

Male Gate-keepers, Female Artists and Resistance

Mechanisms of Exclusion in Serious Music and New Media Arts in Austria

Robert Harauer, Elisabeth Mayerhofer, Helga Eberherr¹

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the main findings of «Pyramid or Pillars»², a survey on women in arts and media professions in Europe, was the fact that despite a high level of education, women have not been able to break through the glass ceilings and obtain leading positions in cultural institutions. The area which shows the poorest share of women in decision-making positions is the field of classical music. The more important an institution or an orchestra is, the less women can be found in leading positions. In this context, Austria is a special case as classical music is part of the national identity – the «Kulturnation». Despite this status the most important positions in orchestras are still not accessible to women, as the notorious scandal about the Vienna Philharmonic in 1997 showed.

This was the starting point for the project «Culture-Gates»: to determine the specific gates and hurdles confronting women when developing their professional artistic career in the fields of serious music and new media arts. Are there gender-related career patterns in these fields? If yes, how do they function? Who and where are the main gate-keepers and how do they act? Are there differences between career developments in these selected fields?

In addition to these questions, we were especially interested in the production of art: composing, directing, creating computer or net art. Such professional fields have demonstrated that women are less represented than men compared to, for example, distribution and/or training. We have looked at the professional mechanisms of these fields and asked: Who are the important players? How is a successful career defined? How does recruitment work in general?

Expert interviews and a quantitative analysis were conducted to determine the main «gates» which hinder or help women to break through the glass ceiling.

1 MEDIACULT – International Research Institute for Media, Communication and Cultural Development, Vienna.

2 Danielle Cliche, Ritva Mitchell, Andreas Wiesand (eds), *Pyramid or Pillars. Unveiling the status of women in arts and media professions in Europe*. ARCult Media, Bonn, 2000.

The results are used as a base to develop recommendations for political measures regarding gender equality.

1.1 Theoretical Approach and Methodological Notes

Empirical research projects entitled «Women and/in...» often face the problem that they can not capture the gender impact in all its complexity and therefore run the risk of reducing complex social processes to one – biological – factor, as the essentialist base for gender. To avoid this misunderstanding a few notes on the methodological approach need to be made in advance.

The concept of gender as a category of social analysis includes different aspects of social conditions which foresee specific positions for men and women³. The concept of «doing gender» and how it is permanently and invisibly perpetuated in the social subsystems⁴ of the two pre- selected artistic fields, namely, music and new media arts, is basis of this report.

Gender is a fundamental category of Western societies. Lorber calls our whole world «gendered», i.e. every aspect of social life is soaked with the concept that there are two sexes/genders, men and women⁵. Deconstructivist approaches in gender theory, coming from very different theoretical backgrounds such as by Judith Butler, Candace West/Don Zimmerman or Ursula Pasero represent the theoretical state of the art. However, there is still no coherent methodology to operationalise these approaches in the field of empirical social research⁶. In this context, our national study will suffer from inconsistencies between deconstructivist theory concerning gender and empirical research practice.

1.2 Methodological Design

The methodology is a mix of two elements. On the one hand, empirical data from existing statistics of the census and annual reports of institutions such as orchestras were collected. On the other hand, qualitative interviews were conducted. Primary research via questionnaires was not possible within the framework of this

3 Cornelia Behnke, Michael Meuser, *Geschlechterforschung und qualitative Methoden*. Opladen, 1999, p. 40.

4 Judith Lorber, *Gender-Paradoxien*. Opladen, 1999.

5 Judith Lorber, op. cit., p. 34.

6 Cornelia Behnke, Michael Meuser, op. cit., p. 44.

project. Problem-focused interviews were conducted with persons from the two fields. A qualitative approach was chosen because the aim of the European study was not the veri- or falsification of an existing theory, but the development of a new approach to explain the under-representation of women in leading positions in the fields of music and new media arts. Qualitative social research was therefore employed as an appropriate method of research⁷.

Data Collection

The collection of statistical data, especially within the classical music, was conducted via internet research, analysis of existing documentation and statistics and visits to special archives. It is clear that data in this field is very disparate and unsatisfactory. Everything depended on the good will of individuals and the willingness of institutions to co-operate. Manuals, annual reports, yearbooks, programmes etc. were collected by the institutions and the names were counted. Aggregated secondary data do not exist and therefore primary data was collected for this study. Annual reports of the Bundesländer and of the Federal State were analysed as far as it concerned the interest of the study.

Data for new media arts is practically non-existent and therefore the figures presented in this chapter are the result of our own research carried out for this project. Figures dating back five or more years were only available for university education and public (federal) funding. Data on collections, artistic groups and artists themselves was gathered mainly by e-mail. The quality of the data depended completely on the co-operation of the institutions. It was no surprise that most of the material is available on the net although it was necessary to double check the data sources. Co-operation was good although the topic caused some astonishment.

Sample

The sample of interviewees was drawn from younger and established professionals working in the field of music or new media arts, professional artistic educators/trainers at art universities or equivalent and those in leading positions in an institution which is relevant in the field. Applying the method of «theoretical sampling»⁸, members of the sample were chosen during a first analysis of data

7 Siegfried Lamnek, *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Bd.1 und 2: Methoden und Techniken*, 2. Aufl. Weinheim, 1993.

8 Uwe Flick, *Qualitative Forschung. Theorie, Methoden, Anwendung in Psychologie und Sozialwissenschaften*. 5. Aufl. Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2000, p. 81ff.

and literature. This method of sampling does not aim to be representative, but includes experts and groups who are able to make qualified contributions⁹. They include «gate-keepers», i.e. experts who have specific functions in the fields like scientists working on this topic, politicians/officials, women working in the federal broadcasting company, university teachers etc., and *persons in decision-making positions* such as managers, artistic directors, curators, teachers, managers etc. – men and women. The sample is also made up of active female artists. From the field of music, 18 women and 4 men were interviewed (9 gate-keepers and 13 artists) and from the new media arts 10 women were interviewed (6 gate-keepers and 4 artists).

The sample size in the music field is almost twice as high as in the field of new media arts, mainly due to the high complexity of the music field. Even though we concentrated on composers and orchestras from the field of classical music, we did not exclude those in the field of contemporary artistic production (composing) with all its varieties such as different kinds of artistic «schools» and musical performances. While the sample size for new media arts is a rather small segment of audio-visual artistic production, it is a less structured and institutionalised sector in comparison to the field of music. An enlargement of the sample was not expected to bring any new results or, in other words, «theoretical saturation»¹⁰ was reached.

Expert Interviews

Interview guidelines (see Annex «Interview Guidelines Austria») were prepared in advance concerning the main research questions. These were modified during the interviews which helped to generate new concepts¹¹. The interviewees were invited to share with us her/his personal perception of reality¹². All the interviews lasted about 60 minutes with slight individual differences. They have been analysed on the basis of fully transcribed reports which total approximately 500 pages of material. Due to secured anonymity they are not available to the public. All the quotes of the interviews included in this report are anonymous; a necessary precondition for many interviewees. One person heavily criticised the fear of the interviewees when speaking openly about the working conditions for women in the artistic field. Despite this critique, the identity of all interviews is

9 Ibid., p. 82.

10 Ibid., p. 83.

11 Siegfried Lamnek, op. cit., p. 74.

12 Uwe Flick, op. cit., p. 94-99.

protected in order to guarantee methodological homogeneity and comparability. As it is a very small scene with only a few actors in leading positions, the interviewees were classified as either artists or gate-keepers. Information about their function, age or sex would have endangered their anonymity and is therefore not mentioned. The number (e.g. artist 1) indicates the chronological order in which the interviews took place.

All the qualitative statements presented in this report are derived from the analysis of the interviews; in many cases, direct quotes are used to illustrate the results.

1.3 What are Culture-Gates?

Within the framework of this study, gate-keeping is defined as the process of supporting or hindering another person to make a career. Our hypothesis is that every professional career path has specific bottlenecks where important career steps are taken – or not. Identifying these bottlenecks as well as the gate-keepers was one of the main aims of the study. Are gate-keepers structures or «real» persons? Is gate-keeping tied to a specific function or to a specific type of person? For example: an important gate for an upcoming visual artist is to enter the field of galleries, having exhibitions in relevant galleries. How to walk through this gate? It is well-known that gallerists are not actively searching for upcoming talents – rather they are waiting for talents, still young enough to be upcoming, but possessing some credits so that the risk for the gallerist is not too high. Yet who is giving those credits? Sometimes teachers are recommending their students. Sometimes other artists who are already established themselves recommend a younger colleague. Sometimes the gallerist happens to be a good friend of the father of our upcoming artist and is therefore willing to take a higher risk than usual. Sometimes this young artist has collected institutional credits during her/his student life e.g. travel grants, awards or honorary mentions. As this short and rather simple example shows, there is a dense net of relations and credits which can be decisive for an artist's career.

The cultural field in Austria offers positions which are highly remunerated, especially in the performing arts:

Table 1
Income of High Ranking Cultural Managers in the Public Sector, 2000

Institution ⁽¹⁾	Annual Income in EUR ⁽²⁾
Vereinigte Bühnen Wien	420,000-495,000 ⁽³⁾
Vereinigte Bühnen Wien	250,000-360,000 ⁽³⁾
Josefstadt Theatre	approx. 490,000
State Opera Vienna	215,000
Burgtheatre	200,000
Salzburg Festival	190,000 ⁽⁴⁾

1) All directors/managers of these institutions are male.

2) Regular income without shares of the success etc. Before taxes.

3) Based on figures from the Austrian Court of Auditors 1996-99

4) Estimate for 1998

Source: Der Standard, 29./30. 12. 2001, Report of the Austrian Court of Auditors, 2001.

The annual income of these cultural managers reflects the relevance of Austrian culture – above all in the performing arts – for the public purse. The performing arts in Austria have always been held in high esteem. Its relevance has historical roots: During the last five centuries, the performing arts have provided value for the monarchy and its cultural representation; more so than the fine arts. Today, the distribution of public subsidies still reflects this tradition. The most important amounts of public money dedicated to culture are allocated to the performing arts¹³. On the other hand, the field of fine arts is relatively under-developed, there is no important art market in Austria, only a few (private) collectors, hardly any interested sponsors and a small scene of free-lance artists compared to music and the performing arts¹⁴. The latter is characterised by a differentiated system of institutions from education to distribution and performance. Most of the main institutions were founded in the late 19th century

13 Barbara Baier, *Obdachlose Kunst. Das Einfließen sozio-ökonomischer, künstlerisch-kultureller und geschlechterdifferenter Rahmenbedingungen sowie individueller Lebens-, Arbeits- und Wirkungszusammenhänge in das Kunstverständnis und die Lebenskonzepte junger Kunstschaffender am Beispiel der AbsolventInnen der Studienjahrgänge 1991/92 und 1992/93 der Wiener Kunsthochschulen*. Wien, 1995, p. 10.

14 Ibid., p. 14.

Table 2
Founding Year and Leading Positions of the Main Music Institutions

Institution	Founding Year	Female Directors (Since Founding)
Musikverein/Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna ⁽¹⁾	1812	None
University for Music and Performing Arts, Vienna	1817	
Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra (VPO), Vienna	1842	
State Opera, Vienna	1869	
Vienna Symphonic Orchestra (VSO), Vienna	1900	
Universal Edition, Vienna	1901	
Konzerthaus, Vienna	1913	
Salzburg Festival	1917	Helga Rabl-Stadler ⁽²⁾

1) In most cases, the names have changed since the foundation which is not documented. The actual name is used throughout the text.

2) Since 1995

Source: MEDIACULT, 2003.

The Austrian field for music and performing arts does not only have the power of a long tradition and international reputation, but also the financial support to act and make its visions come true. It combines high financial and high symbolic power. Tables 1 and 2 clearly demonstrate that women normally do not reach leading positions in this field.

2. WOMEN IN ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL PROFESSIONS IN AUSTRIA: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 Employment Situation

Since the publication of «Pyramid or Pillars», the situation for women working in the arts and culture has not changed dramatically and above all, the availability of data has not improved. Census data for 2000 will be published only in the Autumn 2003 and therefore, the microcensus is the only source providing overall data about cultural employment in Austria. However, there has been an attempt by the City of Vienna in 2001 to publish gendered data in their annual report on funding practices via a supplement entitled «Frauenkunstbericht».

Table 3
Employed Persons in Cultural Professions in Austria, Microcensus 2000

Fields	Total			Self-employed		Employed	
	Total	M	F	M	F	M	F
Visual artists and related professions	8,900	4,400	4,500	3,600	2,900	700	1,600
Performing artists, musicians	10,200	7,300	2,900	4,500	1,800	2,900	1,100
Other entertainment professions	600	200	400	200	400	--	100
Writers, journalists, translators	12,400	6,100	6,300	2,700	3,100	3,400	3,200

Note: Approximate figures have been rounded. The definition of «employed» is based on the concept of Labour-Force.
Source: Microcensus 2000.

Table 4
% Share of Women in Cultural Professions in Austria

Status	1980	1985	1990	2000
Employed	35%	40%	44%	47%
Self-employed	27%	40%	35%	43%

Source: Microcensus 1980, 1985, 1990, 2000

The trend is obvious and compares with European developments. The share of women working in the cultural field is growing as both employed and self-employed professionals. Economic and political factors have contributed to this trend, fostering self-employment and entrepreneurship.

Table 5

Share of Women Employed in the Austrian Labour Market in %

	1980	1990	2000
Women	30.5%	36.0%	40.7%
Men	54.3%	56.5%	56.2%
All	41.7%	45.8%	48.3%

Source: Microcensus 1980, 1990, 2000

Table 6

Employment Status of Women in the Austrian Labour Market in %

	1980	1990	2000
Self-employed	19.0%	15.2%	12.2%
Employed	81.0%	84.8%	87.8%

Source: Microcensus 1980, 1990, 2000

As one can see from tables 5 and 6, the share of self-employed women in the general labour market is decreasing and the rate of female employees is increasing. This is quite the opposite in the cultural field; perhaps providing an inclination for overall future developments. Many studies¹⁵ support this claim. «Work in the cultural field is traditionally marked by pluralistic forms of employment, fluent transitions from free-lance work to employed work and/or unemployment as well as via a high share of women and lower gender segregation concerning employment status».

15 Carroll Haak, Günther Schmid, *Arbeitsmärkte für Künstler und Publizisten – Modelle einer zukünftigen Arbeitswelt?* Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, Berlin, 1999; Karin Gottschall, Sigrid Betzelt, *Alleindienstleister im Berufsfeld Kultur*. ZeS-Arbeitspapier 18/2001. Zentrum für Sozialpolitik. Universität Bremen; Andrea Leitner, Angela Wroblewski, «Chancengleichheit und Gender-Mainstreaming». In *Ergebnisse der begleitenden Evaluierung des NAP, Reihe Soziologie Nr. 41*, IHS. Wien, 2000.

2.2 Legal Framework: Gender Equality and Gender Mainstreaming in Austria

In the late 1970s, first steps towards positive action to promote equal opportunities on the labour market were undertaken. In 1979, the law on equal treatment was passed on equal pay for equal work in the private sector. Two years later, in 1981, support programmes for women in the public sector were implemented. This was followed by the law on equal treatment in 1985 which foresaw the enlargement of the law into areas concerning social benefits, training and gender neutral job advertisements. In 1990, the State Secretary for Women's Affairs was transformed into a Federal Ministry; albeit with very little financial power leaving it with a symbolic character. In 1993, the Federal Law for Equal Treatment came into force. This law does not only prohibit gender discrimination but also foresees positive action in order to support women in the public sector. One of the measures outlined was a quota and positive action programme with the aim to increase the share of women working in the public sector to 40% (which corresponds roughly to the share of women in the economically active population)¹⁶. During the 1990s similar laws for the public sector at the regional level came into force.

All of this progress came to a halt in 1994. A positive action measure which had already passed was thrown out by the Constitutional court, namely that Federal allocations are no longer tied to the pursuit of equal opportunities.

Accession to the European Community in 1995 required the harmonisation of Austrian legislation to the law and norms of the EC. Since then, the concept of gender mainstreaming, which had been developed on the EC-level, began to replace and/or complement positive action measures.

In 2000, the Austrian government changed from a coalition between the social-democrat party and the conservative party to a coalition between conservatives and the far right wing freedom party. The Ministry for Women's Affairs was abolished and responsibilities transferred to the Federal Ministry for Social Security and Generations. This marked a rupture in the Austrian politics for equal opportunities; women's politics were transformed into family politics. The first significant measure was a change in the allocation for maternity leave. Until 2000, this allocation was considered to be part of the social insurance programme and was only given to women who already had social insurance, i.e. who were employed before having their child. The new concept of «children's money» (Kindergeld) foresees a monthly payment to all mothers. Proposals to expand child care facilities such as a

¹⁶ The validity of both measures was confirmed by the European Court (judgement Kalanke 1995, judgement Marschall 1997 and judgement Badeck 2000).

full day school system, night kindergartens etc. have yet to be realised.

There are no special programmes to promote equal opportunities in the artistic field. The 40% quota for the public sector is only applicable to e.g. (art) universities. There are working groups for equal treatment located at universities and in the public administration which offer consulting services and support in the case of mobbing and sexual harassment. There are no quotas concerning the distribution of subsidies.

The former Minister for Women's Affairs had introduced a highly remunerated prize for women artists which was given every two years. Aside from this, there are no widespread initiatives to promote women's careers in the artistic field.

3. CULTURE-GATES IN SERIOUS MUSIC

Is music more misogynistic than other arts?

«Absolutely. That may sound stupid, but it is really the case.

I know many fine artists and writers,
and of course each has their own problems.

But it isn't the case there that something is ruled out from the very start,
and that all the crucial issues are decided upon by men.»¹⁷

3.1 The Austrian Landscape of Serious Music

Serious music is a central component of Austrian culture. The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, the Salzburg Festival and the Vienna Opera House belong to a list of the most esteemed cultural exports. The landscape of serious music in Austria is dominated by traditional public institutions which also play a role on the international scene:

- Performing houses: Opera house, the Musikverein, the Konzerthaus, all located in Vienna;
- Orchestras: Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Vienna Symphonic Orchestra;
- Education: University for Music and Performing Arts, Vienna;
- Festivals (with more than 100,000 visitors): Salzburg Festival, Vienna International Festival, Bregenz Festival and Wien Modern.

Austria has a vast and multiple landscape of institutions where music is performed. There are two opera houses in Vienna belonging to the Federal Theatres («Bundestheater»), the State Opera and the People's Opera. The third important opera house is a regional one located in Graz (Styria). Many other regional theatres also perform opera. The most important concert halls are the Musikverein¹⁸ and the Konzerthaus¹⁹, both situated in Vienna. While there are no similar institutions in the regions or the regional capitals, important houses can be found in towns linked to festivals such as Linz (Brucknerfest). The exception is Salzburg which does not have a special music hall or opera house for music performances; the Salzburg Festival takes place in its own location and in the regional theatre.

