

Exposing and Opening Gates ... Introduction and Recommendations

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1. EXPLORING RESEARCH CONCEPTS

When Kim Howell, Minister at the UK Department of Culture, Media and Sport, described the prestigious Turner Prize 2002 entries as «conceptual bullshit» and that the «avant-garde is the establishment now», he may have been, in the words of jury member Michael Archer, just expressing «one person's view»². However, as a politician with the power, influence and responsibility to shape government policy on the arts and artists, his remarks were not received merely as his own point of view. For better or for worse, the results of his remarks will be seen in the next years when galleries make their decisions about which contemporary art works to display, when the next round of Arts Council grants are distributed and when the rates of participation at contemporary art exhibitions are published.

Due to his position, Kim Howell is undoubtedly, a «gate-keeper», perhaps even a «gate-shaper» (so is Michael Archer!). His sphere of influence reaches decision makers and organisations of reference which are, together with other actors, shaping the conditions and instruments used to determine selection processes in the artistic field. In that sense, his role – and those of other influential cultural actors – corresponds to a definition given in the late 1940s by social psychologist, Kurt Lewin, according to whom a «gate-keeper» is an individual in a key position who selects among a number of competing messages and determines those which the receiver (audience) will hear/see. Their decisions have the potential and power to facilitate (or prevent) social and cultural change through the distribution and flow of certain ideas³.

The aim of the *Culture-Gates* study was to examine the complexity of gate-keeping processes in the cultural labour market. This was to be exemplified by determining how gate-keepers and their decisions affect the career development of women artists. In this chapter we will first map some of the main and earlier

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2 Available at news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/2550233.stm.

3 See Kurt Lewin, «Frontiers in Group Dynamics». In: *Human Relations* 1 (1947): 145-153. Quoted in: Elizabeth Rogers, *Audience and Online News Delivery: The Impact of Technology on Editorial Gate-keeping*. A paper presented to the Conference «Media in Transition» held at MIT, October 8, 1999.

approaches from the interdisciplinary field of mass communication research and other fields on the system of gate-keeping, the role of gate-keepers and the location of gates. Drawing upon these components, a new framework for understanding gate-keeping in the development of an artistic career will be presented. This model will be brought to life through an examination of two main artistic fields: music and (new) media arts. The quantitative and qualitative data published in this book is drawn from the results of the national investigations and contributions from professional artists, carried out between January 2002-Spring 2003. Additional information is provided through the website www.culturegates.info.

1.1 «Mr. Gates»: Some Models from Mass Communication Research

While the example of Kim Howell is recent, academic inquiry into the role of gate-keepers and of gate-keeping in the arts and in the media is not new. Building upon Lewin's theories, David Manning White first illustrated the functions of *individual* gate-keepers in his 1950 case study of a local newspaper company in the Midwest of the United States («the input-output model of analysis»). He observed that the production of a news item will be influenced by various key persons before it is finally published (or not) in the morning or evening newspaper. These persons, he claimed, control the gates or gateways of communication and information flow. Using the example of a wire editor, White explained how he/she will exert *subjective reasoning* when choosing or determining which information conforms to editorial policy and is deemed important for the community and, therefore, to be submitted for printing. White labelled the wire editor as «Mr. Gates», one of several individual gate-keepers with influence over the process of communication.

In 1951, Lewin published an article which expanded the concept of gate-keeping beyond White's application to information flows in news agencies, to look at the «gates» and «gate-keepers» operating at an *organisational* level in other public institutions such as schools and private companies. He said, «within a factory, a school system, or any other organised institution, we see that there are *executives on boards* who decide who is taken into the organisation or who is kept out of it, who is promoted and so on. The techniques of discrimination in these organisations are closely linked with those mechanisms which make the life of members of an organisation flow in different channels. This discrimination is basically linked with problems of management, with the actions of gate-keepers who determine what is done and what is not done»⁴.

4 Kurt Lewin (1951) in Jeremy Rifkin, *The Age of Access – How the Shift from Ownership to Access is Transforming Capitalism*. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 2000.

Critics claimed that these early theories were over simplified, rather mechanistic models of communication processes and information flows. One could also look at these models from the perspective, that when combined, Lewin's and White's theories provide a basis for furthering the concept of gate-keeping and gate-keepers from a content point of view (what society comes to learn as «truth» or «innovation») and from a management or organisational point of view (who has the power to decide what is «truth» or «innovative»).

The field of concepts built up over 60 years on gates and gate-keepers has in fact exposed some of the intricate internal and external factors of influence on an overall system of gate-keeping from an individual⁵, organisational and cybernetic point of view⁶. Some examples coming from the field of mass communication studies up until the 90s include:

- Gate-keeping as a process of *hierarchies* which are arranged within an *organisation*, for example, a media institution (Warren Breed, 1955⁷ – Walter Gieber, 1956/64⁸);
- The *self-perception of the individual* creator of the information (Morris Janowitz, 1975⁹) or the influence exerted on the creator to deliver information in line with an *organisation's policies* before it even arrives at the «gates» (Dennis McQuail, 1983/7¹⁰);
- In the early 1960s, Gerhard Maletzke¹¹ developed a model for the mass media based on *interpersonal/intra-personal communication theory*. His model takes into consideration the way a gate-keeper processes information delivered via

5 From the point of view of sociology, Michael Schudson argues that the idea of individual gate-keepers in the media dates back to Max Weber (1921, 1946) when he wrote about the «social standing of the journalist as a political person». See M. Schudson, «The Sociology of New Production Revisited» in Curran/Gurevitch, *Mass Media and Society*. Second Edition, Arnold Publishers, London, 1996.

6 See Stefan Gehring, *Gate-keeping als professionell-standardisiertes Verhaltensschema*. University of Munich, Munich, 2000.

7 Warren Breed, «Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis». *Social Forces* 33, no. 4 (1955), pp. 326-335.

8 Walter Gieber, «Across the Desk: A Study of 16 Telegraph Editors». In: *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 33, 1956 and «News is what Newspapermen Make It». In: Dexter / White (Ed.), *People, Society, and Mass Communications*. The Free Press of Gleno, 1964.

9 Morris Janowitz, «Professional Models in Journalism. The Gate-keepers and the Advocate». In: *Journalism Quarterly* 52, 1975. This thinking was highly influential in policy debates on regulating mass media in the 1970-80's. It has been criticised by Andreas Wiesand, *Journalisten-Bericht: Berufssituation – Mobilität – Publizistische 'Vielfalt'*. Spiess, Berlin, 1977. Instead of seeing journalists as being the main «communicators», he proposes a role for «intermediators» and more awareness of the professional and economic context of work environments.

10 Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. Second Edition, Sage Publications, London, 1987. (First edition 1983).

11 Gerhard Maletzke, *Psychologie der Massenkommunikation*. Hamburg, 1963.

- media channels based on his/her self-image, personality, perception as a member of a professional group and the receiver's social context/environment;
- Gate-keeping as part of a dynamic process of communication where organisational structures and policies as well as learning strategies are adjusted by a constant flow of *external feedback*, e.g. from the public or from another organisation. This non-linear and relational process of interaction has been labelled the «cybernetic approach» developed by Gertrude J. Robinson in the early 1970s;
 - From cybernetic theories grew more integrative theories of gate-keeping processes which emphasised the crucial understanding of subjectivity. Scholars claimed that decisions of gate-keepers are influenced by a *constructed social system and culture* made up of various beliefs, biases and convenience as well as by social and economic organisational/ institutional structures (cf. Pamela J. Shoemaker, 1991¹², Margaret Gallagher, 1982¹³).

1.2 New Gate-keepers and Gate-watchers

These earlier models referring mainly to individual gate-keepers or «censors»¹⁴ were broadened to take account of new discourses on political and (multinational) economic influences in the «new world information order»¹⁵. In this context, gate-keepers are also institutions, considered as societal regulators of freedom of expression and maintaining the flow of information¹⁶. Such discourses have

12 Pamela J. Shoemaker, *Gate-keeping*. Sage Publications, London, 1991.

13 Margaret Gallagher, «Negotiation of Control in Media Organisations and Occupations». In: Micheal Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran, Janet Woollacott, *Culture, Society and the Media*. Routledge Publications, London/New York, 1982.

14 Some do not even consider this as an offensive term, as can be seen from the title of the book of the former «chief censor» of the US-network ABC, Alfred R. Schneider (with Kaye Pullen), *Gate-keeper: My 30 Years as TV Censor*. Syracuse University Press, 2001.

15 Cees J. Hamelink and Olga Linné (Eds.), *Mass Communication Research – On Problems and Policies. In Honor of James D. Halloran*. Ablex Publishing, 1994. See also Cees Hamelink, *The Politics of World Communication. A Human Rights Perspective*. Sage Publications, London, 1994.

16 For example, the «Communication Rights Campaign» (WSIS/NGO Campaign) for the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) in 2003 has seen the need to address intellectual property rights holders and institutions in their role as «gate-keeper to information and knowledge». Stating as one of its priorities: «the ownership of information and knowledge, including intellectual property rights, must (re)balance the interests of the various parties (producers, distributors, users) in the overall interest of all people and communities» – quoted from the Annual Report 2000-2001 of the European Consortium for Communications Research (ECCR). Available at <http://home.pi.be/eccr/ar2000-2001.html>.

naturally extended to the arts field where «new gate-keepers»¹⁷ are identified as institutional actors ranging from public regulatory bodies to multinational media corporations and third sector actors, claiming that conflicts are today being increasingly fought over intellectual property and copyright which are said to restrict free artistic expression across genres and across borders. Gate-keeping functions of national cultural institutions have also been among the problems mentioned in this and similar context(s). A well known example is the case of the US-National Endowment for the Arts and its position towards «critical art».

A new set of gate-keepers working in the production and service sectors which control and manage the high-tech global economy¹⁸ have also been identified. It has been predicted that the new information and communication technologies would lead to a process of «dis-intermediation», whereby the physical and online networks of a new set of «prosumers» or «gate-watchers»¹⁹ would lessen the influence of institutional or corporate gate-keepers and increase micro level interaction and networking. This new global group of professional gate-watchers are loosely organised within what Manuel Castells calls the «network society»²⁰. They use new information and communication technologies (such as the Internet²¹) to support their monitoring activities, demanding, among other issues, a «fairer» global division of labour, a reorganisation of deregulation strategies promoted by the WTO and the end to violations of human rights, gender inequalities and threats to freedom of the press/media²². However, it can be argued that their activities con-

17 In November 2002, the National Arts Journalism Programme together with the Rockefeller Foundation and the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts organised a conference on free expression in the arts called «The New Gate-keepers».

18 Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work - The Decline of the Global Labour Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*. Tarcher-Putman, New York, 1995.

19 Such as «reporters sans frontières» (www.rsf.org) or «human rights watch» (www.hrw.org) or «index on censorship» (www.indexonline.org). See Axel Bruns, *Gatewatching, Not Gate-keeping: Resource Centre Sites on the World Wide Web*. Available at www.uq.net.au/~zzabrun/uni/phd/gatewatchers.html. Paper presented to the Postgraduate Colloquium at the University of Queensland, 5 November 1999.

20 Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*. 2nd edition, Blackwell, Oxford/Malden, 2000.

21 Jane Singer, «Still Guarding the Gate? The Newspaper Journalist's Role in an On-line World». In: *Convergence: The Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*. 3(1): 72-89, 1997. See also Gloria Origgi, *Le futur de l'Internet: une conversation avec Theodore Zeldin*. Virtual colloquy, Bibliothèque Publique Centre Pompidou, Paris, December 14-31, 2001. (www.text-e.org/conf).

22 On the other hand, media-related «gate-watching» has been in the past, and is today, not only based on a «critical» or «enlightenment» perspective but also under (neo-)conservative banners. For example, Helmut Schelsky, *Die Arbeit tun die anderen*. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 1975, points to, in his eyes, a dysfunctional, leftist intellectual class, the core of which he suspects among journalists. See also, Ann H. Coulter, *Slander: Liberal Lies About the American Right*. Crown Publications, New York, 2002.

tinue to run in parallel and have not yet had a significant impact on the dominant economic system of gate-keeping²³. Castells cautions that this society is becoming increasingly institutionalised and divided up into categories of actors such as the «networkers», the «networked» and the «switched-off»²⁴. This is in stark contrast to many of the hypotheses about the «openness» of modern technologies and networking structures. It indicates that «gate-keeper hierarchies» can be perpetuated even in the informal sector.

1.3 Gate-keepers as «Agents» or «Cultural Elite»

The *Culture-Gates* national teams brought in additional interpretations of gate-keeping processes coming from, for example, sociology, organisational and management studies, cultural studies and gender studies. While their frameworks are mapped out at the beginning of their respective chapters, what emerges from their conceptual work is the particular importance of the *internal and external frames of reference* of a specific artistic or literary field, which also shapes the individual outlook of those working in it.

French cultural sociologist Pierre Bourdieu developed the concept of a *field* as «any social formation that is structured by way of a hierarchically organised series of fields, each defined as a structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force independent of those of politics and the economy, except, obviously in the cases of the economic and political fields ... Its structure, at any given moment, is determined by the relations between the positions agents occupy in the field. A field is a dynamic concept in that a change in agents' positions necessarily entails a change in the field's structure.»²⁵

Bourdieu's body of work also refers to the internal dynamics of the cultural sector whereby professionals rely on referential interaction with other actors, especially those defining the *symbolic capital* of the field such as academics, critics,

23 This is witnessed by the fact that such gate-watchers have not yet really threatened major commercial communication channels or have only limited influence on, for example, improving local work conditions.

24 Castells identifies their functions in decision-making processes as the *deciders*, who make the decision in the last resort; the *participants*, who are involved in decision-making; the *executants*, who merely implement decisions. The author bases his synthesis on empirical studies of changes in organisations and work processes, referring e.g. to Hartmann (1987), Buitelaar (1988), the ILO, Rees (1992) and Tuomi (1999). According to him, only some «archaic forms of socio-technical organisation» may survive these changes.

25 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Edited by Randal Johnson. Polity Press, Cambridge, 1993, p 6. See also the introductions to the Portuguese and Finnish national reports by Idalina Conde and Ritva Mitchell in Part I of this book.

intermediators (such as art dealers or publishers) as well as from their colleagues with whom they compete for public recognition. In this case, the individual self-perception of artists is partly shaped by feedback from specific sub-sets of agents or gate-keepers within the individual professional fields. Bourdieu emphasised that the artist, writer or scientist works not just for an undefined public

«but for a public of equals who are also competitors. Few people depend as much as artists and intellectuals do for their self-image upon the image others, and particularly that which other artists and writers have of them. There are, writes Jean-Paul Sartre, qualities that we acquire only through the judgement of others. This is especially so for the quality of a writer, artist or scientist, which is so difficult to define because it exists only in, and through, co-optation, understood as the circular relations of reciprocal recognition among peers. Any act of cultural production implies an affirmation of its claim to cultural legitimacy... The public meaning of a work in relation to which the author must define himself, originates in the process of circulation and consumption dominated by the objective relations between the institutions and agents implicated in the process.»²⁶

In this context, we can already observe that peers and other internal «symbolic» gate-keepers are probably of greater relevance in the arts and media than in many other professional fields²⁷.

