

Gate-keeping and Constraints on Gender Equality in Classical Music and Media Arts

Ritva Mitchell¹

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 From Pyramid or Pillars to Culture-Gates

Much of the present study has been built upon the results of «Mainstreaming, Feminisation and Glass Ceilings in Finland» written for the EU project «Women in Arts and Media Professions in Europe»². We can quote some general conclusions from our earlier study:

«From the perspective of internal Finnish dynamics, the data and assessment of this report identify some definite victories for women in the arts and media professions, especially in architecture, the visual arts, journalism, arts management and policymaking. Age group data from 1995 also promise a further march forward for younger generations of women. These promises are at present being realised e.g. in media art. On the other hand, the report also outlines and underlines some negative lines of development. The greatest of these is naturally the prevailing wage gaps, even in those public cultural institutions that have adopted equal pay for equal work policies. There are also still areas of creative work that remain relatively closed to women... The data on the choice of studies at universities do not promise a much brighter future either. But to understand these more fully would require in-depth studies which were beyond the scope of this report».

The objectives and design of the present Culture-Gates project has made it possible to continue our research and produce more in-depth analyses. This time

1 Ritva Mitchell is the Research Director of the Foundation for Cultural Policy Research in Helsinki. The interviews for this research were conducted by Marita Muukkonen (classical music) and Riikka Pelo (media art). Tuija Kurvinen collected the statistical and biographical data and Mervi Lehmusoksa did the transcriptions of the interviews. Professor Ilkka Heiskanen was scientific adviser and evaluator to the Finnish study. This article is thus very much a result of collective work, but the final responsibility of this report lies with the author.

2 See Ritva Mitchell, «Mainstreaming, Feminisation and Glass Ceilings. Women in Arts and Media Professions in Finland». In 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.

our research design focuses on two artistic fields only, of which, in the above terms, one is still «*relatively closed*» to women, that is, *classical music*³, (particularly composing, conducting and artistic leadership) and the other seems «*to fulfil the promises*» for new generations of women, that is to say *media arts*. These two fields thus have a particular position in the field of cultural production and artistic labour markets.

«Pyramid or Pillars» focussed mainly on the overall development of cultural labour markets and on the impact of mainstreaming on gender relations. The research design for «Culture-Gates» allows for a more detailed analysis of organisations, institutions and networking, as well as for the analysis of economic power and control over the formation of aesthetic/artistic standards. All this is implied in the concepts «*fields*» and «*gate-keeping*». These concepts are used to help us investigate institutional structures and the institutionalisation processes in artistic fields and labour markets. Changing structures and guiding the processes of institutionalisation are a *sine qua non* for any successful gender policies.

1.2 Fields and Gate-keeping

What do we mean when we speak of *classical music* or *media art* as «*fields*» and what do we mean by «*gate-keeping*» in these fields?

The term «field» has been used in cultural studies in at least two different ways: as a field of the contentions of tastes and symbolic values and as an organisational field analogous to a business sector. The former meaning is inherent in the works of Pierre Bourdieu⁴, the latter has become prominent through the works of Paul DiMaggio⁵. We will not discuss these two approaches in any greater detail here, but use them only to focus and conceptualise our research. They help us, in particular, to bring in the different «economics» underlying the organisation of gate-keeping in the arts and culture and help us focus our research on gate-keeping from the

3 The term «classical music» includes contemporary art music.

4 See particularly Pierre Bourdieu, «The Forms of Capital». In: John G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood, New York, 1986, and Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*. Stanford UP, Stanford, 1996.

5 DiMaggio and Powell suggest that «...highly structured organisational fields provide a context in which individual efforts to deal rationally with uncertainty and constraint often lead, in the aggregate, to homogeneity in structure, culture and output», see Paul DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, «The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organisational Fields.» In: *American Sociological Review* 2: 147-160, p. 147, 1983.

gender point of view.

In the «Bourdieu-approach», the issue is very much that of *symbolic power*, the power to decide where the artistic field is moving: what are the criteria for aesthetic quality and excellence; how are they developed in a continuous contention and «battle of tastes» and how do they lead to the inclusion or exclusion of artists/artistic leaders in mainstream artistic development? In the «DiMaggio-approach» the main issue is organisational success, where managerial strategies play the main role. The organisations in a given artistic field compete and/or form alliances with each other and with the stakeholders (policy makers, sponsors, audiences etc.). Although the quality of the artistic product is important, economic success is considered to be at least on an equal footing, and finding the optimum between artistic excellence and the highest possible economic return is the aim of managerial strategies.

In order to understand the formation and functioning of artistic fields we must take both of these approaches into account: on the one hand the search for artistic excellence – and also for those with the power to define «excellence» – and on the other hand the economic considerations that also exist in arts organisations. These considerations are intertwined and their effects in any given cultural field are often unpredictable, especially in the longer term. Most arts organisations aim at some kind of optimising solution, where excellence also produces short-term economic profits – or at least «sufficient» non-profit-making returns. Strategies that aim at maximum economic outcome may turn out well in the short term but can neglect investments for the future by not giving opportunities to new artists or new aesthetic expressions. Investments in the latter may be economically less successful in the short term, but can, however, also bring economic returns in the long term. They can be risky for a given art institution, but necessary for the vitality of the artistic field. The choice between these strategies and their successes and failures depend very much on the behaviour and decisions made by gate-keepers (educators, curators, critics, media, artistic managers, art agencies, chief conductors etc.).

These considerations do not only concern single artistic productions, but also the funding of arts institutions. Financiers – be they in the public or the private sector – often consider their strategies in similar terms, i.e. in terms of guaranteed quality and secured economic returns. These optimising problems are reflected e.g. in the enormous investments made by governments in major opera houses, and the subsequent requirements placed on the opera as a company, partly at least, to finance its own activities.

The same question of optimising can also be seen in arts education. Should

educators focus on producing «good professionals» in quantity? OR, invest their time and efforts in developing exceptional talents and wresting something new and unheard of out of them? OR, develop an optimising strategy between these two alternatives? The choice, of course, is seldom in the hands of individual teachers and mentors alone; objectives and economic parameters are set by the directors of educational institutions and in the final analysis by those, who decide on public budgets or plan the overall curricula.

Although the idea of optimising may make sense, reality cannot be explained by such logic alone, without taking the systems of gate-keeping into account. How could we, for example, otherwise explain that the repertoires of major European symphony orchestras still concentrate on some 200+ Western composers of past centuries, and particularly on those of Germanic origin?

Researchers have been well aware of the central role gate-keepers play in influencing the choices and the shaping of developments in the arts and culture. They have reminded us, for instance, of the following «spheres of influence» in gate-keeping which are usually very complex and intertwined:

- gate-keeping in funding;
- gate-keeping in aesthetic judgements;
- gate-keeping in access to channels of production and distribution; and
- gate-keeping in education.

In this respect, gate-keepers determine who/what is funded or not, influence aesthetic judgements, assess educational performance (success as a student), influence access to employment, production and distribution, etc. Furthermore, although gate-keeping is usually justified in collective artistic or economic terms, it is actually individualistic in practice, and gate-keepers often also move from one sphere of influence to another. The following list of gate-keeping activities that appear in any artistic field reminds us of their reach of influence:

- setting criteria and applying it in practice through the recruitment of students into artistic education and training institutions;
- providing/not providing special teaching/mentoring to students in education and training programmes;
- assessing educational success, crediting and providing formal professional qualifications;
- setting criteria for membership in professional associations, applying them in practice;
- setting criteria for artistic competencies and applying them in selection procedures (employing orchestra musicians, selecting soloists and individual artists to take part in exhibitions, etc.);

- deciding and managing access, that is, having compositions published and played, operas performed, paintings, video installations exhibited, etc.;
- mustering media critique and media exposure;
- carrying out peer-group reviews for grants, prizes, awards and projects;
- writing art histories or other authoritative documents and defining at the same time past and present criteria for artistic excellence.

This list leads us to two important processes which shape not only the development of gate-keeping, but also other aspects of artistic and economic activities in the fields of art and culture. They are professionalisation and institutionalisation.

1.3 Professionalisation, Gate-keeping, Institutionalisation and Gender Relations

The list of gate-keeping activities presents gate-keepers as actors having roles and positions in relation to professional artists. Gate-keeping, however, is not a profession or an occupation, although the main groups of gate-keepers may have their occupations within the art world. Although some of these occupations can be considered «gate-keeping professions» (e.g. curators, critics), gate-keeping activities are usually a special function linked to these occupations (art teachers, artistic directors, conductors etc.). In contrast to the art world, there are gate-keepers whose main profession or occupation lies outside the art world itself, in politics (like members of parliamentary cultural committees, ministers of culture, decision makers at the ministries of culture), in companies (sponsors and their advisors) or in interest organisations (trade unions).

The art world gate-keepers often have the competence to act as gate-keepers in two or even more professional or occupational positions. A composer can be a teacher at an art university, a music teacher can become a music critic, etc. Professional artists can be appointed to positions where they become gate-keepers in respect to their colleagues. This is the case e.g. in peer-group evaluation for grants and prizes and in art education.

We have used two terms «occupation and profession» which are crucial for our understanding of gate-keeping in any given artistic field. «Occupation» usually refers to definite skills which a person has acquired through formal education and/or practical training and which makes him/her competent to be employed in a given type of work. «Profession» in turn refers to a more general educational competence and implies acquired knowledge as well as the competence and authority to use this knowledge. From an organisational point of view, W. Richard

Scott provides a good definition of professionals:

«Professionals differ from other classes of employees not only in the relative amount of power they exercise (in organisations) but in what aspects of work they attempt to control. As distinct from unions, professional occupations have sought to exercise control not only over the conditions of work (pay, benefits and safety), but over the definition of the work itself. Professionals attempt to employ their power to shape the institutional frameworks supporting their activities in the broadest possible terms: they seek cognitive control – insisting that they are uniquely qualified to determine what types of problems fall under their jurisdiction and how these problems are categorised and processed; they seek normative control, determining who has the right to exercise authority over the decisions and actors in what situations, and they seek regulatory control, determining what actions are to be prohibited and permitted and what sanctions are to be used.»⁶

Scott's comments pertain to highly professionalised fields, such as education and medicine, which are built upon accredited authority (of scientists and professors, doctors and physicians) and where knowledge, norms and regulations are usually well documented and where this documentation describes definite spheres of professionalism. In this context, the concept of gate-keeping has different political connotations regarding collective bargaining, informal networking and pressure group activities.

In the fields of art and culture we must, however, look at professions and professionalisation from the perspective of both artists and those in 'organising and supporting' occupations. These two sides are also more closely linked in the definition of professionalism than e.g. in the case of medicine. This is due to the fact that being a «professional artist» usually has two different sides: educational and accredited occupational skills as well as recognised «proved» competence on the basis of artistic achievements. The «organising and supporting» occupations also have two sides: professionalism in the management of art institutions and organisations (e.g. symphony orchestras) and in the promotion of the careers of professional artists (e.g. agencies). In both cases the second aspect of professionalism, competence in acquiring recognition (in the case of artists) and competence in promoting artists (in the case of organising and supporting professions) tends to defy all formal definitions. This means that gate-keeping processes and gate-keepers play a central role in defining the professionalism and the competencies upon which professionalism is based.

This does not mean denying that occupational education, training, formal cre-

6 W. Richard Scott, *Institutions and Organisations*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 1995 p. x.

dentials and competence criteria do not have a role in the development of artistic fields. They certainly have, but there are criteria, norms, rules and regulations that are more or less informal and are based on the tacit professional knowledge possessed by artists and other professionals in the field. *This tacit knowledge is used especially in gate-keeping processes and is also tested and changed through them.* Depending on the level of institutionalisation, this tacit knowledge is also more or less well-organised and more or less strictly observed in maintaining cognitive control in different fields of the arts. This tacit knowledge and its use is crucial in respect to gender relations and gender balance in all fields of arts and culture.

The term «institutionalisation» takes us from the individual level of occupations, professions and professionalism to the organisational level of the arts and culture. The institutionalisation of a field refers to the formation of mutually competing and/or co-operating collectivities that have internal (often hierarchical) structures and produce products or services for the society at large or for some specific groups of the population. Institutionalisation appears as a growing similarity between institutions and their organisation into more or less successful hierarchies. Here we can return to DiMaggio and Bourdieu. They both consider institutionalisation as a *sine qua non* for the formation of a field; yet they offer different reasons. The DiMaggio-approach assumes that this similarity results from economic competition; the Bourdieu-approach in turn suggests that similarity increases when one set of aesthetic criteria wins and excludes others.

We need a combination of these two approaches for our study. We do not try to integrate them here, however, but let our research project find out how these different aspects have made themselves felt in our two fields. However, we can already propose that:

- in highly institutionalised fields, both artistic professionalism and the professionalism of «organising and supporting» occupations are more pronounced than in less institutionalised fields;
- institutionalisation and increased professionalism do not, however, make tacit professional knowledge and gate-keeping processes less important but, quite the contrary, make them even more refined and more tied to artistic practices, merits and recognition;
- because changing gender relations and gender balance depends to a large extent on gate-keeping processes and on the formation of norms, rules and regulations, that are based on tacit professional knowledge; it might be more difficult, or at least more problematic, to overcome gender inequalities in a highly professionalised and institutionalised artistic field than in one which is less so.

These statements are crucial from the point of view of the design of our present

study. The two fields we are studying are, of all artistic fields, probably furthest from each other in respect to professionalisation and institutionalisation. Classical music is, practically by definition, one of the most professionalised and institutionalised artistic fields, whereas media arts is a field that is still undergoing the basic processes of professionalisation and institutionalisation. This means that access to education, production, distribution and making a career is more strictly controlled («gate-kept») in classical music than in media art where the systems and standards of gate-keeping are still evolving. We can also expect that gender strategies differ in these fields. In classical music the strategy is probably that of the gradual «*elevation*» (*mainstreaming*) of women, whereas in media art we can expect to find more *definite gender-based battles and defence of stronger gender-based-identities*.

1.4 On Institutionalisation and Labour Markets

The studies of arts organisations and their institutionalisation often focus only on their structures and pay little or no attention to the organisation of the three important supply side-factors: *the supply of manpower* (conductors, musicians, art managers, etc.), *the production of creative works* (compositions, video installations etc.) and *the distribution of goods and services* (works of art, cultural products, performances/exhibitions).

The gate-keeping approach of our project, however, makes it necessary for us to look at these three supply side factors and the chains of economic values they initiate. The first is the *manpower chain* that proceeds from recruitment to artistic education through receiving credits and grades and then to employment or professional break-through. This chain can be illustrated by the career of a musician or a composer. The *production chain* proceeds with a creative idea or an original work of art, leading to the acceptance of this work for production and to the reception by audiences/consumers and finally even turning into a classical work. We should not look at these «realised» and «commodified» creative ideas and visions only as results of individual creative efforts, but also as a part of a stock of intangible cultural assets of society (or even mankind), maintained and replenished through new creative processes and the re-use of old stock through new performances and interpretations⁷. The third supply side factor concerns the *distribution chain*: pro-

⁷ For the discussion of intangible assets see for example Danielle Cliche, Ritva Mitchell and Andreas Wiesand in collaboration with Ilkka Heiskanen and Luca Dal Pozzolo, *Creative Europe: On the Governance and Management of Creativity in Europe*. ARCuL Media, Bonn 2002. The history of classical music shows that only very few, if really any, works by female composers are part of these intangible assets.

moting artists, making publishing and copyright contracts, acquiring the rights for works of art, organising exhibitions, concerts and sales etc.

Gate-keeping and gate-keepers play a crucial role in all these supply-side chains, as well as in successes on the «demand side». The supply-side chains are under the influence of teachers, mentors, artists' organisations and agencies, the artistic directors of festivals and the general managers of arts institutions; the demand-side chains are determined by critics, the media at large and peer-group evaluation systems, to mention but a few.

The dividing line between the supply and the demand side of gate-keeping is blurred and there are intricate interconnections and communications between different groups of gate-keepers. Teachers and mentors (particularly professors of prestigious art academies) can influence those gate-keepers who recruit musicians to symphony orchestras and select works of art for performances and exhibitions; they can also themselves sit on the boards of competitions and prize-giving bodies⁸. The system – or systems – of gate-keeping can also be more or less institutionalised. Media exposure and criticism can be less institutionalised and standardised (but not less powerful) than entry procedures to professional associations of artists or the way in which musicians are recruited to symphony orchestras. The selection processes for works of art to be chosen for exhibitions and peer-group evaluation processes that assess artistic excellence and achievements for rewarding grants, awards and prizes are usually also highly institutionalised.

Labour markets for artists, performers, artistic directors and managers etc. are not limited to national borders either, but are becoming increasingly international. The same is true of gate-keeping systems, and, given the cosmopolitan nature of most fields of art and classical music and media arts in particular, international gate-keeping systems can sometimes be even more important than national ones and sometimes even overrule them. This also holds true for education.

