Claiming Space in a Music Classroom in Durban

- A study in a secondary school

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Abstract

The main aim which this study is to investigate is how claiming space in a secondary school music classroom in Durban is being expressed, through a gender perspective. The research aims to highlight and problematize how learners are claiming space in the music classroom. Furthermore it aims to examine how the concept claiming space can be problematized and contextualised from a Swedish-South African perspective. The data is processed in a secondary school, influenced by Star for Life, in the outskirts of Durban, South Africa. Three classes with one teacher have been observed through video-observations when participating in the Creative Arts. This data constitutes the foundation for the result in this study where social constructionism permeates the work, along with a clear focus on gender. Concepts that are frequently used in the study are related to the social constructionist perspective where normativity concerning femininity and masculinity is processed. Claiming space is also a commonly used concept within this study. The result shows that the possibilities for learners to claim space through music in the observed secondary school is clearly affected by the teaching style present and the setting in which the school is operating. It also shows tendencies for claiming space being present through currently existing gender patterns where boys are claiming space more frequently than girls. These indications are furthermore strengthened by previously carried-out research.

Foreword

An educational period that reaches over a time length of five years, gives great opportunity for consideration and reflection about the existence. A lot of ideas have come and gone during that period, while others have been deeply rooted and fortified.

Two years ago, my class and I had half of our third and second last internship placed in South Africa. The experiences were many during the time that we taught music in a secondary school in Durban, and in secondary schools outside the town of Hluhluwe. It was a very eventful time period, and South Africa grew stronger in my heart by the day. Shortly thereafter I heard that the opportunity to return would be given through a scholarship from the organisation *Sida*, to write my thesis on advanced level within the teaching education, a *Minor Field Study*. When the opportunity became reality, I seized it, to be able to contribute to development and to return to a beloved place.

I want to thank *Sida* for the scholarship which enabled this research. I also want to thank the secondary school, with all its learners, for letting me carry out my observations there and for Thandiwe Mazibuko and *Star for Life* for setting up the contact. Thank you Carina Borgström Källén for the great supervision during this whole period and thank you Josephine Hookway for the proofreading. A special big and loving thank you to Ester Hellman, Kwanda Diko, Nondumiso Muller, along with everyone else in the DCC church for making the stay so much richer.

Contents

1 Introduction

Something that has continuously been discussed during my teacher education has been questions about gender and equality. Questions that I have held before but from which I did not have as great a theoretical knowledge as I do now. A subject and issue that has also grown stronger within me over time.

Two years ago, my class and I visited South Africa during our internship. The experiences were great during the time that we taught music and during that internship a series of questions grew stronger in me by the day. One of them constitutes the base of this study.

This study is about how *claiming space* (Björck, 2011) in a secondary school music classroom in Durban is viewed from a gender perspective. The topic was found interesting after reading parts of Borgström Källéns (2014) dissertation *When Music Makes a Difference – Gender and Genre Practice in Interplay,* and it was thought to be interesting to see how the concept of claiming space appears in another culture. Borgström Källéns´ (2014) dissertation shows that claiming space in the music classroom in Sweden is partly dependent on genre, but also that the nonverbal communication and the implicit segment of claiming space in the music classroom is mostly occupied by men.

Ericsson and Lindgren (2010) and the National evaluation of the music classroom in Sweden (Skolverket, 2015) furthermore show how the music classroom and claiming space is affected by for instance the resources available at site. This ratio is problematic and creates imbalanced conditions in the long run about who has the greater opportunities to devote themselves to music. It also decreases the opportunity for artistry on equal terms. An observation I made on my last journey in South Africa was that the girls in some elements seemed inhibited in music practice. It became apparent when the learners, to music, would perform their traditional and high *Zulu-kicks*. Their uniforms were restrictive, partly where girls had skirts, some of them did not get the same opportunity for participation, and they looked a bit troubled, because they risked showing their underwear. That I consider a practical obstacle in the music classroom related to the understanding of claiming space. Furthermore I was curious about if research was to be found from South African music classrooms related to gender and claiming space. As a future teacher in music I see it as important to make music practices available for all learners, on equal terms. In the curriculum for compulsory school in Sweden (Swedish: *Läroplanen för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011*) it says (translated by the author) that:

> It [the education] should promote learners progress and learning, together with a lifelong lust for learning. The education should convey and preserve respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values upon which society rests… The school should promote understanding for other people and the ability for empathy. Care for one's welfare and development should incuse the occupation (Skolverket, 2011, p.7).

I found the topic claiming space in a secondary school music classroom in Durban urgent because the study has been carried out in a school represented by the organisation *Star for Life*, who themselves have very specific social goals about equality, that overlap the area of this research. More about *Star for Life* and their work is to be found in the background that follows.

The relevance of the subject has furthermore appeared to be highly topical in Sweden recently, and my ambition is that music education in both Sweden and South Africa can gain from this research. By this the research pointing towards strengths and weaknesses within the

music classroom that can point the music practices in the right direction. In the long run it can give insights and possibilities towards social development, equality and competition on equal terms.

1.1 Background

Below follows a description of the South African curriculum in grade R (Swedish: förskoleklass) to grade 12. It is presented in short before the subject *Creative Arts* is being processed. After that follows an explanation of the content in music in grade eight, due to eight graders being the focused group in this study, and because music is a part of the *Creative Arts*. Then the organisation *Star for Life* is presented do to them influencing the observed school. Finally a contextualisation of the South African history follows in the section *Historical Prints* before the background finishes by describing the purpose of the study and questions related to it.

1.1.1 National Curriculum Statement Grades R-12

The *National Curriculum Statement of South Africa* in grades R-12 aims to expresses what is worth learning within the South African school-system in terms of skills, knowledge and values. These indicated abilities of skills and knowledge are aimed to ensure that children acquire and apply them in a meaningful way in their lives. It is also promoted that the knowledge is to be used both in a local context as well as functioning in relation to global needs.

The schooling system is preparing learners for further education and making them suitable for work. It is also stressed that inclusivity, human rights and social justice is influenced in the system which points back towards the justice and human rights defined in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*. The curriculum continues stressing sensitivity to issues related to language, age, disability, poverty, diversity, race and gender among other factors and it furthermore serves the purpose of:

> …equipping learners, irrespective of their socio-economic background, race, gender, physical ability or intellectual ability, with the knowledge, skills and values necessary for self-fulfilment, and meaningful participation in society as citizens of a free country (Basic Education, 2011, p. 5).

1.1.2 Creative Arts

This subject includes a variety of art forms and it exposes learners to studies such as drama, dance, music and visual arts. Within these art forms, design and craft is also included and the subject is mandatory from grade R to grade nine. The main purpose with the subject of *Creative Arts* is to develop learners in ways of creativity to make them become imaginative individuals. Furthermore, an appreciation for the arts is requested and it is wanted that the learners learn the basic skills and knowledge to be able to participate in art associated activities. Finally, the subject aims to prepare learners for further studies related to the arts (Basic Education, 2011).

The South African schools themselves are free to choose two of the four art forms presented, and the school in this study has chosen to process music and drama as a combined subject within the *Creative Arts*. During the observations in this study however, only music was processed, and therefore the music section alone is presented below.

1.1.3 Music Content in Grade Eight

The content in the music classroom holds a variety of different elements. The basics of music is already taught in the seventh grade and it deepens its content in some forms in the eight. A short summary of the content in the eighth grade follows below.

The learners are supposed to learn different listening and hearing elements in music, such as dynamics, melodics, contrasts and rhythms. They are also supposed to learn to read scores, create an understanding for different meters and variated marks of tempo and articulation. The learners should also learn to create music by composing and adding another art form to it. Furthermore they should get the opportunity to sing both together and in groups with a variety in repertoire. The content in music is very wide and every aspect of it can therefore not be presented (Basic Education, 2011).

1.1.4 Star for Life

The organisation *Star for Life* reaches out to and operates in 120 schools in South Africa and Namibia. They support children in several ways through different programs such as *Art and Culture* and *Wellness*, along with others. *Star for Life´s* view is that children need to be nourished through many experiences in life in order to grow up as stable, self-lead individuals with a strong self-esteem and the power and will to have a positive impact on their surroundings. They need to be handed the proper tools to develop on a physical and emotional level, the organisation claims. For this to happen *Star for Life* attempts to teach children to get to know themselves in order for them to strive for their goals and dreams and bear through challenges on their way there. *Star for Life´*s results also indicates that the most positive progress is made amongst the poorest of girls.

One of the programs mentioned above is the *Art and Culture Program*. It is one of the organisations main programs which helps learners in schools to develop artistic skills which can be used to reach social transformation. This by creating an environment based on social cohesion where the learners dare to dream and are encouraged to do so. The other program mentioned is the *Wellness Program* that is associated with lifestyle. Here, psycho-social support is provided and the program is closely linked to the *Mobile Health Program*.

Star for Life is thus an organisation that strives both to maintain a good healthcare for children, in physical as well as psychological ways, and at the same time strengthen them as beings in order for them to become stronger and gaining a higher self-esteem (Star for Life, 2017). This agenda also reflects on the same values shown in the *National Curriculum Statement Grade R-12* about how a sensitivity of gender and differences and other problematical areas within school is to be maintained (Basic Education, 2011).

1.1.5 Historical Prints

To begin to understand the South African school-system it is necessary to first understand how apartheid has influenced society (Fiske & Ladd, 2006). Fiske & Ladd (2006) describe how four different categories were used to define peoples´ race during the apartheid regime. When the apartheid government raised to power in 1948 the school-system was highly influenced because it was possible within it to affect young people and in the long run even the society. It led to the dividing of learners according to their race, and schools with white children were the ones who got the most resources for education. Mathabe and Netswera (2006) furthermore describe how the new social order could be fortified by the system, a striving towards dominance of white people.

When ANC rose to power as the first democratic government in 1994 they stated that law and order should be equal for everyone and the school in particular was held as a clear

example of it, as described by Fiske and Ladd (2006). But the authors stress that it took a long time for any change to become evident and the enforced structures of apartheid are still permeating society in modern days. Spaull (2013) describes how apartheid still affects today´s society and because of it, South Africa is very segregated. Furthermore the black and coloured population still is the group of people in South Africa who has fewer economic resources than the minority group, white people. The ratio of economic standards and problematics concerning segregation also affect the possibilities for learners to get an education of high quality.

1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine how claiming space in a secondary school music classroom in Durban is being expressed, through a gender perspective. The research aims to highlight and problematize how learners are claiming space in the music classroom. Another aim is to examine how the concept claiming space can be problematized and contextualised from a Swedish-South African perspective.

1.3 Questions

How is claiming space expressed in the music classroom in a secondary school in Durban? How can the concept claiming space be problematized and contextualised from a Swedish-South African perspective?

2   Previous Research

In this chapter previous research is presented. At first a short section about *Music Education and Gender* is presented. It will be followed by a second section about *Music Education and Gender in Scandinavia,* to see what findings are made there. The third section aims in a similar way to show what discoveries are made within *Music Education and Gender in South Africa.* This section is followed by *The Music Classroom as Context*, describing possibilities and challenges within the Swedish and South African music classroom. Three different sections related to claiming space then end the *Previous Research* chapter, constituted by *Claiming Space and Sound, Claiming Space and Body* and *Claiming Space and Normative Masculinity. Claiming Space and Normative Masculinity* is especially presented to show how claiming space relates to gender issues, masculine hegemony and how learners are expected to occupy the music classroom by the way they are acting (Björck, 2011). This breakdown and separation between gender and claiming space is in fact not necessary to make. It is done though to easier grasp claiming space, which gender issues in the end, are all about.

To find the material constituting the base in the *Previous Research*, searches were made containing words as claiming space, equality, gender, music classroom, norms, constructionism, education, resources and South Africa in different combinations. This was made in the data bases *Eric*, *Rilm* and *Gunda* but searches were also made directly in the journal *British Journal of Music Education*.