¹⁷ Interview with Olga Neuwirth <http://www.ars-acustica.com/German%20version/Olga%20Neuwirth/olganeuwirthint.html#> 15. 11. 2002

¹⁸ In 2001/2, it had ca. 500 productions and 270,000 visitors.

¹⁹ In 2001/2, it had ca. 605 productions organised by the house and by others and 450,100 visitors.

Austria has a large number of orchestras performing all kinds of music. It is not possible to have an exact number of all orchestras, from the big symphonic orchestras to smaller chamber music or ensembles specialised in ancient music, however, some estimates account for 165 groups in the field of serious music including approximately 90 orchestras, 60 larger ensembles and approximately 15 chamber orchestras. Together they employ about 4,000 musicians²⁰.

Orchestras such the Vienna Philharmonic (VPO) or the Vienna Symphonic (VSO) rank amongst the world's most renowned. Both have a long tradition of over one hundred years. The VPO has a symbiotic relationship with the State Opera Vienna, i.e. the orchestra of the State Opera is a sort of forefront of the VPO. The legal status of the former is an association and since 1996, does not receive any direct public funding. The VSO on the other hand still receives public funding which is considerable (although it has been decreasing in the last years). It received EUR 250,000 from the Federal State in 2000 and EUR 10.5 million from the City of Vienna in 2001²¹. The number of concerts performed by both orchestras is extremely high. The VSO, for example, performs about 200 concerts a year. The VPO is even more active due to its touring activities as well as acting as the orchestra for the Vienna State Opera. Due to the annual «New Year's Concert», the VPO has become a national symbol. Despite this privileged position, things are changing. Orchestras are having to prove themselves on the market which is getting smaller. Public bodies are less and less willing to finance orchestras for the art's sake. The latter can be illustrated by the example of the Radio Symphony Orchestra (RSO) which may be dismantled.

The focus of public subsidies has been on support for (high-quality) traditional music. The production of new music is not a priority as e.g. shown by the financial problems of the Klangforum, an internationally renown orchestra for contemporary music. Due to their difficult financial situation, the musicians have to work under health-damaging conditions²².

Austria offers many opportunities to begin music education at a very early age. Music universities enjoy a world-wide reputation which is reflected by the high amount of foreign students studying at one of the three main institutions.

20 Elena Ostleitner, *Liebe, Lust, Last und Leid. Eine Studie zur Situation des Orchesternachwuchses in Österreich*. Wien, 1995, p. 22.

21 *Kunstbericht 2001*. Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien, 2001.

22 Der Standard, 13. 11. 2002.

Table 7
Full-time Students at Austrian Music Universities, 2000/01

Universities	Students with Austrian Citizenship		Foreign Students	
	Total	%F	Total	%F
Vienna	1,652	55%	1,141	56%
Salzburg	747	61%	917	61%
Graz	870	49%	648	53%
Total	3,269	55%	2,706	57%

Source: Österreichische Hochschulstatistik 2000/2001

Austria has four major festivals for serious music with over 100,000 visitors. The programme of these festivals is a mixture of opera, concerts and performing arts such as theatre (Salzburg) and/or dance (Vienna International Festival) and other activities accompanying the festivals, such as exhibitions. Many of them take place during the summer months profiting from the theatre holidays which allows musicians (or even whole orchestras) to participate.

Table 8
Four Large Serious Music Festivals: Structural Data, 2002

Name	Location	Visitors	Productions	Duration
Salzburg Festival	Salzburg	230,000	170	5 weeks
Vienna International Festival	Vienna	210,000	168	5 weeks
Bregenz Festival	Bregenz	200,000	55	4 weeks
Wien Modern (2001)	Vienna	137,000	59	5 weeks

Source: MEDIACULT research, 2002

In addition to the festivals listed above, there are smaller specialised festivals, many of which take place in the regions.

3.2 Artistic Production

3.2.1 Composers

How Many Composers Are There in Austria?

The data collected in the microcensus or in the national census do not indicate the share of male and female composers and therefore data from different sources had to be collected. According to the number of members belonging to the artists union's music section, there are 1,934 members, 73% men and 27% women²³. The representatives of each of the six sub groups²⁴ of the union are men. It is not possible to differentiate between music styles; composers producing classical music can not be distinguished from those producing pop or folk music. It was also not possible to distinguish between those with multiple memberships in various professional associations²⁵.

Table 9

Professional Associations Representing Composers

	Men	Women	
	Total	Total	% Share
Austrian Composers Association	170	12	7%
Musikergilde	427	32	7%
International Society for New Music (IGNM)	214	37	15%
Association of Composers (Salzburg)	51	11	18%
INOEK	60	4	6%

Source: MEDIACULT research, 2002

The share of women composers represented in these associations is approximately 6-7% with two exceptions. The Association of Composers in Salzburg, which is a regional partner of the Austrian Composers Association and the IGNM, Austrian section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM).

²³ MEDIACULT research, 2002.

²⁴ These are divided between composers, studio and concert musicians, conductors, music teachers, dance and entertainment musicians, orchestra musicians.

²⁵ Information given by the secretary of the music section by telephone.

The «Komponisten-Report», a 1990 study²⁶ of 630 composers²⁷, lists 4% women. According to other studies conducted between 1979 and 1982, the share of women was 5% and 6% respectively²⁸.

Table 10

Composers and Lyricists Registered in Copyright Associations, 2002

	Total	Men	Women	
			Total	% Share
Composers	9,933	8,995	938	9%
Lyricists	813	463	350	43%
Total Copyright Holders	10,746	9,458	1,288	12%

Source: MEDIACULT research 2002 based on data provided by the AKM

Data provided by the copyright association «Autoren, Komponisten und Musikverleger» include all copyright holders, i.e. also persons who have only produced one arrangement in their life.

An analysis of the different databases together with the data compiled by older studies enables us to conclude that the share of women composers is around 7% - 9%.

Income Level of Composers

The income level of composers is notoriously bad and only very few have the chance to receive international success and recognition. The »Komponisten-Report« of 1990 shows that the average income per month was about ca. EUR 940; the lowest below EUR 363, the maximum around EUR 1,530²⁹.

All composers interviewed for this study live as free lancers trying to make their living from composing, which is getting more and more difficult. Somehow they are supposed to have a wealthy family background: «You can afford it if you have possessions or a great inheritance.» (artist 2). The main income sources for composers are commissions given by orchestras, concert halls (organisers)

26 Alfred Smudits, Irmgard Bontinck, Desmond Mark, Elena Ostleitner, *Komponisten-Report*. Wien 1993, p.9.

27 Of all kinds of music. Response rate was 45%.

28 Landeskulturreferentenkonferenz der österreichischen Bundesländer (Ed.), *Künstler in Österreich. Die soziale Lage der Komponisten, bildenden Künstler und Schriftsteller*. Salzburg/Wien, 1984, p. 32.

29 Alfred Smudits et al., op. cit., p 14

or radio stations (artists 25, 19, 21). The latter are very attractive commissioners because the works will gain airplay which brings additional royalties to the composer and the work will reach a larger public and can cause a «chain reaction» (artist 19). One interviewee observes an increasing trend towards unpaid work (artist 2): «There are colleagues who do not care or who have a sufficient financial backing or who say that they are just glad to be performed.» (artist 2).

But how to get a commission? The statements on this issue are rather vague. Organisers confirm that the main criteria are artistic quality (gate-keepers 30, 6) as well as the occasion for which a specific work is commissioned, i.e. a festival or anniversary concert (gate-keeper 29). Programme organisers get into contact with composers based on recommendations, e.g. by conductors (gate-keeper 27). Organisers operate within a network composed of their colleagues and artists (gate-keeper 30).

One organiser described a typical procedure. First, the organiser listens to the work of a young talent at a festival. The work is good, so the young talent is invited to write something for a prestigious concert hall. Then the organiser arranges contact with the Salzburg Festival and so on (gate-keeper 30). In most cases, personal contacts are central to co-operation (artist 25). This is not possible via agents or publishers – the composers concede high importance to personal contacts which are established or renewed at festivals (artist 2).

A problematic issue concerning commissions is the behaviour of organisers towards composers. First of all, equal money for equal work is still not common. «Women never get the same as men.» (artist 25). Women are worse paid than men (artist 20) or the organisers try to bargain with women in order to get a cheaper price (artist 25). Organisers also try to interfere on the artistic level (artist 25). Generally, Austria is not considered to be a good place for a composer who would like to live from commissions. «I could not live in Austria. [...] I get commissions mainly from abroad.» (artist 25).

An analysis of the commissioning practice of festivals and orchestras shows the following results. In the last five years, the VPO has given commissions to two men. The Klangforum has given commissions to 31 persons, but to only one woman in the seasons 2000/01 and 2001/02. Not one work by a woman composer was performed at the Styriarte in the world premieres between 1995 and 2002. The Musikprotokolle gave 11 commissions from 1998/99 to 2001/02, but never to a woman. We can conclude that there is very poor information about commissions and that all orchestras, except for the Klangforum, are not very active in this regard. Only in rare cases was information available and as

such women were practically absent: one work out of 48 commissions.

Another problem with commissions is that generally the first performance of a piece is eligible for public subsidies. Therefore, orchestras or organisers prefer to have new pieces performed instead of integrating contemporary music into their repertoire which does not bring any extra money: «Played only once – that’s the dilemma.» (artist 19).

Besides commissions, what do composers live from? Teaching at universities (artists 2, 20, 13), or music schools (artist 19), teaching an instrument (artist 2), giving lectures at conferences (artist 2). Royalties depend on the frequency of performances and the reach of the broadcasting company (artist 19) which even already established composers must actively campaign.

«Royalties are relevant if you are often performed. [...] It’s clear that you get more royalties if you are performed. I think that this would be [...] the task of a publisher to do something here. The composer can not make this, too: ‘Hello, please do perform my work.’ [...] This would be embarrassing.» (artist 25).

The Komponisten-Report of 1990 suggests that the question of royalties is gender-related. In 1990, 70% of the male composers and 30% female composers interviewed said that they could live from royalties. This allows the simple conclusion that women are less performed than men³⁰.

Multiple job holding is normal: «Flexible sources of income. It is like that in this profession that I have different ways of how to earn my living.» (artist 2). Despite this reality, the social situation is quite bad. One of the interviewees noted that in bad times she had to go to the social welfare office (artist 21). It is only logical that «success» is defined as the opportunity to be able to live from composing (artist 7, gate-keeper 11). This has not changed within the last 12 years.

Grants and prizes do not play a very important role as an income factor. One reason could be that there are few grants and no regular commissions from the state like in other EU-countries (artist 25). Another reason could be that the application process is considered to be very consuming (artist 21). Nevertheless, the state scholarship for composing («Österreichisches Staatsstipendium») provides an opportunity for composers to dedicate themselves to composing for one year: «Especially the state scholarship keeps me free [...] because I can take one year off.» (artist 19).

30 Ibid., p. 91.

Image of the Artist: The Composer is Male

The image of the composer is still dominated by the image of the male genius. One composer tells us that she was not aware of these problems at the beginning:

«I really thought it was all about music. [...] When I reflect on this now [...] I have to laugh. [...] I am in the wrong place [...] I am an alien. But now, I am somehow in it, because I have thought this would be my world. I love this music, certainly, and I will always continue making it, but I have not analysed it before what this brings with it and what it means; that music is actually an absolutely male domain.» (artist 25)

Music is a field dominated by men where women are the exception as soon as they do work as professionals: «All the organisers, the orchestra musicians, the composers, the conductors are male... this does not exist anywhere else, in no other discipline.» (artist 25) This is a result of the fact that women composers and their works are not known. They are not part of the classical repertoire of orchestras and concert halls. Persons working in this field admit not knowing works of women composers (artist 24, gate-keeper 26). This fact is the result of a vicious circle: As long as women are not part of the artistic canon, their works will not be performed and vice versa. A solution would be to integrate women's works into textbooks at schools and universities (artist 2). This could also help to change one fact which is considered to be a major handicap by the interviewees (artists 19, 25, 14): The lack of role models and models of female composers who are successful: «On the other hand, there are few female composers who are role models, coming from one generation before you who have actually made it.» (artist 25). It would be especially important to present female role models at the university level either as teachers (artist 25) or integrated in the artistic canon (artist 2). This situation is so dire that successful composers have gone so far to say that they would not advise a woman to work as a composer (artists 21, 25): «Now, 10 years later, knowing what this all means I would not begin in this field [...] because there is no place for a woman.» (artist 25)

Exemplary Biography

Olga Neuwirth, Composer (born 1968)

Was born in Graz, Austria, on the 4th of August 1968.
Started trumpet lessons at the age of seven.

From 1987-93 she studied composition with Erich Urbanner at the Vienna Academy of Music and Performing Arts.
During that period she also studied at the Electroacoustic Institute.

From 1985-86 she studied composition and theory with Elinor Armer at the Conservatory of Music in San Francisco, as well as fine art and film at the Art College.
Her meetings with Adriana Hölszky, Tristan Murail and Luigi Nono have been a particular source of inspiration.

From 1993-94 she studied with Tristan Murail in Paris, and took part in the «Stage d'Informatique Musicale» at IRCAM, Paris.

She was a member of the jury at the 1994 Munich Biennale, and during the same year she was a member of the Composer's Forum at the Darmstadt Summer School; in 1994, she was awarded the «Publicity Preis» of the austro mehana for the production of a CD.

In 1996, she was as a DAAD guest in Berlin.

Two portrait concerts were dedicated to her in the Salzburg Festival 1998 within the series of concerts «Next Generation».

In 1999, she was awarded the «Förderpreis der Ernst von Siemens-Stiftung», München and the «Hindemith-Preis» of the Schleswig-Holstein-Musik-Festival.

Her first opera was successfully performed during the «Wiener Festwochen» in 1999, and she was awarded the «Ernst Krenek-Preis» for it.

In 2000, her composition «Clinamen/Nodus», which was written for Pierre Boulez and the London Symphony Orchestra, was premiered in London and then taken on a world tour.

2000, composer-in-residence with the Koninklijk Philharmonic Orchestra of Flanders in Antwerp.

2002, composer-in-residence at the «Luzerner Festwochen».

WORKS PERFORMED 2000 – 2001

Works performed e.g. by Pierre Boulez, Sylvain Cambreling, Franz Welser Möst, Martyn Brabbins, R. Schulkovsky and ICTUS, LSO or Klangforum Wien at Carnegie Hall, New York, Bayerische Staatsoper München, Barbican Center, London, Lincoln Center, New York, Salzburger Festspiele, Edinburgh Festival, Donaueschinger Musiktage, Cité de la musique, Musikmonat Basel, Hopetown Alpha, Auckland etc.

PRESENT PROJECTS

2002 «spheric construction» für Flöte, Klavier und Vierkanal-Tonband

2003 New music theatre for «Cultural Capital Graz 2003» following David Lynch's film «Lost Highway»

2006 New music theatre for the Salzburg Festival

(<http://www.olganeuwirth.com> 06. 12. 2002)

Five Prejudices Against Women Composers

«*Composing is not a women's affair.*» (gate-keeper 28)

1. There are none.

Not true – they exist and they produce, but: «They are not supported, they are not looked for, they are not found.» (artist 25) They are invisible from the professional world or music.

2. The quota argument. She is programmed because she is a woman.

«I am only performed because I am a woman – I have heard this a thousand times. It is also like this: I only have a reputation because I am a woman, there are no women in Austria and therefore they have to play one at least.» (artist 25)

3. Women cannot compose, because they cannot think logically.

«Women tend to be – and that makes them so lovely and likeable. They tend towards an incredible subjectivity and not towards a formal objectivity, generally, formal thinking in structures is not distinctive for women.» (gate-keeper 29)

This statement made by an orchestra manager is familiar to the interviewees (artist 2, gate-keeper 26) who call them «incredible prejudices» (artist 25) which suggest that «women cannot think, i.e. think in an abstract way.» (artist 25). Another argument is that women have a weaker sense of rhythm than men (artist 7).

4. Women compose «women's music».

Women reject this prejudice: «I do not think that women's music is or should be different from men's music.» (artist 20). But the fact that the interviewees were familiar with this prejudice allows the conclusion that it is still current. One of the interviewed men also affirmed the difference (gate-keeper 28).

5. Women cannot give high level artistic performances because their creative potential is absorbed by giving birth to children.

A very old prejudice which reappears in the interviews: «A man has to canalise the aggressions which are inside of him; which are also inside of women, but in a different way. He has to canalise it. [...] A woman has the opportunity to [produce] a creative potential by giving birth to children. A man cannot do this, and in spite of it men begin world wars or split atoms or write Beethoven's Fifth.» (male gate-keeper 28)

Many of the interviewees had essentialist concepts of «women» and «men». The notion of a «real» woman or femininity appeared, above all from persons coming from a classical orchestra background. «A normal woman» (gate-keeper 29) wants to have children and not dedicate herself entirely to her career (gate-keeper 28). The myth of the mother is still present in this discourse (artist 17) along with a mixture of psychological and physiological characteristics attributed to women (gate-keepers 28, 29). It is remarkable that only men belonging to an older generation (born at the end of the 1940s) make these kinds of statements and that despite academic training, the majority of all the interviewees (with one exception) had a lack of knowledge of basic gender concepts. Special gender courses or the integration of the gender aspect in all disciplines as it is done at the University of Vienna could be one way to increase the knowledge level about gender.

3.2.2 Conductors

«This is really not unfeminine at all.» (artist 18)

One of the first results of this study is that there are indeed very few women conductors. Finding female Austrian conductors was almost impossible. There are a few rare exceptions, but as the university statistics show, there are almost no Austrian female students studying conducting. There are a few well known stars such as Simone Young or Sian Edwards, Catherine Rückwardt or Marie-Jeanne Dufour who made their way and who are conducting at leading houses all over the world. Although there were maestras such as Marie Gruner who conducted an orchestra in the 19th century, they still represent a strange and rare phenomenon in the music field. The image of the conductor still does not include «blacks, women and homosexuals» as Norman Lebrecht puts it³¹.

Conducting is a male field, even more so than composing. The profession of a conductor is linked with the image of power and control over a collective of people. This does not fit with the female gender role stereotype: «It is about those pictures which are very deeply rooted, women are not supposed to get in front of an orchestra and exercise one of the most dominant and leading professions because I think there is supposed to be one general» (artist 15). The conductor's cliché represents this image of male leadership. The conductor Catherine Rück-

31 Alexander Ross, «Die Jungs teilen den Kuchen unter sich auf. Die Dirigentin Catherine Rückwardt.» In: *Crescendo* 04/05 1999. <http://www.klassik.com/de/magazine/magazines/crescendo/artikel02.htm>, 09. 09. 2002.

wardt calls it the «last bastion of the father figure»³².