We also need to make a distinction between mainstream artistic labour markets, functioning within a system of highly institutionalised organisations like symphony orchestras and opera houses and the more loosely organised and more *mobile labour markets* for freelance artists and artistic directors and managers. These mobile labour markets tend to concentrate either on top professionals, for example, on world-renowned conductors and soloists, or on *incidental labour markets* for artists who can get a contract for a season or for a single production as well as gaining commissions from diverse agencies and

8 This became very evident when we studied the CVs of the gate-keepers whom we interviewed for this study.

bodies. This division is often fed by another division – the division between established «serious arts» and «entertainment» where the latter can offer short term contracts to the former. There are also «*side-markets*» even in the well-institutionalised sectors for freelance work that professionals can take to increase their income. A musician having a permanent long-term contract with an orchestra can play in a temporarily set up chamber orchestra or acquire additional earnings as a teacher at a music school or an academy. Gate-keeping systems in these «mobile», «incidental» and «side» labour markets are more complex than in highly institutionalised ones.

We cannot, however, research empirically all the complexities of artistic production and labour markets. Our focus in this study is mainly on gender and equal opportunities. Yet we hope that our conclusions will reach beyond sheer gender concerns.

1.5 Material, Methods and Order of Presentation

According to the overall design of our European comparative project, the Finnish study aimed at collecting data on the gender situation in major organisations, on relevant gate-keeping systems and on the careers of both artists and gate-keepers in the fields of classical music and media arts. The information collected on career development was to be both *objective* (biographical) and *subjective* (based on extensive interviews). Although the difference between the two made the research design particularly interesting, it also caused problems in collecting comparable data in the two fields.

In the field of *classical music*, the symphony orchestra system was used as a vantage point in having access to production and distribution systems. Statistics on orchestras – their composition and programming– was collected from all professional symphony orchestras in Finland. A more detailed case study analysis was carried out in respect to the orchestra of the National Opera and three leading symphony orchestras: the Radio Symphony Orchestra, the Helsinki City Philharmonic Orchestra and the Lahti Symphony Orchestra. Case study data was also collected from three important music festivals: the Helsinki Festival, the Savonlinna Opera Festival and the Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival⁹. In these case studies, comparable data was collected on the choice of works performed, conductors and musicians, artistic and general managers and on the overall pro-

9 An overall description of these cases can be found in the longer report of the Finnish study, forthcoming in 2003.

gramme-planning process. From orchestras and festivals we moved on to collect data on education, limiting our focus, however, on university level education, that is to say, on the Sibelius Academy of Music. We also collected information on the financing and labour market situation in the field of classical music.

After this we drew up an interview list composed of *five female artists* (composers and conductors), and ten crucially located gate-keepers (three men and seven women) including: peer-group evaluators, public decision makers and politicians, intendants/artistic managers, and teachers/mentors. The interview data served also as «informants-data source». It was thus also used to reveal networks of influence and for interpreting organisational and institutional data and observed gender inequalities. The choice of gate-keepers was naturally «weighted» towards women, and consequently the role of some important gate-keepers (leading male conductors in chief, for example) was not explored directly by interviewing them, but indirectly via female managers who had made a long career in several professional positions and were located at the cross-roads where they could observe the field as a whole.

Lacking a core institutional system, choosing the interviewee-informants in *media arts* was more problematic. Yet, in the process of data collection, it was possible to locate the central organisations contributing to the on-going process of institutionalisation in the field. The organisations that provided us with our «sample» were:

- four professional organisations (Muu ry, AV-Arkki, Katastroph.fi and m-cult) which had been involved (partly sequential and partly in parallel) in the development of the field since the late 1980s;
- three universities in particular offering university level education in the field of media arts including the Helsinki University of Arts and Design/Media Lab, the Fine Arts Academy/Programme of Time and Space and the University of Lapland/ Faculty of Art and Design;
- Kiasma, the Museum of Contemporary Art which provides facilities and the main exhibition space for media artists;
- a number of festivals providing platforms and exhibition opportunities for media artists, such as the MuuMedia Festival and the View-Festival of New Media Arts;
- two agencies/bodies, which provide financing for the field, AVEK (The Promotion Centre for Audiovisual Culture in Finland) and the Arts Council of Finland/an expert panel for media arts.

The choice of potential interviewees took place parallel to the identification of the core organisations. The initiators of projects, study programmes, new

organisations and platforms were «natural gate-keepers». From among them five persons, four men and one woman were selected as interviewees. Due to the ongoing institutionalisation process, the yet-unshaped criteria of professionalism, the delineation between gate-keepers and artists was not always easy. Yet, on the basis of biographical information on works, exhibitions and prizes, six artists (five women and one man) were chosen.

The interviews of artists and gate-keepers in both fields were carried out along the lines agreed upon by the comparative European project. The interviewers, however, were given only the main themes, and they could be conducted according to additional clues that came up during the interview process. This was important, because many of the references in the interviews were interpersonal, that is to say, the names of other influential persons popped up and their role in the field could be assessed by additional questions. This was especially important in the case of media arts, because of its transitional network nature and the ongoing institutionalisation process.

The organisational data and the interviews supported each other and provided a rather cohesive picture of the two fields and their gender situation. Many stones had to be left unturned because of time limitations. Thus e.g. a detailed study on the commissioning of compositions and the relationship between classical music institutions, the media and the music industry could not be sufficiently explored. Yet the interviews do provide a general overview of the main gate-keeping issues in these areas.

Our study has a three-tier design, focusing on the overall economic and political context, on the institutional and organisational level and on the individual level of the gate-keeping and professional careers of artists. From the point of view of gate-keeping, we focussed on gate-keepers that have their occupations or professions mainly in the art world itself. The influence and impact of so called external gate-keepers, political decision makers, civil servants in the ministries and representatives of culture industries or ITC companies were not analysed from the structural point of view but explored mainly through the statements of our interviewees.

The reasons for this focus on internal, art world gate-keeping at the expense of external, business world or political gate-keeping is partly dictated by our research interest, partly by the nature of the Finnish system of politics and the governance of culture. In contrast to our study for «Pyramid or Pillars», our focus is now on such aspects of professional artistic labour markets and such gender issues, where «internal» art world gate-keeping is of crucial importance. As our earlier study bears witness, the Finnish legalistic and corporatist system also sets boundaries to

the influence of external gate-keepers¹⁰. This is not to say that political decision-makers do not have a say in the formation of artistic labour markets and related gate-keeping processes and gender issues. They certainly do, but issues, like those pertaining to employment policies, social security, equal pay for equal work and quota systems are dealt with from a wider economic, political and social point of view, not from the point of view of the artistic labour force as such.

Comparisons of the two fields, classical music and media arts, play an important role at all stages of our analysis. The role of the interview data should be emphasised once more. Without the interpretations provided by our informants, the study would scarcely have amounted to much more than gender related cultural statistics.

The structure of the study follows our three-tier design. Section 2 presents the Finnish cultural and institutional context, sections 3 and 4 give an overview of the gender situation in the two fields, and sections 5 and 6 provide a detailed analysis of the relations and interaction between artists and gate-keepers and their impact on the gender situation. In the conclusions we will return to discuss the more general issues of the institutional constraints and economics of gender from the perspective of the present labour market situation and its future development.

10 The legalistic and corporatist nature of the Finnish governance of the arts and culture brings in administrative continuity and stability. Appointments to arm's length bodies and national cultural institutions are political, but, due to the corporatist and legalistic constraints, these «politics» seldom show as attempts to influence the autonomy of the cultural and art institutions themselves or the peer-group assessments of funding agencies.

2. CONTEXTS, INSTITUTIONS AND LABOUR MARKETS

2.1 ... in Classical Music¹¹

As regards public financing of the arts, classical music is a field *par excellence* in Finland. Its share in 2001 was some 40% of the overall arts budget of the Ministry of Education and Culture. This figure, however, only includes grants to artists and state subsidies for the current costs of the orchestras, the National Opera, music institutes and festivals – capital investments and music education, which come under the education budget, are excluded.

The high level of institutionalisation in the field of classical music is based on networks of symphony orchestras, music festivals and on an extensive system of music education. The Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras had 27 member orchestras in 2000 (by 2003 its membership had grown into 29 orchestras). Thirteen of them were professional city symphony orchestras, one was the Orchestra of the National Opera and eight were professional chamber or semi-professional symphony orchestras and five other orchestras.

In 2001 central government support for symphony orchestras was EUR 11.3 million, most symphony orchestras are part of the city administration and the cities themselves invested some EUR 33 million in orchestras. These figures do not include the Radio Symphony Orchestra (RSO, financed by the Finnish Broadcasting Company) or the Orchestra of the National Opera. The National Opera received a state subsidy of EUR 35.2 million in 2001; some EUR 6 million went to the orchestra, as was also the annual budget of the RSO.

With 112 permanent musicians, the National Opera has the largest orchestra in Finland, followed by the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra and the Radio Symphony Orchestra with 98 permanent musicians in each.

It has been estimated that the number of persons employed in all artistic professions in Finland is about 15,000-17,000. The main institutions of performing arts, that is to say symphony orchestras and professional theatres, employ some 15-20% of this total. The number of artists working in the private sector of the performing arts makes up some 45% of this labour force, with musicians being by far the largest group. On the whole, Finnish symphony orchestras employed 915 permanent musicians and about the same amount of 'manpower' years were spent on temporary musicians.

¹¹ We remind the reader that we mean by classical music both classical and «serious» contemporary art music.

The educational system is an important component in the classical music field, and in the formation of the labour markets for those graduating from the Sibelius Academy of Music. The Finnish system of education in classical music is considered to be one of the most extensive in the world. It starts from publicly subsidised basic music education for children, proceeds through two levels of vocational training, with the university level at the top¹².

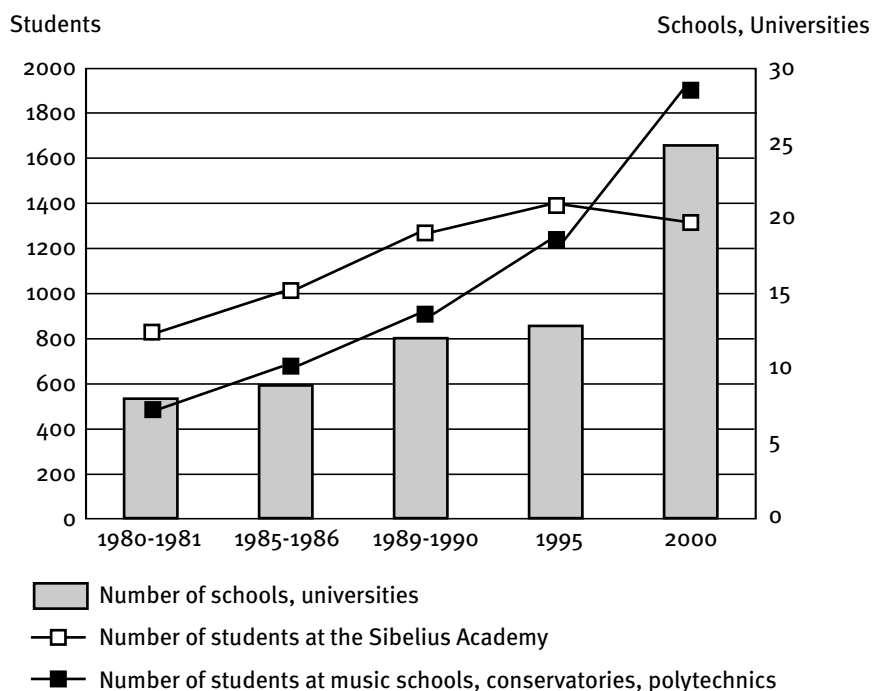
Practically all university-level training is given at the Sibelius Academy of Music, where the competition is extremely tough, as it is to all Finnish art universities. The Sibelius Academy provides a great variety of study programmes. It offers degrees from the Bachelor's to the Doctoral level and the teaching staff consists (2002) of 173 full-time and about 300 part-time teachers. The degree programmes offered are: Church Music, Composition and Music Theory, Folk Music, Jazz, Music Technology, Orchestral and Choral Conducting, Performance and Vocal Music and Arts Management. In addition to its campus in Helsinki, the Academy has premises in three other Finnish cities.

There have been complaints by the Association of Finnish Musicians (representing some 3,300 musicians) that the educational system has been expanded too much and that there are too many graduates entering the labour market in comparison to available work opportunities. Figure 1 illustrates the expansion of the educational and training opportunities and number of students, Table 1 provides some information on the employment opportunities.

12 Some 3,400 students received music education at vocational, polytechnic and university levels in 2001. At the vocational level the share of women was 53%, in polytechnics 64 % and at the university level 55 %.

Figure 1

Training and Education in Music: Facilities and Students in 1980-2000



Source: Report of the Working Group on Vocational Training in Music, Ministry of Education, 2002

As shown in Figure 1, the expansion since 1995 has been exponential, mainly due to the establishment of new polytechnics in the 1990s (29 of them) and the consequent increase in study programmes.

There is no information on what effects the expansion of training has had on the overall labour market of graduates in music. Table 1 shows the labour market situation of students having graduated from the Sibelius Academy in the 1980s and 1990s in relation to graduates from other art universities. It shows that employment opportunities have been relatively good: the share of graduates who have experienced employment problems is lower than that of other art universities and only three percent were actually unemployed at the time the survey was carried out. There is, however, a clear differentiation between opportunities in the labour market for men and women after their graduation. As we shall see, most musicians employed by symphony orchestras are still men, most musicians employed by Finnish parishes are women. To take another example: in 2000 the share of women members of the Association of Music Teachers at Schools (primary and secondary level, N=474) was 73%, and the share of women in the Music Teachers Association (music colleges and institutes, professional training, N=2,200) was 58%.

Table 1 Labour Market Situation, Employment and Career Development of Graduates from Four Finnish Art Universities in the 1980 and 1990s

	Theatre Academy (a)	Sibelius Academy (b)	Academy of Fine Arts (c)	University of Art and Design (d)
Graduation years	1979-92	1985-95	1980-94	1983-92
No of graduates in the survey	209	1,045	79	224
Labour market characteristics	Employees Freelancers	Employees Freelancers	«Free» artists Side-jobs	Employees Entrepreneurs Freelancers
Most important employers	Theatres TV and Radio Cinema	Orchestras Music schools Parishes TV and Radio	Self employed Art schools	Industries, Entrepreneurs, Freelancers
Share of freelancers/ self employed (exclusively)	38%	8%	21%	9%
Share which experienced employment difficulties	48%	17%	N/A	55%
Main sources of income	Artistic work 86% Art related work 24%	Artistic work 39% Art related work (teaching) 51%	Artistic work 27% Art related work (teaching) 40%	Artistic work 77% Art related work 9%
Proportion of those having a second job	16%	12%	41%	24%
Share which received a grant from the Arts Council or foundations	30%	17%	41%	18%
Share which received prizes (competitions)	18%	31%	34%	17%
Proportion of unemployed	11%	3%	13%	9%
Share of women in the survey	51%	61%	55%	66%

Source: Compiled from the survey results in Paula Karhunen, Trained Artists in the Marketplace. An Overview of the Graduate Surveys. Arts Council of Finland, Helsinki 1999.

- a) Survey conducted in 1993
- b) Survey conducted in 1997
- c) Survey conducted in 1995
- d) Survey conducted in 1993

The cosmopolitan nature of classical music, especially among symphony orchestras, is also reflected in their programming. Table 2 compares the number of Finnish and foreign composers whose works are most performed by Finnish orchestras. The figures and names reflect the dominance of the famous 200+ composers¹³.

Table 2

Number of Finnish and Foreign Composers Performed by Finnish Symphony, Chamber and Semi-Professional Orchestras in 1997 and 2001

	1997		2001	
	T	%	T	%
Finns	63	21%	82	24%
Foreigners	237	79%	261	76%
Total	300	100%	343	100%

Source: Compiled from the statistics of the Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras and concert calendars and annual reports of individual orchestras.

2.2 ...in Media Arts

The media arts field is minuscule compared to that of classical music. It is also a field that is undergoing a process of institutionalisation and professionalisation as the following brief overview shows.

1) *The creation of the field in the 1970s and the early 1980s* by amateur video artists and a few art and technology (A&T) enthusiasts. The first Finn, Ms. Mervi Deylitz-Kytösalmi studied video art in Dusseldorf, and video art was made known to the general public by a couple of exhibitions, especially one held at the Helsinki Ateneum – ARS 1983.

