

Making Distinctions: Conditions for Women Working in Serious Music and in (New) Media Arts in Portugal

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1. WOMEN AND GATE-KEEPING IN THE ARTS

This text is an abridged version² of the main results of the Culture-Gates research carried out in Portugal on the role of women and gate-keeping processes in two different artistic fields: serious music and new media arts. The overall perspective of the Portuguese study included the role of technology in contemporary artistic creation – making it more appropriate to talk about (new) media – especially in the visual arts, performing arts and electronic music.

The polarity between serious music and (new) media served as an interesting starting point in order to define the context of the feminine condition in different scenarios of (in)equality. The field of serious music, to a certain extent, has a heavier *tradition* and is an institutional, hierarchical and very masculine sector in terms of professional profiles and powers at play. The field of (new) media, with perspectives of *change* and emerging dynamics, may be more flexible in terms of gender issues and gate-keeping.

Although our research results demonstrated that the polarity between the two sectors is not so simple or rigid, it was nonetheless useful in terms of defining the various characteristics of these two environments. Above all, it was possible to undertake a pioneering comparative analysis³ that cast new light on the structure of cultural spaces. Culture-Gates thus offers a fresh approach to the question of gender in the arts – as compared to previous studies such as *Pyramid or Pillars*, which provides an insight into both the European context and the situation in

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2 The Global Report will be published in Portuguese in 2003.

3 In Portugal, there had never been any previous systematic research from this perspective, neither regarding serious music, nor art and technology. This establishes *Culture-Gates* as a pioneering study in Portugal, which is at the same time very demanding in terms of the research undertaken to arrive with these dual portraits.

Portugal⁴. The study also helps us to update and question our outlook on existing paradigms, such as those coming from the field of sociology, for example.

The process of questioning a compartmentalised and sector vision of the arts took place at the outset. Such compartmentalisation was deemed relevant in serious music, where there is still a clear division between the areas of performance and creation. This is however, not the case in many areas of (new) media, given their transversal nature. In Portugal, where the emerging field of (new) media is still not so institutionalised, transversal characteristics appear in the intermingling of various art forms. This does not however diminish the specificity of each area as a system, field or world⁵ with its respective professionals – artists and gate-keepers – careers, organisations and markets.

It is precisely this plurality of aspects and combinations that requires a multifaceted approach and impedes fixation on one single paradigm. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *field*, for example, enables us to understand the inequality of *positions and power* between agents in confrontation with legitimacy and the «monopoly» of «symbolic capital». This has been revealed through the confrontation between different generations, that to a certain extent portrays the situation of (new) media in the 1990s, following on from the 1980s⁶. Alongside this perspective, the *world* of Howard Becker provides a better view of the set of *mediations and interactions* that are at play within this space not only in terms of struggles but also of alliances. This helps us to understand networks (elective and collaborative) of pairs, groups or circles, of key importance in artistic and respective gate-keeping processes. It is also interesting in terms of the perspective of interaction through inter-dependencies in the division of cultural work. This approach brings us closer to music, for example, with the entire artistic chain that spans composition to interpretation

4 Idalina Conde and João Pinheiro, «Feminisation Trends and Profiling the Future. Women in Arts and Media Professions: Portugal». 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. See also Idalina Conde, «Women in the Arts in Portugal». In: *Boosting Gender Equality in Higher Arts Education – A Handbook*. ELIA – European League of Institutes of the Arts, Amsterdam, 2001.

5 Idalina Conde, «System, Field and World – Paradigms in Sociology of Art», preface to Alexandre Melo, *Arte*. Lisbon, Quimera, 2001. This text makes reference to various authors, from Pierre Bourdieu and Howard Becker to a global vision of the system of Alexandre Melo. There are also references to Raymonde Moulin, Nathalie Heinich and Antoine Hennion (on music) from the French perspective; or Diana Crane, Vera Zolberg, Rosanne Martorella (on opera) from a North American perspective. Others should be added such as Paul DiMaggio and Pierre-Michel Menger.

6 Including a political and subversive burden that redefines the social role of art and artists. Idalina Conde, «Disorder – Art against Culture» in AA.VV., *Novas formas de mobilização popular – actas do colóquio internacional* (New Forms of Popular Mobilisation – minutes of the international colloquium). ISCTE, Lisbon, 2002 (to be published in 2003).

and dissemination; the existence of complex organisations such as orchestras that have a set of technical staff, musicians, conductors and directors.

On the other hand, the fact that these universes operate in different territories – in both national and international «arenas» – led us to contextualise the art field or world in the wider perspective of a *system* that incorporates both a *local* and *global* dimension, in the increasingly global world of the arts. Globalisation is taking place not only in a geographic sense – important in gate-keeping – but also in terms of the new cultural and technological «cartography» that characterises the *cyber* spaces of new media and the trans-local horizons of electronic music. These are two emblematic examples of compression (and in certain examples even of disappearance) on a local and global scale. The recourse to highly agile electronic devices which cross frontiers and, in general, *online/offline* operations via a network, is also illustrative of the arts in a *network society*, fruit of the new information era⁷.

In order to investigate the areas addressed by Culture-Gates we had to adopt a conceptual fluidity in terms of notions of system, field or world, all of which are useful depending on the matter in question. As a result, the notion of gate-keeping will also be plural, both because it cuts across various *domains* of artistic space – training, subsidies, professionalisation, dissemination, public recognition – and various *dimensions* that must be considered:

- a) *Places*, such as agencies, organisations or institutions that structure cultural space, and which are gate-keeping contexts in terms of hierarchy and internal mobility;
- b) *Profiles* of gate-keepers that serve as intermediaries and decision-makers, as well as profiles of professionals – in particular women – that depend upon them;
- c) *Modalities* of gate-keeping at various levels and of different natures.

In concrete terms, gate-keeping has a *substantive* nature in the references that are learned, transmitted and consecrated as *role-models* for artists and careers, with a low level of feminine representation. Yet it is, above all, to be understood in the context of *relationships* between peers, artistic circles, groups and generations with the respective mechanisms of co-optation/exclusion. Gate-keeping operates in a *professional* setting in terms of hierarchies within organisations (the manner in which staff members are integrated within operating structures) and *ranking* in cultural markets, but also includes a *judicative* component at the level of public recognition and consecration (by means of instruments such as awards and critical appraisal). This factor often influences the gate-keeping process itself in terms

7 Manuel Castells, *The Information Age – Economy, Society and Culture*. Vol. 1, Blackwell, London, 1997.

of the *distribution* of subsidies via public and private sources of support and financing.

The gate-keeping process is also multiple in terms of its *performances*. Gate-keeping exists in terms of apprenticeship/incorporation (of references, for example in the educational system), co-optation/membership (of personal and professional networks) and selection/promotion (in terms of commercialisation, media exposure or public recognition). This is associated to other processes, such as the equally important system of nomination (mainly political) of certain *gate-keepers*, who are responsible for cultural administration and the main public institutions.

In conclusion, these are the set of factors that served as guidelines for this Culture-Gates study, whose focus is on the question of gender – the female gender of course – and the manner in which women are placed in these questions. There will be various indicators that portray the professional *status* of women, and that also reflect upon (dis)continuities in terms of *identity* – above all artistic identity – which, as we shall see, often refuses sexual labelling, in its universal and individual definition of creative artists or musicians, *tout court*.

2. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH

A pluralistic methodological approach was adopted for the research undertaken in Portugal, given that the Culture-Gates project addresses a wide range of poles, profiles and achievements in the fields of (new) media arts and music (ranging from serious to electronic music).

This pluralistic approach encompassed three main *lines of study*:

- 1) *contextualisation*, in terms of a global perspective of the universes under study, including institutional aspects, policies, resources, and educational systems;
- 2) *positioning* of protagonists and places (institutions, agents, events) within the *landscape of media arts and music*;
- 3) *inquiry* among certain actors chosen for their profiles and careers, in order for them to speak about their field of activity, the gate-keeping system and its specific effects on the position of women.

Each line of study mobilises different, interconnected and complementary *perspectives*, that reflect and reinforce the overall pluralistic approach:

- a quantitative and transversal perspective, based on sociographic statistics and databases;
- a qualitative and case-by-case perspective, based on interviews and analysis of individual careers;
- an organisational and dynamic perspective of the different positions in the overall landscape, and its respective role, functioning and composition.

The absence of detailed and organised information in Portugal meant that major research had to be carried out via several *surveys*. The results of these surveys were collected in a database and the main results presented herein. It was necessary to undertake two types of surveys in order to identify the next steps required in Portugal. One study focused on serious music – a survey of orchestras. The other study aimed to identify (new) media arts within the framework of different, intersecting contemporary fields of artistic expression. The surveys involved the following:

1) *Survey of orchestras*:

In order to classify the musicians of the main orchestras, a matrix of five variables was used: sex, age, nationality, instrument played, length of service in the orchestra and hierarchical-functional position held. The matrix was filled out by the management and/or secretarial services of each of the following orchestras: the Portuguese Symphony Orchestra of the São Carlos National Theatre, the Oporto National Orchestra, the Gulbenkian Orchestra, the Lisbon Metropolitan Orchestra

and finally, as a case-study in the first steps in a musical career, the Youth Symphony Orchestra. Alongside this survey, information was gathered on composers and career patterns of male and female musicians.

2) *Survey on (new) media arts:*

This work incorporated three surveys on the visual arts, performing arts and electronic music. No data existed in these areas that could be used as a reference basis and it was not possible to infer the dimension of new media and respective proportion of women artists. Given the impossibility of conducting a national survey of the various artistic groups, in order to describe their career profiles and technology uses, a different research strategy was adopted to ensure coverage of the three main areas, as follows:

- a) Reference locations (institutions, platforms, galleries, events) used as a device to «identify professionals» and establish a list of all creative artists, players and gate-keepers who passed through those locations in 2000. The indicator of «working/active» persons or professionals was used. The results were registered in specialised databases, one for each field. The lists of names include: 223 in visual arts; 58 in performing arts; 87 in electronic music⁸. They give an initial indication of gender inequalities.
- b) References and information sources: gate-keepers and key information sources which helped to classify artistic practices and technological formats in relation to the names on the aforementioned lists. They also helped to define other variables (age, location, education/training, etc.).

At the same time, around 50 interviews were conducted⁹ in the field of music and (new)media, aimed at three career profiles:

- *Institutional* interlocutors (10 persons, including 2 women) representing public and private cultural administrations¹⁰, who provided information on policies, resources and regulation in these fields.
- *Professional* interlocutors (where only women (24) were interviewed) representing creative artists, performers and operational staff. In the field of serious music these interviews included female composers (3), orchestra

8 An Internet-based promotion and advertising network was also used (flyers, mails, etc.) to compile these lists, particularly in the field of electronic music.

9 The number of interviews does not exactly coincide with the list of persons, since in certain cases there were collective interviews with 2 or 3 persons, and in 2 cases the same person was interviewed more than once.

10 In particular the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, which plays a fundamental role in Portugal, especially in these two fields via its Music Service, Fine Arts Service and the Centre of Modern Art which hosts exhibitions of contemporary visual arts and performing arts.

conductors (1 – the only Portuguese female conductor) and musicians (10 orchestra instrumentalists).

- Various representatives of gate-keepers were also interviewed (16, including 6 women): music critics, curators, managers, producers, publishers, etc, also including teachers in their specific role as *facilitators*. Many gate-keepers perform *multiple roles*, as do many professionals, especially in the area of (new)media.

The interviews were generally semi-directed and were accompanied by an analysis of the *curricula vitae* which were requested from interviewees before hand, in order to identify patterns in their various career profiles and artistic fields. The interviews addressed multiple aspects, in particular the professional, artistic and feminine condition in the areas under study, individual perceptions and identity, gate-keeping systems and individual career paths. A general overview of each career was thus drawn up, identifying the main *gates*, obstacles, opportunities and difficulties.

We hope this approach presents a sufficiently broad panorama of the Portuguese situation in different artistic fields – and the respective gate-keeping systems – in order to consider Portugal's singular or specific aspects in comparison with other European countries.

3. THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT

For comparative purposes, it is important to have an understanding of the fields in the Portuguese context, concern women's participation and the manner in which such participation has evolved in cultural labour markets and in professions directly associated to music and (new) media. Attention should also be paid to the main defining aspects of culture and the arts in Portugal. The characteristics of Portugal in the European context, include a late, incomplete and plural process of modernisation, that spans various distinct periods¹¹.

We should remember that most modernisation processes only began in Portugal towards the end of the 1970s in the wake of the 1974 revolution and the introduction of democracy in Portugal. As a result of these events, a new path of development was adopted in which women were to play a fundamental role. As a result, women entered the labour market, began to participate in political and social life and have enjoyed a growing presence in educational systems that have been extended and restructured in order to overcome the shortcomings that continue to hamper the skills of the overall Portuguese population. In the early 1960s only 0.8% of the Portuguese population had medium-level or higher education, whereas this proportion had risen to 6% thirty years later (1991), and further doubled by 2001, although it still represents the lowest level in Europe (11.7%)¹².

These changes are inevitably reflected in the cultural sphere and form part of

11 José Manuel Viegas and António Firmino da Costa (orgs), *Portugal, que modernidade?* (Portugal, What Modernity?). Celta Editora, Oeiras, 1998, including a broad profile in Idalina Conde «Contextos, culturas, identidades» (Contexts, Cultures and Identities). And also I. Conde, «Portugal em fim de século: uma modernidade plural» (Portugal at the Turn of the Century: A Plural Modernity). In: Jorge de Freitas Branco and Salwa Castelo-Branco (eds), *Voices do Povo* (Voices of the People). Celta Editora, Oeiras, 2003.

12 The proportion of working women rose from 13% in 1960 to 35.5% in 1991, and increased to a further 42% in 2001. These percentages specify the proportion of working women within the total Portuguese female working population, and principally include full-time employment. If we use the Eurostat indicator of the working population aged between 15-64 years, the ratio of women rises to 64.6% – one of the highest figures in Europe (the European average was 60.2% in 2001). See *Employment in Europe*, European Commission, Employment and Social Affairs, Brussels, 2002. It should be noted that in the thirty years (1960-90) of social change there was also a rise in the number of businesswomen and female managers at the top of the socio-economic pyramid (6.6% vs. 27.1%). An even more marked trend was the rise in the number of women in the educational field, with an increase in the number of female students (29.1% vs. 55.5%) and university graduates (24.5% vs 65.7%), as well as university professors (10.6% vs. 37.1%), at the top of the educational pyramid. Dina Canço, *As mulheres no Censo de 91* (Women in the 1991 Census) Lisbon, Equalities and Women's Rights Commission, 1996; Maria Mantero Morais, José Eduardo Carvalho, *A presença das mulheres no ensino superior em Portugal* (The Presence of Women in Higher Education in Portugal). Equalities and Women's Rights Commission, 1993; José Manuel Leite Viegas, Sérgio Faria, *As mulheres na política* (Women in Politics). Oeiras, Celta, 2001, pp. 17, 20, 21.

a wider dynamic process, as revealed in the European study, *Pyramid or Pillars*¹³ where Portugal was shown to have a relatively strong standing in various fields. In general terms (thus facilitating comparisons) whereas Portuguese women only represented 20% of the media and cultural sectors in the 1970s, this proportion had risen to above 40% by the 1990s - higher than that in Italy or Germany, with global figures of 32% and 35%¹⁴.