In the not too distant past, other scholars went further and devised theories based on some kind of natural law which stratified different societal groups and identified the existence of (and even the necessity of having) a minority faction of *cultural elites*²⁸ who would set the frames of reference for the cultural field. Among the most influential and controversial scholars in the anglophone world adhering

26 Pierre Bourdieu, op. cit., p. 116.

27 Beyond the functionality of these gate-keepers influencing one's self-assertion we should, however, take into account the paradox that artists and writers are also commonly identified as groups which show a particular resentment to any infringements upon their «individuality» and freedom of production. Could this be a myth or the price one has to pay in order to acquire professional recognition in a particular artistic field?

28 Such as T. S. Eliot in his *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*. Faber & Faber, London, 1948. In addition, a large body of literature on *social stratification* has grown since the times of Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, whose findings address aspects of the political, economic and cultural elites. We can sum them up by pointing to the fact that even the «democratic elites» of today are characterised by a large degree of homogeneity as far as their social and gender background is concerned: white, male and with college background is still standard.

See David B. Grusky (ed.), *Social Stratification in Sociological Perspective: Class, Race and Gender*. 2nd Edition, Westview Press, Boulder, 2001; Anthony Giddens and David Held (eds.), *Classes, Power, and Conflict*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1982 or Beate Kraus (ed.), *An der Spitze. Von Eliten und herrschenden Klassen*. Konstanz, 2001.

to such concepts was Frank Raymond Leavis (1895-1978), well known in the field of British literary criticism. He wrote:

«In any period it is upon a very small minority that the discerning appreciation of art and literature depends: it is (apart from cases of the simple and familiar) only a few who are capable of unprompted, first-hand judgement. They are still a small minority who are capable of endorsing such first-hand judgement by genuine personal response ... The minority capable not only of appreciating Dante, Shakespeare, Baudelaire, Hardy (to take major examples) but of recognising their later successors which constitute the consciousness of the race (or a branch of it) at a given time ... Upon this minority... depend the implicit standards that order the finer living of an age, the sense that... this rather than that is the direction in which to go.»²⁹

From this type of reasoning, it is only a very small step towards the formation of a strict *canon*³⁰ and the denunciation of many facets of modernity, particularly with respect to notions of democratic decision-making or economic interests affecting the sacred cultural temple³¹. It is interesting to note that the dichotomies built into this relationship are being raised by some countries as part of governmental planning exercises. For example, in the Netherlands, an Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy (AWT) to the Dutch government, questions: «What will happen to the (idea of) the cultural canon if the role of legitimate intermediaries (such as art historians and museum curators) is undermined by highly individualised production and consumption of art? What are the consequences on society of the development of new forms of knowledge legitimisation as alternatives for the classic gate-keeper system of *peer review*?»³²

29 Frank Raymond Leavis, *Mass Civilization and Minority Culture*. The Minority Press, Cambridge, 1930.

30 Which, in fact, Leavis did with his list of «essential» texts in English Literature: *The Great Tradition*, 1948. Similar efforts were also made, and still are today, as regards e.g. music, fine art and architecture.

31 In *The Gate-keeper in Indian Art*, Krishnanand L. Kamat writes that more often than not, «Hindu temples have painted or sculpted guardians at the entrance. The doormen outside the cultural temples are typically great devotees or strong men. The purpose of these figures is to keep the undesirable forces out, to protect the spiritual importance of the temple. Women are very rarely to be found among these gate-keepers». (see www.kamat.com/kalranga/dwar/dwar.htm, 2002). On the other hand, in the ancient Chinese «Book of Changes», the *Yijing*, can be considered as a non-gendered gate-keeper or institutionalised reminder to mankind of directions open for action and mind-states to be considered in individual decision-making.

32 Wiebe Bijker, Ben Peperkamp, *Engaged humanities. Perspectives on cultural changes in an increasingly digital age*. Available at www.awt.nl/en/pdf/as27uk.pdf.

1.4 Breaking the Stereotypes of Gate-keepers

From the field of *social psychology*, Trish Sloan³³ observes that while the function of gate-keepers is to carry out objective tasks and enforce organisational frames of reference, one must also consider the process of socialisation which constructs specific personality types conducive to certain gate-keeper functions. For example, she describes the «gate-keeper» as the traditional authority, charismatic, manipulative; «the moderator» as collegial, balanced, stable and; «the antagonist» as entrepreneurial, competitive, looking for change.

This does not necessarily imply that those in position of authority are only closing gates. They can also be *gate-openers*. For example, we can draw upon the field of *education* where questions about the role of teachers facilitating interaction between different groups of students – boys, girls, newcomers – are frequently addressed. Empirical studies have proven that «compared to white males, female students and minority males are more likely to be quiet in class and less likely to assume a powerful role in discussion» and that an educator should, therefore, undertake the role of a *facilitator* or *mediator* rather than a gate-keeper in order to proactively encourage individual skills development which are discriminated against and hence unnourished³⁴. Gate-openers can also, according to Cheryl Metoyer-Duran³⁵, empower individuals and collective groups by adopting a role as *proactive information providers*, to help by-pass those gate-keepers who have the power to limit access or withhold information in a formal or informal organisational setting³⁶. They are also referred to as «*gate-keepers of ideas*» which have an effect on cognitive and behavioural development.

33 Trish Sloan, *Organisations as Meetings*. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 2002. Available at www.ocpe.educ.ubc.ca/PDF%20Misc/Trish3%20Word.pdf.

34 Myra Sadker and David Sadker, «Ensuring Equitable Participation in College Classes». In: *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*. No. 49 (Spring 1992).

35 Cheryl Metoyer-Duran, «Information Gate-keepers». In: *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology* (ARIST), Volume 28, 1993.

36 As regards concepts of non-hierarchical gate-keeping, one could also point to the example of the profession of a translator or interpreter, which is sometimes understood as that of «a gate-keeper, co-ordinator and negotiator of meanings within a three-way interaction». See «Dialogue Interpreting», Special Issue of *The Translator* (Volume 5/2, 1999), guest-edited by Ian Mason.

1.5 Summary

We have just pointed to some of the main and earlier approaches developed to identify actors and processes in a larger system of gate-keeping, originating from the interdisciplinary field of mass communication research and from other fields in the social sciences. From these studies we can conclude:

- Individual gate-keepers are persons within organisational structures which hold key decision-making positions. Their status gives them the power to stand at the gate-ways and to control, on the one hand, information flow and on the other hand, who is promoted within the hierarchy;
- These gate-keepers will make decisions based on a combination of subjective reasoning and objective guidelines set forth by organisational and economic frameworks or institutional policies and feedback they receive from the public or other institutional actors;
- The decisions made by individual gate-keepers have the power to facilitate the production and distribution of symbolic values and references (what society is supposed to learn as «truth» or «innovation») and therefore also have the ability to effect or hinder social change and aesthetic innovation;
- Gate-keeping processes can be identified from the public, private and third sector institutions including their interrelations and internal managerial or hierarchical influences. They can also influence the formation of internal and external frames of reference of a specific artistic or literary field;
- Digital technologies can bring about new gate-keeping processes which, on the one hand, remove some of the intermediary functions of institutional gate-keepers and on the other hand may empower new actors (e.g. «gate-watchers»). The latter exist in a loosely organised «network society», which is at risk of creating new gate-keepers as networked groups increasingly institutionalise.
- Culture and the arts institutions are now frequently used as examples of how gate-keeping processes regulate freedom of expression and prevent or facilitate the circulation of a diversity of ideas, values or beliefs.
- The self-perception and personality of individual gate-keepers is influenced by a constructed social system and through processes of socialisation which reinforce the power structures within a gate-keeping process.

Gate-keeping as a conceptual term used in scientific research can also refer to both closed and open gates, depending upon institutional conditions, economic interests, technical instruments and social processes or frames of reference. Those in positions of authority do not necessarily only close gates. They can also be proactive «gate-openers». In reality, the gates tend, however, to be more «closed»

than «open»; the degree of institutionalisation or professionalisation of formalised work environments seems to be crucial, in that respect. Those occupying «top» or «elite» positions, e.g. as an editor-in-chief, a government official, a university professor etc., may be inclined to see gate-keeping as a normal and necessary function of making important decisions or distinctions in an increasingly complex society. The vast majority of those affected by these choices may have different views, particularly if such judgements affect them directly in a negative manner. This is where the borderlines between the concepts and realities of gate-keeping and «discrimination» are often torn down.

2. GENDER AND GATE-KEEPING: POLITICAL STRATEGIES ON THE EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

What has been missing from our overview so far is the relationship constructed between gender and gate-keeping which has mostly been pursued in gender studies or feminist media studies³⁷, empirical labour market research and in political strategies; the latter pointing to ongoing practices of discrimination within and outside of institutional hierarchies where gate-keepers, for example, prevent an equal participation of certain societal groups in decision-making processes.

Both the European Union³⁸ and the Council of Europe have addressed such issues by monitoring and implementing programmes to deconstruct the relationship between gender and gate-keeping³⁹. They also promote the construction of new organisational and legal «frames of reference» which would incorporate equal opportunity policies and strategies in decision-making processes. Below is a summary of some of their recent achievements.

European Union

In the late 1990s, the Council of the European Union subscribed to its most important and influential EU strategy on equal opportunities to date, by facilitating a new Europe wide political discourse based on a concept of *gender mainstreaming*. Seen from the point of view of gate-keeping, this Community action is to influence the objective guidelines gate-keepers use when drawing up e.g. employment policies or in their hiring practices. In other words, *equality* is to eventually become part of the values included in the «box of professional tacit knowledge»⁴⁰

37 For example, see Lizbet Van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies*. Sage, London, 1994; Judith Lorber: *Gender-Paradoxien*. Opladen, 1999 or Titia Top, *Art and Gender: Creative Achievement in the Visual Arts*. Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen, 1993.

38 One of the first European Community laws addressing equality between men and women was Article 119 of the 1957 Treaty of Rome of the European Community. The Treaty of Amsterdam adopted forty years later (Articles 2 and 3) further solidified equal opportunities as a corner stone upon which future EU employment strategies were to be built. Specific directives and recommendations were signed in between these two Treaties referring to equal pay, equal access to education and employment and an extension of social security legislation to self-employed individuals. A new clause on equality between women and men is to be included as a fundamental principle in the new Constitutional Treaty of the EU (Part I, Article 2). However, groups such as the European Women's Lobby state that the «draft Constitutional Treaty presented at the end of May 2003 does not strengthen gender equality provisions as compared to the current European treaty».

39 Some related national level efforts are described separately in the following chapters. Annex 3 provides an overview of international and European declarations related to gender equality.

40 See the Finnish national report by Ritva Mitchell in Part I of this book for a more in-depth discussion on the «box of tacit professional knowledge» comprised of criteria, norms, rules and regulations that are more or less informal and used by decision-makers and professionals.

inherently part of the subjective reasoning used by gate-keepers when making and setting decision making frameworks. Recognising that this should not happen on its own, the Council of the European Union supported the continuation of Community actions in a new framework programme on gender equality (2001-2005) which would «improve the understanding of issues related to direct and indirect gender discrimination» by promoting transnational co-operation and transparency through the collection of statistics and other types of information. Key areas of EU intervention⁴¹ are designed to:

- Reduce the gender gap in the labour market including unemployment rates among women and finding ways to reconcile work with family life. Attention to be placed on reducing the gender pay gap;
- Promote women in decision making bodies;
- Combat discrimination in all areas of women's daily life (social rights);
- Enforce the human rights of women (related to violence and trafficking);
- Address the gender roles and stereotyped images of women and men.

A recent feasibility study supported by the Union to establish a European Gender Institute, in a co-operative structure involving existing expertise and national monitoring bodies, could possibly lead to a permanent mechanism that would indirectly monitor whether its values of gender equality are indeed developing into a canon for employment strategies and hiring practices in all professional fields of the labour market.

In March 2003, the Council of the European Union held a debate on the future of its European Employment Strategy which includes references and proposals to increase the participation of women in the labour market as well as re-stating its high level political support for implementing and monitoring gender mainstreaming in all national level policy areas and contexts. At the time of printing this book, the debate on a new Equality Directive adhering also to the private sector was still going on, including some proposals from the third sector⁴².

Council of Europe

Since 1989, the Council of Europe has been actively involved in promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming strategies as part of its overall mandate. More recently, in January 2003, the 5th European Ministerial Conference on equality took place where a Declaration and Programme of Action was adopted entitled:

41 See Council Decision (2001/51/EC) of 20 December 2000, *Establishing a Programme Relating to the Community Framework Strategy on Gender Equality (2001-2005)*.

42 European Women's Lobby, *Shadow Directive on Achieving Equality of Women and Men Outside the Field of Occupation and Employment*. For more information see www.womenlobby.com.

Gender Equality: A Core Issue in Changing Societies. A few months later (March 2003) the Committee of Ministers adopted a Recommendation (Rec 2003-3) on the balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision making which acknowledges that political activities and public decision-making spheres remain male-dominated. According to the Recommendation, «men set political priorities, and political culture continues to be highly male-oriented. A number of obstacles make it difficult for women to enter political and public decision-making:

- the fact that the place of most women in society is not conducive to political and public participation (models and values conveyed by the different components of society, such as the family, school, media);
- cultural and ideological factors (representation of feminine and masculine roles that lead to a gendered ideology and condition society's expectations of each individual, as well as of each person's expectations in relation to his or herself);
- factors linked to the organisation of social life (social division of work leaving little space for the participation of women, organisation of the labour market, insufficient support for families or their inability to adjust to the requirements of participation).»

The Recommendation proposes integrative and multidisciplinary strategies that would place responsibility for change upon a host of actors ranging from «national parliaments, local and regional authorities, political parties, civil service, public and semi-public organisations, enterprises, trade unions, employers' organisations and non-governmental organisations» ... as the nature of decisions taken at a political or public level have «immediate and long term consequences for communities, groups and individuals.» It also calls for transparency in recruitment procedures and selection criteria used by public bodies so as to prevent possible discrimination in the appointment of individuals to decision-making positions.

International Labour Organisation (ILO)

While not necessarily pointing to gender and gate-keeping per se, the ILO has frequently addressed problems of discrimination which support value based «gates». Manuela Tomei, co-author of the report, «Time for Equality at Work 2003»⁴³, cites multiple forms of discriminatory practices in the workplace: discrimination against *women* preventing them from acquiring positions above «glass ceilings»; *race-based* discrimination which affects migrants, ethnic minorities, indigenous and tribal

43 ILO, *Time for Equality at Work*. Geneva, 2003 (see also www.ilo.org/declaration).

peoples and similar vulnerable groups⁴⁴; discrimination against *people with disabilities*; discrimination based on *age* through age limits placed on hiring or more disguised via limiting access to career development and further training⁴⁵.

The ILO sees the workplace as «a strategic entry point for fighting discrimination», in other words, for breaking down the «gates». It concludes that laws banning discrimination are «indispensable, but insufficient», and calls for more effective enforcement institutions, positive action and prevention measures, unbiased education, training and employment services, and more data and information to monitor conflicts and progress: «This mix of policies and instruments is essential, whatever the form of discrimination.»⁴⁶

While the findings of the ILO-Report suggest that discrimination today is still largely fuelled by «obvious», i.e. visible characteristics, one should not underestimate the resistance towards change of those currently holding «key positions», since it may endanger their economic or symbolic status. In the field of culture, there are many examples of dominating movements, representatives of fashions or even «clans» which try with all means to prevent alternative ideas to gain importance.

