *one* man he'll take at *least* half the space, or he's *given* half the space, it's that too, you know, it's a huge problem... doesn't even have to take the space but he's just given it, "here you are"... well that happens... (...) and that's why it needs to be women only because otherwise it won't work

Here, the separate room is constructed as a space for escaping competition and control. It is also constructed as a means for disrupting a prevailing pattern. The female students are initially depicted as passively receiving space, while males are described as actively taking space. The description is then repaired by the statement "doesn't even have to take the space but he's just given it," revising the story of females as passive and males as active. The picture seems in effect to be reversed, with women portrayed as active by giving space to men in mixed settings, and to other women in all-female settings. This space-giving appears as a caring work of responsibility, in line with women's traditional roles

as nurturers. Male passiveness, in receiving space as an offering, is pictured as a relaxed, privileged, and unproblematic state.

In some passages, the absence of male competition and control is pictured as providing space for variation and exploration:

actually, to claim space as a girl- now I can only speak for *myself*, that (...) here it's easier (...) to try out different instruments and so on, but when I've played with *guys* (...) I've been like, feels so much more difficult in some way to... do something I can't... I would never have applied to a... mixed-sex program like on bass guitar [silence]... a bit, well, here, it's more ok

The separate room is here constructed as a generous and permissive space for experiments, for example letting go of the instrument one knows best to try out other ones. The problem of such acts being “difficult” in mixed-sex settings is pictured as an issue of self-regulation. In the all-female setting, it is “more ok” (although not fully ok) to be a beginner and explore new musical knowledge. In the presence of males, it is implied, such acts are *not* ok, whereby the stakes appear to be higher in mixed-sex settings. The mere thought of such situations seems to function as self-excluding, stopping a girl from even trying. The quote thereby draws on a discourse of female subjectivity as self-demanding and self-limiting. All-female space is described as a rescue from such self-limitations, cutting the subject some slack, enabling a focus on possibilities rather than impossibilities.

Note also how the argument balances between an initial generalization (“to claim space as a girl”) which is interrupted and repaired by a particularization (“I can only speak for myself”). This balance act is frequently found in the data. Generalizations about girls or women as a group appear to be problematic. Not only do such structural accounts mismatch the powerful individualist discourse prevalent in contemporary society, but they also risk enforcing an essentialism rejected by feminist scholars with the argument that female experience is diverse. The reference to lived experience functions to legitimate the argument in the quote. Paradoxically, the initial generalization is thereby also supported.

A Space for Escaping the Gendering Gaze

One construction of the separate room emphasizes its function to escape a gendering gaze:

if you are in a room with only women, then you are- then you don't think about... being a woman, because then you're only a human being in some way, but as soon as there are others... people from outside looking at you, then you're a woman all of a sudden

Here, the separate room is constructed as a way of escaping the placement within a gendered framework, which can be related to the concept of a heterosexual

matrix (Butler, 2006[1999]). In the quote, a gaze is depicted as being “switched on” when males enter an all-female environment, drawing attention to woman-becoming instead of musical creativity. It appears as if the only way of avoiding gendered categorization, to instead be “only a human being,” is to create a space where the regular gender order is momentarily cancelled. A paradox is however that the strategy of a separate room in order to “de-genderize” the context may from another perspective appear as exactly the opposite, namely as “genderizing” the context, as discussed in the following quote:

A: there's where the dilemma is if you work with girls because then you automatically also single them out as girls at the same time as you... want it to be gender-neutral... so that's where it is, that's where the problem lies, like, in some way... [silence]

B: it does but...

A: the question is how to get around... it?

B: but I still think that some occasions, some rooms need to be single-sexed... for it to be gender-neutral there and then... it must, you have to go that way about it I think...

C: to sort of experience what it is like when it's gender-neutral, like, “then it could feel like *this*,” you know, then you don't need to worry about power structures, or there are always power structures anyway but... still you can't stay in that room forever because then you'd have to like shut yourself off from all society

Here, the separate room is constructed as a paradoxical space. On the one hand, within that particular space, it is “gender-neutral” in terms of escaping the positioning of women as counterparts to men. On the other hand, when viewed from a “society” (mixed-sex) perspective, the separate room marks girls as special and “other.” The threat of slipping into a girls-as-disadvantaged discourse entails a risk of enforcing an image of girls as lacking victims in need for special care. Another paradox voiced in this quote is that walls protect, but they also limit and isolate. A room of one's own only provides momentary escape from the gaze. By constructing the paradoxical space as strategic rather than ideological, it also comes out as more functional. “Some occasions” and “some rooms” might provide fleeting experiences that at least hold promise of possibilities, of what it could be like. The depiction of all-female settings as free from “power structures” draws on a second-wave feminist discourse of women's space as loyal. It is, however, quickly repaired by the statement “there are always power structures,” connecting to a more poststructurally influenced idea of power relations as always present.

So what happens when leaving the separate room to meet “society”? The following quote describes it as being thrown back into the heterosexual matrix:

A: first you play with your [project] band at a [project] gig and everything is totally normal and fun and everything, and then you go somewhere else in Sweden and play in some place where maybe there are lots of guys playing, and the audience is mixed [silence]. And then you suddenly become very... aware of "wow I'm so much a woman!"

B: well, it's that old expression, somehow, that you carry the whole of womankind on your shoulders, you know (...) and it's as if just because you're a woman and play music you have to... (...) then it's your mission in life in some way as a woman to, you know... be the one to prove what all women can do, sort of

The first section of this quote depicts the transition from comfortable, homey, all-female performance space, where the gaze is "off," to a mixed-sex performance situation where the gaze is "on." In one sense, this mixed-sex space is a shared space, but in another sense it is someone else's space. The transition is described as a move from blissful ignorance to uneasy awareness of "femaleness." It is also a move from passing as "normal" to being marked as "other." As a paradoxical consequence, in "normal" (mixed-sex) society, women musicians are described as positioned outside the norm, while in the "artificial" single-sex setting, they pass as "normal." The second section of the quote points out an additional consequence of such transitions: the placement of an unwanted and heavy burden of representation on the shoulders of the female musician. Representation is presented as a non-negotiable package deal – in the presence of males, the female musician will have to stand up for and prove *all* women's musical achievements, placing her neatly and firmly into the paradoxical collective framework.

A Space for Escaping Disruption

The last construction of the separate room presented here differs from other constructions by pointing to the need for *individual* space rather than *collective* space. In one discussion, the issue of reflection kept coming up. One of the respondents argued for gender consciousness and reflection of the students' life situations as central ingredients in accomplishing an empowering pedagogy for girls to access popular music practices. This was countered by another respondent who argued that constant reflection is not only unnecessary, but even works as a hindrance for learning:

but it's all about giving everything you've got for music, to give everything you've got, for *it*, and it takes craftsmanship and it takes a whole lot of... work, really, I think it does and it's really hard to tell because generally I don't think it's about people being... outward going or being able to talk for themselves, express themselves in words, like and all those things. It's like something completely *different*... (...) I'm thinking of this thing with having a room of one's own, you know, to have your own space. Having your own room and really being able to disappear into that room and allow yourself

to do it and not all the time... sort of, be pulled in all different directions by lots of other things (...) well men have this room of their own you know, they have it more naturally, they don't have the same demands to keep on... you know all the time... analyzing themselves in relation to the world around (...) you just need to: "away with all of that" and let yourself get on with *this* which is... the core in some way

Here, the separate room is constructed as a space for focusing on the core of learning music, namely the musical craft. Dismissing the need for claiming space through an extroverted subjectivity, this quote instead promotes an introverted, well-focused subjectivity in order to succeed in a male-dominated domain – allowing oneself to shield distractions off and be a music “nerd,” so to speak. The central problem suggested by this statement could, seen from a Foucauldian perspective, be referred to as feminine self-technologies; the constant self-reflections on social relations occupying girls’ mindsets, keeping them from concentrating on the task. The quote argues that if gender-equity initiatives emphasize gender-consciousness too strongly, they risk enforcing the perpetual self-reflections distracting young women from focusing on musical work processes. It is proposed that such initiatives should instead provide a zone free not only of male onlookers, but also free of the disruptive self-reflections to which girls are subjected and subject themselves.

Similar lines of thought were articulated in informal talks outside the recorded discussions, for example by the staff of a girls’ rock camp who suggested that young girls should not have to “take responsibility for gender-equity issues.” Instead, they advocated a strong focus on band-playing and instrumental learning. In the recorded discussions, the model of the individual room is only explicitly promoted by one single respondent, while the discourse of a collective room is much more frequently articulated. From the theoretical perspective I deploy, this by no means makes the individual room model less valid or interesting, but instead points to it as constituting an alternative discourse in the context of my study.

DISCUSSION

I have elsewhere (Björck, 2009) discussed how a discourse of women and girls “claiming space” in popular music practices largely points to an imperative to make oneself seen and heard. By contrast, the idea of a room of one’s own emphasizes the need for a space where one can *avoid* being seen and heard, to be able to focus on the music. In this last section, I summarize and discuss some of the aspects of the separate room emerging from the results and relate them to other writings about gender and private/public space. First of all, I give a personal account from an episode that occurred when I collected the data.

Observation/Intrusion

During my research project, I experienced the guarding of separate rooms in a very tangible way. The first time I approached a girls’ rock camp, asking if I could

visit and organize a one or two hour long group interview with participants, the staff kindly but firmly denied me such a visit, explaining that the participants must not be disturbed during their process. Using Woolf's terminology, they put "a lock on the door" to escape disruption. When I approached another camp, I was more careful, asking if I could arrange a round-table discussion with the staff and maybe talk with some of the girls, if their schedule allowed. I was granted a visit, and packed my camcorder just in case there would be an opportunity to film. When I arrived, I found that there was extensive media attention on the camp. In response to my question if I could use the camera, the project leader became quite upset. She argued with passion that I had to understand the pressure exerted on participants by all the media attention. "They have even started to write songs about how much they hate cameras," she said. This episode, unexpectedly positioning me as an intruder in a guarded space, caused me to thoroughly reflect upon the gaze of researchers. I have thought about the consequences of our observations in general and of our cameras in particular. In contemporary society, surveillance of citizens is ever-present, by surveillance cameras in subway stations as well as students filming each other and posting the films on web sites like YouTube. Furthermore, according to some scholars (Holland, Ramazanoglu, & Sharpe, 2004; Young, 1989), females in particular integrate a disciplining self-surveilling gaze into their sense of self. In this context, the choice of forms for research observation appears as a burning issue of ethics. Through the research project, I thus became painfully aware of the power of looking, exercised also by myself.

Collective/Individual

The results present two models, or lines of thought. The first model is a room for collective female empowerment, the second a room for individual creativity. Although there is no explicit reference to Woolf's book *A room of one's own* in my data, it seems reasonable to trace the references to rooms and spaces of one's own as echoing Woolf, given the influence her writing has had on feminist activism and theory over the last few decades, although the particular individuals using such concepts may or may not be aware of that connection. Through its historical use, the concept in some ways carries with it the debates taking place over the years, for example concerning educational policies for girls' learning.⁷ Thereby, it is also loaded with tensions between different feminist standpoints, to some extent following different generations, such as the tension between second-wave feminism's emphasis on women as a united group and third-wave feminism's emphasis on women as a multi-faceted group.⁸

The concept of women's space, as developed from the 1960s and on, draws on Woolf's concept of room, but in my view, it does not appear as quite in line with Woolf's thoughts in the book. While the idea of women's space in the feminist movement was (and is) conceptualized as a space for collective female empowerment, Woolf's room is rather a construction of individual space. Furthermore, in the idea of women's space, the woman's voice, muted by

patriarchal society, should be passionately reclaimed. Woolf argues that despite observations of socio-economic and creative limitations for women, one must not speak with anger or protest. She believes gender consciousness cripples both male and female writers and hampers creative output by drawing attention from the subject of writing. Gender relations make women write with fear and anger, she says, and men also suffer from this aggression in their attempts to maintain a superior position. Woolf argues that one should forget about such imprisoning thoughts and rather adopt an “androgynous mind,” a mind both male and female, which is concerned not with itself, but with its subject. Only then, she claims, can there be total freedom of thought. The results presented in this article display both notions central to women’s space and those articulated by Woolf, demonstrating some of sites for feminist tension and negotiation.

Orientation/Home

The results raise questions about ownership of spaces. In both the collective and the individual model, spaces of one’s own are presented as platforms where girls and women can define the terms for learning and making music. The mixed-sex setting, in contrast, is presented as a space where female learners/performers have great trouble feeling “at home.”

Sara Ahmed (2006) discusses the importance of orientation, which she broadly defines as how “we come to find our way in a world that acquires new shapes, depending on which way we turn” (p. 1). She argues that orientation is not just a question of movement but also a question about dwelling or residing in space, about feeling at home, and so “it becomes important to consider how ‘finding our way’ involves what we could call ‘homing devices’ (p. 9). From this perspective, the strategy of a separate room can be seen as a “homing device” for girls and women in their orientation and navigation within a territory sometimes perceived as belonging to someone else.

In relation to the public–private dialectic discussed at the beginning of this article, the model of an individual room appears as strictly private. The collective room for learning and making music, on the other hand, appears as a semiprivate space offering possibilities for collective identities and a sense of belonging. Girls’ creation of personal home pages and *grrrl* spaces have similarly been described as semiprivate spaces where agency may be performed through control of access while at the same time the space provides a sense of home and identity through a network of other *grrrls* (Leonard, 1998; Reid-Walsh & Mitchell, 2004; Takayoshi, 1999).

Mindset/Non-transparence

Besides functioning as a safe haven or a “homing device,” the separate space is also described in the data to offer a certain sense of freedom. This freedom, from competition, control, and disruption, appears to be a consequence of a less pervasive gaze. Gillian Rose (1993) suggests that the sense of difficulty in public often described in feminist accounts can be understood in terms

of public space as *transparent* space, where “masculinist claims to know (...) are experienced as a claim to space and territory” (p. 147). The discourse of musical rooms of one's own articulated in the data can be seen as resistance to such transparency, to instead provide *non-transparent* space for release from the objectifying, othering gaze and from disruptive self-reflections. This release is conceptualized as temporary and partial, because although the gaze can be activated by the physical presence of onlookers, especially male ones, the gaze is also manifest as a form of self-surveillance.

The metaphor of room appears in my data as potentially powerful, linking material spaces (for example classrooms and practice rooms) with the space of subjectivity (for example perceived choice of action). Ideas of the collective and the individual room both raise questions such as: Who decides where I should direct my attention? Who determines how I should devote my time? The separate room is described as a place where girls and women can shield themselves from the expectations of others, an idea supported by the short passage in which Colley et al. (1997) comment that in their study, gender differences appeared *not to be a concern* of the students in single-sex schools.

The idea of an individual room as a means for focusing on music seems particularly relevant to what Tuula Gordon and her colleagues (Gordon, Holland, & Lahelma, 2000) refer to as “making mental space.” In their cross-cultural ethnographic study of students in four schools, silence was found to

provide an enabling space where girls can concentrate for example on educational achievement or on their own fantasies. We have suggested the concept of mental space to refer to this process and have suggested that an apparently passive, immobile girl may exercise agency in her mind. (Gordon, 2006, p. 7)

Like the construction of an individual room of ones' own in my data, Gordon's account of mental space challenges notions of “claiming space” as necessarily taking place through loud and extroverted action.

Paradox/Potential

I elsewhere (Björck, forthcoming) argue that the common depiction of male engagement in popular music practices as a quest for freedom might in effect refer to a yearning for freedom from the constraining bonds of heterosexual relations – or, phrased differently, from the framework of the heterosexual matrix. The formation of all-female space can be understood as drawing on that same yearning. However, when men play in all-male bands, or attend study programs to learn to play a rock instrument where all the participants are male, such activities are not marked as single-sexed but seen as simply “general.” All-female contexts, on the other hand, are gender-marked – at least when seen “from the outside.” This problem makes such spaces paradoxical.

Such paradoxical aspects have been discussed by feminist scholars. Kerstin Shands (1999) describes how women's space was the radical feminist solution to

the very division of personal and public spaces placing women in the home as a sphere of oppression, “a vision pointing to a revolutionary, paradigm-shaking notion that turns received concepts inside out suggesting that restriction, paradoxically, might lead to unrestricted and confinement to freedom” (p. 60). Rose (1993) describes the non-transparent space envisioned in some poststructural feminist discourse as “a different kind of space in which women need not be victims (...) partial and strategic (...) This space is paradoxical because (...) it must imagine the position of being (...) both within and without” (p. 159). Similarly, Foster (1996) describes women going into masculine territories of knowledge as finding themselves in what she calls a “transpositional mediating space” or a “space-between,” constituting “a space of lived experience, mediating between private and public spheres, where women and girls attempt to negotiate the conflicting, contradictory (at best), or violent and destructive (at worst) demands of a neo-liberal framework of equality, a framework which retains a masculinist subject at its centre” (p. 43).¹⁰ Because the all-female separate space appears as paradoxical, in ways the all-male does not, it seems to only offer a temporary shield. This leads to the next aspect of momentariness.

Momentariness/Repetition

As discussed earlier, Woolf’s spatial concept and strategy have been criticized for possibly leading to isolation. It is argued that only when females “learn to face, not escape from, the social reality and living space can they sufficiently achieve (...) creation” (Chen, 2001, p. 105). The concept of room as constructed in my empirical research more often draws on the notion of *strategic* separation rather than an *ideological* one (Leathwood, 2004). Neither the collective room nor the individual room is presented as sufficient in itself. They are rather constructed as providing a platform or base, a temporary pause for breath from the pressing and contradictory norms to be at once feminine enough for a girl *and* masculine enough for a rock musician, a strategy for focus and strength in order to meet “society.” The discourse of momentariness can be seen as challenging modernist assumptions for evaluating social change in terms of linear progress and regress. From a post-structural, spatially informed perspective, social change is seen as webs of change with shifting intensities, rather than unidirectional lines of change. In Lawrence Grossberg’s (1993) words: “Spatial power is a matter of orientations and directions, of entries and exits, rather than of beginnings and ends” (p. 7). In line with spatial thinking, “moments of equity” and “moments of normality” (Berge, 1998, 2001) provide examples of useful concepts for discussing gender and change.

Concluding Remarks

The issues presented in this article may lend themselves for discussions about all-female environments in a broad educational perspective. However, the context of learning popular music has certain specific characteristics, differing from those of

many other school subjects. First, it is an area of knowledge that takes a multiple and shifting position in the public–private and formal–informal dialectics, as discussed in the introduction. Second, it is associated with various masculinities in a whole range of ways, among other things through its alignment with technology, mastery, rebellion, and loudness. Third, considering boys' domination of verbal space described in classroom research, amplified instruments provide extensive possibilities for dominating acoustic space, and also requires that learners manage sound volumes unacceptable in most other classroom situations. Fourth, compared to other school subjects associated with masculinity, the concept of “bands” in popular music reinforces a particularly strong notion of single-sex masculine solidarity (similar to the concept of the team in sports). Fifth, through popular music's strong presence in the media and its linkage of sound and image, this area of knowledge is linked to popular cultural images of gender, including sexualized femininities not generally sanctioned in school contexts. Sixth, the central activity of performance demands that learners display their bodies in ways that are more intensely exposed to looking than many other school subjects, whereby the issue of disciplining gaze becomes especially problematic.

Neither the collective nor the individual rooms of one's own can in themselves change the social practices of popular music. Girls who experience empowerment and find themselves passing as “normal” in a single-sex setting might feel that things fall right back in place (in a negative sense) when they return to a mixed-sex setting. However, as Butler (2006[1999]) asserts in her theory of gender performativity, gender “performance” is not constituted by single acts but of repeated, ritualized production, constrained but not fully determined in advance. Using Butler's argument, we can view the repeated “moments” of alternative ways of being, enabled by collective or individual rooms of one's own, as potentially powerful ways to access new knowledge.

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NOTES

- 1 The present article forms part of a doctoral dissertation, in which other spatial themes are also analyzed.
- 2 This theoretical framework is described more at length in Björck (forthcoming).
- 3 It should be noted that none of the initiatives involved in the study label themselves as feminist, for example on their web pages, although words like “gender-equity” are mentioned in some cases. A discussion about this would easily fill an article by itself. Here, I confine myself to note that using the feminist label is dubious in a society largely depending on a “post-feminist” discourse, as noted for example by McRobbie (2008).
- 4 Popkollo is a member of the international association Girls Rock Camp Alliance (www.girlsrockcamp.org).
- 5 Zines are “self-published, independent texts devoted to various hobbies including hobbies, music, film and politics (...) usually non-profit-making and produced on a small scale by an individual or small group of people. (...) The word ‘zine’ is an abbreviation of ‘fanzine’ which, in turn, is an alteration of ‘magazine’” (Leonard, 1998, p. 103).
- 6 Grrrl is sometimes spelt with two r:s – grrl.
- 7 Another issue for debate has been whether Woolf’s concept reflects only the concerns of white, privileged women.
- 8 For an explanation of the different “waves” in feminism, see Lorraine Code (2000).
- 9 Woolf here draws on the ideas of poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge.
- 10 Other concepts of paradox and potential in relation to social change, which can be used to discuss the results, but which I do not have space to develop here, are Foucault’s (1998) concept of *heterotopia*, referring to forbidden, sacred, reserved, and often non-public spaces, and Homi Bhabha’s concept of a *third space* where, in processes of political articulation and political negotiation, “multiple forms of identification [are] waiting to be created and constructed” (Rutherford, 1990, p. 220).

Swedish Summary/Svensk sammanfattning

Föreliggande avhandling heter på svenska *Att ta plats: diskurser om genus, populärmusik och social förändring*. Den sammanfattas här enligt ett upplägg som i stort följer själva avhandlingens struktur. Del I motsvarar det som i svenska sammanläggningsavhandlingar brukar kallas för *kappa*. Efter en första inledning, där bakgrund och syfte presenteras, följer en genomgång av studiens teoretiska utgångspunkter. Sedan presenteras de metoder som använts för insamling, analys och framställning, och studien placeras i sitt svenska sammanhang. Slutligen görs en övergripande diskussion av resultaten. I Del II presenteras de fem artiklar som ingår i avhandlingen.

DEL I

1. Inledning

Avhandlingen inleds med en berättelse om hur mina personliga erfarenheter av att som femtonåring börja spela trummor väckt frågor om genus och musikaliskt lärande. Denna syftar till att tydliggöra den förförståelse och det intresse jag som författare bär med mig in i studien, ett tillvägagångssätt som förespråkats inom feministisk och postmodern teori för att utmana idén om den neutrale forskaren.

Jag konstaterar därefter att forskningsområdet genus och populärmusik hittills har studerats främst inom sociologi, kulturvetenskap, medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap samt inom den musikvetenskapliga underavdelningen populärmusikstudier. Många av dessa studier har fokuserat på ”vit”, västerländsk rock- och popmusik (Bayton, 1998; Clawson, 1999; Cohen, 1991; Gaar, 1992; Jarman-Ivens, 2007; Leonard, 2007; Reynolds & Press, 1995; Schippers, 2002; Whiteley, 1997), men den samlade mängden forskning visar hur genus på ett signifikant sätt formar musikaliska praktiker inom vitt skilda kulturer och genrer (se artikel 1). När det gäller kvantitativa frågor, det vill säga representation enligt kön, uppvisar populärmusikaliska praktiker tydlig segregation

på olika nivåer – positionen som sångerska är den enda där kvinnor inte är starkt underrepresenterade. När det gäller kvalitativa frågor om genusnormer konstaterar jag att populärmusik enligt tidigare forskning verkar vara kopplad till två ”maskulint” kodade drag; dels med självsäker och aggressiv gestaltning (*performance*), vilket utspelar sig kanske mest tydligt inom rockens olika subgenrer, dels med bemästrande av teknik och teknologi, vilket tar sig olika uttryck i olika genrer, men även har en bred relevans för populärmusik genom sin koppling till positionen som instrumentalist. Tidigare studier visar att genus formar gestaltningar av populärmusik även då den spelas i klassrummet (Abramo, 2009; Bergman, 2009; Green, 1997).