2) *The institutionalisation of Finnish video art in 1985-1990*, and the related affirmation of video, installations, and performances as legitimate forms of art. The first video art courses were organised in 1985 at the Academy of Fine Arts and the Theatre Academy. In 1990 the former led to the establishment of the Time Space-

¹³ The top twenty composers in the foreign repertoire of the leading 13 symphony orchestras and the National Opera/Ballet in 2001 were: Mozart, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Verdi, Puccini, Wagner, Brahms, Strauss, Haydn, Prokofjev, Stravinski, Mahler, Ravel, Lehar, Bach, Mendelssohn, Rahmaninov, Berg, Dvorak and Shostakovich. The total number of composers performed was 176. The top ten Finnish composers in the same orchestras during the same year were: Sibelius, Rautavaara, Sallinen, Aho, Hämeenniemi, Raitio, Bergman, Merikanto, Palmgren and Salonen.

Programme at the Academy of Fine Arts which also included video art. These new openings were organisationally co-ordinated in 1987 by the founding of the multidisciplinary association MUU (« the OTHER» or, verbatim «something else»). The Centre for the Promotion of Audiovisual Culture was founded in the same year, and MUU set up an information and distribution archive - AV-Arkki - in 1989. There continued to be exhibitions of video art and new activities were initiated in the field of audiovisual art.

3) *The advent of digital and interactive media art* (e.g. installations and CD-ROM's) in 1990-1995 was heralded in by special exhibitions and «guide-book» types of publications. Finnish media artists started to gain international acclaim for their works. The electronic arts symposium ISEA '94 was organised in Helsinki. The first Finnish video and media artists (Marita Liulia and Marikki Hakola) received long-term artists grants from the Arts Council of Finland in 1995. New art and technology centres along with university labs and study programmes were established at the University of Lapland (the Programme of Digital Media Art, Science and Design, 1992), at the University of Tampere (Hypermedia Lab, 1992) and at the University of Art and Design Helsinki (Media Lab in 1993).

4) *The advent of net-art in 1995 - 2000* was introduced in Finland by a special exhibition and the establishment of the production and training environment/server MuuMediaBase in 1994 (which closed down its interactive international activities due to financial problems in 1998). New, but rather small, public funding schemes were initiated by the Centre for the Promotion of Audiovisual Culture (in 1996) and the Arts Council of Finland (in 1997); and new training and study programmes such as the Programme of Music Technology at the Sibelius Academy were set up. In 1998 the Museum of Contemporary Art (Kiasma) began to function in a new building which provided facilities and programmes for media arts. New professional networks and associations were founded (like the media art association Katastro.fi, 1998) and the media culture association m-cult (2000). While these institutionalisation processes were going on, Finnish media artists (mainly women like Marita Liulia, Eija-Liisa Ahtila, Milla Moilanen and Marikki Hakola) gathered prizes and critical acclaim at international exhibitions for their video, multimedia and net-art works.

The above short description of the development of this artistic field reveals the main pillars of its institutionalisation: professional associations, training and education, art and media labs and special exhibitions, platforms and festivals. It also gives a picture of the multiplicity involved, yet hides some of the tensions that media arts has inherited from the earlier Art and Technology-movements. These tensions are due to the inherent links that technology has – with or without art – to

the business sector. Tension between artistic aspirations and commercial interests appear on two levels: public financing and the organisation of artistic work. Public financing of this artistic field is very scarce; the financing of new technologies and SMEs has been more forthcoming, but such financing also expects fast economic returns from its investments. In other words media art projects can turn into industrial R&D projects. Many media artists must work for businesses (e.g. advertising, web-based design and development), while still wanting to continue their independent artistic work. For example, recent efforts by m-cult, the association of media culture, aim at affirming the position of media arts as a new artistic field to be financed on a par with «the more established» arts.

Due to the lack of adequate public financing¹⁴, some Finnish media artists have established companies of their own. This has forced them to divide their time between art and business, but giving them the opportunity to apply for public R&D funding¹⁵ and thus earn money to finance their artistic work.

Female artists have played a central role in the formation of Finnish media arts. It is still, however, an artistic field consisting of a rather limited number of professionals and has unstructured and fluctuating labour markets. There are some 100-120 video, multimedia and new media artists in Finland. If we add to this the labour force backing up the artists – technicians, sound engineers etc. – some 500 people are involved in the artistic production of media arts. Educational programmes have multiplied in recent years and the number of students has steadily increased¹⁶. Students graduating from these programmes, however, can seldom start their professional careers as independent artists, but must find employment in the business sector (as web-designers etc.).

14 In 2001 AVEK (Finnish Promotion Centre for Audiovisual Culture) had at its disposal a sum of EUR 336,000 for the promotion of media art (project funding for individuals, but mainly production based funding, which can only be given to companies). In 2003, this sum was EUR 350,000. In 2001 the media art panel of the Arts Council of Finland had at its disposal a sum of some EUR 100,000 which was targeted to media art.

15 TEKES-The National Technology Agency had a national digital media programme in 1995-1997, which benefited some of the multimedia companies in our field of study.

16 The first students from the UIAH/Medialab graduated in 1996.

3. GENDER BALANCE IN CLASSICAL MUSIC

3.1 ... in Symphony Orchestras

Where is the seat of power for Finnish musicians?

«In every orchestra, particularly in symphony orchestras.

It's here where the pecking order starts.

At festivals, where a lot of horse trading is done.

The power of doing things together, which you are left outside.

I suppose there's no life without networks» (female interviewee).

Are conductors important as promoters of composers?

«It is, quite simply, in their hands» (female interviewee).

«In a symphony orchestra the chief conductor and the artistic directors wield the power.

The old boy's network is at work here too, unfortunately» (female interviewee).

When studying the gender balance of orchestras it is important to keep in mind the dual nature of a symphonic orchestra as an organisation. On the one hand it is an artistic production organisation *par excellence*, on the other it is a collective artistic instrument with a complex internal organisational structure. This implies dualism in its leadership structure too. On the one hand, it has financial and managerial leadership responsible for the orchestra's interface with its stakeholders and sources of resources in society at large: financiers, paying audiences, labour unions, copyright organisations, etc. On the other hand, an orchestra as a collective artistic instrument is structured internally into vertically and hierarchically differentiated positions of musicians who work under the artistic leadership of the chief conductor (alone or in collaboration with an Intendant, depending on the traditions of management).

How this dual structure functions in practice is not the issue of our present study. Our interest is on gender: on the access of women to both types of leadership positions, administrative/ managerial and artistic. The role of the chief conductor often rises, in the analyses of an orchestra's organisation, to a prominent position, because of his/her assumed absolute power over the orchestra¹⁷. We will not ana-

17 Elias Canetti has described this role in the following manner: «His eyes hold the whole orchestra. Every player feels that the conductor sees him personally, and still more, hears him... He is inside the mind of every player. He knows not only what each should be doing but what he is doing. He is the living embodiment of law, both positive and negative. His hands decree and prohibit... And since, during the performance, nothing is supposed to exist except this work, for so long is the conductor

lyse programme planning *per se* either, but focus our attention on the likelihood of works by female composers being performed by an orchestra.

Table 3 provides us with an overview of the development of gender balance in the employment of musicians in Finland's main symphony orchestras. The table bears witness to the fact that gender balance – the share of women – is presently stable at some 30 percent, and that the number of female musicians has remained the same over the past five years. This is somehow at odds with the fact that increasing numbers of women are being trained as instrumentalists at the Sibelius Academy of Music.

There is no clear development pattern in respect to the highest positions in the hierarchy of musicians – e.g. the posts of concert-masters and section leaders. But as recently as 1986 it was still «...a bit of a scandal for a woman to even apply for the position of concert master», as a female interviewee put it.

Table 4 provides a more detailed view of gender balance in four main orchestras. No woman has ever gained the position of either chief conductor or artistic director. The highest artistic leadership positions have been the domain of men. In the history of Finnish symphony orchestras, there has never been a female chief conductor or an artistic director. Ms. Susanna Mälkki, born in 1970, was the first Finnish female conductor to take the podium in front of the Radio Symphony orchestra in 1999¹⁸.

In other symphony orchestras the gender situation follows approximately the same pattern¹⁹, with some exceptions. Women seem to have gained a better position in some smaller orchestras or temporarily performing chamber music orchestras. For example, the artistic director and the chief conductor of the recently created Tampere Chamber Orchestra is a woman, actually the first woman in Finland having received a diploma in orchestral conducting from the Sibelius Academy of Music²⁰.

ruler of the world», cited in Norman Lebrecht, *The Maestro Myth, Great Conductors in Pursuit of Power*. Pocket Books, London, 1997, p. 2.

18 The first female conductor to take the podium in front of the RSO was Dutch-born American conductor Antonia Brico in 1947. She came to Finland at the invitation of Jean Sibelius himself to conduct some of his works in Helsinki. It took over 50 years after her visit to Helsinki for a woman to take the conductor's baton again at the RSO.

19 The first female employed by the Radio Symphony Orchestra (established in 1927) was harpist Ilona Juutilainen in 1949 followed by the first female violinist Aili Vitikka in 1952. Now fifty years after Aili Vitikka was employed by RSO 41% of 1st violinists and 62% of 2nd violinists are already women in the same orchestra.

20 This orchestra is made up of the musicians employed by the Tampere Symphony Orchestra.

Table 3

Share of Women as Employed Musicians in Symphony Orchestras, 1997-2001

	1997		1998	
Symphony orchestras (N=14)	Total	% F	Total	% F
Finnish National Opera O.	112	36	112	38
Helsinki Philharmonic O.	97	26	97	24
Radio Symphony O.	98	29	98	33
Tampere Philharmonic O.	83	28	83	28
Turku Philharmonic O.	74	35	73	36
Sinfonia Lahti	59	24	59	24
Oulu Symphony O.	53	25	53	24
Kuopio Symphony O.	46	16	46	15
Espoo City O. (Tapiola Sinfonietta)	37	51	37	51
Jyväskylä Symphony O.	33	18	33	21
Joensuu City O.	32	31	32	31
Vaasa City O.	32	20	31	23
Kymi Sinfonietta*	33	17	33	17
Pori City O.	28	25	28	21
Total	817	28	815	29
Chamber orchestras and semi-professional orchestras(N=8)				
Lappeenranta City Orchestra	21	30	20	30
Ostrobothnian Chamber Orchestra	20	45	20	45
Lapland Chamber Orchestra	13	38	13	46
Mikkeli City Orchestra	12	58	12	50
Seinäjoki Orchestra	10	20	10	20
Lohja City Orchestra	10	30	10	30
Kemi City Orchestra	5	60	4	75
Savonlinna Orchestra	4	50	4	50
Total	95	39	93	40
Total for all orchestras	912	29	908	30

*Kotka and Kouvola City (chamber) Orchestras were united at the beginning of 1999.

Source: Suomen Sinfoniaorkesterit ry. Toimintakertomus 1997-2001. (Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras. Statistics from 1997-2001).

1999		2000		2001	
Total	% F	Total	% F	Total	% F
112	34	112	35	112	34
97	26	98	24	98	24
98	29	98	30	98	31
83	28	86	32	89	34
73	36	74	42	74	35
59	25	59	27	63	32
53	25	53	27	55	33
46	16	46	16	45	16
38	51	40	47	40	49
33	24	35	32	36	37
32	31	32	31	35	29
31	23	31	24	31	28
29	18	29	28	29	31
28	21	28	25	28	25
812	29	821	31	833	31
20	30	21	38	21	38
20	45	20	39	20	45
13	46	13	38	13	31
12	50	12	36	12	42
10	10	10	20	10	20
10	11	10	20	10	20
4	75	4	75	4	75
4	50	4	50	4	50
93	37	94	36	94	37
905	29	915	31	927	32

Table 4a

Share of Women in Leading Positions in the Main Finnish Symphony Orchestras, 1990-2000

	Finnish National Opera						Radio Symphony Orchestra					
	1990		1995		2000		1990		1995		2000	
	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F
Conductors												
Chief Conductor	1	0	1	0	-	-	1	0	1	0	1	0
Conductors	3	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Subtotal	4	0	3	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0
Administration												
General Manager	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	100	1	0
Other Personnel	4	50	6	33	8	50	9	33	11	55	11	55
Subtotal	5	40	7	29	9	44	10	30	12	58	12	50
Masters and Leaders												
Concert Masters	5	20	5	20	3	33	4	25	5	20	5	40
Solo Players	5	20	6	17	4	0	5	20	5	40	14	29
Section leaders	14	14	14	21	18	33	17	6	17	6	10	0
Dep. Section Leaders	12	17	10	10	14	14	13	23	16	19	11	18
Third Players	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Subtotal	36	17	35	17	39	23	39	15	43	16	40	20

N.B. General Director of the Finnish National Opera has always been a male.

Source: Finnish National Opera Annual Reports 1990, 1995, 2000. Radio Symphony Orchestra Concert Calendar Autumn 1990, 1995, 2000. Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra Annual Report 1990, 1995, 2000 and Concert Calendar Autumn 1990, 1995, 2000. Lahti Symph. Orchestra Annual Report 1990, 1995, 2000.

Association of Finnish Symph. Orchestras Concert Calendar Autumn 1990, 1995, 2000.

Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra						Lahti Symphony Orchestra					
1990		1995		2000		1990		1995		2000	
T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F
1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
-	-	1	0	-	-	-	-	2	0	1	0
1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	2	0
3	67	2	100	1	100	1	0	1	0	1	0
6	67	7	57	7	57	4	100	5	60	6	83
9	67	9	67	8	63	5	80	6	50	7	71
3	33	3	0	4	25	3	0	3	0	3	0
3	33	3	33	2	50	3	0	3	0	2	50
14	14	14	14	14	14	16	13	14	14	16	25
14	36	12	33	13	23	11	0	13	8	12	8
5	40	4	25	3	33	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	28	36	22	36	22	33	6	33	9	33	18

Table 4b

Share of Women Musicians (by instrument) in the Main Finnish Symphony Orchestras, 1990-2000

	Finnish National Opera						Radio Symphony Orchestra					
	1990		1995		2000		1990		1995		2000	
Musicians												
1st violin	10	30	18	61	18	61	16	38	15	27	17	41
2nd violin	8	75	11	55	19	68	13	62	14	57	13	62
Viola	6	33	13	62	16	56	10	10	11	18	11	18
Cello	6	33	11	27	12	17	10	50	9	56	10	50
Double bass	4	0	9	0	9	0	8	0	8	0	7	0
Harp	1	100	2	100	2	100	1	100	1	100	1	100
Flute	5	40	4	50	4	50	4	25	5	40	4	50
Oboe	4	0	4	50	5	40	4	50	4	50	4	50
Clarinet	4	0	4	25	4	25	4	25	4	25	4	25
Bassoon	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0
Horn	6	0	7	14	9	11	5	20	6	17	6	17
Trumpet	5	0	5	0	6	0	5	0	5	0	5	0
Trombone	4	0	4	0	5	20	4	0	5	0	4	0
Tuba	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Timpani	2	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	2	0	2	0
Percussion	3	0	4	0	4	0	2	0	2	0	2	0
Piano	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	1	0	1	0
Total	73	22	104	35	121	36	94	28	97	27	96	30

Source: Finnish National Opera Annual Reports 1990, 1995, 2000. Radio Symphony Orchestra Concert Calendar Autumn 1990, 1995, 2000. Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra Annual Report 1990, 1995, 2000 and Concert Calendar Autumn 1990, 1995, 2000. Lahti Symph. Orchestra Annual Report 1990, 1995, 2000.

Association of Finnish Symph. Orchestras Concert Calendar Autumn 1990, 1995, 2000.

Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra						Lahti Symphony Orchestra					
1990		1995		2000		1990		1995		2000	
16	50	15	40	17	35	10	50	10	60	10	60
13	46	14	43	14	50	8	50	8	50	8	38
12	42	11	36	10	30	5	20	6	33	6	50
10	30	10	30	9	22	6	0	6	0	6	17
8	0	8	0	8	0	4	0	4	0	4	0
2	100	2	100	2	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	100	4	25	4	50	2	50	3	67	3	67
4	0	4	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	3	0
3	33	4	25	4	25	3	0	3	0	3	0
4	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0
6	0	6	0	6	0	4	0	4	0	4	25
4	0	4	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	3	0
4	25	4	25	4	25	3	0	3	0	3	0
1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
2	0	1	0	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
93	30	93	26	94	26	57	19	59	24	59	27

The mythical idea of a conductor in the Western art world is still very strong. Norman Lebrecht²¹ has listed a few characteristics, which outstanding conductors have in common, including: «an acute ear, the charisma to inspire musicians on first acquaintance, the will to get their own way, high organisational ability, physical and mental fitness, relentless ambition, a powerful intelligence and a natural sense of order which enables them to cut through thousands of scattered notes to the artistic core.»