United Nations Conferences and Commissions

Various United Nations conferences held during the 1990s, reinforced the setting of new frames of reference by promoting gender equality through a rights-based approach to societal development. For example, the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, recognised women's rights as human rights as well as labour standards set by the ILO as an integral part of human rights. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action adopted by the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women recognised that the elimination of discrimination against women in employment and occupation and the promotion of equal op-

44 The Report specifies, «it is the perception of these workers as foreigners – even when they are not – that may lead to discrimination against them.» In line with these trends, *religion-based discrimination* seems to have increased over the past decade in a changing global political climate. Which includes mutual fears of inevitable confrontations caused by «cultural» differences. See Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. Simon & Schuster, London, 1998.

45 This particularly affects women 60 years or older. However, anthropological and sociological evidence also shows that «newcomers» may be prevented from entering working life on equal terms in order not to disturb those holding the economically important or otherwise influential and respected positions.

46 In this context, the EU Directive 2000/43/EC concerning the principle of equal treatment between people irrespective of racial or ethnic origin will be important for Member States to implement. They are expected to have already implemented this Directive into national legislation by July 2003.

portunities for women are critical to combat gender inequalities in society. Such messages continued to be delivered at the UN World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), the Beijing+5 (New York, 2000) and the UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (Durban, 2001).

Several UN Reports and Global Commissions have also stressed the relationship between improving equal opportunities for women in the labour market. For example, according to the 1995 report of the Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood*, «the most pervasive denial of human potential is found in the discrimination that women suffer world wide. Society benefits hugely from the economic contributions of women, although this is seldom recognised»⁴⁷. In the same year, the report of the UNESCO World Commission for Culture and Development identified the relationship between gender and culture as inextricably linked to questions of identity and power⁴⁸. In 1998, the UNESCO member states adopted the Stockholm Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development affirming in Article 8 that «cultural policies must respect gender equality, fully recognising women's parity of rights and freedom of expression and ensuring their access to decision-making positions.»⁴⁹

47 Report of the Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995, p.143.

48 Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, *Our Creative Diversity*. UNESCO Publishing, Paris, 1995, p.131.

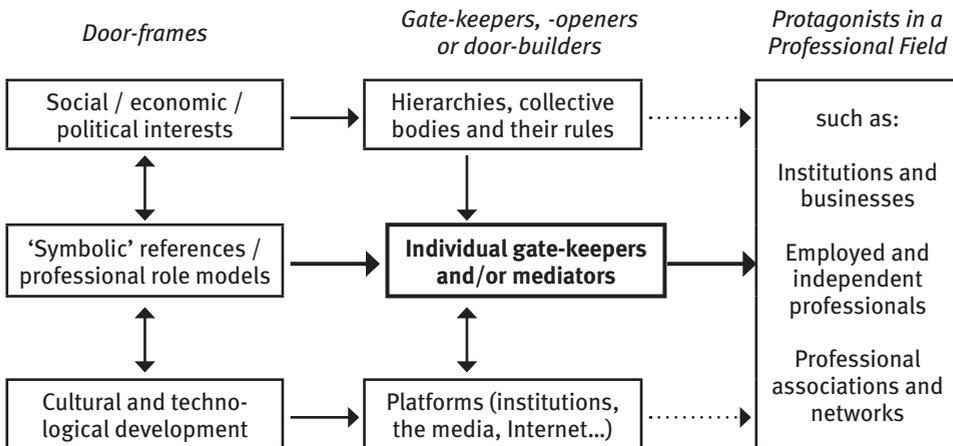
49 UNESCO, *Stockholm Action Plan*, adopted by members states at the Intergovernmental Conference, «The Power of Culture», Stockholm, 1998.

3. THE «CULTURE-GATES» PROJECT: ARRIVING AT A RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Types of Gates and Functions of Gate-keepers

Some of the general sets or categories of «gates» that are encountered in the development of a professional career in cultural and artistic labour markets can now be identified including the function of individuals and groups of gate-keepers which either facilitate or prevent «success». Figure 1 provides a first attempt to construct a new understanding of gate-keeping processes.

Figure 1 A Multi-step Model of Gate-keeping Processes



ERICarts 2003

This model helps us to categorise three main types of doors or gates confronting professionals in the labour market which have different functions in the larger system of gate-keeping, and may be interrelated. The goals of the various institutional and non-institutional gate-keepers is to uphold those values (or written and unwritten «canons») upon which society has come to determine as «important», «standard», «avant-garde» or having «no-value». References/role models are set out and reinforced via, for example, historical textbooks, educational curricula, media content and are also seen in economic, legal, cultural and other contexts. Individual gate-keepers will pass judgement or make decisions based on such established «door-frames», but are also influenced by their position in the work environment and may make use of different institutional or media platforms. In addition, this environment of hierarchical structures, rules, mediated information

etc., can sometimes directly influence a professional field. Through their decisions and information channels, gate-keepers enforce or balance e.g., internal guidelines, policies, economic interests, hierarchies, management styles established in public or private institutions. Built into this system are often *informal mediators* and «gate-openers» whose task can be to assist individuals or groups to break through or by-pass formal gates. Frequently, these may be facilitated by an affiliation to individual gate-keepers or to influential groups such as lobbies or networks. It was hypothesised at the beginning of the study that women would face more closed gates than their male colleagues based on data and information collected in the previous ERICarts study, «Pyramid or Pillars»⁵⁰.

3.2 Work Environment for Cultural Professions

The model developed in Figure 1 would look a lot more complicated if applied to the rapidly expanding cultural sector in its totality. A recent study⁵¹ has shown how an interrelated «network of actors is emerging and is made up of institutions and persons from different spheres (public, private and non-profit), policy domains (cultural, economic, social) and geographical and administrative levels (transnational, national, regional, local)». In this context, the idea of a system of governance for culture implies that «citizens should have multiple channels and opportunities to shape cultural development, not only as voters and members of interest groups and movements, but as consumers, professionals, cultural workers, entrepreneurs, volunteers and members of non-profit organisations». It was therefore advisable to adapt such models to specific professional fields, where «individual» and «collective» gate-keeping processes could become more visible.

The construction of simpler or more flexible versions of the model can make sense since the scope of artistic professions is broadening and the borders between professional fields are becoming more translucent everyday. Artists are simultaneously undertaking a wider range of functions or roles in two new very distinct capacities: artistic and non-artistic cultural management. These functions cut across the value chain of cultural production which can be institutionalised and

50 Danielle Cliche, Ritva Mitchell and Andreas Wiesand (eds.), *Pyramid or Pillars, Unveiling the Status of Women in Arts and Media Professions in Europe*. ARCult Media, Bonn, 2000. The results of this study illustrated «glass ceilings» for women working in the cultural labour market, particularly in the field of music. It was determined that breaking such barriers was not a simple task and involved a further examination into their complex background. A micro level examination of the field was suggested and previous models of gate-keeping should provide a methodological tool to begin a larger and more in-depth inquiry.

51 Danielle Cliche, Ritva Mitchell, Andreas Wiesand in co-operation with Ilkka Heiskanen and Luca dal Pozzolo, *Creative Europe. On the Governance and Management of Artistic Creativity in Europe*. ARCult Media, Bonn, 2002.

non-institutionalised. In this context, either typical (employee) and non-typical (freelance) forms of employment are found and may even be relevant for one and the same person/individual professional. For example, professional artists can simultaneously be authors, directors, producers, teachers, mediators, administrators, sponsors, jurors, managers and consumers. Many are engaging more and more in interdisciplinary group and project work with professionals from different fields which means that they do not necessarily follow a mapped out career path in a single professional domain⁵². Identifying David White's *Mr./Mrs. Gates* in the culture and media sectors is obviously not as easy today as it was when he conducted his first study of a local newspaper agency in 1950. In fact, the gates encountered by professionals in these fields may be completely different depending on their function/role and employment status.

Another important consideration which opens our discussion on gate-keeping and how it relates to the development of a professional career in the cultural sector is the criteria for «success». This is determined in a different way to other professional fields which often value success as climbing a vertical hierarchical structure until one reaches the «top» given their formal qualifications and experience. Those working as employees in cultural institutions in non-artistic professions may strive to achieve similar career goals. Indeed, the results of the national studies show that some of the highest positions in cultural institutions are extremely well remunerated and are comparable to CEO's of certain companies.

Professional artists, the majority of which are freelance or have a non-typical employment status, will measure their degree of success in the marketplace where artistic achievement is still rewarded in the form of either financial feedback (e.g. selling a piece of work, being remunerated for their participation in an event, or receiving a large commission) or recognition bestowed upon them by prestigious cultural awards or positive critiques. As will be seen via the national studies, professional recognition is, particularly in countries with smaller markets, quite often achieved in the artists' home country only when he or she first becomes «successful» abroad. This means that a new category of *gate-keepers sans frontières* needs to be considered.

As could be seen in Figure 1, the main types of gate-keepers which set the marketplace criteria for success are: individuals (e.g. critics, curators and artistic directors), groups (e.g. evaluation committees) or platforms (e.g. media and their agendas). Together they have the power to determine the launching of individual artists or groups of artists into their careers and to support their continuing successes. They also acquire *symbolic power* over content production and distribution. In positions with creative influence in the «marketplace of ideas», they can control the gates

52 Ibidem.

which prevent or release a diversity of information, ideas, genres and styles. This category of gate-keepers also include those which define the «criteria for excellence upon which the histories of art are written and which determine societies accepted construction of aesthetics which in turn sets the guidelines for achieving success»⁵³.

3.3 Artistic Careers in the Fields of Music and (New) Media Arts

The different stages for achieving success in an artistic career are well summarised in a model first developed by Elisabeth Hirschmann⁵⁴. We have reflected upon her original model and have used it as a basis for illustrating some examples of public, private and third sector actors which can act as gate-keepers at different stages of an artists' career development (Table 1).

Table 1 Examples of Gate-keepers at Different Stages of an Artistic Career

	<i>Indicator for «recognition» or «success»</i>	First layer: Facilitators Shaping or Promoting the Start of a Career	Second layer: Mediators in the Marketplace	Third layer: Institutions and Support Structures (mostly public)
Phase I: Development and training	<i>Self-expression, personal satisfaction, support from internal and external sources</i>	Family and friends Educators and trainers Role models and their legacies	Professional mentors/peers Generational networks	Public authorities responsible for setting education and training curricula Juries giving scholarships
Phase II: Discovery and further development	<i>Public acclaim from professionals</i>	Professional mentors Groups or networks of peers Critics/media The public /audiences	Organisers of distribution platforms or events (e.g. curators of festivals or exhibitions) on a national level Public and private financiers Producers/publishers Critics/media Agencies	Professional associations (those setting the criteria for membership) Regulators (e.g. setting preferential tax or employment status) Committees of peers giving prizes, awards, project grants Cultural institutions (setting criteria to hire artists)
Phase III: Success with European or International acclaim	<i>Money Devoted audiences/»fans» Recognised as trend setters</i>	Award juries (travel grant) Cultural institutions Platforms of reference Critics/media The public /audiences	Transnational organisers of events/curators of festivals or exhibitions Critics/media in leading European or international newspapers, magazines etc. Public relations specialists in the global culture industries.	Forums and networks of international scope and intergovernmental bodies such as the EU or the Nordic Council

53 See the Finnish national report by Ritva Mitchell in Part I of this book.

54 Elisabeth Hirschman, «Aesthetics, Ideologies and the Limits of Marketing Concept». In: *Journal*

With this table, we attempt to demonstrate the complexities involved in identifying the different categories of individual and groups of gate-keepers and mediators which influence the development of a career as a professional artist. It shows that in a wider system of gate-keeping, artists will face gates in the early stages where family and professional role models and mentors can influence their chosen paths. They face a second set of gates during other phases when relationships are initially formed and later cultivated with gate-keepers as either individual decision-makers (e.g. funders), groups (professional associations) or institutions (including the media). In this context, gate-keepers and their roles are multiple and can be influential during all stages of professional development and achievement. Their decision-making processes will be both objective and subjective. This will enforce, on the one hand, their own hidden agendas, for example, by supporting specific individuals and bringing them into their own networks, whose orientation can be gender based, political, economic, aesthetic etc. On the other hand, as has been developed in Figure 1, their decisions will also be regulated by economic and legal frameworks which include equal opportunity or mainstreaming policies and specific measures aimed at correcting discriminatory practices in the marketplace.

In order to go beyond generalisations, it was decided that the *Culture-Gates* project should more closely examine the gate-keeping mechanisms which exist in two professional artistic fields: *music* and (*new*) *media arts*. But why these two fields in particular?

As already mentioned, the results of *Pyramid or Pillars* showed quite clearly that music is a field where women are still more marginalised than in any other sector of the cultural labour market (less than 10% in some music professions) and where the gate-keeping system is much more pronounced (which includes production and distribution channels). The results showed that the music sector is indeed male dominated both in terms of creativity (composition) and performance (e.g. orchestras). Stereotyped images and frames of reference are maintained and are difficult to overcome even with existing policy strategies or active mainstreaming and other programme measures. We also chose this field due to the fact that adequate and gender specific empirical information has not been available at the European level on who recruits, trains, assesses and manages artistic excellence in the music field. In an effort to supply even more specific information, the professional field of what is often called, «serious music» («classical» or contemporary) has been selected for analysis. We should note, however, that it borders to other

of Marketing, vol. 47 (Summer), p. 49, as quoted in Marion Fitzgibbon and Anne Kelley (eds.), «From maestro to manager». In: *Critical Issues in Arts & Cultural Management, Irish Studies in Management*. Oak Tree Press, Dublin, 1997, p. 212.

so-called «popular» musical fields as well as different types of contemporary «fusions». Most of the «gates» mentioned in the reports could similarly apply to e.g. rock music⁵⁵.

Chinese whispers and some data led the team to hypothesise that women in the (new) media arts sector should face fewer gates due to the not-yet-institutionalised status of this emerging field. *Pyramid or Pillars* reported that in a handful of (new) media arts companies, decision-making structures were less hierarchical and based more on group decision-making with few specific leaders to be identified. Women were said to play a much more active role in decision-making processes and in content development than in the field of music. As there are no «mainstreaming» or other policy measures in place to encourage gender equality in the (new) media arts field, it was hypothesised that, with a closer look, an innovative case of good practice could be drawn. The national reports will show, however, that there is a convergence of gates faced by women as the field of (new) media arts is more and more institutionalised. Unfortunately, this field seems to have already drawn upon the lessons or «examples of bad practice» from other artistic fields such as music.

3.4 Culture-Gates: The Design of a Transnational Investigation

The *Culture-Gates* study began in January 2002 and was finalised in Spring 2003. Three *national investigations* were undertaken in Austria, Finland and Portugal under a common methodological framework. A similar, somewhat condensed assessment of the situation in Germany was pursued since it could draw upon the wealth of information collected over a 15 year period⁵⁶. The national reports produced a wealth of both quantitative and qualitative information about gate-keeping processes in the fields of music and new media arts as well as insight into the different agendas of gate-keepers and key factors which influence decision-making. They conducted a full scale investigation to determine those gate-keepers which have economic, political or symbolic power to maintain glass ceilings (or open gateways) over one's career development (moving up institutional hierarchies) or to achieve public recognition or «success» in the fields of music and new media arts. The results help to identify the main hurdles or gates which have become obstacles to women's career development.