Female conductors are confronted with other negative consequences of this image. They are considered as projections for different kinds of sexual stereotypes constructed by organisers, by the public or by journalists (artist 15). The image of the domina is always present: «domina shit» (artist 15). A critic with the *Süd-deutsche Zeitung* was wondering whether Simone Young was buying her high heels in an S&M-shop³³. Suggestions have been made for female conductors to pose nude as a part of a marketing campaign for their concerts (artist 15). The conductor Sian Edwards sums it up: «Female conductors who try to be strong in a new, feminine way are misunderstood and giped – either as a domina or as a hysteric teenager.»³⁴ These images cause problems in their private life. Partners have difficulties to live in a relationship with a dominant woman: «Men had big problems with this dominant role I am exercising.» (artist 15).

Concerning professional life, it is not the orchestras which rebel against female conductors, but «the management – intendants, opera directors, dramaturgs»³⁵. Because of the lack of female conductors, the very few professionals amongst them have to be pioneers. They have to face the fact that at each new engagement they are «the first» woman to conduct an orchestra³⁶ – this fact represents another gate, a psychological hurdle for all the persons involved. The Greek conductor Konstantia Gourzi affirms that «The orchestras get quickly used to the fact that there is a woman in front of them, but the organisers do not engage her.»³⁷ The main Austrian symphony orchestras do not often co-operate with female conductors. For example, the works performed and recorded by the VSO have never been conducted by a female conductor (but by 52 male ones)³⁸.

Can Women Conduct?

Similar to what was said about female composers, the question arises whether women are able to conduct in the same way as men. Male voices coming from

32 <http://www.klassik.com/de/magazine/magazines/crescendo/artikel02.htm>, 09. 09. 2002

33 Niki Sommer, «Jetzt geben Frauen den Takt an. Trotz Vorurteilen: Dirigentinnen machen Furore». In: *SonntagsZeitung Kultur*. <http://www.sonntagszeitung.ch/1998/sz06/62915.HTM>, 09. 09. 2002.

34 Stefan Siegert, «Frauen am Pult». In: *Fono Forum*, 08/2001.

35 <http://www.klassik.com/de/magazine/magazines/crescendo/artikel02.htm>, 09. 09. 2002.

36 <http://www.sonntagszeitung.ch/1998/sz06/62915.HTM>, 09. 09. 2002.

37 Stefan Siegert, op. cit.

38 <http://www.wiener-symphoniker.at/indexd.html> 04. 02. 2003

the interviews say that they cannot. Women do not want to exercise power. They do not fit into the profession of a conductor: «There is another thing which is missing from women to a large extent. That is the consciousness of power of a little commander or even only a little warrant officer.» (gate-keeper 28). On the other hand, there are female voices affirming that women are even more capable of conducting. Firstly, because women are better in putting themselves into the situation of another person which is very important when leading an orchestra. Secondly, because of the «schlagtechnische» aspect which corresponds more with the way women move (artist 18).

Changing the style of works will also help to change the image of the authoritarian conductor. The traditional way of conducting fits into the hierarchical structure of the orchestras. But those «orchestra tyrants» (artist 24) are dying out. The younger generation of conductors and musicians are already working in a more co-operative way (artist 24). A good performance is the result of good co-operation, good teamwork (artist 15), «Killer-Toscanini-Methods» (artist 15) are not very suitable to facilitate a free creative working process. Teamwork is generally very important for the performance of new music/first performances (artist 25). This might cause a change towards a more co-operative way of working which could entail an opening for women³⁹. Independent of these opinions, most of the interviewed musicians and organisers had already worked with female conductors and did not observe any difference (artist 17, gate-keeper 31). The sex of the conductor obviously has no influence on how she/he is received by an orchestra.

Orchestras and Musicians

The working conditions for an orchestra musician is rather good as soon as the person gets a regular job in the orchestra. From that moment onwards, the musician finds her/himself in a comfortable position and no longer has to fight as a freelancer against the growing competition.

In general, the financial situation of an orchestra will have consequences for the artistic quality of the work. Under growing economic pressure, the time for rehearsals is diminishing. This is becoming a vicious circle for contemporary music. The interpretation of new pieces which do not belong to the repertoire needs more time for preparation and is therefore much more expensive for an orchestra or a manager. There are «managers [...] who say, okay, the programme is worked

39 «Warum gibt es keine Dirigentinnen?» in: *P.M. Magazin*, 09/2002. http://www.pm-magazin.de/nurinternet/artikel_id49.htm, 09. 09. 2002.

out, studied, it is cheaper to repeat that than to study a new programme.» (gate-keeper 27) The consequence is a repertoire which is getting smaller and smaller, a few pieces are performed over and over again, all over the world while others disappear from the programmes and new music rarely gets a chance to be performed by renowned symphony orchestras. «In a very short time the repertoire is becoming very poor, also the musicians and in the end everybody is playing only Beethoven's Ninth with the Berlin Philharmonics and I don't know whom and that's it.» (gate-keeper 27) As the results of the repertoire analysis show, women are mostly played by orchestras specialised on «new music» and/or in special programmes or festivals. The reduction of the repertoire to the traditional canon results in less performances for women composers.

Not only the repertoire suffers, but also the musicians feel the effects of an increased economic pressure. They have to perform more, they have to make more tours etc. «Everything gets clustered with service where it is possible and sometimes we have two different rehearsals for two different programmes in one day [...] or we have a last rehearsal and two hours later we have to fly to Zurich.» (artist 24). Regulations negotiated by the artists' union are considered to be an effective protection for the musicians (artist 24)⁴⁰.

Female Musicians

Orchestra musicians have been counted for 11 orchestras between the years 1997 and 2001. The data show no significant changes in these five years. This fact is due to the long-term and/or mid-term contracts orchestra musicians have. Quick fluctuations are not common and would not be favourable to the artistic quality of an orchestra. Table 11 provides data on the share of women working in the main Austrian symphony orchestras.

⁴⁰ While they are at the same time the target of heavy critique from the musicians as overregulations, hindering the persons to work when they want (artist 18).

Table 11
Share of Women Musicians in the Main Austrian Symphony Orchestras 1997–2001

Orchestras	1997		1998		1999		2000		2001	
	Total	%F	Total	%F	Total	%F	Total	%F	Total	%F
VPO	123	0%	128	0.8%	130	0.8%	132	0.8%	128	0.8%
VSO	130	2.3%	130	2.3%	128	3.9%	126	4%	126	5.6%
RSO	91	22%	89	20.2%	96	24%	97	26.8%	94	24.5%
Orchestra of the People's Opera	92	28%	92	28%	92	28.3%	92	27.2%	87	28.7%
Bruckner-Orchestra	108	31.5%	111	33.4%	111	33.4%	108	34.3%	108	32.4%
Grazer Philharmonics	94	18.1%	92	17.4%	92	17.4%	91	19.8%	92	20.7%
Gustav Mahler Youth Orchestra	124	50.8%	128	48.4%	133	46.6%	127	44.1%	104	52.9%
Carinthian Symphonic Orchestra	50	18%	N/A	N/A	49	18.4%	50	20%	47	19.2%
Mozarteum Orchestra	91	23.1%	89	25.8%	88	22.7%	90	22.2%	87	23%
Niederösterreichische Tonkünstler	98	23.5%	98	25.5%	99	26.3%	96	27.1%	97	26.8%
Klangforum	20	35%	20	35%	21	33%	22	36%	23	39.1%

Source: MEDIACULT research, 2002

The figures clearly show that the share of women remains constant during the five years analysed. They also show the difference between VPO, VSO and the other orchestras. While VPO and VSO have by far the lowest share, most orchestras have about 20-30% women amongst their musicians. VPS and VSO have been founded in the last century during which time women were not allowed to work in the orchestra. The opening happened very late, yet traditional structures are deep-rooted. Nevertheless it has been said that the share of women in the VSO has doubled during the last five years and they had a female concert master during that time⁴¹. The other orchestras were founded much later, e.g. the RSO in 1969 or the Bruckner Orchestra in 1967, and have always been open to women. This might explain the higher share of women and the fact that women occupy leading positions, such as a concert master. The other exceptions are the Gustav Mahler Youth Orchestra (GMO) and the Klangforum. The GMO,

41 For two consecutive years, a very young musician passed her test phase but in the end she was not selected.

founded in 1986, is an orchestra specially founded to support young musicians. Therefore, the GMO shows the strongest fluctuations because it is conceived as a high quality jumping-off point and not as an orchestra with long-term contracts. The Klangforum, a soloist ensemble for contemporary music, seems to be outside traditional constraints and stereotypes.

Table 12 shows that orchestras do not necessarily have a misogynous tradition. Depending on the policies of the orchestra, the share of women could be consistently high.

Table 12

% Share of Female Musicians by Instrument in Austrian Orchestras, 2001

Orchestras	Concert Master	Strings	Wood Winds	Brass Winds	Harp	Percussion	Total Musicians
	%F	%F	%F	%F	%F	%F	%F
VPO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.8
VSO	0	7.9	6.7	0	0	0	5.6
RSO	50	35.2	0	5.6	100	0	24.5
Orchestra of the People's Opera	33.4	40.9	33.4	0	100	0	28.7
Bruckner-Orchestra	0	41.7	40	13.6	50	0	32.4
Grazer Philharmonics	25	34.8	14.3	0	0	0	20.7
Gustav Mahler Youth Orchestra	0	66.2	44.4	17.7	100	14.3	52.9
Carinthian Symphonic Orchestra	0	29.2	16.7	0	100	0	19.2
Mozarteum Orchestra	25	28	41.7	0	N/A	0	23
Niederösterreichische Tonkünstler	0	35.6	27.3	5.6	100	0	26.8
Klangforum	N/A	50	50	25	100	0	39.1

Source: MEDIACULT research, 2002

The share of women broken down according to instruments shows no surprises. Women are well represented among the strings, but when it comes to leading positions, they are significantly under-represented. In all orchestras the share of women playing brass winds is below 20% (except the Klangforum). There are no women playing percussion except in the GMO. The harp is often played only by women; the first female member of the VPO was also a harpist. Orchestra instruments are gender-specific, women are – physically – not supposed to cope with the

technical requirements of some instruments.

The results of our survey show that women are virtually absent from leading positions within orchestras as concert masters, chief conductors, alternate conductors, conductors and/or managers. There is a simple rule - the more important the position, the less women are represented. There are some exceptions in the group of 11 main Austrian orchestras listed in Table 12. Figures below are for the year 2001, % share of total figures is presented in brackets.

- the RSO had two female concert masters (50%), 1 conductor (5%) and 1 manager (100%)
- the People's Opera had 1 female concert master (33%)
- the Graz Philharmonic had 1 female concert master (25%)
- the Mozarteum Orchestra had 1 female concert master (25%)
- Niederösterreichische Tonkünstler had one female manager (50%)

The female orchestra manager of the Radio Symphonic Orchestra will not have her contract renewed when it expires. One interviewee blames her. She had to fail because she made the mistake that «besides her professional qualifications she thought that she had to adopt the tone of a sergeant which is hardly tolerated from male managers, and definitely not if a woman adopts it.» (gate-keeper28). The message is clear. It is difficult, if not impossible to survive as a woman in a leading position, the image of the leading manager is as male as that of a leading/producing artist. If a woman takes the attitude of a (male) decision maker, she will be heavily opposed.

Women in Orchestras: Can They Cope?

The share of women in an orchestra often reflects whether it has been open for women since its foundation or not. In the late 1960s, many orchestras opened up for women by resolution of the orchestra direction (artist 22). In cases like the VPO-scandal the question arose whether women can cope with the strains of a symphony orchestra. A common argument against women is the constraints put upon them by touring «that the ladies could not carry their suitcases» (artist 22). The argument is that the stressful life of an orchestra musician is too difficult for women, especially when they have or want to have children. The female interviewees denied that they could not be able or want to work as an orchestra musician (artists 18, 24), while the men posited

«as a philharmonic musician [one works] at the orchestra of the State Opera, but also in chamber music orchestras and as teachers and so on and so forth. And always these Japanese tours, it's crazy, isn't it? And this is nothing for women, it is not that they would not cope with it, but they don't want that.» (gate-keeper 28).

Another argument put against women musicians is motherhood, that they can not leave their children while they are touring. Opinions among the interviewees differ in this respect.

From an artistic point of view, there are still voices which doubt whether women could play at all in an orchestra, claiming there is a «masculine sound» (artist 24) which suggests that the way an instrument is played depends essentially on defined characteristics: «Certainly a woman plays in a different way. Softer... [...] more suave... When a woman plays in a hard way, then it is hard» (gate-keeper 29). Even when this is considered to be interesting for an orchestra it is still remarkable how deeply rooted such concepts of the sexes are. This can also be observed when examining the representation of women and men according to the different instruments. Physical reasons are seen as responsible for specific gender patterns of distribution (gate-keepers 13, 31). Nevertheless, there are also voices which consider these patterns as a consequence of traditions which are in the process of changing (artist 18)

«For instance, the trumpet. I believe that this is also a physical problem, that it is incredibly exhausting, physically. But, as I said, today there are women in many other professions which have been considered too physically exhausting. At the moment there are lots of female contra-bassists [...] mostly American pioneers.» (artist 18).

3.2.3 *The Repertoire*

An analysis of the repertoire of four main Austrian symphony orchestras shows that the share of works performed by women composers is extremely small. As previously mentioned, Austrian symphony orchestras compile their programmes under considerable economic pressure and therefore do not have much room to adopt a more experimental programme. The only exception is the Klangforum, an orchestra specialised in new music. Traditional symphony orchestras have to fulfil a balancing act between the taste of the public and an artistically challenging programme: «It is a balancing act for every organiser because one would drive away people from the concert houses by saying ‘We are great’, yet we understand that the others will not understand it anyhow.» (gate-keeper 26).

Among those listed in the top ten⁴² the most performed composers (above 5,000 visitors) 1999/2000 in Vienna’s music theatres and regional theatres⁴³ are: Andrew Lloyd Webber, Michael Kunze/Sylvester Levay, Giuseppe Verdi, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Johann Strauß, Franz Lehár, Richard Wagner, Giacomo Puccini,

42 *Österreichische Kulturstatistik* 2000/01

43 Federal theatres, Vienna’s private theatres, United theatres Vienna, regional and municipal theatres.

Giacchino Rossini, Richard O'Brien. Not one woman. On the one hand, this is due to the commercial success of musicals and on the other hand, to the very classical repertoire which suits a big public. Women composers do not belong to the canon, they rank amongst the «discoveries» in classical music. New music has the problem that the public is not familiar with it and think it is too complex and too «difficult» (gate-keeper 31). One interviewee says that this is because most of the new music performed is dissonant music (artist 20) which sounds too foreign for the average music consumer.

Table 13

% Share of Female Composers Whose Works are Performed by Main Austrian Orchestras, 1996–2001

	VPO		VSO		RSO		Bruckner Orchestra		Klangforum	
	Total	%F	Total	%F	Total	%F	Total	%F	Total	%F
1996/97	37	0%	45	2.2%	47	2.1%	49	0%	74	4.1%
1997/98	42	0%	50	2%	56	3.6%	38	0%	94	6.4%
1998/99	35	0%	53	0%	48	8.3%	49	2%	109	7.3%
1999/00	33	0%	41	0%	54	0%	40	0%	125	7.2%
2000/01	37	0%	54	0%	61	0%	59	0%	151	6%
1996-2001	184	0%	243	0.8%	266	2.6%	235	0.4%	553	6.3%

Source: MEDIACULT research, 2002

The VSO lists on its homepage the names of those composers whose works are recorded by the orchestra: 64 men and 1 woman, Luna Alcalay⁴⁴. The Klangforum, as a specialised orchestra for contemporary music, performs the works of many more female composers: 10 female composers' works from 1996-2000. The names of the performed composers point towards canonisation: Elfi Aichinger, Sofia Gubaidulina, Adriana Hölszky, Mayako Kubo, Misato Mochizuki, Isabel Mundry, Olga Neuwirth, Isabel Soveral, Galina Ustwolskaja, and Larisa Vrhung. The RSO, whose task is to promote contemporary music, presented the works of women composers in specialised festivals, such as the Musikprotokolle, the festival for contemporary music held within the framework of the regional avant-garde festival Styrian Autumn. Thus, we can conclude that the work of women composers is still not part of the mainstream, but performed in special circumstances and mostly in venues promoting «new music».

44 <http://www.wiener-symphoniker.at/indexd.html>; 04. 02. 2003.

3.2.4 *Who is Holding the Leading Positions as Gate-keepers?*

«Where do you think the gate-keepers are?»

«In the management, definitely.» (artist 15)

Organisers and orchestra managers («Intendanten») are the key persons in gate-keeping. There are almost no women in such positions. For example, the Salzburg Festival has never had, since its founding in 1917, a female artistic director. It is true that since 1995, the president of the Festival is a woman, but she is not directly involved in the programme selection.

Many of the organisers come from fields other than music and are sometimes not very sure about their artistic judgements. So they use other indicators to justify their choices to politicians and cultural administrators in case of failure. This opens a vicious circle in favour of well established names, discriminating against young talents which never get a chance to be promoted (artist 15).

«There are persons in these positions who are coming from other professions, who do have a certain love [...] for the music [but] who are just managers, who can deal with figures or not, who have excellent political contacts, but who lack a fundamental criterion that is the security of their own judgement... In the end there is a risk of something lacking. To help someone young who still does not have a great name to find his way. Because, the question is how to get this great name.» (artist 15)

The results of the interviews lead to two main fields of discourse: On the one hand, there are (male) gate-keepers who (sometimes despite their biological age) seem to belong to a past generation. They still have an essentialist concept of men and women; «real women» (gate-keeper 29) do not want to exercise power as is (in their eyes) required for conductors. They cannot compose because they think differently. Women have a different path to creativity because they are capable of performing the most central act of creativity in human life: giving birth. Men try to compensate this deficit by creating works of art (gate-keeper 28). The consequence of such thinking by gate-keepers is more severe for composers than for orchestra musicians. The latter have to fight against a latent sexism which comes out via subtle mobbing and harassment. Freelance composers have to pass different gates during their working life, such as organisers, managers, programme makers, conductors, editors, journalists, scientists etc. Above all, composers face these gate-keeping processes their whole life (artist 20) as well as those prejudices mentioned earlier.

Table 14 shows male dominance among decision makers in music theatres

and opera houses, especially among artistic directors, managers and conductors. Women are found mainly holding positions of répétiteurs, dramaturgs, assistant directors or ballet directors.