Women, however, have been remarkably successful in gaining positions as Intendants (general managers) while other administrative and office posts are already rather distinctly feminised. The post of a general manager or Intendant in Finnish orchestras has been feminised at least temporarily; in recent years, women have occupied over 60% of all such positions. Our interviews explained some reasons for this development in the following manner:

«The diversity of tasks of an Intendant is enormous. You can't just be a boss. An Intendant, for example, has to pack the conductor's socks for a journey if they don't have time themselves. You have to listen to the musicians' married life and be able to do the most practical of things. Empathy for and the skill to work with artists requires a desire to understand people, support artists. Perhaps women have more patience».

«It stems in general from the fact that we are starting to have women in administrative jobs. A woman's brain is well suited to the Intendant's job, where you have to handle a great many different things at the same time».

«I think it is a good balance, if women want to take charge of things in the background. What's wrong with that?».

«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 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».

3.2 ... in Access to Performance

Tables 5 and 6 provide an overview of recent developments in the share of women's work performed by Finnish orchestras.

21 See Norman Lebrecht, op.cit., p. 8.

Table 5

Share of Female Composers Performed by Finnish Symphony or Chamber or Semi-Professional Orchestras in 1997²² and 2001²³

Number of Composers:	1997		2001	
	Total	%F	Total	%F
Finnish	63	1.6	82	6.1
Foreign	237	0	261	3.1
Total	300	0.3	343	3.8

Source: Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras. Concert Calendars Spring & Autumn 1997 & 2001. Concert calendars and the annual reports of individual orchestras 1997 & 2001.

Table 6

Number of Works by Female Composers Performed by Finnish Symphony or Chamber or Semi-Professional Orchestras in 1997 and 2001

Number of Works by:	1997		2001	
	Total	%F	Total	%F
Finnish composers	431	0.2	469	2.1
Foreign composers	1,671	0	1,707	0.6

Source: Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras. Concert Calendars Spring & Autumn 1997 & 2001. Concert calendars and the annual reports of individual orchestras 1997 & 2001.

There has been a minor break-through in orchestral programming which applies to contemporary Finnish female composers, e.g. the works performed by Saariaho, Wennäkoski and Talvitie. Saariaho was already an internationally renowned composer prior to her break-through in Finland and has actually made her career in France, her reputation in recent years having grown exponentially worldwide. Her works have not, however, been performed in Finland as frequently as this reputation would lead us to expect. Those by Wennäkoski and Talvitie have only been performed in connection with a 'Women and Music' festival and thus do not represent a real break-through in the programming of mainstream institutions. We should now have a closer look at gender balance in composing and conducting.

22 The female composer performed was Finnish Helvi Leiviskä (1902-1982) when her work «Sinfonia Brevis» was performed by the RSO.

23 The composers performed were Finnish Kaija Saariaho (b. 1952), Riikka Talvitie (b. 1970), Jovanka Trbojevic (b.1963), Lotta Wennäkoski (b. 1970) and Clara Petrozzi –Stubin (b.1965) and foreign composers Victoria Borisova-Ollas (b. 1969), Zulema de la Cruz Castillo (b. 1958), Elena Kats-Cherin (b.1957), Elizabeth Raum (b. 1957), Chaminade Cecile (1857-1944), Ruth Crawford Segger (1901-53), Sofia Gubaidulina (b. 1931) and Thea Musgrave (b.1928).

3.3 ... in the Community of Composers and Conductors

Neither micro-census nor national census data provide us with information on small professional groups such as composers. Therefore we have to rely on information received from professional associations. Of course their membership figures include only those artists who have really made a career in the arts and have already accomplished something: been commissioned, performed or published – opened the gates and entered the field as professionals and also made money from their work.

There are two professional associations for composers: the Society of Finnish Composers (classical music), current membership being 125, and the Guild of Light Music Composers and Authors, membership being 555 in 2000. In 2000 the share of women in the Society was 6.7% and in the Guild 13%. In 2002, one more woman was accepted as a member of the Society thus raising their share up to 7.2 %.

Finnish as well as foreign composers resident in Finland can apply for membership to the Society of Finnish Composers, founded in 1945. The board of the Society elects new members whose *artistic compositions are considered to have special value*. The board consists of seven members who are elected for a period of two years. Half of the members of the board must retire every year. In 2001, none of the board members was a woman. The interview data presented in section 6 will illustrate the gate-keeping role of the Society.

Table 7

Members of the Society of Finnish Composers (classical music)

	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2002	Growth (Growth Rate)
Total	69	80	99	108	119	125	56 (81%)
Men	66	78	95	103	111	116	50 (76%)
Women	3	2	4	5	8	9	6 (200%)
% W	4.3	2.5	4.0	4.6	6.7	7.2	

Source: Statistics given by the Society of Finnish Composers.

The history of Finnish female composers actually consists of two periods with a gap in between. The first period is comprised of women born between the late 19th and the early 20th centuries; the second consist of contemporary composers born in the 1950s or later. The gap of about four decades does not necessarily mean that there were no female composers during that period, only that their works were not

recognised.

The reasons for this gap and the recent emergence of a new generation can probably be found in the international dynamics of Finnish classical music. The masculine figure of Sibelius cast a long shadow on music in Finland and forced composers either to follow his trail or rebel against his influence. Neither of these strategies seemed to have been suitable for the potential creative talents of women. Neither was the boom in Finnish operas in the late 1970s and 1980s very beneficial for female composers. The gates were finally opened by the modernist movement of the late 1970s and by the new possibilities offered in the 1980s by the techniques of electronic music – as well as training abroad in both of these areas. The modernist movement was given momentum both on the level of musical works and of audiences by the Korvat auki!/Ears Open! Society founded in 1977. Core members consisted of a new generation of students at the Sibelius Academy born after the 1950s, and their somewhat older mentors. One woman, Kaija Saariaho, along with two men, Esa-Pekka Salonen and Magnus Lindberg became the three most internationally renowned composers emerging from the movement²⁴. At about the same time Jorma Panula, professor, started to produce world-class conductors practically on an assembly line. Besides Salonen, he can count among his disciples Jukka-Pekka Saraste, Sakari Oramo and Osmo Vänskä.

The emergence of female conductors was no doubt inspired by these male successes, although Jaana Haanterä, the first female orchestral conductor to graduate from the Sibelius Academy's famous conductor class in 1991 was not directly linked to that group. Susanna Mälkki, graduating from the same class some years later, was already linked to Panula and Salonen, but prior to that she had already received more advanced training and professional credentials abroad. In the entire history of the Sibelius Academy only three females have received a diploma in orchestral conducting.

Recent debates have shown a growing contrast between the generation of the Ears Open! Society and newer composers born in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the latter also having a sprinkling of women among them, wishing to break the dogmas and aspirations for the new and unprecedented in their works. Thus Lotta Wennäkoski (born 1971), a female composer of this new generation, has recently written:

24 Esa-Pekka Salonen has, however, made his career as a conductor rather than as a composer, Saariaho settled in Paris in the early 1980s and has worked at IRCAM, making use of computer technology and electronics in her music. Her works are «...characterised by the exploration of new sound worlds». Her major work to date is the opera *L'amour de loin* (2000), commissioned by the Salzburg Festival and the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris. Magnus Lindberg is closer to the mainstream of European modernism than Saariaho. For the development of Finnish modernism, see e.g. Pekka Hako, *Finnish Music in a Nutshell*. <http://virtual.finland.fi/finfo/english/finmusic.html>

«A continuing tradition brings with it a perturbing responsibility: what kinds of works should we compose for this world and this moment?... Putting one's trust in something that is supposed to be completely new and unheard of is to me as loathsome as putting one's trust in economic growth; I prefer to aspire to something cool and fresh.»²⁵

3.4 ... in Music Festivals

Where is most opinion-forming power located when we are speaking of the careers of a musician or a composer?

«It is located mostly in the selection process – whether to play a certain piece or not. I suppose the artistic directors of festivals use this type of power the most and they are all men.» (female interviewee).

There are at present 52 major music festivals, which are members of the prestigious Finland Festivals Association. Of these 14 are chamber music, 18 concert and vocal music, 9 folk music, 8 jazz music and 5 light music/rock festivals²⁶.

There are at least five functions which festivals of classical music can serve. They provide a forum for musicians and composers; they can be important channels for international exchange and visits of prominent foreign artists, orchestras and opera companies; they can serve as «research and development» centres for experimenting with new programming and making new music known to audiences (like for example Musica Nova festival in Helsinki and Time and Music Festival in Viitasaari); and they can provide a forum for new composers, soloists or orchestras in gaining national and international visibility (for example Avanti Festival). The Savonlinna Opera Festival, the Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival, the Avanti (Korvat Auki!) Festival, the Time and Music Festival, the Musica Nova Festival, the Tampere Biennale of Contemporary Finnish Music and the Turku Music Festival illustrate the whole range of these functions.

Gender balance among performers and performed work is difficult to estimate. No doubt, many of the festivals also promote female artists, but nevertheless, the works of female composers or the appearance of female conductors need also special forums to increase their visibility, such as via a Women and Music festival. As to the organisation and related gate-keeping functions, the role of women seems to be the same as in the case of symphony orchestras, centralised around administration. In 2002, none of the 32 major classical music festivals (14 chamber music and 18 concert and vocal music) had a female artistic director, but in two of

25 Quoted in a book review in the Helsingin Sanomat, 11 March 2003.

26 The Sibelius Academy of Music has listed 148 important music festivals and event on its web-site.

them a woman was a co-artistic director with a man. The number of administrative directors (general managers), was already over 30%. The role of the festivals in the system of gate-keeping will be discussed later on.

3.5 ... in Music Education

The central role of the education system in the field of music has already been underlined above. Here we will provide some information on the gender balance at the core of this educational hierarchy, namely, at the Sibelius Academy of Music.

Many commentators have indicated that the feminisation of the student corps is one of the problems in the overall music education system in Finland. However, as Table 8 indicates, the relative share of women at the Sibelius Academy has actually decreased since 1980. This has been due to the decrease in the number of student places in two predominantly feminine subjects: church music and music teaching. If we eliminate these two subjects from the number of students in 2000, the share of female student falls to 46%²⁷.

This is not to say that the problem of gender equality does not exist in the recruitment of students and in the number of graduates entering labour markets. Table 8 shows us that there are certainly other feminised subjects than church music and music teaching. For example, students of the *kantele* (Finnish stringed instrument), the harp, the organ and arts management – and there are also similarly masculine subjects, such as the guitar and percussions. Yet, more serious imbalances can be found in the «prestigious» subjects of music theory and composing, orchestral conducting and music technology. These subjects are male dominated. In 2000, the share of women in these three subjects was only 20% of the total 85 students. The first female orchestral conductor received her diploma only in 1991. Two more women have received the diploma since then.

Since 1980, the diploma system at the Sibelius Academy took on a new structure, similar to the degree system of science universities. It is interesting to take a look from the gender point of view at the doctoral programme at the Academy, that of DocMus - Department of Doctoral Studies in Musical Performance and Research. Since 1988, the programme has produced 17 Doctorates, 8 of them women. The teaching and administrative staff at the department/ programme consists of ten persons, six women, all the three professors are men. For comparison's sake, the prestigious Department of Music Theory and Composition has a personnel of 33:

27 For the feminisation effects of these two fields in the more broadly defined music labour markets, see Section 2.1 of this report.

17 temporary teachers (8 women), 12 lecturers (3 women) and 4 professors (no women).

These short analyses show the important role of university-level education in the maintenance of those imbalances we have observed elsewhere in Finnish musical life. The most esteemed intellectual mentors in composing and conducting have always been men – apart from Kaija Saariaho's one year stay at the Academy as a visiting professor of composition. The Academy has once had a woman as its Rector Magnificus: Ellen Urho from 1981 to 1987.

Table 8

Share of Female Students at the Sibelius Academy by «Subject»*

Subject	1980		1985		1990		1995		2000	
	Total	% F	Total	% F	Total	% F	Total	% F	Total	% F
Jazz	1	100	36	39	89	38	104	29	109	28
Folk	-	-	18	72	43	67	56	59	56	55
Church Music	57	63	178	67	240	70	243	64	206	67
Organ (Performing Music)	2	50	5	80	12	67	9	67	8	88
Music Education	46	63	209	66	337	72	329	72	283	67
Vocal Music	10	80	28	71	31	68	39	51	45	62
Composition & Music Theory	-	-	16	6	46	20	63	24	58	26
Piano	7	57	63	49	93	49	104	51	101	53
Guitar	1	0	11	0	12	25	12	25	15	13
Accordion	2	0	8	38	11	55	15	40	10	30
Kantele	-	-	-	-	3	100	8	100	9	100
Winds	20	35	90	37	130	41	153	39	152	47
Strings	25	44	124	56	193	60	228	57	208	57
Early Music	1	100	5	60	7	71	14	57	23	57
Percussion	2	0	6	0	11	0	7	14	14	14
Harp	-	-	1	0	7	86	7	100	7	100
Orchestral Conducting	-	-	5	0	12	17	11	0	14	7
Choral Conducting	2	0	3	33	2	50	13	54	13	46
Music Technology	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	8
Arts Management	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	64
TOTAL	176	56	806	56	1,279	59	1,415	55	1,355	54

Source: Sibelius Academy.

* this can vary between a whole degree programme, a study line or an instrumental group

3.6 In Summary: Institutionalisation and Gender Balance in Classical Music

In the field of classical music gender imbalances exist, for example, in artistic leadership. The internal structure of orchestras has changed slowly, thus making, despite all the measures taken, the impact of equal-opportunity policies slow. This can be seen particularly in the lack of women in positions of artistic leadership, either as artistic directors (none) or as chief conductors (none). We can now ask why this is so?

Symphony orchestras, and especially the major symphony orchestras, are the core institutions in classical music: they maintain and affirm the organisational structure of the field. Contrary to DiMaggio's arguments, the similarity – «isomorphism» – between symphony orchestras is not caused solely by competition. The institutionalisation of orchestras must be seen as a result of a complex historical interaction between innovations by composers, the development of instruments, professional training, methods of recruitment, artistic leadership and the cult of the conductor.

Within this system of interaction, a kind of «closed box of tacit professional knowledge» has been formed and it sets constraints on the strategies of competition, which are, by and large, the same for the whole Western culture. Within these constraints orchestras seek to compete by developing their own programme profiles, sounds, particular fields of excellence. These confined strategies also explain the emphasis on artistic leadership and the charisma of the conductor, the mythical maestro. As our interview data will later bear witness, tacit professional knowledge is also one of the factors in the continuation – or at least slow levelling out – of gender inequalities.

How is this all reflected in the gender balance of classical music? What about such phenomena as «feminisation» or «glass ceilings»?

Within the system of the main symphony orchestras, there are only some minor indications of feminisation. If we look at the symphony orchestra system as a whole, however, we find a typical Finnish type of feminisation: women carry out administrative work or they are better represented in smaller or more peripheral institutions (orchestras, festivals). This feminisation is also linked to the divisions we have observed in the teaching of music and the more broadly defined music labour markets. Women dominate music teaching at primary schools, secondary schools and colleges and are also conquering the labour markets of religious music in parishes²⁸.

28 See Section 2.1 of this report.

«Glass ceilings» – when perceived in terms of career advancements – appear most distinctly in the case of composers, conductors and artistic directors. There has been some progress in recent years, but, for example, the number of recognised female composers, conductors and artistic directors of classical music festivals is still minimal. It seems that despite an individual's education and recognised talent, the opening up of the «closed system of tacit knowledge» referred to is still a problem. We will throw more light upon this issue in a section where we will use interview data to investigate the processes of gate-keeping.

The overall data presented has not yet provided information on the economic aspects of «glass ceilings» in classical music. As to the gender balance among orchestra musicians, we have detailed information from our four case studies on orchestras, indicating that women have indeed gained positions as orchestral musicians and even as section leaders and concert masters. A recent survey carried out by the Finnish Musicians' Union suggests that the standard salaries for orchestral musicians are (almost) on par with those of other European countries²⁹. There are, of course, no gender differences in respect to those salaries agreed upon in collective bargaining. They do not, however, reflect the actual income level of most orchestra musicians who, in addition to being permanently employed by an orchestra, can play in other orchestras and work in freelance jobs and thus earn additional income. There is not recent data on actual income differences: the most recent data, from 1995, indicated that the taxable income of female musicians was 85% of that of male musicians³⁰.

The actual economic «glass ceilings» are not only due to the domestic nature of the labour markets but also to those of an international nature. In order to move to the top income brackets, composers, conductors and soloists must gain an international reputation – and then the income they earn comes mainly from abroad. There are very few permanent posts in the field of classical music in Finland, reaching the same income levels that exist in Austria or Germany, for example. There are probably only some six posts available at this level: those of the general manager and the chief conductor of the National Opera, the chief conductors of the Radio Symphony Orchestra and the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, as well as the artistic directors of the Savonlinna Opera Festival and the Helsinki Festival. None of these posts has ever been held by a woman – neither Finnish nor foreign.