2.1 Music Education and Gender

Green (1997) describes how gender always is an existing aspect in music teaching and in how relations in the music classroom are being formed. Green (1997) also shows that this phenomenon is common in the ways music teachers act in the classroom and how they talk about gender related matters. There appears to be a consensus among teachers in relation to these questions as to what is to be considered feminine and what is to be considered masculine. The music teachers seem to confirm and cement traditional gender patterns about girls being better than boys in singing because it is a normatively women-coded instrument. On the other hand boys are seen as more creative than girls and that technology is more in their liking. Furthermore Green (2002) shows that contraposition in normatively gender based patterns is not so common among learners either:

> School-pupils use music as a shield which can hide, or a piece of clothing which can express something about their gender as well as their sexuality, amongst other social constructions (Green, 2002, p. 9).

Abeles (2009) shows the same patterns about instruments being normatively masculine and feminine coded. It is also highlighted that this phenomenon is something that has been frequent over a long period of time where the flute, violin and clarinet are instruments considered feminine coded while the drums and trumpets for instance, are considered masculine. However a distancing from these gender patterns was also observed because influences from family and peers among other factors, can contribute to a non-stereotyped instrumental choice. In these instrumental choices teachers can play a vital role though, to decrease gender associations within.

Green (1993) writes about how there are also typical gender based ways of action for people and how they tend to act accordingly to these ways. One of those presumed ways can be described by how girls and boys are choosing instruments in normative patterns, in relation to social construction. There are not only girls though who are not free to choose which

instrument they would like to play or participate in any musical activity that they want. Green (1993) describes that this is a phenomenon which also affects boys. It comes out of the fear of intruding on the other sex´s domain. Girls however, always have to adapt a certain modesty in their approach to maintain their normative femininity.

A research study done by Charles (2004) in a primary school in London with 8-10 year olds in the music classroom indicates and that gender related patterns within music comes from early age. Also in general terms assumptions circulated among the children about how to be feminine and how to be masculine. But it was also found to be relevant within music contexts as a result of carried on ideals passed down from history about how girls and boys ought to be and what they are able to accomplish in music.

The girls in the study reinstituted and stressed ideals and assumptions about femininity in the way that they acted and talked about themselves, underpinning the assumption about femininity being an act in the private sphere, as earlier pointed out. The girls talked about themselves as persons enjoying singing and dancing and that girls in general usually sing in the background (Charles, 2004). A similar pattern is shown below by the understanding of the phenomenon *woman-body-song* (Björck, 2011).

The study performed by Charles (2004) also investigated how girls among the informants found their own composing abilities and what they liked within their works. In general, in the girls' perception, they did not believe much in their abilities in composing nor that they had improved during the lessons. Green (2002) shows that this pattern and view of learners in the music classroom is also frequent among music teachers and their assumptions about boys and girls abilities within composing. The girls interviewed in Charles (2004) study also described their best features in their compositions as the soft and slow parts. In this way they cement and perpetuate structures within society which view normative femininity as abilities not able to work in large forms.

In a similar way as Charles (2004) is finding girls to underestimate their abilities in composing, Marshall and Shibazaki (2013) have made comparable discoveries within their research. When composing with the help of a computer, learners had different approaches to their reached results when struggling. Boys blamed the lack of different instruments within the programme to relate to their struggles whilst the girls to a higher extent blamed themselves and their own lack of skills in relation to the programme. Furthermore boys to a higher extent than girls liked composing with the computer on their own or in very small groups. This for not needing to cooperate with less talented learners than themselves, they claimed. When viewing what sounds the learners created and preferred in the computer-based composing practices, boys tended to experiment more than girls looking for sounds they had heard in videogames and in movies. In contrast the girls preferred creating sounds similar to instruments they played (piano or flute) or to sounds reflecting the mood of their piece.

In this way both the girls and boys were cementing gender based structures within society (Charles, 2004).

Green (2002) also highlights the same patterns but within instrumental choice. It is described above how girls and boys tend to choose instruments in relation to normative femininity and masculinity and here it is furthermore expressed by girls preferring audio week instruments such as the flute and different keyboard instruments. These attributes are assumed to go more hand in hand within the classical music genre than the popular music one. This phenomenon reproduces already existing patterns within society and it underlines assumptions about normative femininity and masculinity and cements conventional gender patterns. As shown below by Bergman (2011), Green (2002) also describes how girls and boys have to act accordingly to certain gender based conceptions to maintain their normative femininity or masculinity. For girls it is about performing music softly and slowly while boys are to uphold a macho surface to maintain their masculinity. Mainly this leads to girls being

excluded from several music contexts and it reproduces the historical view of normative femininity.

It is furthermore evident in Charles (2004) study that teachers also reinforce already existing norms about femininity and masculinity and how girls and boys should act. These assumptions about femininity and masculinity is then drawn from school to exist and influence the mind even outside of school.

Green (1997; 2002) indicates the same patterns, as stressed above, when she describes how gender is discussed among music teachers. She highlights how music teachers tend to cement already existing norms about femininity and masculinity and what girls and boys abilities within music are. One of these pre-assumed abilities concerning gender, Green (2002) describes to be an existing phenomenon both among teachers and learners, and that is the assumption of the "creative genius" to be a normative masculine attribute. This conception was in the study not a significantly challenged one.

As mentioned above, schools do not in general seem to challenge these gender based assumptions in a very high extent. It is described by Green (2002) in the following by the explanation that:

> Rather, the school perpetuates subtle definitions of femininity and masculinity as connotations of different musical practices and musical styles, in which learners invest their desires to conform, not necessarily to the school, but to the wider social construction of gender (Green, 2002, p. 10)

2.2 Music Education and Gender in Scandinavia

According to Bergman (2011) there are traditionally sexual coded action patterns that people tend to act accordingly to. Within music education it is about boys and girls acting supporting in ways of category in music related situations. They act from norms that are taken for granted about what is masculine and what is feminine. For instance girls in a normatively masculine coded environment tend to diminish their own abilities, Bergman (2011) shows, when a rock band environment is being problematized. Normative femininity is hard to maintain in a rock band environment that is masculine coded, if the aim is to perform and achieve at the same time in that environment. The normative femininity prescribes restraint, tolerance and control which compared to the rock bands´ audio strong instrumentation are not comprehensible.

Björck (2011) stresses that it is therefore difficult for girls to show their knowledge within the popular music genre. Their normative femininity does not go well with ideals within the genre if they are also to perform in mentioned context. This because attributes like loudness is one of the advocate abilities necessary.

Kvarnhall (2015) also describes how normative gender patterns are very obvious in music and how music itself constitutes a socialising process. In that process gender is constructed along with sexuality and those patterns create understanding of the reality. It is further described how it within the rock-music genre is a form of hegemonic structure of how the music is supposed to be presented. From this view values in the genre keep being maintained as normatively masculine which makes the genre itself a normatively masculine coded one. Kvarnhall (2015) furthermore states that to understand how the structures within the rock-music genre operates you also have to lift up your eyes and observe structures within society, this to fully understand how the genre is masculine coded and male-dominated. Kvarnhall (2015) also describes contrapositions in the rock music in a similar way to Bergman (2011). He clarifies how the music instruments in rock music are masculine coded and how it therefore restrains women to play within the genre. This because the instruments

are supposed to be played with loudness and aggression- attributes that are described along with normative masculinity. When women are playing those types of instruments they are at the same time distancing themselves from normative femininity.

Furthermore Bergman (2011) describes that this gender typical way of action is also very obvious in music teaching. Learners from the secondary school that Bergman (2011) met did not show the same behaviour in the rest of the subjects, according to their class manager, which shows how significant these structures are in the subject of music.

The structures described are also very typically shown by how boys tend to claim physical space in the music classroom. It is described more thoroughly below in the *Theoretical Framework,* but in short it states that normative masculine behaviour are attributes that are used to claim space in the music classroom and how these attributes are difficult for girls to embrace, if they at the same time want to uphold a normative femininity (Björck, 2011). Borgström Källén (2014) also makes similar claims and it is in her research evident that female instrumentalists tend to diminish their own abilities in relation to men in normatively masculine environments.

Kvarnhalls (2015) findings are pointing towards how girls and boys within the music classroom tend to choose or play instruments according to normative gender patterns, which can be understood as gender-based typical ways of action. This similar to the explanation above from Green (1997) and Abeles (2009). The boys preferred instruments like the guitar and drums which goes hand in hand with the mentioned research. Their surroundings were further upheld by typical gender patterns where their instrument teachers were men, their band members were men and their music teachers were women, and this is to be understood as a recreational cycle. Furthermore Kvarnhall (2015) discusses similar gender patterns and stresses that it is common within popular music that technology in different ways is to be processed. He also describes how music technology is viewed as a normatively masculine coded phenomenon.

To highlight how girls and boys tend to act accordingly to norms in the music classroom Björck´s (2011) explanation about *doing gender* (Butler, 1993; Björck, 2011) is highly adequate to use. Doing gender can be understood as the social process that happens in mans every day actions. The movement of the body consolidates our persona. In that way, gender is something that we recreate every day, Björck (2011) describes. This socialising process about how gender constructions are being made is thus to be understood through social constructionism. Social structures in society are being built by different actors, and they are to be understood differently over time and not to constitute constants (Bryman, 2016; Burr, 2003). Because of that the concept of doing gender is highly appropriate to use (Butler, 1993; Björck, 2011). Doing gender is thus about reaching different positions that in relation to each other are given different values in a hierarchical context, Bergman (2011) further explains when she refers to Connells (2002) theory of masculinity. Masculinity and femininity ascribes different values where masculine properties have greater value then feminine. To maintain these structures, a constant distinction between sexes are being upheld (Bergman, 2011; Connell 2002). This distinction is simultaneously maintained through the presumption norm of heterosexuality that is a key component to create femininity and masculinity (NE, 2017). If learners in the music classroom continuously act accordingly to these norms they are always doing gender, or at least they are strengthening those already existing structures and norms about femininity and masculinity (Björck, 2011). Nor is it faraway comparing this phenomenon with how female instrumentalists in jazz ensembles tend to diminish themselves and their abilities in their interactions with men as Borgström Källén (2014) argues. It was in her research also observable within the contexts of popular music and rock. There the girls held up a more discrete position by comparison to the boys. One way in which they were doing so was in the way they did not claim space with sound in as high

extent compared to the boys. This probably because of the genres attributes more speaking to boys than girls. It can be described further by how boys and girls identities are created differently according to normative gender patterns but also through instrument practices. The vocalists, that are often girls, do not get the same space in the music classroom related to their less audio strong instruments. Instead their bodies are highlighted because of the voice being connected to them, which leads to an objectification within the music classroom.

In the long run though, if people are acting accordingly to norms as indicated, it leads to the cementation of gender issues. But to diminish the problem in this way may lead to the assumption of the problem lying by the individual and that the individual must claim space in a masculine coded way. This is further problematized by Björck (2011) in the section *Claiming Space and Normative Masculinity* (Björck, 2011). It is possible to say that different contexts are providing different possibilities for action, and within the rock-music genre, as a masculine coded phenomenon, it gives terms of action within a normatively masculine coded way (Kvarnhall, 2015).

To start breaking down gender related patterns and ways of action in the music classroom such as these shown above, it is necessary for music teacher students to work with these assumptions in their training. This for not cementing sex-stereotyped structures within the music classroom that are related to doing gender. Instead of reinforcing currently existing patterns within society, teachers can embrace the fact that the music classroom is closely linked to a democratic upbringing, which the different curriculums presented above are showing (Skolverket, 2011, p. 7; Basic Education, 2011 p. 5). Because of that, teachers could on the contrary play a vital role in an educational change towards equality (Björck, 2011).

2.3 Music Education and Gender in South Africa

This presented research that follows is about gender equality in South African school in general, because no gender research was to be found within a music context. In particular the research found addresses gender issues within early childhood and stresses what needs to be done there in order to strive for equality.

It is evident in the research carried out at a primary school by Bhana, Nzimakwe & Nzimakwe (2010) that gender is created in early age. Assumptions about gender were frequently shown among the learners in their interaction with each other in relation to normative femininity and masculinity. One of these ways was clear by learners playing games in the school yard consisting of imaginary heterosexual family life. In general, doing gender seems to be most frequent in townships where gender and sexuality is enforced on children in early age.

It is not common with research about gender in early ages in an African context, the authors claim. Therefore it is important with similar studies to highlight gender issues. This because the debate about gender in a broader perspective mostly consists in the form of a feminine problem. Changes in assumptions about gender are therefore crucial to be made in the early years (Bhana, Nzimakwe & Nzimakwe, 2010). *The National Curriculum Statement Grade R-12* speaks about interleaving gender issues in the classroom (Basic Education, 2011, p. 5) Bhana, Nzimakwe & Nzimakwe (2010) stresses though, that a policy itself will not change the ways of action among people related to gender and equality. It is an active work that needs to be inserted.