This evolution is principally due to jobs in the cultural sector which are traditionally held by women, such as posts in libraries, documentation or museums where the proportion of women already varied between 55% and 73% in the 1990s. Even in artistic professions, some of which are paradigm examples of masculine predominance, there has been a considerable rise in the proportion of women to levels above 30%. There are, however, two examples of trends in the opposite direction. In the field of dance, the predominance of women (69%) places Portugal in an intermediate position in comparison with other European countries¹⁵. The reverse situation exists in the field of music - of particular relevance for the Culture-Gates study – where the proportion of women is limited to 17%. In the early 1990s, Portugal had the lowest level in Europe¹⁶, and the situation remained unaltered in Portugal ten years later in 2001.

The more recent scenario for several of the professions we have cited are outlined in Table 1, where the cases of music and fine arts – another category of potential interest for areas of (new)media – constitute examples of stability or even a slight downward trend in the proportion of women. For example, among sculptors, painters and similar visual artists the proportion of women artists fell by 4 percentage points in the space of a decade (38% vs. 34%). These were also the two fields with the lowest overall level of growth (demographic growth rates of around

13 Danielle Cliche, Ritva Mitchell, Andreas Wiesand (eds.), op. cit.

14 In order to establish these comparisons we use the figures presented in *Pyramid or Pillars*. See Introduction: D. Cliche, R. Mitchell, A. Wiesand, «The Project and its Results. Women in Arts and Media Professions: European Comparisons» and Idalina Conde, «Feminisation Trends and Profiling the Future. Women in Arts and Media Professions: Portugal». A Portuguese version also appeared in Idalina Conde and João Pinheiro, «Profissões artísticas e emprego no sector cultural» (Artistic Professions and Employment in the Cultural Sector) In: OBS – *Revista do Observatório das Actividades Culturais*, nº 7, 1999.

15 For example the United Kingdom and Finland with 76% and 74%, contrasted with Austria or Germany with 58% and 59%.

16 In other countries (Austria, Finland, Italy), the proportion of women in the field of music may vary between 30% and 33%, higher than the United Kingdom or Germany (26% and 23%, respectively). In other artistic professions in Portugal there is also a deficit in terms of the proportion of women. Among theatre and film actors the proportion is 34% (compared to 45%-42% in Finland, the United Kingdom, Germany) and among authors, writers and journalists the proportion is 34% (compared to values between 45%-50% in various countries, except for the United Kingdom with 37%).

18 and 21%) and where there was the lowest increase in the proportion of women artists – 7% in the fine arts and 14% for composers, musicians and singers.

Table 1 Representation of Women in Several Cultural Professions (1991-2001)*

	1991			2001			Growth rate %	
	Total	% *	%F**	Total	% *	%F**	Total	%F
Authors, journalists, writers and similar professions	4,030	43	34	8,217	54	44	104	167
Sculptors, painters and similar professions	1,564	17	38	1,897	12	34	21	7
Composers, musicians, singers	1,992	21	17	2,340	15	17	18	14
Choreographers and dancers	373	4	69	706	5	77	89	111
Actors and directors of theatre and cinema	1,141	12	34	1,579	9	37	38	49
Music hall artists and similar professions	255	3	29	578	4	28	127	124
Total	9,355	100 (b)	32	15,317	100 (b)	39	64	97

Source: Censuses of the Portuguese population, 1991 and 2001, INE – National Statistics Institute.

F – Women * % in column ** % in row

a) Includes musicians, singers and dancers in this genre. b) % rounded up; the total may not exactly coincide with 100%

From a broad perspective, it is important to situate these job markets in the context of changes in the cultural field that have occurred since the 1980s, including new conditions and issues¹⁷. The new basic *conditions* include the formulation of more proactive central and local cultural policies, the availability of a higher level of financial resources (public financing and arts sponsorship), creation of infrastructure and facilities providing equipment, multi-faceted development of the cultural industries, new technologies, the arts, handicrafts and heritage. All these processes of dynamic change have been accompanied by a greater degree of professionalism and a wider spectrum of cultural activities, in the wake of major events that marked the Portuguese cultural landscape over the 1990s¹⁸.

17 See Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (coord.), *Políticas culturais em Portugal* (Cultural Policies in Portugal). Lisbon, Observatory of Cultural Activities, 1998, that charts a wide panorama of change, with special emphasis on the period following 1985. Also see, in terms of policies, financing and resources, Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (coord.), *10 anos de mecenato em Portugal* (10 years of Arts Sponsorship in Portugal). Lisbon, 1998 and for a diversified portrait of the Portuguese cultural situation, also see AA.VV., *O Estado das artes, as artes e o Estado, Lisboa – actas do Encontro de 19-21 Abril de 2001*, (The State of the Arts – Arts and the State, Lisbon – minutes of the Meeting of April 19-21, 2001). Lisbon, pub., Observatory of Cultural Activities, 2002.

18 Leading events include the hosting of two European Capitals of Culture in Portugal (Lisbon, 1994; Oporto, 2001) and the 1998 World Exposition (Lisbon). Between the late 1980s and mid-1990s, major cultural institutions were founded in Portugal, such as the Serralves Foundation in Oporto (currently with a Museum of Contemporary Art), the Centro Cultural de Belém and *Culturgest* in Lisbon.

The *new issues at stake* have been embedded in the artistic movements that followed the generational changes of the 1980s – in particular in the field of the fine arts¹⁹ –, and new trends in the contemporary performing arts²⁰. Artistic trends have also arisen in emerging art worlds such as those associated with the (new)media or electronic music²¹ and in more general terms to the wider community of cultural agents with various structures: institutions, platforms, networks, events, project partnerships.

As the 1990s drew to a close, however, there were certain signals of crisis or reduced dynamism. This was accompanied by greater fragility or less consolidated structures, persistent problems at the level of training and therefore with the job market, economic difficulties and a change in the political situation²². Nevertheless, the main changes that have taken place represent fundamental signposts with structural consequences influencing future cultural scenarios in terms of the possibilities, challenges and problems faced by women. On the other hand, it is also important to clarify the evolution of several aspects associated to the two fields analysed in the Culture-Gates study: music and contemporary art with new technological components.

In relation to the field of music, significant developments have occurred in the last two decades in terms of training and professionalisation. In particular, the music education system has been expanded and upgraded, as will be described in further detail. Music education in the conservatories now includes subjects such as musicology and composition, and now has various places of reference located in Lisbon, Oporto, Aveiro and Evora. Another important aspect has been

19 Idalina Conde, «Transformations dans le champ artistique portugais» (Transformations in the Portuguese Art World) in André Ducret, Daniel Vander Gucht and Nathalie Heinich (dirs), *La mise en scène de l'art contemporain* (The mise en scène of Contemporary Art). Brussels, Les Éperonniers, 1991.

20 António Pinto Ribeiro, *Dança temporariamente contemporânea*, (Temporary Contemporary Dance) Lisbon, Vega, 1994; Maria José Fazenda (coord), *Movimentos presentes. Aspectos da dança independente em Portugal* (Present Movements. Aspects of Independent Dance in Portugal). Lisbon, Cotovia/Danças na Cidade, 1997; AA.VV., «Dossier sobre el Teatro en Portugal» (Dossier on the Theatre in Portugal). In: *ADE – Revista de la Asociación de Directores de Escena de España*, nº 62-63, Oct/Dec, 1997.

21 See Rui Eduardo Paes, *PHONOMATON – As novas músicas no início do séc. XXI* (PHONOMATON - New music at the Start of the XXI Century) Lisbon, Hugin, 2001; Emanuel Carneiro, «Electrónica portuguesa, com certeza» (Portuguese Electronic Music, Of Course) in the *Jornal de Notícias* newspaper, March 1, 2002; Ricardo Saló in «Cartaz» (edition nº 1539), supplement of the *Expresso* newspaper, April 27, 2002.

22 See, for example, a fairly critical report of the dance field in AA.VV., *Documento 10 mais 10 – contributo para uma cartografia da Dança Contemporânea em Portugal*, (Document 10 plus 10 – Contribution to a Cartography of Contemporary Dance in Portugal) Lisbon, ed. Forum Dança and RE.AL / Resposta Alternativa, 2001. This report addresses problems partly shared with «alternative» circuits of fine arts and mixed forms of theatre (theatre, dance, multimedia) that emerged in the 1990s in various groups and productions in Lisbon and Oporto.

the introduction of «Professional High Schools» at the secondary level of music education, coupled by the opening of orchestral structures which are providing many more young people with pre-professional training. A recent overview of orchestras in Portugal – 26 active orchestras – revealed that 12 (46%) are school or youth orchestras, that are associated to Professional High Schools²³.

The other 14 (54%) are professional orchestras most of which were created or re-founded after 1994, with the exception of the Madeira Orchestra (1964) and the Gulbenkian Orchestra (1962) – the only orchestra that does not receive any public funding, given that it is part of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. The two symphony orchestras – the Portuguese Symphony Orchestra and the Oporto National Orchestra – emerged as a result of a merger or re-structuring process that took place between the early and mid-1990s²⁴. In this panorama of professional orchestras, there are 3 regional orchestras that were founded in 1992, 1997 and 2002, respectively: the North Orchestra, the Beiras Philharmonic Orchestra and the Algarve Orchestra²⁵.

Several orchestras have been inundated by foreign musicians, especially since the 1990s. Many musicians pursue multiple activities, linked to education and external initiatives²⁶. In parallel and intertwined with this field of orchestras, a dual

23 Cristina Fernandes and Teresa Cascudo, «O presente desafinado das orquestras em Portugal» (The Present Discordant Notes of Orchestras in Portugal), *Público* newspaper, July 7, 2002. As stated in this overview «the phenomenon of professional schools has taken place at a national level, but is concentrated above all in Northern Portugal», in particular cases such as ARTAVE and its regularly functioning orchestra in Famalicão. In addition to this «growing professionalism» of very young musicians, there is also another sector that groups together students from music conservatories, sometimes accepting students from other schools. For example, the Youth Symphony Orchestra (the oldest youth orchestra, founded in 1973, that is considered in this research project in terms of the description of orchestra musicians in contrast with the members of professional orchestras); the ESMAE Symphonietta Orchestra (High School of Music and Performing Arts of Oporto) or the ESART Orchestra of Castelo Branco. There is also the recent Oporto Academic Orchestra and orchestral formations of schools associated to the Lisbon Metropolitan Orchestra (a case which is included in the present study) and also the Beira Youth Orchestra, amongst other cases of musical activities pursued by young people.

24 The Portuguese Symphony Orchestra was created in 1993 following the demise of the Portuguese Radio Orchestra before the San Carlos Theatre (where the OSP is integrated). The National Orchestra of Porto (OSP) replaces (since 1997) the Classical Orchestra of Porto. L'OSP has grown into a symphony orchestra in 2000; this development coincided with the city's status as a European Cultural Capital 2001.

25 Most professional orchestras and other structures (school/youth orchestras) perform throughout the country, but with a geographic focus on the region of Lisbon (about 35% of all performances over 26 cities), and the Oporto / Northern Coast region (about 42%).

26 As will be described later on in the text, the recruitment of foreign musicians increased with the arrival of many musicians from Eastern Europe in the 1990s. In addition to multiple activities that diversified the profile of musicians and orchestras, changes were also introduced to their contracts. Only the three main orchestras (2 national symphony orchestras and the Gulbenkian orchestra) have

circuit of musical production/dissemination has developed, in terms of festivals, and a «*growing and unstable*», «*autonomous*» sphere²⁷ of individual and collective projects (chamber music and promotion of solo and group concerts).

Music festivals have also enjoyed a boom since the mid-1980s in a geographic network with diversified themes, although focusing on serious music. The number of festivals rose from eleven to over double this figure in 1990. In 1997, 57 applications were received from potential festivals in a call put out by the Ministry of Culture. In 1999 this figure rose to 71²⁸. Data on the call for entries of 2002²⁹, suggest over 99 applications, mainly proposed by cultural and youth associations (64%) and mostly co-ordinated by men (69%). The most popular period for holding festivals is Spring (15%)/Summer (22%) with a physical concentration in Northern Portugal (44%), followed by the Lisbon and the Tagus Valley region (26%).

Certain bodies within the «*autonomous*» sphere made applications to this public call for entries even though they mostly depend on other forms of support for their initiatives. An interesting aspect of the unstable and precarious dynamics of such initiatives, in terms of the viability of musical projects, is the strengthened dual dependence on the «*musical media coverage*» (in particular, music criticism) and the «*state-assisted market*» supported by public funds. Media coverage is essential for «*public validation*»³⁰, which presents benefits in terms of visibility and accreditation in the pursuit of subsidies. It is obvious that there is an increasingly competitive world as a result of the rising number of applications. The relative inelasticity of financial resources given the professional expansion of music is also evident, as seen in the case of festivals – where only 28% of all applications to the 2002 call for entries received support, and given the relatively low level of financial support for music (in general) within the Ministry of Culture's budget. Globally, such support represented around 4% of central government spending on culture between 1985-95.

Local authorities tend to place lower emphasis on supporting orchestras and serious music than do the national authorities. During the 1985-95 period, music funding represented around 10% of local spending on culture. In evolutionary terms, a spending peak was recorded in 1995 (over 10%) but then started to

staff musicians, while the other orchestras maintain a precarious contractual situation (self employed status - «*recibos verdes*» - based on fixed term contracts and service provision contracts).

27 Expression used by one of our interviewees.

28 Teresa Duarte Martinho and José Soares Neves, «Festivais de Música em Portugal» (Music Festivals in Portugal), *Folha OBS*, nº 1, Observatory of Cultural Activities, 1999.

29 Provided by IPAE – the Portuguese Institute of Performing Arts of the Ministry of Culture.

30 Statement by an interviewee.

decline again, at least until 1997³¹.

An obvious pillar in the field of music and of the arts in general in Portugal, is the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation which has been the leading private cultural institution in Portugal since it was founded in the mid-1950s. The activities of the Gulbenkian Foundation extend beyond the cultural sphere, given that cultural spending only represented about 45% of the foundation's total budget in 2000 (this proportion has progressively risen since 1957, when it was only 15%). Other significant budget areas are education (34%), science (11%) and charity (10%)³². In all fields, including culture, the Foundation has both operational and distribution activities. It has its own artistic bodies (in the field of music there are the Gulbenkian Orchestra, Choir and Ballet Company, created between 1965 and 1969), its own structures (the Gulbenkian Museum, Art Library, Centre of Modern Art) and Departments for Fine Arts and Music and other cultural activities. The Foundation also awards grants, subsidies and study scholarships that represented around 23% of the Foundation's expenditure in 2000.

In terms of the areas of interest of the Culture-Gates study, emphasis should be placed on the role of the Music Department, one of the Foundation's poles of excellence, which has remedied many shortfalls in government policy for the music sector. In particular, support for creative work (including a large number of musical commissions, since 1963), research and publications, institutions of production and dissemination (such as music academies, festivals, among others) and training. Such support is provided via scholarships (of fundamental importance for studying abroad) and the organisation of specialised courses and seminars. The Music Department also organises the important *Contemporary Music Encounters* (from 1977 to 2002) where works of more than 380 composers have been presented – mainly foreign composers, but including at least 37 Portuguese composers (including 8 women, representing around 22% of the national composers).

Another of the Foundation's main services is the Fine Arts Department, which has played a key role in the development of fine arts in Portugal and its representation abroad. Many artists have received study scholarships and subsidies for their careers – two forms of support that represent over 50% of its budget. The Department also

31 See Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (coord), *As políticas culturais em Portugal*, (Cultural Policies in Portugal) op. cit., pp. 101 e 108, and José Soares Noves, op. cit., p. 30-31. This study analyses the 1986-1997 period, and shows that local spending on music represented around 9%. Higher spending areas include heritage (18%), publications, literature and diverse social and cultural activities (16%) and infrastructures (cultural sites – 16%).