Table 14 Number of Women in Leading Positions in Main Austrian Music Theatres and Opera Houses, 2001

Positions	State Opera Vienna		People's Opera Vienna		Chamber Opera		Opera Graz		Brucknerhaus Linz		Overall Total		
	Ttl	F	Ttl	F	Ttl	F	Ttl	F	Ttl	F	Ttl	F	%F
Artistic Direction	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5	0	0%
Management	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	5	1	20%
Head of Music Studies	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	6	0	0%
Chief Conductor	-	-	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	0%
Stage Director for Music	2	0	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0	0.0%
Choir Director	1	0	1	0	-	-	1	0	-	-	3	0	0%
Conductors	35	1	15	0	4	1	10	0	-	-	64	2	3.1%
Répétiteur	6	2	6	3	2	2	7	2	-	-	21	9	42.9%
Dramaturg	2	1	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	5	3	60%
Director	2	2	7	0	5	0	11	4	-	-	25	6	24%
Stage Manager	5	0	4	3	1	0	2	0	-	-	12	3	25%
Assistant Director	5	1	5	3	-	-	4	1	-	-	14	5	35.7%
Ballet Director	1	0	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	2	66.7%
Total	64	7	45	12	14	3	41	9	3	0	167	31	18.6%

Source: MEDIACULT research, 2002

3.2.5 Female Career Strategies

The interviewees confirmed that women face difficulties in their pursuit of top or leading positions. Being ambitious is considered as interfering in a woman while «it is taken for granted that a man wants to become a concert master» (artist 24). Women who want to climb the ladder of the orchestra hierarchy must be careful

not to expose themselves too much. Despite talent, a good education, and an ambition, the quest of women to reach a leading position can irritate male colleagues and backfire against them.

In addition to such internal difficulties, there are only few networks for female professionals - formal as well as informal ones – which can provide them with the support they need to counteract such forces. The International League for Women Composers was founded in 1970 by the composer and feminist Nancy Van de Vate with the aim «to create change and to provide a larger number of women musicians with their first real opportunity to enter the professional mainstream»⁴⁵. Another feminist network for women in music is much younger: *female:pressure*, founded by DJ Electric Indigo in 1998. It maintains a database with the aim of making women more visible. Both networks have a feminist background and oppose the lack of solidarity. Such examples of feminist strategies to achieve higher visibility and acceptance counteract the statement of a male gate-keeper who points out the fact that «flirting» is a female career strategy (gate-keeper 28).

One of the main considerations for women when developing a career strategy concerns the conditions for maternity leave and the question of whether or not to have children. «My profession is too important to risk that my professional career ends because of children.» (artists 2, 7). Childcare is still the task of the mothers. Cases of fathers who support their wives are rare exceptions (artist 18) and childcare institutions are considered to be insufficient (artist 2). Women who want to continue their artistic career have to pay considerable amounts of money for nannies or au-pair students (artists 18, 20). Orchestra musicians point out that long maternity leaves are not possible (artist 23). Although many of the interviewees underline the importance of having children (artists 17, 18; gate-keeper 13), they often find themselves without children due to such obstacles.

3.3 Institutions: Concert Halls and Opera Houses

Institutions are crucial gate-keepers in the field of music. In this chapter, the focus lies on concert halls and opera houses. Most of the directors of opera houses are men. In large houses, such as the State Opera Vienna, the position of director is split between a managing director and an artistic director. In general, a person is chosen to be an artistic director by the Board of the opera house together with a representative of the public administration and on the basis of the specific artistic line he/she is known for (gate-keeper 30). Political influence plays a certain role, but it is not decisive as the career path of the current director of the State Opera

45 <http://music.acu.edu/www/iawm/articles/june95/ilwchistory.html>, 17. 03. 2003

shows: He took up this position in 1992 under a Minister for Cultural Affairs appointed by the social democrats. In 2001, his contract was extended until 2007 under the State Secretary for the Arts appointed by the Conservative People's Party (at the time in coalition with the extreme right wing Freedom Party).

Only one thing seems to be sure: it is almost impossible for women to acquire top positions in these institutions. A look into the recruiting process may provide some answers. Traditionally, there has been no official, open recruitment process, but rather an informal one based on personal networks. As women have weaker networks, they did not have access to such positions. Decision makers do not take this fact into consideration and therefore do not actively recruit women (gate-keeper 27). As it is not common practice to write applications for such top positions, «I would never have applied [for a position]» (gate-keeper 27), those responsible for recruitment are limited to their own personal networks.

Analysis of the leading positions of the two main concert halls, namely the Konzerthaus and the Musikverein, shows that the share of women is not much different. In 2002, neither of these concert halls employed a woman as artistic director or manager. The Konzerthaus employed a female dramaturg, and a woman was responsible for children and youth concerts at the Musikverein.

The Konzerthaus is an important actor in contemporary music, as it issues regular commissions, organises festivals and offers special concert series. The case of the Konzerthaus is exemplary of the conditions under which traditional concert halls operate. For example, in the last years it faced two main problems: a certain level of fatigue by the public with the style and format of classical concerts and a reduction in funding. The Konzerthaus managed this problem by opening a new hall for contemporary (including electronic) music on its premises, attracting a new, younger public as well as renting its rooms to other organisers who are sometimes staging cabarets or pop music concerts. Today, it relies on three pillars, namely subscription tickets, festivals and contemporary music concerts. But it is obvious that such an accent on contemporary music, which does not (yet) bring in a big public, needs a «strong aesthetic credo, a strong commitment into this field» (gate-keeper 30).

Subscription tickets paid in advance coupled with the profit from more traditional programmes featuring big names (individual stars) or renowned ensembles, provide the house with needed revenues to support the creation of new music. The direction lies in the hands of artistic director (intendant), the dramaturg and the artistic office. The other leading positions, such as the president, members, senators etc., do not interfere with their daily work, but are important for the overall representation of the house (gate-keeper 30).

Table 15
Repertoire and Conductors in the Konzerthaus and Musikverein

	Konzerthaus 1996-2002	Musikverein 1994-2003
Total Works Performed	12,714	9,124
Composed by Men	1,827 (96 %)	app. 1,600 (97%)
Composed by Women	72 (4 %)	53 (3%)
Female Conductors	14 performances 9 conductors, out of which 0.8% were female conductors	2,568 concerts 21 women conductors representing 0.8%

Source: Archive of Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft, programme archive; MEDIACULT research, 2002.

An analysis of the works performed shows that the share of works composed by women is very low: 4% and 3% respectively. The Konzerthaus has a slightly higher share which is due to the amount of contemporary music programmed. The Musikverein, which concentrates on a traditional repertoire of serious music, performs a significantly lower amount of works by women composers. It is remarkable, however, that one of the first concerts of the new millennium performed in the Grosse Saal of the Musikverein was by the female composer Nancy Van de Vate. As for conductors, the share of women in both concert halls is extremely low. Such low percentages (0.8%) reflect the reality that so few women have actually penetrated the glass ceilings to arrive at a level which would enable them to perform in these concert halls. A closer analysis of the conductors who have performed in the Konzerthaus shows that many of the women who became successful were conducting choirs.

3.4 Education / Training

«One should quickly forget one's dreams.» (artist 15)

As reflected in this quote, education is a crucial gate for women to get through. Teachers can function as mentors, but they can also represent hurdles by discouraging students to carry on.

Austria has a rich scene of possibilities for music education; Scheuch lists about 10,500 institutions from child pedagogic training centres to music schools and music universities⁴⁶. Music education starts at a very early age and therefore the

⁴⁶ Fritz Scheuch, *The Music Industry in Austria. Structure, Opportunities and Economic Importance*. Vienna, 2000, p. 61.

music schools are the most important institutions for early music education and for music education in non-urban areas. In addition, music schools function as important cultural organisers in the countryside. In 2001, over 6,700 music teachers taught over 160,000 students all over Austria⁴⁷. The heart of professional music education lies at the three music universities in Vienna, Salzburg and Graz. In 2000, there were almost 6,000 students, 56% women. Out of 420 graduates, 58% were female. These figures show that the drop-out rate of female students is irrelevant. There are approximately 1,700 teachers, 35% of them are female which is a quite high ratio. This number decreases when examining the higher echelons within the university hierarchy. For example only 21% of approximately 310 professors at music universities are female. Some openings can, however, be identified in the career development of women at the university. The promotion from free-lance lecturers to employed university staff is the first hurdle women have to pass. The second is to jump from assistant professor to «regular» university professor. This requires a «habilitation» degree, i.e. a scientific work in order to prove one's qualifications and experience as a university teacher. The habilitation still represents a hurdle for women⁴⁸. The new legal framework of the *Universitätsgesetz 2002* (UG2002) has not changed the situation in this regard.

Each university has a working group for equal treatment which members of the teaching staff can consult when trying to prevent discrimination on the basis of sex/gender e.g. in the recruitment of university professors. The task of this working group is to help and provide consultation services for students and other teachers in case of sexual discrimination and can intervene in cases of discrimination, e.g., in application processes. However, many students are not aware of the working group or are not properly informed about their tasks (gate-keeper 17). Still the most common motivation for women to contact this working group is sexual harassment by teachers. With the passage of the *Universities Act 2002*, this working group has lost some of its competencies.

47 Statistik Austria, *Kulturstatistik 2000/01*. Wien.

48 Helga Eberherr, Natascha Gruber, Mauela Hofer, Eva Kalny, Elisabeth Mayerhofer, Sabine Prokop, *Gender-Studies (Cultural Studies?) – Perspektiven von Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung an der Universität Wien. Forschungsbericht im Rahmen des Forschungsschwerpunktes Perspektiven transdisziplinärer Geschlechterforschung des BMBWK Wien, 2002*.

Table 16
Austrian Students at Music Universities in Vienna, Graz and Salzburg, 1990–2001

Fields of Study	1990/91		1995/96		2000/01	
	Total	%F	Total	%F	Total	%F
Composition	65	12.3%	29	13.8%	45	11.1%
Orchestra Conducting	18	11.1%	19	26.3%	26	23.1%
Keys (Piano, Organ, Cembalo)	127	42.5%	117	41.9%	77	40.3%
Strings (Violin, Viola, Violoncello, Doublebass, Guitar, Harp)	406	48.8%	371	56.9%	298	55.4%
Wood Winds (Clarinet, Flute, Recorder, Oboe, Bassoon)	258	43.8%	207	53.6%	178	64%
Brass Winds (Horn, Trumpet, Trombone, Basstuba, Saxophone)	174	6.9%	204	12.7%	198	15.7%
Percussion	38	13.2%	32	3.1%	29	6.9%
Total	1086	36.1%	979	41.6%	850	41.6%
Musicology ⁽¹⁾	776	43.3%	682	45.9%	644	51%

¹⁾ Only available at scientific universities. Graduates include Master degree and PhD.

Source: Hochschulstatistik

Table 17
Austrian Graduates of Music Universities in Vienna, Graz and Salzburg, 1990–2001

Fields of Study	1990/91		1995/96		2000/01	
	Total	%F	Total	%F	Total	%F
Composition	10	10%	2	0	5	20%
Orchestra Conducting	2	0	2	50%	4	0
Keys (Piano, Organ, Cembalo)	11	36.4%	4	50%	12	33.3%
Strings (Violin, Viola, Violoncello, Doublebass, Guitar, Harp)	21	71.4%	20	50%	21	52.4%
Wood Winds (Clarinet, Flute, Recorder, Oboe, Bassoon)	12	41.7%	19	47.4%	12	41.7%
Brass Winds (Horn, Trumpet, Trombone, Basstuba, Saxophone)	17	5.9%	9	0	17	17.6%
Percussion	4	75%	1	0	1	0
All	77	38%	57	38,6%	72	33,3%
Musicology ⁽¹⁾	21	56%	23	55%	22	63,6%

¹⁾ Only available at scientific universities. Graduates include Master degree and PhD.

Source: Hochschulstatistik

The tables show that the drop-out rate of women has been growing in the last decade. The distribution among individual instruments explains the situation in

the orchestras: Strings show the highest share of women while the percentage for brass winds is traditionally low. In the fields of composition and conducting the sample is very small: between 2 and 10 graduates at three universities. Therefore the share of women can seem high (up to 26% female students conducting), but the real numbers are too small to confirm any trends.

Table 18

University Professors in the Field of Music, 1990-2000/01

Fields	1990/91				1995/96				2000/01			
	Professors*		Guest Lecturers		Professors*		Guest Lecturers		Professors*		Guest Lecturers	
	Ttl	%F	M	%F	Ttl	%F	M	%F	Ttl	%F	M	%F
Composition / Conducting	34	5.9	46	14.8	36	8.3	71	18.3	41	12.2	65	23.1
Keys	32	15.6	25	32.4	28	10.7	23	26.1	32	9.4	18	22.2
Strings	49	16.3	44	46.3	57	15.8	65	46.2	55	18.2	62	45.2
Winds and Percussions	45	6.7	47	25.4	55	7.3	41	20.6	106	22.6	52	23.1

* including Associate Professors

Source: Österreichische Hochschulstatistik

The data show that women are well represented as professors of strings and keys while in the fields of composition and conducting there are very few (reflecting the overall percentage of professional composers in Austria). Women are well represented among guest lecturers with part-time, temporary contracts. The position of «professor» is still in the hands of men.

University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna

Excerpts from an Interview with Olga Neuwirth

What did it mean when a woman wanted to study composition at the Vienna School for Music at the end of the 80s and at the beginning of the 90s?

«All composers who began their studies were frightened off. One was permanently confronted with the fact that nothing would help. The

worst thing was that nobody took one seriously. It was a very conservative education, that's why I left. I thought the world had to be bigger than that. So I went to Adriana Hölszky in Stuttgart to take private lessons with her, to learn in general what different composers think and how they are working. How does Sciarrino compose? How does Boulez structure a piece? Nobody had ever taught me that. Then, at IRCAM in Paris came the electronics and afterwards I met Luigi Nono. But they were all people from outside.»

In your biography one can read: Education at the Vienna School for Music with Erich Urbanner. How do you feel about that?

«I do not want to deny that and I am sure that it made some sense, but I do not say that it was decisive. I did not get any support, I always was placed there like a punch who does not know what she is doing. Also, for example, when there were concerts of Adriana Hölszky the professors came and laughed at her. Nobody took her serious as a female colleague. I do believe that in music there is still the thought that the genius is male.»⁴⁹

The University for Music and Performing Arts in Vienna is an internationally renowned music university – 41% of the students in 2000/01 were from abroad. This reputation is the result of high quality teaching (a very intensive, personal education) and the fact that the teachers are at the same time working at one of the most prestigious orchestras, such as the VPO. The teachers can function as mentors. They have the power to recommend substitutes to orchestras which is key for young musicians when starting their career. This allows them to become familiar with the style of the ensemble and therefore it is easier for them to win auditions later (gate-keepers 26, 28). This system based on musical tradition is transmitted via personal mentoring which is more or less controlled by men: «If your teacher is a member of the VPO, he will look above all to his male students as orchestra substitutes.» (gate-keeper 4). This kind of mentoring is a very subtle mechanism which is not open for recommendations (artist 24), but operates on a silent level of personal contacts and – above all – a good teacher:

«Today, the oboe group of the VSO, all the first and second voices are the students of Klaus Lienbacher, former soloist of the VSO and today a highly talented, much sought after professor at the university for music. [...] All the three bassoonists, both first and second voice are students of Milan Turkovic. [...] Milan Turkovic,

49 <http://www.ars-acustica.com/German%20version/Olga%20Neuwirth/olganewurthinte.html#>
15.11.2002

former soloist of the VSO. The whole group of trombones are students of Horst Küblböck, professor at the university for music, and they are sitting with their teacher in the group of trombonists. [...] The same thing can be observed at the strings, at the basses, at the violas.» (gate-keeper 29)

This male circuit illustrates why the education at the music university Vienna is heavily criticised by the female interviewees. The university is gender-blind, perpetuating a system of men's circles without opposing it. Mentoring is, according to the interviewees, left to the initiative of the individual teachers. Some of them had mentors (artists 2, 15) others not (artist 25). As was mentioned above, men who are working in men's structures and who have never become gender conscious, will continue to support other men and ignoring or openly discriminating against women.

The interviewees often complained about discrimination, above all in the classes for conducting and composition. Women are ignored in these courses: One interviewee mentioned that a professor always welcomed the students as «'Good day, gentlemen', regardless of whether women were in the classroom or not.» (artist 2). Creativity is undermined via systematic discouragement and an overload of work with the effect «that one is trained to bluff» (artist 15). Women in composition classes are discouraged as Olga Neuwirth describes in her interview above. It is a bastion of men. Role models for women composers are lacking (artist 15). Among the female students studying composition there is a trend to leave classical composing and take up electro-acoustic composition, a course which exists since 1997. One interviewee affirmed that this course was for her the entrance into composition because before she had considered composition as «a men's domain and unattainable for me» (artist 19). It is clearly in the interest of contemporary education to recognise these problems and introduce measures to improve the situation.

3.5 Music Festivals

Festivals have different functions for the various subfields of contemporary production of serious music. They attract a big public with the help of «big names», i.e. stars, in the field of classical music, such as the Salzburg or the Vienna Festival. The relevance of these festivals is also a political one as they are measurable signs of success. Aside from the big festivals there are some important regional festivals such as the Carinthischer Sommer with 45,000 visitors and 53 productions performed over an 8 week period.

In the field of «new» music (electro-acoustic, electronic music), the function of festivals is different, especially for composers who mostly work as free-lancers. In this case, festivals provide them with the possibility of getting their works performed to a larger audience (artist 19) as well as establishing contacts and forming networks. For these composers, festivals provide an important marketplace for their works and a forum for exchange with colleagues. In this sense, festivals are really not that relevant for orchestra musicians whose career paths are different from composers.

It is difficult for upcoming conductors to enter the larger, well known festivals, not to mention the enormous gate facing women. In 2001, there was not one female conductor at any of the large festivals for classical music. Renowned festivals are under enormous political pressure and, as a result, are less and less willing to take artistic risks, which makes it even more difficult for women conductors or composers. «Because I am a woman [and] because they know that I am looked at very, very quizzically there are less chances to participate.» (artist 15)

The most important festivals focussing on modern music are Wien Modern and Klangbogen. The Musikprotokolle is part of the contemporary art festival «styrian autumn» and focuses on contemporary music production. In addition to these, the panorama of important music festivals include the Salzburg Festival, the Vienna International Festival, the Bregenz Festival, Carinthischer Sommer, Brucknerfest and Styriarte. The leading positions of these festivals are mostly in the hands of men, with two exceptions: Gerda Fröhlich, director of the Carinthian Sommer, who will leave this position after 23 years in the Autumn 2003; her successor is male. The other is Rosalinde Vidic, manager of Musikprotokolle, a festival within a festival. The process of actually engaging leading persons for festivals is less transparent the higher remunerated the position and the more renowned a festival is.