Behovet av att studera genus, populärmusik och social förändring kan beskrivas ur åtminstone två perspektiv. För det första fordrar det ökade internationella intresset för populärmusik i skolan att musikpedagogisk forskning undersöker de möjligheter och begränsningar populärmusik erbjuder ur ett genusperspektiv. För det andra är problemområdet relevant även för lärandekontexter utanför klassrummet; i Sverige debatteras exempelvis för närvarande musikindustrins skeva strukturer vad gäller kön. Jag har valt att studera problemområdet genom att vända mig till olika förändringsprojekt som har ett uttalat syfte att få in fler tjejer i populärmusikaliska praktiker. Rundabordsamtal har arrangerats med personal och deltagare från fyra olika svenska projekt. Den inledande målsättningen var att undersöka hur genus, populärmusik och social förändring konstruerades språkligt i sådana samtal, för att på så sätt utforska hur utmaningarna med att förändra kvinnors underrepresentation i populärmusik kan förstås. Tidigt i analysprocessen framträdde en frekvent förekomst av *spatiala* (rumsliga) *metaforer* såsom position, utrymme och område, vilka kretsade runt argumentet att tjejer behöver ”ta plats” för att kunna delta i populärmusikaliska praktiker. Studiens fokus på *spatiala* diskurser är därigenom delvis format av empirin. Efter att jag gjort denna observation upptäckte jag att begreppet ta plats ofta används i offentlig debatt och i medierapportering om unga tjejers inträde på yrkes- och intresseområden där män traditionellt varit i majoritet. En Google-sökning på kombinationen ”tjejer” och ”ta plats” genererade över 19 000 träffar. En genomgång av de första hundra träffarna visade att de ofta refererade till verksamheter med syfte att stärka tjejer, varav 23 handlade om musikalisk verksamhet. Det framstår därmed som rimligt att anta att diskursiva kopplingar mellan platstagande och populärmusik sker även utanför föreliggande studie.

Som en följd av ovanstående inledning är syftet med denna studie att *undersöka hur spatiala diskurser används i jämställdhetsprojekt i musik för att konstruera idéer om genus, populärmusik och social förändring*. Detta sker genom en design där populärmusikaliska praktiker bildar bakgrund, där diskurser om genus, populärmusik och social förändring utgör studieobjektet, där rundabordsamtal bildar metod för datainsamling, där fyra jämställdhetsprojekt i musik är kontext och samtalsämne, där diskursanalys står för metoden för att behandla data, där poststrukturalism och poststrukturell feminism bildar

teoretiska glasögon, och slutligen, där spatiala diskurser utgör det avgränsade studieobjektet till följd av analysen.

2. Teoretiska utgångspunkter

I avhandlingens andra kapitel presenteras ett kritiskt konstruktionistiskt synsätt där kunskap och subjektivitet ses som socialt konstruerade, ständigt förhandlade och genomsyrade av *diskurs*. Diskurser förstås här som sätt att tala, vilka skapar regelverk för mening (Foucault, 1972). Kunskap och diskurs ses vidare som oskiljaktiga från *makt* (Foucault, 1977). Till skillnad från ett mer konventionellt maktbegrepp, där det likställs med auktoritär dominans, ses makt här som ett slags produktiv energi i ständig rörelse i olika riktningar, närvarande i alla mänskliga relationer, även till oss själva (Foucault, 1988).

I avhandlingen används vidare Judith Butlers (2006[1999]) tes att genus skapas *performativt*, det vill säga att vi ”gör kön” genom upprepade kroppsliga handlingar som stelnar och med tiden skapar skenet av ”naturligt” kön. Dessa handlingar är starkt reglerade av en heteronormativ förståelseram som Butler kallar *den heterosexuella matrisen*, där maskulina handlingar ses reflektera manligt biologiskt kön, feminina handlingar ses reflektera kvinnligt biologiskt kön, och där ”kvinnligt” och ”manligt” är begripliga endast som komplementära och attraherande motpoler. Teorin om performativt genus används i denna studie för att diskutera hur olika handlingar som ”gör kön” och ”gör musiker” beskrivs i förhållande till varandra.

Ett annat teoretiskt begrepp centralt för denna studie är *gaze*, vilket närmast kan översättas till svenska som ”blick” (Foucault, 1977; Mulvey, 1975; Young, 1989). Det syftar på ett sätt att titta som utövar kontroll enbart genom att observera. Feministiska forskare har hävdad att den blick med vilken kvinnor granskas, och med vilken de lär sig att granska sig själva, är rotad i ett patriarkaliskt värdesystem. Att lära sig vara kvinna har beskrivits resultera i en inlärdd rumsuppfattning där kroppen befinner sig i ett spänningsfält mellan att å ena sidan vara ett agerande subjekt, å andra sidan ett objekt som ska bemästras (Young, 1989).

Inom det teoretiska perspektiv som tillämpas i studien upplöses, åtminstone delvis, vissa distinktioner som förekommer i andra perspektiv. En sådan är distinktionen mellan tal och handling, där ett poststrukturellt fokus på språkets performativa karaktär innebär att språk ses som en handling i sig. En annan förmodad distinktion som upplöses är den mellan konstruktion och ”verklighet”, då konstruktioner här inte ses som en artificiell motpol till verklighet, utan som det som gör världen verklig för oss. Inte heller anammas den förmodade distinktionen mellan diskursiva och icke-diskursiva element, utan det diskursiva ses som genomsyrande all mänsklig förståelse (Butler, 1993, 2006[1999]; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Diskurs likställs här inte med ord, utan refererar brett till nätverk av mening som struktureras av språket. Även element som kropp, musik, och rumsliga arrangemang ses här som diskursiva, då de inte är begripliga för oss utanför dessa nätverk.

Subjektivitet eller subjektskapande förstås vidare som en kontinuerlig, rörlig och mångtydig process, där språket har en dubbel funktion: subjektet skapas och möjliggörs av diskurser men måste också underkasta sig dessa diskurser. Jag refererar här till texter av Louis Althusser, Foucault och Butler. Subjektskapande ses som mångtydigt, dels för att det sker i ett korsdrag av olika diskurser som kämpar om definitionsrätten till vad som är sant och rätt, vilket resulterar i att subjektet intar olika och ofta motstridiga positioner, dels för att det sker genom bemästrande och underkastelse av olika regler.

I avhandlingens andra kapitel diskuteras också frågan om subjektets frihet att göra egna val. På engelska används begreppet *agency*, vilket skulle kunna översättas som handlingsmakt, handlingskraft eller handlingsutrymme. Enligt den humanistiska syn på subjektet som varit dominerande i väst sedan upplysningstiden, är subjektet självständigt, enhetligt, rationellt, stabilt, och fritt att handla enligt tydliga och konsekventa intressen. Denna subjektssyn kan sägas förena olika idébildningar som annars framstår som motstridiga, till exempel liberala och marxistiska diskurser. Inom poststrukturell teori ses handlingskraft och valmöjlighet varken som helt fria eller som något som kan befrias. Istället ses frihet och ofrihet som två allestädes närvarande element i mänskliga relationer, vilka möjliggör varandra (Foucault, 1984/1997). Inom poststrukturell feministisk teori (Butler, 2006[1999]; Munt, 1998; Walkerdine, 1990) betonas vidare hur mänskliga val är förenade med fantasier och begär och sker i en sfär av konkurrerande, motstridiga och fragmenterade subjektiviteter som kallar på oss, varav vissa framstår som mer igenkännliga och tillgängliga än andra.

Valet av teoretiskt ramverk har vissa följder för bedömningen av validitet. Medan traditionell empirisk forskning drivs av att fastställa bevis, drivs postmodern och socialkonstruktionistisk forskning av att öppna upp, väcka förslag och bjuda in läsaren till alternativa förståelser. Anspråk på sanning, reliabilitet, validitet och objektivitet, så som dessa begrepp vanligtvis används, avvisas inom socialkonstruktionismen och är därmed inte tillämpliga på konstruktionistiska studier (Burr, 2003; Gergen, 1994). I stället ställs andra frågor i förgrunden, såsom analysens syfte och vilken bild av social verksamhet studien är grundad i (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000), hur narrativ auktoritet och akademiskt privilegium ska hanteras, samt hur texterna kan ge plats åt olika röster (Lather, 1991). I detta perspektiv betonas också att forskaren bör erkänna den egna textens konstruerade karaktär och öppet redovisa de personliga och politiska intressen som färgar forskningen (Burr, 2003). Enligt ett sådant synsätt ligger studiens validitet inte i att söka överensstämmelse med "sanningen" utan avgörs snarare av dess användbarhet som redskap för vidare diskussioner om strategier för området musik, utbildning och genus.

Sammanfattningsvis konstateras att det valda teoretiska ramverket sätter fokus på hur språket fungerar som en plats där mening skapas, upprätthålls och/eller undergrävs, vilket formar möjligheter och begränsningar för subjektet. Det teoretiska perspektivet erbjuder också en förståelse av maktbegreppet som skiljer sig från den traditionella, och en syn på jaget som inbegripet i olika motsägelsefulla processer i arbetet med att skapa sig som förståeligt subjekt.

3. Metoder för insamling och analys av data

Det empiriska materialet består av inspelade rundabordssamtal med personal och deltagare från fyra olika svenska musikprojekt, alla med syfte att öka antalet tjejer i utövandet av populärmusik. De projekt som deltog valdes ut bland ett femtontal projekt som letades fram via sökningar på Internet, i tidsningsartiklar och i listor över projekt som fått statliga bidrag. Urvalet syftade till att få variation vad gällde projektens anordning, organisationsstruktur, deltagares ålder och geografisk plats. De deltagande projekten inkluderar ett tidsbegränsat projekt inom en ungdomsorganisation, ett nätverk på gräsrotsnivå för unga musiker, en folkhögskolekurs samt ett pop/rockmusikläger för tjejer. Sammantaget nådde dessa projekt deltagare från tolv år upp till vuxen ålder och inbegrep en rad olika aktiviteter såsom kurser och workshops med fokus på att lära sig spela instrument, spela i band, framträda på scen, hantera musikteknik och bygga upp kontaktnätverk. Två av projekten byggde i princip helt på frivilliga insatser. Nätverket för unga musiker hade valt att lägga fokus på mer "aggressiva" genrer som heavy metal (se artikel 4), medan de tre andra projekten hade som målsättning att arbeta med en mängd olika genrer, inklusive pop, rock, heavy metal, punk, rap, reggae, disco, country, blues och electronica.

Sju gruppsamtal med en sammanlagd tid av cirka åtta timmar spelades in under 2006–2007. Grupperna innehöll 2–7 respondenter, eller 3–8 om jag räknas. Alla var vita och kvinnor, förutom en man som var handledare på ett pop/rockläger. Fem av grupperna bestod av personal (handledare, lärare, projektledare), ungefär 17–50 år gamla, de flesta verksamma musiker. I två av grupperna, dels en grupp med folkhögskoleelever och dels en grupp med medlemmar i ett musikernätverk, var deltagarna mellan 20 och 30 år. Alla samtal genomfördes på svenska och spelades in som ljudfiler, men filmades också för att exempelvis gestik skulle kunna observeras i efterhand.

Varje samtal börjades med en kort presentation där jag berättade vem jag var, att jag utförde en studie om genus och populärmusik, att respondenterna skulle förbli anonyma, och att de när som helst kunde avbryta sin medverkan. Denna information tilldelades också varje respondent i skriven form (se Appendix 1). Jag förklarade sedan att jag ämnade tala så lite som möjligt själv eftersom jag ville veta vad grupperna hade att säga om vad de gjorde i projekten och varför. Därefter lämnade jag frågorna öppna för diskussion. I avhandlingen diskuteras hur de olika samtalskontexterna skilde sig åt och hur detta påverkade min egen roll – ett resonemang som följs upp i Appendix 3, där två av kontexterna beskrivs mer ingående tillsammans med längre utdrag ur samtalen.

De inspelade samtalen transkriberades på lexikal nivå, inklusive tvekan, handlingar såsom skratt och suckar samt pauser, dock ej specificerade i längd. I första analysfasen undersöktes hur tre element centrala för projektets fokus konstruerades, nämligen *genus*, *populärmusik* och *social förändring*. Samtalen behandlade en rad olika ämnen rörande strukturer och strategier i musikutbildning och musikindustri och refererade ofta till egna erfarenheter. Jag valde att avgränsa avhandlingen till att fokusera på spatiala (rumsliga) metaforer och uttryck, då dessa användes i samtliga gruppsamtal för att diskutera en rad olika

ämnen. I ett första skede lokaliserades förekomsten av ord som plats, rum, utrymme och område, eller varianter av dessa. I ett andra skede upptäcktes ytterligare spatiala metaforer såsom dörr, steg, spärr och gräns. I nästa skede inkluderades spatialt språk på en bred basis, till exempel artikulationer av rörelse. Spatialt språk befanns relatera till ett eller flera av fyra teman – Ljud, Kropp, Territorium och Rum – vilka bör ses som tillfälliga konstruktioner snarare än systematiska kategorier.

Citat ur empirin som använde spatialt språk analyserades sedan ingående med hjälp av en Foucault-inspirerad metod för diskursanalys i sex steg, utarbetad av Carla Willig (2008). I avhandlingens tredje kapitel demonstreras hur ett citat ur empirin analyseras enligt dessa steg, som i korta drag kan beskrivas enligt följande:

1. *Diskursiva konstruktioner* – hur konstrueras det diskursiva objektet språkligt?
2. *Diskurser* – med vilka större diskurser harmonierar dessa konstruktioner?
3. *Handlingsorientering* – i vilken grad formulerar konstruktionerna sanninganspråk eller moraliska ansvarsordningar, och hur positioneras den som talar inom dessa ordningar?
4. *Positioneringar* – vilka subjektspositioner erbjuder konstruktionerna?
5. *Praktik* – vilka handlingsmöjligheter stakar konstruktionerna ut? Vad kan sägas och göras av de subjekt som positioneras inom konstruktionerna?
6. *Subjektivitet* – vilka känslor, tankar och upplevelser görs tillgängliga för olika subjektspositioner?

Översättningen av citat ur empirin från svenska till engelska har gjorts i samarbete med en professionell översättare för att så långt som möjligt bibehålla språkliga innebörder. Vissa begrepp har inneburit särskilda utmaningar vid översättning. Uttrycket ”att ta plats” har genomgående översatts som ’claiming space’, vilket enligt min mening överensstämmer relativt väl med det svenska uttryckets aktiva betydelse. Begreppet ”tjej”, ofta förekommande i gruppsamtalen, översätts i avhandlingen ibland som ’girl’, ibland som ’young woman’. Trots språkliga utmaningar har valet att skriva på engelska inneburit vissa fördelar genom att erbjuda möjligheter att diskutera frågeställningarna på ett annat sätt än på svenska. Det inklusiva begreppet ’space’ täcker exempelvis in ett flertal olika svenska begrepp. Ett annat val, nämligen det att skriva avhandlingen i sammanläggningsform, har likaledes fördelar och nackdelar. Det resulterar i en viss upprepning av teori och metod då varje artikel ska fungera som en självständig text för publicering, men formatet ger en möjlighet att zooma in vissa aspekter och att variera presentationssättet från en artikel till en annan.

Föreliggande studie kan ses som en fallstudie och gör inte anspråk på att vara representativ för andra kontexter, men kan ändå ses som ett relevant

underlag för diskussion av genusproblematik i ett bredare kulturellt sammanhang. Studiens analys knyter de lokalt producerade diskurserna till större samhällsdiskurser. Det frekventa användandet i media av begreppet ”att ta plats” för att beskriva tjejs inträde i traditionellt mansdominerade områden indikerar vidare att begreppet cirkulerar i diskurser även utanför studiens lokala sammanhang.

4. Studiens svenska kontext

I avhandlingens fjärde kapitel beskrivs studiens svenska kontext med avseende på hur jämställdhet behandlats inom svensk politik och utbildning, och hur populärmusik gradvis inkorporerats i olika kontexter för musikaliskt lärande. Först beskrivs hur krav på jämställdhet har mött principiellt mindre motstånd i de nordiska länderna jämfört med övriga delar i Europa och hur sådana krav har påverkat även den privata sfären. De nordiska länderna har internationellt sett ett mycket högt deltagande av kvinnor på arbetsmarknaden och intar en globalt ledande ställning i FNs och World Economic Forums jämställdhetsindex. Men även den könssegregering som de nordiska ländernas arbetsmarknader uppvisar, både vertikalt och horisontellt, är bland den högsta i världen. Detta kan bland annat förklaras av att medan länderna infört lagstadgad delning av försörjningsansvaret mellan makar, gäller detta inte omsorgsansvaret. I kapitlet diskuteras vidare den så kallade tredje vågens feminister omförhandlingar av vad feminism och jämställdhet betyder, samt unga kvinnors ambivalenta förhållande till begreppet feminism.

När det gäller kön och utbildning beskrivs hur renodlade flick- och pojkskolor gradvis försvann i Sverige under 1900-talet av praktiska skäl till förmån för samundervisning, som från 1960-talet även ideologiskt kom att ses som en väg till jämställt lärande. När klassrumsstudier under 1980-talet visade att pojkar tog större plats, fysiskt och verbalt, medan flickor fick en mer undanskymd plats, fick det dock till följd att undervisning i renodlade flickgrupper istället förespråkades som en väg till jämställt lärande (se även artikel 5). Idag formuleras i de svenska läroplanerna att skolan har ett ansvar för jämställdhetsarbete och ökade valmöjligheter genom att motverka könsstereotypa val.

Därefter beskrivs hur den svenska kontexten erbjuder många olika institutionella sammanhang för musikaliskt lärande, inklusive populärmusik. Sådana sammanhang inkluderar bland annat folkbildningens rockcirkel och folkhögskolelinjer, kulturskolor, kyrkor, musikhögskolor, samt den obligatoriska skolans musikundervisning på olika stadier. Jag diskuterar också hur populärmusik gått från att ses som ytlig och omoralisk till att vara en accepterad del och till och med dominera musicerandet i vissa av dessa sammanhang, vilket är tämligen unikt sett ur ett internationellt perspektiv. Här diskuteras också hur kontexter för lärande och populärmusik uppvisar snedfördelning vad gäller kön, instrument och genre.

5. Om artiklarna

I avhandlingens femte kapitel sammanfattas artiklarna. Då dessa summeras längre fram i denna svenska sammanfattning (se Del II), väljer jag att här endast göra några korta kommentarer. I artikel 1 läggs det teoretiska ramverket fram och används sedan för att undersöka tidigare forskning om populärmusik och att spela i band. Resultaten av föreliggande studies empiriska analys presenteras sedan i artiklarna 2–5, vilka var och en utvecklar ett av fyra teman (Ljud, Kropp, Territorium och Rum). I artiklarna presenteras ett antal citat ur empirin, vilka analyseras avseende de olika versioner av spatialitet (rumslighet) som konstrueras och vilka konsekvenser de olika versionerna får. När det gäller publikation är artikel 1 accepterad för publikation efter revideringar, och artikel 2 är publicerad. Artiklar 3–5 är arbetstexter avsedda för framtida tidskriftspublikation.

6. Diskussion

I kapitel 6 diskuteras avhandlingens resultat utifrån ett övergripande perspektiv. Enligt Butlers teori om performativt genus inbegriper social verksamhet i sig själv ett ständigt gestaltande (*performance* eller *staging*) av kön, där det inte går att kliva av ”scen”. Inom populärmusik utgör både sound och visuell gestaltning centrala aspekter. Platstagande, i bemärkelsen att synas och höras, ställs därvid på sin spets. De möjlighetsvillkor som inramar tjejers platstagande inbegriper närvaron av en publik åskådarblick som fungerar som normerande och objektifierande. Kärnproblematiken kan sammanfattas i tre aspekter. För det första, att iscensätta sig själv som högljudd, expansiv och aktiv går på tvärs med traditionell femininitet. Den ”nya” actioninriktade femininitet som så frekvent förekommer i media, framstår enligt empirin i många fall som utom räckhåll. Att gestalta sig som öppen och expansiv kan till och med väcka känslor av kroppslig onaturlighet. För det andra beskrivs den kvinnliga kroppen på scen blockera ljudet. För det tredje finns förväntningar på att de ljud en tjej producerar ska reflektera en slags feminin ”röst” som gör henne till en begriplig kvinna. De verktyg som presenteras för att motverka dessa förväntningar är å ena sidan mod och självförtroende, å andra sidan skapandet av ”egna rum”.

När det gäller spridningen av mening i empirin finner jag att det spatialspråket pekar på frågor om möjlighet, frihet, auktoritet, makt, ”röst”, integritet, lättnad och existens. När det gäller motstridigheter blottas en spänning mellan olika synsätt på subjektivitet. Å ena sidan använder sig vissa konstruktioner av den liberalistiska/humanistiska idén om subjektet, där mod utgör nyckeln till frihet och medlet för att motverka exkludering och självexkludering av tjejer från populärmusikaliska praktiker. Å andra sidan artikuleras ibland en annan syn på subjektivitet som en ständig och komplex rörelse mellan positionen som handlingskraftigt subjekt och positionen som objekt, vilket jag återkommer till nedan. En annan spänning som framkommer i analysen gäller frågor om platstagande, social existens och ”genusifierade” sfärer. Ska populärmusiker som är kvinnor dela en redan befintlig domän som för närvarande till stor del

befolkas av män, eller ska de finna egna domäner? Ligger styrkan i enkönade kontexter i den kollektiva kraften, eller att de kan ge utrymme för individuell kreativitet? Kan plats ges, eller kan den enbart tas? Och slutligen, en mycket viktig fråga, är plats oändlig eller begränsad?

Jag finner begreppet "att ta plats" vara involverat i en dialektik som utgörs av två versioner av platstagande, vilka pekar i två olika riktningar. Å ena sidan konstrueras en "utåtriktad" rumslighet som syftar till att öppna dörrar. Här innebär platstagande möjligheter att synas och höras, att kunna röra sig utan begränsningar, till exempel i nya och okända musikaliska kunskapsområden, att kunna ta upp nya instrument man ännu inte kan spela, eller att kunna gestalta sin kropp på en rad olika sätt utan att vara inskränkt till en snäv bild av feminitet. Jag kallar denna för *aktörskapets spatialitet (space-as agency)*. Å andra sidan konstrueras en "inåtriktad" rumslighet som syftar till att stänga dörrar. Här innebär platstagande att undkomma den ständiga blick som placerar tjejer i en särskild position inom den heterosexuella matrisen, för att i stället kunna utveckla en subjektivitet med fokus på åtrådd musikalisk kunskap. Jag kallar denna för *avskildhetens spatialitet (space-as-privacy)*.