32 In 2000, the Foundation's net assets were 2,420 million euros. The resources allocated to distribution (support and subsidies) and direct activities (structures and initiatives) were 77.2 million euros. See *Annual Report and Accounts – 2000*, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, 2001. The Foundation also maintains a UK Delegation and the Portuguese Cultural Centre in Paris.

provides support for contemporary theatre, occasionally for experimental cinema and for studies in the field of art, archaeology and heritage. Mention should also be made of the Foundation's Centre of Modern Art (CAM), created in 1983 (with an important art collection) that today includes the former ACARTE service. The CAM's theatre stage has played a key role in introducing contemporary trends in the performing arts, in particular the organisation of the *European Theatre and Dance Encounters*, that had a major impact on the Portuguese cultural landscape in the 1980s.

Both the Music and Fine Arts Departments have certain specific links to the area of (new)media. For example, the participation of the Music Department in setting up the scholarship provided by *Arte Experimental Intermedia* (since 1992) which gives artists the possibility to hold a residency and to study in New York³³. Another example is the ACARTE Prize of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, created in 1991, which distinguishes interdisciplinary creative artists in the area of the performing arts (theatre, dance, music), including works with components of performance art, multimedia, audiovisual production and electronic arts³⁴.

At any rate, these connections to new media – or in more general terms, to technologies within contemporary arts – are not sufficient to allow us to identify an institutional framework for the hybrid and transversal nature of this domain which combines visual arts, performing arts and electronic music. As a specific field, electronic music is the most structured of the three. Financial support for some works of (new)media is available from public or private sources, but tends to be included within the global categories of fine arts or performing arts.

On the basis of available data, the fine arts have received only 2% of central and local public funding since the mid 1980s³⁵. At present, (2003) the combined resources of IAC – the Institute of Contemporary Art and CPF – the Portuguese Centre of Photography, represent only 2.4% of the entire budget of the Ministry of Culture. The portion of funding available for (new)media is very slim³⁶. In fact,

33 Additional data is provided in section 5 on (new)media in the arts.

34 Also known as the «Maria Madalena Azeredo Perdigão Award», in memory of the founder of the ACARTE Department, created in 1985. She was also the wife of the Foundation's first president, who had a particularly strong influence on the Music Department. The award is worth 10 000 euros and was given to 28 creative artists as of 2001 (of which 6 were women, i.e., 21%).

35 Sources cited in previous notes.

36 Alongside resources available to performing arts with a (new)media component from IPAE – Portuguese Institute of Performing Arts, only a few projects fall within the spectrum of multimedia initiatives financed by the recently created ICAM – Portuguese Institute of Cinema, Audiovisual and Multimedia. The latter is rarely sought after as an institutional interlocutor by (new)media artists, most of whom work in the «corridor» of visual and performing arts. It should also be noted that the majority of electronic music is not developed within these subsidised «assisted markets». Finally, we should also add that several public institutes are to be integrated within the recent (2003) creation of a single public body (Institute) for the arts.

support for new media is a recent and residual phenomenon in Portugal, as will be seen later on in this text, but nevertheless serves as a reference in terms of its contemporary significance.

We lack sufficient financial indicators in order to express the overall institutional dynamics of contemporary arts in Portugal and their development over the course of the 1990s. This was a period in which the main national institutions were created, in particular the aforementioned IAC and CPF. The IAC was founded in 1997 and initiated a consolidated policy for this field, with key investments made towards the internationalisation of contemporary arts via leading Art Fairs and Biennials. The CPF was also founded in 1997 culminating a process of recognition of photography as an art form³⁷. Major cultural facilities have also been created in recent years, beginning with the Serralves Foundation in Oporto in 1989, and the Centro Cultural de Belém (1991) and Culturgest (1994) in Lisbon, alongside other pillars of contemporary art (museums, public and private collections, galleries³⁸, etc).

In parallel and intertwined with this institutional «system», there are a series of new groups, circuits, movements, trends and practises that have also created their own alternative or non-conventional spaces where the majority of so-called new media experiences take place, in the multiple sense of this term. These experiences were originated outside the institutional system of artistic education – that tends to be particularly closed and retarded in relation to new technologies and new digital literacy. The following two interviewees stated their views and personal experiences in this regard:

«Why did people start to work in Portugal with new media, new video and video art in recent years? Initially, my generation – the Nineties generation, had no computers in order to produce videos. I wanted to try making videos on several occasions. But we didn't have enough money to buy computers and there were none in the Fine Arts Conservatory (in Lisbon). As a result, new video artists only emerged around 1997, 1998 when computer prices had lowered and it was easier to obtain the respective software programmes. Initially there were only one or two artists in the whole of Portugal and in Lisbon in particular, who would help other artists. Subsequently more people entered this field, including individuals with home computers and some started working systematically on video... That gives you an overall idea of our technological backwardness» (artist-curator)

37 Teresa Duarte Martinho, «The Field of Photography in Portugal: From 1985 to 1996», *Folha OBS*, nº 5, Lisbon, Observatory of Cultural Activities, 1999.

38 Cf. Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos, Alexandre Melo (coords) and Teresa D. Martinho, *Art Galleries in Lisbon*, Observatory of Cultural Activities, 2001.

«Among Fine Arts students and artists there is still a relative high degree of ignorance in relation to technological aspects, and tremendous resistance. The discourse linking together the language of technology with that of art and vice-versa is still in an embryonic stage. Within the field of engineering there is also a great distance with everything to do with the artistic discourse. This is a phenomenon that also applies outside Portugal. There is still a great deal to be achieved in terms of educational instruction and formation of multi-disciplinary teams – no doubt the path of the future –, because there continues to be a major gap between art and technology. (...) Several foreign museums are attentive to the question of new media – some more than others, of course. It must also be noted that there is still insufficient work, and productions in this field, and the few that do exist tend to be incorporated in foreign institutions. There is a lack of references in order to compare these works with those of painting and sculpture. The respective domains are not sufficiently clearly defined. But if there is any backwardness in this regard, it is not a problem restricted exclusively to Portugal» (Net Artist)

The last few sentences, in particular, demonstrate how there continues to be a lack of recognition of artistic and aesthetic references within the field of new media «discourses», whereby it would be possible to understand and evaluate new art forms in terms of their technological connections. As a result, the *recognition* of new media and respective gate-keeping categories/processes, continue to operate under the wider «rules» of contemporary art and the «arbitrary» power of gate-keepers who have traditionally dominated this field. Table 2 presents a breakdown of art/music critics in newspapers and magazines which influence the field.

Table 2 Art/Music Newspaper and Magazine Critics*

Areas	Men	Women	% F
Visual Arts	6	5	45
Performing Arts	2	5	71
Music:			
<i>Serious</i>	5	4	44
<i>Pop/popular</i> **	15	4	21
<i>Jazz</i>	6	-	-
<i>General</i>	1	2	67
Total	35	20	36

Source: * From leading newspapers (daily, weekly) and magazines.

** Includes electronic music, reggae, pop/rock and similar genres.

4. WOMEN IN SERIOUS MUSIC

In contrast to the confrontation between technology and new media in the world of contemporary arts, the world of serious music presents an almost inverse case as an institutional and asymmetric sector. This world is marked by tradition, where «historically, the status of women is profoundly underprivileged» especially in terms of «authorship and orchestra conducting», as one of our interviewees, a music critic, noted.

Conductors and composers appear at the top of the masculine hierarchy. This also personifies the structural and unequal duality of this world, which transcends questions of genre, and is found throughout the closed circle of *artistic creation* and the entire spectrum of professionals, institutions or events dedicated to musical *interpretation*, transmission and tradition³⁹. This is by no means a unified sector, and neither is there a uniform pattern to the factors of change that contribute to reconstructing tradition. This fact is also evident in the various profiles that can be drawn to illustrate the status of women in the world of music as composers, conductors, instrumentalists, and also as intermediaries or gate-keepers.

The present chapter aims to outline such portraits and changes, considering the level of stratification of the world of serious music as well as the place of women within a pyramid of success that has training at its core⁴⁰. As one of interviewees explained:

«serious music is an area that in principle has a higher level of stability, because it has greater technical requirements. In other words, of all artistic fields, it is the one in which questions of education and training have the greatest importance. It is very different from the types of work and range of possibilities delivered by new technologies. Even in the field of fine arts, there is no obligation that artists attend Fine Arts schools. The same is almost certainly true in the theatre. In the world of cinema, both situations may be found. In music, such training is absolutely essential. This makes change far more difficult because every instrumentalist and composer requires technical and scholastic training».

The pyramid also displays the status level of professionals, in particular, musicians of leading orchestras, where the differences between men and women are connected to other considerable imbalances in the Portuguese context. These two levels provide

39 See Pierre-Michel Menger, *Le paradoxe du musicien – le compositeur, le mélomane et l'État dans la société contemporaine*. Flammarion, Paris, 1983.

40 One of the aspects that distinguishes this area of music from the other arts sectors is precisely the requirement for a high-level and extensive training period.

us with a picture of the gate-keeping system that influences the career path of these women, although it should be noted that for most women this question does not appear to be centred on the music itself. As a matter of fact, career experiences demonstrate that being a woman may have an impact on certain decisions, especially in terms of the difficulty of reconciling a musical career with family life and motherhood. The main reason identified is that the most important criteria within the profession is another form of equality: that of *quality*, which is «supposedly» free of sexist bias in the world of music.

In other words, the feminine *condition* is less important than professional *identity*. For this reason, even when inequalities are identified in terms of access to the profession and public visibility – although certain changes in tradition are noted with more women filling traditional masculine roles – the interviews conducted with various women connected to the world of music considered that the essential question is the *individuality* affirmed by each of them in terms of their artistic worth and performance. This is considered to be the unique criteria for assessing talent, the decisive factor in this area, since it connects personal strengths to technical *expertise* at the level of composition, orchestra conducting or mastery of a musical instrument.

Integration within collective bodies such as orchestras may limit this factor, in contrast to soloists with an individual career. However, this factor is nonetheless still present, as indicated by the reaction of various instrumentalists interviewed in relation to this study. Instrumentalists are rarely asked for their personal opinion, and even less as women, and as a result tended to be surprised, curious or interested. Yet, all of those interviewed made a clear distinction between the status of women and the factors that define the profession⁴¹. For example, a flutist said, «I've never been asked or even thought about this question, deep down it was a surprise but I think it's a worthwhile line of enquiry». A young violinist, who is «hardly a feminist», but stated that she was «curious because I think it's an interesting idea, because this question has never been posed in our area of classical music». There were also expressions of distant perplexity, as an orchestra pianist explained, «it's interesting, not because I'm not familiar with the subject. To be honest I've never paid great attention to this question of the opportunities of women. We have to work so hard there's rarely time to think about such issues, but even if I had time I would probably never even think about drawing up a study on the role of women in music». But the inverse situation is also found with a bass violinist, «an interesting and important topic», and an oboist, a foreigner, who expressed particular interest in this question. She was the most

41 When the interviewees were asked to respond to the first question – how they felt about being questioned on the role of women in the world of music – the answers varied between surprise and considerable curiosity.

fiercely critical of the male hierarchy at the top of the orchestra and the «*aggressive*», «*macho*» nature of Portuguese culture, but this opinion was not shared by all foreign female colleagues.

In the case of composers, and of the only Portuguese woman conductor interviewed for this study (she is working in the United States), there are examples of women who are already used to speaking about their singularity in an area that is traditionally so male-dominated. All of those interviewed were very clear about the distance between this question and the issue of artistic *singularity* and their artistic and career objectives. «My experience is quite singular», stated one composer and flutist, «but not because I'm a woman, but because I have singular characteristics as a human being. This is revealed above all within my career path, which has nothing to do with the fact that I am a woman.»⁴² In this career path, she is also a wife and partner of a composer, through «the force of circumstances», she has been the main person responsible for logistical planning, «organisation and direction of projects». There has thus been a division of labour within the artistic couple, with the woman serving as the couple's pillar of support, developing a series of «activities that are mainly built on responses to specific needs». It is also, however, important to consider that such subjective rationalisation of her artistic project and career path as a female composer is not solely based on such factors.

Another composer said that she found the interview request to be «curious» and agreed to be interviewed above all because of her interest in her «work and artistic testimony». «Rationally» she was able to recognise the importance of a study on the role of women in the arts in Portugal, who are often denied opportunities, but not in her case:

«I have no grounds for complaint, I don't see myself as a victim, but I'm curious to learn more about other cases. I've never experienced the slightest obstacle (...) I've always been lucky in the area of composing, and I'm sure this wasn't because I was a woman, it was because I came on the scene when there were few composers around and I was supported by Jorge Peixinho⁴³, and others, and then went to the United

42 «I think my career path is chaotic, with apparent major fluctuations, with incursions in various different directions, but always with a very strong underlying dream. Ever since I decided what I wanted to do with my life I've been driven by the desire to reach a specific goal, after that whatever happens to me on the way is of minor importance. The key thing is the mighty river that flows within me».

43 Jorge Peixinho (1940-1995) is a leading figure of Portuguese avant-garde music of the 1960s which was «*already post-serial, having outstripped both the concept of dodecaphonism and integral serialisation*». See Sérgio Azevedo, *A invenção dos sons – uma panorâmica da composição em Portugal hoje* (The Invention of Sounds – An Overview of Musical Composition in Modern Portugal). Caminho, Lisbon, 1998, p. 37. Another key figure is Constança Capdeville (1937-1992), «*who introduced liberating artists such as Erik Satie and John Cage into Portugal*» (p. 41), as well as the intermixing between music and the worlds of theatre and dance.

States to study where I was also supported by other institutions, I also received a scholarship from the Gulbenkian Foundation (...) I never felt that I was discriminated. There are injustices, they exist, but I don't believe these arise because I'm a woman. There are injustices that apply universally to all Portuguese artists. Portuguese artists generally work very hard and have few opportunities.»⁴⁴

The main constraint to a professional career in an area such as musical composition is above all the adverse context rather than the feminine condition in particular. The same argument is defended by Portugal's only female conductor who is able to compare the Portuguese situation with her experience in the United States. She believes that there is perhaps even greater space for female conductors in Portugal than in the US. «There are only 10% of female conductors in orchestras at a world level, and even this fact represents a major evolution».

The situation is worse in Western Europe which is the home of «the main roots of classical music (and) has an extremely male-dominated world of orchestra conducting, which includes cases of discrimination». In her opinion the situation in Portugal is slightly different – also for historical reasons – which «perhaps explains the luck I've enjoyed in my own career». Even in Portugal with certain professional opportunities⁴⁵, or in the United States where she seeks another scale of projection:

«I continue to believe that Portugal is an exception within Western Europe. In Portugal the world of orchestra conducting is a relatively recent phenomenon, it only began in the nineteenth century, and has been an exclusively masculine world until a few decades ago. There is no great tradition of orchestra conducting in Portugal. Only in the last 20 years did conductors begin to receive an academic training, in universities, etc., it is a minuscule market. Given this very recent history, I don't believe that it matters whether one is a man or a woman, this was never the

44 In addition, «the work of a composer is a highly solitary activity, a female composer is not always dependent on others, she is writing, and it's different from a woman in an orchestra where there is interaction with the rest of the orchestra, a distinct manner in which each conductor treats their musicians etc. I don't have this type of interaction, I'm on my own writing and normally work with colleagues with whom I have a certain affinity (...) I identify with both men and women. I identify each person by their personality. I'm actually quite curious to learn about the opinion of other women, because I don't know what they experience.»