In addition to their function as interfaces between composers, organisers, publishers and an interested public, festivals fulfil an important task by commissioning works. However, the economic pressure is growing and many festivals are commissioning works in co-operation with other bodies like broadcasting companies (gate-keeper 30) in order to share costs.

An analysis of composers and conductors at the main music festivals in 2001 shows no surprises: There are no women conductors and the share of composers is not higher than the average.

Table 19
Share of Women Conductors and Composers at Major Music Festivals, 2001

Festivals	Conductors		Composers	
	Total	Women	Total	Women
Salzburg Festival	26	0	98	2 (2%)
Vienna Festival	8	0	12	1 (8%)
Wien Modern	15	0	40	3 (8%)
Styriarte	2	0	47	0

Source: MEDIACULT research 2002

3.6 Awards and Juries

«It's always the boys who get the big prizes.» (artist 25)

The most important prize for music (including composition) in Austria is given by the Federal State. There are other prizes for interpretation, but they are of less interest for orchestra musicians. Prizes are more important for soloists.

There are three categories of prizes given by the Federal State⁵⁰: The big *State Prize* worth EUR 21,800 is given once a year to an artist coming from the fields of literature, music, visual arts or architecture. The Austrian Art Senate, consisting of 24 members who are voted for life-time, decide to whom this prize is given. In 2000, it was composed of 21 men and 3 women, all of them renowned artists coming from the different artistic disciplines to which the prize is given. 9% of the award winners of the general State Prize are women. A separate State Prize for Music has been awarded to 19 men between the years 1950 and 2001 and never to a woman; a fact which has consequences for the esteem of women composers.

The Federal Promotion Award is given to young musicians and is worth between EUR 5,450 and EUR 7,270. Artists have to apply for the award. Each year, the award focuses on a particular genre of music, for example, in 2000 the orientation was on electronic and computer music. Data about the jury members are not available and the sample is too small to come to any conclusions. In addition, there is a *Federal Honorary Award* worth between EUR 7,270 and 14,500 which is given to an artist for a mature oeuvre. From 1997 to 1999, three men and one woman

⁵⁰ The information concerning prizes is taken from: Bundeskanzleramt/Kunstsektion, *Kunstbericht 2000*. Wien, p. 166f.

have received this award⁵¹. The award is awarded to an artist selected by a jury. The interviewees considered such prizes to be a sign of recognition which is rare for composers. «It gives the feeling that others esteem what one is doing» (artist 21). Organisers of the award point out that the quality of a prize depends on the jury (gate-keeper 30).

The Austrian state also offers a scholarship for composers. Artists must apply for this award. The winners are selected by a jury and receive EUR 10,460. The application is a time-consuming process for free-lance composers (artist 21), but if one wins the scholarship, it can allow them to work quietly for one year – to concentrate on composing (artist 19). Between 1997 and 2000, 6 out of 23 winners were women⁵². There is no continuous information available about the jury members.

The composers interviewed for this study were critical about the fact that the government only offers one scholarship for composers, very few prizes and no regular commissions in comparison to other European countries, despite the fact that music is considered to be part of Austria's national identity: «the music state Austria as a memorial» (artist 25). They are angry about the fact that Austria does not support the production of contemporary music, but rather the reproduction of a traditional repertoire.

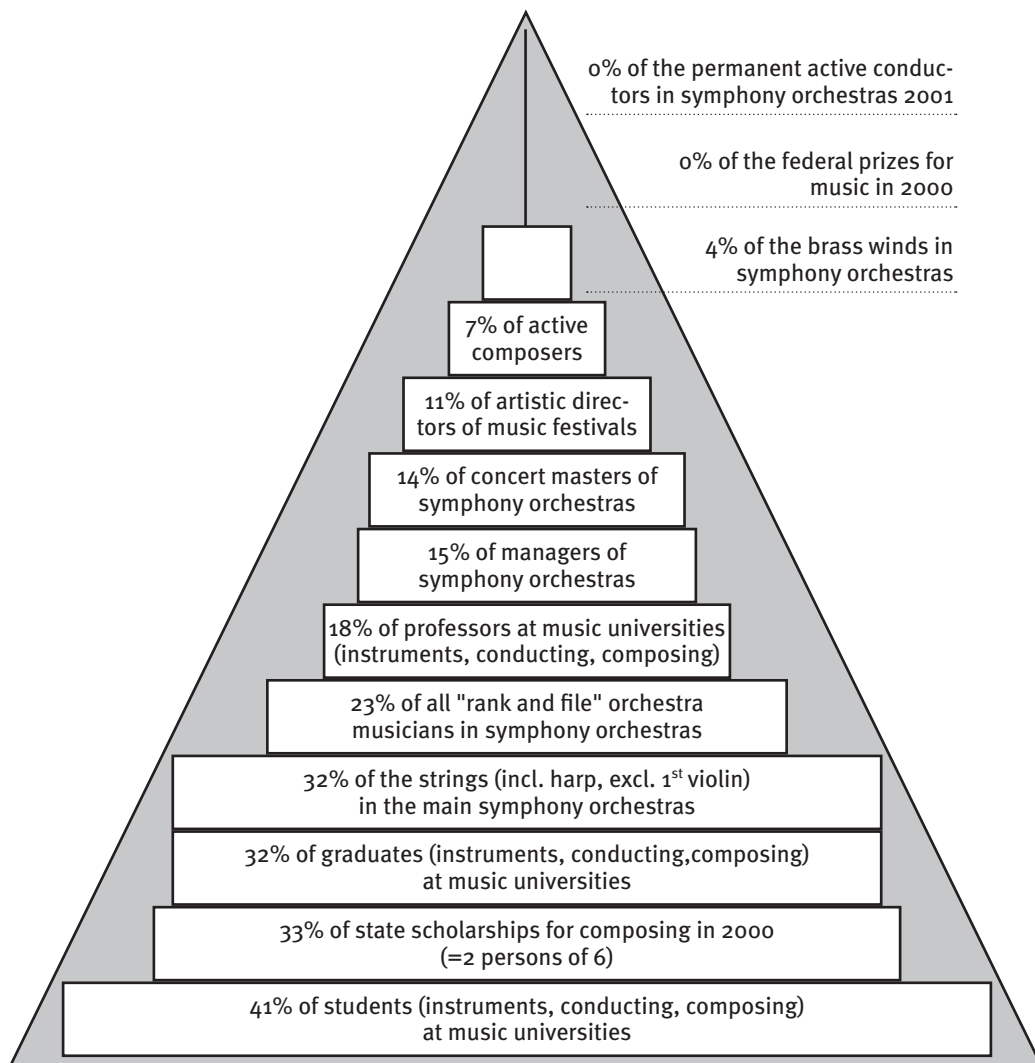
The Max Brand Prize is given once a year to upcoming contemporary composers working in the field of electronic acoustics and related areas. Composers from around the world can apply. The prize is worth EUR 6,000. In 2002, it was split between two winners receiving EUR 3,000 each. Many of the female composers who have received the prize are today renowned composers including Olga Neuwirth, Andrea Sodomka, Katharina Klement and Martina Cizek. Such information supports the earlier statements made about the higher participation of women composers the field of electronic music. However, their representation on the jury from 1988-2002 remains low; only 2 in 1999 and in 2002.

The *frauen.kunst preis* was established in 1999 by the former Minister for Women's Affairs. It is given on an annual basis to women artists from different disciplines and is currently worth EUR 6,000 (originally worth over EUR 50,000). In 2002, the prize was awarded to artists from the fields of music, literature and performing arts. The jury consisted of 5 women. In 2002, a young pianist won the Women's art prize for music which is given to extraordinarily gifted musicians.

51 In 2000, the prize was not given.

52 Kunstbericht, different years.

3.7 Pyramid of Representation of Women in Serious Music in Austria



*All figures refer to 2001 unless otherwise stated. «Symphony orchestras» include the 11 main Austrian orchestras; music universities include all three Austrian music universities.

4. NEW MEDIA ARTS

The core of artistic production in the field of new media in Austria is still a very small and young sector in comparison to the visual arts. Systematic descriptions of the structures comprising the new media arts sector are still rare. There are no handbooks, readily available statistics or surveys made on their economic or social status. At the beginning of the 21st century, the first specialised archives began to appear, such as the Media Art Archive (mka) in Vienna. However, they do not make the distinction between media arts and new media arts⁵³.

Kurt Blaukopf called this new kind of artistic production, induced by technological transformations, a phenomenon of «mediamorphosis»⁵⁴. Media arts, in the narrower sense as an «artistic treatment of electronic visual forms»⁵⁵ started in Austria in the late 1960s and reached a first peak in the 1970s. The concept of making art with telecommunication media has been developed by artists of avant-garde movements since the beginning of the 20th century. Although this concept became more widespread in the 1970s and 80s, it has not yet managed to enter either art history nor the art market because of the process-oriented nature of the works such as fax performances or phone concerts. These are one-time projects, which can not enter a system based on physical, unique work⁵⁶. Nowadays, the use of audio-visual media is accepted as part of visual arts and has been institutionalised in this field as can be seen in the high number of video installations in exhibitions. The reality for net and computer art is, however, quite different. The Austrian scene of net art has changed dramatically in the last years due to the Internet-boom and cheap access to the world wide web.

From Media Arts to New Media Arts: A Brief History of a Young Artistic Field

New media and the arts is a theme covering many aspects. Influenced by new and always «newer» media, the sector has diversified. Today, media arts can look

53 Also because many of the established artists have begun doing media art and changed to new media art following the technological developments.

54 About the concept of «mediamorphosis» see Kurt Blaukopf, *Beethovens Erben in der Mediamorphose. Kultur- und Medienpolitik für die elektronische Ära*. Heiden, 1989; Alfred Smudits, «Medientheorie. Mediamorphosen des Kulturschaffens und der kulturellen Kommunikation. Ein forschungspolitisches Konzept». In: *mediacult.doc 03/00, Kulturpolitik, Medientheorie und Musiksoziologie*, (ed. Robert Harauer) Wien, 2000.

55 <http://www.mediafiles.at/php/index.html>; «künstlerische Beschäftigung mit elektronischen Bildformen».

56 Tilman Baumgärtel, *Das Internet als imaginäres Museum*. WZB Discussion Paper FS II 98-110, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, Berlin, 1998, p. 9.

back 30 years to developments in video art to net art, while new media arts is still very young. In Austria, this history can be viewed in several main phases starting in the 1960s when Austrian artists began to work with audio-visual media, producing the first works of radio art - «sculptures» of sound produced outside museums⁵⁷.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the first avant-garde artists (Valie Export, Peter Weibel or Richard Kriesche) began making intermedia arts⁵⁸ using video, radio etc. Regional institutions such as the Forum Stadtpark and the Styrian Autumn Festival became important platforms for the development and distribution of their work⁵⁹. Today, media arts has become a more institutionalised arts sector, closely acquainted to the visual arts due to the fact that media arts produces physical artistic «products», such as videos, installations etc.⁶⁰. A common feature of early Austrian media arts is a strong political interest in media-related issues as well as in general political questions which remains prevalent today. In the late 1970s, a second generation of artists appeared on the scene including Robert Adrian X who brought telematics from Australia and introduced the works of other pioneers such as Roy Ascott to Austria⁶¹.

Founding the Ars Electronica Festival

In 1979, the Ars Electronica Festival was founded in Linz. It is the oldest still existing festival in the field of new media arts in Europe. The impetus was to reanimate the former steel industry capital by a future-oriented festival. At the beginning, it «was jointly organised by the Brucknerhaus Linz and the ORF Upper Austrian Regional Studio»⁶². They were looking for the concept of an event «which fits into the ORF and which also fits into this region; and it should have to do with Linz as an economic location, but be future-oriented as well.» (gate-keeper 9).

57 Heidi Grundmann, *Re-Play. Catalogue text for: RE-PLAY - The beginnings of international media-art in Austria. Audio/Radio*. (Exhibition May 11th - August 6th 2000, Generali Foundation, Vienna, Austria). <http://kunstradio.at/REPLAY/index.html>

58 More about the concept of «intermedia» art and its influence on media and net art cf. Dieter Daniels, «Die Kunst der Kommunikation: von der Mail Art zur E-mail». In: *Neue Bildende Kunst*. Nr. 5. Berlin 1994. S. 14-18 and Baumgärtel, op. cit.

59 <http://www.mediafiles.at/php/index.html>.

60 Regina Sperlich, *Kunst bzw. Künstlerinnen und Künstler im sowie ums Internet in Österreich*. MEDIACULT-Bericht. Wien, 1997, p. 5.

61 Fritz Rakuschan, «Station Rose. Total real – mit Fluchtgeschwindigkeit». In: *station rose: 1st decade*. Wien 1998. S. 162-193, here p. 165.

62 Hannes Leopoldseder, «Foreword». In: Tim Druckery (Ed.), *Ars Electronica. Facing the Future. A Survey of Two Decades*. Cambridge, Mass/London, 1999, p. 2.

Co-operation with the Brucknerhaus, the second most important cultural event in the region, lasted until the foundation of the *Ars Electronica Center* in 1996. The Centre currently co-operates with the *University for Artistic and Industrial Design in Linz* and renowned exhibition spaces like the *O.K Centre for Contemporary Art* (gate-keepers 9, 10).

From the beginning of 1979 until 2002, approximately 2,500 artists, theoreticians and multidisciplinary groups participated in the Festival. Approximately 14% have been women, 22% groups, labels (or the pre-name could not be identified) and 64% men. In 2002, the festival counted approximately 25,000 visitors and 390 participating artists during one week.

The 1980s: New Groups and Education

The 1980s were characterised by a euphoric attitude towards the new technical and artistic possibilities. Young artists formed groups like Station Rose, Monoton or Radio Subcom and – often in combination with music – experimented with different media tools. Questions were raised about a new conception for non-object driven aesthetics. Long before digital networks existed, they were a central theme among artists. New media arts was, however, still part of an artistic sub-culture. Artists such as Peter Kogler were still painting images with oil or acrylic and putting them on the computer⁶³.

In 1986, the Department for Visual Media was founded at the University of Applied Arts within the Institute of Experimental and Interior Design and came under the direction of Peter Weibel, himself an internationally renowned media artist and curator. In the beginning, the department offered a traditional master class, yet it represented something quite new. «At the beginning of the 80's, a long time before the Web existed, this was actually a sort of anticipation for creative offices, which are working today, but which did not exist yet at that time». (artist 6). This department was the first to provide a university education for (new) media arts and until today remains a relevant place to start a career in this field.

The 1990s: Internet-hype and Further Institutionalisation

The Internet-boom reached Austria in the mid 1990s and had the same effects in the field of art, as in e-commerce: an immediate growth with all kinds of start-ups, followed by a crash. Almost at the same time, the first important exhibition of new media arts, «Medien Apparate Kunst» was held at the Museum for Applied Arts

63 Fritz Rakuschan, op. cit., p. 168.

in 1994 and caused a split in the scene, severe confrontations ensued between the positions of media arts and new media arts. This was reinforced by the disappearance of groups, such as HILUS and the emergence of bodies such as public netbase in 1995. The latter was founded as a non-profit Internet provider and a critical platform concerning communication technologies. It was one of four initiatives⁶⁴ which made an attempt to find a «translocal, networked community»⁶⁵. At that time, projects like these were realised by many artists around the world whose aim was to set up a virtual agora, a place for discussion between users. «The Thing», founded in 1992 by Wolfgang Staehle, is one exemplary initiative at the core of the idea for building virtual communities. Staehle referred explicitly to Joseph Beuys when he defined it as a «social sculpture»⁶⁶. For the first time, users outside military and academic circles could use the Internet as a platform of written communication via Staehle's concept of offering free access to the Internet and the latter training workshops provided by public netbase.

The Present Environment

The new media arts scene went through a period of recovery following the burst of the Internet-bubble and internal fights which broke out in the mid 1990s. In the mid to late 90s, one of the first canons on the history of new media arts was published by the Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie (ZKM) in Karlsruhe, Germany. Media arts departments were set up in museums and first steps toward establishing educational curricula for new media arts were made. The institutionalisation of fields such as net art is a very difficult process especially given the open and fluid structure of the artistic practice. Therefore, some of the classifications presented in this chapter will not correspond to the self-definitions provided by some of the organisations under study

At the beginning of the new millennium, the opening of a special space for new media arts in the MuseumsQuartier of Vienna, called the «Electric Avenue» was supposed to give new impulses to the field. However, this working and exhibition space is suffering from serious start-up problems and the fact that young and small new media arts companies can not survive without public money. At the time of writing (spring 2003), the future of this new media arts space was insecure.

64 The other ones were «De Digitale Stad» (DDS) Amsterdam/Netherlands, «Internationale Stadt» (I.S.) Berlin/Germany and «The Thing» New York/USA.

65 Tilman Baumgärtel, op. cit., p. 14.

66 Dieter Daniels, op. cit., p. 17.

During the same period, archiving past and present new media arts works began via bodies such as mediafiles and the mka. They did not merely collect data, but also acted as a distribution platform where works of (new) media arts could be presented. There was also a strong political commitment within the net art scene which became manifest in the founding of the Konsortium Netzkultur (www.konsortium.at) in 2000. This is an association of 6 platforms⁶⁷ working in the field, understanding themselves as a lobby to garner public support for the Austrian new media arts scene such as free broadband access for cultural organisations, stronger financing of infrastructure; support for autonomous and flexible network node servers (instead of multimedia-centres).

New Media Arts – A Landscape of Institutions?

Little if any research has been undertaken until now to give a clear estimation of how many artists and groups are actively working on the net or working in/with new media. Recent archive activities help in this regard, however, the fluidity of this emerging art scene coupled with the enormous influx of young artists entering the field and the exit of others, makes it even more difficult to pinpoint exact figures on the number of individuals. There are, nevertheless, some «islands», institutions such as the Ars Electronica Festival and Centre and the Department for Visual Media at the University for Applied Arts in Vienna which provide us with reliable sources of information⁶⁸. For the time being, the only alternative is to rely on qualitative results.

There is, however, little fluidity in the Austrian new media arts scene between those who are renowned in their field as artists and those who are successfully running commercial companies. While younger artists, mostly independent singles, live as free-lancers, the older generation (a rough frontier can be made around the 40th birthday) are looking for secure jobs e.g. at the university. As there is a limited fine arts market in Austria with a relevant gallery system or network of collectors, most artists live from grants, prizes, (rare) commissions and festival contributions.

Festivals are important platforms in the field of new media arts; a decentralised and internationalised field with still only a very few reference institutions such as the ZKM. Festivals represent physical cross-roads in a mainly virtual artistic

67 med-user.net (Dornbirn), mur.at (Graz), Public Netbase t0 (Wien), Public Voice Lab (Wien), servus.at (Linz), subnet (Salzburg).