Aktörskapets spatialitet verkar vara den diskurs som ligger mest i linje med hur begreppet att ta plats vanligtvis används i svensk media och debatt, det vill säga att göra sig själv sedd och hörd på ett självsäkert sätt, utan att tveka. En sådan spatialitet kan också kopplas till den marknadsestetiska diskurs som i dag koloniserar en rad samhälleliga domäner (Fairclough, 1993), inklusive musik (Taylor, 2001), i vilken paketering och marknadsföring ställs i förgrunden. Aktörskapets spatialitet kan vidare sägas vara delvis baserad på en liberal-humanistisk eller neoliberalistisk definition av platstagande som en viljeakt där det endast krävs mod, självförtroende och beslutsamhet för att lyckas. Det högljudda och utåtriktade platstagandets hegemoniska position utmanas dock av avskildhetens spatialitet som bidrar till en mer dynamisk bild av begreppet platstagande. I empirin beskrivs båda typer av platstagande som nödvändiga. Utåtriktat platstagande behövs för att möta könsblandade miljöer, som i realiteten ofta innebär att män är i majoritet. Det inåtriktade platstagandet behövs för att få en andningspaus från konkurrens, styrning och splittring. Båda typerna av platstagande kan vidare ses som ett motstånd mot det Foucault kallar *disciplinär makt*, ett begrepp jag diskuterar främst i artikel 1. I empirin beskrivs hur disciplinär makt utövas i interaktion med andra (manliga musiker, kolleger, lärare), av normer (förväntningar) och av jaget (att hålla sig till sitt område). Den disciplinära makten fungerar som uteslutande, att hålla sig borta *från* något, men även inneslutande, att hålla sig *till* något, nämligen till subjektpositionen kvinna, begränsad till vissa röster, ljud och gestaltningar. Att göra motstånd mot disciplinär makt konstrueras därmed både som en kamp mot *osynlighet* (i form av uteslutning) och *synlighet* (i form av inneslutning och objektivering).

Detta leder över till en annan dialektik som i denna studie framstår som relevant för platstagande, nämligen den mellan självbestämmande makt (*empowerment*) och objektivering. Vissa handlingar beskrivs i empirin som kraft-

fulla och stärkande men också som potentiellt objektifierande och därmed försvagande, vilket verkar vara knutet till tjejers position som undantag i populärmusik. Att exponera kroppen på scen och tolkas som "cool tjej" beskrivs som "både på gott och ont" (se artikel 3). Kollektiva sammanhang med enbart tjejer kan tillhandahålla ett slags andrum, men även binda deltagarna till en kollektiv "kvinnlig" identitet (se artikel 5). Att kunna hävda sin kunskap framstår som centralt för att göra sig till trovärdig populärmusiker, men tjejer som gör det riskerar att bli positionerade som besvärliga (se artikel 4). Genusmedvetenhet, som ofta beskrivs som ett positivt verktyg inom feminism och jämställdhetsarbete, kan riskera att ingå i den mängd självreflekterande praktiker som splittrar och skuldbelägger unga tjejer. På så sätt balanserar handlingar mellan att fungera som uppbyggande och destruktiva, frigörande och begränsande. Detta diskuteras i avhandlingen i förhållande till Foucaults (1984/1990; 1988) begrepp *självteknologier*, genom vilka subjektet försöker styra och forma sig själv till perfektion.

Könsetiketter som "tjejband" eller "tjejtrummis" kan, om man ignorerar språkets performativa karaktär, framstå som enbart betecknande, till exempel för att syfta på ett band där medlemmarna är tjejer. Dessa etiketter kan dock fungera som genusdisciplinerande genom att placera tjejer i en egen kategori, varvid de interPELLERAS att delta i populärmusik på vissa sätt. Detta diskuteras i avhandlingen med hjälp av Butlers (1997) begrepp lingvistiska skadehandlingar (*injurious speech*). Att etiketterna framstår som betecknande, men kan fungera som kategoriserande skadehandlingar, kan förklara den ambivalens med vilken de används i empirin – en respondent kan i ena ögonblicket använda begreppet tjejband om det band där hon ingår, för att i nästa ögonblick ta avstånd från begreppet.

Humanistisk och samhällsvetenskaplig forskning har på senare år uppvisat ett stort intresse för att undersöka spatiala aspekter. I engelskspråkiga texter laborerar man med begreppsparet 'space/place', där 'place' kan sägas stå för frågor om plats, position och identitet, medan 'space' handlar om utrymme, relationer och rörlighet. Detta begreppspar flätas samman i det svenska begreppet *att ta plats*, som kan betyda både att inta en speciell position, 'place', och att ta upp utrymme, 'space'. Postmoderna teoretiker har också flitigt använt sig av spatiala metaforer, vilka riktar uppmärksamheten mot strukturer och relationer, makt och förändring. Ur detta perspektiv är det inte överraskande att spatialt språk används i de kontexter jag har valt att undersöka. Metaforer som "att ta plats" eller skapa "egna rum" kan också sägas ha en överbryggande funktion genom att de suddar ut förmodade skarpa gränser mellan mentala och materiella aspekter. Spatialt tänkande i termer av riktningar, ingångar och utgångar, snarare än om början och slut (Grossberg, 1993), utmanar också modernitetens tvådimensionellt linjära utvecklingsuppfattning. Ur ett sådant perspektiv framstår inte genus, utbildning och social förändring som ett självklart reformprojekt där utveckling enkelt kan mätas, eftersom både kategorier som "kön" och "jämställdhetsmål" förändras med tiden (Yates, 1998). Förändringsprocesser kan därmed i sig själva ses som

genuspräglade (Mac an Ghaill & Haywood, 2005). Spatialt tänkande har använts även i fråga om musikaliskt meningsskapande. Klingande musik har beskrivits som ett material som bidrar till att skapa ljudrum, ljudvärldar eller ljudlandskap (Revill, 2000; Smith, 2000; Valentine, 1995) vilket i sin tur kan användas för identitetsskapande (DeNora, 1986, 2000; Stålhammar, 2000, 2003, 2006).

I den senare delen av kapitel 6 diskuterar jag implikationer för musikundervisning. De tendenser hos svenska musiklärare att beskriva lärarrollen som nära nog överflödigt när det gäller lärande enligt rockbandsmodellen, vilka rapporterats i senare studier (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010; Holmberg, 2010; Zandén, 2010), är problematiska ur ett genusperspektiv. När inte läraren styr vem som tar plats på musiklektionen kan nämligen genusnormer få större genomslagskraft. Forskningen visar dock inga entydiga resultat om hur genus påverkar musikundervisningen, och diskussioner om jämställd musikundervisning måste därmed ta hänsyn till olika skolors styrningskulturer, olika elevgruppers sammansättning, och olika lärares och elevers sätt att hantera genus i klassrummet. Om musikundervisningen ska kunna förhålla sig till könsstereotypa strukturer inom populärmusiken behöver lärarutbildningen ta upp genusrelaterade frågor, varvid spatialt tänkande kan fungera som redskap för reflektion. Frågor för diskussion skulle exempelvis kunna vara: Hur är det med spelutrymme i klassrummen – kan det vara extra svårt att undervisa jämställt just i musik, på grund av ljudets förmåga att ta plats? Hur ser räckvidden för olika musikaliska uttryck ut för tjejer och killar? Hur reagerar vi på gränsöverskridande av stereotyper för sound och genus, till exempel killar som sjunger ljuvt eller tjejer som growlar? Hur talar vi om musik – är det möjligt att undvika könsetiketter? Hur bemöts och bedöms kvinnor respektive män när det gäller musikalisk förmåga och prestation, till exempel i tv-program som amerikanska eller svenska *Idol*, eller vid antagningsprov till musikutbildningar? Hur kan olika sätt att organisera en musiklektion i rummet påverka vilket genomslag genus får? Vilka för- och nackdelar medför gruppindelning efter kön? Vilka platser, rum eller utrymmen kan arrangeras där invanda mönster kan, om än tillfälligt, rubbas?

I kappans avslutande kommentarer diskuteras avhandlingens bidrag till det musikpedagogiska forskningsfältet. Jag konstaterar att ingen i disciplinen, såvitt jag vet, tidigare undersökt diskurser om genus, populärmusik och social förändring. Vidare ligger studiens förtjänst till stor del, som jag ser det, i dess tvärvetenskapliga och överbryggande ansats. En strävan har varit att föra in användbara teorier och rön från humanistisk och samhällsvetenskaplig forskning som inte så ofta syns i musikpedagogisk forskning. En annan strävan har varit att föra ut nordisk forskning till en internationell publik i ett läge då stort intresse för populärmusik genereras inom musikpedagogisk undervisning och forskning. I den avslutande delen understryker jag också att föreliggande studie inte gör anspråk på att fastställa hur man bäst underlättar tjejers deltagande i populärmusik, utan att de som bidragit till studiens empiri snarare bör ses som experterna inom området. Studien har istället undersökt hur jämställdhetsarbete i musik konstrueras språkligt för att öppna för potentiellt nya förståelser.

DEL II

7. Artikel 1

“Freedom or Constraint? Readings on Popular Music and Gender”

Accepterad för publikation efter vissa revideringar i *ACT – Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education*.

Populärmusik associeras, både i forskning och i vardagsuppfattningar, generellt med en informell fritidssfär, men också med ungdom, uppror, identitetsskapande och frihet att uttrycka sig. Målet med denna artikel är att undersöka hur idéer om musikerskap och populärmusikaliskt utövande i grupp kopplas till idéer om frihet, samt vilken relation dessa kopplingar har till genus. Först förs ett resonemang om varför språkliga framställningar om populärmusik och genus utgör signifikanta studieobjekt för att kunna diskutera hur könsskillnader inom populärmusikaliska praktiker kan förstås. Därefter lägger jag fram en kritiskt konstruktionistisk teoriram där jag går igenom Foucaults och Butlers idéer om diskurs, makt, normalisering, sanningsanspråk och subjektivitet, samt Butlers teori om performativt genus och heterosexuell matris. Jag argumenterar för teoriramens användbarhet genom dess fokus på det mångfacetterade, mångtydiga och motsägelsefulla (snarare än det homogena och konsekventa), på hur mänskliga handlingar producerar något (snarare än reflekterar något), samt på den handling som utförs (snarare än den individ som utför den). Forskarens roll är här inte att upptäcka sanning utan snarare att undersöka hur anspråk på sanning produceras och legitimeras.

Artikeln visar sedan hur läsning av tidigare forskning blottlägger två konkurrerande diskurser om populärmusik som frihet respektive ofrihet. Studier om populärmusikaliska praktiker, vilka ofta handlar om män, från amerikanska jazzmusiker på 1940-talet (Becker, 1966) och rockmusiker på 1970-talet (Bennett, 1980) till svenska amatörrockband på 1980-talet (Fornäs, Lindberg, & Sernhede, 1995), utmålar populärmusikaliska praktiker i termer av *autonomi* och *frihet* från styrning – styrning från vuxna, auktoriteter, fruar och flickvänner. Utövande av populärmusik knyts vidare till individualistiska idéer om ”det egna” – egen musik, egna visioner, egen identitet etcetera (Ericsson, 2007; Finnegan, 1989; Georgii-Hemming & Westvall, 2010). Litteratur som skildrar kvinnors och tjejers situation som populärmusiker (Bayton, 1998; Green, 1997) beskriver tvärtom sådana musikaliska praktiker i termer av *ofrihet* och *restriktion*. I stället för att ”göra sin egen grej” beskrivs musicerandet som en ständig kamp för att erövra någon annans område. Men idén om bandet som en manlig frizon (*male free-zone*) kan i kontexter med enbart kvinnor omförhandlas till en idé om en frizon från män (*male-free zone*). Populärmusikaliskt musicerande i ett band eller en grupp kan därmed kopplas till en längtan efter frihet från de krav som heterosexuella relationer bär med sig, både för kvinnor och för män.

Den till synes genusneutrala diskursen om *populärmusik som frihet* bygger på en större liberalistisk diskurs i vilken varje subjekt som vill skaffa sig populärmusikalisk kunskap har frihet att följa en sådan längtan. Den andra diskursen om *populärmusik som ofrihet/restriktion* bygger på en större strukturalistisk diskurs och utmanar frihetsdiskursen genom att beskriva tjejs strävan efter populärmusikalisk kunskap som en besvärlig resa full av hinder. Jag avslutar artikeln genom att konstatera att oproblematiserade och romantiska antaganden om populärmusik som ”frihet” att utöva ”det egna” kan fungera som en normaliserande uteslutningsmekanism, och att sådana antaganden därför bör skärskådas.

8. Artikel 2: Ljud

“Volume, Voice, Volition: Claiming Gendered Space in Popular Music Soundscapes”

Publicerad 2009 i *Finnish Journal of Music Education (Musikkikasvatus)*, 12(2), 8–21.

I denna artikel används begreppet *soundscape*, vilket ungefärligt kan översättas som ljudlandskap, för att undersöka hur spatialitet och ljud konstrueras i empirin. Resonemanget inramas av Philip Taggs (2006) beskrivning av hur människors subjektivitet formas av relationer till olika ljudlandskap, vilka fungerar som fält för maktrelationer.

Efter en kort genomgång av teori och metod analyseras tre citat från empirin. Resultaten visar att ljud konstrueras (1) som något som måste besegras trots en feminin rädsla för höga ljudnivåer, (2) som ett kraftfullt redskap för dominans genom att tysta andra, och (3) som gestaltningar av normativa feminina och maskulina ”röster”. Konstruktionerna kan sägas teckna en karta över några utmaningar som utgör speciellt svåra passager i fråga om erövrande av ljudrum: att samla mod att möta och bemästra starka ljud, att undvika att bli ignorerad eller tystad i ljudmässig konkurrens, samt att förmå överträda gränser för normativt feminin ljudgestaltning. *Volym* och *röst* framträder här som genuskodade problem för att göra sig hörd i populärmusikaliska ljudlandskap. ”Röst” används här i en utvidgad bemärkelse som de ljud en människa gör sig hörd med, inklusive musik. Högljutt och aggressivt platstagande med ljud kan ses inte bara som sätt att göra sig hörd utan också som sätt att få tillgång till en större mångfald subjekspositioner. Jag diskuterar vidare hur parodier av flickaktigt ljudproduktion som artikuleras i citaten kan rikta uppmärksamhet mot den fabricerade, snarare än genuina, karaktären hos genus.

Slutligen diskuteras hur de olika konstruktionerna av ljudmässigt platstagande pekar på olika måltavlor för förändring. Dessa inkluderar subjektets självdisciplin för att övervinna motvilja mot höga ljud och därmed uppnå autenticitet, mer etiska ljudpraktiker där alla har rätt till en röst, samt överskridanden av genusnormativ ljudgestaltning, exempelvis genom att sådana gestaltningar uppvisas som fabricerade och snäva. Konstruktionerna blottar också en spänning mellan ett liberalistiskt synsätt på ljudmässigt platstagande, i vilket viljestyrka och mod framhålls, och ett annat synsätt som betonar strukturer och normer.

9. Artikel 3: Kropp

”Body-Space, Gender, and Performativity in Popular Music Practice”

Opublicerad text

I artikel 3 används begreppen blick (*gaze*), performativt genus, heterosexuell matris och feminin kropps/rumsuppfattning för att diskutera förväntningar på att kvinnor som är populärmusiker ska ”ta plats”. Initialt beskrivs hur västerländsk kultur präglats av en förmodad distinktion mellan kropp och själ, där kroppen setts som en underordnad aspekt av lärande och skapande, även inom forskning om musik och musikaliskt lärande. Under de senaste årtiondena har dock human- och samhällsvetenskaplig forskning uppmärksammat kroppslighet som en central aspekt av mänskligt meningsskapande.

Inom nutidskultur finns ett starkt fokus på visuell gestaltning. Inom populärmusik hamnar kroppen oundvikligen i blickfånget, inte minst sedan framväxten av musikvideokanalen MTV. Att kroppen ständigt beskådas framstår som speciellt problematiskt för tjejer genom de snäva och lagom sexiga feminina ideal de förväntas gestalta. Postmoderna idéer om kroppen som tøjbar har, i kombination med nyliberalt tänkande, format postfeministiska diskurser om att kvinnor kan göra allt de vill, vilket har lett till dubbla krav att förkroppsliga både traditionella ”feminina” värden såsom fysisk och känslomässig omvårdnad, och ”maskulina” värden såsom självkontroll, beslutsamhet och styrning (Bordo, 1993; McRobbie, 2008).

Olika versioner av kroppsutrymme presenteras sedan utifrån analys av empirin. Kroppen konstrueras antingen som självdisciplinerad i ett provokativt rum, som expanderbar i ett rum av möjligheter, som ett blickfång som blockerar ljud, som en kamp för begriplig genusgestaltning på scen, eller som ett medel för att visa beslutsamhet. Dessa konstruktioner diskuteras i förhållande till möjliga subjektiviteter och kunskaper. En diskurs om motsägelsefullt kroppsutrymme framträder, där kroppen förväntas vara både stängd och öppen, och där den tolkas som exotiskt objekt men samtidigt bör framstå som ”cool” och avspänd. Den feminina kroppen framstår därmed paradoxalt nog både som nyckel till och hinder för autenticitet och respekt. En av konstruktionerna i empirin utgör dock en kontrasterande diskurs om kroppen genom att peka på hur relationen med ett instrument kan ge tillgång till ett utrymme för förvandling, expansion, och en position som handlingskraftigt subjekt.

10. Artikel 4: Territorium

”Gender, Popular Music, and Claiming Space: The Territory Metaphor”

Opublicerad text

Denna artikel utforskar användningen av metaforer som syftar på yta, såsom *territorium*, *fält*, *område*, *domän* och *mark*, vilka kan ses som kraftfulla medel för att analysera kunskap som en form av makt (Foucault, 1980/2007). Inom den postmoderna akademiska strömning som under de senaste decennierna intresserat sig för spatiala analyser har sådana metaforer ofta använts som verktyg för att undersöka relationer och staka ut riktningar, bland annat i

musiketnografiska analyser. Populärmusikaliska praktiker har beskrivits som övervägande befolkade av män, sammanlänkade av stigar (Finnegan, 1989) som är svårfunna för tjejer (Bayton, 1998), och där en aktiv exkludering av tjejer sker genom upprättande av olika gränser (Bayton, 2000; Cohen, 1991).

Citat från empirin presenteras under tre rubriker: kartritning, gränsproduktion och inträde. *Kartritning* handlar om hur populärmusikområdet kartläggs, antingen genom indelningar i olika genrer och subgenrer och olika kulturella eller ljudmässiga relationer mellan dessa, eller genom att beskriva vilka vägar man kan gå för att lära sig att utöva populärmusik. I båda dessa kartläggningar beskrivs tjejer som minoriteter och undantag. *Gränsproduktion* handlar om hur tjejer exkluderas och exkluderar sig själva ur populärmusikområdet, och hur det ofta framstår som oklart vem/vad som producerar gränser. *Inträde* handlar om den terräng som kvinnor beskrivs möta när de ger sig in på och navigerar genom populärmusikområdet. För att etablera en position på området ter det sig som centralt att kunna hävda sin musikaliska kunskap, men tjejer som gör det beskrivs hamna i en position som ”besvärlig” varvid en position som legitim, autentisk och kompetent musiker framstår som i det närmaste oåtkomlig.

Jag finner att territoriellt bildspråk används i empirin för att kartlägga maktrelationer på tre nivåer: den kulturella nivån, interaktionsnivån och subjektivitetsnivån. Problemet med att överträda gränser konstrueras ofta som en fråga om mod, men även som svårighet att kunna orientera sig på ett område där man inte känner sig hemma utan snarare som en främling eller inkräktare. Jag diskuterar också huruvida det föreställda området som ska erövrats är samma område som idag befolkas av populärmusiker som är män, eller nya områden.

11. Artikel 5: Rum

“A (Musical) Room of One’s Own: Gender, Space, and Learning Popular Music”

Opublicerad text

I den femte och sista artikeln beskrivs aspekter i empirin som handlar om avskildhet, ostördhet och integritet genom idén om ”ett eget rum”, vilket diskuteras i relation till dialektiken mellan det offentliga och det privata, där populärmusik kan ses som kopplat till båda. Artikeln ramas in av resonemanget i Virginia Woolf’s (1945) bok *A Room of One’s Own* och av begreppet kvinnorum (*women’s space*) som det använts inom debatt och handlingsplaner för skola och utbildning för att förespråka undervisning i enkönade ”tjejgrupper”.

Analysen av citat ur empirin visar att det egna rummet konstrueras som en tillfällig fristad från konkurrens, kontroll och styrning, från en genusdisciplinerande blick, och från krav på ständig social reflektion som splittrar och tar fokus från det musikaliska skapandet. I jämförelse med könsblandade kontexter beskrivs det egna rummet utan killar erbjuda möjligheter för tjejer att ta en mer

aktiv roll där det inte känns lika riskfyllt att experimentera med nya instrument och ny kunskap. Det egna rummet beskrivs också som en möjlighet att avgränsa sig mot omvärlden, att vara otillgänglig för att kunna fokusera tillräckligt på det musikaliska hantverket. Två modeller eller versioner av det egna rummet artikuleras, där det ena är ett rum för tjejs kollektiva kraftsamling (*empowerment*), medan det andra är ett rum för individuellt skapande.

I den senare delen av artikeln diskuteras den icke-transparens som det enskilda rummet erbjuder, vilket kan ge möjligheter för subjektet att i högre utsträckning välja sitt fokus. Jag diskuterar också egna erfarenheter av hur forskarens blick kan hota denna icke-transparens, och vilka etiska frågor det väcker. Vidare undersöks vilka olika spänningar som framkommer i konstruktionerna av det egna rummet. Till dessa hör spänning mellan det kollektiva och det individuella, vilket kan kopplas till olika generationer av feministiskt tänkande, spänning mellan behovet av trygghet/hem och behovet att orientera sig i okända miljöer, samt spänning mellan paradox och potential i och med att rum med enbart tjejer fungerar som genusneutrala när de ses från insidan men genusmärkta när de ses från utsidan. Slutligen konstateras att även om det egna rummet bara är en tillfällig fristad kan återkommande tillgång till sådana rum utgöra en kraftfull faktor genom själva upprepningen.

Appendices 1–4

APPENDIX 1: FORM OF CONSENT

Information prior to interview [English translation]

I, Cecilia Björck, am writing a dissertation about gender-equity initiatives in the field of popular music. To this end, I collect data, mainly through interviews and recordings of musical activities. You have been asked to participate. This text functions as (1) information about the collection of data, and (2) as a form of consent for your participation. The information has been formulated in line with the rules and recommendations found in the document *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning* [Ethical Principles for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences], published by the Swedish Research Council.

Participation is voluntary and collected data will only be used for the purpose of research. You have the right to cease your participation at any point in time. Audio and film recordings will only be used by me and by my supervisor. In case we wish to present recorded material at a conference or in another research context, we will only do so with your permission (I will then contact you again).

The results of the present study will be published in a dissertation scheduled to be completed in the spring of 2009. All participants will be anonymous in publications and other presentations of the results. This is to say, all possibilities for identifying individual participants are to be excluded.

Information about the study:

Author: Cecilia Björck, doctoral student in music education research
Department: Academy of Music and Drama, University of Gothenburg
Contact: cecilia.bjorck@hsm.gu.se, [work phone and cell phone numbers]

You are welcome to contact me if you have any questions.

CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in the above study on the given terms. I have taken part of the information above and understand that I have the right to cease my participation at any point in time.

Town, date: Signature:
Clarification of signature:
Contact information (phone, email, etc.):
.....

Förhandsinformation inför intervju [Swedish original]

Jag, Cecilia Björck, skriver en avhandling om jämställdhetsprojekt inom populärmusikfältet. För detta syfte samlar jag in data i form av intervjuer, inspelningar av musikalisk verksamhet mm. Du har blivit tillfrågad om att medverka. Denna text fungerar som (1) information om datainsamlingen och (2) som ett samtycke till medverkan. Jag har försökt utforma informationen enligt de regler och rekommendationer som återfinns i skriften "Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning", utgiven av Vetenskapsrådet.