Bhana (2014) raises the dilemma about heterosexuality being the normalized inhesion for learners to act accordingly to. It is a preconception that teachers reinforce on learners to embrace, both in South African schools and in schools in the west. This attitude is preventing schools from improving on moral, educational and social outcomes, Bhana (2014) claims.

The assumptions come from heterosexuality being the norm to which boys and girls ought to act accordingly in normatively masculine and feminine ways. Why this is a common problem within school is because the hetero normativity also inflicts on teachers thinking in their everyday lives within cultural and social systems. The teachers however need to embrace a moral education based on research about gender in order to create a functioning climate for all learners.

Bhana (2009) claims in her research that teachers in a primary school in Durban solidified assumptions about gender. There, a hegemonic masculinity was present along with normative assumptions about femininity and masculinity which lead to the assumptions constituting and cementing the norms. Behaviour among the boys demonstrating male power was even reinforced by the teachers. Bhana (2009) stresses the importance of not manifesting hegemonic masculinity but in the long run instead deconstructing male power patterns. It is important to educate teachers within the understanding of gender to not cement dominant conceptions and to make learners aware of the discourse. Bhana (2009) further says that:

> If gender issues are not addressed in the early years then stereotyped assumptions reproducing patriarchal relations will go on uninterrupted in schools – in transgression of South Africa's laws and in contravention of gender equality sanctioned by the Constitution (Bhana, 2009, p. 338).

As Bhana, Nzimakwe & Nzimakwe (2010) claimed above, an active work towards equality needs to be made continuously.

2.4 The Music Classroom as Context

Findings related to the context in the music classroom in Sweden and South Africa is presented below. This to create an understanding of how the different settings work, what resources are available and what possibilities the learners in the contexts have for expressing themselves through music.

2.4.1 The Music Classroom as Context in Sweden

Ericsson and Lindgren (2010) have in their research found out that the resources available at site in music classrooms clearly affects the quality of the music teaching and the possibilities for lessons to take shape. This is a phenomenon that is strengthened by the National evaluation of the music classroom in Sweden (Skolverket, 2015). The carried-out research shows that the possibilities that are offered and present in the music classroom affect how the teaching can be carried out. But it also affects learners in ways of possibilities to express themselves through music. Skolverket (2015) thereby indicates that the ratio creates imbalanced conditions in the long run about who has the greater opportunity to devote themselves to music, which leads artistry on equal terms to something difficult to achieve in the music classroom.

In Ericsson and Lindgren´s (2010) study it furthermore became evident that an ideological dilemma was present among music teachers making it hard for them to balance between the school´s democratic upbringing and at the same time let learners express themselves freely in music in the classroom. During their research however they saw how teachers sometimes managed to focus both on a music agenda and at the same time adjust and strive towards a democratic upbringing.

Above when Bergman (2011), Björck (2011), Borgström Källén (2014) and Kvarnhall (2015) were showing how learners in their studies were claiming space and doing gender related to music, they indicated that the observed schools had instruments in their classrooms.

In the National evaluation of the music classroom in Sweden (Skolverket, 2015) it was evident that the music classrooms did contain many different types of instruments and other music related items. A ratio also attested by Ericsson and Lindgren´s (2010) study, when they investigated different aspects of the music classroom in school´s settings in Sweden. And as shown above these conditions strongly affect the learners´ possibilities to express themselves through music and how the music teaching can be carried out (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010; Skolverket, 2015).

2.4.2 The Music Classroom as Context in South Africa

Van Niekerk Jansen and van Vuuren (2015) have carried out research investigating how music teaching is applied in schools in South Africa. They were looking into the field with the alignment towards resources as one of their focused areas. Their findings indicate that it is very common for teachers within the *Creative Arts* subject not to have the proper training to teach. The authors stress that in order for these teachers to operate in a functioning way, they would need active support in the music classroom. Also Russell-Bowie (2009) is indicating that the South African school-system is struggling to maintain a proper music education. When prioritising in the schools it is frequently common that music is not one of the main priorities, Russell-Bowie (2009) stresses.

Furthermore van Niekerk Jansen and van Vuuren (2015) are pointing towards many schools not having the necessary material at hand, to effectively teach music in the *Creative Arts,* due to limited financial resources in the schools. In this light it is frequently occurring that the schools do not have any instruments or other music related equipment at hand. Because of this ratio some teachers often let the learners sing and dance during the lessons. Other schools sometimes simply taught the learners about music, which lead to the learners not being exposed to an active music making.

2.5 Claiming Space and Sound

As described above, three different categories of claiming space is now to be processed. Claiming space is in short about how people in their existence are seizing space. In the following sections the concept will be investigated starting with *Claiming Space and Sound,* followed by *Claiming Space and Body* and ending with *Claiming Space and Normative Masculinity.*

Claiming space and sound is in short about how people express themselves through sound and how they thereby are claiming space while doing so. Studies that have been made about claiming space by sound show that peoples´ sex has a strong impact on how much space a person can claim in the music classroom according to norms. For instance audio strong instruments are more common to be held by boys while girls often prefer less audio strong instruments. Several women who have gone far in rock music explained how they needed to overcome an obstacle of fear to be able to enable a certain freedom and mastery in the music (Björck, 2011). This phenomenon is thus to be understood through what Bergman (2011) earlier highlighted about how normative femininity provides restraint, tolerance and control which is clearly shown in music practices. The obstacle and fear of audio strong instruments, or the liberation from these structures as Björck (2011) describes, is to be understood in the light of what Green (1993) stresses about how girls must adopt a certain modesty to maintain their normative femininity.

2.6 Claiming Space and Body

Claiming space and body is about using the body to receive attention, Björck (2011) describes. She also highlights how instrumental practices, related to normative femininity and masculinity can affect claiming space and body and how this phenomenon occurs.

The assumption about which instruments are ascribed with either masculine or feminine properties is also stated by scientists from Australia. In their study learners in the upper secondary school age, and people up to 50 years old, were asked how they would categorise different instruments as masculine or feminine coded. It was highlighted that instruments such as vocals and the flute were associated with femininity while drums and trumpets where viewed as typically masculine instruments (Harrison, 2007). This phenomenon underlines Björcks´ (2011) analysis about the relation *woman-body-song* which can be read in the *Theoretical Framework*. Björck (2011) furthermore describes that the body often gets highlighted during music performances, and it is often that girls are being exposed to an objectifying gaze when the body is focused upon more than their vocal instruments.

2.7 Claiming Space and Normative Masculinity

Claiming Space and Normative Masculinity is in general about how claiming space constitutes a concept easier for boys to adapt to (Björck, 2011). It has earlier been argued by Bergman (2011) that women's normative femininity describes restraint, tolerance and control and how this is clearly evident in music practices. This restraint is also shown by Colley, Comber & Hargreaves (1997) in their research about learners´ self-confidence in music technology in the secondary school. In this normatively masculine coded subject, girls in heterogenic constructed groups, tend to underestimate their own abilities in music technology in relation to boys, more and more the older they get. The results were mostly evident in heterogenic groups. In Charles (2004) study the same pattern was found with boys having a positive relationship to music technology (Charles, 2004; Wright, 2001). Assumptions about musical practices in relation to gender were again replicated. In this study the author claims that the nature of these assumptions comes from the need for people to apply delineation. It is thus understood as a result of previous gender assumptions (Charles, 2004). This phenomenon could be understood by how Bryman (2016) and Burr (2003) describe social constructionism by saying that social actors interact with each other, and through that meeting social structure and understanding are created.

The phenomenon is also attested by Borgström Källéns´ (2014) findings about how female instrumentalists in jazz ensembles often tend to diminish their own abilities by comparison to men. The study states thus that diminishing of women occurs in normatively masculine environments.

Even if a woman would adapt a normative masculine position in a rock-band context for instance, she would not be viewed as authentic anyway. She would be seen either as a man or through the glasses of how normative femininity should appear. This can be understood by what was earlier described by Björck (2011) about how a woman in a rock-band context not simply is mentioned as a drummer but as a "female-drummer". Björck (2011) explains further in her thesis how the guitarist Jennifer Batten was constantly asked if she was a woman or a man during her tours with Michael Jackson. This despite her having normatively feminine attributes such as long hair and lipstick which highlights normative assumptions about femininity.

3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework within this study aims to be approached from a gender perspective. When speaking about gender in this study it is done through the eyes of social constructionism that claims gender, to be socially constructed (Burr, 2003). Gender is not to be seen as a static phenomenon but rather as one in change by the explanation of doing gender (Butler, 1993; Björck, 2011). Below the theoretical perspective of social constructionism is further problematized. Thereafter followed by a section that describes gender and the final part in the theoretical framework describes claiming space (Björck, 2011).

3.1 Social Constructionism

From this view social actors interact with each other, and through that meeting they create social structure and understanding. Social structures are from this view not constants, but forms of social meetings and processes in constant change (Bryman, 2016). Structures and understanding are not fixed but rather constituted by subjective interpretations. They are contextually bound and founded by assumptions taken for granted. Knowledge is thus a product from how people are categorizing their existence (Burr, 2003).

Even scientists view of a phenomenon should from this sight be considered with criticism when they always must assume some basic understanding about certain concepts. The findings of scientists only shows a part of a phenomenon and how it was perceived in a certain time and at a certain place, and the findings can therefore not be considered as a final understanding of the reality. In this regard social constructionism is also in the counter perspective of concepts like objectivism. Social objects and categories are from this point of view socially constructed and not an absolute phenomenon (Bryman, 2016).

Even culture is a concept that can be viewed in the same way. It is a reality to be, that is in constant change and therefore not a constant phenomenon. Man must constantly adapt their knowledges to the present reality and find solutions on problems they might face. A solution that has earlier been regarded to work is not automatically qualified to work at a different time. Man must always make themselves adaptable. However, the concept of culture is to be viewed as a more constant phenomenon which man relates to when individuals not constantly reshape it. Thereby it is not said that culture is totally static. Social constructionism constitutes therefore an approach where social actors continuously create and reshape their social reality (Bryman, 2016). The existence is thus to be considered as socially constructed. Through interpersonal actions and processes a social order is being retained and it is from a critical approach that structures and phenomena are being questioned because they are contextually bound (Burr, 2003). Categories and concepts are socially constructed and to be understood in the contexts in which they were created. An example of that is the concept of masculinity that is to be understood in that way. What is considered masculine is dependent on social actors and it is being changed over time depending on who the actors are (Bryman, 2016).

3.2 Gender

According to traditional ideals, the describing word masculine is viewed as a carrier of especially male abilities, as a person of the masculine sex and the holder of physical strength. In the same traditional ideals the describing word feminine is in the opposite way a carrier of especially female abilities. If someone has feminine features the person is in some degrees ascribed as a women. Gender construction is further characterized through a creation of contradictions to state a difference of power. What is observable with sexes is that the body differences and physics are being used for this distinction of sexes and the maintenance of

their ongoing separation (Connell, 2002). Dahl (2016) describes how gender is sprung in the understanding of sex, sexuality and sexism. The author also clarifies that the concept comes from the Latin language and the word sex, but the explanation is also to be found in words such as heritage.

Such a breakdown of feminine and masculine characteristics is in this gender theoretical framework discussed through the phenomenon of doing gender (Butler, 1993; Björck, 2011). Borgström Källén (2014) describes a debate within gender sciences, which has been circulating for a long time, concerning whether a distinction should be made between the understandings of biological sex on the one hand and socially constructed gender on the other.

Even though the understanding of gender and sex in today's gender sciences mainly consists of a view on them both as an understanding of the same concept (Butler 1993; Connell, 2002; Borgström Källén, 2014), this study will make a distinction of some sort. Within this study I support and agree with the understanding of a socially constructed gender. I do not however discuss the relation between a socially constructed and a biological sex, because it is not necessary for answering the research questions. This because the main reason is not to deepen the understanding of possible borders between gender and sex. Instead it is to describe, highlight and problematize how gender, viewed from a social constructionist standpoint, is constructed in a music classroom in Durban. An understanding of gender as a socially constructed feature that is comprehended differently by different actors over time (Bryman, 2016; Burr, 2003).