The field of classical music in Finland, though not in continuous flux, has experienced rather big changes and developments, and they will surely change the gender balance too. They are due to at least the following five factors: increased

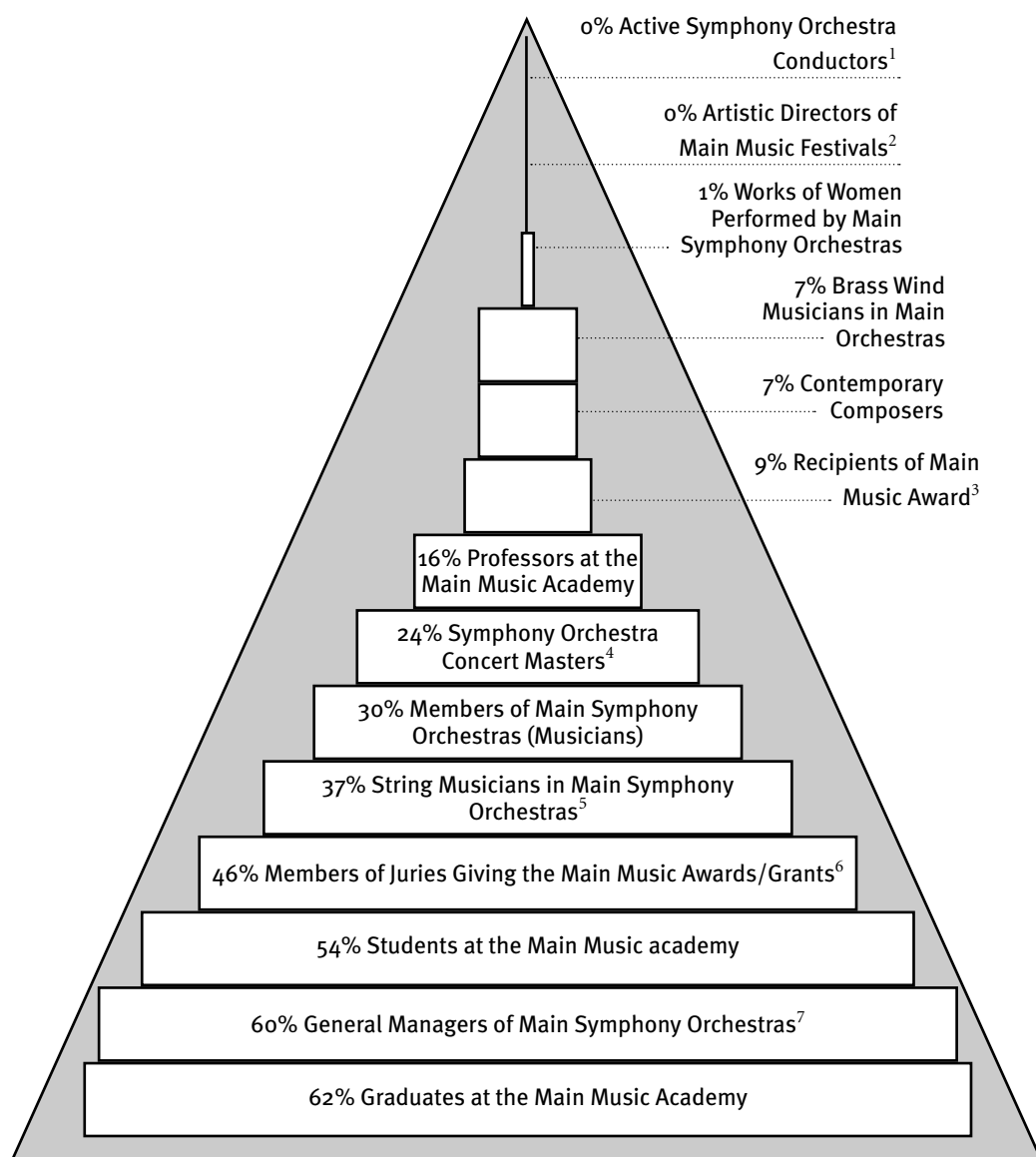
29 Study conducted by the Union of Finnish Musicians, 2001.

30 *Cultural Statistics 1999*, Culture and the Media, Statistics Finland 1999.

internationalisation, new technology, generational dynamics, the impact of mainstreaming policies and reforms on the educational system. An individual's education and his/her reputation abroad can be a ticket to recognition and better positions at home. Recent changes in music technology may offer a similar ticket by pushing aside the local rules and regulations of the «closed box of tacit professional knowledge». The very same closed box is often re-organised by a new generation of artists, as the case of the «Open Ears»- generation bears witness. The recognition and professional success of Kaija Saariaho can be explained in terms of the combined effects of these factors – although her unique talent, close network of colleagues and mentors better explain her success³¹. The reform of the degree system at the Sibelius Academy can be used as an example of a development in the educational system, which may, in the long term, level out gender differences.

Despite all these changes and expectations, today's reality is that of maintained inequalities, a phenomenon to which the following Pyramid of Success bears witness.

31 Moisala relates all these factors to identity formation in her excellent study «Gender Negotiation in Finland: Woman Composers as Nomadic Subject». In Pirkko Moisala and Beverly Diamond (eds.), *Music and Gender*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 2000, pp. 166-187.

Figure2**Pyramid of Representation of Women in Serious Music in Finland**

1 There is one female conductor employed by a major symphony orchestra, but works abroad. Another female conductor works for a small chamber music orchestra.

2 Two of the main 32 music festivals have a woman as a co-director of the festival with a man.

3 Share of women of the grant years awarded by the National Council of Music in 2002.

4 This figure covers four major symphony orchestras.

5 This figure covers four major symphony orchestras.

6 Members of the National Council for Music.

7 Fourteen major orchestras.

4. GENDER BALANCE IN MEDIA ARTS

4.1 ... in the Institutionalisation of Media Arts

A short history of the development of Finnish media art was provided in section 2.2. The story charts the introduction of video art in the 1970s, from the first steps towards the institutionalisation of the field in the mid-and late 1980s to the advent of net-art in the 1990s. This development was engendered mainly through educational institutions and it went through continuous differentiation. Artists themselves established a multitude of associations, networks, co-operatives and companies. Our story also identified the pressures for institutionalisation, which was at the same time pushing the field in two directions: on the one hand, as a new field within the visual arts under the tutelage of public cultural policies and financing with its own funding programme within the Arts Council of Finland and AVEK- The Promotion Centre of Audiovisual Culture. On the other hand, it became a new force more closely associated with the R&D of the ICT and, in this context, a producer of content.

The importance of the international context and its influences in this development was underlined as well by the fact that some Finnish media artists were also forerunners in international development. The media art scene is first and foremost international as has been its institutionalisation. We should thus take a look at media arts as a contemporary international art world and as an emerging international labour market.

The relationship between new ICT applications and the globalisation of economy and culture has been evident for more than a decade and this has made new media arts thoroughly international – not only because of contacts and networking between artists and other practitioners in the field from different parts of the world, but also as an institutional system and organisational field.

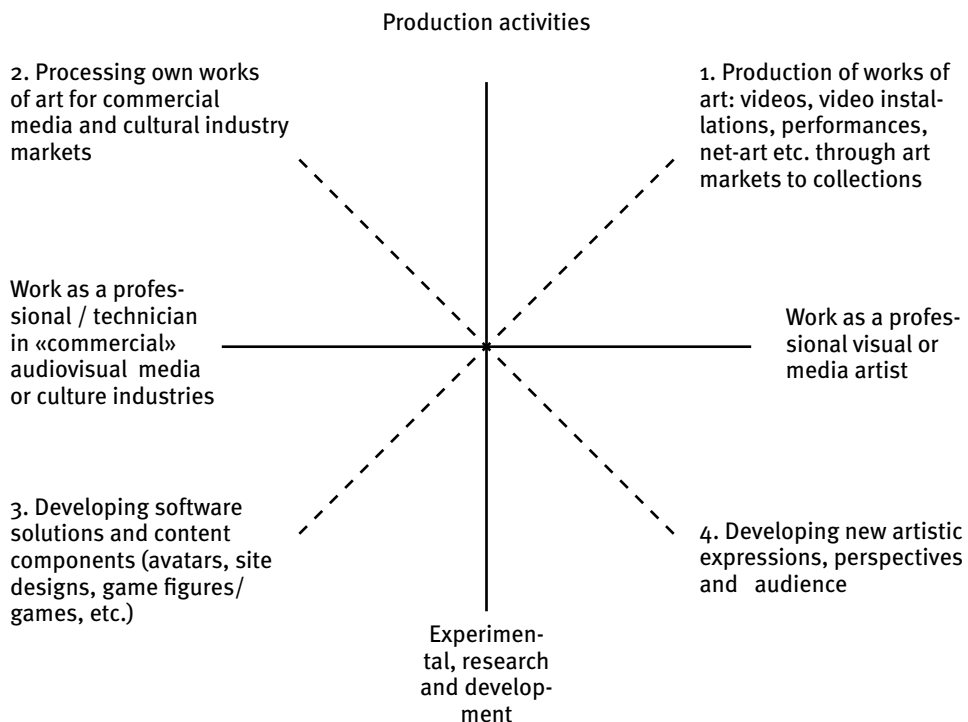
We can approach the international institutional nature of media arts by examining the biographies of two Finnish female artists. The pattern of their career paths starts in the same way, with an erratic search for a new approach in the field of visual arts in the conservative art academy and university environment of the 1980s. Their international links came about early in an incidental manner. They both went from more traditional media (video) to experimenting with new technology. There were some collusions of interests in Finland and at that time a lack of public funding. Their careers started to take off only after the establishment of links with centres and communities of media artists evolving in other countries.

Despite the similarity of their careers at the beginning, the two biographies also

indicate how different their paths can be. The following figure makes an attempt to condense the different components of the institutional environment and the related labour markets which our two biographies reveal. They are not unique and as a matter of fact we studied a great number of biographies of media artists for our study which reflect this system.

Figure 3

Dimensions and Types of Activities of Media Artists



This figure, together with the biographies of the artists we examined, hopefully clarifies the diversity and heterogeneity of the institutional environment and the present day labour markets of media artists. It consists of at least three types of markets:

- traditional art markets (sector 1: sales to museums, other collections);
- markets opened up through new audiovisual «windows» (sector 2: sales to consumers, alternatively as videos, through the Internet, or as new developments in the use of cellular phones, etc.) and
- as R&D markets (sector 3:sales of innovative media solutions, components and product designs).

In addition to market financing, works are also financed by public agencies and

private sponsors, either as works of art (sectors 1 and 2) or as industrial R&D (sector 4). This all means that a heterogeneous group of institutions are involved: art museums and galleries, sponsors, culture industry and media companies, public and private R&D financiers and firms.

Of course, the organisational field of traditional visual arts is also heterogeneous in the same sense as that of media arts. There are, however, three major differences. In traditional visual arts there are well-institutionalised core bodies, especially art museums, art dealers and galleries, private and corporate investors and collectors, grant-giving organisations and agencies. In media arts, heterogeneous organisations have not yet found their place in the field and the mutual competition and division of labour that go with it. The second major difference is the importance of the «research and development work» that appeared in many different forms in artists' CVs: participating in conferences, seminars, forums and platforms, training courses, exhibitions and winning prizes. The third difference is what could be called «instant internationalism» which is reflected in the exhibiting of new works on the net, their appearance as chains in different countries and exhibition places, their quick transformation from one interface (media) to another, and the presence of interactive Web-transmitted or interlinked collective works and performances.

Due to all these features, the Finnish field of media arts can, from the institutional and organisational point of view, be labelled as a «loosely-coupled system» with flexible and often changing relations between different sectors (art, technology, economy) and organisations³². The same «loose coupling» is also reflected in collective production organisations. For instance a media artist describes her production team in the following manner:

«The number of co-workers varies from one project to another. At best/at worst they have consisted of 10-15 people. I cut back on my production when the market changed in such a way that they began to pump artificial money into enterprises like this and they were expanded artificially. I did just the opposite and the consequence is that my company is still up and running while others have almost fallen by the wayside and my production is the same and the quality is exactly the same, if not better...

«My projects consist typically of a number of persons, each with 3-4 different professional skills. There are designers, user interface experts, translators, researchers, programmers and technical concept planners. I work with everyone in a slightly dif-

32 Cf. J. Orton and K. Weick, «Loosely Coupled Systems: A Reconceptualization». In: *Academy of Management Review*, 15, 1990, pp. 203-223; the basic idea is that loose coupling guarantees responsiveness to external information but allows its treatment and application from the receiving organisation's own point of view.

ferent way and a lot of people have many fields. For example, the project manager is the person who translates my works and localises them and then helps me to prepare manuscripts. He has three degrees from different educational institutions. People like these are quite rare but they are happy to do this kind of work because multi-talented individuals don't last long in companies. They prefer the type of work I can offer...I like to work with a multi-talented crowd, because it sharpens the vision and focus, and that is important when the project is implemented abroad, as is mostly the case with my projects».

These features of media art are, of course, due to its ties to technology, to the international nature of ITC applications and the relatively short history of the field. Thus, it has been difficult, at least so far, to develop a «box of professional tacit knowledge» which would bring order, institutionalised definitions and hierarchical structures into the field. The Finnish situation suggests that women have benefited from this situation, but we can also suggest the reverse: that the strength of female artists and organisational activists has so far prevented the formation of a masculine «box of tacit knowledge» and related institutional gate-keeping control. What this strength means can be illustrated by another quotation:

«My role is, first and foremost the Mother of the Idea, the Main Script-Writer, others implement and work out the details. I gather the team, find financiers and plan our activities; this takes about three years, during which time I also write the manuscript. I am, of course, responsible for all the visual aspects. In this double role I assume, I am at my most different in comparison with other auteurs in the field. Generally, artists focus only on the art work. Because I practically do all my work, my oeuvres are finished at a slower pace».

To compare her work with that of a concert performance of classical music, she combines the functions of composer, general manager and chief conductor. As she indicates, however, this is exceptional and most works of media art are produced by entirely different kinds of teams or organisations. In the last part of this chapter we will return to discuss the implications of the complexity of the field and the plurality of production organisations from the point of view of the future of artistic or intellectual labour forces.

4.2 ... in the Production and Distribution of Media Art Works

The size of the media arts field, the number of artist working in it and the nature of the labour market it has created was presented in section 2.2. Public financing is still rather insignificant; less than one million euros, and the number of profes-

sional artists is around 70-100. If we add to this the managerial and technical personnel used by different production teams, curators and critics, the number of people working in the field today is around 500-600 persons.

It is impossible to estimate the share of women working in this motley crew or their role in the production of artistic works. We can, however, use the membership figures of the two media art organisations, the MUU ry and the AV-Arkki, to provide a rough estimate of the gender balance in the production and distribution of media art in Finland.

Muu ry is an artist-run, interdisciplinary artists' association founded in 1987 to represent and promote new and experimental forms of art: performances, video, environmental, space and conceptual art, sound and other experimental modes of cultural production and media art. It has 304 members (2002), half of whom are women. The chairperson of the board is a woman, and of its 7 board members 5 are women.

AV-Arkki is a distribution centre founded in 1989. It houses an archive of video works, experimental films, installations, and CD-ROM based works. It is also a media-tech, open to the public and it has staff working on international distribution for film festivals, as curators, and in collaborative projects with museums, galleries and independent curators. In 2002, it counted 132 artists among its numbers, of which about half were women.

This balance in the number of female artists working with the new media is also confirmed by statistics on education. However, these figures do not do full justice to the role of female artists in the formation of the field. We can name at least four female artists who have risen to the very top of the European scene and about the same amount of leading experts. There seems to be a gender division of labour in the sense that women have been the main actors in creative and artistic work and in teaching, while men have been organisers, curators or have worked more on the technology side.

How can we explain this female success in media art? We have already discussed the fact that in the 1980s some students at the Fine Arts Academy chose video as their instrument/medium to avoid the male dominance among the teaching staff. This also led to the organisational separation – under female leadership – of video art and later media art from the traditional visual arts. The following quote from a media artist illustrates this:

«We didn't have a single female teacherIn the students' union where we were used as slaves at exhibition, you could often hear such comments as 'is it worth taking women as painters and sculptors. Graphics would be a more suitable profession, as they are so agile with their hands'.

«I said to another professor that I was going to do something about this. Then he thought for a moment and said to the board, in which there were no women, we might be accused of chauvinism. They were very surprised and wondered what the problem was».

«This is how it has always been. There are women artists and male artists «who are artists». It has changed now but, for example, when Kiasma (the Museum of Contemporary Art) was opened in 1998 only some 10% of works were by women. I received a very ‘equality based’ upbringing so that I didn’t really realise what it all meant».