Deltagandet är frivilligt och de data som insamlas kommer endast att användas i forskningssyfte. Du har själv rätt att avbryta din medverkan när du vill. Ljud- och bildinspelningar kommer endast att användas av mig och min handledare. I den mån vi önskar presentera inspelat material på konferenser eller i andra vetenskapliga sammanhang sker det först efter ditt samtycke (jag tar då kontakt med dig igen).

Forskningsresultaten kommer att publiceras i en avhandling, som planeras vara färdig våren 2009. I publikationer och andra presentationer av forskningsresultat kommer alla deltagare att vara anonymiserade. Detta innebär att alla möjligheter till identifikation av deltagarna ska vara undanröjda.

Uppgifter om avhandlingen:

Författare: Cecilia Björck, doktorand i musikpedagogik
Institution/hemvist: Högskolan för scen och musik, Göteborgs universitet
Kontakt: cecilia.bjorck@hsm.gu.se, [arbetstelefon- och mobiltelefonnummer]

Om du har några frågor får du gärna höra av dig till mig.

SAMTYCKE

Jag samtycker härmed till att medverka i ovanstående projekt på de villkor som angivits. Jag har tagit del av informationen ovan och förstår att jag när som helst har rätt att avbryta min medverkan.

Ort, datum: Namnteckning:
Namnförtydligande:
Kontaktuppgifter (tel, email, etc.):
.....

APPENDIX 2: ORIGINAL QUOTES IN SWEDISH

All quotes from the data, presented in English in the Method chapter and in articles 2–4, are here listed in their original language, Swedish.

Method chapter (exemplification of analysis)

A: nu är dom tolv dom yngsta, dom är ju redan ganska sabbade på vissa sätt liksom, bara den här ångesten dom uttrycker om att alla måste få sjunga nånstans för en tjej ska liksom sjunga och det ska va ljuvligt och det är lite rörelser med håret

B: vissa poser är redan repade

A: och det är inte coolt med instrument fortfarande för tjejer- alltså här tror jag det börjar vakna lite kanske...

Article 2 (“Sound”)

det handlar om att ta mycket plats, alltså, rent konkret, liksom, på *scenen*, i liksom- och, med *ljudet* och allting, det är liksom- det *går* inte att spela typ rock och så och att det är *tyst* och så liksom... att det låter lite... och det är det som- det är det som nästan alla tjejer som börjar är, såhär, med trummorna: [flämtar, spärrar upp ögonen] ”Oj!”, liksom, eller med elgitarren: [flämtar] ”Åh gud, ska det verkligen låta såhär mycket, kan vi inte sänka lite?”, alltså liksom... det är ju liksom den grejen att... man måste liksom-

jag tror att det har att göra med det här med instrumentet, att man hamnar i en situation där man, man får... dels får man ju en liksom... vad ska man säga... man kan ju låta... man kan ju låta, man kan ignorera genom att låta eller genom och du vet va tyst och lyssna eller man har ju så många fler saker att ta till... (...) jag tror det har att göra med ljudnivån kanske, bara så enkelt, om man kan, man kan liksom sätta sig och spela, lira lite liksom, så, ”ojdå hoppsan pratade hon där”

dom tjejer som finns i musikbranschen ofta *är* väldigt såhär: [sjunger gulligt] ”la-di-doo”, eller liksom: [sjunger] ”mo-ni-mo”, och det är [skrattattacker från de andra]... väldigt sött, och försynt, och liksom, gulligt, såhär, och det är just... kanske dom markerna som är obrytna är dom, musiken med aggressioner och-

Article 3 (“Body”)

ett kroppsspråk som man- ja, som alla kvinnor nästan har- (...) man har ju ett inbyggt kroppsspråk (...) just kroppsspråk är ju jätteintressant liksom för det ger ju jättemycket såhär, status, hur man blir behandlad liksom. Och det är som en sån här grej för mig,

det skulle aldrig va såhär naturligt att sitta *såhär* för mig [sätter sig bredbent]. Men jag gör det ibland bara för att *provocera*, men jag skulle aldrig göra det naturligt såhär, på nåt sätt, för att ofta som tjej så ska man sitta ihoptryckt lite såhär då, och liksom gärna gömma sig såhär på nåt sätt, medans killar öppnar upp, typ, och det- jamen det är ju jättemycket såna grejer säkert också... (Quote A)

det är ju det att man tar *plats* med ett instrument, eller hur man tar ju mycket större plats bakom ett *trumset* ett *piano* eller *gitarr* eller... det är *fysiskt* liksom det är nånting... och det är där nänstans tror jag... som som förvandlingen sker liksom... till... [lång tystnad] ja till nånting annat, [ohörbart] det är nåt där som läggs till liksom, ens personlighet eller nånting liksom, ja adderas, med det här instrumentet och det händer nånting... (Quote B)

jag spelar i ett band, och jag är ensam tjej, eh... och det är otroligt många kommentarer om: ”Fan vad snygg du är när du står på scenen, du ser så jävla cool ut liksom såhär, bland alla killarna, ensam, bara”, ”fan vilken cool tjej med massa trummor” (...) och det är ju en jättestor komplimang liksom, det är ju jättekul. Och många tjejer just som säger det. Men det är ändå sådär liksom att, att... det är nånting väldigt extremt, speciellt, med att jag är där, liksom (...) det är både på gott och ont tycker jag, det hade vart gött om, om folk bara såhär, ner med-, titta inte, utan bara lyssna och såg liksom: ”vad grymt det lät” (Quote C)

A: gud vad jag har känt det mycket när, när jag stod på scenen med det metalbandet som jag spelade i, det här att: alltså, jag vet inte hur jag ska se ut! Jag vet inte vad jag ska ha på mig, när jag står på scenen där! För det finns ingen, såhär... alltså antingen så är man typ den där blonda tjejen i stor så'n här goth-klänning, som står såhär och liksom [gör en gest], och se'n så spelar killarna såhär jättehårt. Men om man själv ska va som en... som en hård person, som står där och [ler] sjunger, så- det finns liksom inget så'n't här ideal...

B: nej, för det enda idealet som finns är ju långt hår och skägg...

A: ja men precis alltså just den grejen, alltså, man måste typ ha skägg... alltså, och absolut inga bröst, för man ska ha liksom som en så här avklippt... t-shirt liksom... och, det är såhär skitsvårt liksom att... [skrattsalvor från alla deltagare]... vad man ska liksom ha... (Quote D)

sen så även att liksom kunna ge dom styrka i att tro på sig själv, va... inte stå i bakgrunden och gömma sig och inte våga utan bara gå fram och gör det, som jag sa till dig innan liksom att bara en sån grej att ta tag i en sladd, vika ihop den på rätt sätt

så här som man gör eller på ett sätt som killar gör liksom som en roddare gör på riktigt liksom och det... det kan jag tänka mig att det är rätt tufft liksom att det ger en annan blick direkt att... för om det ska va en tuff kille i en replokal som ska tracka ner på tjejen liksom, om en tjej går in och trampar in och bara gör det så direkt så sätter den ner foten visar "här är jag" (Quote E)

Article 4 ("Territory")

det är ett väldigt manligt definierat område... just det här med musik... det är klart det beror på vilken musik man pratar om men då om vi pratar om pop rock och inte... om vi inte pratar om på nåt sätt schlager och sådär för då är det väl mer... men just då när man *spelar* och så... och även hiphop och så är ju är ju också väldigt...

A: men jag tror ju också att det har en jättestor grej med aggression, liksom, att det är inte riktigt okej att va kvinna och ha aggressioner. Och för män är det-

B: fast nu förutsätter ju vi väldigt mycket och det är samma när jag sa att det låter mycket, vi förutsätter ju en viss musikstil, liksom... fast det då är det inte singer-songwriter eller rock och pop och så
(...)

B: det är ju inte riktigt *där* det verkligen behövs insatser, liksom, för vill man spela så här soft musik och så, så *finns* det liksom redan mer plats för det än vad det finns för- (...) ju mer aggressioner det är, ju mer liksom, desto mer okvinnligt... och desto otroligt mycket svårare...
(...)

A: det kanske är därför [nätverket] har gått åt det hållet mycket, för att det är det som vi känner inte finns, medans, ja, pop- alltså, det söta finns redan, på nåt sätt, i alla fall- ja, inte tillräckligt- inte lika mycket, men det finns liksom...

B: så ser man i alla fall på dom typ såhär killmusik-föreningarna som finns (...) då är det ju alltid liksom *några* få tjejer med där, och dom tjejerna spelar typ alltid pop. Så det är liksom såhär- men det är ju aldrig att det är några såna här metaltjejer med i dom föreningarna, såhär (...) nån (...) hård musik (...) det handlar inte riktigt om liksom samma sak heller, det ena handlar liksom om att ta jättemycket plats, och det andra liksom... [tystnad] ja...

det finns en tradition i att tjejer som väl gör det [spelar i band] går väldigt mycket till det söta lilla pophållet, typ, att just- att det är det, så där, det är dom markerna som är obrytna på nåt sätt är ju dom riktigt hårda musiken med tjejer, som inte riktigt...

det är okej ändå med killar om dom är lite blödiga såhär och gör lite fin singer-songwriter-pop så , eller typ Håkan Hellström så är det vackert och fint också liksom eller på nåt sätt så känns det som om killar får lov att vara... på olika sätt men tjejer ska va på ett sätt när dom är i det sammanhanget... [med mycket svag röst:] det vet jag inte varför det är så... [tystnad]

A: det kan jag känna ibland att, jag har spelat väldigt mycket förut men eftersom jag spelar *trumpet* så räknas inte mina erfarenheter här, för här är det bara rock- och popinstrument som räknas så mina erfarenheter räknas inte, [starkare:] ja men det är ju- det *känns* så (...) för att jag känner att jag har blivit väldigt *bra* bemött tidigare liksom, men... [tystnad]... och *också* dåligt bemött eller liksom... såhär, bemött som att jag är tjej... men, ja... [tystnad]

Cecilia: vad sa du nu sist? Du har blivit bemött...?

A: förut när jag har spelat trumpet i band, så har jag både- eller i bandet till exempel så känner jag så här väldigt bra, jag har lika mycket att säga till om liksom, och så, och det... öh men, öh, och ute, när vi har vart ute och spelat så har jag både vart med om att man blir bemött som dom andra, eller också [med tillgjord röst:] "Åh vad roligt, ni har en *tjej* också, vad fint, vad kul... vad kul med en tjej som spelar trumpet", till och med så här: "Vad söt..."

alltså anledningen till att vi startade det var ju för att det är sån enorm... ja det säger ju sig självt nästan det är ju enormt lite... kvinnor i inom pop rockgenren som spelar musik alltså instrumentalister och är ganska... ganska stereotyp hur det ser ut... och det finns väldigt få... plattformar för att komma igång, att bli introducerad, intresse, och sen också utveckla det här intresset, att hitta de här vägarna att utvecklas... om man tittar på dom utbildningarna som finns så är det ju... ja från estetiska gymnasiet till dom rocklinjer på folkhögskolor eller vad det nu, ja, så är det ju väldigt få tjejer som går. (...) de som jobbar, det följer också det här traditionella mönstret att är en kvinna som undervisar så är det ju oftast sång, möjligtvis nån gång kan det också va klaviatur kanske eller... ja nej men det är mest sång om man ser just på dom linjerna då, och sen är det då män som undervisar i, ja, allt annat, ensemble ljudteknik instrumentalektioner överinstrument och så vidare... [suckar] [tystnad] ja

jag tror att det är *därför* kansk- [tyst:] eller, ja- [högre:] så det är väl *det* som- [tystare:] ja, jag vet inte, som gör att det blir såhär, liksom... ja... [högre:] det är ingenting vi har blivit uppfostrade till att göra riktigt, kanske, så det är *därför* det blir... [tystnad] ett längre steg på nåt sätt

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man begränsar ju sig lite... till sitt- eller jag gör det, till mitt område liksom, där man förväntas hålla sig

A: och att dom kanske lär sig att stötta andra tjejer... här och sen så... ta mer plats... när dom håller på liksom

B: veta sitt värde

A: ta tag i och starta band och våga liksom

just den här rädslan, det här att det är nåt jag inte känner igen, jag förstår inte det här, jag kan inte det här, och att det blir... (...) att det finns en nån sorts maktperpektiv i det här att det är nånting som inte jag, alltså jag är underlägsen, jag liksom, det här är inte mitt område, det här hör inte till mig, jag förväntas inte kunna det här, och att det gör att man att man reagerar känslomässigt och liksom tjijjt! slår igen, och så liksom, ja, blir man blockerad helt enkelt

det bygger på att man måste ha eget engagemang, att hela konceptet är att "okej, här har ni he- here's the playground", liksom, "kom och lek", och så måste man ha själv viljan att leka, det är inte så styrt... vilket kanske är... genomtänkt, att det ska va så, men eftersom man kommer från ett samhälle där det är, det alltid står nån som säger vad man ska göra, så blir man ju så ställd när man plötsligt inte har det

dom vet inte vart dom ska *vända* sig... alltså så himla mycket har jag känt så som ändå har haft ett brinnande intresse för och ändå sitter här idag, men många gånger har jag känt såhär: vart ska jag vända mig? Var finns min plats? Var kan jag gå? Vem kan jag höra av mig till? Var finns mitt bollplank? Var finns min mentor? Det nätverket är inte självklart på samma sätt i och med att det inte finns, i och med att det inte är jämfällt liksom

A: så känner jag att jag vill förändra nånting och... just med tanke på hur platsen ser ut för tjejer liksom på scen att den... det är ont om den platsen... inte ont om tjejer som skulle kunna stå där men det... tyvärr ges det inte lika mycket tillfälle och plats för tjejer och det kan göra mig ilsken och därför tycker jag att detta här är en sjukt bra grej att börja med liksom dom är unga och dom... förhoppningsvis är dom inte ännu helt knäckta av sina pojkkompisar liksom och att börja här så tror jag liksom att dom kommer dom inte att kunna bli lika lätt trampade på i framtiden då att dom redan nu lär sig att... bara njuta och få höra att dom är bra liksom och bli peppade och så (...)

B: men det känns som arrangörer bara det att tjejer inte vågar liksom men sen när det väl gäller så för nu tycker jag det finns rätt många tjejband men arrangörerna väljer ändå killar typ när vi var i Nyköping och spelade nu så var vi dom enda tjejerna på scen och vi presenterades som ett tjejband fast vi hade tatt in en kille i bandet, är vi fortfarande tjejband

jag tror att det är viktigt det här med bemötande också, att liksom en tolvårig tj- man vet ju själv hur det var när man ringde, liksom och så bara: "Hej, liksom, jag vill börja spela" och så, och man möts av en burdus mansröst som liksom bara: "Ööh" [skrattar], för så var det verkligen där jag bodde när jag var yngre, så man vet ju, man har ju det här med sig liksom [med liten ljus röst:] "ja, jag vet inte riktigt, eller jag vill spela lite gitarr", liksom sådär. Det är inte det lättaste att ta det steget, utan, man måste ju i princip stå där [skrattar], stå där, man måste stå där med öppna armar liksom

vi finns som ett alternativ till det i övrigt som finns då (...) både för att tydliggöra och i tanken skapa en möjlighet att i och med att vi finns och att tjejer liksom hittar den här linjen så kan dom också liksom i sin... göra sig en bild av att det här är möjligt, att man medvetandegör om att, öppnar upp en dörr, även om dom inte söker till oss så öppnar men en en liksom dörr att den här möjligheten finns, vi riktar oss till dig

men sen handlar det om att nå en viss massa liksom, en kritisk massa liksom... och över en viss, är det över hur många procent det nu kan bli, då "brrrr!" då öppnas portarna det är jag helt säker på... för det är ju inte så att vi sitter här och tycker att tjejer ska spela i rock-... det är ju inte vi som har hittat på det utan undersökningar visar ju att tjejer *vill* spela... det är fler tjejer som går på konserter och den här fritidsvaneundersökningen visar att det är fler tjejer som skriver att dom vill spela i band än vad killarna gör liksom

A: ja att nämen alltså att då börjar man inse såhär: "jamen jag är ju musiker, ja just det!" Eller, det är klart man identifierar sig ju på ett sätt nånstans som musiker, men att man ändå såhär: "Just det, det var tio år se'n jag började..." sådär (...) så mycket saker ligger i också fortfarande, att man kämpar med sin egen... identitet och kämpar med sin egen plats och sin egen, liksom så här... "här är jag, och jag kan", typ. Fortfarande. Att man inte blir den som backar (...)

B: Men det är ju lite såhär för tjejer, det är lite fult att ta plats, liksom, det är lite fult att säga att man är bra

man [vill inte] ta plats liksom, att även fast jag vet såhär att, jag vet vad som funkar, jag vet vad det är som är, öh, ett problem, så stöter jag på en kille här då, en ljudte-

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kniker eller en, en kille som är med i ett annat sammanhang... och jag säger så här, jamen, jag står på mig: "Det är såhär och såhär det, det ser ut" och den här killen hävdar bestämt såhär tvärtom, då finns det, då finns det ändå en spår till mig där jag säger: "Ja men om jag pushar det här för långt så är jag otrevlig"... (...) i en normal konversation så är det ändå så här att man får inte trycka för hårt på sin kunskap som tjej, för att då är man, tar man för mycket plats och då är man otrevlig och då är man en bitch eller vad man nu än må va, så här, att man ska inte tro att man är nån. Man *måste* se över varenda minsta detalj innan man minsann ska... för då är det bäst att dubbelchecka tre gånger till, fastän man vet

A: en gång spelade vi förband till In Flames av en jättekonstig anledning... eh, och efter konserten så typ pratade vi med han sångaren, så sa jag, först sa jag såhär: "Ja, vad bra det var", liksom såhär, och han bara: "Ja, okej", så. Och se'n kom- direkt efter kom min pojkvän, så sa han såhär: "Ja, vad bra det var", och han bara: "Åh, tack som faan" liksom. Så sa han då, sångaren i- till min pojkvän. För tydligen när det kom en kille då och säger att nåt var bra, så var- då är det liksom, det räknas ju som att han tyckte det var- ja, liksom: "Ja!"

B: men ändå var ju du en kollega, ni hade ju liksom stått på samma scen... eller så?

A: det var så uppenbart, då kände jag: "jag kan gå hem". Tänkte jag. Eller liksom, ja [skrattar]. "Det spelar ingen roll vad jag tycker, uppenbarligen, för jag är ju bara en tjej"... då... antagligen... ja... det, det, då känner man ju liksom hur mycket det räknas hur man säger nånting... så om man som tjej kan nånting så måste man ju kunna- det känns som om man måste slå sig fram, verkligen, för att dom ska förstå, bevisa så att dom verkligen ska förstå att... "men jag kan det här", liksom

A: ja, dels det då om man tar mycket plats så är man en bitch, och tar man för lite plats så, då kan man ju gå hem och gömma- eller liksom-

B: då får man skylla sig själv.

A: ja precis... se'n, då är man ju, då på nåt sätt faller man in i det här att man... man vill ju inte vara... eh... man vill ju va *med*. Och ska man va med så får man, så blir man bedömd liksom, på olika sätt... [tystnad] och... antingen är det för att man är bra för att man... är tjej då, liksom... bra för att va tjej, eller men man kan ju aldrig riktigt få den riktiga platsen

Article 5 ("Room")

A: det är ju svårt över huvud taget. alltså man ser på killar och tjejer i den åldern [ca tolv år] hur, vilken skillnad det är i och med att killarna tar mer plats än vad, vad

tjejerna gör. Så, så märker man att, att, att killarna är mer framåt, liksom, så där...
det märker man-

Cecilia: hur märker man det?

A: det, det har jag märkt- alltså främst har jag märkt det i skolor när jag har vart vikarie och så där, att- särskilt musiklektioner, att killarna, dom tar för sig mer och tjejerna håller tillbaka lite mer, då är det ju alltså grupper där det är både killar och tjejer, men ofta om man sätter tjejerna för sig själva då blir det ju, blir det inte riktigt på samma sätt, utan då... får dom ett eget rum, då liksom, där dom kan... där dom kan vara, jag vet inte varför det är så, men det är väl det här med könsroller och hur vi blir uppfostrade... och så där

ja men alltså dom får ju allt utrymme, det är väl det absolut viktigaste, eh, att... det finns ingen annan som kontrollerar dom, alltså det är ju det att det är mer jämlikt... det är en väldig skillnad och konkurrera med män... i en sån här situation eller att va mer liksom, dela utrymmet med män. För det vet vi det räcker ju att det finns *en* man så tar han i alla fall *minst* halva utrymmet, eller *ges* halva utrymmet, det är ju det också va, det är ju ett jättestort problem... behöver inte ens ta det utan bara får det liksom, "här har du"... det sker ju... (...) och därför måste det ju va bara kvinnor därför att det fungerar ju inte annars

faktiskt liksom att ta plats liksom som tjej... nu kan jag bara prata utifrån *mig*, att (...) här är det lättare (...) att liksom vandra runt lite på instrumenten och så här men förut när jag har spelat med *killar* (...) jag har vart så här, känns mycket tr- svårare på nåt sätt att... göra nåt jag inte... jag skulle aldrig sökt till en... blandad linje på bas liksom [tystnad]... lite, det är mer tillåtande, här

om man bara är kvinnor i ett rum, då blir man- då tänker man inte på... att man är en kvinna, för då är man bara människa på nåt sätt, men så fort det kommer andra... människor utifrån som kollar på en, då är man helt plötsligt en kvinna

A: det är ju där dilemmat är också om man jobbar med mot tjejer för då blir det också att man utmärker dom som tjejer samtidigt som man... vill att det ska va könsneutralt... så det är ju där det är, det är där problematiken ligger liksom på nåt sätt... [tystnad]

B: det gör det men...

A: frågan är liksom hur man kommer runt... det?

Appendix 2

B: men jag tror ändå att vissa stunder vissa rum behöver vara enkönade... för att det där och då ska va könsneutralt... det måste, man måste gå den vägen tror jag...

C: för att liksom få en erfarenhet av hur det är när det liksom är könsneutralt "då kan det kännas *såhär*" liksom då behöver man inte bry sig om såhär maktstrukturer eller det finns ju alltid maktstrukturer ändå men... men att man kan ju inte stanna i det rummet alltid för då får man ju skärma av sig från hela samhället liksom

A: först så gör man en spelning med sitt [projekt]-band på en [projekt]-spelning, och allt är helt normal och roligt och så här, och se'n så kommer man ut nå'n annanstans i Sverige och spelar på ett ställe där det kanske är en massa killar som spelar, och det är blandad publik [kort tystnad]. Och då blir man plötsligt väldigt... medveten om att "oj vad mycket tjej jag är!"