45 In particular the chance to conduct orchestras at a young age, as soon as she finished her studies in the only course in this area in Portugal which is the Academia Superior de Orquestra (Orchestra Academy) integrated within the organisational structure that also includes the Lisbon Metropolitan Orchestra. «But as it happens, I felt the need to go to the USA because I thought it was a market where it would be easier for me to succeed, compared to the rest of Europe», except for Eastern Europe which appeared to her to be more advanced in this field. In the USA she is a resident conductor since July 2002 in the orchestra (...), with young members (between 21 and 26 years old): «post-graduates, Master degree students, PhDs or simply music professionals. It is also a launching pad for them. The orchestra has been in existence for 48 years, but this is my first season, I'm still finding my feet».

key issue. I've never been approached within the musical community in Portugal by someone saying «how interesting, you're a woman...». I've never sensed either positive or negative discrimination in Portugal, I've always been treated as an equal. I'm very proud of this equal treatment in this field, in Portugal».

Even in the United States, she has never felt discrimination against herself as a woman. «Even in my present university, the University of Michigan, 50% of the small number of orchestra conducting students – a mere 7 or 8 – are women. This is a sign that times have changed». There is no question that this change only began slowly within the younger generation – to which she also belongs, given that she is around 30.

«I think my generation reaped the benefits of the previous two to three generations of women who fought and continue to fight – since many are now aged between 40 and 50 – within a universe of male conductors of a similar age. It is still very difficult for women at this age to succeed in their profession. For my generation, I have great hopes and expectations concerning this market, (...) I don't think there is yet a situation of equal opportunities, it will still take another decade or two before we have a woman topping orchestras such as those of Berlin, Vienna or London. But the path is already open to this possibility, and that's the key thing».

The effects of this very recent change are certainly over-estimated within the testimony of this young female conductor at the beginning of her career. There is still a long way to go before the effects of this change alter the stratification and masculine-dominated atmosphere of this world. We will now address these aspects from the perspective of gate-keeping.

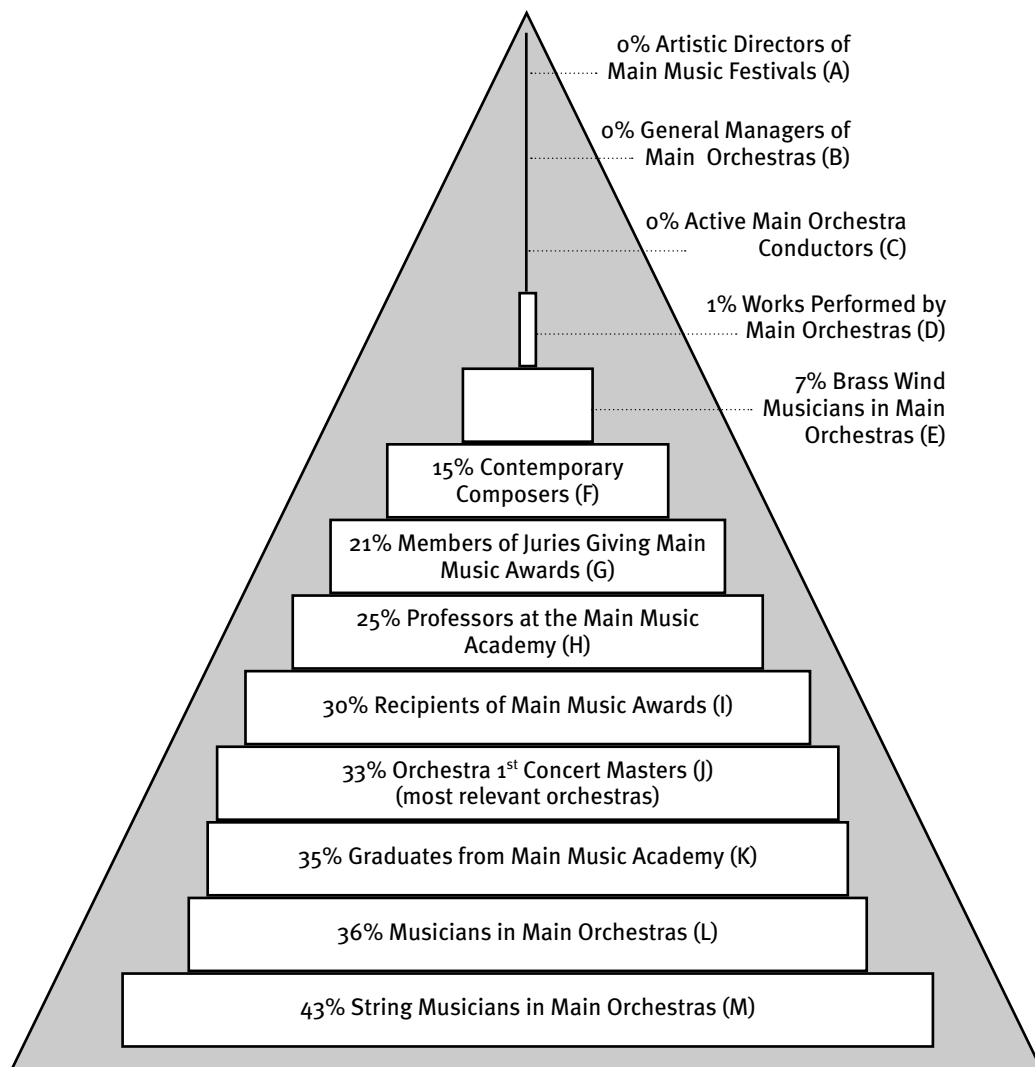
4.1 Women in Serious Music – Pyramid of Success

The Pyramid of Success clearly identifies the differences between men and women, particularly in key hierarchical positions of management and artistic direction. In the main institutional bodies of these fields including festivals and orchestras, there is no woman in a top position, except for the aforementioned female conductor.

This situation is also found in Portugal's main opera house, the São Carlos National Theatre, which is not included in the pyramid, but is a paradigm example of masculine leadership, with two male staff conductors of the Orchestra and Choir and a male artistic director. The latter presides over a Board of Directors with 3 members, but only 1 woman. Even in other leadership levels of its organisational structure, the representation of women is around 29% and 17% at various

management levels, although women do represent around 50% of co-ordination positions, 67% of assistants and 53% of operational *staff*. Women represent 43% of the institution's total 291 staff members.

Pyramid of Success of Women in Serious Music in Portugal



Notes:

* Categories selected for the purposes of comparison between the countries represented in Culture-Gates.

2002 data on main orchestras, not all of which are symphony orchestras, are the Orquestra Sinfónica Portuguesa, Orquestra Nacional do Porto, OG – Gulbenkian Orchestra and OML – Orquestra Metropolitana de Lisboa.

A – Póvoa do Varzim, Sintra, Leiria, Mafra, Coimbra and Encontros de Música in the Casa de Mateus in 2002; in others (Azores, Évora) there are at least 2 women in the management/promotion of festivals/musical events

B – Only executive directors and sub-directors of the main orchestras (not counting 1 woman in the Board of Directors of the S. Carlos National Theatre to which the OSP pertains).

C – There is one female Portuguese professional conductor, however she resides and works in the United States. There are in total 13 Portuguese conductors. Other 2 young women begin experience on conduction in Portugal, but not in the main orchestras.

D – In the total number of works (and not of composers) for the repertoires in 2002 of the 3 main orchestras (OSP, ONP, OG). In 2001 the respective figure was 0%.. Individually, for each of these orchestras, the percentage of works of female authorship may oscillate between 0% and 4% over the period 2001-2002.

E, J, L, M – Considering the OSP, ONP, OG and OML.

F – The figure lowers to around 12% if we exclude 2 less significant cases. This number rises to almost 18% if we take into consideration those just entering the professional field and not yet established. It all depends on the criteria used.

G, I – Considering various editions of 2 prizes for composition («Lopes Graça» and «Música Viva») and 1 interpretation prize («Jovens Músicos», including soloists and chamber music). The global share (%) for women – 21% in juries (counting the number of individuals and not the number of participants) and 30% among the award winners (with honorary mentions) – aggregates the totals for the two types of prizes. Awards are also given by the Electro-acoustic Music Festival (so far 3 annual competitions from 2000-2003). The recipients include 9 Portugues composers (2 women) and 4 foreign composers (1 female)⁴⁶.

J – % relative to 1 woman within the overall number and only 3 first concert masters in 4 orchestras, because the OKL has no fixed person occupying this position. If we count all the other categories of violinists (1st, 2nd, adjunct, auxiliary, assistant, honorary) that are mentioned, there are 12 individuals of which 3 are women (25%)

H, K – Music Conservatories (Escolas Superiores) of Lisbon and Oporto, 2002. If only instrumental music and composition are considered, the share of female graduates is 30%.

The pyramid continues to show various levels of inequality in serious music that span both the universes of artistic creation and interpretation. Women represent less than 15% of contemporary composers and the situation is even worse in terms of the performance rate of works by women composers, which almost never reaches music auditoriums. This level of inequality is also found among instrumentalists. While it is the case that women make up 43% of those playing string instruments in the main Portuguese orchestras – and they constitute the largest base of the pyramid – sexual inequality within other musical instruments is very clear when we consider percussion instruments where there are only 7% women.

These disparities are evident in the female line-up of the principal orchestras (36%), and also in the unequal distribution within the respective internal hierarchy topped by the conductor and first concert master⁴⁷. The fact that one of the orchestras (ONP – Oporto National Orchestra) has women as 1st and 2nd concert masters – both foreigners from Poland⁴⁸ –, raises the proportion of women holding this position to 33%. This is particularly significant for the case of 1st concert master, as specifically identified within the *ranking* of the pyramid. According to

46 Among the nominees were 34 Portuguese composers (7 women), 59 foreign composers (10 women).

47 The first concert masters, may be various persons within a rotation system: 1st and 2nd concertino, principal, deputy, auxiliary, assistant, and honorary, in accordance with the diversity of categories found in the main orchestras. This position may also be filled by an orchestra's principal soloists.

48 There are various examples of «flows» of immigration in this orchestral field, fairly dominated by foreigners. In certain cases, immigrants recreate their artistic circles in Portugal and join the musical education system. This is the case with many music teachers, in particular those who emigrated from Eastern Europe in the 1990s.

one of the interviewees, «There has to be someone in command, especially in large groups», and she agrees with that someone being traditionally a man, but argues ironically with the situation in the ONP that, «it is true in terms of first concert masters and conductors, that men are certainly much more comfortable with a man. Our orchestra has two female first concert masters. Sometimes they play together (and) sometimes it isn't easy for the men...».

She reiterates that it is not enough to be able to play well, or even «perfectly» to occupy the top position, but rather the need for a «spirit of leadership and the confidence of being in front»⁴⁹. In this position of leadership, aided by other sections, all of which are under the conductor's baton, «we cannot talk of music and democracy in the same breath». Thus, orchestras represent a system with a quite rigid hierarchy from a decision making and functional point of view, a situation which we shall explain in more detail later.

Concerning the main musical awards included in the pyramid and given in recognition of professional achievements, there continues to be an imbalance between the sexes. The differences between composers and musicians also appear in different areas of serious music as a kind of double inequality. Inequality between women and men because, generally speaking, women only make up 21% of the panels of judges and only 30% are award winners for music (composition + interpretation). This is even greater in terms of composition, where female representation on juries is 11% and among the award winners, the share of women is 20%.

Furthermore, in our analysis of the curriculum vitae – a sample of 6 composers from different generations and another 25 orchestra musicians⁵⁰ – revealed not only the receipt of important awards in general but also certain similarities to that disparity seen between women. Thus, in addition to study grants, both important

49 There is a need for two first concert masters in the orchestra «because it is a fairly onerous position. We have 40 hours of rehearsing a week. We have to make time in order to fulfil our work commitments, time to study at home, prepare staves, scores, programmes, there are solo pieces to be played and we also have to maintain a high level of artistic performance. As a result first concert masters and heads of sections have no free time, they don't play everything but it's not free time, it is time spent maintaining their artistic performance level. In this position the first violinist has the right to express an opinion on repertoires and artistic direction but the decisions are made by others. Even in other dimensions of gate-keeping: «unfortunately, even here there are many things linked to politics... But sometimes even the artistic director cannot do what he or she wants. These are the questions that tend to restrict artistic ideas and projects (...) In my opinion, artistic direction in an institution such as ours should be handled by more people being responsible for everything that goes on: guest conductors, programming, everything.»

50 Including differences in age, nationality, instruments and categories in the hierarchy of the orchestra. The fact that this sample over-represents the most distinguished (first violinists and soloists, section heads in some cases and *tutti* in a reduced number of cases) may accentuate the selectivity of careers based on these awards.

master classes and participation in national or international competitions need to be considered in this area of professional promotion. The results have shown that 50% of the composers analysed have received at least 1 to 3 awards and approximately 76% of the instrumentalists have won awards during the course of their career – normally 2 to 3 awards; some of which have received 5 to 7 awards⁵¹. Awards are important at different stages of one's career – at the beginning, as well as in the middle or at later stages to confirm or recognise later works.

4.2 Different Scenarios of Training

The pyramid also leads us to the fundamental area of training, stratified between teachers and students of the main music conservatories: women making up 25% of the teachers and 34% of the student population. The deviation between the top and the base of the school hierarchy, indicates the lack of female mobility in the pursuit of an academic career. This is visible especially in specific and nuclear gate-keeping functions. Teachers, for example, have a double role of being trainers as well as facilitators in the professional launching of their pupils, which they normally keep track of for a number of years. Some of them are references for their pupils throughout their entire career.

This important role that teachers play as intermediators, came up several times in the interviews. One teacher – a well known harpsichordist – who runs a Conservatory said, «professional exits are not easy to obtain here in Portugal (and) I think that besides teaching, a part of my job is also to place the student in the professional market to the best of my ability». This does not exclude certain examples of ambivalence in this very close and normally long-lasting relationship between teachers and students of music (one must remember the need for individual lessons in this area). The rule of accepting the autonomy of the pupils is not always completely pacifist, even though «a good teacher is obliged to prepare a student to be better than his/her teacher - this should be our goal».

Even though many of the interviewees emphasised the praise for and the dependence on their teacher, others questioned the actions of teachers as 'facilitators'. A female violinist who is now a 1st violinist said,

«I had the opportunity to stay on as an assistant to my teacher as soon as I completed my studies. But I turned it down. I wanted to play, do a lot of things. 4 or 5

51 As in the case of a very young female violinist (1st violin), 23 years old and recently placed in a national orchestra after a period of musical studies in the United States. It must be remembered that these careers begin at an early age, in this case she began her studies when she was just 7 years old.

years later I became a soloist in the orchestra (...) This (being an assistant) didn't interest me. Being behind a teacher and living a hard life... looking after those for which he no longer had the patience, that's not for me! Gaining professional experience abroad is much better than staying here in a career that goes nowhere, isn't it? But some teachers help, they are masters».

From the composers (and other profiles in the music world) we also heard of at least one case of «musical training which was terrible in terms of the teachers» because «they annihilate» young people who were often induced, even «manipulated» by their parents to follow this road at a very early age.