«The fact was that to get into the Association, older artists competed for the points they had to get to be accepted as a member, to the inner circle, the cartel. Then you get this sort of terrible rabble of people (video artists, installations, performances etc.) organising an exhibition without a selection committee. When one exhibition wasn’t enough, two were held. And I don’t mean that fine curator exhibitions should not be held, but it was a political stand».

«It was necessary to break the male cartel that distributed grants to one another. But this change would not have been possible without international change. Everywhere else video arts etc. were developing much faster, so that at some point it was our turn to legitimise changes that were taking place.»

4.3 ... in Media Art Education and Training

The interview extracts above lay the ground for interpreting the following figures on gender balance in media art education. The reason why some of the current generation of female artists went into this field might be the freedom it gave to them at the time. Yet, if we look at the current student figures in the three most important educational institutions, this trend seems to persist. This is illustrated by the following table and figures informing us on the gender situation in media art programmes (or somewhat broader media programmes) at three major universities including, the *Media Lab* at the University of Art and Design UIAH in Helsinki, the programme of *Audiovisual Media Culture* at the University of Lapland and the *Time and Space* programme at the Academy of the Fine Arts.

The Media Lab was founded in 1993 as a separate department within the University of Art and Design in Helsinki. It became a faculty of UIAH in 1998. A 2-year masters programme, an MA in New Media, was launched initially in 1994 with 18 interdisciplinary students. Currently the Media Lab accepts 20 full-time and approx. 15 minor-subject students annually for its full-time MA programme. Additionally, a part-time MA degree programme for working professionals, the

New Media Professional Programme, has been running since 1999.

The Faculty of the Art and Design at the University of Lapland gives instruction in digital media, graphic design and video art. These fields of specialisation are part of the programme of Audiovisual Media Culture allowing students to acquire insight into the historical trends in art, science and culture from the perspective offered by modern media technology. These lines of study prepare students for creative planning and execution as well as for research in the fields of telematics, the entertainment industry, information networks and other interactive systems as well as virtual reality. There is also a special Master's Programme, which has 15 students - eight women and seven men. The ratio of female students is even higher here than at the MediaLab at the UIAH in Helsinki

Table 9

Media Lab Students at the University of Art and Design Helsinki UIAH

1st year students		
Year	Total	% Female
1994	6	50
1996	7	43
1997	10	30
1998	6	33
1999	15	40
2000	22	50
2001	20	45
2002	20	30
TOTAL	106	41

New Media Professional Programme		
Years	Total	% Female
1999-2001	9	78
2001-2003	15	67
2002-2004	15	47
TOTAL	39	62

Doctoral Students		
Year	Total	% Female
2002	26	42

Graduates		
1994-2002	43	35

Source: <http://www.mlab.uiah.fi/3people/index.html>

The Academy of the Fine Arts in Helsinki has been – or has actually in recent years become – the main link between visual arts and media arts. The study programme of Time-Space established in 1990 has become an increasingly attractive alternative for students at the Academy. The gender balance can be described with a few figures.

The number of students enrolled in the programme of Time-Space is at present (2003) 64 with approximately an equal number of men and women. In 2001-2002 the final work for the Master's Degree was presented by 22 graduates of whom 13 were women (56%). In the doctoral programme there were (in 2003) nine post-graduate students, four of them women.

Due to the great number of temporary teachers, it is difficult to assess the gender ratios among them. Women have been in the frontline, initiating new programmes, especially at the University of Art and Design. At the University of Lapland the gender ratio is about equal, while at the Fine Arts Academy its traditional male dominance prevails even in the Time and Space programme.

4.4 In Summary: Institutionalisation and Gender Balance in Media Arts

There is no doubt that the doors have been open to women in the field of media arts. It has also become apparent that the main reason has been the determination of female artists to use the opportunities that the new media offered in order to escape the sometimes conservative and chauvinistic order, which prevailed until the end of the 1980s in the traditional visual art world. Women have also earned their badges by producing works of international acclaim. They have also been *primi motores* in establishing new organisations, associations, festivals, platforms and companies.

Women have also played a leading role in the mobilisation and education of a new generation of artists by acting as their teachers and mentors. This is in stark contrast to classical music, where women's opportunities greatly depended on male gate-keepers and on the acceptance of male-dominated artistic criteria of excellence and institutional practices.

We should, of course, ask two critical questions. How do we know that the development would not have been better, had the traditional male dominance got hold of the new evolving field, and can we expect that the present gender-balance will continue in the future?

As to the first question, perhaps male dominance could have brought more financial resources and prestige to the field from the very beginning. As to the second question the present gender balance will depend on how the institutionalisation of the field progresses in the future. At present there are still rather few hierarchies and few clearly defined gate-keeping and power positions.

5. CAREERS AND GATE-KEEPING IN CLASSICAL MUSIC

5.1 Factors Changing the Gate-keeping Systems in Classical Music

Our analyses of the institutional structures and gender balance in classical music have been synchronic and focused mainly on the present situation. Our diachronic analyses have focused on the increased number of female musicians in orchestras, the trends of feminisation in the overall music education system and the emergence of the woman's central role in the administrative management of orchestras and festivals.

We had a kind of pre-emptive look at the future and suggested some factors which might have started to bring about changes that could eventually open up the traditional male-dominated «closed box of tacit professional knowledge» and provide a broader and more diversified basis for successful careers for women. Our interviews with female artists and gate-keepers will provide evidence to test these expectations.

5.2 Are the Gates Opening or Closing?

5.2.1 *Perceptions of Composers and Conductors*

Gate-keeping in Education and in Launching a Career

In higher music education only few changes have taken place as regards the number of female students entering the most prestigious study programmes: music theory, composing and orchestral conducting. Our interviews indicated that in all these areas of study personal contacts with inspiring teachers and mentors are considered a *sine qua non* for a successful start to a career. The interviews also revealed that, from the point of view of gate-keeping, the roles of a teacher could be divided into three categories: those of an *intellectual mentor*, an internationally recognised *guru* and a *mobiliser/recruiter*. The mentors tend to pay special attention to the personality traits and special talents of the students, while the gurus and the mobilisers/recruiters aim at training successful artists for the well-known orchestras or for successful international careers. What role the teacher takes also depends on the student: the same teacher can be a mentor to one and a mobiliser/recruiter to the other. It seems that female students find it difficult to find intellectual mentors/role models in male dominated disciplines.

The interviewees also expressed the opinion that modern/contemporary art music is suffering from a lack of female mentors. Although The Korvat auki/Open Ears-association re-invigorated music teaching at the Sibelius-Academy, it did not really give impetus to women to take up music theory, composing and conducting. Kaija Saariaho, though, is an exception.

«The generation of the Open Ears! was a group of their own; besides they are not young any more. There is a clear gap between this generation and ours. We are only students to them. In other countries there tends to be a continuity, with the disciples gathering around the gurus of the previous generation.»

«..the Finnish music life is certainly changing, but it seems to be stuck in a certain type of orchestra programme policy. Those whose works are being played are by men. There are hardly any women already on a par with men and who could act as models for future generations. Saariaho is a splendid exception, but far away in Paris.»

Barriers to launching a career already appear at the final stage of studies at the Academy. This is especially the case with conductors: the grades and recommendations of a teacher are crucial for applying their new skills, finding an orchestra and gaining the concordance/ dissonance with its players:

«In any given group of graduates there are one or two that get the opportunity to conduct Sibelius in Helsinki and also get a contract there. The Helsinki orchestras are forums where you can launch your career – the biggest orchestras are the best. Then come the orchestras of other major cities...»

...»my diploma work was an opera that I conducted. That created contacts, which took my career forward. Working with a major symphony orchestra means progress, which cannot be defined in advance....»

Launching a career as a composer is bifurcated in a different manner. The interviews suggest that most successful female composers have already succeeded in receiving grants and commissions, but it is not easy to get one's works into the regular programmes of orchestras:

«To be a female composer is a joke. Money speaks in the choice of programmes. When I started, there were scarcely any female composers, but now there are at least a few. In Australia, for example, the ratio of male and female composers was already fifty-fifty twenty years ago. But they did not have this old tradition...Women choose the contemporary art music scene; it is easier to launch a career there. On the other hand composing e.g. film music is totally in the hands of men...».

Aspiring composers of modern art music have a particular dilemma: there is a special risk factor with orchestras and audiences:

«...in contemporary music, mistakes easily happen; it might be that a composition is good but the performance is lousy. If somebody plays Mozart badly, everybody knows that the piece is excellent but the orchestra plays badly; but it may be fatal for a contemporary work if the quality of the orchestra is not fine-tuned. It may also happen that even the players may focus less on maintaining quality as they play modern music ...Opinions have been expressed that playing modern music may spoil the techniques of players...excellent music has been composed during the last fifty years but even professors may have the attitude that it is not interesting ...There is also fear that the rationality of modern music may erode emotional aspects of music; this I cannot understand....»

Yet the situation is by no means hopeless. Modern art music has its proponents. For instance, the Radio Symphony Orchestra has a special role in this gate-keeping system, especially in respect to young composers and contemporary art music:

«The contemporary art music scene is in upward swing at present and I cannot see that the pendulum will turn back. The RSO is the prime mover. The legitimacy of the RSO is derived from the mission of its host organisation, the Finnish Broadcasting Company, whose duty it is to promote Finnish culture. The rise of such new composers as Saariaho, Lindberg and Kaipainen is to a large extent linked to the RSO. Mr. Saraste, the previous conductor in chief of the RSO, had many of their works performed. The new conductor in chief, Mr. Oramo is also interested in contemporary music and we can expect that during the next five years the RSO will play a lot of «just-out of -the-oven» Finnish compositions, new names will pop up, hopefully also female names».

Gate-keeping in Orchestras

As might be expected, the central role of the orchestras and the chief conductors as gate-keepers in the choice of programmes and the fate of compositions was underlined in the interviews:

«Every orchestra, especially the symphony orchestra, is a seat of power; the pecking order is established there. Conductors, as the promoters of compositions, are the real gate-keepers. It is totally in their hands. We have the invulnerable Maestro-cult system, which is also maintained by audiences».

The role of the general manager (Intendant) is seen in the interviews more as an overall administrator than an actor with influence in artistic decisions. Yet their role depends a lot on the personality of the chief conductor:

«...who does what depends very much on the personality of the people involved. Some chief conductors are interested in the overall programme but not in the detail of what visiting conductors wish to conduct. If this is the case, the intendant and each visiting conductor can agree between themselves the details of the programme and influence its contents. In some cases, like in the case of the RSO, there is an advisory board, consisting of the conductor, the intendant and the representative of the «owner» (the head of the Music Division of the FBC) who discuss and shape programme policy lines».

The interviews indicate that the Finnish management model does not resemble that of the big modern Anglo-Saxon symphony orchestras, where the role of the artistic director and the chief conductor are drifting apart and where the former also balances artistic aspirations with economic realities and with the stakeholders' demands. The interviews, however, indicated that some Intendants have also played an active role in programme planning and in shaping the artistic profiles of their orchestras.

Music Festivals and their Role in Gate-keeping

All interviewees unanimously agreed that festivals were important gates in advancing the careers of artists:

«...the artistic directors of festivals and events are, of course, important gate-keepers in the careers of artists ...this is the case, e.g. with the Helsinki Musica Nova festival, where the artistic director is a composer; he controls the gates and to get through them one must really advertise oneself».

«As to contemporary art music, the festivals may be causing some kind of ghettoism: it is for the festivals and festivals are for it. What happens seems to depend on a couple of guys».

Overcoming Barriers Through Networking

The interviewees agreed that one of the most effective instruments of gate-keeping and also the best way of passing through the gates is networking. A distinction was made between organised and informal networking. The latter was sometimes

criticised as a source of clique-formation and favouritism, however, as a more effective instrument than the former. This became apparent e.g. in the following comments:

«For music students it is of great importance...this association of students. It is basically their association. It teaches the students the practical side of music life, starting with the most elementary things like organising concerts, finding players, selling tickets, getting to know each other and professionals in the field».

Studying and working abroad can also help to create lasting informal network relations³³ and often they lead to professional co-operation³⁴.

Music Publishers and the Record Industry

«The publishers themselves are of no importance for composers, because we have the Finnish Music Information Centre which manages contacts, presentations, and contracts».

Finnish copyright organisations indeed have taken an active gate-keeping role like financing and maintaining the Finnish Music Information Centre/FIMIC and the Finnish Music Promotion Centre ESEK.

The Grant System and Public Media Institutions

The Arts Council of Finland was considered as an important gate-keeper by our interviewees. Working grants are vital for the careers of composers, particularly at the beginning of their careers. Naturally there are too few of them (annually some ten for composers, one or two for women). The grants, however, only facilitate artistic work. Further success remains in the hands of commissioning bodies and conductors/Intendants of symphony orchestras. When good policy practices were mentioned, the interviewees referred to the composer-in-residence programme in particular.

Opinions about critics and the media were very unanimous. The monopolistic position of the leading national newspaper and its music critics were underlined.

33 As an example we can also mention the flutist Camilla Hoytenga's co-operation with the composer Kaija Saariaho. They have collaborated since 1982 in Paris, Helsinki and Tokyo on solo- and chamber works for flute and with film, text and recordings for the CD-Rom *Prisma*.

34 As an example we can mention the Web-site «Petals» It was founded in Helsinki in 1998 by Kaija Saariaho, Jean-Baptiste Barrière, Anssi Karttunen, and Muriel von Braun. On Petals you can view multimedia files online, read about Petals CD's, artists and events and order your CD's or CD-Roms.

Radio and television were also seen as important promoters of music, and the role of the Finnish Broadcasting Company was particularly important as the «owner» of the Radio Symphony Orchestra and as an important commissioner of new works.:

«It is often said that artists needn't care about criticism, but if one receives a good review, the positive effects are always obvious; the dominant position of the XXXX is not the fault of the paper itself, there simply are no other newspapers with a national circulation...criticism is based too much on the critics own personal likes and dislikes, not on an analysis of the work and performance as a whole ...»

The issues of public opinion are wider than those linked to the media, press and art critics. These address the gender issue more directly:

«Being a woman in classical music is subject to discrimination in the same sense as a person of a different race.»

«Women are expected to display pleasing physical attributes; she must be nice to look at. It seems to be difficult to rise above this level and, in the case of female conductors, to speak about something else than their looks etc....»

5.2.2 Perceptions of the Gate-keepers

General Dynamics of Male Dominance

Our interviews with artists opened up the view of the micro-level gate-keeping system. This is in contrast with the perceptions by our gate-keepers (8), which consisted of those who had occupied gate-keeping positions in the National Music Council/ the Arts Council of Finland, as teachers or decision-makers in the system of higher music education, in music information centres, in music industries, in copyright organisations, in music journals, or in concert agencies, as general managers (Intendants) of symphony orchestras, or as general managers and artistic directors of major music festivals. Thus they had occupied, on average, during their professional career at least two major gate-keeping positions.

The perceptions of the gate-keepers were naturally more general than those of artists. The overall policy line which actually all the eight gate-keepers quite unanimously adhered to, were expressed most distinctly by a politician:

«The issue of male dominance among professionals in the arts can be addressed from three angles. There is the general political reality that women are marginalised. When

I was younger, I didn't believe in gender quotas. Now what I believe to be important is to show that when men occupy the higher positions, a sort of competence gap is formed. If no women ever have served on, e.g., a port and harbour committee, men are, naturally, more competent to serve on the committee. Before the first woman is appointed to the committee, no women who are qualified or experienced enough can be found to serve on it. A change in attitudes is so difficult to accomplish that quota policies seem important in order to guarantee first entries. Certain people do the appointing, certain people are always appointed, certain people have the expertise. There is no incentive to make a conscious attempt to employ women».

«The question of gender equality and equal opportunities has been regarded in the context of three sectors: politics, art/culture/science (as one entity) and economy. To me this kind of categorising is unimportant. When I served as a minister I became more and more convinced that gender quotas are needed, I saw that it was always «more highly qualified men» who were appointed to posts. Things are changing, though. I believe that gender inequalities result now from a long-term backlash, which is part of neo-liberalism.»

Some gate-keepers had served as experts in grant and prize giving panels and juries. They reflected their own orientations in the following manner:

«Not that I was a feminist or even noticed women earlier. I started to promote women only in the 1990s; I now apologise. With age I have started to notice that the lot of a woman is somewhat different from that of a man. Personally men have let me do whatever I have wished, but it has been exceptional and not easy; were I a man, I would be on a totally different plane, although now I might not like to be there any more. When I have had an idea, my boss might have objected to it, but when it was implemented, it is him who gets the credits for being 'ingenious', not me. Is gender always present? Earlier it made me sad, now I feel it is hilarious.»