B: jamen, det här gamla uttrycket på nå't sätt, att man bär hela kvinnligheten på sina axlar, såhär (...) att det är som att bara för att du är kvinna och spelar musik så måste du... (...) då är det din uppgift på nå't sätt som kvinna att, såhär... vara den som visar vad alla kvinnor kan, typ

men det är den här, att brinna för musiken just alltså att brinna för det, det *här*, och det krävs ett hantverk och det krävs jättemycket... jobb, alltså, det, det tycker jag och det är jättesvårt att se för det tycker jag oftast inte alls har att göra med det här med personer liksom hur man, om man är... utåtriktad eller om man är liksom verbal eller allt det där. Det är nåt helt *annat* liksom... (...) jag tänker på det här, ett eget rum, alltså, att ha sitt eget utrymme. Att ha sitt eget rum och att verkligen få försvinna in i det rummet och tillåta sig att göra det och inte hela tiden... eh, liksom lockas och pockas av en massa andra saker som drar i en (...) män har ju det här egna rummet alltså dom *har* ju det mer naturligt, dom har ju inte samma krav på sig att hålla på och och... alltså hela tiden... f-... analysera sig själva i förhållande till omvärlden (...) man behöver bara: bort med det där och få syssla med det *här* som som är... kärnan på nåt sätt

APPENDIX 3: EXCERPTS FROM EMPIRICAL MATERIAL IN ENGLISH

This appendix includes transcript excerpts from two round-table discussions. The purpose is to provide insight into the contexts where empirical material was produced, for example in terms of the conversational flow and of the researcher's involvement. All respondents are white women. In addition to taking place geographically far apart, the two discussions differ in several respects. The first group is comprised of staff, the second of students. The first group is larger (six participants including the researcher) and consistent over time; the second group is smaller (three to four participants including the researcher) and respondents come and go during the discussion. The respondents in the first group appeared to willingly take part in the interview; in the second group, they appeared to participate with some reluctance. These conditions all contributed to the fact that I took a more active role in the second discussion than I did in the first one.

Following a view of conversation as ongoing, statements are written out without initial capitalization or full stop at the end. In line with presentation of quotes throughout the present study, speakers are only identified by letters (A, B, etc.). In order to get a feeling of the conversational flow, overlapping talk is included in brackets. Acts such as laughter, sighs, or silence are included in square brackets. A few short passages have been omitted, marked (...), in order to avoid direct identification of a particular initiative or respondent. Words that cannot be distinguished from the recordings are marked with [inaudible].

Example 1

The first set of excerpts is taken from the transcript of a group discussion recorded in 2006. Five respondents, all involved in an ongoing initiative by a youth organization, are present along with me (Cecilia). One of the respondents, aged around fifty, is the person who first drafted the idea to the three-year-long initiative. The other respondents, approximately aged 25–35, work as musicians and music instructors. Two of them are guitarists, one is a drummer, and one is a music technician.

A count of the number of words uttered by each speaker throughout the discussion, including one-word statements like “mm” (usually signifying agreement), seen in relation to the total number of words uttered by the whole group, shows that the distribution of taking/having the floor is fairly even among four of the respondents (see Table 1). In approximate numbers, A has 26%, B 23%, C 22%, and D 17%. E is an exception; her statements equal to a mere 6%. She makes for example no statements in the three excerpts below. My impression is, however, that her frequent position as observer/listener rather than speaker is not a marginalized one. Her statements, although infrequent, are interacted with in ways much similar to other respondents' statements. My own participation equals to about 4%.

Table 1: Distribution of verbal activity, example 1

	A	B	C	D	E	Cecilia
Number of words uttered	6289	5538	5272	3983	1525	887
Share of total number of words	26,1%	23%	21,8%	16,5%	6,3%	3,7%
Number of statements uttered	100	167	126	135	36	56
Average number of words/statement	63	33	42	30	42	16

Beforehand, I told the project leader I wished for the discussion to last one hour or more. After one hour, the group agrees on continuing the conversation, and after a short break for phone calls and bathroom visits the discussion goes on for another hour. The main reason for ending the discussion is that the room is only booked for 2 hours. The full recording is thus 2 hours and 5 minutes long. Three longer excerpts from this discussion, each covering about ten minutes of talk, are presented below. The first excerpt is taken from the beginning of the discussion. The second and third excerpts are drawn from about 30 minutes and 75 minutes into the discussion respectively.

The discussion takes place in a stylish meeting room at a music organization collaborating with the initiative in question. The six of us are seated in chairs around a large meeting table. Coffee, mugs, an MP3 recorder, and a microphone are placed in the middle of the table. The microphone is connected to a camcorder on a tripod next to one of the tables. Before the recording equipment is turned on, the respondents serve themselves coffee. One of the respondents spills coffee over the table and wipes it up. The respondents hand me their signed forms of consent, which I have emailed beforehand to the project leader. When the recording starts, I perceive the atmosphere as relaxed. The respondents are discussing musicians who might serve the project in different ways and people they need to get in touch with. We enter about three minutes into the recording, when I (Cecilia) call for attention in order to focus the discussion. Some tension emerges at the task of presenting the initiative.

Cecilia: okay...

D: time to concentrate? [B clears her throat] (C: yes!)

Cecilia: can we begin? Everyone is here? Good. Um... I'm writing, I am doing this PhD project, I am a research student at the school of music, in the discipline of music education research, and my study will deal with gender-equity initiatives in the field of popular music, that's the plan... and then I found you, I have spoken a bit to C, and so I am very happy you agreed to take part... I don't know, maybe you were ordered to? Ha ha, no but that you wanted to come here and participate in the interview because obviously it means a great deal to me... to be able to do anything, and, um, I've written down some notes, you know, but I hope to be able to keep my

Appendix 3

mouth shut as much as possible, because I'm not very interested in what I say, but I'm more interested in what you have to tell, of course... so I try to interfere as little as possible because I want to know what you think is important to say about these activities, what you are doing. So, if you want you can just start by telling me more about the idea, about what you are working with, in the project?

B [whispers]: C!

[silence]

Cecilia: how would you describe it?

C: um, the (...) project? Yes well how to describe it... (...) the scene in the future to be fifty-fifty, in terms of distribution according to sex, and it- what- I got so nervous all of a sudden! [everyone laughs] Really nervous! Ooh! Ha ha... [clears her throat] yeah, lucky it's not television...

B: yes it is [points toward the camcorder], it's running

Cecilia: yes! I got a question here, I should tell you, the camcorder is for me to be able to see who says what when I transcribe the interview... that's why I'm filming you, for no other reason... because when people speak all at once, or- for different reasons, it can be difficult to tell who said what, so... that's why!

C: yes? Um, and within the frames of the project there are different things we have set out to do, one thing is to put the spotlight on female musicians working with music, to make them visible and create a network to... between... us who are working with these issues and somehow... make it easier for girls to enter the world of music... but then also to push... or- keep a close check on the study associations¹ like we've done here in this town, to look over their structure, like, and how, how far along their thinking goes in terms of striving for a gender-equal organization and how they plan to achieve more balanced member figures so to speak, or statistics, and so to give concrete guidance to people working within, with music... and- not just with music because the study associations work within other areas as well but we, our point is music, you know, so... then [inaudible] we have arranged activities to encourage girls who perhaps didn't start to play yet but want to and provide a possible gateway, or how you want to put it, this Ladies Day, which I arranged, then... and stuff like that, and the pop/rock camps for girls... yes!... because as we understood it, a lot of people don't know where to go, and it's not just about young ages but older people as well, and as a consequence when we arranged Ladies Day we didn't aim for people in a specific age group, and- but... there are girls and women in... yes! well, all ages between twelve, then, ten to, or around ten up to forty, who want to get in there to play but don't know where to turn to or what to do, or where to find their place, mm, I don't know, fill in please...

B: [clears her throat] it's a three-year project, and... so every year involves new activities and so on, but... and then the idea is also that what we have outlined in the project plan might be developed through ideas from various sources, that's the idea, so that it doesn't take the shape of a motorway that is just there one day nice and complete but hopefully a lot of fun things will happen on the way, which we would like to capture, and maybe apply for funding to carry out, or, yeah, in some way connect to other things going on. And another connection- or one thing we'll do is finding out what others have done, so we can take advantage of each other's experiences, I think that's really important, because that enables- [clears her throat] there are various initiatives (...), there's all [inaudible], there is a number of, plus the whole expanding movement with pop/rock camps with heaps of experience that shouldn't be harbored by each one separately but the idea is to really build a knowledge bank about this, then, and be able to help each other, so that I think is extremely important to work on

C: mm

D: absolutely

B: and then it's also connected to Musik Direkt which D works with... which in fact was the original-... well, the reason this project got started in the first place, because it was so extremely biased, a quite extremely imbalanced distribution of the sexes in that project, which for that matter is a reflection of the way things are so it's not so strange in itself, but, but it was so obvious when counting the number of girls and guys participating in Musik Direkt in this district, and on a national level as well, there's a miserably imbalanced... so because of that, we are connected to Musik Direkt, for us to try to raise... the number of girls there, who dare to play. Who can take their stand on stage, even if not... so sure of themselves or skilled, like, we need to invite people that it's okay to be insecure but that this provides a good opportunity to play, a boost, like, to one's music-making, so that's an important part... as well

D: you know about Musik Direkt and those things, do you?

Cecilia: well, a bit...

D: yes

Cecilia: didn't do my homework properly but I know what it's about

D: yes, that it's a competition and so on

Cecilia: but feel free to tell me more

D: yes, no, but...

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Cecilia [gets up]: I might walk around at times just to check that the devices are rolling, but you don't have to pay attention to that

D: no, no of course

Cecilia: well... feel free to explain

D: yes, no but it's a huge music competition taking place all over Sweden, in... the different- all regions, except for two, right? Three? Um... and, um... so we work with Musik Direkt in this district, then, um, where we have one hundred and twenty bands competing... this is tough! [everyone laughs] What do you want me to talk about then? It's like this-

Cecilia: yes, tell me (B, jokingly: I had no idea really)

D: no but it's a hundred and twenty acts- we have, like, it's divided into... [in a frustrated tone:] ah! Different finals, semifinals and regional- district finals, and then you go on to the national finals, where you meet the other bands. And then this fifty-fifty idea, I try, or we try to think like that at all levels of this project. In other words, staff and... well, jury and preferably the people on stage [laughs in an embarrassed way], now that part is more difficult to control, but... yes it really feels like we try to let the idea, well, permeate that entire project in all kinds of ways, then. But it feels good and I think- I haven't done the counting this year yet, applications still keep coming in, you know, so I haven't counted, but it feels like... something is about to happen, you know, with... it's like, I've been sending out extra emails to encourage people who participated before and so on... it seems they're like: "Oh, fun!" So...

B: and that tour (...) is a part of the project during these three years now [clears her throat], as a marketing measure, to encourage more girls to dare, venture to go in, and there was a tour, has been a tour this fall, where two, two bands from previous- well from Musik Direkt 2006 were warm-up bands to Jaquee² this fall, now, September October, plus they had a few gigs on their own. Um, and although the audience weren't always made up by potential Musik Direkt girls, so to speak [the others giggle]... in certain places it was still, provided an opportunity to reach people, anyway

We now exit the discussion, which in summary goes on to cover the following topics: the professional development of the warm-up bands doing the mentioned tour, described as a consequence of encouragement; pop/rock camp activities taking place within the initiative; the perceived multiplied effects resulting from local activities; the need to work on different structural levels of musical practice in order to reach social change; the degree of support or stimulation needed to get girls started creating music; the importance of networks and mentors; and influence of same-sex/opposite-sex role models. The next excerpt begins around 30 minutes from the start.

A: it's not something to be taken for granted, this... it's something you constantly have to keep justifying, why you should be dealing with these things (mm), it's not something... in a way, the- people involved in this project are principally... women who've been in the same situation or sort of know how it- it's not like... it, after all, we know these things, one should rather involve the old rockers you talked about, who sit where they've always sat so to speak, like, and... but as it turns out, we are the ones who come to work with what's... been, or been in the same situation ourselves, and therefore can identify with it. But it's- in one way it's- one becomes a carrier in some way of... well, of this idea of equality... but, because, it should actually be integrated into, like, into the general activities, not to- within the study associations and so on. And there, our impression is that within the study associations, women are just the ones to work with these issues, I think, for the most part

B: working with gender-equity issues? (mm)

A: mm, mm. It becomes like (B: they are), yes, then it-

B: they are still so negligibly few, you know (mm), within the study associations (mm). It's part of the problem complex

Cecilia: why is it like that?

B: yeah well, it's, precisely, I mean, who- those who are employed as rock advisers and so on by the study associations, they are old rockers and old rockers are most often male... who feel really confident about this, like, they hand out practice rooms, they fix and arrange different things, you know, feel confident about the technical equipment involved and feel... well established in this business, and this is very easily passed on to the young guys coming with their guitars, like. It's a very male... world, in music and in these study associations and that, that's what feels especially good about this project, that study associations have started to think a lot about these things, that they are so positive and engaged in this. Because it feels like a... great potential for development, to make the study associations be part of all this and that they start thinking and start to employ, next time they employ a rock-... adviser it's, maybe it's a woman. And that would make a huge difference. I am absolutely sure

C: that's one thing, another is how to reach out with one's (mm)... um... I mean, marketing, like, look into, why so few girls even know about study circles and such activities at all, or you know, why this question is not addressed, because in most cases they stand there and go: "well everyone's welcome, it's open for *everyone*, and we wouldn't say no, we think it's great, for us, and fun." But maybe one doesn't have the proper- or maybe one hasn't thought one step further, of how female role models in study associations can go out and actively work on these things, with perhaps a different view of who's a potential rock star (mm), but also, you know, um, what do the pictures look like presented on the web page or in their info material (mm), and such things... and what are their classes like, and where, where do they distribute

that information? Does it reach everyone? Well, things like that

A: well most of the time it's distributed to municipal youth centers, and in most cases that means to guys, or like, somehow it's just the same... well, things, things go on in the same old way, it's- in my experience, the study associations are pretty conservative, you know, they're doing their thing, the same- not all of them, but in many places they go on with their activities and so they go on, like, the way they always did, and maybe they don't imagine there's need for any special efforts if- not until a woman suddenly comes along and, and, is very enthusiastic about these issues, then she'll be the one to make an effort (mm) to do something, and then in some way it gets, I think, difficult for... for those people because it becomes in some way their personal interest as well, then, and nothing to be worked on- actually as a matter of fact it goes without saying it should be worked on... I think the way you're treated the first time you introduce yourself is important as well, if like a twelve-year-old gi- one knows what it was like making that phone call, like, and then just: "Hi, like, I wanna start playing", and being answered by a rough male voice going "Uuuh" [laughs], because that's actually the way it was where I grew up, so one knows what it's like, it's a part of one's baggage, sort of [in a small and high-pitched voice]: "Well I'm not really sure, or I want to play the guitar a little," like, sort of. Taking that step is not the easiest thing to do (B: no), but you rather have to basically stand there [laughs], stand there, you have to like stand there with open arms, it's difficult, it's just down right difficult, you know you can see how boys and girls of that age, what a difference there is since the guys take more space than the girls do. So, you can see that the guys are more forward, like, sort of... you can see that-

Cecilia: how can you see that?

A: I've noticed it, well most of all I've noticed it in schools where I've worked as a substitute, you know, that- especially during music lessons, that the guys, they help themselves get what they want more and girls hold back a bit more, that's in groups with both guys and girls, but often if you put the girls by themselves then it's, it's not the same, but... then they get their own space, like, where they can... where they can just be, I don't know why it's like that, but I guess it has to do with gender roles and how we are brought up... and so on

C: mm, that difference-

B: very deep structures (C: yeah... you notice that difference) from day one [sighs]

C: ... clearly, this thing with... [draws breath] guys are not so hard on themselves, they aren't judging themselves so harshly while girls... they don't say, they have difficulty in, in feeling you know like: "I know this." It takes a hell of a long time, and lots of... lots of... a girl must have a lot to back her up for her to be able to say: "I can play the guitar" (mm). A really- there's a really big difference, even when a girl and a guy come with the same qualifications... it's... it's like there's a huge difference in attitude

B: didn't NN discover this at that drum work shop, right, some people tiptoed in and said: "well, no, I've played a little bit," or... (yeah!) and then they turned out to be like really awesome drummers (yes) (yes) [someone laughs, someone pours a glass of water]

A: but you notice those things when you see the difference, I remember at a pop/rock camp, a girl going: "I'm so damned good at the drums!" [several respondents laugh] and she was screaming: "I'm awesome!" like, you know, then you go: "Wow!" or like, it's not [more laughs], not so common, you know (C: no, it-), that kind of thing

C: so damn cool, but I don't think that could have happened if they weren't... (no, no) in that particular kind of place, where you get that certain, just that way of feeling neutral and just be, be able to *be* that (mm)... because no one will object, no one will claim that they're better than you... but everyone is just: "yes, wow, yes! Damn you're awesome!" [several respondents laugh]. You are allowed to, no one will get up and go: "hey, what's that?" [laughs] or like... you don't have to fear that, and so I think it's much easier to let go of that whole thing. For me, it took, until, when I started working as a music instructor, *then* I realized [snaps her fingers]: "wow, I've come quite far after all," ha ha. You know, one day you're... what was I, twenty-five, then, twenty-four...

Cecilia: quite far, how...?

C: yeah well then, you know, you start like realizing: "hey, I'm a *musician*, that's right!" Or, of course you identify yourself somewhere somehow as a musician, but still you're like: "Right, I started ten years ago..." (B: yes...) like that. That you get a bit- because otherwise you're- you're still... still so many things, although you're aware of some things there is a lot of stuff like there... um, yes, you- you remember so much stuff from the whole- so many things are still there, that one struggles with one's own... identity and struggles with one's own position and one's own... like... "this is me, and I can do it," sort of. Still. To not be the person who backs down. So I have this... yeah, no [laughs]

A: But it's a bit like this for girls, it's like bad to take up space, well claim space, it's a bit bad to say you are good (mm), like, yeah, because then you have to be *really*, *really* good, then you have to be like the best (mm) of them all... [in a very weak voice:] somehow...

Cecilia: why is it like that then?

A [laughs]: I don't know, no but it's probably because more people notice you in some way, so- it's a bit like if you're a girl and you fail, then you don't just fail as a person, but also as... as a representative for the entire... the entire female population, like [laughs]... somehow, then it's proof of girls not being able to... (mm) [quietly:] somehow...

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Cecilia: and this is- (A: you know, you might feel it's like-) and this is, this is different for guys, is it?

A: yes, because they- they are indiv- they're just people, you know, with no sex label, they're just there, like, like... they're a rock band, not a girl band, for example, if they are... (mm) (B: but they're norm- the normal) (D: they're drummers, not girl drummers...) (C: normal)

C: ... they are gender neutral, we are the second sex, like (mm)

A: so that all the things (it's so typical-) that girls do become in some way... two-dimensional, partly as musicians and then as girls as well

C: but that's so obvious out there that you come to represent some kind of girl band if you play in a girl band, I mean, a band made up by women only, then, then, this thing about representing some kind of [laughs], the whole of womankind, you know, you know (mm) (that's right): "oh, okay, so that's what we're doing."

D: and: "you're just like the Sahara Hotnights³," like (C: yes exactly), like all... (C: they all say) all girl bands are like Sahara Hotnights even if it's a totally different style of music [B giggles] you're playing, you know, just (C: yes) [in a resigned voice:] "oh, I see"... [B and C laugh]

B: but it can also be a, a sort of element of patronizing surprise in it, that: "hell, she plays really good... for a girl" it's like implied (mm), you might be praised also because (mm), *because* you're a girl, too (D: of course), it could be that way too (D: it could be that way too), it's all so weird, you know (mm), it's either one way or the other (D: *absolutely*, and that's such a pain), I can imagine you have experienced that (D: yes, yes, of course): "hell, she plays great! Yeah, a percussionist, yes, yes"... am I right?

A: but then it's not as if... (D: mm, yes, it can be like that) then it's not as a drummer but as a girl, you know (D: mm...), but, you're not good, then it's like, good for a girl, like.

D: something like that, yes

B: or despite being a girl

We exit the discussion again, which during the next thirty-five minutes deals with the following topics in summary: exotization of female musicians performing on stage (referred to in article 3, "Body"); expectations on female musicians to take on political responsibility; individual female musicians becoming representatives for all women; a "bitch vs. invisible" dilemma (referred to in article 4, "Territory"); musicians' expectations that the technician is male; a rather long discussion about paradoxical aspects of teaching girls separately

(referred to in article 5, “Room”); and practical measures to ensure that music organizations continually include a gender perspective. The next and last excerpt from this discussion starts about 75 minutes from the very beginning. At the moment, the group is discussing the idea of quality certifying music events and activities in order to prove a long-term and mainstreamed engagement with gender-equity issues.

D: but I thought about something when you talked about that rock school, that you... well that you're aware and keep discussing these things in the staff group, in fact maybe that's what's most important in order to get your activity (...) certified, that it... that you... I don't know, maybe we could have a course kit... no but I think what's most important is... to seriously, like... to take these issues seriously (C, whispering: mm)... that you, like... are interested in becoming aware and in seeing the structures everywhere (mm)... then you can, you want to make sure that it results in something definite, but to... well... (B: yes but also for it to) you know I'm thinking, it's so damn easy to say: “well of course there should be girls in music so let's start a girl project”... (mm) for a year, and...

B: or a *day*... (exactly) we actually arranged a girls day... this year

D: yes and it won't work... you know

B: [jokingly] no, right, nobody came [B and C laugh]

D: [in a serious tone] no but it's also like... it's so damned important to... what's been going on but... to have a long-term perspective in this, to not be disappointed, like... (...) you think “but nothing really happened” or... it's necessary to remember that the small steps are really important, like (B: mm), and if we go on for another year, there'll be... more people, you know (C: definitely) and in another year and then it's gonna go on *forever* until (yes) in forty-seven years' time, like (mm) (mm)

C: no, but, like, a sustainable structure

D: mm well that's what we have to develop...

C: having a long-term... well, yeah... a structure really well thought-out

D: and it takes a *freaking long* time because that structure is embedded in us, somehow (C: yes) and you can't expect to fix that on a *girls day*, like [laughs], that's just plain stupid [B and C laughs]

B: but then I also figure-

D: but the thing is people are not aware of these things that's why they don't...

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B: yes but then it's about reaching a certain mass, like a critical mass (C: yes)... and above a certain, whatever percentage it turns out to be, then: "brrrrt" the gates burst open, I am absolutely sure (C: mm)... because it's not like *we* sit here with the opinion that girls and women will play rock- it's not *we* who made that up but surveys show that girls and women *want* to play... more girls attend concerts, and this investigation of leisure habits shows that more girls than boys write that they want to play in a band, like (C: mm)...

Cecilia: because one could imagine... some people might think "is it necessarily so, does it have to be that way" isn't it forcing- does it have to be decided that fifty percent should be women, can't everyone just do what they want? (B: mm) Can't they?

[short silence]

B: yes but they do want to (C: they want to but they don't dare to)

C: and they don't know where to *turn* to... you know, I've felt so much like that, even though I've had a burning interest and even though I'm where I am today, but many times I've felt like this: Where should I turn to? Where is my place? Where can I go? Who can I contact? Where is my source of feedback? Where is my mentor? There's no natural network as a consequence of inequality, like

B: but what's exciting in this is not that- we need to watch out also so the guys don't function as models for what kind of music should be played on stage... I mean probably fewer girls will want to play death metal, I think so anyway, I don't think as many girls will want to play that, ever, for different reasons, like, and that doesn't need to be the goal either, it's not like girls have to step into some male template and play the music currently going on... shaped by... if you want to... but it's about a perspective that is allowed to become wider than it is and a musical world that could become much more interesting if lots of girls and women come in and do other things and think in new ways, maybe, or not, or whatever will happen... come to bring in other values and, but like, as technicians and in the world of music on the whole, I think it will be... of course it will be enriching, look at art or literature of whatever... how boring wouldn't it be if there were only male novelists, you know... like it was in fact a hundred years ago... emerging... I mean, it's about everybody being allowed to do what they want, and it's not like women or girls should step into that role I think in a world created by men but now something new is to happen and then perhaps you feel like playing punk music and then you do that... because girls go to just as many... there's certain differences in what concerts you attend, at least our surveys show so, but not particularly great differences... more guys go to metal concerts and more girls go to pop concerts, like... but if you look at this whole popular music pie, more girls go out listening to music... and they don't just go to folk music concerts or singer-songwriter music or- or whatever you expect girls to do... piano concerts... [laughs] but within the whole popular music pie, really just as many or more consumers are girls, like, and in addition, there's that leisure habit

survey showing that more girls than guys say they want to play in a band

Cecilia: what survey?