Historically, women have been both sponsors and teachers in certain areas of music pedagogy. Domestic, bourgeois and «maternal» training was part of the lessons given by «female teachers of the piano coming from 'good families'». This stereotype does not extend to other forms of music training, and especially not to teachers of composition. The constitution of a more formal teaching system has obviously changed this system, however, not by much.

The following tables provide a statistical picture of the student population at the two most popular music schools in Portugal. First, Table 4 shows that the majority of higher education is aimed at instrumentalists (463 students in 2000-2001). This is followed by the students of musical/musicological sciences (129 students – 50% female students). The representation of women in composition studies is 15%.

In fact, with the exception of ancient music and keyboards (female rates of 50% and 58%), and the intermediate cases of orchestra and cord instrumentalists, (41% and 43% respectively), the areas of percussion, wind and other instruments are dominated by male students. The only traditional and clearly feminine field is that of singing (74%), where the question of equality should be posed in terms of being opened to «males». There is a trend for opening more doors to women in choral direction (38%), the inverse is true for orchestra direction (0%)⁵².

52 Data for 2001-2002 show only male students in the orchestra direction course (1 enrolled, 2 graduates). In the case of those training to be orchestra musicians we can see that women make up 43% of the total of 28 students enrolled, and 35% of the total of 113 students who graduated. It was in this course for orchestra direction that the above-mentioned female conductor gained her diploma, being considered «extraordinarily good, at a world level» in the theoretical and practical components. Here the students have the possibility of weekly training sessions and conducting an orchestra (OML) once a month. «A course of orchestra direction could be the end of the training for a person or it could be the beginning. In my case it was the beginning (...) By the time I was 18 or 19 years old I was conducting concerts all over the country.»

Table 3

Higher Music Education - Enrolled Students, 2000-2001

Degree Courses	2000/01		
General	Total	Total Women	% F
Musical Sciences/ Musicology	129	64	50
Music	83	30	36
Musical Training	36	20	6
Specific *			
Orchestra Direction	1	-	-
Composition	47	7	15
Instrumentalists (Total)	463	175	38
Non-specified	175	59	34
Orchestra	100	41	41
Strings	53	23	43
Keyboards	43	25	58
Wind	79	23	29
Percussion	9	2	22
Ancient music	4	2	50
Singing	47	35	74
Choral direction	13	5	38
Music Technologies and Production	44	5	1
Masters and Doctorates			
Musical Sciences/ Music and Musicology	54	24	44

Source: DAPP – Departamento de Avaliação Prospectiva e Planeamento, Ministério da Educação (Ministry of Education – Department of Evaluation and Planning). Public and private schools of higher artistic education were included.

* Specific music degree courses.

Table 4a

Students in the Main Music Colleges, 1989-2001

	1989/90		1994/95		2001/02		Variation	
	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F
Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa	35	46	111	44	247	36	+212	-10
Escola Superior de Música do Porto**	41	46	110	41	294	33	+253	-13

Source: Statistics from both Music Colleges

* Total number of students enrolled

** Full name: Escola Superior de Música e das Artes do Espectáculo do Porto.

Only students taking music courses are accounted for.

Table 4b

Teachers in the Main Music Colleges, 1989-2001

	1989/90		1994/95		2001/02		Variation	
	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F
Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa	31	29	42	21	69	28	+38	-1
Escola Superior de Música do Porto**	17	29	27	30	53	23	+36	-6

Source: Statistics from both Music Colleges

* Total number of students enrolled

** Full name: Escola Superior de Música e das Artes do Espectáculo do Porto.

Only teachers of music courses are accounted for.

Table 4a shows the participation of female students at the colleges of higher musical education of Lisbon and Oporto. They show that women made up a good share of the student population in the early 90s reaching a level of 41–46%, however, by the middle of the decade their share dropped between 10 and 13% in 2001-2002. These decreasing figures are also reflected in the share of women among the teaching staff of the Oporto college, where, just as in Lisbon, women are always under-represented (Table 4b).

We should however emphasise the difficulties in tracing a single global trend for the various teaching areas in these colleges⁵³. An example of statistical fluctuation is immediately visible in the area of music composition which is constantly dominated by men. An analysis of the decade shows that the number of students enrolled increased more in the Lisbon school than in Oporto (+23 against +4). The number of women teaching in these colleges declined, especially in Oporto, after being greater than that of Lisbon at the beginning of the 90s. Even though the figures refer to a reduced number of persons, with just a few cases needed to change the situation, they do serve as an indicator to sketch an inverse curve, proving that the 40% of women among the 10 students studying composition at Oporto in 1989-90 fell to 7% in 2001-2002, the opposite of which occurred in Lisbon (9 to 18%).

53 The choice of three moments along the decade 1990-2000 (start, middle and end) may appear limiting because each college presents different and often irregular internal levels of evolution, with no detailed description given here. So, the calculation of the final variation – start of the decade versus the end of the decade – only adjusts the most constant routes of demand for the different types of training. In any case, this simplification does help to identify the most important and distinctive paths of the Lisbon and Oporto colleges of higher education for music.

Table 5

Students Enrolled in Composition Courses at Colleges for Higher Music Education

	1989/90		1994/95		2001/02		Variation	
	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F
Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa	11	9	18	6	34	18	+23	+9
Escola Superior de Música do Porto**	10	40	13	39	14	7	+4	-33

Source: Statistics from both Music Colleges

** Full name: Escola Superior de Música e das Artes do Espectáculo do Porto.

The differences between colleges arises out of their contexts – traditions, teachers, courses and pedagogies, as well as the characteristics of the university population in general in these two cities. Such factors help to provide a better explanation for other differences such as the higher number of female students studying musical instruments in Oporto than in Lisbon for the year 2000-2001. Oporto, located in the north of Portugal has a more balanced representation of female students (between 46 and 50% share) in string courses (except the double bass). There is a majority share of women in 4 areas: 58% keyboards, 74% singing, 88% oboes and 100% for the harpsichord.

Obviously changes in the behaviour of female students also influence this data. According to the female director of the Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa:

«I have noticed that the girls are also playing instruments which were not sought after by them a few years ago, instruments like the bassoon, we have some girls studying the bassoon at present and they are good bassoon players. Then there is the oboe, for many years this instrument was only played by men, and the double bass – I can not remember ever seeing a woman playing a double bass when I was younger, at least not here in Portugal – but now there are women playing this instrument. Composition too, now there is quite a number of students of composition. I think that women are entering areas in Portugal that were not very much frequented fifteen years ago.»

However, the following information shows that this movement is not uniform. Tables 6 and 7 show an evolution of women choosing non-typical instruments over the last decade. The observations refer to the two colleges of higher education and other places of reference in musical training (intermediate teaching or

free courses) to be considered in comparison. They indicate the weakening or strengthening of female presence in certain areas, for example, the flute, bassoon and oboe showing a moderate increase at both the Lisbon and Oporto colleges. Although the same trend is seen for the violin in other colleges, we see the contrary at the Lisbon college, where there are less students studying this instrument. Other areas which show a decrease in the percentage of female students (guitar and clarinet, for example), may show gains outside the institutional circle of higher education. This can be seen for the trumpet, clarinet and guitar at the Academia dos Amadores de Música in Lisbon.

Table 6

Evolution of Female Presence by Instrument in Higher Education, 1990-2001

		Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa	Escola Superior de Música do Porto
Increase	Moderate (A)	Flute Bassoon * Oboe * Piano Organ	Flute * Bassoon * Violin * Clarinet Oboe**
	Accentuated (B)		Harpsichord***
Decrease	Moderate (C)	Cello *	
	Accentuated (D)	Violin Guitar Clarinet Harpsichord	Cello Double Bass Piano

Source: Statistics from both Music Colleges

* Most pronounced trends

** Least pronounced trend

*** Somewhat intermediate trend (+ 50% of women with same n° of students)

A: + students / + % women

B: - students / + % women

C: - students / - % women

D: + students / - % women

Table 7

Evolution of Female Presence by Instrument: Other Colleges, 1994-2002

		Academia dos Amadores de Música (Lisboa)	Juventude Musical Portuguesa (Lisboa)	Instituto Gregoriano de Lisboa
Increase	Moderate (A)	Violin	Violin *	Organ (basic course)
	Accentuated (B)	Trumpet * Guitar Clarinet *	-	Piano (basic course)
Decrease	Moderate (C)	Guitar Flute Piano	Guitar	Piano (secondary course) Organ (secondary course)
	Accentuated (D)	Cello Saxophone *	Flute * Piano	-

Source: Statistics from Music Colleges

* Most pronounced trend

A: + students / + % women

B: - students / + % women

C: - students / - % women

D: + students / - % women

The tables also show a steady decrease of women (both moderated and accentuated) at all 5 colleges in the areas of cello, guitar and piano. In the latter case, where there has traditionally been a female majority, there are clear fluctuations of increasing and decreasing patterns, namely at the Lisbon and Oporto colleges. In this way, the piano and other cases demonstrate a diversified scenario in the music training plan, as we can also see in non-homogeneous profiles linked to the professional orchestras and markets for composers.

Finally, a portrait of music training is not complete without mentioning study grants and scholarships, which are fundamental to the further advancement and specialisation of instrumentalists and composers abroad, and which are, in Portugal, almost exclusively given by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. The composition seminars organised by the Foundation are also a reference point for contemporary creators. Training courses in new technologies, especially those linked to electro-acoustic music, is a fairly recent phenomenon in our country⁵⁴.

54 More relative to the last decade and, at present, an important nucleus at the University of Aveiro, which is well equipped with technological resources and is associated with a music festival in that area. Workshops form more disconnected types of training and include experiments in less formal contexts that require better logistical conditions. These include studios for musical creation/production, very demanding today in terms of updated technology.

4.3 Music Professionals and Imbalances

Table 8 provides statistics on the composition of professionals working in the field of serious music – understood as contemporary creation in a broad sense⁵⁵. Irrespective of differences in terms of works, schools, and teaching methods, the data thus far assembled suggests a very important conclusion: the presence of women, particularly from the younger generations is, to a certain extent, eroding traditional male hegemony.

Within the youngest generation of composers about 30% are women – although this corresponds to a small number (3). This new generational group nonetheless marks a shift in female participation rates. This trend may be the result of efforts pursued in the areas of music and composing education over the past decade. The higher proportion of women among composers reflects a general trend in specialised and higher education. Other explanations may be found within the music sector itself in terms of broader and more accessible conditions for exercising composing activities, and possibly gate-keeping effects to balance the male/female ratio in this area.

Table 8 Contemporary Composers: Age* and Sex

AGE	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	% of WOMEN
under 30	10	7	3	30
31-35	15	13	2	13
36-40	11	10	1	9
41-45	14	13	1	7
46-50	-	-	-	-
Over 50	18	15	3	17
Total	68	58	10	15

Source: Survey by OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities, March 2002. This list is made up of professionally active composers which have achieved a level of recognition or more professional visibility.

* Age in 2002

Although these changes have a relatively reduced impact on the present imbalance in which no more than 15% of composers are women, the clear trend towards

⁵⁵ Portuguese composers and at least one highly renowned composer, Emmanuel Nunes, who works abroad. There is also a foreigner who lives and works in Portugal (Christopher Bochmann) who was included in the Table, because of his influence on Portuguese music. Other foreigners resident in Portugal, but who do not have the same influence were excluded from the table. The research adopted the approach used in publications such as Sérgio Azevedo, *A Invenção dos Sons – uma panorâmica da composição em Portugal hoje* (The Invention of Sounds, An Overview of Music Composing in Contemporary Portugal). Editora Caminho, Lisbon, 1998, updated with more recent references.

rejuvenation of this musical field – around 53% of composers are under 40 years of age – suggests that a very different scenario may emerge in the future. This may also be seen in male and female career paths where there are already some signals, in particular in terms of the *curricula vitae* of younger composers⁵⁶. This is also found in terms of educational involvement, both at an academic and non-academic level. Most musical and composing instructors, for example, invest in post-graduate university education (master's degrees and PhDs, often carried out abroad). The music profession also organises parallel and background activities (festivals, meetings, membership or work with musical groups and cultural and pedagogical initiatives targeted at adults, young people and children etc.)

Another aspect that should be taken into consideration is the connection that sometimes exists between various artistic areas (theatre, dance, fine arts) and new technologies that enrich the panorama of electro-acoustic or electronic music within the sector of serious music. The institutionalisation of this trend, in particular within the academic universe in the 1990s, involved several women, such as the composer, Isabel Soveral, who pursued a master's and PhD degree in New York State University in 1990-93, after overcoming an initial cultural shock with «*machines*».

«I didn't want anything to do with technologies but I felt that I had to resolve this problem. I had a very minimal knowledge of this field and never thought that I would dedicate myself to electronic music. I then started to discover its potential and began to create my own imaginary universe (,) and suddenly awoke to a new world of possibilities».

Another example is the composer and flutist Paula Azguime, who since 1992 has been co-ordinator (together with her husband and composer Miguel Azguime) of *Música Viva – International Festival of Electro-Acoustic Music* (8th edition in 2002)⁵⁷. This festival signals the recent legitimisation of this branch of music within the field of contemporary serious music. The eclectic nature of electro-acoustic music («technology is a field that induces the mixing and approximation of different elements») and the technological skills required may sometimes lead to «*resistance*» from serious music composers schooled in a «*weighty tradition*» of western music. There may also be a «negative reaction from institutional powers within classical

56 Based on a comparative observation of 7 *curricula vitae* of composers from different generations.

57 In parallel with the activity of both in the flute and percussion duo, *Miso Ensemble*, created in 1985 (with over 400 concerts in Portugal and abroad) among other production structures. *Miso Estúdio* (since 1994) is equipped for research, creation and development of computer-assisted electronic music in real-time, and *Miso Records*, an independent record label founded in 1988.

music because they don't want excessive mixing of different elements» due to fear of «loss of status». The field of electro-acoustic music also establishes frontiers with other forms of electronic music – techno or commercial – that are considered herein in the area of new media. This is because electro-acoustic music has a different logic, a distinct world and embraces the fundamental criteria of authorship:

«...at heart they are synonymous, (technically) electronic music and electro-acoustics are the same thing. But there are certain new currents of so-called «electronics» that originate from DJ's, who mix together different sounds, contrasted with electronic music that we classify as original creative work. Original creation must be something genuine, created from nothing, because the act of creation cannot be a compilation or adaptation, or a juxtaposition or mixture, which is what DJ's often produce in contemporary electronic music.»

In summary, in addition to gender as a mark of inequality, there are various other differences and imbalances found among music professionals in terms of their allegiances, career paths and identities. Sexual inequalities persist, however, in the predominantly masculine profile of composers and consequently in the career requirement to have published and publicly performed works, with a key role played by commissioning bodies. In Portugal, the main and most prestigious gate-keeper in this field is, and has been for many years (since 1963), the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, by means of its Music Service. Over 230 works had been commissioned up to 1999 from 115 composers: 75% foreign composers, many of them are internationally renowned, and 25% Portuguese composers, but almost all men (96%)⁵⁸.

Even so, it is worthwhile noting that despite the low overall proportion of women (4% in the total) there is a higher proportion among national composers: 4 women within a total of 29 composers. In other words, about 16% of the Portuguese composers were women, whereas the respective figure for foreign composers was only 1%. In the case of other institutions, works are only commissioned on an occasional basis, and the main commissioning bodies are the principal orchestras, music festivals and the São Carlos National Theatre for opera – and more recently the organisers of major events and the Casa da Música in the launch of its activi-

58 Cf. *Commandes d'Oeuvres Musicales (Commissioning of Musical Works)* Music Service, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1999. As stated in the preface to this overview, most of the works benefiting from the annual plan of commissions had their world musical premiere during the Foundation's concert season, many of which were expressly composed for the Gulbenkian Orchestra and/or Choir, and also having been presented in the Gulbenkian Contemporary Music Encounters that the Foundation organised every year from 1977 to 2001. In the activities of musical promotion, the Foundation's Music Service also attributed scholarships to Portuguese artists/groups to travel abroad, together with support for international festivals and other organisations responsible for the production of concerts.

ties in Oporto. Commissions from these organisations are virtually never given to women composers⁵⁹.