68 Contrary to the music field, relevant new media art institutions do not concentrate only in Vienna. From a geographical point of view, the scene is more diversified.

practice where a discourse about new media arts can take place and where artists receive feedback on their work, «These body-less articulations can reach the consecrations of the art world at best in festivals.»⁶⁹ In this context, such events are naturally always accompanied by scientific symposia combining scientific and artistic points of view.

«If one wants to be perceived as an artist on the Internet, it seems to be more important than ever to position oneself in an artistic context – either via especially extroverted forms of self-expression and the formation of a myth about one's own person [...], permanent presence at all important events of the net and media arts scene or via participation in exhibitions like the documenta.»⁷⁰

4.1 Artistic Production: Artists and Groups

From a labour market perspective, the field of new media arts in a narrow sense is quite small, including approximately 200 full time positions⁷¹. The multimedia sector, on the other hand, has been growing at break-neck speed within the last years, even though the employment status of individuals is weak. New forms of self-employment are much more common than steady full time jobs. Due to project work done by free lancers, it is difficult to give actual numbers of those working in the field.

4.1.1 Women's Share Among Artists

Women have always been well represented in the field of video art. This was confirmed by the 2000 exhibition «<hers> Video als weibliches Terrain», which took place during the Styrian Autumn Festival of Contemporary Art⁷², and by Michaela Grill, a video artist. «From a historical point of view, video is the artistic discipline with the highest women's share; especially compared with music where there are

69 Fritz Rakuschan, op. cit., p. 181.

70 Tilman Baumgärtel, op. cit., p. 6.

71 Robert Harauer, Elisabeth Mayerhofer, Monika Mokre, *Frauen in Kunst- und Medienberufen in Österreich. Forschungsprojekt im Auftrag des BM für Soziale Sicherheit und Generationen.* : MEDIACULT, Wien, 2000, p. 144.

72 The «Styrian Autumn» (*steirischer herbst*) was founded in 1968 in Graz, capital of the province Styria. Aim of the festival is to show an overview of contemporary artistic production. The festival takes place one a year and lasts for one month. The present artistic director is the composer Peter Oswald.

almost no women.»⁷³ One explanation could be the fact that women occupied this new field of artistic production because they had been marginalised in all other fields of visual arts. An analysis of one of the three data bases available on media arts, namely *basis wien*⁷⁴, shows that the share of women working in video and video installation is about 46% and in digital image editing, women represent 40%. According to other databases produced by *mediafiles* and the *mka*, the share of women working in the field of new media arts is also approximately 40%.

Table 20

Share of Women Registered with *basis wien*, 2002

Keyword	All Entries	%F
Video Installation	260	46%
Video	850	46%
Digital Image Editing	82	40%
TV	8	40%
CD-ROM	29	36%
Programming	22	35%
Radio	39	35%
Net art	152	35%
Copy Art	112	35%
Media Installation	126	34%
Computer Graphics	55	29%
Video Clip	14	27%
Computer Animation	60	23%
Interactive Art	62	20%
Processual Art	19	17%
Visual Art	28	17%
Electronic Music	125	13%
Total	2,043	39%

Source: *basis wien*, 2002

73 Interview with Michaela Grill in the feminist web magazine *ceiberweiber*. <http://www.ceiberweiber.at/news.vip.htm>, 02. 09. 2002.

74 *basis wien* manages one of Austria's most complete databases of living artists, listing about 16,000 artists. The team of the *basis wien* has been registering exhibitions and projects in Austria and in an international context since 1997. When an artist's name appears more than three times in the context of an exhibition or a project, a window with her/his name opens automatically. The idea behind this concept is that not a team decides whether someone is an artist or not, but that their status be determined by their practice.

4.1.2 *Changing Concepts of the Artist*

*«It is certainly true that the social conditions change basically because of a new medium. The media reflect the actual condition of gender relations.»
(Sabine Bitter)⁷⁵*

(New) media arts is located at an interface between art, technology and science. A specific know-how, which has to be updated continually, is one of the bases for artistic work in the field. Developing one's technical knowledge and artistic work usually takes place at the same time. This fact enhances the patchwork-identities which are becoming the normal biographical model of these artists: Training periods and periods of money-earning in other fields are changing with artistic production giving evidence that the traditional image of the artist is losing its influence.

The traditional image of the (visual) artist is male (artists 1, 16, gate-keeper 5) which is beginning to change in the new media arts field. The image of the male genius, the «drinking Malschwein» (artist 1) is slowly disappearing from a field of art which is now free of traditions and self-concepts (artist 1). «As a matter of fact, this traditional image of the artist does not exist in media arts.» (gate-keeper 5). But there are new concepts emerging, also romantic ones and still gender-related, «One is working during night-time, travelling a lot, working on projects, working from home – all these are elements which apply to today's net artist.» (gate-keeper 5).

The new romantic image of the artist as a cultural entrepreneur switching between artistic production and money earning in the creative industries and this image is still a male one, «Mister Netart» (artist 16, gate-keeper 9). A gender-specific division of labour is observed in many teams. Men are doing the programming and the technical part while women are doing the communication work (gate-keeper 9, 8 and artist 3). Despite the changing traditional image of the artist, it is still very difficult to reconcile children and the life of a professional artist (artist 1).

4.1.3 *Teamwork*

«In a time where artists use complex hi-tech production methods, the question of how are the working conditions in interdisciplinary team-structures arising. This practice of creating art stands in contrast to a traditional, mostly romantic concep-

⁷⁵ Interview with the artist Sabine Bitter in the feminist web magazine ceiberweiber. <http://www.ceiberweiber.at/news/viparch/bitter.htm> 10. 01. 2003

tion of art production.»⁷⁶

The position of the artist has changed, too. The isolated artist who creates out of nothing, i.e. the genius, disappears as a role model. Today, everything which can be digitally transformed, can be used in an artistic work (e.g. sound, video, painting etc.). This creates a specific form of «Intermedia» art, as it was called in the 1960s, for those artists who cannot determine one single medium they are working with⁷⁷. A survey made among the graduates of art universities in Vienna in the middle of the 1990s showed that 73% of the interviewees were working with more than one medium⁷⁸. Heidi Grundmann (see below), who played a pioneering role in radio art, sums it up:

«Some people come from music, others come from dance; there are the people from the visual arts, people from literature, and they constantly reshuffle in groups to do things. They take on different tasks, and they are developing new production strategies for this new kind of conglomerate of media. It is a constant learning, developing and researching process that needs groupings of some sort. They don't need to be groups for a life-time, but for certain projects. They also have to look over the borders of one organisation or one country or whatever. Its a constant looking out and putting energy together. Acting at the moment, which is difficult enough to grasp.»⁷⁹

The use of different media is mostly realised in interdisciplinary teams based on a division of labour. The artist couple Ursula Hentschläger and Zelko Wiener describe how the upcoming forms of artistic team work should look like.

«The ideal web-team consists of persons who are able to work equally with text, music, visuals, programming and content. Additionally media-specific and dramaturgic know-how is necessary to plan and realise audio-visual happenings. The future of the web will be marked by new qualifications, division of labour and teamwork.»⁸⁰

76 Quoted on the webpage of the artists' group Station Rose <http://www.stationrose.com/gespraech.html>, 08. 03. 2003.

77 Tilman Baumgärtel, op. cit., p. 4.

78 Barbara Baier, *Obdachlose Kunst. Das Einfließen sozio-ökonomischer, künstlerisch-kultureller und geschlechterdifferenter Rahmenbedingungen sowie individueller Lebens-, Arbeits- und Wirkungszusammenhänge in das Kunstverständnis und die Lebenskonzepte junger Kunstschaffender am Beispiel der AbsolventInnen der Studienjahrgänge 1991/92 und 1992/93 der Wiener Kunsthochschulen*. Wien, 1995, p.42.

79 Interview with Heidi Grundmann 1997, <http://amsterdam.nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-1-9707/msg00051.html>. 08. 03. 2003

80 Ursula Hentschläger, Zelko Wiener, *Webdramaturgie. Das audio-visuelle Gesamt ereignis. 3D-Streaming-Flash*. Wien, 2002, p. 29.

Teamwork is considered as an overall trend (artists 8, 6) mostly due to the complexity of the works, *«these works are very complex and difficult to realise on one's own, regardless of whether you are a man or a woman»* (artist 3). Additionally, it is very common to work in interdisciplinary and/or international projects (artist 6). Artistic work is considered to be the product of a team such as e.g. in film. *«I would say that it is almost impossible to make projects on one's own and that it is impossible to present a work under one name when others have co-operated, but to display them «amongst others». In the last 5 to 7 years it has become usual that collectives act together – not only do they work together – but they act as labels or under a collective name»* (gate-keeper 8).

Above all, team work is extremely important, especially at the beginning of an artistic career, not the least because such artistic productions require state-of-the-art infrastructure (hardware, software and support) and are extremely expensive. Sometimes, women mention that they prefer working together with other women: They think that the communication is better, that there is less pressure and that the personal and professional level fit better together (artist 1).

Artists who have been working in teams or with one partner for a long time see the advantages and disadvantages of teamwork. One advantage is that women have more facility of movement with a male partner than on their own (artist 3). Paradoxically enough, it can also happen that a curator or an organiser who is looking for a female artist tells her not to come when realising that she is working in a team with a man (artist 6).

Teamwork and the capacity of engaging in project-oriented co-operation not only with persons, but also with institutions characterises this field. An indispensable prerequisite for this is an ability to communicate with other persons. The biography of Margarete Jahrmann illustrates the demand for a high level of social and communication skills in her work with universities, journals, festivals etc.

Exemplary biography Margarethe Jahrmann

<http://www2.snm-hgkz.ch/~maja>, <http://www.konsum.net>, <http://www.climax.at>

Margarethe Jahrmann is a media artist, professor of interactive visual computing and member of the «Leitungsteam Studienbereich Neue Medien» at the Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst Zürich (HGKZ). Her main fields of interest are Multiplayer Network-Installations, 3D realtime-movies, media-poiesis, game-engine modifications, generative aesthetics, modular lecture-performances (nybble engines).

«Margarete Jahrmann is media artist, in Austria certainly also the most important net-art-theoretician, together with the curator and theoretician Kathy Rae Huffmann they foster women-specific subjects on the web.»
(Sabine Bitter)⁸¹

«For example Margarete Jahrmann and Max Moswitzer who have been working for a long time under this label – also under other labels – Mamax, konsum.net and so on. I would say they are quite important – as a collective as well as individuals. They might not be that young any longer, but they have marked considerably the whole media arts history.» (gate-keeper 8)

- 1989 - 94: Student at the University for Applied Art Vienna and the Gerrit Rietveld Academy Amsterdam
- 1994: Magister Artis Diploma at the Department for Communication Theory
- 1994: Founded CD-Rom Labels Mamax Vienna, Art-Roms (Tod dem Fernsehen; Golden Frisbee; Datagold)
- 1995: Founded the Art-Server konsum.net
- 1996: Assistant professor, University of Artistic and Industrial Design Linz, Department Film/Video
- 1996 - 98: Correspondent for the Gender-Column popTarts and Online Journal Telepolis
- 1997 - 98: Conceptualised and Realised a series of lectures Intertwinedness, Ars Electronica Center Linz
- 1998: Lecturer for program language/hypermedia technologies, University for Applied Arts in Vienna
- 1999: Visiting professor in hybridmedia, University of Artistic and Industrial Design Linz
- 2000: Assistant professor for «Interactive Visual Computing» and member of the «Leitungs-team am Studienbereich Neue Medien», Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst Zürich
- 2001: Researcher in the scientific project „Online Gendergame«, HGKZ Zürich
- 2002: Visiting professor for Media Culture, University of Artistic and Industrial Design Linz
- 2003: Visiting professor for Postgradual Studies Media Design, Piet zwart Institute, DeKooning Academy Rotterdam
- 2003: Professor of new media at the Fachhochschule Zürich.

PUBLICATIONS

- Jahrmann, Moswitzer, Rakuschan (eds). *Nybble-Engine*. Book and Dvd-Package, 2003.
- Jahrmann/Schneebauer (eds.) *Intertwinedness, Reflections on Net Culture*. 2000.
- Jahrmann/ OK Centrum für Gegenwartskunst. *Art_Server: Stargate to Netculture*, Hg. 2000.
- Jahrmann/Moswitzer (ed). *Catalogue - datagold.priv.at*. MAK, 1997.

EXHIBITIONS / PERFORMANCES / LECTURES (2000-2003)

- 2003
 - Dutch Electronic Arts Festival Rotterdam, Exhibition «Metadata», Installation Las Palmas (A/P)
 - Showroom MAMA, gallery museumsnacht Rotterdam, Installation »nyb-toolz« (A)
 - Fotobiennale Rotterdam, Nyb-toolz Interface (A)
 - Worldinformation.org, mediacenter kuda.org, Novi Sad (A/P)
 - Aegina Academy, Aegina/Athens (P/V)
 - FACT, Media Center in Liverpool (V)
 - Holden Gallery, Manchester Metropolitan University (A)
- 2002
 - Centro Arte contemporane Santa Monica, platoniqu.net Barcelona (P)
 - Goetheinstitut Barcelona, (P)
 - Casino Luxembourg, „prozesshafte Resonanzen in der zeitgenössischen Kunst« (A)

81 Interview with Sabine Bitter in the feminist web magazine ceiberweiber.

transmediale2.o Berlin, nybble engine performance (P)
 SchnittStellen. 1. Basler Kongress für Medienwissenschaft, emergenz engines (P)
 2001
 Public Netbase Wien, «Interface Explorer» (A)
 Kunstmuseum Luzern, «e/body» (A)
 Mama Zagreb, «26th Youth Salon» (A)

2000
 Centre Meduse, Quebec Canada, data objectiles (P)
 Kornhaus Bern, „Wunschwelten d. Kommunikation« (P)
 Heinz Nixdorf Museum Paderborn, „Web3D Consortium Conference« (P)
 Shedhalle Zürich, „Low-Tech« (A)

PROJECTS AS A CURATOR:

1997 Toys n Noise
 1998 Art-Server, Stargate to Netculture, OK Centrum für Gegenwartskunst Linz
 1997-98 Intertwinedness, online Lecture Series, Ars Electronica Center

4.1.4 Platforms for Net Art and Leading Positions

Table 21 provides an overview of the more important net art platforms in Austria and indicates the position of women as leaders in them. These platforms are members of Konsortium Netzkultur.

Table 21
 Leading Positions in Net Art Platforms

Platforms	Founders/ Directors	Members of the Board	Founding Year	Location
med-user http://www.med-user.net/	1 man, 2 women		1998 on-line 2000	Bregenz/ Vienna
mur.at http://www.mur.at/	Winfried Ritsch	3 men 2 women	1998	Graz
Public netbase http://www.to.or.at	Konrad Becker (founder)	9 men 5 women	1995	Vienna
Public Voice Lab http://www.pvl.at/	Roland Alton- Scheidl (founder)	9 men 1 woman	1995	Vienna
subnet http://www.subnet.at	6 Founders: Peter Riegersperger, Bruno Randolph, Florian Ledermann, Dominik Engel, Mira Schaden, Christian Car	4 men 2 women	1998	Salzburg'

Source: MEDIACULT research 2002

All of these platforms have the legal form of an association and are non-profit. Women do not play an important role as founders, but they are present in the board of all institutions, some of them even as head of technical support (e.g. public netbase). The relatively good representation of women can be explained by the fact that these platforms have always been suffering from underfunding. A leading position in this case is not linked with financial remuneration and has influence over a small, specialised scene.

4.1.5 *Cultural Entrepreneurship and Income Sources*

Artists do make a sharp distinction between artistic and profit-oriented work. Their main income sources are grants and prizes, mostly at the beginning of their career.

«I could not have made my living from exhibition fees, because they were very, very small. Prizes, commissions and grants helped me to stay above the water during the first years.» (artist 3), «[...] artistic work with new media [...] is about the effort of the work and of reflection and this is only possible with a grant.» (artist 6).

Once established in the field, artists begin looking for jobs as professors at art universities in order to have a steady income which makes their artistic work possible. None of the interviewed artists said that it was possible to do their creative work and have economic success in the field of applied arts/design/creative industries at the same time. While many of them were doing web-design and/or other jobs concerning software development during their student lives or at the beginning of their artistic career (artists 6, 26), all of them noted that it is a decision whether to work in one or the other field. «It was a decision that we said, either we concentrate perfectly on it now and we really go on the market with the company and then I said, no, we should concentrate as best as we can on our artistic work.» (artist 6). The alternative is to risk falling out of the artistic community by doing business work. The frontiers between artistic and commercial work are still valid. Despite of the many difficulties of making a living in the field of new media arts, artists prefer doing McJobs simultaneously and are heading for university professorships once they are accepted by the artistic community.

The degree of self-organisation in this field is very high among young artists. They are their own curators, they find locations to exhibit, make their own marketing via mailing-lists, free postcards, flyers etc. This can be considered as characteristic of the young generation of upcoming artists, as Angela McRobbie

describes it⁸². The creation of own scenes and networks is one strategy for younger artists to avoid the existing gate-keepers (artist 16).

4.2 Education and Training

New media arts demands new forms of education and training. «A new kind of distributing knowledge is necessary, which combines on one hand open learning, trial-an-error and a playing access to the media with, on the hand, other teachers who can and want to transport their knowledge»⁸³. The establishment of the Department for Visual Media at the University of Applied Arts in Vienna in 1986 has been the consequence of such demands. A change in the curricula and degree format has yet to follow. An interviewed artist gives an example «the format of the degree programme is the same in e.g. painting as in new media arts. Also a new media project which has been developed in teamwork, has to be presented in 15 minutes by one person who makes the exam». (artist 1). This format ignores developments which have led to changes in artistic working practices over the last 20 years. Generally, art universities still focus on one «creator».

In addition to the public university system, there are opportunities for students specialising in new media arts at private schools such as the International School of Audio Engineering (SAE). The interviewees suggested that many artists complement their university education with private training at such institutions or through on-the-job training programmes which offer a permanent learning process in parallel to technological developments.

Art Universities

All of the interviewees mention art universities as the most important institution in this field. Two of the three Austrian universities for visual arts offer institutionalised education for media arts, namely the University of Applied Arts in Vienna and the University of Artistic and Industrial Design in Linz; approximately one third is studying in Linz, the rest in Vienna. One of the most important changes in the university system before 2002 was the transition from the «Meisterklassen» (master classes) to institutes. At the same time, theory and reflection were given priority.

The master class-system was based on the idea that art has a strong technical aspect

82 Angela McRobbie, «Kunst, Mode und Musik in der Kultargesellschaft». In: Justin Hoffmann; Marion von Osten (Ed.), *Das Phantom sucht seinen Mörder. Ein Reader zur Kulturalisierung der Ökonomie*. Berlin, 1999, p. 25f.