B: (...) it's called frivan, search it on the Internet and you'll...

C: what you said about gender equality and strategic *plans* and stuff like that... because we went to a seminar in Stockholm you know with... the pop/rock camps and the national association Zip doing this GirlTech project (...) they were like: "oh, you need to have a strategic plan for gender equality," many have such a document, written nicely and put in a folder where it's forgotten, so they produced a glossy little leaflet for young readers, or flyer is perhaps the right term, with lots of pictures, simple speech bubble texts and stuff like that to reach out with equality thinking that way and I mean... I don't know, you can reach out in various ways but if you just... remember it's something to be carried out in practice and not just in theory somehow... not just to show you're a good person

Cecilia: did you like it?

C: in my opinion they were thinking in the right way, or, well you should think... they did some extra thinking at some point concerning how to reach out with our, with this, because now they are coordinating a bunch of associations and clubs or they have a bunch of associations mainly focusing on LAN or computing you know where they sit and play games together in different networks and where ninety-five percent or something are guys... and at these gatherings and so on they have observed... for one thing, the difference between the sexes is considerable but also there's a great exclusion of girls because of guys maybe watching porn and because of the completely contrasting images presented in these games, of who's the action hero and what does the hero look like and so on

A: it's just the same as

C: it's exactly the same thing, yes it is

A: like in music, you know as a woman you have to pretty much relate to a masculine ideal when you enter the stage (yes) (mm) because there is a precognition of what... or how, who makes music you know and what's the norm and what it looks like, and being a girl or woman, then, it's obviously a bit difficult to... somehow you don't fit in and you don't have what you're supposed to have between your legs, dominating the whole- you know it's so much about sexuality somehow, this... performing on stage, somehow... for girls and women it's different, or, it's not the same when they enter that kind of context but more like... I mean it's so easy for a girl on stage to become an object, [faces D:] just like you said that they said: "you looked so good" you know (mm) so there are many dimensions involved in learning to play music- I mean there are so many obstacles, many more than you'd expect because it's somehow

already predetermined, it's all designed by men for men, there's a template for what you should be like, what you should play, like you said, and if you don't fit into that, then you're somehow, you're not accepted in the same way

C: right, it's like, the man is the subject and the woman is the object

B: yes and then there are those given roles in music you know there's an abundance of female artists but everyone, ninety-five percent, I don't know how many, they are vocalists, good-looking, they have their given role... it's kind of safe, like: "and then we have a girl on vocals," that's quite safe of course

A: and it's also a matter of technical skills, you're supposed to be so technically savvy and, also be able to, you're supposed to be a guitar virtuoso, on the whole you need to be so darn skilled or like there's a culture of... I guess that's why punk music somehow... it might be easier for girls to... to perhaps not be so brilliantly skilled from the start you know then it's easier to take that step and start playing because you don't have to be so awfully skilled... but there's a lot of, I mean I think about this male stereotype that you're supposed to be brilliant and you're supposed to be very go-ahead, you're supposed to have the guts to like just get on stage and think you're the greatest in the whole world and like just get on with it, that's how it's supposed to be, you need to be so hard, like, somehow... and girls are not supposed to be like that at all, but they are expected to be softer and...

Cecilia: but isn't the pressure surely pretty hard on guys as well if there's such a norm? Or is it harder on girls you think?

A: yes but guys get- I mean for girls it becomes a... there are dual demand on them, on the one hand to be like that and on the other to not be like that, and as a consequence, what they do (C: mm), whatever they do, it's wrong... and for the guys it's more... I don't know after all [laughs]... I mean they are allowed to be in that role while for girls it's- [raises her voice:] noo, but I think, I mean even if it's like: "well girls should cook," like, still the cook of the year is always a man... so somehow they do have... I don't know [silence] ... actually, after all it's OK if guys are a bit soft, like, doing some nice singer-songwriter pop, or like Håkan Hellström,⁴ then it's beautiful and nice, too, like (mm) (mm), in some way it feels like guys are allowed to be... in different ways, but girls are supposed to be in one way when in that situation... [in a very weak voice:] I don't know why it is like that...

[silence]

To the extent it is possible, or fruitful, to summarize the body of empirical material, the last third of the excerpt above in many ways performs such a summary. During the remaining forty minutes, when a fair amount of data have already been generated, I allow myself to ask some more probing questions to see where these might take the discussion. I ask, for example, if the respondents think

there are differences in how girls and boys learn music; if girls can have male role models; if gender-equity work in popular music is similar or different to gender-equity work in other fields; if the respondents usually agree on things; and if they can categorize what type of participants are involved in their activities. For the most part, the respondents' answers do not relate so much to my questions; rather, the questions seem to further a continued discussion about topics previously covered.

Example 2

The second set of excerpts is taken from a transcript of a discussion with in total four students in their 20s. They come from different parts of Sweden and are all attending the same one-year full-time pop and rock course for women at an adult education college (Folk High School). One plays drums, one plays trumpet and bass, one plays guitar, and one never designates a primary instrument. As in all the recorded discussions, I (Cecilia) am present along with the respondents. As described in Chapter 3, my visit to their school coincides with the culmination of a project where the students compose, perform, and record their own songs. The course leader appears to have problems finding students to volunteer for participation in the group discussion, and only two (somewhat reluctant) students, V and W, initially show up. Nine minutes into the recording, another student, respondent X, enters. Thirty-seven minutes later, W leaves the room to be interviewed by a newspaper, and respondent Y enters – not to participate in the discussion, but to work on a computer. Another twenty minutes later, however, Y joins the conversation on her own initiative and participates during the last ten minutes. As a consequence, the number of respondents simultaneously present varies between two and three. Only one respondent, V, is present throughout the entire discussion. This situation could, had the present study proceeded from a perspective of the “controlled experiment” as the ideal research context, be described as undesirably disordered. Seen from the research perspective employed here, however, the respondents' coming and going is not necessarily problematic, but rather contributes to making the context more similar to the “messiness” of everyday conversations.

What might be seen as more problematic is instead the reluctance of students to participate in the discussion. Apart from the school project calling for their participation, an additional possible reason for students' reluctance to volunteer, and also for their initial hesitation to talk, gradually unfolds in the course of the discussion. At the moment, close to the end of the course, there are tensions in the student group and some discontent with the pedagogy – matters I imagine they are not particularly keen on debating with a stranger/researcher. This situation needs to be considered from an ethical perspective. The researcher position offers a privilege to execute authority, a privilege to be handled with care. The respondents in this particular group are, like all respondents, informed they have the right to terminate their participation at any time, although actually doing so might not seem like acceptable behavior to them.

In the course of the discussion, I consequently do not pressure the students to answer questions that appear to be specifically charged, but allow them to develop topics at their own pace. Neither do I insist that respondent Y participate or else leave the room, but instead she finally joins the discussion by her own choice. Initially, the discussion could be described as reserved, and I suspect the respondents give me “politically correct” answers – those which might be expected to please an authority. Gradually, more developed and problematizing accounts are however produced, in particular about three topics: first, risks with maintaining a strong focus on gender as *the* source of power relations in popular music; second, advantages and disadvantages of single-sex groups in music education; and third, the relation between teacher/student government of the learning process. When the discussion ends, I perceive the atmosphere to be less tense than in the beginning. It also appears the respondents value the discussion as meaningful, albeit difficult. They (jokingly) comment on the fact that they initially did not really want to participate in the discussion.

Calculating the distribution of taking/having the floor is here more complex compared to example 1, as the respondents in example 2 participate for different amounts of time and at different points in time. I have counted the number of words uttered by each speaker throughout their participation and compared it to the total number of words uttered *in that specific time frame* (see Table 2). This is why the summary of percentage rates does not equal to 100%. V, the only respondent present all through the discussion, has approximately 41% of the floor during her participation; W has 21%, X 35%, and Y 18%. My own participation equals to about 10%.

Table 2: Distribution of verbal activity, example 2

	V	W	X	Y	Cecilia
Number of words uttered	4746	1483	3560	337	1194
Share of total number of words*	40,8%	21,4%	34,5%	18,0%	10,3%
Number of statements uttered	89	35	89	24	110
Average number of words per statement	53	42	40	14	11

*) within the time frame of the particular respondent's presence

The full recording is approximately one hour and fifteen minutes long. Two excerpts will be presented; an eleven-minute long section from the opening of the discussion, and an eight-minute long section towards the end.

The discussion takes place in a classroom, furnished with a teacher's desk, students' desks, chairs, and a number of computers. We are seated on chairs around some student's desks grouped together to form a larger table. Like in the other discussions, I use an MP3 recorder and a camcorder on a tripod to record the session. The respondents are given the written information and the form of consent on site. The two students initially present read and sign the papers before the recording devices are turned on. The other two respondents,

who enter the discussion along the way, read and sign their papers at their entrance, i.e., during the discussion. In the beginning, I sense the atmosphere is slightly tense, so I decide to start with some warm-up questions to establish some form of trust. This is not easily achieved, and as evident in the transcript, there are many silent moments.

Cecilia: okay so would you like to introduce yourselves? Tell me something about yourselves?

W: my name is W, I come from N-town, and I've liked music since I was little... my dad is a music teacher so I guess I slipped into the business quite early... and [sighs] I have... played music, I played the synthesizer and the piano when I was little, then I learned to play the guitar when I was in eighth grade and I wanted to develop it so I attended the arts program in High School specializing in music and... always had a *band* and... music has always been a part of me

Cecilia: did you say what your main instrument is?

W: guitar

Cecilia: guitar

[silence]

W: ha ha

[Cecilia turns toward V]

V: [coughs] I'm V... I come from M-town... have played the trumpet for a really long time, and some piano and stuff at the municipal music school and so on... and I've played a lot of folk music, now I play the bass here [draws breath] and that's fun [gives a strained laugh] and yes, mm... have been doing music in different ways or in different contexts rather... mm...

Cecilia: did you play folk music with your trumpet as well then?

V [inhaling]: yess

Cecilia: okay. [silence] (...) so how did you end up here?

W: um... I was looking for music courses last year, and then I found this pop and rock course for girls only and it seemed really interesting being only... for girls... you felt really... *included*... in the group, because in my experience when there are guys too, you often get pushed to one side, so that the guys get more opportunities than the girls, and this seems a golden opportunity being girls only so you really can

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be part of it and come to the fore... [silence] [quickly:] I think so

[silence]

V: well- I- (W: I'm done) you... ha ha, I think my main reason for applying was that I... wanted to be in this area and wanted... to study and... make music. So maybe I'm not all, I thought it seemed good and all but... [silence] I ended up here by chance, you know... [silence]

Cecilia: could it just as well have been a music course elsewhere then?

V: no, or, no it might not because I didn't want to... if so I would probably have auditioned on the trumpet, and I didn't want to play the trumpet... now I auditioned on the bass instead (Cecilia: mm)... um... [silence]... yes. [silence] Um... [clears her throat] to be quite honest I thought it would be easy to get accepted to this course. So... I didn't play the bass before (Cecilia: mm) so... yeah. It was like that [giggles, whispers:] yeah. [Cecilia giggles] But maybe that's

Cecilia: [chuckles] I don't know if I should wait you out or start talking myself... (V, laughs: yes) (W: you're just like: "okay?")... expectations?

W: from the course?

Cecilia: yes

W: um... (Cecilia: you were on the subject) yes- (what you were thinking when you applied) I didn't have very... high expectations, mainly I wanted to develop, through music. Learn to read music better and rhythms and stuff like that were the only expectations I had of... what I would learn here (Cecilia: mm), but as it turned out we learned studio techniques and our own, well, had guitar classes and played in ensemble and played elsewhere and arranged gigs and lots of things

V: didn't you expect those things or didn't you know?

W: no I didn't expect so... I didn't think there'd be as much... so my expectations were too low, or whatever

[short silence]

V [in a weak voice]: you were pleasantly surprised

W: yes, as a matter of fact, I can look back on this year with a good feeling [gives a strained laugh] [V laughs quietly]

[silence]

V: well I didn't have very many- I didn't have many expectations before entering, then when it started I came up with *more* expectations somehow... um... yeah. [silence] I guess it was partly because I ended up here a bit by coincidence, but then- and that I didn't, like... I was, since I didn't play the bass either, I could play a little bit, so... but then when I started and I realized that I was learning to play, you know, that it could, it kept growing... [silence] um... but in the beginning I guess I had rather low expectations or not many expectations at all... except for- I think I had expectations of living in the countryside and having access to stuff, you know music- access to rooms and to (Cecilia: mm) computers and stuff, and I wanted to live in the country [laughs, exhales], it sounds so tragic when I talk about my reasons for coming to this place [chuckles] (Cecilia: no), but... well, so that was like the main, living in this place and... having access to things [chuckles]... [in a weak voice:] so...

W: I also expected one thing on my arrival here... or expected, I *thought*, when I realized there was so much focus on gender, I got really scared. Really, really scared, I had never been in, in those circles, gender and feminism and things like that before- [the door opens, the course leader and a student enters]

Course leader: I could only get one person to come along, reluctantly

Cecilia: [laughs] welcome

Course leader: it's impossible, it...

Cecilia: no, we'll take it as it comes, it's okay

V: lucky I didn't even go down, it would

W: do you want me to go on? (Cecilia: yes, continue) Well in any case I got really scared, and um

Cecilia: you thought there would be a lot of...

W: well the way I pictured feminism wasn't very... nice or anything, I thought it was women who didn't like men and so on... no, "we need to move ahead, let's go and demonstrate" and things like that (Cecilia: mm), because that was my picture of feminism (Cecilia: mm). But then I came here and it totally changed, I saw that everyone was the same- everyone super nice, the image I had of feminism was all upside down (mm) and I became more and more interested, and I realized that these things happen for real, every day, becoming somehow... well, discriminated, someone takes your place in the line, if you're talking, someone interrupts you, like... if they just ask him instead or me, or you know, every day maybe something happens, if not to you, then to someone else... and I didn't see those things before (Cecilia: mm), because I was so used to it, but the course (...) made me committed and I wanted to learn more... and I really had a more favorable picture of... gender

[silence] [laughter]

Cecilia [to the newly arrived person who reads a paper]: do you want to join in?
[smiles]

X: but I'm in (Cecilia: yes...), I'm listening, but I'm reading this

Cecilia [realizing the paper is the form of consent]: ooh, it's the- sorry (yes, no, it's your paper), I thought you were reading [laughs] sheet music... [laughter from respondents]

X: well I figured it- (V, jokingly: coming here trying to be [inaudible]) [someone drops a pen], okay

Cecilia: well... but, you know, what can- what's the point with a course like this [someone coughs] compared to other music courses... of all different sorts... at other Adult Education Colleges, for example [someone clears her throat]

[long silence]

X: [signs the form of consent] what date is it... sorry (the third) the third

V: you know it's like... I mean, it's, there's a need for both like clubs with rehearsal rooms for girls and stuff like that because it *is* such a- it's so much easier for guys to... just get in there... it seems... um, and... to... [silence] actually, to claim space as a girl- now I can only speak for *myself*, that before when I've been... here it's easier... now I usually don't play the drums for example [laughs] but still, um, to try out different instruments and so on, but when I've played with *guys*, then I've been, then I've played stuff I know, and not... I've been like, feels so much more difficult in some way to... do something I can't... I would never have applied to a... mixed-sex program like on bass guitar [silence]... a bit, well, here, it's more ok (W: mm) (X: mm)

W: I feel that way too... like V says, you can try so many more things because under other circumstances if you're [sighs] a girl and you get in on vocals or piano or something, in an ensemble, then you don't want to sit down behind the drums and say, you know, "wow, look what I can do," you know like ba-wa-wa-wa-wa [mimes a drum solo], if you're not confident... because the only thing you're supposed to do there is play the *piano* or *sing*... or else you'll be afraid people will look a bit funny at you (Cecilia: mm), so that's not quite okay

The main topic in the continued discussion is the concept of all-women groups as applied in the course. The concept is described as advantageous, for example by providing a "safe" environment for experiments as described above, but it is also seen as problematic in several respects. One problem discussed is how participants in all-female programs, especially if they have gender studies in the

curriculum, are tied to an imposed collective political identity. The respondents argue that others, for example students in other programs at their school, view them as “women fighting for women’s rights.” This positioning is described as a social burden, denying participants their status as individuals. One respondent says: “I’m a human being, I’m not a group!” Another problem, it is argued, is that teaching girls and women to be gender-conscious conceals the need for men to learn about gender as well. A third critique of single-sex education articulates that the idea builds on the assumption of patriarchal power as the sole source of domination. A more plural logic is called for, in order to explain power relations in popular music practice within a complex social world. One of the respondents argues that striving for female empowerment might in effect function as a new and oppressive norm, where women’s solidarity to each other forms a truth that must not be contested.

Other topics are also discussed. One of the respondents reflects upon the fact that she took drumming lessons for seven years but did not take it further to use her skills in a band. She finds it difficult to explain why. On my question if the respondents identify themselves as “guitarist” etc, the respondents decline. One of them explains that in order to do so, she would need to have “achieved some kind of status, maybe just to myself, I don’t know really, I’m not there yet.” In the next excerpt, we re-enter towards the end of the discussion, around 60 minutes from the very beginning.

Cecilia: what do you, what feels like the most important experience you take with you from this year?

X: [chuckles] I think first you have to give it some time (mm) before you start to reflect on it because right now it’s... to me, a lot of things are good, a lot of things are so *goddamn* bad, and... I’m really angry sometimes, so before I’ve gotten over some of that... *then* I think you’ll see it with (Cecilia: mm)... kinder eyes... than right now (mm), mm.

[silence]

V: I think I’ve thought more and more of... I was about to say, minding my own business [smiles], you know, like... because of lack- here, I’ve never before went to a music school or anything with so little... feedback (X: mm), musically... (Cecilia: hm!) um... so that... I guess... has been on my mind [laughs], that I have to keep- that the teachers- like... (mm)

Cecilia: what do you mean, “mind your own business”?

V: to appreciate myself, that I’m the only one to [laughs] ha ha value what I play, I was about to say- no but a *bit* like that (Cecilia: mm) like... it’s both *good* and bad, of course I... it’s in my own interest to make music, you know... but... I’m really dependent on... (X, in a weak voice: credit?) credit, appreciation... um... and I have

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a hard time to... basically, you know, if I don't have... like now, we had, now we've followed a time-table, you know (mm), for playing in groups, but before when I've played in groups where I've felt *needed* in a different way (mm), like that, felt I've been *good* at something- *good* at it (yes)... um...

X: [in a weak voice:] I have a hard time feeling that way here

V: yes. Here, it's like, you're... you're needed in one way, but in another you're not...

X: no... in my view there's a lot... a lot of... a lot of times you feel that nothing matters, it doesn't matter if you come here, it doesn't matter because... um, it... somehow I still want... some kind of leader with authority, a- not a *leader* in that way but still someone who is somehow *able* to have an influence on me, because... mmmm, like... well you know if I can *have* that, and she says: "no this is wrong, do like this instead," then I will learn something, and like... [sighs]

V: and then you'll have something (X: well I don't know) to react against [laughs], I was about to say

X: yes exactly, I'll have something against which to take a position, I can either object to it, or take it in, that I may... that I may *get* something, that I have to *work* on it, that I'll get criticism, praise, but above all criticism so I can *work* on it, so I can get to feel like, shit, I'll make it, but here it's too simple, most of the time, "if you do like this it'll be easier," it's been like that almost all the time, and then it's damn difficult to feel that you actually did something, that you achieved something at all. It could be- it doesn't have to be something big, because all the small steps will amount to a big step, but here I sometimes feel like it's all the same

Cecilia: do you feel there was no challenge?

X: yes, absolutely (mm), this whole, well the whole thing has been a challenge, but... small, there should have been more small challenges along the way, lately there have perhaps been some really demanding ones, but... it's hard to keep on *going*, with this... I mean, no I don't really know what to, like... of course it's been demanding, but not demanding enough... I want more to work for, it brings... it would have brought me something, it would have given me some kind of... something to struggle for. I have a hard time feeling like that here (mm)

[silence]

Y: can I- I would like to join now

Cecilia [jokingly]: yes ha ha... (X: ha ha) so now it suits you...

Y: well okay, never mind then

Cecilia: no, come join us!

V: come now! [laughs]

Cecilia: take the opportunity before I turn off the equipment because I'll have to leave soon

V: oh

Y: no it was just something you said a moment ago about... but I forgot what I was going to say ...

Cecilia: challenges?

Y: yes that's right, well I feel it's a matter of personal, like, you know more personal- what's the word now

X: [inaudible] do it yourself?

Y: yes exactly that it is based on people's own commitment, the whole concept is like: "okay, here's the whole- here's the playground," like that, "come and play," and then you yourself will have to want to play, it's not so controlled (Cecilia: mm)... which might be... carefully thought-out, that it should be like that, but coming from a society where, where someone always give directions, telling you what to do, when suddenly you don't have that, you are at a loss what to do (mm)

V: but I can- to me it seems like it's... it's really great in one way, but at the same time... I would like to see an explicit idea... a new method of learning or something, you know, because I mean (Y: that it was declared?) music... yes, that... yes [silence] [laughs] (X: yes?) no but it's like (Cecilia: catch hold of that thought) you have, like, while we sit here talking about Spiderman and Barbie, that society expects more from guys and nothing from girls, and then they *have* no expectations of us except for "you must hand in..." or "you will..." it's like, where *is* this complex thinking (mm) supposed to challenge us and why and you know I want to- I can't... even if I have a personal, I'm supposed to have a personal commitment and *want to learn*, it's a double job if I am to sit there all by myself figuring out what I have to learn and in what way I will learn... that situation is (mm)... *that's* what I need *help* with, that's why I go to school (mm) (mm), or else it *will* be the way I pictured [laughs], living in the countryside with access to rooms, you know (Y: mm, mm... I definitely agree) that it's just, I want someone to just *see*, like: "but V (mm), have you thought about this, you need to practice at this," instead it's like: "if you feel you know this, you can go do something else, and if you want to continue with this..." you know

Here, we leave the discussion. During the last seven minutes, the respondents continue to argue there has been a lack of critical and constructive feedback in musical instruction – they think the course has been too “nice” and demanded too little of them. The pedagogy of letting students drive their own learning process is compared to an “empty, empty, empty piece of paper.” The respondents call for more and critical guidance, and do not agree such guidance would make them more passive. Close to the end, V says: “Oh, now I feel we’re talking so much crap”. X responds: “that’s why I didn’t want to come here” and V agrees: “yeah, I know, me neither.” Y says: “well lucky then that *you* were the ones to come here... just because of that.”

NOTES

- 1 Study associations, part of *folkbildning* education, are important forums for learning popular music by arranging so-called rock circles. This is discussed in Chapter 4.
- 2 Information about and music clips by Swedish singer Jaqee can be found at or at <http://jaqee.com> or at www.myspace.com/jaqee
- 3 Information about and music clips by Swedish band Sahara Hotnights can be found at www.saharahotnights.com or at www.myspace.com/saharahotnights
- 4 Information about and music clips by Swedish singer Håkan Hellström can be found at www.hakanhellstrom.se or at www.myspace.com/hakanhellstrom (both in Swedish only)

APPENDIX 4: EXCERPTS FROM EMPIRICAL MATERIAL IN SWEDISH

Example 1

First Excerpt

Cecilia: okej...