The following tables provide a breakdown of the profile of the instrumentalists of the main Portuguese orchestras and reveal that two orchestras have around 40% women – the Gulbenkian Orchestra (OG) and the Lisbon Metropolitan Orchestra (OML), or close to this level (38%) in the case of the Portuguese Symphony Orchestra (OSP), integrated within the São Carlos National Theatre. The proportion is considerably lower (27%) in the Oporto National Orchestra (ONP). Among young musicians in an orchestra designed to launch professional careers – the Youth Symphony Orchestra (OSJ) – this imbalance prevails with a proportion of 35% women.

Table 9

Musicians in Orchestras: Sex and Nationality (%)

	Portuguese Symphony Orchestra		Oporto National Orchestra		Gulbenkian Orchestra		Lisbon Metropolitan Orchestra		Youth Symphony Orchestra	
	n = 112		n = 79		n = 60		n = 44		n = 77	
Sex	%		%		%		%		%	
Men	63		73		60		59		65	
Women	38		27		40		41		35	
Nationality	%		%		%		%		%	
Portuguese	53		39		40		23		97	
Foreigners	47		61		60		77		3	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Portuguese*	69	31	81	19	63	38	80	20	65	35
Foreigners*	55	45	69	31	58	42	53	47	50	50

* line %

Source: Survey by OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities, 2002

Another type of imbalance is found in terms of the nationality of musicians, with a predominance of foreigners, especially in the OML (77%) and around 60% in the ONP and OG. The only exception to this trend is the majority of Portuguese musicians (53%) in the OSP, and of course in the Youth Orchestra. The figures also reveal an important contrast in the proportion of women among

59 The major events coincide with the European Capitals of Culture (Lisbon in 1994, Oporto in 2001 including the Casa da Música) and the Lisbon World Exposition in 1998. Regarding the commissions of the main orchestras considered in this study, no commission to a female composer was documented.

Portuguese and foreign musicians. There is a higher proportion of women among foreign musicians, varying between 42% and 50%, whereas the respective proportion among Portuguese musicians lies between 19% and 35%. This suggests one of two conclusions. Either it is the result of more restrictive gate-keeping for the entry of Portuguese women into the main orchestras, or results from shortcomings among Portuguese female musicians, thus justifying the recourse to foreign musicians.

In order to establish a more informed response to these questions it is necessary to know the proportion of women available in the professional music market in Portugal as compared to the situation in other countries. We also require better knowledge of the career path of foreign musicians integrated within the Portuguese musical landscape via various recruiting methods and vacancies. The context of each orchestra also explains the unequal pattern. In institutions where there has been longer stabilisation of their members, such as the OG, there was a lower proportion of musicians from Eastern Europe - who tended to arrive in Portugal during the 1990s when they were recruited by other orchestras which were founded or reconstituted at that time⁶⁰.

Interviews with foreign instrumentalists painted this picture across various different career paths according to their respective origins, and normally cited passages through more than one orchestra in their home countries or other countries, especially in Europe⁶¹. Certain tensions were identified with their Portuguese colleagues, who felt that there was unfair competition from foreigners. Portuguese musicians nonetheless recognise the international scope of this market, the need to be regulated by criteria of professional aptitude, and the better musical training of many foreigners which also brings advantages to national music schools and certain instrumental areas⁶².

There are other cleavages between men and women in these orchestras. Although each orchestra has a slightly different instrumental mix – for example only the OML

60 Within the total number of foreign musicians in the OG, only 31% came from Eastern European countries and 42% had non-European origins, above all from the United States. The inverse situation is found in a recently refounded orchestra such as the OSP, that has 58% of its foreign musicians from Eastern Europe and 38% from the rest of Europe (equivalent to only 28% in the OG). Only 17% have non-European origins.

61 Amongst the total number of foreign musicians in the 4 main orchestras, between 28% and 41% come from EU countries and between 31% and 58% from Eastern Europe. Non-European nationalities represented only 7% to 18% in these 3 orchestras. The only exception was the OG.

62 As in the case of string instruments, where there is recognised to have been a positive impact of musicians from Eastern Europe. The situation is not so marked for other instruments such as wind instruments which reveals loyalty to certain national traditions: apprenticeship and the passage through several musical bands, in the career path of certain instrumentalists.

includes a keyboard section (predominantly composed of women, whose share is 75%) – there is a clear contrast between the proportion of women in string instruments and brass/percussion. Within string instruments the proportion of women is often close to that of men (varying between 35% and 50%), but there is an almost total absence of women in brass/percussion. There are instances of singular presence which may, for example, represent 25% of the members of percussion of the OSP (with 1 woman of a total of 4 musicians), or around 17% in the brass instruments of the OG (1 woman on trumpet, of a total of 6 musicians in this section).

Table 10

Share of Women in Orchestras Broken Down by Instrument

	Portuguese Symphony Orchestra		Oporto National Orchestra		Gulbenkian Orchestra		Lisbon Metropolitan Orchestra		Youth Symphony Orchestra	
	% Orch	% F	% Orch	% F	% Orch	% F	% Orch	% F	% Orch	% F
Strings	69	49	70	35	75	44	50	41	57	50
Woodwinds	14	13	14	18	13	38	18	38	17	39
Keyboard	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	75	-	-
Brass	13	7	13	0	10	17	11	0	21	0
Percussion	4	25	4	0	2	0	2	0	5	0

Source: Survey of OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities, 2002

Orch % = % in the overall orchestra instruments

F % = % of women (line % by sections)

There continues to be a fairly rigid polarity in the current composition of orchestras, where even in the intermediate section of woodwind instruments the proportion of women continues to be low. The highest proportion of women in this section is found in the OG and OML, (both around 38%) and also among young musicians in the OSJ (39%). While this polarity does not seem to be identical or completely linear in all orchestras, in another sphere of internal differentiation within orchestras – that of hierarchical and functional profiles – there continues to be a structural opposition between male-dominated management and a feminine «base».

Table 11 Overview of Positions and the Share of Women*

	Portuguese Symphony Orchestra		Oporto National Orchestra		Gulbenkian Orchestra		Lisbon Metropolitan Orchestra		Youth Symphony Orchestra	
	% Orch	% F	% Orch	% F	% Orch	% F	% Orch	% F	% Orch	% F
First Violin	4	0	3	100	5	0	-	-	1	0
Head Assistant / Section Co-ordinator	12	23	14	0	-	-	16	14	16	17
Deputies	6	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assistants	8	67	1	0	-	-	7	33	-	-
Soloists	25	11	33	23	45	41	25	36	1	100
Tutti	46	55	49	36	50	43	32	56	82	38
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	78	-	-

* Rounding up percentage values may result in a sum total of around 100% in the column on overall orchestra instruments (% Orch)

It is very rare for women to rise in the *ranks* of this pyramid – except in the case of the ONP that has two female musicians in the position of first violin. In the category of head assistant or section co-ordinator, few female musicians hold such positions. The proportion of women in this category only rises to 23% in the OSP – and is either zero or lies between 14% and 17% in other orchestras. This situation contrasts with the majority of women in the *tutti*, with the exception of the lowest proportion in the ONP (36%) and the slightly higher figure in the OG (43%). However, while there is a clear polarity between the pyramid's vortex and base, a relatively irregular pattern is found in intermediate categories. In the case of deputies and assistants, for example, 67% of assistants in the OSP are women. In the case of soloists there is also a variation between 11% and 41%.

There is no clear causal connection to explain the stratification of orchestras and the presence/absence of women. Other data revealed within our study show that there is not always a correlation between these proportions and the age or length of service of musicians in an orchestra – two factors which are normally connected to the official classification of careers, as in administrative posts. In other aspects, such as those associated to contracts, the musicians of the State Symphony Orchestras or the Gulbenkian Orchestra, are either public «officials» or officials of a private institution. They nonetheless belong to organisations where the hierarchy does not imply a system of curricular promotion, nor exclusively internal promotion. Vacancies per category are normally filled by auditions open to others and any staff musician who aims to change positions is subject to the same process. The music market is thus highly demanding and involves competition between musicians from Portugal

(inside and outside the orchestra) as well as from abroad.

The process of recruitment and mobility associated to orchestras thus takes place within a *hybrid system of gate-keeping*. Both in terms of the assessment criteria used to select musicians (by the artistic direction, conductors, section co-ordinators), where careful attention is paid to the quality of the musical performance, or in terms of the interface of the interior with the exterior in which the orchestra acts as a dual *decision maker*. This takes place in terms of full-time staff and the *ranking* of musicians, by means of an audition or an invitation to a soloist for a season.

This evidence demonstrates the *inequality* which orchestras reproduce but do not generate necessarily through clear *discriminatory practices*. None of the female musicians interviewed stated that they had been discriminated against at any time in their career, although having lived under the selectivity of a narrow system of gate-keeping.

In practise, orchestras as professional institutions inherit the chain of inequalities that men or women transport in their different career paths. Such inequalities actually begin in the family, the first real gate-keeper in the music world - where there is a long tradition of musical genealogies. Most women interviewed had family ties to the world of music. Families play a crucial role in encouraging such vocations including the choice of instrument that the child will play. Such inequalities are continued or crystallised through access to school – the second fundamental group of gate-keepers: teachers – in musical specialisation, construction of careers and living within a profession where emphasis is placed on talent and quality. The entire system of gate-keeping is organised with this goal in mind, and this is the reason for the demanding series of tests of individual *expertise*.

This is the reason why the pyramid in the world of serious music – with very few women in leading positions, especially in orchestras – reflects structural imbalances that go beyond issues of gender. The pyramid reveals that there is no democracy in the world of music – to use the words of one of the interviewees. This is certainly true within orchestras as institutions that inherit patterns of inequality, but which reproduce inequalities not via objective or formal discrimination, but through the effects of music hierarchies that are characteristic of such organisations and the meritocratic principles used to manage musicians.

This is the meaning of the expression: there is no democracy in the world of music, because a collective musical body requires leaders (management, conductor, first chair, section co-ordinators) and also because individual merit is not equal. For women, the problem arises due to the lack/shortage of conditions and opportunities to develop their own merits, in order to compete with equals in the professional market, rather than from unfair competition.

5. WOMEN AND (NEW) MEDIA IN THE ARTS

In contrast to the situation of serious music, new media arts in Portugal is far from being an institutionalised sector with clearly delineated boundaries. Instead, the new media arts sector is transversal, with an indefinite or hybrid nature that cuts across different art forms – in particular the visual arts, performing arts and electronic music. Technologies that characterise some of new media arts production are also found in old media – e.g. analogue video and non-digital photography – and are given a new context in current artistic practices. Many artists also continue to use *no-media* in their works.

The example of the world of serious music also serves to demonstrate that an artistic field or world cannot be defined solely on the basis of use of technology. Nonetheless, the confrontation between serious and electronic traditions in a sector such as music – that has a highly plural and divided nature – seems to indicate the polarities studied in Culture-Gates, i.e. the nature and extent to which women are treated differently from men in two scenarios – a more institutional sector with strong traditions in the cultural field, and a technological sector in which there is an alternative emerging logic of contemporary art. This division, however, is not always so clear. In particular, it cannot be drawn solely on the basis of technological differences. In the world of music, for example, frontiers and overlapping spaces may exist in terms of the technological formats used, but not necessarily in terms of their respective artistic universes.

In this sense, (new) media arts may emerge at the crossroads between electro-acoustic music and electronic music, as contemporary forms of creative expression using technological tools. This does not mean, however, that electro-acoustics should be withdrawn from the institutional domain to which it traditionally belongs as a branch of serious music, far removed from other sectors of electronic music. Technology is not therefore a defining criteria, although it can bestow specific aspects to different types of music and the respective means of production, instruments, sounds, cultures and musical settings. Although similar or identical technological formats may be used in different musical fringes that are born in spaces with little or no communication, the difference between the «corridors» and «doors» through which the respective professionals circulate, exists in terms of the surrounding universe and gate-keeping rules.

Each universe is sub-divided into segments with distinct poles, protagonists, powers and audiences. This is found in alternative, *underground* music, commercial electronic music and serious music. In the latter universe, a key structural duality

must be considered in terms of the rigorous segmentation between composers and their musical creation, from the entire area of interpretative and orchestral activity that has a wide spectrum of professionals – conductors, musicians, soloists – who principally use «classical» repertoires.

The dualities between and within universes are often of a parallel nature and rarely intersect. They may do so in the rare cases of versatile, eclectic, heterodox and «frontier» creative artists. In these cases, a new type of «corridor» is opened up, where several «menus» are crossed and connected. But such exceptions simply prove the rule within a musical space which continues to be very polarised and segmented - notwithstanding the many interfaces, hybrid productions and forms of «fusion» that exist in today's more diversified musical landscape.

We can only gain a perspective of «Culture-Gates» and trace the emerging and different patterns of this supposedly new «world», if we have a plural understanding of both (new)media in the arts and the place occupied by women therein – in terms of technologies, training, career paths and gate-keeping. This means that it is necessary to understand the different scenarios of (in)equality in this field, the gates which are open or continue to be closed to women, even in a post-modern context such as that of new media arts which has still not yet attained sexually democratic parity – i.e. citizenship. The present text brings together indicators, discourses and trajectories of various protagonists in order to paint an overview of the current situation of new media arts in Portugal.

5.1 (In)definitions and Relationship with Technologies

In order to draw closer to the pluralistic and even unclassifiable meaning of new media arts, we asked our interviewees – creators and gate-keepers – to provide us with their own definition, whose artistic identity transcends its technological component. Technology was considered to be of secondary importance beneath the aesthetic and intellectual design of artistic works – technologies are merely the *instrument*, and not the *end goal* of the artistic *enjeu*. There are also multiple technologies used in those artistic works that do not fall within an old/new media dichotomy. This technological hybridity is associated with the inter- or trans-disciplinary vocation of a large proportion of the artistic projects dating from the 1990s onwards, which do not exclusively rely on new media.

Given that «there are countless definitions», as a new media artist and designer admits, the debate is incomplete even within a digital «new paradigm» which takes into account interactivity, simulation, virtuality; redefinition of the role of the

author, the work and its reception; artistic work as a project-process undertaken by a team and within a network. «The boundary between the different arts is very blurred – for instance what is the difference between design and the visual arts – but these frontiers are no longer justified, even within the new media because certain works have more pragmatic components than others and all is ultimately communication». Furthermore, in the words of a performing arts' programmer «the confusion is legitimate given that which exists»: the «multi-linguistic» nature of contemporary arts, the plurality of relationships of artists with technologies and languages. The key thing «is to take sides, make a choice within this Babel of different media and languages» – inter-disciplinarity and multimedia –, each artist «will find his own individual language and style».