83 Regina Sperlich, op. cit., p. 2.

which can be learned (and taught) by an intensive education by one teacher, the «master». Students have to pass an entry exam and then the teacher decides (with the help of his/her assistant professors and guest lecturers) whether a student is accepted in the class or not. The classes were based on one medium, i.e. painting, sculpture, ceramics etc. This system had the advantage of an intensive education and a close personal contact with the teacher. At the end of the 1990s, 340 teachers were teaching approximately 1,000 students⁸⁴. The disadvantage was the fact that this system was outdated and reinforced the myth of the autonomous genius who creates art independent from society. The master class-system ignored the fact that the production of art has become similar to other industrial production and distribution processes. Measured by today's pluralistic demands of an artist, a pluralistic pedagogy is necessary⁸⁵. The master-class-system was the target of much critique and replaced by the institute-system, which was at the same time established at scientific universities. This system is in favour of new media arts because «the new media provoke something like a thirst for theorisation»⁸⁶. In 2002, a second reform, the UG2002, was supposed to have the same effects on the universities of art and design as for the music universities.

It is difficult to gain insight regarding the share of women among students studying media arts at the university level due to the recent set up of specialised departments and low number of graduates to date. The figures presented in Table 22 indicate that there is a higher number of male students. Such numbers may change given the growing student enrolment in relevant departments.

Table 22 Share of Women Studying Media arts in Austria

	1 st Year Students		Graduates		All Students	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1990/91 ⁽¹⁾	7	8	0	2	53	45
1995/96 ⁽²⁾	20	3	6	3	87	40
2000/01 ⁽³⁾	10	2	5	3	98	82

Source: Hochschulstatistik 1980/81, 1985/86, 1990/91, 1995/96, 2000/01

¹⁾ Department for Visual Media at the University of Applied Arts, Vienna and the University of Artistic and Industrial Design Linz.

²⁾ Department for Visual Media and Department for Visual Communication at the University of Applied Arts, Vienna and the Department for Experimental Visual Design, University of Artistic and Industrial Design Linz.

³⁾ Department of Visual Media

84 Elisabeth Al-Chihade, *Die Hochschule für angewandte Kunst und ihre Absolventen von 1970 bis 1995*. Wien, 1998, p. 16.

85 Gernot Figlhuber, «Einfach zum Nachdenken». In: *Zur Sache Kunsthochschulen*. Wien 1996, p. 74.

86 Robert Pfaller, assistant professor at the Institute for experimental visual Design at the University of artistic and industrial Design in Linz in a discussion in the scientific supplement of the magazine *Der Falter*, 1999. http://www.falter.at/heureka/archiv/99_3/02einbis.htm.

Before the creation of the Department for Visual Media in the middle of the 1980s, students interested in working with the new media took courses at the Department of Film and Television, University for Music and Performing Arts in Vienna. Due to methodological reasons, these students are not included in Table 22.

Between the years 1986-1995, 24 persons (11 women, 13 men) graduated from the Department for Visual Media, University of Applied Arts in Vienna. In 1998, research⁸⁷ was done on the professional lives of the University graduates. The results pertaining visual media graduates showed that most of them defined themselves as «media artists», as well as new media designers, painters or graphic designers.

The female interviewees did not generally have the impression that they received less attention from their teachers because of the fact that they were women (artist 3). However, they did point out that their teachers were not necessarily gender conscious in their techniques for teaching either men or women, by taking into consideration what would make a difference or be necessary in order to compensate for gender gaps (artists 1, 16). From such statements, we can deduce that gender-training for university teachers is necessary especially given the importance teachers can have as facilitators. «Recommendations by teachers are a very important part of artistic education» (artist 16). «They can open doors to the art scene, such as galleries, curators etc. Personal recommendations are of high importance in a small field where the actors know each other» (artist 6). The interviewees pointed out the relevance of recommendations by professors early on in their career. Curators are in touch with artists and when these artists are at the same time professors at the university they can recommend their students. Some of them are actively supporting their students by establishing first contacts between them and the arts field (gate-keeper 12). This process, however, is still a question of individual self-initiative on the part of the professors and not necessarily ingrained as part of the university system. In fact, many artists leaving university complain of not being adequately prepared for the arts system: «What I would have expected, in retrospect, is that during our studies curators would have been invited, to see the works of students and that a personal contact could evolve, even if it is not very meaningful. But at least one knows the persons...» (artist 16)

Peter Weibel, in particular, was seen as having an important influence on the career of his students. His approach has marked the work in the Department for Visual Media which has also been criticised as being too dominant (gate-keeper 8). Weibel is one of the persons who have shaped the Austrian discourse of new media arts, not only through his teaching but also because of the many leading positions he has had during his career such as Director of Ars Electronica (artistic consultant

⁸⁷ Elisabeth Al-Chihade, op. cit., p. 149f. The following quotes are taken from this work.

from 1986-92, director from 1992-95), since 1984 professor for visual media in Vienna, Austria's commissioner for the Venice Biennial (1993-99), director of the Neue Galerie/Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz (1993-99), Director of the Centre for Art and Media (ZKM) in Karlsruhe (since 1999). Due to his manifold activities, he was able to open up gates for his students (artist 3). His class, the «Weibelklasse» is seen as a solid network for the students because of his international reputation and contacts (gate-keeper 8).

The working group for equal treatment at art universities suffers from the same problems like at music universities. Students are not informed, visibility is low (gate-keeper 14). «I only knew that it existed, but that was all.» (artist 16). Students' consciousness concerning gender related issues is low. It can be deduced that artists who finished their studies some years ago, notice the lack of role models more than students who are still not confronted with the glass ceilings of professional life.

As Table 23 shows, women are significantly under-represented among professors of new media arts:

Table 23
Share of Women Teaching Media arts in Austria

	Professors		Associate Professors		Guest Lecturers	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1990/91 ⁽¹⁾	3	0	2	3	28	7
1995/96 ⁽¹⁾	5	0	4	2	30	7
2000/01 ⁽²⁾	4	1	3	2	15	5

Source: Hochschulstatistik 1980/81, 1985/86, 1990/91, 1995/96, 2000/01

¹⁾ Department for Visual Communication (including film) at the University of Applied Arts, Vienna – no more detailed data available.

²⁾ Institute of Experimental Design and Interior Design at the University of Applied Arts, Vienna – no more detailed data available.

In new media arts education, women are under-represented at all levels of the university hierarchy. They represent approximately one third of the guest lecturers. Surprisingly enough, the share of women among associate professors is relatively high – although the sample is so small that it can not be taken as representative. In 2000, there was only one woman holding a regular professorship in this field.

The under-representation of women as professors is seen as a problem because of the lack of role models for female students:

«I believe that there is really a lack at the universities of really strongly positioned and powerful images of women.» (artist 6) ... «I think that it would be very impor-

tant for there to be more female professors in the media arts field, because there are many female artists just in our field, only very few of them got jobs as professors until now. I am not talking of the USA now, there it seems to be better somehow. But generally, it seems to me that equally qualified men are preferred at universities in media arts. I do not know why». (artist 3).

The selection process for the position of professors has been criticised by the interviewees, «relations or political connections» (artist 3) are considered to be more important than the quality of his/her work. In other words, networks are more important than competence. Sex/gender also has an impact. «One has the feeling that there is more confidence in men, while women come off badly.» (artist 3). Artists who have applied for the position of professor told us stories of sexual discrimination and unequal treatment (artist 6). Neither a good artistic reputation nor the corresponding credits prevent discrimination; women still do not get the same treatment in the application processes. Some have even complained of being treated like students in their interviews (e.g. «Tell me three examples of...» (artist 6). The fact that such treatment provokes moral outrage by other persons who were present in such interviews (such as students or other university teachers) proves that this critique is more than taking offence for not being chosen (artist 6). The data on the share of women at art universities provide the empirical background for these experiences. Other pessimistic voices among the interviewees state that «if there were more female professors at one university, this would be an incredible potential of fear. And I think that only a generation change could really change things.» (gate-keeper 8). In this context, the gender question is seen as part of generation-related gate-keeping.

4.3 Curators

Curators of exhibitions and festivals are important gate-keepers (gate-keepers 8, 14) not only on the national, but also on the international level, those «who are globetrotting from Istanbul to Seoul» (gate-keeper 12). They have to be informed about every new development in their field and therefore they are also present at all important events relevant to their field of expertise (gate-keepers 9, 5). In their decision-making process, curators seem to choose artists rather than works of art:

«It starts certainly with the idea of the exhibition, what it should be about, the subject or the form of the project and one thing, which is quickly getting difficult, is the criteria of quality, that I have to be convinced by a work. [...] But the more I

am developing an idea, on the one hand, and selecting works on the other, well not essentially works, but deciding with whom I would like to work together. I think that the relevance of persons and personalities, in other words, personal relations is more and more growing during the evolution, conception and finally in the image of exhibitions and projects.» (gate-keeper 5)

Establishing personal relations and contacts between curators and artists is important at the beginning. Curators frequently travel to as many market places as possible where artists meet. The criteria to choose a person is often linked with networks. Recommendations, also very traditional ones such as letters of support, are useful, especially those coming from teachers (artist 3). «A recommendation is still the most important thing, as everybody says, ‘Look, I am making an exhibition about that and that subject...’ Especially when one is looking for younger artists, the recommendation counts». (gate-keeper 12)

The relevance of a curator her/himself is also defined by the contacts she/he has: «The curators are still completely relevant because they work in networks with galleries and, in the best case naturally, with theoreticians.» (gate-keeper 12). None of the interviewees mentioned formal credits such as education at renowned institutes or the accumulation of prizes. They all affirm that personal connections are the most important. «Contacts, and the possibilities of concrete co-operations» (gate-keeper 9) is considered to be the best way to start a professional career.

As actors in the art scene, curators are being observed by the public more than ever, especially when female curators choose female artists. If a female curator makes an exhibition with only or mostly female artists, this exhibition is considered to be a «women’s» exhibition – if a male curator makes an exhibition with only or mostly male artists, it is considered to be a normal exhibition. Some female curators are intentionally choosing more women’s works. One interviewee comments this as follows: «Because there are many female curators and they like to exhibit women. Not only for charity reasons, but generally because the subjects are closer to them [...]. These are actual themes, identity, body.» (gate-keeper 12)

Curators themselves often have multiple functions such as critics (gate-keeper 12) as artists, theoreticians (artist 3), scientists or consultants on cultural politics (gate-keeper 8). Many of the curators only work on a project-basis and change their place of work when the project is finished. Others have long-term contracts with institutions, exhibition spaces or festivals.

An older generation of curators are feeling a generational gap. They can not judge the technical aspect of a work in e.g. net art projects or programming and have to rely on the know-how of technicians (gate-keeper 9).

4.4 Festivals

Festivals are international platforms and a market place for contacts which are used by curators to establish contacts with artists, to see their works and to renew their networks (gate-keeper 9). Artists participate in festivals in order to «know people with whom one is talking, telling what one is doing actually, permanently updating them about one's work, etc.» (gate-keeper 8). An invitation to a renowned festival is also an indicator of success in a scene where the economic value of a work does not have the same relevance as in other fields (gate-keeper 6). As most festivals in the field of new media do not «buy» productions, everything is developed in the context of the annual theme of a festival (gate-keeper 9).

Festivals attract all the main players in the international net art community such as artists, theoreticians and curators. The presentation of a work at a festival can stimulate new forms of co-operation (artist 3) and form very important networks. This can easily turn out to be a disadvantage for women as they traditionally have weaker networks.

Many festivals are accompanied by awards. In the case of the Ars Electronica Festival, artists apply for competition, however only recent works are accepted into the Festival. In this regard, new media arts festivals are different from music festivals where productions which have already been performed can be chosen and presented.

The Ars Electronica Festival

In 1987, almost 10 ten years after the founding of the Ars Electronica Festival, the *Golden Nica Award* was initiated by the ORF. In the beginning, the awards given by the festival were thought to serve as trend indicator in the field of «computer-aided art»⁸⁸. The Prix Ars Electronica, worth 100,000 in 2002, has become one of the most renowned prizes in the field of new media arts. Since its establishment, approximately 14,600 persons applied for it. The results of the competition are presented at the festival and some of the projects are taken into the permanent exhibition of the Ars Electronica Centre.

The Ars Electronica Festival lives in a symbiotic relationship with the ORF, even one of the festival directors comes from ORF. From 1997 until now (2003), the direction of the Festival has been in the hands of two persons: Christine Schöpf (ORF) and Gerfried Stocker (Director, Ars Electronica Centre). The key positions at the Ars Electronica are long-term positions and therefore only few persons have

⁸⁸ Hannes Leopoldseder, op. cit., p. 6.

been heavily involved in the festival to date: Hannes Leopoldseider and Christine Schöpf (ORF), Gottfried Hattinger, Peter Weibel and Katharina Gsöllpointner (Ars Electronica Centre). This steadiness characterises the festival: «A very important factor for the Ars Electronica is the continuity» and the «thematic leadership» (gate-keeper 9). Women have always played a role within the decision making structure of the Ars Electronica, even though the front persons have always been men.

There are critical opinions saying that the Ars Electronica is loosing its position as a forerunner in the field and has become a platform for established artists. Other festivals, such as the *transmediale* are being seen as successors to the Arts Electronica Festival in this regard (gate-keeper 8). This critique is mainly aimed at the increased participation of groups coming from the big Hollywood studios, such as Dreamworks (which won the Prix Ars Electronica in 2002). Awarding «big names», established artists or big studios, is seen as part of a strategy to valorise the festival which reduces the chances for young Austrian artists to win a Golden Nica, an important tool of recognition in the development of their careers (gate-keeper 8).

The list of winners of the Prix Ars Electronica (1987-2001) shows almost the same under-representation of women as in their share of participating artists which was 14%. During this period of time, 11% of the prize winners were women (15 out of 140 artists⁸⁹) and only 14% of the jury members were women. A closer look at the individual categories of the awards show even worse developments in the sub-field of computer-generated art.

Table 24

Share of Women Among the Award Winners for Computer Generated Art

Sub-field	Year	Male Winners	Female Winners	Groups/ Labels
Computer Graphics	1987-1994	9	0	
Computer Animation/Visual Effects	1987-2003	18	0	1
WWW-Sites	1995-1997	1	0	2
Net art	1997-2000	2	0	2
Net Vision/ Net Excellence	2001-2003	1	0	2
Interactive Art	1990-2003	15	3	1
Digital Music	1987-2003	15	0	2
U19 Freestyle Computing	1998-2003	3	3	1

Source: MEDIACULT research 2002

89 <http://www.aec.at>. Head count of persons; only persons were counted whose pre-names were identifiable. Counting of Golden Nicas and Honorary Awards and Awards of Distinction. Cf. also Robert Harauer et al., op. cit., p. 145.

The share of women receiving an award in the most important prize category, the Golden Nica, is also low. With one exception, in a new category for young artists created in 1998, the «cybergeneration», later becoming «u19 – freestyle computing» reserved for persons under 19 years old. This category has had an enormous response. In the first year, approximately 450 applications were received. In 2002 more than 900. Table 24 shows that the girls are as represented as the boys. The Golden Nica in this category is worth EUR 5,500 with two honorary mentions worth EUR 2,200 each.

4.5 Museums and Galleries

While media arts is part of the museum system (for example, one can find video installations by Nam June Paik in museums around the world), new media arts is less likely to be found. «In the field of net art, computer art, galleries do not play a role.» (gate-keeper 5). Some internationally renowned museums have recently set up departments and hired curators for net art. «There are more and more museums exhibiting net art whether it fits or not, but it is almost considered to be a good form.» (gate-keeper 9). For example, the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis has the following collections: sculpture, video work, performance and net art. While Austria is still lagging behind the Walker Center, there are two institutions which regularly exhibit (new) media arts, namely, the Generali Foundation and the Ars Electronica Centre. The Generali Foundation in Vienna focuses on Austrian art using different reproductive media of the 1960s and 1970s with an accent on female artists.

The efforts of these institutions to integrate new media arts into a museum concept is formidable, however, they cannot be considered as «new media arts museums», as museums and new media arts (above all net art) are still two opposing concepts. Galleries are further away from new media arts because their aim is to sell artistic goods - goods that need to be produced - and so a new media arts work is less attractive to a potential collector than a painting or a sculpture. «There are now some galleries which like new media, but again, only very specific media. And then long negotiations start, whether one is making a ‘flat work’ which corresponds somehow to a painting, somewhere on a screen.» (gate-keeper 14). The presentation room for this kind of art is virtual, the web.

Ars Electronica Centre

In 1996, the Ars Electronica Centre (AEC) was opened. This marked the end of co-operation with the Brucknerhaus. New media arts now had its own building.

The AEC is an exhibition and distribution space, open the whole year round. It does not have a permanent collection of works of art in the traditional way; the mission statement says:

«The complex of the centre serves as a museum of the future and not as a frame for the presentation of works of art. The accent lies on the efforts which are made to organise works of art, to produce and to distribute them. Production and presentation – e.g. together with the research and residence program – are based on the technological infrastructure and local and on the aesthetic and technical skills of the staff. Parallel to this relevant artistic and scientific events as well as exhibitions, seminars, workshops and papers are presented during the whole year.»⁹⁰

The AEC is a 2,000 square metre space exclusively dedicated to digital technologies. On five floors, a vast range of projects across new media are presented: installations, interactive game installations, telerobotic projects, 3-D-projects, computer simulations, mixed media, virtual reality projects etc. In addition, the AEC maintains a CD-ROM-archive and an archive of all Ars Electronica projects. Some of the works presented in the permanent exhibition are by artists who have presented their works at the festival. However, the AEC is not an exhibition space for the festival projects. The accent of the AEC lies on mediation. Guided tours are regularly offered, as well as special tours for children and young people. During the holidays, training programmes for children are offered as well as introductions to the field of new media arts for the elderly.

The whole building or parts of it can be rented, for example, the seminar rooms or the café. The AEC does not represent a landmark in the field of artistic presentation spaces, like e.g. the Generali Foundation in Vienna or the OK in Linz, but it is an open centre, dedicated to the distribution and mediation of new media and digitally created art.

The leading positions of the AEC in 2003 are held equally by a man (artistic director) and a woman (manager). There are in total 11 women working at the AEC in various positions ranging from festival production to lab assistant and co-ordinator of the youth prize (U19), in press and communications and visitor services/gastronomy.

4.6 Recognition: Awards and Juries

On the federal level, there are still no prizes for new media arts. There are festival awards such as the Ars Electronica Golden Nica but no publicly supported prizes.

⁹⁰ <http://www.aec.at/center2/index.html>, 12. 11. 2002

The Karajan Centre Vienna was one of the first institutions to provide an award for young artists in the (new) media field, «the star_project, media arts award». It was set up in 2001, is given every two years and is worth EUR 36,300. In 2001, there were two women and three men in the jury, and among the award winners were two women, five men (amongst them two couples) and one label⁹¹. Interviewed artists see prizes as providing them with the possibility to make new contacts and to attract the attention of curators and others to their work (artist 16).