«... in our committee, I alone took up the gender issue and said that our music is actually the music of a German white man».

«...a very intelligent person said once that if the orchestras were to become heavily feminised, their esteem would falter. I became angry, but it is probably true. But would the magic disappear if a woman takes a hold of the conductor's baton? As if everybody would be able to do the same after that... That there are so few female composers, might it be due to the fact that women compose differently, use another tongue? If there is an all male jury, they do not recognise this tongue, do not feel it to be their own. We must transform the criteria».

Some of the gate-keepers saw that educational gates were open to women, but the courage to use the channels was lacking:

«Women should strive more energetically to become top composers and conductors. What prevents them? I don't understand. Earlier there was a total barrier, women were not allowed to become composers. Now, in modern times, the situation should be different.»

The importance of the grant system and concerns about the constraints in female careers:

«The National Music Council is important. In this system we have experts from all fields of music and all regions of the country and both sexes».

Some critical perspectives as regards the careers of female artists were also expressed:

«I often argue about questions such as, does music need to be played in a masculine manner, and what is masculinity, who decides what it is? Why couldn't a woman play in a masculine manner? Yet I cannot think of any historically memorable female composers. The canon in the field of music is unshakeable. Unfortunately, all famous composers are men. In art music there is yet another problem, modern music is a ghetto, located out in the margins of the margins. And if one ends up marginally positioned in the margins of the margins, like a female composer might be, a change may be slow to take place Women are always defined as women. In foreign media, for example, Saariaho is described as the 'ice princess' and an ethereal beauty. But no one speaks of Magnus Lindberg's beauty. No one is interested in a man's looks...I have noticed that women are weary of battle; it is a role they shun. It is a very exhausting mission on a personal level. Why would you want to engage in a social battle, if you just want to be an artist? Because music is a conservative art form, centring on imagination and ambience, it is not prone to start revolutions. On the other hand, many are willing to take part in events like 'women in music'. In this way they make a statement of some sort, although it is not publicly perceived as such.»

The Power of Conductors, Agencies and Music Critics

«In Finland, conductors decide the fate of composers and their compositions. There is not much chance that general managers could alter this state of affairs. Artistic directors of festivals select the composers for their fête. As to the performing artists, the concert organisations are in the central position, ditto the chief conductors and managers, making the choice together. If a soloist succeeds and is glorified, that benefits his/her agent too. There is one big concert organisation, there is a need for competition; the newcomer, however, has to win over about half of the market

before success would be guaranteed.»

«Music criticism is low, too few critics, too many concerts. One daily newspaper and its critics have too much power. The Finnish Broadcasting Company has some good music programmes like the 'Ex-post Ears'; the Head of the Music Department (a woman) has an important post and handles it well. She contracts new compositions.»

The Principles of Gate-keeping

«The worst mistake for an administrator is to maintain the idealistic approach that music amateurs have. When you are working with professionals, you become a realist. Musicians want to be paid for their work. In music administration it is necessary to start learning from the bottom, from very concrete practical tasks about the complex and psychologically unique field and that it takes years before you can come to the managerial top. It requires knowledge of music and of basic concert programme designs, otherwise you are unable to bargain or respond to questions. You must know the field, its artists, the networks they form, who represents who, who are the partners and co-workers; otherwise you cannot engender long-lasting trustful co-operation. It takes time ... at present the persons who head the major festivals are about the same age as me, 45; I cannot mention a single person who is thirty years of age or less. We sit obstinately in our chairs, sometimes change them, a peaceful game of musical chairs.»

5.3 A Look at the Future

When our interview analysis is seen in contrast to the earlier analyses of gender imbalances, an interesting paradox is revealed.

We assumed, to start with, that the highly institutionalised and well-organised field of classical music would be inimical to women just because of the well-established order. Yet, we can agree that Finnish musical life is «...genuinely pluralistic, in terms of how many styles reach audiences». There are generational changes and composers of contemporary art music are making increasing inroads through the bastions of classical music. Furthermore, determined women have taken the reins and guide many important administrative positions in musical life.

Yet, as all statistics indicate, these changes have not created a situation that has really accelerated development, really improved the opportunities for women to

become artistic directors of classical music festivals or for female composers and conductors to have easier access to these most prestigious areas of the field. How can we explain this paradox, which is not only the institutional order but also the situation of on-going overall change which seems to set the constraints on women's progress? How do women land up in this dilemma?

The most obvious reason that emerged from our interviews was the lack of «critical masses» for a momentum. Before gender equality can really be improved, there is a need for a sufficient number of prominent female composers and conductors who support and act as models for newcomers in the field. This answer, though certainly true, is, however, begging the question: what prevents them from achieving «sufficient numbers»?

This question leads us back to three issues: first «the closed box of professional tacit knowledge», secondly, the traditional expectation of what a genius is, and thirdly, risk taking. These three issues are interwoven: the box of tacit professional knowledge serves the system that expects and supports charisma at the top; starting to reorganise the box and undermine the charisma could be risky economically; and it would also be risky for those gate-keepers, who have internalised the box of tacit knowledge and have reached their positions for that very reason. To illustrate this, we can repeat an earlier quotation:

«In music administration it is necessary to start learning from the bottom, from very concrete practical tasks. This is such a complex and psychologically unique field that it takes years before you can come to the managerial top. It requires knowledge of music and of basic concert programme designs, otherwise you are unable to bargain or respond to questions. You must know the field, its artists, the networks they form, who represents who, otherwise you cannot engender long-lasting trustful co-operation.»

This emphasis on professional knowledge is also the reason why the external factors we listed earlier, internationalisation, technology, generational dynamics and educational reforms, have had so little effect in the field of classical music. The tacit knowledge of gate-keepers is changing accordingly but basic values, styles, and organisational principles are not questioned. There are, however, some indications that these four factors re-organise the strings that bind the «knowledge-base» of classical music in a manner that may bring some greater changes in the future. The following observations are conjectures that unfortunately are not addressed by our data.

Our data has touched only one intellectual cleavage in the field of music: that between classic and contemporary modern art music. There is another cleav-

age, however, that between «serious» art music and «light» popular music. The economic rise of the post World War II music industries has been based on the successes of the latter; and these in turn have been based on the development of recording and transmitting technologies. Classical and modern art music have benefited from this development immensely.

In recent years, however, technology has turned against this development. Piracy and Internet downloading have started to undermine the profitability of record companies, which, in turn, have tightened the budgets of classical music productions. At the same time, this has also led to an organisation of relations between classical and popular music. The crossover music – mutual exchange of music (in terms of styles, innovations, etc.), performances (e.g. tangos played by a symphony orchestra), and even composers (Paul McCartney composing his Liverpool Oratorio for a symphony orchestra) – is becoming increasingly popular and has developed its own top charts. The major record companies now expect that even the top conductors must descend from the upper spheres and record film and crossover music before they can engage themselves in more traditional artistic recording endeavours. Classical music is moving more to the periphery, to be published and produced by smaller and more specialised companies.

Of course these changes do not automatically alter the gender balance in classical music. There are some signs, however, that the «female boom» in the media and the new crossover orientations may coincide with the success of a small number of female conductors and composers³⁵.

35 The Estonian Tali sisters (conductor Anu and artistic director Kadri) and their multipurpose, multinational Estonian-Finnish Symphony Orchestra with its appealing thematic classical music programme design, offers an example of this co-incidence. See e.g. «The Dynamic Duo» at <http://www.balticsww.com/tali.htm>.

6. CAREERS AND GATE-KEEPING IN MEDIA ARTS

6.1 Constructing the Field: Different Orientations and Tensions

The field of media arts is still under construction and evolving from several artistic, economic and technological origins to different directions. It is also difficult to speak about any clear-cut gate-keeping systems. The gender issue is closely linked to the definition of the field and on the directions given to the processes of professionalisation and institutionalisation. Thus we cannot speak about gender imbalances, though some distinct gender differences seem to be emerging.

Our earlier assessment of the gender balance in Finnish media arts suggested that women have played an important role in the formation of the field. It was, after all, female students in particular who left the traditional visual arts field in the 1970s and 1980s to work first with video art and later on in the 1990s with digital technologies. A leading female artist, who has made a successful international career, emphasises a distinct individual and artistic orientation to the field:

«There have been attempts to label me a video artist, multimedia artist or installation and performance artist. This could not interest me less, because I use all these labels all the time. This means that I actually only want to be an artist. The art world tries to categorise artists, the most talented artists could not care less. Their artistic production and productivity is renewed continuously, throughout their lives. ... I am an artist. My work, I feel, is in a vital stage of change all the time. My relation to art and the field of artistic work is in continuous change. As long as my work remains vital, I consider myself a professional artist. When it becomes dead, when I start to repeat myself, when I can no longer engender new ideas and relations between things, I myself become something else too.»

She also specifies her intellectual orientation:

«My method as an artist is that of a researcher, the result may not be the same as in scientific research, but I work like a researcher.»

«I worked for nearly ten years with light and voice designers and we created many kinds of works, from theatre and dance pieces to videos, performances, installations... Then I left this all and went to study, sociology, post-modern theory and philosophy, gender studies... After ten years of an intense unbroken line of demanding productions, my works turned out to be interactive and computer-based. I had a totally new tempo, a new work would take three years; each work demanding an enormous

amount of research and technological development activity. A new work might have twelve different perspectives to the same motive. The works were also transformed into products that were distributed through bookstores and the Net. At university I already understood that one does not study there what one planned but that which is en vogue, where you can find the best teachers, in areas that are concentrations of social activity and existence. For instance in my lifetime the net has been the most revolutionary thing, how could I then stay outside it as an artist; I must focus on it. What the so-called art world says about the new media is for me totally secondary ...it drags behind the progress for years and it is crazy that there is in the arts the myth that there is an artistic avant-garde, that artists do things first and the rest follow them. It dawned on me that the rest were ten years ahead of us and we artists dragged behind.»

This approach can be contrasted with some other orientations

«The field of media art was branded from the late 1980s up to the mid-1990s by screen-based video art and video installations, then came the CD-rom and the Net. Finnish video art has for many years been recognised and internationally esteemed. It has also been conquering the biennials and other events and has become a core area of the visual arts. This does not mean that media arts would be that alone. It is more of a strong re-birth of the linear video, but it does not mean that media art should be defined from this perspective. Video art is auteur-centred, that suits the scene of traditional visual arts very well; much of media art has collectives where different groups of actors learn from each other; they focus in more on doing and producing. Even if we speak about media arts, we must see the differences... I myself speak much from the perspective of media culture, where the need to define the field as an art form is much smaller; there is a need to speak about cultural and social relevance, that can be aspired for in many different arenas»

«An essential part of the new media art is to work in the Net; but consequently we also have 'software art'. It is inevitable that technologies and their social applications give a certain form and defy other forms. This form appears in information systems, archives, interface solutions, modes of using the net. In other words, media art has rather wide areas, which do not need to have their basis in the visual arts or in other traditional art forms to legitimise themselves. Much art arises from the 'demoscenes' and experimental cultural use of the new media; it does not become art through being exhibited in art galleries or museums or being financed as 'art'...The working methods of media art are very different from those of video art, but just as in video art there are individual auteurs, and consequently it can easily be conceived as a core area of the visual arts. But in media art we have much collective work, a lot of learning from each other. It is more like to be a collective research process.

There are at least two different approaches to the nature of media art in the above statements. On the one hand, there is the idea that media art, in the same way as the more traditional visual arts, centres on an individual artist and his/her own specific artistic production. On the other hand, there is the idea that media art is an integral part of the new media culture where new technologies and media art serves wider societal purposes. Of course this dichotomy does not exist in pure form in the actual working practices of media artists. In addition to this dichotomy of individual vs. collective work we must add a further industrial/technological dimension. How this dimension enters the field through individual artists is well described by the following extract from our interviews:

«I became interested in expanding the borders of my professional life and redefine my artistic being in a more masculine manner. This was a real challenge... Policy makers started to launch such concepts as content industries, entertainment industries etc. I got the idea that it might be possible to find more financing for my work from this side, from public technology support, subsidies to business enterprises, etc. The issue was, how to bring new components into one's artistic work, how to break the old conceptions of being an artist, make a myth of yourself as an entrepreneur, mix all these roles in a conscious manner. We established a company and managed to get funding through a private-public partnership investment scheme ...in this enterprise a lot went wrong even to start with. As we signed the contract in August we were supposed to already have twenty workers in October, so by the end of October we had 16 employees of nine nationalities. However, it turned out to be far too difficult.»

These orientations have, of course, been present in the arts world since the days of the first Art & Technology-movement. They will slowly be integrated as the institutionalisation of the field proceeds. How this integration will take place, however, is crucial for the development of the field in many respects. It will determine what the status of an individual artist and her unique works will be, how media art is harnessed to serve or shape the ideology of information society and how and to what extent artists and their works become an integral part of the production and distributions chains of culture industries. At the moment female artists seem to be in an equal position in influencing the solutions in all these issue. They are advocating all the individualistic orientations that are valued in our contemporary society: an intellectually reflective and autonomous orientation to art, success in international competition and entrepreneurial orientations to organisation and financing of their work. Yet, it is by no means certain that this balance will be maintained as the box of professional tacit knowledge become generally accepted.

6.2 Are There Gates to be Opened and Closed?

6.2.1 *Perceptions of Media Artists*

As the field of media art is still being institutionalised, we can also ask whether there are, as yet, any definite gates being opened or closed by a group of gate-keepers. In respect to gate-keeping, some interviews with artists looked backwards, the «historical» gate-keeping events that they had encountered at the earlier founding stage of the field. Yet, some comments were also made about the emergence of a primary type of «network gate-keeping» that might forebode the direction of development.

The memories of gate-keeping mainly referred to the breaking away of female artists from the male-dominated institutions of art education. Our interviews seem to indicate gender difference in respect to the situation after this initial stage. Some artists assume that the radical phase of feminism linked with cultural and post-modern theories is already over; women are «mainstreamed» to the degree that is possible, that is, with an unavoidable difference:

«In the business world the gender issue is linked to the train of technology ... male macho prevailed and I was glad to move away and to leave the engineering mentality behind me. In media art we never had this chauvinist mode of thought. In Finland the politics of identity was considered from a broader perspective, in Sweden it meant fine tuning and head counting: how many women are in given production groups. In Finland the idea of gender equality was taken for granted, although networks of «boys» sometimes emerged – but there were also «all female» networks. It might be somewhat too early to say, but when the technology-driven new media experienced its recent fall, we returned to emphasising the importance of the user/consumer; and this again has changed the gender balance/identities and brought its issues closer to the culture of technology. This has though never been an issue in public financing.»

This development is seen somewhat differently by some other artists:

«First and foremost I strive to build an entity for the senses, the message is not allowed to dominate other aspects. However, I have not stopped being a feminist, inequality still exists in Finnish society and elsewhere.»

«Being a woman was difficult to start with. In many cases I saw that more was invested in men even before their career had started and they were taken into the circles immediately».

«If a woman is ambitious and wishes to have something, she is perceived to be a hostile creature. A woman should always be a woman. I am ambitious myself, industrious and, if need be, tough too. Without this I would not have had funding and wouldn't be where I am now. Every time I start a new work I must fight for funding. Credits and reputation and earlier works mean nothing».

«If need be, I can decide, order and demand as distinctly as men do. I wouldn't have made it without this strategy..»

«If we export works made only by men, we support what is established and old. If we export art that reflects a variety of values, it surprises the recipients and incites interest. My works have been surprises, which is why they are talked about.»

«I myself am a gender-handicapped woman, but I have such credibility that I do not need to prove anything anymore. I have a lot of young people in my projects, usually women. I support and teach them, because women must always be several degrees more on the tougher side than men to reach the same results as men».

The emerging disparities were also observed by artists in the professionalisation of the field:

«Women are still active initiators...the tradition has been that women do the organisational work».

Some female artists also feel that they are good as entrepreneurs, both in the roles of a manager and a producer:

«In the mid-1990s I had to start a business company of my own to produce my works and to manage my copyrights. I always work with big companies and organisations.»

«As we founded the firm, I learned that personality counts for more than gender, I could learn the aggressive masculine pattern and I learned to use their weapons. I was the primus motor in developing the business plan that focused on innovative software development, because I had noticed that we were making increasingly more coding and we had interesting projects that might interest private investors and/or open new vistas... In our company I am now the overall manager and I am also responsible for business success. I have become more aware of business figures and administration.»