This choice may include a rejection of definitions based on disciplines or technologies. This takes place in the performing arts, for example in the case of a choreographer who works with an electronic music colleague - «we are two people who don't want to be classified in any one category, our work isn't either dance or theatre and even less music (...) we are two people driven by many forces (and) try to avoid being dubbed with any one definition». They never embark on a piece of work thinking in terms of a specific technology – e.g. whether to use a video or computer - «there is never such a starting point, there is simply an idea (and) the search for directions that we might take, or the most effective forms we might adopt (...) which may be old or new media». This old/new technological complementarity also exists in electronic music: «as for production I'm a complete adept of new technologies such as samplers (...) But as a DJ, the best results are with vinyl and turntables; «and the best turntable of them all, the one everyone wants, is the 1977 Technics!»⁶³

Finally, *old* and *new* cut across the hybrid space of *multimedia* in the visual arts. In the opinion of one of the gate-keepers in Portugal – a critic and commissioner⁶⁴ – «multimedia» continues to be the most appropriate term. This obviously doesn't serve as an indicator of the aesthetic and historical relevance of artistic forms:

63 Statements by two women who are exceptions in the male world of electronic music, a leading author/DJ and a DJ currently launching her career. In addition to the technological duality in this music – *new media* for production/recording, *old media* for reproduction/«playing» of records – it is worthwhile remembering other forms of complementarity and even electronics' return to *no media* sounds. One example is the «*return to acoustic instruments in order to widen the range of possibilities*», bringing traditional and acoustic instruments to this field, that are then combined with high technology. *High tech* and *low tech* thus appear side by side, in what one music critic described as a search for new artistic and creative resources in order to avoid a certain stagnation in this type of music.

64 Also former Deputy Director of Portugal's Institute of Contemporary Art. In this capacity, she was in charge of the first phase of the *Initiare* collection, showcasing art from the 1990s.

«I don't particularly like the expression «new media», because I don't think it provides a sufficiently adequate description of the changes currently underway. I prefer the term «multimedia» (because) in the last 20 years the genuine novelty is the Internet; everything else has existed for far longer. Video, for example, first appeared in the 1960s, nonetheless it took artists around 20 years to incorporate video in their work (...) The same thing will take place with the Internet in terms of the question of how the virtual may actually give rise to new products, to new art works that explore the possibilities of these formats, to new aesthetic regimes. For example, I think that net art, at present, is above all a kind of super database. Artists use the computer and the Internet in order to place their work. We still don't have genuine net art with all its potentialities».

In truth, in addition to the virtual existence and interactivity brought by the Net, «that which is truly new is the weight of the mass-media and mediation processes whereby our relationship with the world is created; the mediatic model is now extended to almost all fields of knowledge and human action», and the majority of contemporary art work within this model, even when it doesn't use new media. Thus although technologies differ, the key issue is significant references to the different art forms and above all that which transcends technology and lies within the field of conception and experimental creation. In this regard, thought always gains pride of place over technique, as a «total» artist (visual arts, performance, electronic music) explains within his paramedia concept:

«Intermedia, multimedia, transdisciplinary... (...) In my opinion a better word than transdisciplinary is paramedia. The main thing is what you are actually doing, what you think, feel and the manner in which you express yourself. Then you can look for the instruments, the means to implement your idea. As a result, this separation (old/new media) no longer makes any sense, except at a technical level, of technical apprenticeship. There may be periods in which you dedicate yourself more to one area or another, but you must have a total approach to matters. (...) New media are normally associated to digital production, but I don't distinguish them from analogue production on that basis. This difference (old/new media) no longer makes any sense, because it all boils down to technology in the end (...) In my opinion, new media in the present context signifies production or the actual invention of new media. One example of genuine new media is a light and sound instrument that I've recently been developing in Barcelona. I was the one actually carrying out the development! This is new media in the true sense of the term, a new means of communication (...) I call this new media because it is intrinsically experimental and that which is «new» must always have an experimental aspect. Neither the Internet, nor CD-ROMs, nor video are new tools in their own right (without) the

artistic concept, the means of working. They are raw materials that are offered to us, just as the piano was several centuries ago...»

In this context, the technological criteria only provides a very limited description of the scenario under analysis. Nonetheless it helps clarify the use of different media in the arts, although the notion of «use» should be separated between artistic use of media – that which underlies the work – and logistic use of media – in particular electronic devices used to record/archive, disseminate and communicate (Internet sites, CD-ROM's, etc).

Table 12⁶⁵ displays the different use of technological instruments across the three areas of reference for (new)media artists. This is a very narrow sample in the visual arts, since within the universe of 223 individuals, no more than 6 (3%) have their own web site. The value for the performing arts rises to around 14% (8 in 58 individuals), but with increasing use of video, normally analogue video, in order to record performances. In the case of electronic music, by contrast, the Net is used to make available and disseminate musical works by 43% of the total of 87 individuals.

Table 12

Use of Media in the Arts*

	Visual Arts		Performing Arts		Electronic Music	
	T	%F	T	%F	Internet Music (d)	
Own web site (a)	6	17	8	50		
Net (other sites)	4	-	-	-	T	% F
CD-ROM (b)	3	67	1	100	43	14
Video Recording (c)	-		30	57	-	-
TOTAL	13	23	43	54	-	-

Source: Surveys of the OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities, September/October 2002

Notes: * The following references are accounted for, several of which are cumulative for the same individual

a) Personal website used to provide information, contacts and may provide a theoretical context to the work developed

b) Personal, non institutional

c) Normally analogue used in the recording of performances

d) As a personal website or link to another site where the work is made available/distributed

It should also be added that the positive relationship between women and these technological instruments is particularly strong in the performing arts. The proportion of women using new technologies and whose base is in the performing arts is considerably higher than in electronic music, and to a certain extent, than in the visual arts.

65 The table is drawn up on the basis of data from 3 surveys undertaken in the context of the Culture-Gates research, one for each area, that covers 223 individuals in the visual arts, 58 in the performing arts (mainly linked to contemporary dance) and 87 in electronic music.

Artistic use of the new media is quite a different question, in particular of digital media in the form of devices incorporated within a work. In order to illustrate the situation in the visual arts – normally evoked as the point of reference for new media arts – Table 14 provides an overview of the technological distribution of different media formats used in the contemporary art world in Portugal. Or, more specifically, how the majority of artists are defined⁶⁶.

The results reveal a dual nature, *residual* and *referential* of new media in Portugal. They are referential for the digital «new paradigm» but do not represent more than 1% in the «purist» variant of *net art* – virtual works of art produced in/for the *Net*⁶⁷ – and only correspond to 7% of contemporary artists if we include video and digital photography. Furthermore, a similar value (9%) is recorded for *old media*, and higher figures are only recorded in the combined categories that characterise production that emerged during the 1990s – *mixed media* with 37%. This figure coincides with *no media*, – traditional formats that are by no means disparaged, for the time being, within the universe of contemporary art.

66 Artists who have been active since 2000 in the main exhibition spaces and circles of the contemporary art world – institutions, centres, galleries, platforms – have been classified on the basis of the *dominant* and *regular* use that the artists make of these different formats. The criterion adopted excludes counting random or sporadic cases of certain formats that in principle do not define the singularity/identity of the author. When an artist's trajectory has different dominant phases that coincide with different technical resources, the results are recorded on a multiple basis in the different combined categories. In order to carry out this classification, we were assisted by leading observers (critics and curators) that monitor the work of artists.

67 This excludes Internet connections in installations, for example, that coincide with net art in terms of interactivity but not in its material and presentation. Furthermore, these installations normally combine new media with old media. In our universe for the performing arts, the equivalent to net art is restricted to only 4 cases (3 men and 1 woman), signifying around 7% of authors/choreographers (2% of women). In this case, net art corresponds to the presentation of virtual projects or real time projects, together with situations where the Net is incorporated within the creative process, containing «objects» created in function of this format.

Table 13 Artistic Use of Media in the Visual Arts*

		% Artists (N = 223)	%F
New Media	Net art	1**	100**
	Video (a)	3	17
	Photography (a)	2	75
	Video + Photography (a)	1	33
	Total	7	43
Old Media	Video (b)	3	17
	Photography (b)	5	30
	Video + Photography (b)	1***	100***
	Total	9	33
Mixed Media	Installation (c)	11	29
	New Media + Old Media + No Media (d)	26	31
No Media	Traditional Formats: Painting, Sculpture, Design, Illustration	38	31

Source: Survey carried out by the OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities in September/October, 2002

Notes: * Table is based upon a total of 223 artists who are active in the main reference spaces and circles of the contemporary art world, including 11% of non-identified cases for these formats (46 % of women).

** 1 case = 1 woman *** 2 cases = 2 women

a) digital

b) traditional

c) compound category that may sometimes have a technological component

d) various combinations that may appear in installations, focusing upon the technological components in the definition of artists

The second interesting revelation is the relationship between women and technologies. Women are well represented in these figures especially through the *ex-libris* example of a *net artist*. Interestingly, among the 7% of artists who are exclusively connected to new media, women represented at least 43%. This does not imply, however, that women are absent from the other areas – on average there is around 30% of women working in each of the technological categories.

In this context, the visual arts occupy an intermediate position between the performing arts and electronic music. In comparison with the performing arts, the visual arts have a higher use of technologies by women, either at the level of production or in elements incorporated within exhibitions⁶⁸. The vast majority

68 *Back stage production* technologies that use video (mainly analogue), image/sound software and the Net, appear in over 40% of cases of the 58 creative artists considered, and within this group of 40%, the majority are women (54%). Technologies *in performances* (video and multimedia) cover over 30% of creative artists (45% of which are women). It should be noted, however, that the universe of 58 creators is principally composed of women (59%), whereas within the group of 223 visual artists women represent only 33% of the total.

of individuals involved in electronic music are men (92% men in a universe of 87 individuals), and the few women involved are relegated to the role of *DJ*'s who basically work with «turntables» and vinyl records. The principal role of musicians/creative artists connected to sound equipment represents 85% of the universe of electronic music and in this regard women represent only 43% of the total, compared to 71% in the case of *DJ-ing* (Table 14).

Table 14

Electronic Music Profiles by Sex in %*

	% Total	%F
Musician / Creator	85	43
Performer / Player	38	43
Producer (Sound)	46	-
Live Performance (Authorship / Manipulation)	33	4
DJ (Dissemination)	44	71
Editor	22	-
Producer (Events)	31	14
Critic / Reviewer (Music)	12	-

Source: Survey carried out by the OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities in September/October, 2002

* Multiple roles usually performed by individuals

Nonetheless, while it appears that more women are using technologies today – and more will do so in the future – the respective trend differs in each sector, as does the manner in which women have approached these sectors and relate to these instruments. The interviews conducted suggest various paths and relationships with technologies that, furthermore, may be driven by no more than the need to use such technologies rather than manipulating them for their artistic work.

In fact there are even some women who don't know how to use computers and «hate» them, or believe that computers are more suited to masculine «patience» with machinery. In this case the relationship held by some women with technologies – negative, indifferent or instrumental – above all involves a *delegation* of this *expertise* to a friend or work colleague.

We found a more radical example in the performing arts:

«I hate computers. I use them to write, carry out production, but not as a creative technician (...) I just like to see the results! I'm not in the slightest bit interested in learning because I don't have the time. Obviously if I wasn't with someone with

these interests⁶⁹ my work would be quite different, I wouldn't invest in this area».

Another woman with a partner specialising in the area of electronic music, who is also one of the rare examples of a female DJ/Creative Artist comments,

«I don't play any instrument, I don't even work with computers or a sampler. First of all I need a technician or someone who will work with me on this aspect. I hope that the creative element is solely my responsibility (...) I don't think I have much talent or aptitude for this area. I'm a very impatient person (...) too impatient to work with so many buttons and machines that you have to spend a great deal of time to understand». ⁷⁰

Yet another case is of a woman who used technologies. She was *self-motivated* and personally invested in training beyond the confines of her Fine Arts School which did not have the resources. Her interest was reinforced by her professional activity in design. «Deep down, I've always been interested in different questions related to images, text, words, cinema, music. I always loved manipulating images, photographs, etc., and this was always a format that brought together everything I like»⁷¹ – recounts this net artist who started by using «digital applications on paintings», then followed a post-graduate course in digital arts, and for whom the initial stimulus in her career was an IBM prize for multimedia.

As frequently takes place, this motivation also involved the timely *induction* by someone who opened the door to new possibilities: «I had attended the 'Laboratory of Sensations I', and was using sound within the moment of the installation as a form of artistic intervention and Tanaka⁷² told me that I was an intrinsic performer that I had to produce music and performances. I thought: why not? I enjoyed it, I felt that the «Laboratory» was opening a whole new world to me and I decided to follow my own path» – comments an inter-disciplinary creative artist who migrated from the fine arts to the performing arts with a strong technological component⁷³.

69 In this couple there is a good example of division of artistic labour between the sexes, the husband is the electronic musician, «*in this field, Sergio's interest in new technologies was fundamental because otherwise I would never be interested!*»

70 Although aware that it is more difficult to work in this manner: «I know what I want because at the outset I have an idea in my head, an image of the topic, – if I can use this term – and I will try to transmit it. But it's not easy, because since I don't know how to handle the equipment it's sometimes very difficult to transmit my ideas to the person working with me, unless you have great empathy with the person and the same information, musical background and references».

71 She also «worked in an atelier where these facilities were available. I also had a computer at home and carried out several experiments and used things I read... I bought foreign magazines. I don't know where I got the bug, but I think it came from using the computer».

72 Knowledge deriving from participation in the *Festival Atlântico* of 1997, with expression of new artistic trends, multimedia and new technologies.

73 She also remembers the importance of a workshop in the António Arroio School (Lisboa) where «*many people worked together, various generations and diversified works*».

5.2 Training, Artistic Trajectories and Places of Reference

The relationship of artists to technology arose in many cases during the 1990s, through self-instruction shared between peers, with the arrival of computers in Portugal and their subsequent impact on new generations. In certain cases, various training initiatives acted as an alternative or complement to formal art schools that tended to be very outdated in terms of their computing facilities and courses in this field. The exception to this rule was certain variants of *design* where the initiation into the world of technology has fairly strong links to various protagonists in the area of (new)media and electronic music. In electronic music, (classical) music training has less relevance than other educational studies, even those of a non-artistic nature. (Table 15).

Table 15 Electronic Music: Qualifications by Sex (%)

Fields of Study	% Total	% M	% F
Music	17	17	20
Visual/Performing Arts	14	14	20
Graphic Design	11	12	-
Engineers and Sound Technicians	13	14	-
Engineers	9	10	-
Human and Social Sciences	30	29	40
Self-taught	6	5	20

Source: Survey carried out by the OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities in September/October, 2002

Design also has a role in the career paths of visual artists, and it is therefore important to consider it within the most recent panorama of arts higher education, in parallel with other disciplines, in particular those with a multimedia or technology vocation (Table 16). In this context, it would appear to be obvious that women have already attained a mature standing. The ratio of women is only slight lower (40%) in a branch of communication, technologies and multimedia design, although this may not be the conclusion after analysing more detailed data on the top schools. We know, for instance, that in one of these schools – ESTGAD⁷⁴ – between 1994 and 2002, women represented an average of between 50% and 66% of the student population in various branches of design and technologies (furthermore the ratio of women studying fine arts degrees is 58%), and this ratio only falls to 46% in the branch of industrial design.

⁷⁴ *Escola Superior de Tecnologia, Gestão, Arte e Design*, Caldas da Rainha, (Higher School of Technology, Management, Art and Design).