In this study sexes are not to be viewed as a biological absolute, and it is emphasized that gender is a social construction. The word gender is being used to stress how masculinity and femininity are not constants. This is all about showing that inequality and an absolute gender order is not to be taken for granted (Dahl, 2016).

3.3 Norms

Norms is about what is considered to be normal and accepted behaviour in social groups. From this system, socially accepted actions within the group are being made which can be seen as just normal from the social regulations in the group. Norms are strictly bound by habits and they are found in man's customs and traditions (NE, 2017). From this point of view, norms as written above, are being understood in gender sciences as upheld action patterns and attributes by men and women to describe masculinity and femininity (Bergman, 2011). Heterosexuality is one of those norms within society where men are expected to desire women and vice versa and heterosexuality is therefore viewed as the most desirable and natural concept. It constitutes the sexual norm which controls peoples´ lives and social processes (Borgström Källén, 2014). This is also the foundation in the understanding of heteronormativity which Connell (2002) describes. Connell (2002) furthermore problematizes how gender is socially constructed and that it is usually viewed through the glasses of heteronormativity.

In this study concepts as normative femininity and masculinity are being used, or assumptions about the two, thereby showing how femininity and masculinity are socially constructed action patterns. This goes hand in hand with the social constructionist theory that permeate this work.

3.4 Claiming Space

Among for instance traditionally gender action patterns as shown above, people seize space in their existence. Claiming space is described here below, and it continuously follows within the study by the demonstration of its different categories. This phenomenon consists of studies within the popular music genre where Björck (2011) has made research regarding how

actors within different contexts, are claiming space. Studies within similar domains have also been made by Borgström Källén (2014) and Bergman (2011) which are being processed in the *Previous Research*.

Claiming space can be divided into two widely defined forms and then be separated into smaller categories (Björck, 2011). The first of these forms about claiming space is the idea of it to be understood as an extrovert self-promotion. Being heard and seen is one of those extrovert forms of claiming space but there is also the introvert form where focus lies on the craft of music. The second form of claiming space is to be seen as a continuing struggle between being an acting subject and being depersonalised, objectified, and viewed in a correcting gaze (Björck, 2011).

Björck (2011) continues to divide the phenomenon into smaller categories, and in this study three of her categories are being presented. The categories to be found below are *Claiming Space and Sound, Claiming Space and Body* and *Claiming Space and Normative Masculinity*. In short *Claiming Space and Sound* stresses that space is claimed by calling on attention and producing and releasing sounds while *Claiming Space and Body* is about putting the body in the spotlight and finally *Claiming Space and Normative Masculinity* is about normative assumptions of how girls and boys should act and that they normally act in a hegemonic masculine way.

3.4.1 Claiming Space and Sound

A clear way to call on attention is to release and produce sound. Sound can also affect moods and thereby it works as a tool for people in the forming of identities and in socialising processes. What sounds that can be expressed reflects on persons´ social backgrounds and can be understood by their class, ethnicity and sex and affect their possibilities and ways of action (Björck, 2011).

Björck (2011) further problematize how girls through their cultural education are being used to see their body as an object rather than a freely acting subject. When outer objects such as audio strong sounds appear, it can cause a feeling of threat even if the sound is self-made. This phenomenon can be described as a feminine perception while a masculine perception in the contrary is viewed from a self-made sound that is ascribed to the persons self as an effect and achievement.

Volume can also be understood as a position of power where it is possible to exclude people by a drowning manner (Björck, 2011). In a rock-band environment it is common with loud volumes so strong that they work in a way of drowning in relation to the rest of the band or in a classroom. Because audio strong instruments are normatively masculine coded it also makes claiming space and sound something more comprehensible for boys. This also makes the popular music genre more available for boys because the conventions and socially constructed possibilities for action makes it easier for them to act within the genre (Kvarnhall, 2015).

In this way the music classroom is firmly connected to a democratic upbringing and ethical statements where music teachers can play a vital role in educational change (Björck, 2011). This is also to be found in the *Introduction* in the curriculum for the compulsory school (Skolverket, 2011, p. 7). The gaps in gender, related to claiming space and the relations in who gets to be seen and heard is also to be understood by cultural capital. A boy who by his gender codes automatically gets space in a masculine coded jazz area, can tend to reduce his privileges of claiming space and instead give others space, if the required knowledge within him is low. Thus if the cultural capital is not very big, the power relations by comparison to gender might reduce (Borgström Källén, 2014). These relations show how boys by their cultural low capital can reduce their claimings by giving space in favour to others. Girls however show tendencies to diminish their abilities beforehand in a normatively

masculine coded environment, which was earlier stated by Bergman (2011). An expansion of this reasoning is also shown in Borgström Källéns (2014) description of how female instrumentalists in jazz ensembles tend to diminish themselves and their abilities in their interactions with men, which in the long run leads to lack of confidence and insecurity.

3.4.2 Claiming Space and Body

Claiming space through the body is about putting your body in the spotlight. In a gender perspective it is interesting to see how boys tend to do this more naturally than girls. It might be understood by a development of normatively masculine abilities, to state muscular strength which is taught through sports for instance. In music, a very typical normative masculine phenomenon is how musicians sit by the drums, which by straddling shows openness, size and physicality in the room in relation to claiming space. These attributes are harder to embrace as a woman and at the same time maintain a normative femininity (Björck, 2011) which also is demonstrated by Green (1993) by the explanation of feminine modesty. Hand in hand with this assumption the medial image of how a girl is claiming space shows how it is preferable to be neat and handsome while doing so. To be a person that on one hand can claim space in a room but on the other is not encouraged to do so by size. Rather within a tiny area (Green, 1993).

As previously described the human body as an object is clearly linked with the assumption of normative femininity. An additional dimension about this phenomenon is related to instrumentation. Because normative femininity is strongly associated with the body, it is viewed as most natural for a girl to sing rather than play an external instrument. The voice comes from within the body and closes the circle of *woman-body-song* (Björck, 2011, p. 131) while instruments are viewed as masculine coded, Björck (2011) explains.

3.4.3 Claiming Space and Normative Masculinity

Claiming space by being heard and seen is something fundamental in many contexts and it frequently occurs in music teaching. Learners are then expected to claim space through their instruments and by the way that they act in the music classroom which derives from ideals within the popular music genre. The possibility of grasping and claiming space has earlier in this study shown to be limited in the normative assumption about how girls and boys are supposed to act accordingly to norms. To show your knowledge within ideals in popular music, is to girls opposite to the assumption of being feminine (Björck, 2011; Green, 1993). Because claiming space is so normatively associated with masculine attributes like loudness, extroversion and attention-seeking it is problematic to call claiming space neutral ground that can be grasped by anyone on equal terms. As long as claiming space must be done through the norms described, the concept will remain masculine coded (Björck 2011).

It is thus argued that claiming space is not just to be seen from this angle. If claiming space is processed in ways as described, it is a phenomenon that must be dealt with on individual basis which fully points out that the responsibility lies only in the individual her/himself. Another way to look at this phenomenon is that claiming space is something that happens in relation to other people. Then it is not just both about claiming and demanding space, but just as much about giving space and receiving space. If this concept is not embraced, the view of claiming space is diminished to a problem on individual basis and it can thereby be marginalized. For an active work towards change in who claims, gives and receives space, gender based questions must always circulate around music pedagogues to see in what ways norms are created. Teachers must also actively participate in the music teaching to regulate which learners claim and receive space in the classroom. If the learners on their own are set free in this matter there is a risk that the groups´ already set hierarchy structures

are those prevailing in the music classroom alongside norms and assumptions about gender (Björck, 2011).

The researchers are thus not clear exactly how problematics about claiming space should be tackled. It is a strongly contextually bound phenomenon that works differently in different groups depending for instance on where they are in the process of gender related traditions. It is also a process that requires time for the learners to get the opportunity for understanding about how socialisation and group dynamic processes are formed (Björck, 2011).

The problematics concerning claiming space are multiple and related to gender, and for women to enter male-defined areas it is argued that it must often be done by an extrovert form of claiming space with high self-confidence, Björck (2011) states in her thesis. This was argued before through Björck (2011), but claiming space in a male-defined way might be understood even further as a hegemonic masculinity, a dominant constant of masculinity. For women to be able to claim space within these firmly masculine dominated areas, it seems as though they have to do it by embracing normatively masculine principles. Björck (2011) questions however if these structures must prevail.

The common image of femininity is a sweet and delightful one Björck (2011) further describes. This phenomenon is also confirmed by Bergman (2011) when she has earlier stated that the normative femininity strives for restraint, tolerance and control, and as Green (1993) stresses, normative femininity is a consequence of the adaptation and the maintenance of a certain modesty.

If claiming space in general is to be done after the normatively masculine model, to be heard and seen, the focus is in danger of viewing women as the missing link and that it is their own fault that they are underrepresented in several areas within society. If focus is stressed onto the individual, several other aspects of norms, for instance in popular music and the question about how gender equality is imposed on women, remain unchallenged (Björck, 2011).

4   **Method**

Below an explanation is made about the understanding of observations as a method within research. Then a section follows describing the selections made. Thereafter comes a part which unfolds how the research method was implemented and the observations carried out, ending with a description of the informants. A section about how the analysing process was made then follows, continued by the research validity and reliability. The chapter then ends with a section of ethical considerations. In the end of this study a discussion is held regarding the method used and the positions taken during the research process.

4.1 Observations as a Method in Research

This study is based on video-observations. Observations in general are about describing peoples´ environments, as accurately as possible and from their own perspectives (Lalander, 2015). That is also why this method has been used within this research to look into how claiming space in a secondary school music classroom in Durban is viewed from a gender perspective, which is one of the main purposes of this study.

From an ethnographic standpoint observations are about getting closer to the observed persons´ lookout points. In ethnographical research the researcher often resides within an environment for a quite long period of time. However, some observations can be made within a shorter time period where the researcher enters a setting for a limited time, observes it, and then leaves without living amongst the informants, that is a commonly applied method otherwise (Lalander, 2015). Observations are about looking in to peoples´ behaviour without carrying out any methodical tools as surveys to get hold of information (Bryman, 2016). And mainly observations are, as shown above, for observing informants and letting them stay within their regular and familiar environments (Lalander, 2015). Lalander (2015) furthermore describes how observations can be carried out in many different ways. There are active observations where the researcher interacts with the informants, while observations on the contrary also can be performed passively with no interaction between the two.

The method within this research is constituted by video based observations where I as a researcher aimed to be as passive as possible. A method consisting of video-observations can be resourceful in different aspects depending on what the area of research is about. One of those areas where video-observations is preferred, is when observations regarding action patterns is to be observed (Eidevald, 2015; Lalander, 2015).

4.2 Selection

To be able to go to South Africa and write the thesis on advanced level within the teaching education, the organisation *Sida* authorized a scholarship. Through the *University of Gothenburg,* Sweden, the application was made to implement a *Minor Field Study*. This scholarship enabled the opportunity to carry out the research abroad in a developing country with the alignment towards development. From there it was not far to the insight of going back to South Africa, once visited before, and re-establish some contacts. These contacts are described as actors by Lalander (2015) and seen as the researcher´s door-opener, enabling entrance to the field of research.

Last time in South Africa both the cities of Durban and Hluhluwe were visited. The question of where the research was to be carried out this time, therefore stood between these two places. In the end Durban was the city to be chosen. One of the reasons for that choice was because of the city's location and its many communicational possibilities, while Hluhluwe, as observed the last time, lied more on the countryside with fewer communicational resources. Because this study was to be carried out alone, it felt wise in the

first place to choose to go to Durban and not Hluhluwe, with a greater possibility to plan the workdays ahead and not needing to rely on many different parties. This also to limit the possible danger of time waste, regarded as a valuable resource (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015).

Between the *Academy of Music and Drama* within *Gothenburg University*, it is an ongoing relationship with the organisation *Star for Life* (More about them is to be read in the introduction). Mazibuko from *Star for Life* who guided our class the last time was contacted, and the question was put out if she could get me in contact with a secondary school once again. She managed to enable that contact. Why the question was specifically directed towards a secondary school was because the subject *Creative Arts* needed to be accessed, a subject mandatory in those years of schooling. A smaller but also important detail why Durban became the place of this research was because an undergraduate one year before had engaged research in the close proximity, and because of it could help out with accommodation.