Generally, prizes are as important in new media arts as in visual arts. There exists no equivalent to the Turner Prize (gate-keeper 5). Some media artists have the impression that the categories do not reflect the nature of their work. «If one does not comply with the classic image of the artist – men or women, but it happens more often to women – one falls through different things. Subsidies or prizes». (artist 1). Being a female new media artists is an accumulation of atypical characteristics and thus represents a hurdle for public recognition such as prizes.

4.7 Politics and Administration

Media arts projects are financed by the Department for Film and Media Art located at the office of the State Secretary for Arts, which is headed by a man. In 2000, the total budget of the Department was approximately EUR 4.4 million. EUR 530,000 was allocated to new media art productions which have been equally distributed to men and women. Additional sources of federal money come from other departments for music, literature, social culture etc. An expert jury selects projects from among a bundle of applications and makes recommendations to the public servant in charge of cultural administration. This jury can be considered as an important gate-keeping instrument, above all for young, emerging artists who are often entirely dependent on public subsidies. This jury consists of five or six persons who hold their office for three years. A balanced share of women and men on the Federal Jury for Media Arts has been constant from 1996-2000.

4.8 Network to Survive!

Networks are – as the name suggests – a crucial factor in net art. Virtual networks, such as those created by mailing lists, are becoming «*virtual community centres*»⁹² and are as important as face to face contact. Curators use their personal networks

91 http://www.igbildendekunst.at/s1_projects.htm

92 Tilman Baumgärtel, op. cit., p. 8.

as a central resource to find artists. Networks substitute the non-existing institutional structures.

Networks are being built up at universities and foster cohesion among the students which up until now was one of the goals of the master classes. The «Weibelklasse» previously mentioned is one important network led by a strong and connected mentor. Generational networks are also being created, not only because of the education system, but also due to technological development. The generation of artists who have started with net art have their own networks which are evolving out of a very small scene of young artists trying something new. None of the interviewees denied the fact that there were networks and that they were using them.

There are also different types of networks such as international networks (artist 3), interdisciplinary networks (artist 6), gendered networks (gate-keeper 5) etc. Every network is as good as its members (artist 16), but one network is not enough: One has to be present in multiple networks at the same time: One interviewee affirmed that there was no time for arts production «when I did not have at least three other networks working» (artist 6).

Women's networks are still not as far developed as men's. Some claim that men are better networkers than women, «That men always have had a different form of networking and that the men's groups always have been playing an important role.» (gate-keeper 8). In the field of new media arts, the male structures of networking are functioning quite well. One interviewee referred to the biographies of Peter Weibel and Valie Export as paradigmatic examples of gendered careers, «It has taken Valie 20 years [...] to get her first position as a professor in the US and Peter Weibel was sitting at all switching points of power.» (gate-keeper 6). The engagement of Valie Export in the feminist discourse was also a disadvantage, which was later transformed into an advantage (gate-keeper 12). Both careers are considered to be «a very, very typical example of male career paths in comparison to female career paths» (gate-keeper 8).

Female networks do exist, even though they are not as visible as male networks and lack historical tradition (gate-keepers 8, 5). They are extremely important for women working in the field in order to give them support (gate-keepers 8, 5).

Women do not only have networks with other women – they have different «friendship-networks» (artist 3) with other artists, curators etc. who are relevant for their career. Personal relations, friendships and professional networks are intertwined. One interviewee mentioned her «artist-friends» and her «theoreticians-friends» (gate-keeper 5). Margarethe Jahrmann is mentioned as a good example for successful networking: «She has made it because she has always been working

in a team and she has always networked with other women and men from a similar scene and generation and has always been based on solidarity.» (gate-keeper 8).

Networking is a difficult process. It is time consuming because networking is mainly face to face-work (artist 16.) «One has to be very present. Simply to hang around at events and always saying ‘Hello’.» (artist 1) It is a subtle balancing act between solidarity and confidence in the middle of hard competition within scene (gate-keeper 12). On the one hand, networking and information exchange are very important, on the other hand, the competition is tough and it happens that ideas are stolen. Women have to learn these fine-tuned social shades between co-operation and competition; and they also have to learn to deal with men’s networks (artist 6).

At the beginning of their professional career, young artists often do not have established networks. They may have one made up of contacts established during their student years or with other emerging artists (artist 16). Eventually they end up building their own «generational» networks. «Sometimes I have the impression that younger ones, i.e. upcoming generations prefer to build their own networks, their own projects rather than engaging themselves in already existing networks.» (gate-keeper 10). On the other hand, young artists do not know where to start when building up a network, «Going to every opening, every event?» (artist 16)

5. CONCLUSION: GATE-KEEPING IN MUSIC AND NEW MEDIA ARTS

We can start our conclusion by simply saying that gate-keeping processes are not visible and simple mechanisms. There is almost no isolated gate-keeping or one singular hurdle, which decides on the success of a career and which could depend on one single, isolated measure. Gender-specific gate-keeping mechanisms are as divers and invisible as the gender matrix itself, which lies upon all social relations. The image of «gates» might be replaced by the image of an untearable cobweb in which women get entangled when they try to advance to higher positions. This mechanism works at every level of a professional artistic career: from education to canonisation there are «knots» in the web which can only be avoided with great effort. This cobweb also concerns professional artistic work; when women want to advance to the top, the glass ceiling is still there.

The main hurdle is at the core. *Women are not foreseen to be professional artists.* Two characteristics do not fit into the traditional female gender-concept: leading positions/authority and artistic production. The crude under-representation of women among conductors and composers illustrates this best. As long as women keep practising their art at home on an amateur level, it is socially welcome. As soon as they want to have a professional career, problems start.

This study has given us the opportunity to differentiate such findings according to individual artistic practices. Gates for composers, conductors, orchestra musicians and new media artists are different. The results show that the more institutionalised a field is, the more gates there are. Gate-keeping processes also differ according to employment status. Free-lancers are confronted by a different set of hurdles than employed persons who face problems in the hierarchy of their institutions when wanting to proceed up the internal ladder.

The first important gate for musicians, composers and conductors is education. Music is an institutionalised field where the quality of a clearly defined education programme is a precondition for their entry into a professional career. This system is personalised as very close contacts to the teachers are also part of the institutionalised university system. Thus, teachers can function as gate-openers or gate-keepers by recommending their students or discouraging them. The interviews have shown that this gate is closed shut for women.

Austrian music education is dominated by the University for Music and Performing Art in Vienna. Musicians playing in renowned orchestras such as the VPO are teaching at the University whose education system foresees an

intensive personal training of the students. This system provides the university with highly qualified teachers and guarantees an adequately trained off-spring for the orchestras. But there is also a disadvantage. There is no or only very little social development within the programme. It is made up of mainly male teachers, looking mainly for male students to play in mainly male orchestras; creating a closed circuit of men which is very difficult for women to penetrate. The content of music education also excludes women and female professors. In spite of the fact that the share of women among professors has doubled in the last 20 years at music universities, the presentation of female role models for students is still low. Many of the interviewees who studied at the Universities of Music and Applied Arts in Vienna spoke about their bad experiences. Above all, female composers and conductors paint their university education as a time of permanent, systematic discouragement. Many of them had found mentors outside the university context who encouraged them and opened some doors. External female mentors replaced the missing role models and mentors at university.

One of the first gates to pass over in order to acquire a job at an orchestra is the audition. According to the interviewees, the audition itself is no longer a big hurdle for women as «blind auditions» are more frequently taking place behind a curtain. There are, however, other factors which make entry into an orchestra more difficult for women than for men. If a musician has already played in this orchestra as a substitute, he/she will already be familiar with the style of the orchestra. Substitutes are often talented students, recommended by their teachers who themselves work in an orchestra. In this context, male networks and mentoring chains have been extremely effective. Another problem is the test phase which normally lasts for one year after winning the audition. This is a difficult phase for young musicians who have to give their best while working for the first time in their life under the very stressful and difficult conditions of a professional symphony orchestra. Mobbing is frequent and occurs parallel to generational and gender discrimination. In this context, the situation is more difficult for young women and shows that gender gates are more like a cobweb, invisible but ubiquitous.

As previously mentioned, gate-keeping processes differ according to employment status. Employed female artists such as orchestra musicians or university teachers have to fight to reach leading positions. They have to prove that they can do their job equal to or in most cases better than men. They often do not take maternity leave except for the obligatory minimum of a few weeks. Due to the lack of institutions, child care is either delegated to other (female) family members such as grandmothers or to paid nannies such as au-pair girls. This clearly shows how difficult the reconciliation is between having an artistic career and being a

women. This was a problem expressed by many of the partners of the interviewees; a considerable number of them divorced or separated because of the fact that the woman made her career.

Recruitment processes for leading positions represent another gate. The whole process happens behind closed doors and the quality of the personal networks will decide. On the other hand, the process could be transparent, yet the results show that highly qualified women do not get the job. The latter often happens when university professors are recruited and women do not get the job in spite of positive action laws, which foresee that in the case of women and men holding the same qualifications, the woman is to be chosen. This law is, however, often not applied. Here again, the cobweb of misogyny is being spun.

If a woman has reached a leading position in her field, she has to defend it. Contrary to men in similar positions, women have to deal with discrimination disguised as courtesy bordering harassment or with direct and open harassment. From the moment it becomes clear that a woman wants to reach the top in her respective professional league, the gates are closed. Male networks start working and try to prevent any further advancement. This finding applies to the artistic sector and professional fields such as composition or conducting as well as to those working in arts management.

Women who work as free-lancers face other difficulties. They depend on manifold sources of support such as public financing bodies, organisers and programme-makers, university teachers who choose guest lectures, conductors, editors etc. In a small country like Austria, one single person can produce a deadlock-situation for years. Contrary to new media arts, a misogynous attitude is socially acceptable as illustrated by the cases of the VPO and VSO; two of the world-wide renowned orchestras which practically exclude women. A growing economic pressure intensifies the problem and closes a vicious circle. Female composers and conductors are often not as well known as their male colleagues because their career evolves more slowly. Thus, the selection of a woman in leading positions signifies something unusual and entails a risk, especially within a very conservative world such as classic music in Austria. Fewer women have the chance to be performed or to perform themselves and an already small minority is becoming more invisible. While it is easier for women to achieve some level of success in less traditional fields such as contemporary music, we should not yet jump for joy. The reality is that the amount of female contemporary composers who are performed still lies far below their share among all composers.

The main gate for active composers is to have their works performed. Organisers and programme makers of festivals as well as conductors and managers

control the passage way through this gate. The repertoire analysis shows clearly that there are seasons without any works of women being performed by renowned orchestras. This situation is dire and is significant for the esteem of women composers. Following the performance, access to distribution channels becomes the next hurdle to overcome for composers. However, the picture is not brighter. The share of women composers whose works are published by music editors, such as Universal Edition, is only 3%; far below the number of active women composers.

The gate-keeping system in the field of new media arts is completely different. It reflects more the mechanisms present in the field of visual arts from where most of the «older» and key protagonists are coming. While the field of visual arts has traditional established gate-keepers such as universities or museums, new media arts is still different due to the mere fact of being younger and representing a specific artistic form which does not fit into the traditional art market, but which is creating its own distribution channels.

Gate-keeping mechanisms in this field are far more diversified than in the field of music. On the one hand, gate-keeping exists within the fluid field of free-lance artists where curators, theoreticians and other experts have the (symbolic) power to open the gates towards an artistic discourse. On the other hand, gate-keeping at the entrance to (the very rare) institutions, such as festivals or universities – is comparable to the system prevalent in the field of music.

There are multiple gates for both male and female free-lance artists who are faced with insurmountable hurdles during their whole career. Every new project has to pass through a series of gates. Programme makers, such as curators, are crucial actors in new media arts. Like in every field where decisions on artistic content are made, personal networks are key. Curators rely on personal contacts (recommendations, friendships) rather than on formal credits when they are choosing artists to co-operate with. Female curators tend to choose more women than male curators, sometimes for explicit political (i.e. feminist) reasons.

The difficulty to reconcile children and a partnership with a professional career is also prevalent in the field of new media arts. Many of the interviewees have chosen not to have children because they simply do not have the time for family life. Only one of the interviewees from the field of new media arts had children.

While one positive message resulting from the study was the high number of women represented among new media artists (around 40% according to (new) media arts databases), the reality is that they are not well represented in the institutionalised side of the field. They do not hold top positions such as the director of the Ars Electronica Centre or a professorship at the university. Women remain in the second line. This finding also applies to artistic recognition via awards. The

distribution of the Golden Nica, the Ars Electronica Award, shows that women are under-represented with one pleasant exception, in the competition for young artists under 19 years of age where there is a gender balance among the recipients of the prize.

The results from both fields send the same message: Women are not supposed to produce art. There are no role models in textbooks, no visible examples of successful women who have made an artistic career and who have entered the mainstream canon. The main hurdle is the image of the artist which is still male. Let's take one example, namely the lack of female conductors in major symphony orchestras which is explained by the impossibility of physically imaging a woman in front of an orchestra. Female students in the field of conducting are asked by their teachers not to wear skirts or dresses for their final exams. Even in the rare case when a woman is successful and becomes a conductor, she serves as a target for sexual discrimination by the public, journalists, organisers etc.

The image of a composer is similar to that of a conductor, namely male. Women are not supposed to be able to think in analytical structures. The experience of female composers shows that during their education and professional life they have had to fight against this prejudice. A female composer has to prove that she is able to compose before her work is even listened to. This prejudice is deeply rooted in the world of music where decision-making positions are mostly in the hand of men. Professional practice does not change this concept. Role models for female composers are invisible. They do not figure in the repertoires nor in textbooks – their works are not part of the canon even though there are and always have been women composers.

This might be one reason why so few young women chose the professions of composer or conductor. It is not necessarily an active act of self-censorship but rather reflects a prescribed norm. Who wants to be a female conductor? We can draw upon the beginning of the feminist classic *Egalia's Daughters* by Gerd Brantenberg: «*Ha, ha! And a manwom can't be a seawom either, a mafele seawom!*»⁹³. Without role models only a very small minority of women will choose to pursue such professions.

Developing a career as an orchestra musician seems to be more accessible to women. However, this does not mean that the working conditions are more favourable. It is socially accepted that woman study one or more instruments, such as violin or flute and obtain positions in a symphony orchestra as second or third voice. The problems start when women want to choose other instruments such as brass winds, contrabass or percussion. They are not supposed to play these instru-

93 Gerd Brantenberg, *Die Töchter Egalia's*. 9. Aufl. München, 2001, p. 8.

ments as they are not supposed to be able to physically cope with the technical requirements such instruments demand. The data has clearly shown us that the distribution of orchestra instruments is gender-specific.

The concert master is the most exposed post within an orchestra. The results of this study show that women have managed to break through this glass ceiling. Some of the female pioneers of the late 1970s still hold their position and there is evidence of new generations of women following in their path as can be seen in the RSO.

Working in a symphony orchestra is a very difficult job. There are rigid hierarchies in place and a lot of energy goes into the maintenance of these structures rather than into artistic co-operation. Sub-hierarchies exist between the conductor and the orchestra, between the orchestra manager and the organiser etc. Although these structures are loosening with the arrival of the younger generation, they are still prevalent in one's everyday work. Such hierarchies also facilitate mobbing and prevent solidarity e.g. with young musicians or women. When a woman wants to enlarge her radius of action, mobbing processes start.

The image of the new media artist is also male, above all when it comes to the very technical aspects of the artist-programmer or artist-engineer. A look at couples working in media arts shows that there is a tendency for men to do the programming more often than women. In this field, men are much more visible especially when looking at their participation in competitions, such as in the Ars Electronica Festival. They are also more visible in manuals or newly created histories of the field (canonisation) and occupy the most visible leading positions in the few institutions which exist in this field.

Considering the different gates which exist for women trying to develop a career in the fields of music and new media arts, we can conclude that there is still room for great improvement via, for example, specific measures and political action which take into consideration the symbolic field of gender rules. Existing measures are still not or only poorly executed. The results show that the different actors still do not understand them. Improving our overall understanding of gender equality is one of the most urgent and important activities measure to undertake if Culture-Gates are to be opened for all genders.

6. POLITICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

When it comes to political recommendations, a broad field opens up. Interviewees called for very specific positive action measures in areas such as child care for musicians on tour. The call for quotas, while not heavily desired, is not dead. Many confessed that they are not major fans of the quota system but nevertheless mention it because: «It is the only way» (gate-keepers 14, 8). Objections against the quota were voiced because women do not want to be chosen because the quota has to be fulfilled but because of their qualification (gate-keeper 4). Another argument against the quota is the fact that it has had little effect in a field where there are so few women and therefore is almost impossible to fulfil (gate-keeper 28). The latter points to the (in)visibility of women which is a major problem to be addressed. The conductor Catherine Rückwardt opposes the quota with the argument that «the quota serves as an excuse for the fact that women do not get the same opportunities as men»⁹⁴.

Below is a list of specific proposals made during the course of the project, many of them by the interviewees. They address different aspects of a women's career.

...*Labour Market Conditions*

1. Make child care more accessible, also for orchestra musicians on tour as part of their salary and develop incentives for paternal leave and an image campaign.
2. Improve the quality of working conditions in orchestras through coaching/supervision programmes by experts in order to help orchestra musicians to cope with psychologically difficult working conditions.
3. Introduce quotas as a transitory measure on the condition that the share of chosen women has to be higher than the share of women who have applied.
4. Conduct a special search for women which can be addressed and encouraged to take up leading positions.
5. Provide a minimal salary for female artists. This recommendation comes from free-lancers artists which reveal that male artists are generally better subsidised by the public purse.

...*Raising Gender Consciousness*

6. Initiate image campaigns and other types of information activities that would help develop a new understanding of gender roles such as the role of the father

94 <http://www.klassik.com/de/magazine/magazines/crescendo/artikel02.htm>, 09. 09. 2002.

- or the artist as more than a male figure.
7. Place gender experts in juries. Not only women, but specially trained persons with gender expertise.
 8. Provide gender training for teachers at schools, universities etc. in order to raise their gender-consciousness.
 9. Do not support the creation of women's museums or similar institutions as a solution to all problems. They create gender ghettos. It is more important to develop support measures to open up already existing institutions to the work of women.

...*Education*

10. Revise text books for schools and universities which include female artists as role models.
11. Implement existing measures such as equal opportunity laws for the public sector including, for example, universities.
12. Hire more female university professors who are important role models for students especially in disciplines such as composing and conducting. Female professors should be actively sought out by universities.
13. It is critical to establish a feminist discourse at art universities to counteract the diminishing solidarity among women as well as the fear younger generations have about feminism.