55 Which is demonstrated by the work of facilitating networks or gate-openers such as Rocksiel, a Europe wide network for women in rock music with workshops, grants etc., for girls and women.

56 See www.culturegates.info for a list of studies on the status of women working in arts and media professions in Germany undertaken by the Zentrum für Kulturforschung (Bonn) since 1987.

Attempting to map the gate-keeping systems in these countries required a *multi-methodological approach*, which also needed to take account of national cultures and contexts. Producing gendered statistics did not prove to be an easy task. On the one hand, many national statistical offices do not collect gendered empirical data not to mention statistics on cultural professions. On the other hand, new databases of information needed to be constructed before the counting could take place. A list of quantitative indicators used by the national teams is presented in *Annex 2*.

In addition, qualitative methods were deemed crucial to the methodological design of the project. Interviews with artists and gate-keepers working in the fields of music and (new) media arts were conducted by the national teams and extracts are presented in this book. They help us to understand the informal mechanisms at play which are faced by women working in these fields as well as by those who are at a point of entering professional working life. An example of the questions used by the national teams in the interview sessions is provided in *Annex 1*.

Given the emerging landscape of a field which can be called (new) media arts, the national teams put together (one of) the first detailed mapping exercises available in their countries. Data was few and far between. The national teams are to be commended for the massive exercise they undertook and which would finally produce thousands of pages of material. The information and data presented in this book is merely a quarter of their efforts. *Full national reports* for Austria, Finland and Portugal will be published as books in their own right and will surely become pioneering studies in their respective countries.

The national teams also benefited from a series of 4 *workshops* held in the different countries participating in *Culture-Gates* where the transnational partners collectively met and interviewed artists and gate-keepers. This provided them with an insight and comparable understanding of the situation of women working in the fields of music and (new) media arts in other cultures and contexts.

Two *additional views from the artistic community* were commissioned to provide the reader with professional insight into the gate-keeping mechanisms prevalent in the field of music and (new) media arts. These contributions are presented in Part II of this book. A new website (www.culturegates.info) presents additional information from the project and from previous or related exercises.

This methodological approach would be limited if not seen as a starting point for future *monitoring efforts*. Such monitoring over a longer period of time has proven to effect change, as can be seen in those countries where it has been conducted as well as in international comparative media monitoring studies.

4. CULTURE-GATES IN MUSIC

4.1 Identifying Gates and Gate-keepers

A look at gate-keeping processes within the professional field of music requires an examination of a very differentiated organisational structure which, at least in «classical» or contemporary sub-fields, is quite institutionalised and includes the active participation of public, private and third sector actors. At the outset of the Culture-Gates project, the following tentative map was developed. Following partly on the Hirschmann model presented in section 3, this more sector specific table identifies the types of individuals and groups of gates and gate-keepers in various artistic functions which one may be confronted with in the pursuit of a professional career in the field of music.

Table 2
Tentative Map of Gate-keepers in Various Artistic Functions of the Music Field

CATEGORY	FUNCTIONS			
	1. Authorship	2. Artistic Direction	3. Artistic Interpretation	4. Production/ Creative Support
A. INDIVIDUAL ROLES				
A1. «Newcomers» (e.g. graduates)	Composer/ Arranger	Conductor Artistic Music Festival Director	Musician	Sound Engineer Producer
A2. «Facilitators» (e.g. teachers)	Studios, Workshops	Teachers (school, conservatory, academy)	Parents, Music School, Jurors giving scholarships	Academy
A3. «Gate-keepers» (e.g. critics)	Concert/Event organisers, Label managers, Critics	Concert Agencies, Festival Organisers (managers), Critics, Politicians	Lead musicians (Orchestras), Critics (concerts)	Studio Director
B. «MARKET», COLLECTIVE PROCESSES AND MEMORY				
B.1 «Market»	Festivals, Public Broadcasting, Live Scene, Media Centres	Public and Private Orchestra Infrastructure Music Festivals	Public Orchestra and Concert Infrastructure Broadcasting, Concert Venues	As 4.B.1 «Networks» of Young Artists
B.2 «Collective Frameworks»	Traditional copyright concepts Collecting Society Management	Public Cultural Administration (in charge of festivals)	Public Administration, Regulations 3.B.1, Unions and their Contracts	Professional Associations
B.3 Ideological Heritage & Trends	Division between «E-» and «Pop» Music Cultures Alternative/ Youth Culture	Legacy of conductors and their interpretative or academy teaching styles	Collective ideas about e.g. «styles» of orchestras and artistic abilities of women	Educational traditions discouraging women to enter «technical» professions

«Door frames» of reference for gate-keeping processes in the field which were considered most indicative have been categorised as «the four P's», namely: «*Penunze*» (verified through the level of earnings); *Prestige* (bestowed upon an individual through awards, academic titles or media feedback); *Power* (garnered through top positions with a hierarchy); *Politics* (in the larger sense, e.g. in the form of protection via formal or informal networks).

We can be a bit more specific by examining a constructed «ideal» career path of an instrumentalist. It shows that there are many gates to go through; some higher than others. One of the first main gates in developing a professional career is entry to educational institutions. If all gates remain open, an instrumentalist could achieve success in world markets and on the international stage.

<i>Steps in the Career Path of an Instrumentalist</i>	<i>Main Gate-keepers and -Openers</i>
• «Musical» family background	⇒ Parents, friends
• Kindergarten with some music programmes	⇒ Staff, local conditions
• Elementary music school	⇒ Music teachers
• (Special classes in) the public school system and parallel instrumental courses in music school	⇒ Music teachers and local «peers»
• First awards in student or youth competitions (in Germany e.g. «Jugend Musiziert»)	⇒ Juries, local organisers
• Music college/academy with possibilities to have practical experience in an ensembles or to obtain bursaries/scholarships	⇒ Professors, juries
• Audition for a job in a provincial orchestra	⇒ Selection committee, professors
• Awards/scholarships (career entry level)	⇒ Juries, informal networks, sponsors
• Participation in (international) summer courses	⇒ Professors, organisers
• First public concerts in smaller towns as a soloist with good critics	⇒ Agents, organisers, critics, «the public», administrators
• Audition for a soloist position in a major orchestra	⇒ Selection committee, critics, colleagues, managers
• First sound recordings with respected record label	⇒ Producers
• Featured participation in international festivals	⇒ Managers, international networks
• Selection for a major cultural award or winning an international competition	⇒ Juries, informal networks
• Recognised as a specialist for interpretations of particular works by major critics	⇒ The media, managers, PR-experts
• Figuring on the top-list of renowned concert agents	⇒ Agents, managers
• Being featured on television	⇒ Producers, «the public»
• Own CD-series with an international label	⇒ Agents, producers, managers

As spelled out in the Austrian report: «one single person can produce a deadlock-situation for years e.g. in a public funding body or at the university» especially in smaller countries where everyone knows each other. Such gates will also exist for men, but it seems, from the evidence collected in the national reports, that they are more experienced in working with «personal networks», a key factor for success. Women have to overcome other hurdles in their career development, particularly if they have children. Things become even more complicated if one should choose to be a freelance artist from the outset or even try to develop a career as a *conductor* – for women still a near to impossible task, as the national reports clearly demonstrate.

«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 Rückwardt calls it the *'last bastion of the father figure'*.»⁵⁷

Indeed, Table 3 shows that when comparing the data collected by the *Culture-Gates* national teams, there are almost no women employed as conductors in the main symphony orchestras of each country.

4.2 Comparative Data from the National Studies

While not a study of a career path in music from the beginning to the end, Table 3 shows the representation of women in different artistic positions of music as a field comprised of institutions which either provide employment opportunities or recognition required to achieve «success».

Those in administrative positions such as *general managers or Intendants* have not been included in Table 3 as they are not necessarily artistically trained. Despite their background, they do indeed function as gate-keepers, e.g. with regard to the flow of funding, relationship to authorities, public relations, etc. According to the Finnish national study:

«The role of an Intendant? It's important, quite central. Orchestras are organisations and if they don't function, conductors can't do their job. I believe that behind the

57 See the Austrian national report by Robert Harauer, Elisabeth Mayerhofer and Helga Eberherr in Part I of this book.

so-called success story in which the orchestra and conductor take off, there is a good Intendant. Performing and creating music in Finland is a male-dominated area from which women have been excluded, but organisational help has always been welcome. However, the work of an Intendant /general manager is not really valued.»⁵⁸

There is a remarkably high share of women Intendants in the main 14 orchestras in Finland; totalling 60% and therefore deeming this position *feminised*. This is, however, not the case in the other countries, where the share of female Intendants is 15% in Austria and 0% in Germany and Portugal.

Table 3

Comparison of Women's Representation for Women in 'Serious Music', 2001

	Austria	Finland*	Germany	Portugal
Active Symphony Orchestra Conductors (a)	0%	0%	2%	0%
Works of Female Composers Performed by Main Symphony Orchestras (b)	1%	1%	1%	1%
Brass Wind Musicians in Main Symphony Orchestras (b)	4%	7%	3%	7%
Contemporary Composers (c)	7%	7%	7%	15%
Artistic Director of Main Music Festivals (d)	11%	0%	14%	0%
Concert Masters in Main Symphony Orchestras (b)	14%	24%	5%	33%
Professors (all music related subjects) at the Main Music Academy (e)	21%	16%	24%	25%
Jury Members of the Main Music Awards/Grants (f)	12%	46%	22%	21%
Musicians of Main Symphony Orchestras (b)	23%	30%	21%	36%
Recipients of Main Music Awards/Grants (g)	0%	9%	39%	30%
String Musicians in Main Symphony Orchestras (b)	32%	37%	27%	43%
Students (instruments, conducting, composing) at the Main Music Academy (e)	41%	48%	55%	36%

*2002 data

Notes:

(a) Chief conductors of professional symphony orchestras, opera houses and concert halls working in the country. A female conductor originating from both Finland and Portugal each works outside of their respective country and have therefore not been included in these figures.

(b) «Main» symphony orchestras included in the sample were 11 in Austria, 4 in Finland, 6 in Germany and 4 in Portugal.

(c) Compiled from databases of professional organisations (cf. national reports for details).

(d) «Main» festivals included in the sample were 9 in Austria, 32 in Finland (with 2 women acting as co-directors), 57 in Germany and 6 in Portugal.

(e) Austria: Music Universities in Vienna, Graz, Salzburg; Finland: Sibelius Academy; Germany: all State music academies; Portugal: music colleges, universities and polytechnics.

(f) In Austria: Members of the Austrian Arts Senate; in Finland: Members of the National Council of Music.

(g) Figures relate to female recipients of: State Prize for Music 1950-2001 (Austria); grants of the National Council of Music 2002 (Finland), 181 main awards for music 1996-2000 (Germany); 2 main prizes for composition and 1 for interpretation 2001 (Portugal).

58 Extract from an interview quoted in the Finnish national report by Ritva Mitchell and presented in Part I of this book.

Starting at the base of our comparative table we find a generally high degree of *female students (composing, conducting, instruments) at the main music academies*, ranging from 36% (Portugal) to 55% (Germany). Additional research on graduates is presented in the national studies. In general, they show that the share of female graduates for all music subjects may be lower in some countries (Germany) and higher in others (Finland) which may be attributed in part to either a higher rate of male students who leave their studies earlier due to contract offers and/or better social security provisions for women which enables them to combine family and graduate studies.

The figures on the share of *female professors* (all music related subjects) presented in the middle of Table 3 help us to understand why some women left their studies earlier. According to many of the interviews, professors as role models and mentors can make a big difference in encouraging women to stay in their field of study. According to the Finnish national report, «the role of a teacher could be divided into three categories: those of an *intellectual mentor*, an internationally recognised *guru* and a *mobiliser/recruiter*.»⁵⁹ Many women stated that they felt uncomfortable within the male dominated environment both in terms of their mostly male professors and the lack of female role models presented in the curriculum (for classical and contemporary music).

One of the main «gates» which has to be passed through in order to reach a certain level of success is recognition from one's peers as well as from institutions via the *receipt of prestigious awards or scholarships*. Table 3 shows extreme differences between the participating countries on the share of female prize winners and their representation on the juries awarding them. First of all, there is a notable difference between the share of women receiving main awards in Germany⁶⁰ (39%), Portugal (30%), Finland (9%) and Austria (0%). It is quite remarkable that even though the Austrian figures refer to the total number of winners of the State Prize for Music between 1950 and 2001, not one woman was awarded this prestigious prize in over 50 years! Such results naturally lead to the assumption that «male gate-keepers» in juries contribute to the absence of female prize winners.

However, this is not necessarily the case. While in Austria the share of women in the 2002 jury of the State Prize for Music is the lowest among all countries (12%), their share almost reaches parity in other countries. For example, in Finland, 46%

59 Ibidem.

60 In Germany, there is no centralised award or grant system which is the reason why the figures relate to all «*Hauptpreise*» of which there are 181 distributed by many different public and private bodies throughout the country, cf. A. J. Wiesand (ed.), *Handbuch der Kulturpreise/Handbook of Cultural Awards*. ARCult Media, Bonn 2001. In the other countries, some more prominent or centralised funding schemes exist which were counted for this comparison.

of the National Council for Music members which decides upon award winners are women. The fact that the share of female award winners is only 9% leads us to ponder the deeply ingrained male dominated heritage of music and musical aesthetics which seems to exist in both men and women. In the other countries, the difference is not as great. The experience in Germany shows that in publicly administered awards, the share of female jury members has increased during the last 20 years in parallel to the increased amount of female prize winners⁶¹. In this context, we can perhaps assume that the female jury members have acted as «ice-breakers» by identifying more and more potential female awards winners than in previous years; some of whom are now receiving awards also from private or third sector bodies such as foundations. On the whole, the figures in Table 3 show that the often supposed direct link between certain characteristics in the composition of a jury, such as gender, and the outcome of a selection process can only partly be verified in empirical research. Gender issues may be one aspect to consider but certainly not the only one. What is mentioned, in addition, are generational differences or «hidden agendas» concerning the affiliation to certain networks or economic interests. Or, once you belong to a group of peers, aspects other than gender equality seem to matter more, for example, belonging to a particular school of thought.

4.3 The Legacy of ‘Gendered Instruments’

Data on the representation of women among different instrumental groups in orchestras is found both at the bottom and at the top of Table 3: the share of female «string» musicians ranges from 27% in Germany to 43% in Portugal and their share among brass wind musicians ranges from 3% in Germany, 4% in Austria to 7% in Finland and Portugal. Such figures reinforce the stereotypes of «male» or «female» instrument groupings. In order to check or reach beyond these results, the Culture-Gates team decided to participate in a survey of European orchestras conducted by the Vienna based GfK-Fessel - Institute for Marketing Research⁶² by adding the following question on the perception of those responsible in orchestras

61 More details in the empirical survey of Susanne Keuchel and the team of Zentrum für Kulturforschung, *Trotz Fleiß – keinen Preis?* ARCCult Media, Bonn 2001.