D: ska vi samla oss? [B harklar sig] (C: jaa!)

Cecilia: kan vi börja? Alla är här? Va bra. Eh... jag skriver alltså, jag håller på med ett projekt för min avhandlingsstudie, jag går forskarutbildning, på Musikhögskolan, ämnet är musikpedagogik och mitt arbete ska handla om jämställdhetsprojekt inom populärmusikfältet har jag tänkt... och då så hittade jag er, och jag har pratat lite med C, och sen så är jag jätteglad att ni ställde upp och... jag vet inte, ni är beordrade kanske? He he... nej men att ni ville komma hit och va med på intervjun för det betyder ju jättemycket för mig såklart... för att jag ska kunna göra nånting, och eh, jag har skrivit upp lite grejer såhär, men jag hoppas att jag kan hålla käft så mycket som möjligt, för jag är inte så intresserad av vad jag säger, utan jag är ju mer intresserad av vad ni har att berätta, givetvis... så att jag försöker att lägga mig i så lite som möjligt för jag vill veta vad ni tycker är viktigt att säga om den här verksamheten, vad ni håller på med. Så, om ni vill kan ni bara börja med att berätta mer för mig vad det hela går ut på, vad det är ni pysslar med, i projektet?

B [viskar]: C!

[tystnad]

Cecilia: hur ska man beskriva det?

C: eh, (...) projektet? Ja hur ska man beskriva det... [ohörbart] (...) scenen i framtiden ska bli femti-femti, könsfördelning, och det- vilken- vad nervöst det kändes nu! [alla skrattar] Det kändes jättenervöst! Ååh! Ha ha... [harklar sig] ja, det är tur att det inte är tv...

B: jo det är det [pekar mot filmkameran], det är på

Cecilia: ja! Jag fick en fråga här, det ska jag säga också, inspelningen med kameran är alltså för att jag när jag skriver ut intervjun ska kunna se vem som säger vad... det är därför jag filmar, inte nånting annat... för när man pratar i mun på varann, eller man- det kan vara olika grejer som gör att det kan vara svårt att veta vem som har sagt vad, så... det är bara därför!

C: ja? Eh, och inom projektets ramar så finns det en del olika grejer som vi har tagit på oss, det är dels att belysa de kvinnliga musiker som jobbar med musik, och synliggöra dem och skapa ett nätverk för att... mellan... oss som håller på med det och på nåt sätt... göra det lättare för tjejer att komma in i själva musikvärlden... men sen även trycka på...eller- ligga på som studieförbunden nu som vi har gjort här i stan, att se över sin struktur liksom och hur, hur långt de har tänkt för att det ska bli jämställt inom deras organisation och hur de har tänkt för att det ska bli mer jämställt i deras deltagarsiffror så att säga, eller deras statistik, så att ge handfasta råd och tips till människor som jobbar inom, med musik... och- inte bara med musik för studieförbunden jobbar ju med andra saker också men vi, våran punkt är ju musiken liksom, så... Sen [ohörbart] har vi gjort arrangemang för att peppa tjejer som inte än kanske spelar men vill och ge en möjlig inkörspport, eller vad ska man säga, den här Ladies Day, som jag anordnade då... och sånt där, och Popkollo... ja! ... för att det är väldigt många vad vi har uppfattat som inte vet var man ska ta vägen, och det handlar inte bara om unga åldrar utan det handlar ju om äldre åldrar också, och därför när vi anordnade Ladies Day så var det ju ingen specifik ålder vi satsade in på, och- utan att... det finns tjejer i... ja! alltså, alltemellan då tolv till, tio till, eller runt tio till upp till fyrtio som vill in och spela men inte vet vart man ska vända sig eller hur man ska göra, eller var det finns en plats för en... mm, vet inte, lägg till...

B: [harklar sig] projektet är ju treårigt, och... så att varje år innehåller nya moment och så där, men... och sen är också tanken att det här vi har beskrivit i projektplanen ska kunna byggas på med idéer som kommer från olika håll, är ju tanken, så att det inte liksom, det ligger inte fixt och färdigt en autostrada i tre år utan förhoppningsvis kommer det hända en massa skojiga saker på vägen, som vi gärna vill fånga upp då, och kanske söka extern finansiering för eller, ja, på nåt vis knyta ihop med andra saker som händer. Och en annan ihopknypnings- eller nåt vi ska göra mycket är att se vad andra har gjort, så att man kan ta tillvara varandras erfarenheter, det tycker jag är jätte viktigt, för det gör- [harklar sig] det finns ju många olika projekt (...), det finns alla [ohörbart], det finns ju ett antal, plus hela popkollorörelsen som växer, där det finns massa erfarenheter som, som inte var och en ska härbärgera utan tanken är att verkligen bygga upp en kunskapsbank kring det här då, och kunna hjälpa varann, så det tycker jag är extremt viktigt att jobba med

C: mm

D: verkligen

B: och sen är det ju också kopplat till Musik Direkt, då, som D jobbar med... som egentligen var ursprungs-... ja, ursprunget till att det här projektet blev av, eftersom det var så extremt sned, eller är väldigt extremt sned fördelning i det projektet, vilket i och för sig är en spegling av hur det ser ut, så det är ju inte så märkligt i sig, men, men det blev så tydligt när man räknade igenom tjejer och killar som var med i det här Musik Direkt här i den här delen av Sverige, och även i landet, så är det en eländig ojämviktig... så därför är det också kopplat till Musik Direkt, så vi ska

Appendix 4

försöka höja... ännu fler tjejer där, som vågar spela. Som kan ställa sig på scen, fast man inte är... är så säker, så där, så ska man liksom bjuda in till att det är tillåtet att va osäker, men att det ger, det är ett bra speltillfälle, och en skjuts, liksom, i spelandet, så det är en viktig del... också

D: du känner till Musik Direkt och så, eller?

Cecilia: ja, lite grann...

D: ja

Cecilia: är inte jättepåläst, men jag vet vad det handlar om

D: ja, att det är en tävling och så där

Cecilia: men ni får gärna berätta mer

D: ja, nej men...

Cecilia [reser sig]: jag kanske går runt ibland lite och kollar att det rullar som det ska, men det behöver ni inte bry er om

D: nej nej visst

Cecilia: ja... ni får gärna berätta

D: ja, nej men det är en jättestor musiktävling som håller på i hela Sverige, i... de olika- alla län, nästan, förutom två, va? Tre? Eeh... och, eeh... så att vi jobbar med Musik Direkt i den här regionen, då, och, eeh, där har vi hundratjugo band som tävlar... jobbigt [alla skrattar]. Vad vill du jag ska prata om, då? Så här är det faktiskt att-

Cecilia: ja, berätta (B, ironiskt: Jag hade ingen aning faktiskt)

D: nej men det är hundratjugo akter som får va med varje år, hos oss, då, och sen så är det tre akter- vi har, såhär, det är uppdelat på... äh! Olika delfinaler, och semifinal och region- en final i regionen, och sen så går man vidare till en final i, riks då, där man möter de andra banden. Och just då det här med den fifty-fifty-tanken, jag försöker, eller vi försöker tänka så på alla plan i det projektet. Alltså, personalen och... ja, jury och helst då de som står på scenen [skrattar besvärat], men det blir lite svårare att styra, så, men... ja, det känns verkligen så att man försöker få den tanken att, alltså, genomsyra hela det projektet på alla olika sätt, så. Men det känns bra och jag tycker- nu har jag inte räknat efter i år, än så länge, anmälningarna håller på att komma in fortfarande, så där, så det har jag inte räknat efter, men det känns som att... som att det händer nånting, alltså, med... det är lite, liksom, jag har jobbat lite på att skicka ut lite extra mejl och liksom peppa liksom folk som har vart med innan och så liksom... det känns som att de: "Åh, kull!". Då...

B: och det var den där turnén, Musik Direkt Ladies är en del, del av det här projektet nu under de här tre åren [harklar sig], som en marknadsföringsåtgärd, för att kunna peppa fler tjejer att våga sig, våga sig in, och det var ju en turné, har vart en turné i höst, där två, två, två grupper från förr- ja, tjugohundrasex års Musik Direkt fick åka förband till Jaqee nu i höst, nu då, september oktober, plus göra några egna spelningar. Eeh, och även om publiken inte alltid bestod av potentiella Musik Direkt-tjejer, kan man säga [någon fnissar, flera fnissar], så... på vissa ställen så har det väl ändå, så att man kunde ha möjlighet att nå ut till folk, i alla fall, ändå

Second Excerpt

A: det är ju inte självklart det här med att... det är nåt man måste motivera hela tiden, varför man ska hålla på med såna här saker (mm), det är inget som... på ett sätt är det ju så att dom- det här projektet så är dom som är med är ju främst... kvinnor som också har varit i samma situation eller liksom vet hur det- det är ju inte liksom... det, vi är ju egentligen bra på det här, eller man skulle ju egentligen ha med dom här gamla rockrävarna som ni pratar om som sitter där på sin plats liksom och... men det blir ju så att, att det blir vi som, som kommer och jobbar med det som har... vart, eller vart i samma situation själva, och därför kan man identifiera sig med det. Men det är ju- på ett sätt är det ju- det blir ju så att man blir bärare på nåt sätt av... ja, av den här jämställdhetstanken... men, för det, egentligen borde det ju vara integrerat i, i liksom den övriga verksamheten, att inte- hos studieförbunden och så där. Och på, det är ofta som vi upplever det också på studieförbunden att det är just kvinnor som jobbar med det, tror jag, för det mesta.

B: som jobbar med jämställdhetsarbete? (mm)

A: mm, mm. Att det blir liksom (B: dom är), ja då blir det-

B: dom är fortfarande försvinnande få, så va (mm), inom studieförbunden (mm). Det är en del av problematiken.

Cecilia: varför är det så?

B: jo men det är väl, precis, jag menar, vilka- de som anställs som rockkonsulenter och så där på studieförbunden, det är ju gamla rockare och gamla rockare är oftast killar... som känner sig säkra på det här att liksom [gör ett ljud], de delar ut lokaler, fixar till, alltså, känner sig säkra på teknik och känner sig... väldigt etablerade i den här världen, och det är lätt att överföra till grabbarna som kommer där med sina guror liksom (mm). Det är en väldigt manlig... värld, inom musiken och inom studieförbunden, och det, där, det är det som känns extra bra med det här projektet, att det verkligen har väckts mycket tankar hos studieförbunden, och att dom är så pepp och med i det här. För det känns som en, liksom... den stora utvecklingspotentialen, att man får med studieförbunden och att dom börjar tänka och börjar anställa, nästa

gång de anställer en rock-... konsulent så är det, kanske det är en tjej. Och det skulle betyda enormt mycket (mm). Jag är helt säker.

C: dels det, och dels hur man, hur man går ut med sin (mm)... eh... alltså, marknadsföring, liksom se över, varför är det så få tjejer som känner till studiecirklar och studiecirkelsverksamhet över huvud taget, eller så där, varför blir det inte tilltalat, för att dom står där och oftast säger: "jamen alla är välkomna, det är öppet för *alla*, och vi skulle ju inte tacka nej, vi tycker ju det är jättebra, för oss, och roligt". Men att man kanske inte har dom rätta, eller man kanske inte har tänkt ett extra steg längre, hur man då genom kvinnliga förebilder inom studieförbundet som går ut och aktivt jobbar på kanske, då, med en annan syn på vem som är potentiell rockstjärna (mm), men också så här, eh, hur ser bilderna ut, som man presenterar på sin hemsida eller i sitt material (mm), sådär... och hur ser kurserna ut, och var, var, var går dom ut med den informationen någonstans? Går det ut till, till alla...? Ja, lite så där.

A: ja, det går ju oftast till fritidsgårdar, och fritidsgårdar är oftast killar, eller liksom, det, det blir på nåt sätt att det blir samma, eller liksom... ja, det, det går i samma gängor, det är- som jag har upplevt det så är studieförbunden ganska konservativa, alltså det är samma grej dom håller på med, samma- inte alla, men på många ställen är det så att dom kör med sin verksamhet och så kör dom på, liksom, som dom alltid har gjort, och dom kanske inte tänker att det behövs nån speciell satsning om det- inte förrän det kommer en tjej, plötsligt, och, och, som brinner för det här, så blir hon den personen som tar tag i det här (mm), och, och gör nånting. och då blir det också på nåt sätt, tror jag, jobbigt för... för såna personer för att det blir ju på nåt sätt deras personliga intresse också då, och ingenting som, som man ska jobba- egentligen faktiskt är självklart att man ska jobba med... jag tror att det är viktigt det här med bemötande också, att liksom en tolvårig tj- man vet ju själv hur det var när man ringde, liksom och så bara: "Hej, liksom, jag vill börja spela" och så, och man möts av en burdus mansröst som liksom bara: "Ööh" [skrattar], för så var det verkligen där jag bodde när jag var yngre, så man vet ju, man har ju det här med sig liksom [med liten ljus röst]: "ja, jag vet inte riktigt, eller jag vill spela lite gitarr", liksom sådär. Det är inte det lättaste att ta det steget (B: nej), utan, man måste ju i princip stå där [skrattar], stå där, man måste stå där med öppna armar liksom, det är ju svårt över huvud taget. alltså man ser på killar och tjejer i den åldern hur, vilken skillnad det är i och med att killarna tar mer plats än vad, vad tjejerna gör. Så, så märker man att, att, att killarna är mer framåt, liksom, sådär... Det märker man- (Cecilia: Hur märker man det?) Det, det har jag märkt- alltså främst har jag märkt det i skolor när jag har vart vikarie och så där, att- särskilt musiklektioner, att killarna, dom tar för sig mer och tjejerna håller tillbaka lite mer, då är det ju alltså grupper där det är både killar och tjejer, men ofta om man sätter tjejerna för sig själva då blir det ju, blir det inte riktigt på samma sätt, utan då... får dom ett eget rum, då liksom, där dom kan... där dom kan vara, jag vet inte varför det är så, men det är väl det här med könsroller och hur vi blir uppfostrade... och så där.

C: mm, den skillnaden-

B: väldigt djupa strukturer (C: ja... den skillnaden märker man ju) från dag ett [suckar]

C: ... tydligt, just med att... [drar efter andan] k-k-killarna är inte så hårda mot sig själva, de är inte så hårda mot att döma sig själva så hårt medans tjejerna... säger inte, de har väldigt svårt för, för en att känna en såhär: "Jag kan det här". Det ska ta jävligt lång tid, och mycket... mycket... mycket grejer bakom för att man ska, som tjej ska kunna säga: "Jag kan spela gitarr" (mm). En helt- det här märker man en jättestor skillnad, även fast det är en tjej som kommer och en kille som kommer och har samma förkunskaper... så... så är det som attitydsskillnaden är enorm.

B: det märkte väl NN på det här trumseminariet, va, det var några som smög in där och sa att: "Nae, jag har spelat lite grann", eller... (jah!) och sen var det såna riktiga svinbra trummisar liksom. (ja) (ja) [någon skrattar till, någon håller upp vatten]

A: men man märker ju det när man ser skillnad, jag kommer ihåg Popkollo, en tjej som var såhär: "Jag är så jävla bra på trummor!" [flera skrattar], och satt och skrek: "Jag är så grym!", liksom såhär, och då blir man såhär: "Oj", eller liksom, det är inte så [flera skrattar], inte så vanligt, sådär (C: Nej, det), att det är på det sättet.

C: Så jäkla skönt, men jag tror inte det skulle kunna hända om man inte var... (nej, nej) var på ett sånt ställe, och där man fick just den, bara känna att man var neutral på det sättet och bara få, få *va* det (mm)... för det är ingen som kommer att säga emot dig, det är ingen som kommer hävda sig emot dig... utan det är bara såhär alla: "Ja, wow, ja! Fan vad grym du är!" [flera skrattar] Det är den man får, inte nån som ställer sig så: "Men asså, vaddå?" [skratt] eller typ... man behöver inte va rädd för det, och då tror jag det är mycket lättare att få släppa loss hela den grejen. För mig tog det, till att, när jag började jobba som musikledare, *då* insåg jag [knäpper med fingrarna]: "Shit, vad långt jag har kommit ändå", haha. Alltså, att en dag, då är man... vad var jag, tjugofem, där, tjugofyra...

Cecilia: Kommit långt med...?

C: Ja att nämen alltså att då börjar man inse såhär: "Jamen jag är ju *musiker*, ja just det!" [alla skrattar]. Eller, det är klart man identifierar sig ju på ett sätt nästan som musiker, men att man ändå såhär: "Just det, det var tio år sen jag började..." (B: Ja...) sådär. Att man får lite- för annars är man- man är fortfarande... fortfarande så mycket, även fast man är medveten om en del grejer så finns det så mycket saker som ändå ligger... öh, ja, man- man kommer ihåg så himla mycket från hela- allt det så mycket saker ligger i också fortfarande, att man kämpar med sin egen... identitet och kämpar med sin egen plats och sin egen, liksom så här... eh... "här är jag, och jag kan", typ. Fortfarande. Att man inte blir den som backar. Så har jag den här... ja, nej [skrattar]

A: men det är ju lite såhär för tjejer, det är lite fullt att ta plats, liksom, det är lite fullt

Appendix 4

att säga att man är bra (mm), liksom, ja, för då måste man *verkligen, verkligen* vara bra, då måste man va bäst, liksom (mm), av alla... [mycket tyst:] på nåt sätt...

Cecilia: varför är det så då?

A: [skrattar] jag vet inte, nå men det är väl för att man har mer ögonen på sig på nåt sätt, utan man är ant- så att- lite är det ju på nåt sätt att när man är tjej och misslyckas, då misslyckas man inte bara som person, utan det blir ju även som... som representant för hela... hela kvinnliga befolkningen liksom [skrattar]... på nåt sätt, då blir det ett bevis för att tjejer inte kan... (mm) [tyst:] på nåt sätt...

Cecilia: och där är det- (A: alltså, man kan uppleva det som-) Och där är det, där är det annorlunda för killar eller?

A: ja, för dom är ju- dom är ju indiv- dom är ju bara personer liksom, dom har ju inte nån könsstämpel på sig utan dom är ju bara där, som, som... dom är ju ett rockband och inget tjejband, till exempel, om dom är... (mm)

B: men dom är ju norm- det normala (D: de är trummisar, inte tjejtrummisar...)
(C: det normala)

C: ... dom är dom könsneutrala, vi är det andra könet liksom (mm)

A: så att allting (det är ju typiskt-) som tjejer gör blir på nåt sätt... det blir ju två dimensioner till det, det blir dels som musiker och sen även som tjej då

C: men det märker man ju väldigt tydligt ute att man blir representant för nån sorts tjejband om man spelar i ett tjejband, det vill säga ett band bestående av bara kvinnor, så, så, just det här med representera nån form av [skrattar] hela, såhär, kvinnligheten, såhär (mm) (just det): ”jaha, okej, det är det vi gör”

D: och: ”ni är precis som Sahara Hotnights”, liksom (C: ja, precis), som alla... (C: alla säger) alla tjejband är som Sahara Hotnights fastän att det är en helt annan musikstil [B fnissar] man spelar, liksom, bara [uppgivet:] (C: Ja) ”jaha”... [B, C skrattar]

B: men sen kan det ju också bli en, nån sorts nedlåtande överraskningsmoment i det, att: ”Fan vad bra hon spelar... för å va tjej”, finns det ju liksom inom parentes, så där (mm), att man blir liksom hyllad kanske för att (mm), *för att* man är tjej också (D: javisst), så kan det ju också bli (D: så kan det också bli), allt är ju så konstigt liksom (mm), antingen det ena eller det andra (D: *absolut*, och det där är ju också så jävligt störikt), det kan jag tänka mig att du har råkat på (D: ja, ja, visst): ”fan vad hon spelar schysst! Ja, en slagverkare, ja, ja...” eller?

A: men då är det ju liksom inte som... (D: mm, jo, så kan det ju va) då är ju inte det som trummis utan då är det för att du är tjej, liksom (D: mm...) jamen, du är inte

bra, då blir det så här, du är bra för att vara tjej, liksom.

D: ja lite den grejen, ja.

B: eller *fast* hon är tjej (...)

Third Excerpt

D: men jag tänkte på en grej där när du pratade om den där rockskolan och att ni... ja att ni är medvetna och att ni har den diskussionen hela tiden i personalgruppen, egentligen är det kanske det som är det viktigaste om man ska få en sån här (...) stämpel på sin verksamhet att det... att man... jag vet inte vi kanske har ett "kurspaket"... nämen att jag tänker att det viktigaste är ju nästan att man... att man på allvar liksom tar... att man tar den diskussionen på allvar (C, viskar: mm) ... att man liksom... är intresserad av att bli medveten och för att se strukturer i allting (mm)... sen så kan man ju vill man ju ha kravet att det ska mynna ut i nåt konkret men att... ja... (B: jo men också att det) jo men jag tänker att det är så jävla lätt att säga "jomen det är klart att det ska va tjejer i musiken då gör vi ett tjejprojekt"... (mm) och så ska det va i ett år och så...

B: eller en *dag*... (precis) vi har faktiskt gjort en tjejdag... i år

D: jo och det funkar inte... liksom

B: nej just det, det kom ingen [B och C skrattar]

D [allvarligt]: nej men för det är ju också sådär... det är ju så jävla viktigt med... vad man har hållit på med men... i det här att ha en långsiktighet att man inte blir liksom besviken... (...) att man liksom "jamen det hände ju inget liksom" eller... att man måste ju tänka att dom små stegen är svinviktiga liksom (B: mm) och fortsätter vi ett år till så kommer det att va... fler liksom (C: verkligen) och om ett år till och sen ska det fan fortsätta *forever* tills (ja) om fyrtiosju år liksom (mm) (mm)

C: nämen en hållbar struktur liksom

D: mm det är ju det vi måste bygga upp...

C: att det här har vi efter en en långsik-... ja, ja... en struktur som verkligen är genomtänkt

D: och det tar *svinlång* tid för den strukturen är ju *inbakad* i oss liksom (C: ja) det kan man ju inte förvänta sig att man ska fixa på en *tjejdag* liksom [skrattar], då är man ju fan go' alltså [B och C skrattar]

B: men sen tror jag också att

D: men det är ju det att folk är ju inte medvetna om det det är därför dom inte...

B: men sen handlar det om att nå en viss massa liksom, en kritisk massa liksom (C: ja)... och över en viss, är det över hur många procent det nu kan bli, då "brrrt!" då öppnas portarna det är jag helt säker på (C: mm)... för det är ju inte så att *vi* sitter här och tycker att tjejer ska spela i rock-... det är ju inte vi som har hittat på det utan undersökningar visar ju att tjejer *vill* spela... det är fler tjejer som går på konserter och den här fritidsvaneundersökningen visar att det är fler tjejer som skriver att dom vill spela i band än vad killarna gör liksom (C: mm)...

Cecilia: för det kan man ju tänka sig är... att nån kan tycka då att "är det verkligen så, måste det va så" är det inte att man tving- ska man tvinga att det ska va hälften tjejer, kan inte alla bara få göra som dom vill? (B: mm) kan dom inte det?

[kort tystnad]

B: jo men dom vill ju (C: dom vill men dom vågar inte)

C: och att dom vet inte vart dom ska *vända* sig... alltså så himla mycket har jag känt så som ändå har haft ett brinnande intresse för och ändå sitter här idag, men många gånger har jag känt såhär: vart ska jag vända mig? Var finns min plats? Var kan jag gå? Vem kan jag höra av mig till? Var finns mitt bollplank? Var finns min mentor? Det nätverket är inte självklart på samma sätt i och med att det inte finns, i och med att det inte är jämställt liksom.