«I was first working in a major telecommunication company. I was the only woman there and I could have also made it to the managerial top, but not to a leading position. In a business firm I would not, however, have the same opportunity, even as the CEO, to influence the direction where media art and media culture is going as I have now... The task of the CEO in a business company is to guarantee that the

firm brings in profit and remains that way ... You can get to the top seemingly, but basically you are being dictated by economic necessities; thus everybody is basically being 'exploited'. I am convinced that such alternative cultures are emerging that use their human resources without profit motivation and can still provide a livelihood to a number of people. But it may also happen that the dominant culture does not notice them, they develop their own economy, some kind of exchange economy, and the dominant culture will consider them as a part of the grey economy and parasites. If the dominant culture accepts these new cultures, it would have to change itself, and that is frightening for its leaders and representatives.»

6.2.2 *Perceptions of the Gate-keepers*

Open Gates in Research, Higher Education and the Market?

It is more difficult to make a distinction in media art between artists and gate-keepers than it is in classical music. The interviews with media artists give a definite impression of the determination, independence, organisational and artistic position women have had in this field. How is this situation perceived by gate-keepers and what kinds of gate-keeping systems do they witness?

The gate-keeping role of teachers, researchers and platforms was emphasised by the interviewees:

«I started my career as a writer and a critic, lectured on space and time at the Academy of Fine Art and the MediaLab of the UIAH, moved in 1994 to manage the organisation of the ISEA-94 (International Symposium in Electronic Art) and taught and carried out research as a professor from 1996-2001. Thus my 1990s passed in the work of creating new practices and an endless series of teaching programmes and establishing new organisations and maintaining the old ones for new media and media arts. My own teachers were mainly men, but in the associations of media art the women were most active.»

«It is not easy to explain how this generation of women emerged, there must have been some kind of revolutionary expectations. I personally did not identify myself as an artist. I was a curator-critic, but had a Beysian attitude: everybody is an artist. We did not have criteria for membership in our association, and the debate on the need for them was sometimes rather heated. In this first generation there were powerful and strong-willed persons who were able to work together and also quarrel with each other.»

«I was impressed at the end of the 1990s by the British Artech, ditto with the Dutch V2 and of Canada. As a creator I have already been working with David Rockby from Canada for three years. All these linked technological innovations with social innovation. Our M-Cult, which I have helped to establish is similarly oriented».

«m-cult promotes research for media culture but it is also an interesting organisation in that field. I am personally a member of the Arts Council's Committee of Media Art. I am not there as a decision maker, only an expert. I have been invited to that post in order to enhance dialogue with the field ... I also chair the international programme group that is preparing the next ISEA symposium. The ISEA4 is a forum that involves three countries, Estonia, Finland and Sweden. M-cult is the co-ordinating organisation together with Kiasma and Lume/UIAH and has net relations with other interested actors.»

The following quotation is taken from another artist who emphasises mutual «modelling» by artists and brings in another important set of gate-keepers, that is to say, financiers in the sector:

«I have been influenced by Sara Diamond, who has developed from the American perspective and without any social commitment, how an artist can act as part of a computer software development project. For instance Char Davis worked in SoftImage as a contracted artist and participated in software programming. Diamond was of the opinion that because it is difficult to get artists' grants in Canada and in the US, one must be able to utilise private investments in the film industry, for example.»

«I am interested in new media and technology because it gives freer roles and identity models».

«One cannot influence world finances. After September 11th our firm lost its new investment funds because our partner firm stopped to wait to see if a new world war would begin. In this kind of situation men and women are equal.»

«I want to emphasise that Finnish women are often gate-keepers. Let's take the female directors of main art museums. Some of them have asked me to make them «feminist art». Yet I do not wish to appear as a feminist, act as a victim. There is demand for victimised feminist art. The structure makes «victims» and «the Other». I am able to act in the world and get what I want.»

Some interviews expressed that different orientations could in the long run lead to further segmental professionalisation of the field and to the institutionalisation of different gate-keeping systems.

Art Museums as Promoters and Gate-keepers

The gate-keeping role of art museums was emphasized in the interviews. A special role was assigned to Kiasma, the Finnish Museum of Contemporary Art. One of the Museum's curators underlined its central role in promoting media art. He also pointed out some important ideological undertones that characterise the Museum's work in this area. These undertones can be detected in the statements of other gate-keepers too:

«If you get your work in an exhibition at Kiasma, some 50,000-200,000 persons see it and after that you are more eligible for artists grants. We try to exhibit the best and most relevant material of media art, but what that is, of course, is very subjective and we do not imagine that we are necessarily doing it right. It is important to be able to follow the spirit of the time. We have tried to solve this problem by using as many curators as possible. It is important to be able to see that what is important is moving in time at a given moment. Only some 25% of contemporary art will survive and be remembered – that is the cruel truth ... On the other hand, one of the best things about contemporary art is that it has remained playful, unpredictable, and it cannot be commodified and easily commercialised.»

«The main problem that we feel is important and what we still understand only in a very preliminary way is the relation between the media and human beings as bodies and space; our understanding of the presentations of the latter in the former, that also means exploring the bridge between the human psyche and the machine. Media art explores this problem and that is why we consider it important. About half of the media artists in the short history of that genre have been women... As video arrived, the exploration of the relationship between the viewer and the bodily image was easy, just turn the camera on oneself.»

«Video also made small scale production possible; that was important because the large scale television programme production was by and large dominated by men. Video pictures were of such bad quality that experiments with it did not interest the business world. Female artists were in the margins and they took this media as their instrument – to edit, produce, structure speech, structure the language of their own. This led to the conception that video art is a very feminine art form. In the 1960s the women's movement was a very strong social force; I do not think that the younger generations of media artists identify with this movement any more. Haven't we also stopped talking about feminine literature? No black and white anymore, the gender contradictions have disappeared. Yet we still have gender themes.»

«Kiasma co-operates with all significant artists that were made known by the first movement and the MUU association, which, by the way, was against founding Kiasma. Now all these angry young men and women are already established middle-aged artists, get grants and state prizes – this is normal. Out of the 12 curators of our museum only two are men. Museums are feminised to a large extent. On the other hand, it is said that female directors prefer male artists' works.»

The financial resources of Kiasma have been diminishing in recent years and the lack of other important exhibition places has been criticised by media artists:

«I think that the capacity of the Finnish art institutions to exhibit media art is close to zero.»

Financing

Although individual media artists get their financing from various sources, including private foundations and project funding from abroad, the two main public sources of financing are the Arts Council of Finland and AVEK, the Promotion Centre of Audiovisual Culture. The former finances media art in two ways: first as a sub-domain of visual art and, second, as a new experimental field through its Committee of Multidisciplinary and Media Art. The grants mainly go to individual artists. AVEK in turn, provides support for a whole range of audiovisual production projects, but pays special attention to projects that aim at opening new experimental and innovative areas. AVEK also employs a producer that assesses projects and provides them expert assistance. Both of these financial gate-keepers were commented on favourably by artists and other gate-keepers, although need to improve their gender policies and overall policy planning was also pointed out.

«I have been a media art expert...and I have noticed some problems in its decision-making. When, for example, artists' grants are decided, the referees and decision-makers recognise the names, but not necessarily the quality of proposed production. It is easier to look at the list of names than read carefully through the applications. For grant giving in media art we would need experts who could also work as producers... Public subsidies are small, and therefore, before this type of production support begins to make sense, the sum should be increased at least ten-fold before we could speak about a genre which receives public support in the professional sense.»

«The Arts Council and AVEK (The Promotion Centre of Audiovisual Culture) still make their decisions rather too much on a formal basis, basic issues and

values like those linked to media art and e.g. gender issues are not discussed. Their decision-making is content-bound, not technology-bound. As to their money, they do not depend on technology or business. AVEK, that gets its money from blank cassette levies and copying compensations, has also supported individual auteurs, but promotes more media culture than does the Arts Council. In the case of the media and audiovisual culture the role of film makers, however, is more prominent and cinema has always been more male dominated than media arts, even though in cinema we have had some strong female auteurs in recent years. In media art, generational factors and the context of presentation, that is to say the type of media used, is usually more significant than gender.»

Projects, Events, Prizes and Networking

We can end our analysis of the field of Finnish media art by returning to where we started: to the complex system of projects, events, festivals, prizes and networks which began by laying the ground for its activities and structure. Names crop up in the interviews which are derived from national and international co-operative projects undertaken via: Muu ry, Katastro.fi, m-cult, Prix Möbius and ISEA, etc. There seems to have been a kind of triple pattern in all this networking. First, there is participation in national and international festivals, secondly there are personal contacts, which often lead to visits and subsequent personal networking and co-operation, participation in different types of open forums, and thirdly there are the exhibitions and exhibition tours of individual artists. Although women have originally played a leading role – especially in the first and third types of these modes of networking – and the men in the second type, the interview responses suggest that these differences have been levelling out.

Whatever the differences at present, future professionalisation and institutionalisation will certainly establish a system of tacit professional knowledge that standardises organisational structures and financing and stabilises the systems of gate-keeping and gender relations in media arts. The present dynamics and diversity, based on technological and managerial innovations, will probably remain for decades to come.

6.3 A Look at the Future

We have made an earlier assumption that the field of media art is still a kind of not-yet- institutionalised «loosely coupled system» where component parts serve

each other and share mutual knowledge without unnecessary norms or regulations. This kind of situation could have led to gender balance and kept the gates open. Indeed, the field is still developing and women are well represented in the forefront of its development. Yet, there are signs that it could be men who will construct the mainstream institutions; and women will again find themselves under the glass ceilings even in this new field.

There is also an interesting reversal of roles. Women artists often display an individualistic role, but also build more cohesive national and international «communities of practice» while men build up more ad hoc and specific interest-oriented networks – which can sometimes be labelled «good brother nets». They also speak about the need for technological innovations to feed social innovations; and it seems that for men media culture is a more important reference point than is media art. Of course all this may still reflect an interim situation and they are certainly based on communications from a few informants.

However, we have to add a caveat to these conclusions. We have not delved deeply enough in the area of the new media as a whole, but focused only on media arts and, unavoidably, on the broader area of media culture. The data from the files of the Finnish associations of audiovisual industries seems to suggest that women are rather well represented as small entrepreneurs, the men run bigger companies. It seems that the labour of male and female media experts, including those of media artists, is put into differential use. The future will show if «*vive la différence*» makes sense when the field becomes more institutionalised.

7. CONCLUSIONS: WIDER IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FINNISH STUDY

We have already summarised our preliminary conclusions of the Finnish study throughout this chapter. They condense our observations about gender differences in the two fields and make an attempt to present at least some explanations why these differences prevail.

The comparisons between the two fields affirmed what we assumed at the outset: they differ as to the gender situation, which can to a large extent be explained by the degree of institutionalisation. The gate-keeping systems in classical music are much more formalised and standardised than in the media arts where they are only evolving with the battle being still fought out about what they should be.

Yet the analysis of the data, especially the interviews with artists and gate-keepers, brought forth a rich array of more specific information that pertained to the maintenance – as well as to the potential deconstruction – of gender imbalances.

What are the wider lessons of these results? What does our study say about the issue of the professional labour force discussed in the first section? While trying to answer these questions, we must bear in mind the limited nature of our data and the conditions of the two fields.

The first concerns the overall analyses of the role of the arts and culture in economic and social development. In recent years a great number of generalisations have been presented about the growing importance of «culture industries», «creative industries» or «copyright industries». The discrepancies between the two fields of our analyses suggest that we should not speak about such industries only in general terms. We should analyse their different sectors and focus our attention on the issue of how intellectual resources are taken into use, or conversely, not taken into use and let lie as unproductive intellectual capital – as unfortunately happens too frequently with respect to female creativity and capabilities.

As our analyses indicate, a sub-optimal gender situation still exists in classical music, especially among the most prestigious professions of composing and conducting. In recent years women have succeeded in gaining ground, but the number of recognised female composers and conductors is still very small and growing only slowly. At the same time we can notice distinct feminisation trends in the field of music. The share of women is increasing among orchestra musicians, in general management and among students in higher music education.

These trends can surely be partly explained in terms of traditional male-domi-

nated gate-keeping in education, financing, music publishing and promotional processes (agencies, critics and media publicity). Yet their roots lie in the male-dominated orchestra system. Partly, but only partly, this dominance and related gate-keeping which still excludes women, is due to the myths of special qualities needed for the creation of successful music composition and assumption of the charisma needed for becoming a successful conductor. Equally – or even more – important as the cornerstone of the male dominance in classical music is the «box of tacit professional knowledge» which provides rules on how the orchestra functions, on how to recruit its members, on how to co-ordinate the functions of general managers and artistic leaders, on how to plan programmes, on how to deal with the agencies, etc.

This idea of the «box» also leads us to make a distinction between formal macro level gate-keeping and more informal micro level – or managerial – gate keeping and helps us to understand how women may lose out. In classical music managerial gate keeping posts are feminised and women as their occupants naturally internalise the existing tacit professional knowledge. In the less institutional field of media arts, where the box of professional tacit knowledge is still in disarray, female artists can still be in the forefront artistically. Yet the evolving professional knowledge and institutionalisation of gate keeping posts may be already bringing in and fortifying male dominance. There are few fields of creative work that are as strongly institutionalised, strictly controlled and gate-kept as that of classical music. Its labour markets are also international and cosmopolitan.

The situation in Finland leads us also to consider the relative importance of gate-keeping at the different stages of the cultural production chain. We raised the issue of the relative importance of the three supply-side «markets», the supply of manpower (artists, conductors, musicians, managers, etc.), the supply of performances/ exhibitions and the supply of creative works (compositions, video installations).

In our analyses it became quite obvious that in classical music the supply side manpower and performance markets and their gate-keeping systems are in a polar position: orchestras and their programming, music festivals; music publishers and record companies determine the access of creative works to performance/ production. Risk taking in these two sectors is rather limited, conductors, musicians and managers favour the «mainstream» and works by women have gained little access to performances and recordings. This could be explained by unwavering adherence to the regulative effects of tacit professional knowledge, but, from a broader political perspective, it is also due to the weakness of the «external» gate-keeping systems that mediate between supply and production: financiers, arts

critics; the systems of audience education, radio, television and music industry. All these systems have their own labour markets, which have their own gate-keeping systems. Our present study could not cover these markets and their gate-keeping systems which determine who can be a music critic, journalist, producer, agent etc. Identifying this «second level» of gate-keeping in Finnish music life had to be left for the next round of research.

Our analyses of Finnish media arts indicate, in contrast to that of classical music, that artists «create» markets for their manpower and works. This is due to their position between technology and the arts: technology gives employment if art fails. Artists have also created forums (symposiums, conferences, interactive experimental projects), which provide them with «supply markets.

What, then, are the wider implications of these brief observations on supply side markets in respect to the future of Finnish classical music and media art? They, together with the earlier conclusions concerning tacit professional knowledge, make us question the effectiveness of general mainstream policies in creative work and in the arts. These policies aim at changing the gender balance through such general measures as quotas, education, earmarked financing, support to women's networks etc. Such measures can change the composition and modes of operation of formal gate-keeping systems (e.g. gender balance among decision-making at Arts Councils) but they do not penetrate the world of informal gate-keeping systems or managerial decision-making. Women can have better position as decision-makers, gate-keepers and prioritised recipients of benefit, but measures effecting all this may do little to change the gender situation, if we do not at the same time change managerial and working practices and the tacit professional knowledge upon which these practices rest.

Our analyses of the Finnish media arts field indicates how technology and its links to arts can create, at least to start with, a new artistic professional field that is «loosely coupled» without strict gate-keeping systems. This, however, does not mean that this loose coupling will last in the future, that a box of regulating tacit professional knowledge would not be formed for this new field too.

* * *

We can end these conclusions by gathering what was said above into a list of reference points. Although they are formulated as recommendations, they should be taken only as starting points for reflection and debates in the two fields. They continue the reflections and debates that our interviewees expressed about the situation in their fields.

Thus, in order to understand what is happening to the gender relations in such fields of creative and intellectual activities as classical music and media art and how to affect changes in these relations, the following should be taken into account:

1. We must have an approach that allows us to regularly monitor institutional and organisational structures, how they function and how they institutionalise activities;
2. Monitoring should cover not only the apparent formal gate-keeping systems but also informal micro-level gate-keeping and related managerial and leadership practices;
3. Special attention should be paid to practical, often tacit, professional knowledge, upon which gate-keeping and managerial and leadership practices are based;
4. This knowledge, managerial and leadership practices and the functioning of the gate-keeping systems (both formal and informal) must be seen in their national contexts that take into account the ongoing generational, international, technological trends and the changes in the educational system;
5. All this information should be related to the orientations, careers and activities of professional actors (creators, performers, managers of institutions, publishers of music, organisers of festivals and events, etc.);
6. The information that results from points 1-5 could and should be related, to the extent this is possible, to the parallel information from the other creative and intellectual fields and comparative information from other countries.

This study has tried to follow these recipes for change at least in broad terms. If we have managed to do that, we hope that our results and conclusions can be transmitted into broader debates on gate-keeping.