62 This survey was conducted between May and October 2002; answers, in a majority of cases from a decision-making or managerial level, came from 145 orchestras in Europe. 106 of these orchestras are situated in countries of the European Union and 39 in Central and Eastern Europe (not yet part of EU). A comparison of basic data collected on 26 German orchestras in the GfK-Fessel study with those characteristics collected independently by the Zentrum für Kulturforschung on all German concert orchestras and those affiliated to opera houses shows a great deal of similarity. The figures, however, fall a bit short when examining radio symphony orchestras or the largest ensembles. Therefore one should consider the data to be just generally indicative of overall trends.

to the gender division of some of instrumental groups:

«Comparable to the categorisation of voices, instrumental groups are sometimes classified as being more ‘male’ or more ‘female’. Sometimes vacancies in orchestras are filled primarily according to gender. If you consider the practices of your orchestra over the past 4 to 5 years, for which of the following instruments did these criteria play a role? And what happened in the case of the most recent vacancy in each group of instruments?»

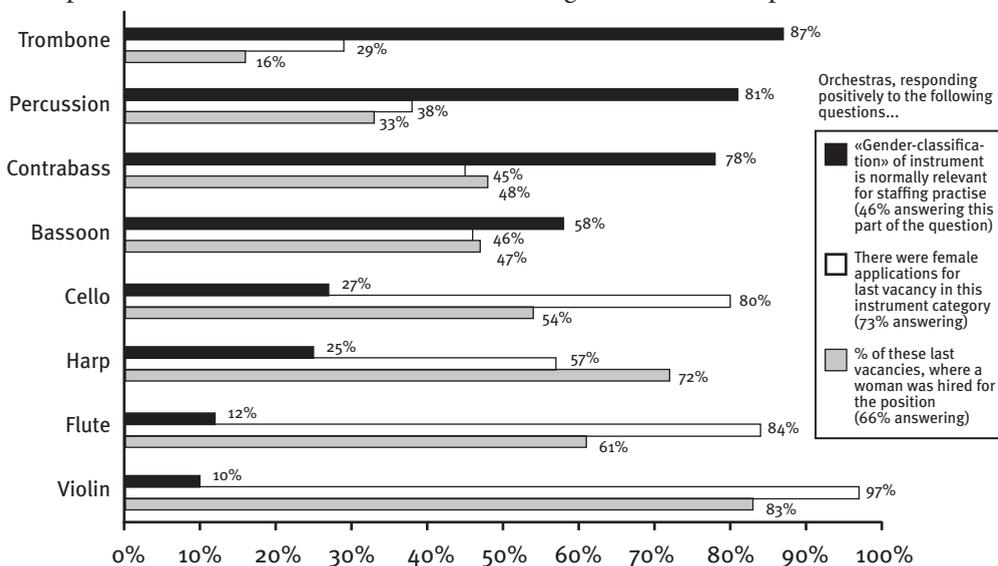
Figure 2 provides an overview of the answers for those orchestras which actually responded.

The comparison between those orchestras where there have been female applications for a vacant post in the different instrumental categories and the gender-balance for those actually hired in such positions provides us with a rough estimate (since the response rate to the last question was slightly lower than to question on the number of female applicants). Nevertheless, the figures clearly show that:

- «Gendered instruments» are still prevalent including both the presence of women in competitions and in the selection processes themselves;
- Only in the grouping of string instruments and other designated «female» instruments does the share of women hired actually surpass a level of 50%;
- The harp still seems to be the only instrument where one must acknowledge «male discrimination».

Figure 2

Perception of «Gendered» Instruments and Staffing Practices in European Orchestras



Source: European Orchestra Survey of GfK-Fessel with ZfKf / ERICArts, 2002 (n = 145)

The interviews conducted by the *Culture-Gates* national teams with orchestra musicians indicate that this division is in the process of change, nonetheless due to «blind» or «behind the curtain» auditions or changing mythology of women playing certain instruments. According to the female director of the Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa:

«I have noticed that the girls are also playing instruments which were not sought after by them a few years ago, instruments like the bassoon, we have some girls studying the bassoon at present and they are good bassoon players. Then there is the oboe, for many years this instrument was only played by men, and the double bass - I can not remember ever seeing a woman playing a double bass when I was younger, at least not here in Portugal - but now there are women playing this instrument.»⁶³

This relates to the question, whether women should be actively encouraged to search for positions «normally» held by men. Actually, this is a frequently debated problem among labour market as well as gender experts, not the least because women with academic or professional training are more often without a job than graduated men. Some have translated this into a need to discourage women from entering a typical female profession and to pursue a career in male-dominated fields in their search for future job security. However, an empirical trend analysis conducted by the public Institute for Labour Market and Professional Research in Germany (IAB) has recently proven that the share of unemployed women is higher among those that have studied «typical male» (e.g. technology-related) subjects⁶⁴. One exception was found in the study – the field of *music* as it seems to provide, despite ongoing male domination in many positions, a better chance for women to have a career than in other professions. If we leave aside the methodological problem that the study did not take full account of the extreme diversity of occupational opportunities and hierarchies to be found in the field of music, such results may be attributed to the fact that orchestras and (music) schools as major employers of graduates are almost totally run under public control (State and cities) and have, in the last decades, faced repeated scrutiny regarding their compliance with equal employment policies.

63 Interview extract quoted in the Portuguese national report by Idalina Conde in Part I of this book.

64 Franziska Schreyer, «Frauen sind häufiger arbeitslos – gerade wenn sie ein ‘Männerfach’ studiert haben». *IAB Kurzbericht*, No. 14 / 29.9.1999.

4.4 Gate-keepers in European Orchestras

Another interesting result generated from the GfK-Fessel survey emerges from an additional question inserted by the *Culture-Gates* team on the influence of main «gate-keepers» during the recruitment process of soloists and other orchestra-related functions:

«Which of the following types of individuals or groups play a role in the pre decision-making process regarding the selection of staff and guest performers/soloists for your orchestra (i. e. in addition to the person or collective that is formally authorised to decide)? Please indicate influences for each type of position/instrument.»

The results in the following Table 4 show that the orchestra as a collective group has, via formal or informal processes, a much larger say in the selection process than e.g. public bodies or politicians. Such results are supported by the national reports which show that «political influence plays a certain role, but it is not decisive»⁶⁵. However, as regards guest positions, the importance of agents and critics is acknowledged in the survey.

Table 4
Gate-keepers in the Selection of Staff and Guests for European Orchestras

Gate-keepers	Guest Conductors	Piano Soloists	Concert Masters	Tutti Violinists	Brass Instruments
Orchestra as a Collective Group	66%	59%	77%	76%	74%
Agents / Concert Organisers	28%	45%	2%	1%	1%
Critics /Media	23%	30%	3%	1%	1%
Other Orchestras	16%	6%	10%	10%	11%
Academics / Professors	1%	6%	8%	15%	14%
Public Administrators / Politicians	10%	1%	2%	1%	1%
No Answer or No Influence	19%	20%	19%	19%	20%

Source: European Orchestra Survey of GfK-Fessel with ZfKf / ERICArts, 2002

⁶⁵ See the Austrian national report by Robert Harauer, Elisabeth Mayerhofer and Helga Eberherr in Part I of this book. As regards the importance of a «collective spirit» inside orchestras which, according to other results in the GfK-Fessel study, currently seems to be maintained or even on

4.5 Women Composers – The «Iceberg Syndrome»

The lack of representation of the many existing works by *female composers*, in general, and in the concert programmes of publicly funded symphony orchestra programming, in particular, is extraordinary: Table 3 revealed less than 1%! The national reports and the article by Patricia Chiti presented in Part II of this book indicate that this «iceberg-syndrome» is due to a mixture of factors including well seeded male traditions, economic power structures as well as the fact that orchestras are more than ever before trying to achieve «easy success» by playing works by a handful of established composers of the past which is, of course, to the detriment of contemporary composers in general and of women in particular. In this context, we also have to consider gate-keeping processes in radio broadcasting. The share of women's works which are distributed via these channels will depend on the «format» that the broadcasters choose in their programming strategies⁶⁶. Chiti refers to a survey undertaken by Radio Mona Lisa in Holland. Their results showed that in the Netherlands, just about «2% of all air time is devoted to music by women. Empirical research in Germany and Great Britain give the impression that the situation is even worse.»

In the field of contemporary music - if viewed separately from the «classical» repertoire – women composers seem to play a larger role even if the figures are by no means satisfactory. However, since the classical repertoire remains so dominant and continues to draw sufficient audience figures, there does not appear to be any foreseeable change on the horizon without dramatic and proactive intervention from the side of cultural policy. On the other hand, we can hypothesise that symphony orchestras will have to reconsider their programming strategy in the near future considering the fact that the general composition of their audience is quickly «grey-

the rise, one should not forget that in medieval times musicians were often treated as «outlaws». They tried to counteract this treatment by forming guilds and other forms of associations with strong professional rules which survived in some kind of *esprit de corps* still to be found in orchestras today. Obviously, some of this has hindered, up to recently, also the admission of women into orchestras; cf. Walter Salmen, *Beruf Musiker*. Bärenreiter-Bosse, Kassel/Stuttgart, 1997. Another aspect could possibly be traced back to the reputation of musicians (also in a moral sense) resulting from their (supposedly or factual) non-bourgeois lifestyle; see Hermann Schwedes, *Musikanten und Comödianten – eines ist Pack wie das andere*. Verlag für systematische Musikwissenschaft, Bonn, 1993.

66 «Results show music radio to be both a leader and a follower of public opinion. Music programmers may choose individual songs to introduce to their audience, but it is the gate-keeping environment that guides the choices a programmer makes...» Joseph E. Burns, *Gate-keeping Pressures in Music Radio: The Environment of Choice*. Paper presented at Central States Communication Association, Annual Convention, St. Louis, 1997. While these findings relate to popular music, they are, nevertheless, relevant for other types of music programming.

ing» and that younger generations do not regularly attend concerts of the traditional type or are even disinterested in this art form⁶⁷. These problems can probably be addressed through new forms of representation directed to wider audiences or by the co-ordination of educational efforts and more unconventional events, most of which are currently being organised by new types of ensembles, many giving priority to contemporary, electronic or «fusion» music. The focus of the present study, for methodological and time-reasons, to collect gendered data on main symphony orchestras did not allow the team to fully explore these hypotheses.

Another factor to consider is that composing is still viewed less a «profession» in and of itself. Quite often, it is recognised as an activity which forms part of a wider professional field and includes, in many cases, teaching at an academy or conservatory, directing, conducting, music interpretation etc.⁶⁸ The figures and interviews of *Culture-Gates* show that even as a sub-field, it is obviously littered with gates and gate-keepers preventing the performance of works by female composers. Many women composers interviewed for this study are not necessarily aware of these gates and maintain that gender-specific discrimination is less relevant to «other» fundamental concerns such as the recognition of the professional sub-field of contemporary composition. According to one female Portuguese composer⁶⁹:

«I have no grounds for complaint, I don't see myself as a victim, but I'm curious to learn more about other cases. I've never experienced the slightest obstacle (...) I've always been lucky in the area of composing, and I'm sure this wasn't because I was a woman, it was because I came on the scene when there were few composers around and I was supported by Jorge Peixinho, and others, and then went to the United States to study where I was also supported by other institutions, I also received a scholarship from the Gulbenkian Foundation (...) I never felt that I was discriminated. There are injustices, they exist, but I don't believe these arise because

67 For a more recent analysis of German audiences by social stratification and age see Susanne Keuchel, *Rheinschiene - Kulturschiene. Mobilität - Meinungen - Marketing*. ARcult Media, Bonn, 2003. The Zentrum für Kulturforschung is planning a new edition of its *Kultur-Barometer* on the issue of cultural participation of young audiences.

68 For example, the German «Künstler-Enquete» (artists enquiry carried out for the Federal Parliament), counted for the average composer as many as 4.5 relevant professional musical and related activities (out of 17 possible), regularly exercised in at least 3 different economic areas or «media», which brought this group, together with arrangers and jazz-musicians on the top of the list of all cultural professions exercising intra-professional mobility. K. Fohrbeck/A.J. Wiesand: «Zum Berufsbild der Kulturberufe – Teilergebnisse der Künstler-Enquete». In: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, special edition 17/1974.

69 Interview extract quoted in the Portuguese national report by Idalina Conde in Part I of this book.

I'm a woman. There are injustices that apply universally to all Portuguese artists. Portuguese artists generally work very hard and have few opportunities.»

A more in-depth analysis of the number of women composers operating in the marketplace is presented in the article by Patricia Chiti in Part II of this book. In general, their number can be much higher than appearing in the curricula of music academies or conservatories, in concert or broadcasting programmes as well as in prominent works of music history or directories of contemporary composers⁷⁰. A survey of a few well-known catalogues and books covering composers from around the world was conducted to further examine differences in the representation of women and men among those classic and contemporary composers listed. Four main sources of reference were selected including two large volumes of 1) all «serious» music printed at the beginning of the 20th century⁷¹ and 2) a 5 volume work on music history⁷². These figures are based on a sample of listings (only some letters of the alphabet being counted). The third and fourth sources concentrated on what can be labelled «modern» or contemporary composers. No. 3 is one of the leading international catalogues of recorded «classical» music⁷³; all those born after 1920 were counted. The last source is a loose-leaf collection of contemporary composers compiled by international experts⁷⁴.

Table 5

Representation of Female Composers in Selected Catalogues and in Books on the History of Music

Source	Publication Date	Composers Sampled	Share of Women
1. «Pazdirek» (20 volumes)	ca. 1910	1,691	15.0%
2. «Histoire de la Musique» (5 volumes)	1971	1,682	2.5%
3. «Bielefelder Katalog»	1999	2,467	7.2%
4. «Komponisten der Gegenwart»	1992	673	6.5%

Source: ZfKf Evaluation, 2003.

70 For example, the well-respected International Encyclopedia of Women Composers by Aaron A. Cohen, Books & Music, New York 1987 includes biographies of over 6.000 female composers.

71 Franz Pazdirek (Ed.), *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Zeiten und Völker*. (over 20 volumes), Vienna, 1904-1910.

72 Robert Bernhard, *Histoire de la Musique*. Editions Fernand Nathan, Bourges, 1961-71.

73 *Bielefelder Katalog Klassik – Compact Disks, MusiCassetten, Schallplatten*. Vereinigte Motor-Verlage, Stuttgart, 1999.

74 Hanns-Werner Heister, Walter-Wolfgang Sparrer (Eds.), *Komponisten der Gegenwart*. edition text+kritik, Munich, 1992.

A closer look at the music critics involved in the compilation of the last directory presented in Table 5 reveals that 29% are women. However, the share of female critics reviewing women composers for this publication is 70.5%! This figure supports the claim made throughout the national reports that women gate-keepers such as critics, can be seen as gate-openers for other women artists; both men and women obviously rely on support from gendered networks which can produce overt effects, even though some may operate in a subtle manner.

There are clearly many more women composers who have tried to make an impact in the field than is recorded or recognised by gate-keepers in works of musicology such as the «Histoire de la Musique» by Bernhard. As Table 5 shows, this is not a new practice. The absence of female composers from such publications which list those works considered important or «worthwhile» has been going on for generations. The third row of Table 5, however, leaves a slight hope that the enormous gap in gender will start to close in the field of contemporary music. As can be seen from the results of the national reports, the share of women contemporary composers (ranging from 15% in Portugal to 7% in Austria, Finland and Germany) mirrors their representation in the Bielefelder catalogue (7.2%). Being recorded (or having one's scores printed and performed) is an important hurdle to overcome in the development of a composer's career. The figures in the table show that there are influential collective or economic gate-keeping processes exercised by producers of recording companies / music industry which in turn largely influences decision-makers responsible for the editing and publication of individual text books or assessments of history made even today.