Through Mazibuko a contact was set up with a secondary school in the outskirts of Durban. A letter then had to be written to the school's principal, explaining about persona, connections with *Star for Life* and the purpose of the study. Also a description of needs to access was written along with a question for permit to film the learners for later analysis. By that letter, access to the school was enabled along with the permit to film, and shortly thereafter a contact was established with the *Creative Arts´* teacher. A meeting was then set up for reaching unity in understanding of her work and schedule, along with the explanation and purpose with this research. It was made clear that the teacher had five different classes of grade eights which were all, from the teacher´s point of view, accessible for observation. With that information a discussion was held with my supervisor regarding how many lessons needed to be attended and observed. The conclusion stated that three classes were comprehensible within the time limit (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015) and the choice regarding the numbers of classes observed is to be considered as a limitation within the research and as an act of stringency. This because the amount of data produced during a research, easily, rapidly and often is exceeded (Eidevald, 2015).

Because all three classes had their lessons in the *Creative Arts* on the same day, only one day of observation was carried out with the reserve to go back if completion of some sort would to be necessary, which can be understood in the same light of limitation (Eidevald, 2015). One of these possible completions was to go back and interview the teacher, which was first a prioritised concept.

Another limitation aspect made was that the research first aimed to focus on interviews. Due to eventual linguistic confusion and that the interest in an interviewing focus was changing, the research reshaped towards observations. This process was amplified by the point outs from Mazibuko, stating that more permits would have had to be applied for to carry out interviews in the school. It also emerged that observations were less dependent on different parties participating and staying on schedule. That again is to be considered as a limitation related to time resources (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015) along with the understanding of access possibilities to a field (Lalander, 2015).

One big obstacle to overcome was the fact that this research*,* and the schedule set up by the *University of Gothenburg*, intervened with examinations written throughout the schools of South Africa. Because of that time-limitation to carry out the research at the school in question, as few days as possible were dedicated for producing the data, in order to increase the chance for a valid analysis.

4.3 Implementation

The data within this study was produced during the one day of this research that the secondary school in the outskirts of Durban was visited and observed through video based observations (Eidevald, 2015). Before the observations took place I met up with the *Creative Arts´* teacher to get a broader picture concerning in what context the learners would be acting and from what backgrounds they were. The principal of the school gave me a ride on the observation day and the context described by the teacher was then confirmed and reinforced.

The three classes of grade eights that constitute the fundamental framework for the result in this study, were all observed when having one lesson each in the subject *Creative Arts* with the alignment towards music and drama. The observations were carried out to try to get closer to the answer of how claiming space in a secondary school music classroom in Durban is viewed from a gender perspective. During the observations the focus was on mapping the question by the partition of claiming space and sound, claiming space and body and claiming space and normative masculinity.

While at school I attended the morning assembly where all of the schools´ learners and staff gathered to sing and pray before starting the lessons. The principal also enlightened me that the assembly also was for motivating and reprimanding the learners because many of them did not have adult supervision at home. This was the first glimpse the learners got of me and after the assembly ended I started following the *Creative Arts´* teacher.

Before observing the three classes I introduced myself at the start-up, telling the learners I was a music teacher from Sweden who conducted a research study about how music teaching is done in Durban and what the music classroom looks like. The fact that the informants were informed of some of the content that this study aimed to observe, but not the study´s exact focus is problematized in Eidevald (2015). He describes namely that an observation that is carried out with the informants knowing the purpose and focus of the study, is considered as an open observation. If the informants on the contrary know nothing of the study´s purpose it is considered to be a closed observation. It was carefully considered how much detail the informants were given beforehand regarding the purpose of the study. For not altering the informants´ natural behaviour, the information of the study was presented very broadly, covering the areas of research but not pointing them out directly. Therefore I would consider this research to be a partly open study, and by decreasing the openness of the research the validity increased, making the observed environment more natural.

Furthermore the learners were then informed that the lessons would be filmed but that the material would just be used in research purposes only, and destroyed when the research was completed. Also the learners were informed that only I as a researcher would be able to and authorized to watch the films during the research process, and learners who did not want to participate were free not to.

All these explanations were made in order to try and make the learners a bit more comfortable in the situation itself and around me as a person. This at the same time to reduce the gap between me as a researcher and the learners as informants. Eidevald (2015) describes how it is preferable to get to know the informants before starting an observation. That can be carried out by participating in activities with the informants before the actual observation is to take place. It is also in some cases possible to simply tell the informants about the purpose of the study before starting the observation.

Furthermore the learners were informed that I as a researcher would not physically or verbally participate during the lessons, but rather observe and take notes from what I saw. It is described by Eidevald (2015) how that method of pacification is a possible adaptation for researchers entering a field for observation, trying not to get attention from the informants.

Furthermore that attitude is aiming towards a passive instead of active observation technique (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015).

To sum up and end the introduction the learners were told that some time would be given for us all just to get together and talk after the lesson. This was to once again close the gap between the researcher and informants (Eidevald, 2015). When the lessons were over the learners were thanked by me for having the opportunity to visit and observe them. This procedure founded the agenda that was endeavoured to influence all three lessons.

4.3.1 The Setting

During the observation three classes of grade eights were observed and the time duration was in total 97 minutes of video-observations. In total the classes constituted of 46 girls and 52 boys and the same teacher was present and active during all three observations. It was explained to me that the classes usually are bigger than they were during the observations but the teacher also said that it is occasionally common for the learners not to show up in class.

During the meeting with the teacher beforehand she described that she was not yet a trained teacher but that she was studying to become one. She also told me about the contexts and backgrounds from which the learners came. Then it was made clear from the teacher´s explanation that a majority of the learners came from humble backgrounds and upbringings. Many of them were orphans and had very limited economic resources, while a smaller part came from within a context of a higher economic background. For an understanding of the school´s and learners´ settings it might also be informative to know that the learners did not get any meals during the day. Early in the *Result* it is also possible to read a short description about how the classroom setting was perceived.

4.4 Analysis

The analysis is made by the implementation of a deductive approach. This means that the researcher investigates an area from knowledge that is already known, and from concepts already acknowledged (Bryman, 2016).

The first part of the analysis started up when data from the video-observations were transcribed. It was done in close connection to the observations themselves. When all the transcriptions were finished they were read through multiple times in order to find patterns to use as result in the study. Soon themes were found closely connected to the *Previous Research* and the different themes were colour coded in order to create a basic structure when forming the result. The themes were also processed and changed multiple times in order to present a result that was easy to grasp and that followed structures presented in this chapter. Below the transcription process will be handled, followed by the three different themes used in the result: *The Music Classroom as a Context for Claiming Space, Claiming Space through Music* and *Claiming Space in the Classroom.*

4.4.1 Transcription

To create a framework regarding how to transcribe the video-observations a model presented by Eidevald (2015) was used. This brought an understanding about the difficulty of transcribing video-observations. Eidevald (2015) describes how easy it is to value what is observed. Therefore the transcriptions in this study are striving not to use emotionally charged words.

Furthermore the transcriptions are constructed with describing texts that express what was happening during the observed lessons followed by a colon and quotation marks when someone was talking (Eidevald, 2015). If any spoken sound did not reach the camera the

markings "(…)" were used to fill in the gap. Similar to Eidevalds (2015) example a parenthesis was used in order to enable writing comments of how sequences could be interpreted.

In order to maintain the anonymity of the informants in this study new names were given to those informants who were frequently recurring in the observations and transcriptions (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015). They were given names constituted by one letter.

4.4.2 Themes

When finding themes in the transcribed material it was done through the knowledge that social structures are not constants but forms of social meetings and processes in constant change (Bryman, 2016). What was interpreted as themes in this study is contextually bound and can be viewed as assumptions taken for granted, products of categorisation of the existence (Burr, 2003). Over time the processed data could be comprehended differently by a different actor (Bryman, 2016; Burr, 2003).

In this light three themes were observed when processing the transcriptions. They are presented below and constitute different aspects of claiming space which are to be found in the *Theoretical Framework*.

4.4.2.1 The Music Classroom as a Context for Claiming Space

This theme emerged from the understanding of how teachers can play a vital role in the music classroom related to doing gender and how matters linked to it are present in the classroom (Butler, 1993; Björck, 2011). The most significant reason of why this theme is processed in the study is because the possibilities for the learners to claim space in the classroom was highly affected by the way in which the teacher structured the lessons and the setting in which the school was operating. This resulted in the learners' possibilities of claiming space through music in the classroom to be very limited.

4.4.2.2 Claiming Space through Music

One of the study´s main aimings is to see how claiming space is being expressed in a secondary school music classroom in Durban, through sound through a gender perspective. Therefore this theme emerged showing how the learners were claiming space through music. This by clapping rhythms which was the way in which the learners expressed themselves through music during the observations.

4.4.2.3 Claiming Space in the Classroom

This theme turned out to be a large one, divided into three different sections related to claiming space in the music classroom in general starting off with claiming space and body. This section was formed through the understanding of how claiming space can be practiced by putting your body in the spotlight. The understanding of how boys do this more naturally then girls (Björck, 2011) was also present in the forming of this section.

A second section concerning claiming space and sound was also formed. The content of this section was formed by the description of how claiming space can be expressed through producing and releasing sounds. It is also something that relates to gender because who has the possibility of claiming space in this way is affected by gender patterns (Björck, 2011).

A third and finishing section regarding claiming space and gender also emerged. When processing this section it was done through the normative assumption about how girls and boys ought to act accordingly to norms in the music classroom. In the *Previous Research* chapter it is described how normative femininity and claiming space within the popular music

genre are not comprehensible (Björck, 2011; Green, 1993). Within the processed data normative feminine expressions were clearly present which made this section take form.

4.5 Validity and Reliability

A study is always dependent on different factors and they together constitute the reliability and validity within it. Video observations are not neutral and objective displays of the reality, and there is in fact no possibility to make an objective documentation of how a phenomenon appears (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015). By executing video observations the natural environment changes and it is not possible in words, to reproduce what was observed because it is a simplification of an otherwise complex reality. However I chose video observations in this study because it is a reliable method to use when describing peoples´ behaviour and actions. It is also a method that is good to use because it is possible to re-watch the data in order to come closer to a valid interpretation of what took place when observing. In many cases it is also possible for other researchers to take part of the content and participate in the analysis of the recorded material (Eidevald, 2015). This also adds up with how Bryman (2016) and Burr (2003) describe how social structures are not to be viewed as constants but forms of social meetings and processes in constant change.

To be able to show how claiming space in a secondary school music classroom in Durban is viewed from a gender perspective in this study it would be as most generalizable if all the five classes of grade eights would have been observed and analysed. On the other hand the reliability increased due to the limitations made regarding how many classes were observed, pointing towards stringency and enabling a more valid analysis (Eidevald, 2015). But in the end the generalizability is low or even none existing because of the study´s small format (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015).

In this study the aim has been to be as transparent as possible, showing readers choices made when conducting it. It has been shown above that the data was produced during one day in the field. It is not so common, but still possible, to carry out observation studies during such a short period of time. But in the end the general aim for observations is to describe and reproduce them in as natural ways as possible and from the actors´ own perspectives (Lalander, 2015). To do that I tried to make the learners more comfortable around me as a researcher to reduce the gap between us. In many studies researchers visit the place for observations beforehand to reduce this gap mentioned, but the carried-out way in this study is an alternative way of action (Eidevald, 2015) considered within the time limit (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015).

Observations are never neutral in their executions (Eidevald, 2015) and a phenomenon is interpreted differently by different actors over time (Bryman, 2016; Burr, 2003). The gap between researcher and informants was decreased by initial explanations and by the embracing of a neutral position during the observations, by non-contact seeking (Eidevald, 2015). With that said I would claim that the validity within this research is considered relatively high because of mentioned choices creating an environment as close to its natural state as possible.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

A number of ethical concerns are always present within the field of research, and I have followed the *Swedish Research Council´s* (2011) (*Vetenskapsrådet*) guidelines regarding ethical considerations. One of them is the possibility for actors to choose not to participate in the study. The learners did get the opportunity to choose not to participate after a short explanation of the study had been made. This explanation shows how the informants had been

giving their informed consent towards the research, and to continuing participating in it (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015).