B: Men det som är spännande i det här är ju inte att- där får vi ju passa oss också så att det inte är killarna som står som mall för vilken musik som ska spelas på scenerna... jag menar det är antagligen så att det är färre tjejer som har lust att spela dödsmetall. Det tror jag. Jag tror inte att lika många tjejer kommer att vilja spela det någon gång. av olika orsaker liksom och det behöver ju inte heller va målet, det är ju inte så att tjejerna måste kliva in i killmallen och spela den musiken som pågår just nu... som har formats av... vill man... utan det handlar ju om ett perspektiv som får lov att vidgas och en musikvärld som kan bli mycket intressantare om det kommer in en massa tjejer som kommer in och gör andra saker och tänker på ett annat sätt kanske, eller inte eller vad det nu är som kommer att hända... som kommer och plockar in liksom andra värderingar och men alltså som tekniker och i musikvärlden över huvud taget, jag tror det kommer att bli... givetvis så kommer det att berikas, titta på konst eller litteratur eller vad fan som helst... hur tråkigt hade det vart om det bara hade vart manliga författare liksom... som det ju faktiskt var för hundra år sen... som kom fram... jag menar det är ju det handlar ju om att alla ska få göra vad dom vill och det är ju inte så att kvinnor eller tjejer ska kliva in i den rollen tycker jag i den världen som männen har skapat utan nu ska det hända nåt nytt och då kan det va så att man har lust att spela punk och då gör man det... för att tjejer går ju lika mycket på... det finns en viss skillnad i vad man går och lyssnar på, i alla fall har dom undersökningar som vi har gjort visar, men inte särskilt stora skillnader... det

är fler killar som går på metal och det är fler tjejer som går på pop liksom... men inom den stora kakan som är populärmusikgenren så är det ju fler tjejer som är ute och lyssnar på musik... och dom går ju inte och lyssnar på folkmusik eller singer-songwriter-musik bara eller kla- eller vad man nu förväntar sig att tjejer ska göra eller... pianokonsserter... [skrattar] utan det är ju verkligen det är minst lika många eller det är fler tjejer inom den totala populärmusikkakan som konsumenter liksom, och dessutom har ju den där frivaneundersökningen visat att det är fler tjejer som vill spela i band än vad killarna säger

Cecilia: vilken undersökning?

B: (...) ja men den heter frivan, gå in och sök på det så kan du...

C: men jag tänkte på det du sa om så här jämställdhet och jämställdhetsplan eller sådär... för vi var ju uppe i Stockholm sådär och gick på det här seminariet med... dels med Popkollo och sen med det här riksförbundet Zip som var där och pratade och bland annat höll på med det här Girltech (...) dom var såhär: "äh, man ska ha en jämställdhetsplan", det är många som har en jämställdhetsplan, den skrivs så fint och sen så läggs den i en pärm och så glöms den bort och så hade dom tagit fram en sån här glassig liten enkel ungdomsinriktad folder, eller vad ska man säga flyer, med massa bilder enkla pratbubbletexter och sånt för att nå ut med jämställdhetstänket på det sättet och jag menar... jag vet inte man kan nå ut på många olika sätt men bara man... tänker att det är nåt som ska göras i praktiken och inte bara i teorin på nåt sätt... för att visa att man är en god person

Cecilia: du tyckte den var bra eller

C: jag tyckte ändå att det är ett bra tänk eller att man får tänka... där man har tänkt extra någonstans med hur når vi ut med våra, med det här, för nu är ju dom samordnare för en massa föreningar och så här eller dom har en massa föreningar som framförallt handlar om det här med LAN eller datorföreningar liksom där dom sitter och spelar tillsammans på olika nätverk och där det just är nittiofem procent killar eller nåt sånt... och då har man märkt på många träffar och så vidare att det är... dels könsskillnaden är enorm men också att det är en stor uteslutenhet bland tjejerna i och med att killarna kanske sitter där och tittar på porr och att det finns helt olika bilder av dom här spelen som visas, vem det är som är actionhjärte och hur ser actionhjälten ut och så vidare

A: det är ju precis samma sak som

C: det är exakt samma sak, ja precis

A: som i musiken, alltså som tjej får man ju förhålla sig till ett manligt ideal alltså när man ämnar scenen ungefär (ja) (mm) för att det finns ju liksom en förståelse vad... eller hur, vem är det som musicerar liksom och vad är normen och hur ser

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den ut och då som tjej då är det ju klart svårt att... på nåt sätt man passar ju inte in där och har ju inget sånt mellan benen man ska ha typ som styr hela den- alltså det handlar ju så mycket om sexualitet på nåt sätt, det här med... dels också det att stå på scen på nåt sätt... för tjejer blir det en annan sak, eller det blir ju inte samma sak när dom sätts in i det sammanhanget utan det blir ju mer som att... alltså det är så lätt för en tjej på scen att bli ett objekt, precis [till D:] som du sa att dom sa "vad snygga ni var" liksom (mm) så att det är ju så många dimensioner till det här med att börja spela- alltså det finns ju så många hinder, många mer än vad man tror för det är ju liksom redan på nåt sätt förutbestämt, det är utformat av män för män, det finns en mall för hur man ska va, vad man ska spela som du sa och passar man inte in där så är man ju på nåt sätt accepteras man kanske inte på samma sätt

C: just mannen är subjekt och kvinnan är objekt, liksom

B: ja och sen finns ju dom givna rollerna inom musiken liksom det finns ju hur många kvinnliga artister som helst, men alla, nittiofem procent, jag vet inte hur många procent, det är ju alltså sångerskor som är snygga liksom som ska va, som har sin givna roll... det är tryggt liksom: "ja så har vi en tjej som sjunger" det är ju jätetryggt det är ju klart

A: och det är ju dels det här med tekniken, man ska va så tekniskt kunnig och man ska va, dels också kunna, att man ska va en sån gitarrvirtuos, över huvud taget så ska man va så himla duktig eller det finns liksom lite sånt tänk att man ska vara... det är nog därför punken på nåt sätt... det är nog lättare för tjejer att va... att kanske inte va så fantastiskt jätteduktiga från början alltså att det är lättare att ta steget då och börja spela för att man inte behöver va så himla duktig... men det finns ju mycket det här, alltså när jag tänker på, när man drar det här stereotypa med killar att man ska va skitduktig och man ska va väldigt framåt, man ska liksom kunna med att bara ställa sig på scen och tycka att man är bäst i hela världen och nu kör man på liksom, det ska va så, man ska va så hård liksom på nåt sätt... och tjejer förväntas ju inte alls va på det sättet, över huvud taget, utan dom ska ju va mer mjuka och...

Cecilia: men måste inte pressen va ganska hård även på killar om det finns en sån norm? eller är den hårdare på tjejer tror ni?

A: ja men för att killar får ju- alltså för tjejer blir det en... det ställs ju dubbla krav på dom då att, dels va såna och dels inte va såna, så att då blir det ju liksom såhär att vad ska dom göra liksom (C: mm), oavsett vad dom gör så blir det fel... och bland killarna då är det ju mer... jag vet inte förresten [skrattar]... alltså dom får ju lov att vara i den rollen medans snarare blir det väl då för tjejerna- [höjer rösten:] nää men, jag tycker, alltså ändå om det är såhär: "ja tjejer ska laga mat" liksom, så är årets kock alltid man... så att på nåt sätt så har dom ändå... jag vet inte... [tystnad] faktiskt: det är okej ändå med killar om dom är lite blödiga såhär och gör lite fin singer-songwriter-pop så, eller typ Håkan Hellström så är det vackert och fint också liksom eller (mm) (mm) på nåt sätt så känns det som om killar får lov att vara... på

olika sätt men tjejer ska va på ett sätt när dom är i det sammanhanget... [med mycket svag röst:] det vet jag inte varför det är så...

[tystnad]

Example 2

First Excerpt

Cecilia: ja vill ni presentera er? berätta nåt om er själva?

W: jag heter W, jag kommer från N-stad, och jag har tyckt om musik sen jag var liten... min pappa är musiklärare så jag gled väl in på det ämnet ganska tidigt... och [suckar] jag har... spelat musik, jag spelade synth och piano när jag var liten, sen började jag spelade gitarr när jag gick i åttan och så har jag velat utveckla det så har jag gått på estetiska linjen musik och... alltid haft nåt *band* och... alltid haft en fot inom musiken

Cecilia: sa du vad du spelar för instrument?

W: gitarr

Cecilia: gitarr

[tystnad]

W: ha...

[Cecilia vänder sig mot V]

V [hostar]: jag heter V... jag kommer från M-stad... har spelat trumpet väldigt länge, och lite piano och sånt på musikskolan och så så... och så har jag spelat mycket folkmusik, nu spelar jag bas här [drar in luft mellan läpp o tand] och det är kul haha [nervöst småskratt från de andra] och jaa, mm... har pysslat på lite olika... eller, på olika *sätt* med musik höll jag på att säga men olika sammanhang... mm...

Cecilia: har du spelat folkmusik med trumpet också då eller?

V [på inandning]: jaa

Cecilia: ha [tystnad]. (...) och hur hamna ni här nu då?

W: eh... jag sökte förra året efter musiklinjer, och så hittade jag den här linjen bara för tjejer och jag tyckte det verka jätteintressant för att det just också bara var...

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för tjejer... man kände att man verkligen... kom *med*... i gruppen, för jag har haft erfarenhet om det är killar också med så blir man ofta tillbakaputtad, så att killarna får mer möjligheter, än tjejerna, och nu så verkar det en gyllene tillfälle att det är bara tjejer och man verkligen får va med och komma fram mer... [tystnad] [snabbt:] tycker jag

[tystnad]

V: ja- jag- (W: jag är klar) du... he he, jag sökte nog mest för att jag... ville bo här i trakten och ville... gå i skolan och... hålla på med musik. Så jag kanske inte såhär sen så tyckte jag det verka bra och så men... [tystnad] det är lite såhär slump-... slump att jag hamna här, så... [tystnad]

Cecilia: kunde det lika gärna vart... musiklinjen nån annanstans då eller?

V: nej, eller, nej det kunde det nog inte för att jag ville inte... i såna fall skulle jag nog sökt på trumpet, jag ville inte spela trumpet... nu sökte jag på bas i stället (Cecilia: mm)... eh... [tystnad]... ja. [tystnad] ehm... [harklar sig:] om jag ska va helt ärlig så tänkte jag att det var ganska lätt att komma in här. Så då... jag spelade inte bas innan (Cecilia: mm) så... ja. Så var det. [fnissar, viskar:] ja. [Cecilia fnissar] men det ska väl kanske

Cecilia: [småskrattar:] jag vet inte om jag ska vänta ut er eller om jag ska börja prata själv... (F, skrattar: ja) (W: man bara: ”jaha?”)... förväntningar?

W: på kursen?

Cecilia: ja

W: eh... (Cecilia: du var inne lite på det) ja- (vad du tänkte när du sökte) jag hade inte så... höga förväntningar, jag ville mer utvecklas, genom musiken. Läsa mer noter och takter och såna saker var dom enda förväntningar *jag* hade på att jag skulle... få lära mig här (Cecilia: mm), men så visade det sig att det också var studioteknik och egna, ja, och gitarrkurser och ensembler och ut och spela och anordna spelningar och en massa saker

V: trodde inte du det, eller visste inte du det?

W: nej jag trodde inte det... jag trodde inte det skulle bli så här mycket... så jag förväntade mig för lite av den här, så, eller vad man ska säga

[kort tystnad]

V [svagt:]: du har blivit glatt överraskad

W: ja, faktiskt, jag kan se tillbaka på året med ett gott hjärta [skrattar till lite ansträngt]
[V skrattar dämpat]

[tystnad]

V: ja jag hade inte så mycket- jag hade inte så mycket förväntningar när jag började, sen så när jag började så fick jag *mer* förväntningar på nåt sätt... eh... ja... [tystnad] det var väl lite det där med att det var lite slump att jag kom hit och så, men sen- och att jag hade inte liksom... jag var, eftersom jag inte kunde spela bas heller så, jag kunde lite grann liksom, så... men sen när jag börja och insåg att jag började lära mig att spela och liksom att det kunde det blev såhär det växte... [tystnad] eh... men från början hade jag nog ganska låga förväntningar eller inte så mycket förväntningar alls... mer än att jag hade nog myck- jag hade nog mycket såhär förväntningar på att bo på landet och ha tillgång till grejer, såhär musik- tillgång till lokaler och till (Cecilia: mm) datorer och så här, och så ville jag bo på landet [skrattar, andas ut], det låter ju så sorgligt när jag säj- pratar om varför jag börja här [småskratt] (Cecilia: nä), men... ja, så det var liksom min främsta sådär att få bo i trakten och... ha tillgång till grejer [småskrattar]... [svagt:] så...

W: jag hade också en förväntning, när jag skulle börja här... eller förväntning och förväntning, jag *trodde*, när jag såg att det var så mycket genusinriktat, så blev jag jätterädd. Jättejätterädd, jag hade aldrig vart i, i dom kretsarna genus och feminism och såna saker innan [dörren öppnas och kursledaren kommer in med ytterligare en elev]

Kursledaren: jag får bara med mig en, motvilligt

Cecilia: [skrattar] välkommen

Kursledaren: det går inte alltså, det...

Cecilia: nä, vi får ta det som det är, det är bra

V: vilken tur att jag inte ens gick ner, det skulle

W: ska jag fortsätta? (Cecilia: ja, fortsatt) ja i alla fall jag blev jätterädd, och eh

Cecilia: du tänkte att det skulle va en massa...

W: ja alltså min bild av feminism var ju inte direkt... *fin* eller så, jag trodde det var tjejer som inte verkligen tyckte om män och ba-pa-pa... nej, ”vi ska fram, vi ska ut och demonstrera” och såna saker (Cecilia: mm), för det var ju min bild av feminism (Cecilia: mm). Men sen kom jag hit och då totalvändes det, jag såg att alla var likadan- alla bara skitschyssta, den bilden av feminism jag hade var helt upp-och-nervänd (mm) och jag började intressera mig för det mer och mer, och jag kom

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på att det händer verkligen, varje dag, att man blir på nåt sätt... ja, diskriminerad ka- nån går före i kön, om man håller på och pratar så kommer det nån och avbryter en eller liksom... räcker att dom frågar honom i stället för mig, eller alltså, varje dag så händer kanske nånting, om det inte är för en själv så är det för nån annan... och det hade inte jag sett innan (Cecilia: mm), för det hade jag blivit så van vid, men kursen (...) gjorde mig engagerad och ville verkligen veta mer om det... och då fick jag verkligen en bättre bild av... genus

[tystnad] [skratt]

Cecilia [till den nytilkomna eleven som läser papper]: vill du vara med? [ler]

X: men jag är med (Cecilia: ja...), jag lyssnar men jag läser det här

Cecilia: [inser att det är informationspappret för intervjun som läses] jaa, det var den, förlåt, (ja, nej, det är ditt papper) jag trodde du satt och läste [skrattar] noter... [spridda skratt]

X: ja jag tänkte att det (V, skämtsamt: kommer hit och försöker va [ohörbart]) [ngn tappar en penna] okej

Cecilia: jaa... men alltså, vad kan- vad vad är det för mening med att ha en sån här utbildning [ngn hostar] jämfört med alla andra musiklinjer som... som ju finns på olika håll och kanter... på andra folkhögskolor till exempel [ngn harklar sig]

[lång tystnad]

X: [undertecknar pappret] vad är det för datum... förlåt (den tredje) den tredje

V: alltså det är ju... alltså det är ju det behövs ju både som det är såhär föreningar med replokaler för tjejer och sånt här eftersom det *är* en så liksom- det är s-s-så mycket lättare för killar att... bara glida in... känns det som... eh, och... att... [tystnad] faktiskt liksom att ta plats liksom som tjej... nu kan jag bara prata utifrån *mig*, att förut när jag har vart... eller här är det lättare att... nu brukar inte jag spela trummor till exempel [skrattar] men ändå, eh, att liksom vandra runt lite på instrumenten och såhär men förut när jag har spelat med *killar* så är det liksom mer såhär att då har jag gjort det, spelat det där för då kan- då vet jag att jag kan det liksom, och inte... jag har vart såhär, känns mycket tr- svårare på nåt sätt att... göra nåt jag inte... jag skulle aldrig sökt till en... blandad linje på bas liksom [tystnad]... ehm... lite, det är mer tillåtande, här (W: mm) (X: mm)

W: men så känner jag det också att... det är som V säger att man kan testa så mycket mer för annars om man [suckar] är en tjej och kommer in på sång eller piano eller nånting, och man har ensemble då vill man ju inte sätta sig bakom trummorna och säga liksom, "ah titta vad jag kan", såhär ba-wa-wa-wa-wa [mimar ett trumsolo],

om man inte är säker... för det enda man ska göra där det är ju spela *piano* eller *sjunga*... annars är man rädd för att andra kollar lite snett på en (Cecilia: mm), så det är ju inte så tillåtet

Second Excerpt

Cecilia: vad är det ni, vad känns det som är det viktigaste ni tar med er erfarenhetsmässigt från det här året?

X: [småskrattar] jag tror att först får man nog ge det lite tid (mm) innan man börjar reflektera över det för nu är det här... det här är för mig, mycket är bra, mycket är *jävligt* dåligt, och... jag är väldigt arg ibland, så att innan jag har kommit över lite av det där så... *då* tror jag nog att man kommer att se det med lite mer (Cecilia: mm)... bättre ögon... än vad man gör det nu, (mm) mm [tystnad]

V: jag har nog tänkt mer och mer på... att... att sköta mig själv, höll jag på att säga [ler], alltså, såhär... för brist-, här, jag har inte vart med om att gå i musikskola utan eller med så lite... feedback (X: mm), musikaliskt... (Cecilia: hm!) eh... så det... är väl... har jag väl tänkt på [skrattar], att jag får håll- att lä-, liksom... (mm)

Cecilia: hur menar du med "sköta dig själv"?

V: att uppskatta mig sj-själv, att det är bara jag som [skrattar] haha uppskattar vad jag spelar, höll jag på att säga- jamen lite *grand* så här (Cecilia: mm) att liksom... på ont och *gott*, att det är ju klart att... jag spelar för mi-min skull liksom... men... jag är väldigt sådär beroende av... (X, svagt: beröm?) beröm, uppskattning... eh... och har ganska svårt att... rent, alltså om jag inte har... som nu så har man ju såhär, nu har vi haft schemalagt liksom (mm), spela, såhär, men förut när jag har spelat med folk där jag har känt mig *behövd* på ett annat sätt (mm) eller så, känt att det har vart *bra* på nåt- *bra* på det (ja)... öh...

X [svagt]: det har jag ju svårt att känna här

V: ja. Här är det liksom, får man... är man ju behövd på nåt sätt, men ändå inte...

X: nej... jag kan tycka att mycket... att mycket... mycket man känner är att det spelar ingen roll, det spelar ingen roll om man går hit, det spelar ingen roll för att... eh, det... på nåt vis så vill jag ändå ha... nån form av auktoritär ledare, en- inte *ledare* på det sättet men nån som ändå på nåt sätt *kan* påverka mig, för att... mmmm, liksom... jamen *får* man, om jag *får* det, och hon säger: "jamen det här är fel, gör så här i stället", då lär jag mig ju nånting, och liksom... [suckar]...

V: och så har du nåt (X: ja jag vet inte) att reagera mot [skrattar], höll jag på att säga

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X: ja precis, jag har nånting att ställa mig- antingen ställa mig *emot*, eller ta till mig, att jag får... att jag *får* nånting, att jag får *jobba* för det, att jag får kritik, beröm, men framför allt kritik så jag får *jobba* för det., så jag får uppnå känslan av shit jag fixar det, men här är det för enkla, oftast, ”gör så här det är lättare”, så har det ju vart nästan varje gång, och då är det jävligt svårt att känna att över huvud taget känna att man faktiskt har gjort nånting, att man har lyckats med nånting. Det kan ju va en- det behöver ju inte va nåt stort, för att alla små steg blir ju ett stort steg, men så, här kan det kännas som att det är skit samma

Cecilia: har du saknat en utmaning?

X: ja, absolut (mm), det här, hela grejen har ju vart en utmaning, men... små, det hade behövts fler små utmaningar längs vägen, nu kommer det några som har varit kanske skitkrävande, men... det är ju svårt att hålla *liv*, i det här... jag menar, nej jag vet inte riktigt vad man ska, liksom... det är klart att mycket har vart svårt, men inte tillräckligt svårt... jag vill ha mer att jobba för, det föder ju ändå... det hade ju fött mig med nånting, det hade ju gett mig nån sorts... nånting att kämpa för. Det är svårt att känna det här. (mm)

[tystnad]

Y: får jag- nu vill jag va med

Cecilia [skämtsamt]: Ja haha... (X: haha...) nu passar det...

Y: nä okej, skit i det då

Cecilia: jo, kom, kom och sätt dig!

V: kom då! [skrattar]

Cecilia: passa på innan jag stänger av apparaten för snart måste *jag* gå

V: oj

Y: nä men det var bara nånting du sa nyss om att, men nu har jag säkert tappat det bara för det...

Cecilia: utmaningar?

Y: ja just det, jo men jag känner att det är mycket såhåra personlig, alltså mera sån här person-, alltså... vad heter det nu då

X: [ohörbart] att man ska göra det själv?

Y: ja exakt att det bygger på att man måste ha eget engagemang, att hela konceptet är att "okej, här har ni he- here's the playground", liksom, "kom och lek", och så måste man ha själv viljan att leka, det är inte så styrt (Cecilia: mm)... vilket kanske är... genomtänkt, att det ska va så, men eftersom man kommer från ett samhälle där det är, det alltid står nån som säger vad man ska göra, så blir man ju så ställd när man plötsligt inte har det (mm)

V: men jag kan ju sä- jag kan tycka att det liksom är... det är ju jättebra på ett sätt, så, men samtidigt en så här... då skulle jag vilja ha nån slags uttrycklig idé... ny *pedagogik* eller liksom såhär för att jag menar (Y: att det var utsagt att det var så?) musik... ja, att... ja [tystnad] [skrattar] (X?: ja-) nä men att det blir som (Cecilia: få fatt i tanken) man har såhär, samtidigt som vi sitter *här* och såhär pratar om Spiderman och Barbie att samhället ställer högre krav på killar och tjejer ställs inga krav på och sen *ställs* inte nå krav på oss, förutom såhär att det kommer: "ni ska lämna in..." eller "ni ska...", det är liksom, var *är* det här komplicerade tänket då som ska (mm) utmana oss och varför och att liksom jag vill- jag kan inte... även om jag har ett personligt, ska ha ett personligt engagemang och *vill lära* mig så är det ju *dubbelt* jobb om jag ska sitta själv och tänka ut vad jag behöver lära mig och på vilket sätt jag ska lära mig av det... den situationen som är (mm)... det är *det* jag vill ha *hjälp* med, det är därför jag går i *skolan* (mm) (mm) annars så *blir* det ju så som jag ville [skrattar], att bo på landet och ha tillgång till lokaler, alltså (Y: mm, mm... jag håller helt klart med) att det är ett såhär jag vill att nån ska *se* bara såhär: "ja men V, (mm) du, har du tänkt på det här nu då, du borde öva på det här", istället är det såhär: "känner ni att ni att ni kan det här, annars så kan ni göra nåt annat, känner ni att ni vill göra det här..."

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