4.6 Summary

Against the background of the data collected and interviews conducted in the national studies we can summarise the major hurdles or gates which women face as they attempt to have a successful career in the field of music.

First, there are certain *professional traditions, images and stereotypes* of, for example, conductors, composers and certain instrumental groupings, which continue to play a major role in the music field. They influence the long term results of musical training and the composition of the faculty staff in music academies. Obviously, there are many more people in the music market than are being (re)presented by main gate-keepers – and women do not normally figure at the centre of their interest.

Secondly, top – and very often also the highest remunerated⁷⁵ – artistic *decision-making positions* in institutions of importance to the music field, ranging from leading positions in smaller or larger music festivals or in larger or smaller orchestras, are occupied by men. Positions in the most important institutions quite often do not seem to be awarded through an impartial selection process, but in the context of informal networks or political decision-making by the State or other public authorities. This reinforces theories from political science and sociology of *self-perpetuating elites*.

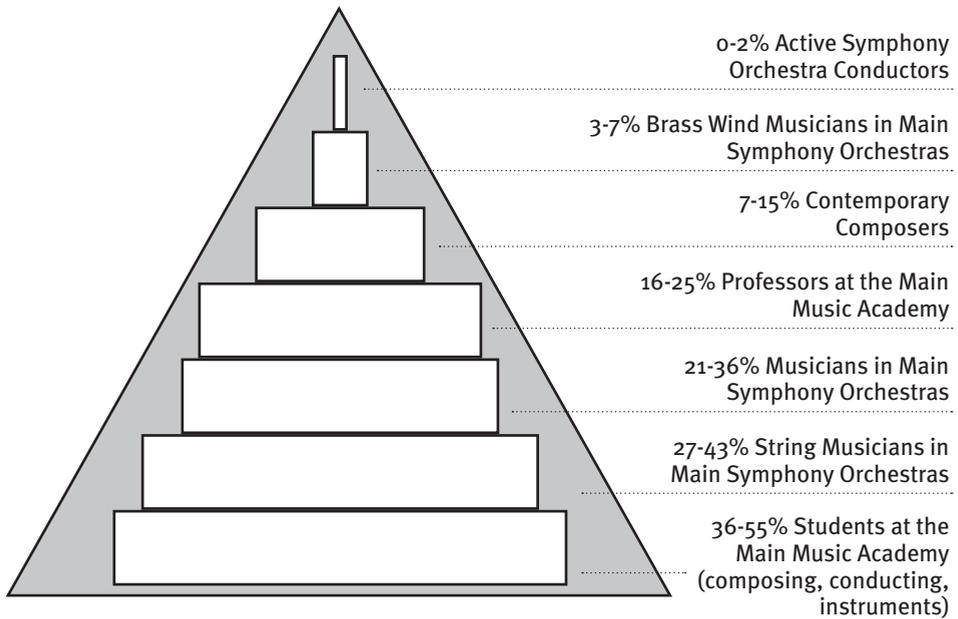
Finally, we need to also distinguish between, on the one hand, *individual professions* (composers, musical directors, conducts) where individual gate-keepers as well as political and financial glass ceilings are at work blocking female as well as nonconformist «intruders», and, on the other hand, *collective bodies* (such as orchestras), where institutional complexities and remnants of historical burdens – even from the times of the old musicians guilds – have long resulted in structural conservatism, including blocking women from entering the field as professionals. This «cultural lag», as Ogburn⁷⁶ might have put it, is now slowly disappearing. Women are beginning to successfully enter these systems and participate even though their structures remain rigid and under strict internal control mechanisms.

Figure 3 sums up these and other results in the form of a «pyramid of representation», which can be revisited in the country profiles containing additional details from the national scenes.

75 The Artistic Director of the Bühnen Wien has an annual income of between EUR 420,000-495,000 and the Artistic Director of the Salzburg Festival earns EUR 190,000 / year.

76 William Ogburn, «The Hypothesis of Cultural Lag». In: V.F. Calverton, *The Making of Society*. The Modern Library, New York, 1937.

Figure 3
Pyramid of Representation of Women in Serious Music, 2001



5. CULTURE-GATES IN (NEW) MEDIA ARTS

5.1 Staking Sign Posts in the Development of the Field of (New) Media Arts

There are more than enough adjectives which describe the component parts making up the field of (new) media arts as it now stands at the beginning of the 21st century: transversal, trans-national, transitory, inter-disciplinary, hybrid, fluid. The field is supported by an international labour market of professionals working in partnerships of all kinds (multiple authorship). Media artists are mediators at the interface of communication processes while at the same time being creators of new messages and aesthetic visual forms, sounds, movement etc. They use, like artists before them, their landscape for inspiration - today's landscape inundated by media images which influence the contents of our «boxes of tacit knowledge» and shape our values and systems of belief.

The structures framing the internal dynamics of the field of (new) media arts are as diverse as the myriad of ways used to define the field; proven by the voices of several artists and scientists recorded throughout this book. There is really no agreement which would define the beginning of the formation of the field; when art, science and technology together formed the basis or prerequisites for innovation and creativity. Some would argue that this relationship was simply lost or separated by the Renaissance era and is now making a comeback as a result of experimentation with technology⁷⁷. Others claim that the origins of (new) media arts date back to the moment when electricity was first used as an essential component of an artistic work to facilitate non-linear forms of communication⁷⁸.

There are those that view media arts (without the new) as an established field existing at the fringes of the traditional art market, even if its parameters are «loosely» defined and difficult to capture in the same way as classical music, for example, and that it is «developing towards an independent art form with connections to more traditional sectors»⁷⁹. If we re-insert (new) into media arts, we are simply referring to a new *paccha*⁸⁰ which is challenging the works and inventions

⁷⁷ See Stephen Wilson, *Information Arts: Intersections of Art, Science and Technology*. MIT Press, Cambridge, 2002, p 3.

⁷⁸ See also Dieter Daniels, *Kunst als Sendung. Von der Telegrafie zum Internet*. C.H. Beck, Munich, 2002.

⁷⁹ See the article by Monika Fleischmann in Part II of this book and Peter Zorn quoted in the German national report by Annette Brinkmann in Part I of this book.

⁸⁰ *Paccha* is the Quichua word for time-space. Quichua is the language of the ancient Incas.

of even a few years ago. According to Stephen Wilson «Several years after a technology has matured and a body of artistic work and commentary has appeared, it is not considered new anymore. At the early stages of an emerging technology, the power of artistic work derives in part from the cultural act of claiming it for creative production and cultural commentary. In this regard, the early history of computer graphics and animation in some ways mimics the early history of photography and cinema.» His focus of research is on new developments emerging in the last seven years which would already exclude video art, kinetic and light sculpture, sound art, electronic music, laser art and holography. Although there continues to be experimental work in these fields, they are not currently considered emerging technologies and they have developed «their own aesthetic and analytical traditions ... Artistic experimentation is quickly being assimilated ... that what was revolutionary a few years ago is now part of the mainstream ... and are becoming standard features of movies and commercials.»⁸¹ In this sense, he might agree with Bernard Elias who concludes «that new media arts are not an autonomous art form in the classical sense, but will be part of all sectors of art in the course of the 21st century»⁸². This is reflected in a revival of transdisciplinary work by younger artists in general and with intermedia artists in particular.

It is not our intention to produce a definition of (new) media arts but to identify the structures of importance to the field and to report on the gate-keeping mechanisms which influence the working practices of female artists who choose to regularly create artistic productions based on a digital code. The majority of information and data collected in the *Culture-Gates* project refers mainly to the visual arts «sub-field» of (new) media. As mentioned above, (new) media is being used by professionals from all artistic and scientific fields in their «inter- or mixed media» productions which is difficult to capture through this type of empirical research⁸³.

Given the fact that the process of institutionalising the field is very recent, information and data collected in the different countries for this study is dispersed; derived from a variety of sources which makes the generation of strict comparisons, like in the music field, impossible. In addition, the context and development of a «field» of (new) media arts in the countries surveyed are at different stages. For example, in Finland and Germany, there is a system of

81 See Stephen Wilson, *op. cit.*, p 10.

82 Bernhard Elias, «Die Bedeutung der neuen Technologien in der Hochschulausbildung von Künstlern und Medienschaffenden – Ergebnisse aus fünf spartenspezifischen Gesprächsrunden». In: Olaf Zimmermann, Gabriele Schulz (eds.), *Kulturelle Bildung in der Wissensgesellschaft. Zukunft der Kulturberufe*. Berlin/Bonn, 2002, p. 154.

83 See also the (new) media art sub-chapters of the national reports in Part I of this book.

institutions, funds, associations, festivals etc., which the team in Portugal could only dream of mapping; instead the Portuguese report will show that they started from scratch, producing the first database of (new) media artists in the country. In Austria, the team was able to make very clear distinctions between media art (artists working with audiovisual media) and new media arts (strictly digital and/or net based). In this context, we can only provide some «comparable observations» regarding those factors which prevent or enable women to pass through certain gates within the system of (new) media arts.

There are a number of «generations» of media artists which can be classified at almost 5 years intervals starting in the late 60s up until today. The characteristics defining them are based on types of technologies used/available for their works. Many of the artists interviewed for *Culture-Gates* indicated that there is really not a lot of contact between the different generations of artists - they do not go to each others exhibitions and the upcoming generation of curators choose their own artists (points of reference) from their own generation. Mentoring is still not the norm as in other fields.

Accompanying the different generations of artists using technologies as an integral dimension of their work, is the gradual formation or institutionalisation of the field including a few physical permanent structures, key individuals with decision-making powers, platforms and networks of reference, collectives and professional associations of media artists, some public/private funding schemes, formalised education/training courses, special exhibitions, seminars and conferences, permanent collections/exhibitions. Analysis of the biographies of those pioneers from earlier generations and movements in media arts, indicate that they have now taken up key positions and are curating exhibitions in large public museums, sitting on award juries, teaching in universities or running research labs. However, this development should not hypnotise the reader into thinking that the institutionalisation and professionalisation of the field is secure. In fact, the field of European (new) media arts suffers greatly from a lack of public spaces to exhibit works, distribution channels such as marketplaces to buy or sell works, well endowed public or private funding programmes, a network of permanent institutions such as research labs, media lounges to educate audiences.

We are privileged to witness a process where signposts or poles are being staked out. Together they signify the founding of more formal parameters around a field in which multiple identities and groups can theoretically co-exist and where careers can be pursued. This privilege is, however, accompanied by responsibilities to monitor the development of the rules and values being communicated through the establishment of these signposts. What is the status of

women working in this field? Are they part of the process of institutionalising and professionalising the field? Are more women holding key decision-making positions as «gate-keepers» in comparison to the field of music as was hypothesised at the start of the project? Are there glass ceilings or impenetrable gates in their pursuit of recognition and/or success in this continuously developing field?

5.2 Can Career Paths in the (New) Media Arts be Defined?

(New) media artists face similar basic challenges and gate-keeping mechanisms in the pursuit of a career as other professional artists, even though most claim that their career path can not be constructed with a straight line. While this may be true, the CV analyses conducted on the biographies of an «older» generation of media artists during the course of the project helps us to make an initial career cartography⁸⁴. For example, many established media artists are highly educated in art as well as theory; have started their own commercial businesses, founded networks or associations to communicate with other artists, have been professors, guest lecturers, have published works in scientific journals, have management experience leading teams in projects for public or private institutions, have staged exhibitions, participated in performances and won prizes, have served on the boards of a networked platform or association of media artists. There are a number⁸⁵ of recognised female (new) media artists whose biographies are filled with examples of their professional experience touching upon all of the items on this list. In many cases, they are often better recognised abroad than at home. The works of female (new) media artists as pioneers⁸⁶ listed in the increasing

84 On the other hand, some claim that the field of new media arts is free of tradition and self-concepts (Austrian artist) and that the traditional image of the artist does not exist in media art (Austrian gate-keeper). New forms of working either as a free-lance or as an entrepreneur contribute to different concepts of what an artist is - comparing old romantic notions of an individual author (still found in copyright legislation) and those now working in project groups under collective names.

85 It is almost impossible to count how many are working as (new) media artists at present. Estimates have been made in the national reports based on membership in associations, on databanks and surveys. In this case, the share of women among the total is also quite difficult to estimate. Data on the share of women as students in (new) media arts university courses will help us to predict their growth in numbers in the next 5 years.

86 See Randall Packer and Ken Jordan (eds.), *Multimedia - From Wagner to Virtual Reality*. Norton & Company, London, 2001. In their introduction the following female pioneers are mentioned: Char Davies (interactive multimedia work of 1995), Brenda Laurel and Jenny Holzer (media artists), Lynn Hershmann (media artist, acknowledged as one of the first artists to create digital art works using interactive media in 1989), Shelley Jackson (author and one of the inventors of hypertext fiction), Sherrie Rabinowitz (teleperformances organised with Kit Galloway in 1975).

amount of books being written on the «history» of (new) media arts⁸⁷ represent 15-20% of the artists mentioned⁸⁸. This proves that women have at least had a small impact on the creation of a professional canon and social memory of the field; even though such reference publications need to be improved and diversified to present a more complete picture of their achievements.

The quantitative and qualitative information presented in this book will show that there are gate-keeping mechanisms in the field of (new) media arts and according to the Austrian study, «they are as divers and invisible as the gender matrix itself.» Glass ceilings are becoming more visible especially as the field continues to institutionalise itself. There are multiple hurdles and gates confronting women in their career paths. But it mainly starts at the core of the problem that «women are not foreseen to be professional artists.»⁸⁹

5.3 Confronting the First Set of Gates and Gate-keepers

In our analysis of career paths and gate-keeping, the first gate or hurdle identified in the field of music was the family. Few if any of those interviewed identified the family as a social structure preventing or encouraging their pursuit of a career in (new) media arts in the same way that the family does when encouraging/ discouraging their son or daughter to become e.g., a trombone player. This could also be due to the fact that up until the mid to late 80s, there were no specific degree programmes for (new) media arts. Many chose to work with new media during their studies or during their professional life - using technologies as a tool or instrument to realise their ideas and projects. However, we can assume that girls are not as encouraged as boys to experiment with computers or to pursue studies in informatics⁹⁰.

87 The increasing number of first encyclopaedias or books on the history of new media arts approach the definition of the field from different stand points, for example, from a visual arts point of view (e.g. Michael Rush, *New Media in Late 20th Century Art*. Thames & Hudson, London, 2001) or from the art-technology-science point of view (e.g. Stephen Wilson, op. cit.). The European Union has sponsored the creation of an on-line trilingual encyclopaedia on new media artists (<http://www.newmedia-arts.org>) containing the collections of new media works housed at the *Centre Georges Pompidou, Museum Ludwig* and the *Centre pour l'image contemporain*. 13 out of a total of 75 artists registered are 13 women (17.3%).

88 This figure is contrasted by the low share of works by female artists as part of the important contemporary art collection exhibited in the ZKM Museum of Modern Art where only 10% of the works are by female artists.

89 For more discussion on the changing (or not) concept of the artist, see section 4.1.2 of the Austrian national study.

90 According to Sabine Breitsameter, this type of discrimination is prevalent even in later working life. Quoted in the article by Monika Fleischmann in Part II of this book, she says, «people often cast doubt on the technical competence of women and sometimes even do so publicly in team meetings. Supervisors in particular tend to give more credence to male assessments of technical questions than those of females».