In this study the authorisation for filming was given by the school´s principal. It is important to know that an authorisation given makes it possible for a researcher to present informants´ actions, and it is therefore crucial that it is done in an ethical way. This because the informants do not have the control over where and how the publication of their actions is to be published. It lies in the hands of the researcher (Eidevald, 2015).

It was furthermore carefully considered how much details of the research the informants got to know. Because the aim was to observe their behaviour in an environment as close to its natural state as possible, I did not want to risk altering their behaviour or in any way inhibit their natural ways of action. A view of the music classroom in its most natural state was the main purpose with this approach. Instead of thoroughly telling the informants of the study´s main purpose I had a meeting with the teacher beforehand explaining the purpose of the study more systematically, along with a shorter explanation to the principal in the letter described above. Then the teacher or principal could have called the research off in an early state.

When presenting the informants and the action patterns surrounding them it was made through an anonymizing process, not using the learners´ actual names so that none of them would be able to get identified (Eidevald, 2015). For describing the learners in more general terms I chose to do so by their uniforms. This by mentioning the learners dressed in skirts as girls and the learners dressed in pants as boys.

Furthermore to keep the anonymity of the informants, and for only allowing me as a researcher to analyse and watch the recordings, the hard drive containing the footage was kept locked away at all times, before being destroyed after the research was completed (Eidevald, 2015).

5 Result

Below follow the findings made during the carried-out observations of this study. The content is divided into different sections connected to claiming space. By claiming space and body, the body is put into the spotlight while claiming space and sound is about how attention is called by producing and releasing sounds. Claiming space and normative masculinity is about normative assumptions of how girls and boys ought to act and that they normally act in a hegemonic masculine way (Björck, 2011). These three types of claiming space will be processed below. However, the first chapter also presents results concerning the contextual conditions of the music classroom observed, a finding that turned out to be very important to this study.

5.1 The Music Classroom as a Context for Claiming Space

One of the most important findings in this study is constituted by how the setting and music classroom was formed in wider terms. As clearly shown below, the teaching environment was formed in a way making claiming space something observable to a small extent in the music classroom. But the learners did not have much room in the teaching environment for claiming space in ways shown in the *Previous Research* related to music. This because claiming space in the *Previous Research* chapter for instance focuses a lot on how learners are claiming space in the music classroom by their relations to instruments. No instruments were to be found in the observed classroom, making this form of claiming space marginalized due to the economic resources seeming to be scarce at the observed secondary school. Also the possibilities for the learners to claim space through music was marginalized due to how the teaching practices were carried out. Therefore the most evident findings related to music and claiming space are presented directly after *The Music Classroom as a Context for Claiming Space,* in the section *Claiming Space through Music*, followed by a third and larger section about how claiming space was observed in more general terms in the section *Claiming Space in the Classroom*. These conditions regarding how claiming space could be observed and the possibilities for the learners to claim space in the music classroom will be further brought up in the ending discussion. This because the setting strongly affected the study´s result making claiming space in the observed classroom not comparable to the findings presented in the *Previous Research*.

Inside a building made of bricks, wooden benches were lined up in four rows facing the blackboard. On these benches learners sat mostly in pairs but sometimes there were up to three learners on each bench. The door, made of metallic bars, stood open along with the windows on both sides of the classroom. During the observations, learners were occupied outside of the classroom resulting in a lot of sounds entering the classroom and bouncing between the metallic roof and the concrete floor.

     The lessons were constituted of rhythms and the teacher called *T,* gave lectures on the subject from the content of a book about the *Creative Arts*. This alternated with the learners clapping rhythms written on the blackboard and doing individual tasks written on papers. It was clear that *T* was the one controlling the lessons related to content. An extract from one of the lessons is presented here below.

> "Do you remember that we said that the crotchet is a beat itself? Do you remember that? Which means I have four beats of crotchets here. But I used how many notes? Three different notes. I used the crotchet itself. I used two quavers. And I used a triplet." She says something in Zulu and continues in English:

"By the way. What does 4/4 time mean? What does it mean?" The learners are murmuring but not so loudly and when no one is answering the question *T* herself says:

"It´s in you notes. Just read your notes." The learners are looking down in their notes seeking an answer.

This is an example of how the lessons were formed. *T* explained different elements within the music and the class sat down on their benches and listened to her while she lectured them. As seen in the example *T* asked a lot of questions but answered them herself and they can therefore be seen as rhetorical. These questions were also present several times during the observations:

"A triplet is a group of three notes played in the time of two notes on the same time. Okay. What does that mean? It means you play three notes instead of two notes. (…) Do you understand what I´m saying? (…) If I have four beats in a bar. How many crotchets do I need?"

From another lesson the same pattern was present but expressed in this way:

"…Yes. Because a minim takes two beats. Okay. So let´s look at the next example there. Can you see how they divided the rhythm into triplets?" She speaks in Zulu before asking:

"How many crotchets in one bar? How many crotchets? Four crotchets in one bar, right? And can you see underneath they have divided the rhythm into triplets. And how many triplets do we have underneath? Four triplets."

T also asked questions where she waited for longer periods in order to give the learners time to respond to them. Examples of how the learners responded will follow in the section *Claiming Space in the Classroom.*

During many occasions *T* was the one standing up and moving around in the classroom. She was also the one who lectured the learners and through that approach she was occupying the physical room as well as the verbal room. In this light it is fair to state that the teaching style made *T* claiming space both with sound and with body. This ratio also clearly resulted in the possibilities being limited for the learners to themselves claim space through music in the classroom. The learners could mostly claim space in general terms related to how the teaching was carried out, resulting in the learners mostly having the possibilities to answer the teacher´s questions. However some of the content during the observed lessons was related to music in a way that made it possible for the learners to claim space in these ways presented below.

5.2 Claiming Space through Music

The setting and context observed during the processed data of this study showed that claiming space was mostly present within the music classroom in general ways. However the learners got to clap rhythms in groups during the lessons. This was the closest the learners came to playing music, also making this section of the lessons the most evident way of how the learners were claiming space through music.

5.2.1 Clapping Rhythms - Boys vs. Girls

During every lesson the learners got to clap rhythms written on the blackboard. They were divided into groups of boys and girls but remained seated in the way they had entered, making sounds coming from different directions. However the boys and girls mostly sat on different sides of the classroom.

> "Boys. Please do not clap. Ladies first. Unless you are a lady."
> …*T* counts the girls in. They try to clap the melody and they do it with a medium loud sound and almost get it right. *T* then comments:
> "Yes. You remember."
> "Yes" the class answers. *T* continues:
> "Let´s see here with the boys." She counts them in and they start clapping and pronouncing the rhythm. They do it the same volume as the girls did but they do not make the rhythm correct and the class start to giggle…

This is the way in which the learners clapped and pronounced rhythms during the observations. It was clear that both boys and girls clapped quite loudly during the lessons and that this particular exercise was making them both claim space with sound. However the girls were the group of learners who managed to clap the rhythm correctly or at least close to being correct. Despite having obvious problems with the rhythms, the boys did not claim less space with sound.

The setting in the classroom in general can be described as if it was normatively masculine coded because the learners were ought to claim space with sound which is a normatively masculine coded feature because it requires for actors to be audio strong (Björck, 2011). However the boys did not stop claiming space even though their knowledge in reading music was low.

5.2.2 Learners Clapping Individually

Another way of showing how claiming space was expressed through music and with the body in focus is by the finding that the learners were practicing clapping rhythms individually during the lessons. One section during the lessons observed was namely constituted by the learners clapping rhythms in groups. Most commonly divided between girls and boys. However, while *T* was writing instructions on the blackboard, several learners were claiming space in the classroom by individually clapping the rhythms written, and previously clapped by the class. Thereby claiming space through music with body and gestures:

> *K* and *W* along with two other girls in the front of the class repeat what has been done [The learners have been clapping in groups] by clapping and pronouncing the rhythm.

> …A boy in the middle of the classroom starts doing the same thing and he bumps a bit up and down in his chair while doing so.

It was quite common for the learners to claim space in this way, but it was also common that some learners did not just clap rhythms that had been recently processed. Some of them were clapping rhythms while *T* was still talking and changing the rhythms on the blackboard:

> One boy in the front, *B*, silently tries to clap the rhythm while *T* is writing it and soon the teacher says…

> Two girls are now practicing clapping while *T* is talking. The same thing goes for four of the boys.

This way of clapping rhythms was thus an evident way of claiming space through music and with the body, by making body gestures in the classroom and not being afraid of sticking out. Clapping rhythms in the way described was commonly present for both boys and girls with the ratio of boys doing it 16 times and the girls 12 times, just making the boys a bit more frequent in claiming space through music and with the body in focus.

5.3 Claiming Space in the Classroom

What was presented above constitutes the observed ways of how claiming space was related to music during the observations. Because of the teaching style and the setting in the music classroom, these were the most evident ways of how the learners were claiming space through music in the classroom because there was not much room for individual performances. It was not the only way in which the learners were claiming space in the classroom though. Below a larger section is being presented related to claiming space and body, claiming space and sound and claiming space related to normative gender patterns. They are all related to how claiming space was observed in more general terms during the observations.

5.3.1 Walking Around

Even though the possibilities of claiming space were limited in general and claiming space through music in particular, the learners were claiming space in different ways with their bodies. One evident way of claiming space and body was the way in which the learners walked around in the classroom, and in a gender perspective, who did. Therefore I will present the movements in the classroom in general. Afterwards I will show in what ways the learners moved around and how they were using gestures, and thereby who was claiming space by doing so.

It was very evident from the observations who walked around the most in the classroom and who therefore were claiming space with body the most. The learners rose from their seats during the lessons for different reasons and one of the clear ones was to fetch their bags lying somewhere else in the classroom. On several other occasions however the reasons were not clear why the learners were moving around. This is shown below in two different extracts from one of the observations:

> Two boys rise. One moves to another place to sit while the other one leaves the classroom.

> Four boys rises from their seats and start walking around. One of them is talking to a classmate, one is fetching a ruler and two seem to just walk around before returning to their seats.

For no obvious reason these learners moved around from where they were seated. This was happening not only during the periods *T* was holding lectures but also during occasions when the learners were engaged in independent work. Most of the times however when the learners moved around, they walked to find another seat and often they sat down by a new classmate:

> One girl stands up and quickly walks to another bench in the back and sits down.

By the behaviour of walking around the learners were claiming space with body. They were thus occupying space and putting themselves in the spotlight. The combined number of how many times the boys and girls were walking around in the classroom in the ways described above shows that the boys were in a vast majority. The boys rose from their seats 27 times while the girls only moved 9 times from their seats. Claiming space is about putting your body in the spotlight and in a gender perspective it has earlier been stated that boys tend to do this more naturally than girls through normative masculinity (Björck, 2011).

5.3.2 Body Movements and Gestures

The way in which the learners moved around showed on normative gender patterns which can be related to claiming space. Not only the boys moved around much more often than the girls, they also remained standing up in the classroom for longer periods of time than the girls did, and it is shown here below:

> One boy, *O*, now rises. He walks out of view of the camera, then comes back but stands besides *T* when she is explaining something to some learners a couple of benches back. …*O* who stood next to *T* before has remained there for over a minute, talking to his classmates. When *T* walks back after having finished something in the back to the right, she sees that *O* is still standing with his classmates making gestures with his hands.

Only once during the observations a girl stood next to another learner chatting for a short time before returning to her seat.

Besides body movements constituting occupation of space by standing up in the classroom, the observations also showed how the learners were claiming space in the way they moved around, standing up or seated, in relation to gesticulation. Both girls and boys were claiming space in this way in the classroom. One of the ways that was present during the observations was how several learners were occupying space by the way they were sitting on their benches. Both girls and boys leaned backwards on their backrests while resting their arms or elbows on them which made them claim physical space in the classroom.

Other ways of claiming space with body was evident by learners using big hand gestures that called on attention. Celebrating with fist movements or covering up faces with the hands looking embarrassed are two of those observed ways. A clear episode of claiming space was also present when two boys rose from their seats to answer a question while writing on the blackboard:

> Two boys in the front seem to be called up by *T*. Both start going towards the blackboard but one of them is more persistence than the other. He walks all the way to the blackboard while the other boy stops, pats himself on the chest looking towards the boy at the blackboard. He sits down again and leans over his papers and start writing on his individual assignment.