The data collected by the national teams show that university programmes for (new) media arts are filled with female students; making up at least half of all students registered in courses related to (new) media arts over the past 10 years. In some professional graduate programmes, their share is even as high as 78%⁹¹! Unfortunately, it is not possible to make comparisons between the number of students in pursuit of a degree in (new) media arts as the courses are organised in a completely different manner across Europe. They all concur, however, that the main impetus for women entering the field of media arts, was the lack of support and role models provided to them in their fine arts studies as well as in the field of television and film production. This same trend is seen by the exodus of women from certain music courses such as composition to take up studies in electronic music. Experimentation with new technologies was their way out of a paternalistic system perpetuating the identity of an artist as a white male genius and conservative power structures, «not interested in social and cultural change, but organised to maintain outdated value systems.»⁹²

Women are soon confronted with the first major gates, hurdles, gate-keepers between the time they begin their studies and their leap into working life. Within the educational system, students of (new) media arts have very few female role models either as professors or mentors. The shocking realisation is that there are almost no full time female professors teaching (new) media arts in the countries studied. The only significant exception exists in Germany where in 2003, 9 out of a total of 37 or 24.3% of the full time professors are women⁹³. Female artists who are more well known are invited to give a guest lecture from time to time but are not employed on a full-time basis. While not necessarily reflected in the statistics, the biographies show that many women media artists have given lectures at universities both at home and abroad.

As in other fields, promotion by a teacher or professor to the external world of institutions, associations, networks and festivals where individual gate-keepers such as curators can help students emerge onto the scene, is still based on individual self-initiative on the part of the teaching staff. There have been some complaints that male professors are not necessarily gender conscious, which would motivate them to pay particular attention and promote their female students more proactively in their established networks; according to the reports this kind of support is more important than the diploma they receive.

91 In Finland, the share of women students enrolled in the 1999/2001 New Media Professional Programme at the University of Art and Design Helsinki was 78%.

92 Susanne Jaschko quoted in the article by Monika Fleischmann in Part II of this book.

93 The German study also reports that the share of female professors is higher for new media arts in comparison to other arts sectors and about equal to the share of female professors in music and music education.

5.4 What Happens Next? Confronting the Second Set of Gates and Gate-keepers

What happens to women when they leave school, diploma in hand? What options do they have in a field which is developing and where clear cut professional profiles and a cohesive labour market do not exist. What types of gate-keepers or gate-openers do women encounter as they begin their careers?

There were really very few if any post university options for media artists in Europe at the beginning of the 80s. Artists had to create their own employment possibilities and infrastructures such as networks, businesses etc. Some of these activities were supported by telecommunication companies, some by public grants and subsidies and others were sponsored by the artists themselves. (New) media artists had to raise their own money «through grant applications and extremely creative fund-raising and financial structuring ideas, sometimes in partnership with corporations and government R&D funding programmes.»⁹⁴ In this context we can say that financiers or managers of banks, public and commercial R&D funds were and still are important gate-keepers/gate-openers.

There are obviously very few full time positions in public institutions (e.g. museums) which could provide «jobs» for (new) media artists. There are hardly any foundations specialising in the field and positions at the handful of publicly funded media labs are few and far between. In Austria, for example, it is estimated that there are only approximately 200 full time positions in the field of (new) media art. As there are still so few institutions, theoretically there should be fewer hierarchies and hence gate-keepers. Those which do exist have a tremendous amount of power to shape the field and in many ways set the artistic canon, aesthetics and values for the future heritage of the field.

Top management and artistic positions in (new) media arts institutions are held by men. In Germany, for example, women occupy only 4 out of 22 top positions (18.2%). Across Europe, women are mostly employed in positions such as lab assistants, secretaries and in support functions in departments of communication, marketing, logistics, library services. Key decision-making positions are not necessarily open for true competition. For example, an analysis of the most important institution of reference in the field of (new) media arts, the Center for Art and Media (ZKM) in Karlsruhe, shows a very low representation of women as decision-makers within its hierarchical ranks⁹⁵. In fact, among the perceptions of

94 Response by Will Bauer to the questionnaire sent out by Monika Fleischmann and included in her article in Part II of this book.

95 The German national report by Annette Brinkmann in Part I of this book records only two key posi-

the ZKM, is that it defines the scene through 'Old Boys Networks' and power cliques with influence on all levels of production and distribution⁹⁶. However, a completely different picture is painted by the Finnish Kiasma Museum for Contemporary Art which provides the main exhibition space for (new) media artists: out of the 12 curators working in the museum only two are men (artistic director of media arts is a man). This anomaly can be explained by the fact that museums in Finland are feminised to a large extent. Considering that the financial resources of Kiasma have been decreasing in recent years suggests that perhaps key positions in such museums are not considered by men as worthwhile for the moment.

Gate-keepers in these institutions are therefore both: the «employers» those hiring and setting the criteria for employment and the «employees» hired in key decision-making positions as executive directors, administrative heads of departments, artistic directors, chief curators. A further in-depth study is needed to examine the relationship between hiring criteria (which is not always transparent), the policies of the institutions and the results of an individual's decision-making practices (e.g. supporting certain genres or particular artists).

5.5 Public Sector Support – Is it Enough?

(New) media artists depend on government funding programmes and targeted measures such as commissions, prize monies, scholarships, travel or work grants, and residencies to support the production and distribution of their independent art works. The amount of funding available via these mechanisms is quite small in comparison to the needs of media art productions. For example, the Arts Council of Finland has a media arts panel which decides upon the allocation of project grants which are given to both individual artists and groups. The total amount of funding to be divided among the winners is EUR 100,000. In Austria, media art projects are financed by the Department for Film and Media Art located at the office of the State Secretary for Arts. The annual budget for media art productions is EUR 530,000. In both cases, there is a gender balance among the jury members and the recipients; could equal opportunity policies be considered keys in this respect? One example of targeted good practice is the scholarship for female media artists granted by the Government of NRW. Since 2000, 3 women have been given this scholarship (around EUR 6,000) for their media art productions. Another German example is the new Internet platform for students, teachers and artists, sponsored by the Federal government: www.netzspannung.org.

tions held by women: *Barbara Könches* is currently the head curator of Video Art in the ZKM Media Museum and *Sabine Himmelsbach* is Department Head of Thematic Exhibitions. (May 2003).

96 See the article by Monika Fleischmann in Part II of this book.

Most artists claimed that in the absence of a system of public measures and funds targeted specifically to (new) media arts, they are able to have, albeit limited, access to those more traditionally sector based programmes for music, visual arts, performing arts. However, «applications from new media artists to public calls have to be broken down into several parts. They must present themselves to different institutions or departments from, e.g. the visual arts, audiovisual, technology, music, dance, theatre, etc. This leads to an extraordinary amount of effort in the face of excessive bureaucracy.»⁹⁷ If we listen to the voice of Bernard Elias, that the field we know today will disappear in the future, than our attention should be placed on dissecting all public programmes to determine the broader extent to which (new) media artists can rely on public support for their productions; a complicated task.

The means of direct support provided by national governments, from a gate-keeping point of view, do not yet act as effective keys which would open gates to advance the professional working life of (new) media artists - man or women. In addition to the lack of public funds for production, there is an absence of federal or national level prizes which would recognise quality or excellence in the field. This reality demonstrates the lack of official public recognition for the field itself.

Some have argued that public policies and regulations such as intellectual property rights or individual authors rights close gates to artistic creativity, especially in this inter-disciplinary field where multiple authorship is more the norm than the exception and where the financier (industry) is rewarded at the expense of the creator. «The current legislative environment bestows all rights to the person who provides the money for these brave new works; the investor determines the allocation formula, provides the funding and if the result is particularly successful, he/she might be offered a second helping of funding»⁹⁸. It has been suggested that governments consider building new funding models for the (new) media arts including R&D grants as «investments in creativity, innovation and in the information society lingo ‘e-content’; not solely from the economic point of view but to bring back the relationship between artistic creativity and research and development.»⁹⁹

5.6 Markets and Gate-keeping Mechanisms

One of the earlier marketplaces to distribute media art works was via *public television* channels. In her presentation to the project partners in Spring 2002, media/

97 As quoted in the Portuguese national report by Idalina Conde in Part I of this book.

98 See Monika Fleischmann, Wolfgang Strauss, «New Media Artists: Challenges and Responses». In: Danielle Cliche et al., *Creative Europe*, op. cit., p 66.

99 Ibidem, p 90.

video artist Ulrike Rosenbach, informed us that early video or media art works were broadcast via special channels or «Neighbourhood TV» in Canada and the USA. Unfortunately, this innovative means of support did not catch on in Germany, due to the public broadcasting laws which stipulate that the works needed to have sound and only in colour (no black and white works!)

While (new) media art is increasingly recognised as a «fringe» branch of the *fine/visual arts market*, it obviously does not have the same infrastructure of support from private sector galleries, collectors or forums. The field is still too young and it is quite difficult to estimate the market value of a video installation or net based project which makes the market for (new) media art productions quite narrow. The nature of the works themselves are not necessarily conducive to the typical models of consumption. There are, however, innovative examples such as the «235 Media», a company located in Cologne, Germany which sells media technology and media arts, especially video and installations. Such bodies might be considered «gate-openers» for (new) media artists to overcome the psychological and infrastructural barriers of the arts market. Such companies also act as gate-keepers by selecting which works and by which artists, will be given access to their distribution channels.

With the decline of the new economy, came a significant reduction in the level of support from the *private sector R&D investors*. Commercial investments in the media arts are very limited despite, according to Monika Fleischmann, «more favourable production conditions. Legendary think tanks, development and production sites are being closed. Support is being suspended or withdrawn. Worldwide there are only a few places where it is possible to get expert and financial support for your own production». This may change given the tendency to regard (new) media artists as researchers, as interface designers who mediate between art, science and consumption. The focus of new media professional training is targeted at *media/telecommunication* markets including «games for mobile devices such as laptops, palmtops and mobile phones, game instruments for new composition forms and fun communication spaces for media-communicating perception. Other themes include 2D/3D animation films for art and advertising, the development of learning tools and teaching environments for training, and particularly for digital culture communication and cultural heritage. New everyday forms of family communication and interface research are also being pursued with great interest by art, design and IT alike». Such programmes could be considered as *gate-opener's* by providing opportunities for students - men and women - to gain skills required by private sector companies and markets.

There are also *new markets* emerging at the fringes of the more established

markets where (new) media artists circulate in the «corridors»¹⁰⁰. In these corridors, (new) media artists have greater flexibility to become mediators or interfaces between public and private actors influencing the more traditional marketplace infrastructure. It is here where they can find keys to open and build partnerships of all kinds – funding partnerships, short term project partnerships, longer term business partnerships, flexible networks and professional associations. (New) media artists exist here as entrepreneurs, as their own directors. Unfortunately, data on the share of women as entrepreneurs operating new media art businesses is lacking. The qualitative information gathered by the interviews indicates, however, that many female (new) media artists have set up their own companies in the face of closed «boys networks» occupying positions in main institutions.

In addition to markets as structural gate-keepers from the private sector, there are also individual actors, *critics*, which play a role in the system of gate-keeping in the marketplace. Given the fact that the field of (new) media arts is still quite young, the amount of influential and informed critics are much fewer than in the field of music, for example. According to pioneer media/video artist Ulrike Rosenbach, «there were hardly any critics at the beginning, new terminology had to be developed to describe and analyse the field; the critics and the artists have grown up together.» Many artists are taking on multiple roles. There are, however, two main complaints. On the one hand, the older generation of media artists as «critics» are failing to recognise and use the new criteria needed to evaluate new works and genres. On the other hand, there are questions regarding the «digital literacy» of arts critics coming from other fields. Critics, as powerful individual gate-keepers, may not be in a position to properly acknowledge new aesthetic developments or provide praise to artists as pioneers and paradigms of new art forms on the basis of «misunderstood recognition»¹⁰¹.

5.7 Art and Technology Research Labs – Gate-openers?

At the cross roads of public sector measures and private sector markets are art and technology media labs which in many cases receive funding and impulses from both. While there are still only few equipped labs in Europe, (new) media artists in some countries have cited them as being particularly important in the promotion of their career, especially after they leave school. These media labs exist either in universi-

100 See the Portuguese national report by Idalina Conde in Part I of this book.

101 Artist reported in the Portuguese national study, *ibidem*.

ties (e.g. at the Helsinki University of Arts and Design or Le Fresnoy in France), as independent bodies set up and run by artists themselves (V2 in the Netherlands) or as part of larger scientific organisations (e.g. MARS Lab in Germany). They not only provide post-academic training for students but also organise festivals, competitions and open gates to the world of institutions (locally and globally) which exhibit/distribute their works.

Many female artists cited the support received from media labs as keys to their career development. They stated that those labs which were the most beneficial for them were those run by women. For example, Shu Lea Cheang, media artist stated, «I benefited a great deal from working with the media research labs run by women. I have worked with the Banff Center for the Arts, Canada (Sara Diamond), the Waag Society, Netherlands (Marleen Stikker) and the MARS-Exploratory Media Lab, Germany (Monika Fleischmann).»¹⁰²

From the point of view of gate-keeping and career development, the festivals organised by such media labs provide artists with a platform where the largest critical mass of their colleagues are brought together to exchange ideas, exhibit their works and discuss future themes. While works are not bought and sold, new project teams and thematic networks can be formed as offsprings to many of the festivals. From a gender point of view, all but a few exceptions of these media arts festivals are run by men who set the artistic direction and select the works/artists to participate in the festival. The share of women as festival curators or artistic directors is low. This is very significant given the influence that festival organisers have in establishing the signposts that influence the development of an artistic canon in the field¹⁰³. In addition, the share of works by women represented in such festivals is very low. For example, according to the Austrian national study, their overall share in one of the biggest annual media arts festivals – the Ars Electronica Festival (Linz) – from 1987-2001 was only 14%.

The awards given at festivals have been identified in many of the national reports as keys to help promote the careers of (new) media artists, especially on an international level. They are particularly important given the lack of awards given by national governments. One of the most important and recognised awards in the field of new media art is the «Prix Ars Electronica», worth EUR 100,000 in 2002; an exception in terms of its high monetary value. According to the Austrian national report, «it has received over 14,600 applications from 1987-2001. During this period of time, 11%

102 Quoted in the article by Monika Fleischmann in Part II of this book.

103 Those interviewed for the *Culture-Gates* study informed us that those sitting on juries of media festivals are not necessarily making objective decisions based on the quality of works but on their recognition of names of artists, their friends and colleagues given the very small size of the field.

of the prize winners were women (15 out of 140 artists¹⁰⁴) and only 14% of the jury members were women.» A more encouraging example can be found in Portugal where a look at award winners of the *Arte Experimental Intermedia* (1992-2002)¹⁰⁵ shows a much higher share of female award winners (33%). The share of female jury members was around 21% out of a total of 14 jury members during this time.

Important keys to unlock the gates are strong personal connections to the organisers (curators) of festivals; which becomes more complicated by the fact that these influential gate-keepers are not only curators of (new) media arts festivals, but are also practising artists, professors, critics or members of public funding juries. Increasingly there are groups or networks of women curators which positively discriminated in their selection of female artists in the exhibitions they organise. As seen elsewhere, they sometimes face accusations of organising «women's exhibitions» which still carries a stigma among some artists and networks.

5.8 Networks, Platforms, Associations – Keys to Open Gates?

Alternative structures like networks are there to help both men and women gain access to traditional structures and art markets and provide them with connections to the international arena of (new) media arts. Women are relatively well represented on the boards of networks or platforms of reference for (new) media artists. Some speculate that the reason is because such positions are not that «important» from an institutional point of view and that they are not remunerated for their work.

There are, of course, different types of networks such as «generational networks», «global networks», «electronic networks»; the latter of which has been cited as a key to help women bypass established gate-keeping mechanisms and enables them to distribute their work (ideas) and receive recognition that they do not necessarily obtain from formal institutions and structures. Some networks act as lobby groups working to garner public support and recognition for the field as a whole. In many ways they could be seen as potential «gate-crashers», depending on the involvement and activism of its members.

Networks can also help break down, the «aura of the individual which has replaced the market and cult values of the aesthetic product.»¹⁰⁶ There are, however,

104 Source: <http://www.aec.at>. See the Austrian national report by Robert Harauer, Elisabeth Mayerhofer and Helga Eberherr in Part I of this book.

105 Known as the «*Ernesto de Sousa*» scholarship, it is the important award in the field of (new) media arts in Portugal.

106 Stella Rollig, quoted in the article by Monika Fleischmann in Part II of this book.

many informal «boys networks» which perpetuate the «individual» and prevent the artistic identity of the field from recognising a diversity of productions. Some «Women's networks» have been formed to counterbalance what some have come to describe as a powerful «cartel of men»¹⁰⁷. However, they do not have the same historical tradition or influence as male networks. Many women are either against setting up all women networks or have formed groups under the label of «cyber-feminists». Networking requires dedication and time. Many women do not have the time to devote to networking due to family responsibilities. Some of the interviewees have indicated that they had to choose between either having a family or committing themselves to their work, including networking activities.

Mirroring a networking structure, there are some very active professional associations of (new) media artists in various countries with a strong tradition of artists associations such as in the Nordic Region. Female voices from the field reveal an internal gate-keeping structure even in these small bodies. They reported that they were excluded by men running the associations, especially when it came time to draw up strategies and plans to co-operate in project partnerships with, for example, the private sector. The female members were left to draw up educational programmes but not to take part in the overall vision of the association.

5.9 Do Women in (New) Media Arts Face the Same Gates as in the Field of Music?

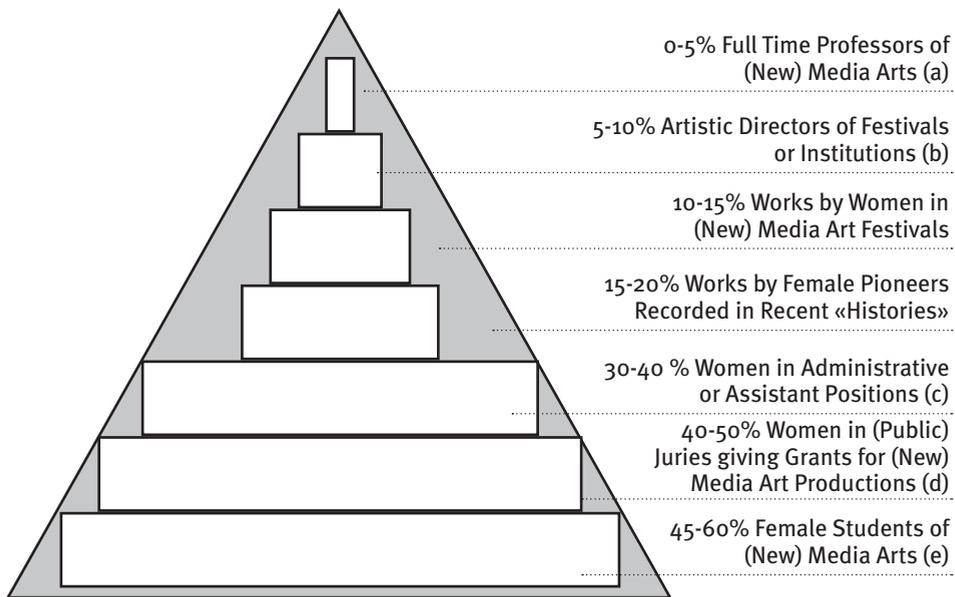
While it is obviously not possible to construct a «Pyramid of Representation» for women in the field of (new) media arts in the same exact manner as in the field of music, the results of the *Culture-Gates* study indicate that the pyramid like structure prevails. Women are well represented among the student population, and their share begins to rapidly decline when examining positions in the institutionalised side of the field. Those setting the artistic canon, namely those artistic directors and professors of (new) media arts (the latter of which are under pressures to «publish or perish») are mainly men. This comes as somewhat of a surprise from the point of view that it is generally acknowledged that women are well recognised as major contributors and even pioneers who have left solid stakes framing the field of (new) media arts. The fact that the field is generally less «hierarchical» in structure in comparison to other fields such as music also led us to hypothesise that the status of women would be better. However, the main message to be heard from the results is that no matter the field, the old networks of power fall into place as soon as there are institutional

107 See the Finnish national report by Ritva Mitchell in Part I of this book.

(and financially interesting) mechanisms to house and breed them. This finding does not suggest a model of total anarchy, but urgently calls for more transparency and much closer attention and monitoring of institutional structures, hiring criteria and practices throughout the cultural labour market. If these discriminatory practices can happen in a new field such as (new) media arts, then one can safely assume that other areas of the cultural labour market follow a similar pattern, except of course in those fields which have already been proven to be feminised; the reasons for which have already been extensively discussed in *Pyramid or Pillars*¹⁰⁸.

Figure 4

Pyramid of Representation: Estimated Average Range of Women in (New) Media Arts



a) The only significant exception is in Germany where the share of female professors of (new) media arts totalled 24.3% in 2003.

b) Institutions can include media art labs or museums. Exception in Finland where out of the 12 curators working at the Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art, only two are men.

c) This figure can be much higher in Finland where key administrative or managerial positions are feminised.

d) Exception in Portugal where the share of women on the jury for the *Arte Experimental Intermedia* has been 21% during the period 1992-2002.

e) Share of women students enrolled in the 1999/2001 new media professional programmes at the University of Art and Design Helsinki was 78%.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The national studies and sector specific contributions acquired a myriad of recommendations from artists and gate-keepers. They are aimed at European and national policy makers, individual arts institutions and networks; some also address the self-perception of individual professionals, be they artists or «gate-keepers». Many of them are listed in the conclusions of each chapter, are woven throughout their texts or can be found in the interview extracts.

There are, however, some common messages to be derived from this transnational project as well as specific individual measures which are relevant not only to female artists but for professionals working in many other fields. The measures and actions proposed here and throughout the rest of the book call for an integrated approach. Many individual actors being addressed have a special role to play in the arts and media fields and should, therefore, take part in a co-operative system of «cultural governance»¹⁰⁹ if sustainable change is to be achieved.

A. *Breaking Open the First Gates*

Role models in schools, universities, academies and conservatories are keys to help promote students as they enter working life. In this context, the share of women among the *teaching staff* of art universities is generally unsatisfactory and in some cases nearly scandalous! This situation is expected to persist because courses in certain fields continue to be taught almost exclusively by men, for example in subject areas of (new) media arts, composition, conducting or in some specific orchestra instruments. One of the interim solutions could be to devise *mentoring schemes* for emerging talents similar to those programmes existing for scientists in some universities. Professional women mentoring younger female students has made a difference giving them access to informal networks, platforms to distribute their work or specific job opportunities.

There is also a need to raise the *gender consciousness* of teachers and university professors through special training courses given their importance as facilitators. Students' consciousness concerning gender-related issues is low and would require similar efforts. The results of a 2003 Council of Europe study on gender mainstreaming and gender relations in schools may provide some interesting case studies to learn from.

Generally, the *allocation of public funds* for music and art universities, academies or conservatories should be made dependent upon the availability of support programmes for women and staffing transparency.

109 See Danielle Cliche et al., *Creative Europe*, op. cit.

B. Recognising Diversity Through Increased Visibility of Female Artists

Considerable attention and effort is required to increase the visibility and «value-perception» of women artists from a *historical* and *contemporary* point of view. This is vitally important in order to (re)construct references, to promote role-models in the process of artistic professionalisation and to re-construct the «box of professional tacit knowledge». A considerable rewrite of text books and other publications of reference is required to include the history of women's achievements and their current contributions alongside those of their male colleagues.

Additional specific measures should secure the *participation of women in key platforms* and *publications* which distribute information about artistic works. For example, the EU could support the enlargement of existing directories or encyclopaedia, such as the one on new media artists (<http://www.newmedia-arts.org>), to include information on female pioneers and emerging artists which are not necessarily found in mainstream festivals, on programming lists or in the collections of the major contemporary art museums in Europe.

Information campaigns are required to address the image of female artists as well as to counteract the way they are presented in the media, press and publications of reference (critical reviews/columns) which form public opinion and perpetuate a canon of artistic aesthetics based on a narrow world view. At present, female artists, particularly in the field of music, continue to be presented in the media as sexual objects on the one hand and/or whose talents are qualified based on their appearance/sexuality.

Information gate-keepers in the media and in academia should adopt a new role and perspective in order to counteract the myth that there are few women artists available to be recognised, programmed or exhibited and that «special (male) qualities» are needed for the creation of successful works of art.

C. Responding to Changing Working Practises of Artists

The concept of an artist as an individual «genius» who continuously strives to become famous conjures up images of some of the «great men» of the past. While still ideologically perpetuated, such images are expected to change due to the way in which more and more creative artists are working today. Interdisciplinary group work, in which women are participating, has become more common and accepted and may even increase in what is envisaged as a «network society». In this context, a radical *reform of policies for artists* is required ranging from the way their rights are defined and managed, to creating more flexible measures such as scholarships available at different stages and ages of professional life to new project or work grants which reflect the increasingly transnational nature of artistic prac-

tices and the transversal composition of works embracing aspects of, for example, art, technology, electronic music, design or theory.

New concepts and criteria for allocating funding are required for new artistic forms. To date, funding bodies have ignored the fact that production costs for media arts are substantially higher than for classical art forms. Media art requires financial strength in the form of investments (hardware, software) and for production. In this context, governments can work to re-establish the *connection between art and science* in their policies at all levels by funding projects as investments in creativity and innovation not solely from the economic point of view. This would imply the creation of R&D grants bringing artists and scientists working with new technologies into innovative laboratories to be located in both public and private scientific and artistic institutions. In this context, the EU should reconsider its current emphasis on heritage in its «e-content» programmes to one which also recognises and supports contemporary creativity.

Another task for the EU would be to further clarify and harmonise the *legal status of self-employed artists* which are sometimes treated as «amateurs» or «atypical» workers for which basic social security and taxation frameworks do not apply. This would also be particularly important in the context of the revision of Council Regulation 1408/71 to co-ordinate national social security schemes and in the development of a new Directive on working conditions for temporary work which was supported at the Council Meeting held in Brussels on 6 March 2003. In future revisions of its economic policies, the Council should also consider that many artists, composers and writers are unable to obtain tax or VAT relief or reductions for the essential tools of their trade: repair and maintenance of instruments, paper, computers, hard and software, copying costs, books, recordings, travel, etc.

D. Balancing Targeted Public Measures to Bring About Transparency and Recognition

Many female artists are not in favour of *gender-quotas*, because they do not want to be treated as a special group. In an ideal world they would like to see their own work given the same opportunities and value as that of their male colleagues. However, since this ideal world does not yet exist, many of them reluctantly recognise that targeted measures have and will continue to help an increasing number of women gain entry to, e.g., universities, thus counterbalancing male dominance. Formal procedures to bring more *transparency in hiring practises and decision-making processes in publicly financed cultural and media institutions* need to be regularly monitored against defined benchmarks and consequences for non-compliance; this includes decisions taken on both the organisational level as

well as in the programming of artists work/content. It has been suggested that adjudication panels and /or commission be employed by public institutions (e.g. radio symphony orchestras) to commission contemporary works thus opening up the possibility for women to enter into competition with greater confidence.

Considering the important *role of festivals* as distributors of artists work and *cultural awards* which recognise their value and importance on a (trans)national level, transparency in decision-making of who is admitted or selected is as equally important as hiring practices in cultural institutions. At the moment, it is perceived that programming committees and juries are not well informed about women artists in general because they may not know their work personally and therefore assume there are none. This perpetuates a relationship between gender equality and artistic quality which is misleading and further segregates women. Specially trained persons with gender expertise need to be appointed as referees on such committees.

E. Monitoring and Studying Gender Equality in the Cultural Labour Market

Mainstreaming policies are aimed at changing the gender balance and can be accompanied by proactive measures such as quotas, education, earmarked financing, support to women's networks etc. They can change the composition and modes of operation of formal gate-keeping systems but they do not penetrate the world of *informal gate-keeping systems* or managerial decision-making.

In this context, national governments and the EU should consider adopting instruments which would regularly monitor both the macro and micro level gate-keeping systems and how this relates to organisational and managerial functions and practices. Such *monitoring instruments* should pay particular attention to public institutions and funding programmes at different stages of the cultural production chain including the effects on the professional development of artists, the supply, access and recognition of their works in the marketplace. In this context, it has been proposed that a new study be undertaken to examine gender and gate-keeping in the culture or creative industries where basic information is still lacking.

Future regular monitoring activities could be co-ordinated by the newly *proposed «European Gender Institute»*. On the national level, governments could use the results to, for example, question those institutions which do not proactively implement equal opportunity policies and, as a consequence, reduce the public funds they receive.

Recent monitoring initiatives using the methodology of the *Culture-Gates* study are also being undertaken in the countries of *South-East Europe* by non-govern-

mental organisations such as Balkankult¹¹⁰. The Gender Task Force of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe should encourage and support such projects being developed and carried out in the cultural sector.

F. Reconciling Professional and Family Life

Many women are consciously choosing not to have children because in many European countries there are so few support structures and measures which would enable them to do so. This also includes the «single-earner» income tax model favoured by a number of European countries as well as the provision of child care services¹¹¹. An important key to unlock gate-keeping mechanisms would be the realisation of proposals for a *reform of the child care system*. The Council Recommendation 92/241/EEC of 31 March 1992 on childcare outlines general goals to improve the quality of child care services, parental leave, workplace measures and sharing of responsibilities between men and women. It does not necessarily address the working practices of artists and other «mobile» professionals which would require night-time or flexible day care services or at least the provision of affordable all-day child care which is not available in most EU countries. It has been recommended that child care services should be more accessible to, for example, orchestra musicians who perform in late night concerts, are part of a touring ensemble or have opportunities to participate in residencies abroad. Such services could also be negotiated in their working contracts or could be included as a component of public awards/scholarships.

110 In 2003, Balkankult initiated a satellite regional project of *Culture-Gates* focussing on the position of women in the field of culture in Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro and Albania. For more information see <http://www.balkankult.org>.

111 See Irene Dingeldey, *Begünstigungen und Belastungen familialer Erwerbs-und Arbeitszeitmuster in: Steuer-und Sozialversicherungssystemen – Ein Vergleich zehn europäischer Länder*, Graue Reihe des Instituts Arbeit und Technik, 1999-04.