The boy walking all the way to the blackboard was clearly claiming space instead of giving space. At the same time the boy who remained at his bench was claiming space by patting his chest. In a way this second boy also stated muscular strength in a normative masculine way often present in claiming space and body.

Other ways of claiming space with body that was evident during the observations was how some boys sat on their benches. On several occasions boys sat with their legs broadly

apart, straddling. This shows on claiming physical space in the classroom and it is often obvious when drummers sit by their drums. Because no instruments besides the learners´ voices was to be found in the classroom, this was the closest that the observations came of showing an example of gender patterns and instruments.

As shown above *T* was practicing a dominant role as a teacher. A lot of questions were asked making the lessons very theoretically oriented. Therefore a sum up of claiming space related to answering questions is now presented. During most occasions *T* encouraged and asked the learners to raise their hands when answering questions. The learners were claiming space by raising their hands for answering questions at various times and the ratio of who raised their hands was very similar between boys and girls, with girls raising their hands only one more time than the boys. However all learners did not raise their hands while answering questions. Instead they exclaimed and shouted out answers without being assigned by *T,* which is highlighted in the following section. This shows how the learners were not only claiming space with their bodies related to music, or in general terms. It also shows that they were clearly claiming space with sound. The learners were claiming space with sound in general terms though because of the described setting and teaching style, not allowing the learners to claim space with sound through music.

5.3.3 Spontaneous Exclamations

As shown in the *Previous Research* chapter claiming space is not only expressed through the body, it is also processed through sound. This because a clear way to seek attention is to produce and release sound. In that way sound and volumes can be used as a positioning of power and in band environments it can be used in a drowning manner (Björck, 2011). Because no instruments were to be found during the observations and because the lessons were very much controlled by *T*, this section of claiming space will focus more on what sounds were made in the classroom in general. One evident way of claiming space and sound was in the way the learners, on multiple occasions, were seeking attention by spontaneous exclamations and these findings will be presented below.

The lessons were as described above constituted by *T* lecturing the learners, standing in front of the blackboard. While doing so she asked several questions regarding the content of the lesson. On several occasions *T* asked the class to raise their hands if they wanted to answer a question. The learners did that many of the times but it was also very common for them to just shout out answers. *T* ignored some of the exclamations but responded to some. This is how it occurred:

> ”One of the notes we used last time?” A girl in the front, *W*, responds:
> “Ta, ta, ta, ta.” The teacher approaches the learner and stands in front of the desk and responds…

> “So for one crotchet, how many triplets do I need?”
> “Four” a boy answers.

These two learners were claiming space with sound by producing sounds while answering a question. It was quite common for learners to answer questions in this way in general, by exclaiming an answer without getting assigned by *T*. During the observations it was also quite common for learners to burst out sounds non-related to the content:

> One boy in the back loudly shouts:
> “Buuh.”

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One boy suddenly loudly exclaims:
"Hey you!"

Interestingly no girls were making exclamations that were not related to the content during the observed lessons. Except for learners exclaiming sounds in relation to answering questions or making spontaneous outbursts it also occurred on multiple occasions that boys commented on what *T* was saying by quite loudly commenting things like "yes miss". Those exclamations could be interpreted as though the learners wanted to be funny in some way, and thereby claiming space with sound by calling on attention. This pattern of claiming space with sound, being funny and seeking attention, was furthermore observed during one of the lessons in this way:

> Between every question and response there is murmur, and some learners quietly pronounce how they think the words sound. After the question about a minim, a majority of the class tries to give the right answer at the same time, however no one seems to give the right answer. Both boys and girls exhale suggestions. *D* in the front rough however tries many different sounds a bit louder:
> "Ta-te-ti-o-o." *T* continues:
> "How do you pronounce the rhythm for a minim?" *D* in the front continues making sounds. He is the first one to react to the teacher´s questions but both girls and boys are making sounds simultaneously.

It was thus common for learners to exclaim sounds at different times during the lessons. These examples presented above show how individuals were claiming space by producing sounds and by calling for attention. Also evident from the observations was that the class as a group, or individuals at the same time, often shouted out answers making them claiming space simultaneously. But in the end it was evident and also a lot more common for boys to claim space in these ways than it was for girls. During the observations boys exclaimed sounds 23 times while the girls did the same thing only 3 times, and then only when answering questions.

5.3.4 Diminishing Manners

The content so far has presented how the learners were claiming space with body and with sound in various ways. Now a section related to gender patterns will be processed, showing what findings were made within this area. This to sum up the result, showing that claiming space is closely related to assumptions about gender.

Both boys and girls acted in diminishing manners towards themselves during the observations. One of these ways was shown by how some learners answered questions with a soft voice that did not bear through to the camera. These instances were almost as frequent among girls as among boys. Girls however showed more of normative feminine body movements than boys, in relation to female modesty. One of these instances occurred after a girl had written an answer on the blackboard and she was on her way back to her bench:

> When the girl has finished writing on the blackboard *T* asks her:
> "What did you do wrong?" Then she says something in Zulu. The girl starts walking back to her seat while *T* asks the class:

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"What is it that she forgot to put?" The girl then turns, makes a high pitch sound and twitches her body in a way that makes her physically smaller while she is walking back towards the blackboard.

The girl was claiming space with body by going in front of the class to write on the blackboard. But when the girl later on turned and acted in a way that made her physically smaller she adapted a certain modesty, to the medial image that states that girls can claim space but within a tiny area and by a neat and handsome manner (Green, 1993). A longer episode from the observations, shows how two girls each wanted to answer a question. It also indicates that the girls knew the answers of the questions put out, but even though they did, they were not claiming space with sound or with body. They were acting accordingly to female modesty:

> "So, if I have four beats in a bar. How many crotchets do I need?"…One boy stretches his hand up and a girl, *N,* also stretches her hand up but takes it down again, and she repeats it several times. The boy gets assigned. He stands up and says:
> "Four." *T* then responds:
> "I need four crotchets. Because I have four beats and each crotchet has its own beat. But if I have four beats again in a bar and I want to use minims. How many minims do I use?"
> "Two" a boy shouts without getting assigned. *T* takes no notice of him and instead *N* stretches her hand up but takes it down before keeping it up. She gets assigned, rises and softly answers:
> "Two."
> "Two minims. Why?" *T* replies. A girl in the middle of the classroom stretches her hand up, gets the word and answers. The voice is very soft and the girl flickers with her eyes while responding. She gets it right though because *T* comments…

Clearly both girls knew the answers to the questions but one of them showed modesty by hesitation while the other one showed modesty by speaking very softly. These examples above are episodes showing how normative female modesty was present during the observations. The following example showed how a girl stopped claiming space with body when being exposed to looks from several boys:

> "Okay, boys. Please don´t clap. You will get your chances. Right!" She counts the girls in. They start clapping. One girl is sitting at the right side among a lot of boys. She starts clapping but stops when she sees that some boys, and especially one sitting next to her is watching her intensely. One of the boys looks at her smiling while she is clapping. She stops clapping and makes herself small, contracting her body.

The episode can be understood in different ways but in this study the event is interpreted through how women can be affected by a controlling gaze. A gaze that puts the body in focus instead of the instrument, and on this occasion the instrument is constituted by the girl´s hands.

5.3.5 Reinforcing Gender Patterns

It was evident during the observations that girls in some extents acted accordingly to normatively feminine norms. This by showing a female modesty and by claiming space

accordingly to assumptions of the medial image stating how girls are to claim space within a tiny area and by a neat and handsome manner. The examples above about diminishing manners goes hand in hand with reinforcing gender patterns present in the following quote:

> Another girl next to *N* firmly lifts her hand up. She gets assigned, stands up but leans with one arm on the bench standing with the body rested on one hip, smiling while answering.

Besides from girls showing indications of acting accordingly to normative femininity related to claiming space and body, the observations showed that girls were the group of learners who did what they were told more frequently than the boys. This is emphasised above showing that boys walked around more in the classroom in general and especially that they were claiming space with sound more often than the girls when exclaiming different comments. Signs of girls more frequently doing what they were told was also shown by the girls being more willing to answer questions while writing on the blackboard. In fact only one boy went up writing on the blackboard leaving a ratio of five to one in favour of the girls. Two instances of girls writing on the blackboard is presented below:

> "Who wants to tell me the answer for the first bar?" One girl gets up and walks to the blackboard and starts writing while *T* hushes the learners saying…

> "Please go and correct (…). Please go and correct (…)" One girl in the front rises and goes towards the blackboard.

In this way the girls were claiming space with body by walking up to the blackboard to write answers. However they simultaneously did what was expected from them, showing on normative femininity.

5.4 Conclusion

In the result different aspects related to claiming space in a secondary school in Durban have been presented. It has been shown that the possibilities for learners to claim space through music in the observed secondary school was clearly affected by the teaching style present and the setting in which the school was operating. This is therefore one of the most evident results that emerged from this study pinpointing that the contextual conditions made it impossible for doing gender to emerge in the observed classroom in the same way as presented in the *Previous Research,* related to music. However the learners were claiming space in different ways through body and sound and it was also clear that claiming space and gender was permeated in the classroom where boys in some ways were claiming space more frequently than girls. This resulting in the learners acting accordingly to normative gender patterns.

6 Discussion

6.1 Result Discussion

When discussing the result of this study below, it will be done while problematizing and reflecting in three different sections. The first one problematizes *Different Resources for Claiming Space,* a comparison between the music classroom in South Africa and Sweden. The second one processes *The Findings Related to Music* while the third one is about the *General Findings Related to Claiming Space.* Thereafter the *Method Discussion* is processed before the chapter finishes in the section *The Teaching Profession and Further Needs of Research.*

6.1.1 Different Resources for Claiming Space

One interesting and also unexpected outcome of the result was that the concept claiming space was very hard to apply in the music classroom I observed, something I had thought would not occur in this way. One great expectation within this study was to compare my findings with previously made research where claiming space while playing and singing was taken for granted. It turned out to be harder than expected. This, because the most important finding from the study was that the setting in which the school was operating, and the teaching style present there, strongly affected the learners possibilities of claiming space in the music classroom. A ratio strengthened by Russell-Bowie (2009) along with Van Niekerk Jansen and van Vuuren (2015).

When dividing the result into findings strictly related to music and non- or less related to music there emerged gender related problematics though. However I think those shown structures would have been even more prominent if the learners would have had the same possibilities to claim space in the music classroom in the same way as learners in Björck´s (2011) study for instance. Then I think even clearer patriarchal structures would have emerged.

As shown in the conclusion of the result the setting for the learners in this study differed from conditions in the music classroom in Sweden (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010). In fact they were very different which lead to the learners not having the same possibilities for claiming space in the music classroom. One very evident way of showing those differences is the fact that the observed school did not have any instruments in their music classroom. Claiming space and sound and claiming space and body would have been easier to identify if the learners would have used instruments during the observations. Then positioning in the classroom would most probably have emerged showing how the learners were claiming space in music through their instruments (Björck, 2011). Because no instruments were to be found in the observed classroom there could not be any analysis either, concerning what instruments the learners preferred, related to how Green (2002) describes girls to prefer audio weak instruments for instance.

As presented in the *Background* a study of the music classroom in Sweden has been carried out that investigated different aspects of school´s setting (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010). It was evident in the result of the study that the classrooms used for music teaching, usually contained many different types of instruments and other music related items. Also the National evaluation of the music classroom in Sweden speaks of the same ratio about learners and teachers in general being satisfied with the music equipment at hand (Skolverket, 2015). This fact makes it easier for learners in a Swedish context, and contexts similar to it, to express themselves through music and to claim space within the music classroom, compared to the observed classroom in this study. The setting observed, furthermore is a commonly

frequent phenomenon in the South African school-system, proved evident in research carried out by Russell-Bowie (2009) along with Van Niekerk Jansen and van Vuuren (2015). The observations also indicated in what ways the learners in the observed classroom did not have the same possibilities for claiming space through music compared to learners in a Swedish classroom. Björck´s (2011) study shows how learners in Sweden were claiming space through instruments, but because the learners during the observations had limited resources they could not show on similar patterns. This ratio is strengthened by the national evaluation in music stating that the practical conditions regarding the music education is clearly affecting the quality of the education (Skolverket, 2015).

In the result of this study it also emerged that the teaching style during the observations was very strict. But in the light of resources available the acoustics of the brick walls, concrete floor and a metallic roof made it harder for music expressions in the classroom to exist without being harmful to the ears. Therefore I think the teaching style in some ways was necessary to maintain order and control over the volumes being produced in the classroom. This can further be related to how Björck (2011) stresses that teachers can play a vital role in who gets to be heard and seen in the classroom which can also be understood as striving towards equality. Teachers can approach this in different ways but the important thing to notice is that teachers can play a vital role towards change and equality in the classroom in general, Björck (2011) states.

During the study carried out by Ericsson and Lindgren (2010) however, they saw how teachers managed to focus both on a music agenda and at the same time strive for a democratic upbringing. I think the way of how teachers in Sweden and in South Africa in general are applying methods for teaching is very different from each other. Ericsson and Lindgren (2010) also speaks of the ideological dilemma for teachers to both strive for the school´s democratic mission and at the same time let learners express themselves freely in music. I think that is a difficult balance that teachers have to contemplate over, and something that does not just solve itself over night.

In the end however the learners in this particular setting and classroom observed did not get much room for claiming space through music at all. I think the learners would have needed broader possibilities for action in the music classroom for them to express themselves through music. It would also have been needed in order to make really interesting comparisons between previous research and the result of this study. In order to observe claiming space through music however it would have helped much more if the observed school had greater material resources so that the learners got those broader possibilities for claiming space as desired. The school did not possess those resources though and the ratio can be understood by the different possibilities provided by history. An outcome where apartheid is still playing a vital role in how the educational system works in South Africa, and what resources schools are getting, as shown in Fiske & Ladd (2006) and Spaull (2013). South Africa is still very segregated and the economic resources are not distributed equally to all schools, the authors claim. In this light it is easy to grasp the vast differences in resources in the observed classroom and in a music classroom in Sweden (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010) and how that ratio affects claiming space through music.

6.1.2 The Findings Related to Music

Some findings were made though that related this study to the previous research, focusing claiming space in relation to music education. One of these findings was how claiming space through music emerged in the classroom observed. The learners got to clap rhythms in groups in order to learn the content of their lessons. As seen in the result they were divided into groups of boys and girls while they were clapping those rhythms. When they did it was evident that the volumes produced by the groups were very similar in ways of audio power

but also that the girls got the rhythms more correctly than the boys. Even though that was the case the boys did not claim less space with sound than the girls. This is a very interesting finding because the setting can be described as if it was a normatively masculine coded one (Björck, 2011) because the learners were required to produce audio strong sounds, which is a normatively masculine coded feature related to claiming space and sound. In the *Previous Research* it is also possible to read about Borgström Källéns (2014) findings, showing how boys can reduce their claimings if their knowledge within an area is scarce. Clearly the boys´ knowledge were less prominent than the girls´ but even though it was, the boys did not stop claiming space with sound. That finding is pointing towards the fact that boys during this particular observation were claiming space very strongly. This despite their abilities within the context being limited which leads to the boys not acting accordingly to this particular finding within the *Previous Research*.

One other time when the learners were claiming space through music was when they were clapping rhythms individually. This was something that was present both among girls and boys. It was interesting to see the learners claiming space in this way and that they were not afraid of doing so despite the strict agenda in the classroom. Therefore it would be most interesting to see more research in South Africa within the music field being carried out, relating to claiming space. Because the learners were claiming space through music in this very controlled setting, it would be interesting to see how claiming space would emerge if the setting and possibilities within the music classroom would have been different.

6.1.3 General Findings Related to Claiming Space

Despite the findings of claiming space in a secondary school music classroom in Durban being limited when relating to music, multiple findings related to claiming space and gender and doing gender in wider terms were frequently common within the processed data. As previously stated the setting and teaching style clearly affected how the learners could claim space in the music classroom. But one way in which they did was evident through how they were walking around during the observed lessons. The learners were then claiming space with body by putting their bodies in the spotlight (Björck, 2011). Björck (2011) further describes how this is something that usually comes more natural for boys than girls. This because it is harder for girls to claim space with body and at the same time maintain a normative femininity. A femininity that Green (1993) describes concerning how the medial image encourages girls to claim space within a tiny area.

It was clearly evident that the boys were the ones walking around in the classroom to a much greater extent than the girls. This shows how the learners were all acting accordingly to norms about femininity and masculinity (Bergman, 2011). Because this was a clear pattern that permeated all the observed lessons it would have been very interesting to see what the teacher thought about the phenomenon. As described in the *Method* an interview with the teacher was something that I wanted to have carried out during this study. But again the time as a valuable resource did not make such an approach possible (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015). If it would have been carried out however, it would have been interesting to ask her how she was working with questions concerning equality in the *Creative Arts*. This because the study aimed for processing information within that area, but even more relevant that the *National Curriculum Statement Grade R-12* speaks of gender as one important subject within the South African school-system (Basic Education, 2011). It would have been interesting to see how the classes and the teacher were working with these questions because Björck (2011) describes how problematics about claiming space are contextually bound and work differently for different groups depending on where they are in gender related processes and traditions. Maybe the question had never been tackled before, maybe it had been processed several times. Regardless of how many times the question has been processed, I think the most

important thing is to at least lift it up and face the problematics. This, as Björck (2011) states, for beginning to understand how socialisation and group dynamic processes are being formed.

It was thus evident that the boys during the observations were claiming space with the body in the classroom more often than the girls. Except for being the ones moving around the most in the classroom the boys were also the group of learners that remained standing up the most at various times during the observations, thereby continuing to claim space with body (Björck, 2011). In the same way as the boys were claiming space with body the most during the observations they also did so by sound when exclaiming their comments in the classroom. The exclamations are clearly related to claiming space and sound which is described in Björck (2011). Björck (2011) stresses this further by showing how it is an ability that comes more natural for boys because it is about being audio strong. Even when claiming space through sound the learners were acting accordingly to norms about normative femininity and masculinity (Bergman, 2011) because it was done in this described way with audio loudness. Again that makes you wonder about how much the learners were talking about gender assumptions, and how much they problematized their existence in the music classroom related to gender.

It would have been most interesting to see how claiming space through sound would have appeared if the learners would have been singing or playing instruments during the lessons. Questions would then have arisen concerning if the learners would have found vocals to be a normatively feminine coded instrument as Green (1997) describes, and if Abeles (2009) findings related to instruments and gender would be accurate in the observed setting as well. As mentioned in *Different Possibilities for Claiming Space* the learners did not have any instruments in their music classroom which makes such a comparison between the observed classroom and the *Previous Research* impossible within this study. It will instead be something worth investigating in further research.

Claiming space with body and with sound shows evidence of how the observed classroom and the presented result from it can be related to normative gender patterns (Bergman, 2011). These described ways of claiming space were frequent within the observed classroom and they were emphasised by other normative gender based ways of action from the learners, especially from the girls. This was shown by how the girls in particular were diminishing themselves and reinforcing already existing gender patterns by their body movements. On multiple occasions the girls made themselves physically smaller and thereby acted accordingly to a normative female modesty, as Green (1993) describes.

The ratio of how both girls and boys within this study were acting accordingly to norms about femininity and masculinity (Bergman, 2011) shows how the observed classroom clearly functioned in ways related to gender that was presented in Abeles (2009), Bergman (2011), Björck (2011), Borgström Källén (2014), Charles (2004), Connell (2002), Green (1993; 1997; 2002), Kvarnhall (2015) and Marshall and Shirataki (2013). Once again it would be most interesting to see how the learners would have acted related to claiming space and gender if they would have had more room for claiming space through music in the classroom.

Due to the setting and teaching style present within the observed classroom, little result was found relating to claiming space through music. However the result sums up the relation between claiming space and gender in wider terms, and thereby it shows how they are two features closely connected to one another. The result furthermore shows how the learners were acting accordingly to these features.

6.2 Method Discussion

Within studies there are many different ways to set up and carry out research. Different methods about how to best describe claiming space in a secondary school music classroom in

Durban was considered. Because of the research aiming towards describing how learners are interacting within the music classroom, video observations seemed to be a good method to use. This because the method is aiming towards describing peoples´ environments, as accurately as possible and from their own perspectives (Lalander, 2015).

Furthermore the study is very small in its proportions and the generalizability is low because of it (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015). To increase the generalization more observations would have had to be carried out. A first step would have been to cover all classes at the school observed and later also compare those findings with observations in other schools.

To broaden the research even further it would have been interesting to see what the learners themselves thought about how they were acting in the music classroom and also to see how the teacher was working with questions related to claiming space, as described above. Ahrne & Eriksson-Zetterquist (2015) describe how interviews reflect peoples´ own thoughts on a phenomenon and how the persons interviewed can describe how they usually act in different situations. Combining these two methods would have increased the generalizability within the study. But once again, time is a valuable resource playing a vital role in studies and in the ways they are created (Ahrne & Svensson, 2015). In that light the question about visiting the observation site beforehand can be discussed. Eidevald (2015) describes how that can decrease boundaries between researchers and informants. It would probably have been an even more natural environment if the informants would have been visited before the actual study took place. Unfortunately the time limitation made such an approach impossible because the access to the school did not occur before their examinations were finished.

One problematic element that was found early on in this research was the fact that the observed school did not always speak English in the music classroom. If they had spoken English only, the analysis would have looked different from now because another element concerning verbal communication could have been displayed more thoroughly in the result. On the other hand the whole context would have been different because another school in another area would have been observed and analysed, replacing this currently observed one.

Another concern that is present within observations is that a totally neutral position is not possible to maintain as a researcher (Eidevald, 2015). Different actors understand and interpret phenomena differently over time (Bryman, 2016; Burr, 2003). Regardless how neutral the researcher tries to be in a study, interpretations of the context will be made. The interpretations made during this research affected the whole study and a simple but evident way of describing this phenomenon can be done by how the camera was placed in the classroom during the observations. The camera was standing in a corner in front of all the learners, making those sitting closest to it to be heard the most. If the camera would have had just a slightly different positioning in the room, a partly different result would most probably have appeared.

6.3 The Teaching Profession and Further Needs of Research

One question that comes to mind after processing a study like this one is how it relates to the profession of music teaching. The *Previous Research* clearly indicates that teachers can play a vital role in who gets to claim space in the music classroom as described by Björck (2011). Due to this, the democratic upbringing of learners is also affected by how the teachers are acting in the music classroom (Skolverket, 2011; Basic Education, 2011). Because the *Previous Research* clearly indicates this ratio I think it is important to carry out more research within the area of claiming space because it so clearly affects music teaching. Even though the result of this study related to music was limited it clearly showed how the learners were claiming space in the music classroom in wider terms. And as seen in the *Previous Research,*

Björck (2011) shows how claiming space is closely related to gender problematics. Bhana, Nzimakwe & Nzimakwe (2010) furthermore say that there are not many studies made in South Africa related to gender because it is often viewed as a feminine problem. This indicates that more studies need to be carried out so that the current view of gender issues is not cemented.

The result also showed how currently existing gender patterns were permeating the music classroom (Bergman, 2011). Boys were claiming more space in general and both boys and girls were acting accordingly to norms about masculinity and femininity. This ratio shows that the learners need to start discussing gender problematics. No matter where in the process they are they could start a discussion, because the understanding of socialisation and group dynamic processes takes time (Björck, 2011). It would be most interesting to see how claiming space through music would appear over a longer period of time at the observed school. Therefore I hope further research will be carried out there. This to come closer to an understanding of how claiming space is occurring in a secondary school music classroom in Durban. As stated before the observed classroom did not have the same resources and possibilities within the music classroom compared to the studies presented in the Swedish context (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010). But if research would be carried out over a longer period of time, hopefully a somewhat deeper understanding related to claiming space through music would emerge.

To sum up the discussion chapter I want to stress that one of the most important findings in the *Result*, emphasised in the *Previous Research*, I consider to be the insight stating that teachers can play a vital role in who gets to claim space in the music classroom (Björck, 2011). That is something I will bear with me when starting teaching music in Sweden, and something that I will encourage other music teachers to implement as well.

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