Table 16 Students of Higher Education Enrolled in the Arts, Design and Technologies, 2000-2001*

Fields of Study	Total	Total F	% F
Fine Arts/Painting/Sculpture	1,829	1,140	62
Visual Arts	65	38	58
Communication, Technologies and Multimedia Design/Audiovisual	189	76	40
New Communication Technologies	230	132	57
Design	5,534	3,179	57
Variants of Communication and Graphic Design **	1,455	844	58

Source: DAPP – Department of Forward Assessment and Planning, Ministry of Education. Includes public and private higher educational establishments in the arts

* Groups together various different degrees and baccalaureates

** Also includes technologies, graphic arts and advertising design

Even in the field of short-term, sporadic and specialised new media training (Table 17), there are indicators that women are interested in pursuing such training, especially in the area of *web design*. There are, however, apparent difficulties in terms of professional integration – women as teachers, monitors. Nonetheless it should be remembered that recourse to this type of training is of only marginal importance for many, and above all does not determine career profiles, nor qualifications of contemporary artists (especially visual artists) whose starting point continues to be the main Fine Arts Faculties, including their design courses. Paradoxically, it is precisely in these faculties where there is the greatest lack of training in new media but this is where students gain credits or prestige⁷⁵.

Table 17 Students Studying in a New Media School, 1994-2002

New Media Courses	1994-95		1996-97		1999-00		2001-02	
	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F
Internet Mastering	-	-	4	25	-	-	-	-
Digital Design/Web Design (a)	-	-	6	33	9	67	11	64
Systems of Multimedia Authorship/ Interactive Writing/ for the Web (b)	12	67	14	29	11	45	2	50
Management of Creative Content for Web /Digital Archives (c)	-	-	4	50	-	-	2	100

⁷⁵ It should be remembered that around 70% of the artists referred to above for the visual arts (where there is a small group dedicated to new media) previously studied (or currently study) in the Fine Arts Faculties of Lisbon and Oporto. This percentage rises to around 75% among women. In the performing arts there is already a greater division in the triple recourse to the institutionalised educational system (around 33% in higher schools of theatre and dance), intermediate or professional system such as dance companies/groups (36%) and private/diversified training (30%). There are also around 40% who have had traineeships, scholarships or residencies abroad, while such training abroad is below 20% in the visual arts.

Source: Aula do Risco School, Lisbon, January 2003. Students were counted for academic years where data was available.

a) Digital design in 1996-97; web design in 1999-00, 2001-02

b) Interactive writing in 1994-95; systems of multimedia authorship in 1996-00; web writing in 2001-02

c) Archiving and digitalisation of images 1996-97; management of creative content for the web in 2001-02

Table 18

Professors Teaching in a New Media School, 1994-2002

New Media Courses:	1994-95		1996-97		1999-00		2001-02	
	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F
Internet Mastering	-	-	2	50	-	-	-	-
Digital Design/Web Design (a)	-	-	1	-	3	-	3	-
Systems of Multimedia Authorship/ Interactive Writing/ for the Web (b)	1	100	2	-	6	17	1	-
Management of Creative Content for Web /Digital Archives (c)	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-

Source: Aula do Risco School, Lisbon, January 2003.

d) Digital design in 1996-97; web design in 1999-00, 2001-02

e) Interactive writing in 1994-95; systems of multimedia authorship in 1996-00; web writing in 2001-02

f) Archiving and digitalisation of images 1996-97; management of creative content for the web in 2001-02

Other training experiences in various areas of new media are pursued parallel to a traditional arts education. Possibilities to specialise or to acquire quasi-specialisation may take place in post-graduate courses or study scholarships in Portugal or abroad. There is only one post-graduate scholarship in the area of new media. Since 1992, it has been given to 6 persons (33% women). 53 candidates applied to the award 20% (women). The share of women receiving an honorary mention was 20%⁷⁶.

It is exactly the sinuous and cumulative nature of these career paths – professional and educational – that best describes the *curricula vitae* of the creative artists and gate-keepers who are most directly involved in the area of (new)media: *a network paradigm* that applies to both *individuals* in the intersection between various «carriage ways» in which an «interstitial» career is played out, linked to groups, teams, projects, and the very places through which a great part of (new)media production passes. Such places are above all platforms and events, spaces of interface that have merged since the mid/end 1990s into a hybrid, informal and flexible structure that functions on the basis of polyvalent *projects*.

76 «Ernesto de Sousa – Experimental Intermedia Art» scholarship, given by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the Luso-American Development Foundation, in collaboration with the *Experimental Intermedia Foundation* of New York, that provides selected artists with a medium term artistic residency in New York.

The manner in which this operational and «adocratic»⁷⁷ model of organisations receives women reveals certain innovative aspects and other less innovative ones in terms of equality (Tables 19 and 20).

Table 19 Women in Platforms of Reference for New Media Arts

	TRANSFORMA (Torres Vedras)		ZDB (Lisbon)		LUGAR COMUM (Lisbon)		ARTEMOSFERAS (Oporto)	
Total	N	% F	N *	% F	N	% F	N	% F
	19	42			50	18	33	21
	(a)		7	43				
Positions	(b)		19	26			Organisers	
Presidency/ Management	1	-	1	-	2 (e)	50(e)	6	17
Consultants	4	25	Programming (g)		26	8		
							Co-organisers	
Directors	3	33	2	-	10	20		
Executives	6	50					16	13
Operational Staff	4	50	22 (c)	27 (c)	20	15		
Assistants			2 (c)	100 (c)	1	100		
Others	1	100		Collaborators:			11	36
Areas:			(d)					
General	2	-	1	-	2	50	6	17
Administration/ Financial	4	75	2	50	1	-		
Artistic/Musical	2	-	3	-	48	13	13	8
Technical	2	-	6	-	3	-		
Production	5	60	3	67	1	100		
Communication	3	33	3	33	2	-	2	-
Logistical			8	38	2	50	1	100
			Non-specified collaborators				11	36

Source: Survey carried out by the OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities in September/October, 2002

* Galeria Zé dos Bois * Several part-time collaborators were not counted because they depend on each specific event

a) permanent staff (all individuals with several roles)

b) non-permanent staff (some individuals with several roles)

c) some individuals in other categories are also operational staff

d) counting roles, not individuals because usually they operate in several areas

e) 1 woman executive director

⁷⁷ In contrast to the bureaucratic structure that is normally associated to institutions. See Henry Mintzberg, *Organisational Structure and Change*, D. Quixote, Lisbon, 1995. In fact, the majority of operational cultural institutions display this adocratic component in their involvement with the management and (co)production of projects. In this manner they are distinct from purely *administrative* cultural institutions – such as those of local and central government.

Table 20

Women Represented in Events of Reference for New Media Arts

	Número Festival (Lisbon)		EnCONTROS ACARTE (Lisbon) *		Experimenta (Lisbon)		Braga 2000 (Braga)	
Total	N	% F	N	% F	N	% F	N	% F
	18	39	13	62	21	53	10	40
Positions								
Board of Directors	1	-	1	-	1	100	1	100
Others	2	50	3	67	2	-		
Directors	8	50			4	75		
Executives							9	33
Co-ordinators	4	-			12	47		
Operational Staff			9	67				
Assistants / Secretaries	3	67	**		2	100		
Areas								
General	3	67	**		2	50	1	10
Administration/ Financial			**		4	50	1	100
Artistic/ Musical	5	-	4	50	2	50	3	33
Technical	2	-	10				1	-
Production	1	100	1	-	6	67	2	50
Communication	5	100	8	75	8	100	2	-
Logistical	3	-						

Source: Survey carried out by the OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities in September/October, 2002

* Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

** Staff members that pertain to the structure of the Centre of Modern Art of the Gulbenkian Foundation

Tables 19 and 20 only provide approximate figures as it is not always easy to identify categories (hierarchical and functional) and individuals tend to accumulate various roles and many do not attach themselves to a fixed structure, but instead work as collaborators on a project-by-project basis. As a result, the scale of such «flexible» organisations tends to be irregular, increasing and decreasing in function depending on the portfolio of projects. They do provide an overview of those organisations that feature, from the outset, a specific framework, especially in roles filled by women. Their presence at events is between almost 40% and 60% in total, and it is also in this area where there are more possibilities for women to undertake leadership positions (in 2 cases – 1 festival and 1 visual arts design showcase). In various aspects, the *platforms* reveal an «intermediate» profile in terms of polarity between

the openness of the events and the more rigid, pyramid-like and male-dominated management structures of larger cultural institutions. Only in exceptional cases is a major cultural institution presided over by a woman, such as the Museum of Contemporary Art within the Serralves Foundation in Oporto. In other cases, the top of the pyramid in all major institutions in Lisbon, such as the Centre of Modern Art of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Centro Cultural de Belém and *Culturgest*, is occupied by a man, although women often represent around 33% of those sitting on the Boards of Directors (typically 1 woman and 2 men).

Overall, the data presented clearly indicates that leading positions in the (new)media arts have the same type of gate-keeping mechanisms facing both men and women. Despite statistical variations that indicate the diversity of these organisations, we continue to see more women in «traditional» back-up positions (assistants, secretaries) and in infrastructural support (production, communication, logistics) than in the actual technical field or artistic (or musical) decision-making positions. These are two areas of *functional power* that, as with *hierarchical power*, tend to be male dominated, although this is slightly less marked in certain events in which a different scenario of (in)equality seems to come up.

5.3 Mediations and Changes

In addition to gender imbalances, which are not as institutionally rigid as in the field of serious music, there are other fundamental aspects to be emphasised in the configuration of a gate-keeping system with new realities and mediations. In these platforms or events, leadership normally has a polyvalent character – individuals are simultaneously creative artists, producers, managers, curators etc. – and the emerging cultural elites assume a special form of protagonism. Nonetheless these platforms or events have an inconsistent status – non-institutionalised or recognised on the margins of the institutional system – with problems of sustainability for their structures or projects.

As in other areas, electronic music offers several examples. We are of course referring to creative electronic music of a hybrid and performance nature, in its various intersections between acoustics, sound/image, bodies/machines. Its identity – young, mediatic, *pop* – goes beyond a purely technological definition of new media. In this environment of «artists-technicians», there is a clear role of a small elite of «thinkers» or «conceptualists» – 3 or 4 persons with the intellectual capacity to provide artistic substance to musical projects. This elite is able to reflect upon and unify an entire field of experiences around the «foundations of contem-

porary culture» (to use one of their expressions) and, in this manner, to classify *pragmatic cultures* as *thinking systems* with a transversal and fairly sophisticated perspective on post modernity. This occurs, for example, in platforms or festivals where electronic techniques circulate creatively with other «currents of thought»: literature, arts, cinema, fashion, design, technology, science.

In the same logic, the valorisation of the conceptual imprint or authorship, unifying various artistic projects - is frequently found in the area of new media - and contributes to the valorisation of curators and commissioners as gate-keepers. In the world of fine arts in the 1990s, curators and commissioners gained importance over more traditional intermediaries (critics, gallery owners). This is a significant transformation and was simultaneously accompanied by the rise in importance of institutional markets (*site specific* works, exhibitions hosted/commissioned by cultural institutions) over that of gallery markets in leading areas in the 1990s, together with the emergence of parallel circuits in non-institutional spaces. This was an important resource for younger artists self-organised in «independent» systems; several of these artists acted as their own artists-agents in response to an institutional system accused of being dominated by the «Eighties Generation».

In relation to one of the first alternative platforms in the visual arts, connected to new media components and electronic music, ZDB – Galeria Zé dos Bois (Lisboa), one of its founding members recounts:

«ZDB emerged in 1994 on the initiative of 14 persons in different areas, mainly from the visual arts, but also with persons from the worlds of architecture, literature, journalism, cinema. Our underlying goal was to open a physical and intellectual space dedicated to other types of work than those available in the conventional or commercial circuit. 1994 was also the year of Lisbon – European Capital of Culture, and inauguration of the Centro Cultural de Belém, and Culturgest (in Lisbon). There was no Institute of Contemporary Art, no Ministry of Culture (only a Secretary of State who paid little attention to alternative forms). In other words there was a great void (...) It is clear that there has been very positive evolution in this landscape.»

Nonetheless there are complaints about the lack of recognition of the «*countless exhibitions*» of national and foreign artists amongst ZDB's many activities.

«They went unnoticed because we didn't have interlocutors in Portugal to provide continuity for our work». The structure of ZDB was essentially «marginalised because the State was unable to find the appropriate support framework. We were an association of artists, a gallery which also presented works in other areas. We weren't art critics, and we hadn't pursued our careers in the State... It is important to understand this fact, because that which distinguishes the Nineties generation from previous

generations is the fact that they had established their career paths on a collective basis via a series of independent exhibitions that had no economic or institutional support. (...) There are various movements among the Nineties generations, but what unites these individuals is a career path constructed against the wishes of many people.»

The heterogeneous nature of the «*various Nineties generations*» does provide examples where there has been greater institutional acceptance. Nonetheless the most significant element of this statement is that of generation change and mediation in the remodelling of artistic spaces and their respective gate-keeping systems. This includes those systems and spaces that were developed in each circle of new generations with their own filters, gate-keepers and zones. There is still a game of artistic territories – in the symbolic and geographic sense of the term – that cannot be forgotten in the structuring of the gate-keeping system, including international connections. For example, the simple manner in which global connections can be established today, including connections via new media, is a characteristic feature of electronic music.

Our interviews in the field of serious music also revealed territorial gate-keeping systems – especially regional or local – such as those associated with certain festivals or institutions. The local territory or intersection of different territories constitutes another dimension of gate-keeping combined with aspects associated to the relationship between the arts and financing systems and their inclusion within the sphere of recognition and success.

Creative artists are dissatisfied with the lack of resources available for structures, production, dissemination and training. The division of the arts and artistic categories in the public calls for applications to awards and subsidies has often been criticised as too rigid and does not reflect the multi-disciplinary and transversal projects so typical for the (new) media arts and therefore they often fail to meet the applicant requirements. As a result, applications from new media artists have to be broken down into several «parts», which leads to an excessive degree of bureaucracy as the project must be presented to different institutions from, e.g. the visual arts, audiovisual, technology, music, dance, theatre, etc.

There are also problems in terms of the international recognition of Portuguese projects and professional careers. To a certain extent this phenomenon is experienced in the two areas under study: music and (new)media, where there is a lack of institutional support and effective intermediaries able to defend and place national work in the leading international circuits. An artist working in the area of the performing arts confirmed this situation, referring to the joint issues of financial and promotional support and the aesthetic framework of new artistic forms:

«The international circuit is highly difficult to enter, and I'm not the only one who

feels this. There are problems associated to the types of work that we pursue, which for aesthetic reasons don't fit into an alternative circuit. As a result I've been unable to take our productions to the major international circuits and leading theatres. It's an impossible task at this moment (...) While we are able to promote our work in Portugal in a relatively easy and cheap manner, working with our existing structure, to achieve the same effect abroad requires a great deal more money and we don't have sufficient support. Our inability to enter the international circuit is therefore due to both aesthetic and financial factors. This is of fundamental importance because the foreign companies that are able to travel abroad – and they travel fairly widely – have a solid production structure behind them. They have agents, people who travel and get to know programmers throughout the year and have contacts... We're unable to achieve the same results from here.»

Curators and programmers play a fundamental role as gate-keepers who establish the framework and determine whether projects should be included in institutional circuits. They also play a relevant role in the classification of works and the manner in which they are received by the public. Here, too, classifications are not always appropriate for the eclectic and multi-disciplinary nature of artistic projects. The same interviewee added,

«Programmers have to place artists' works into artificial categories, often in order to defend the artists, even when they think that such classification is inappropriate. It is mainly due to practical questions of programming. Certain programmers are more open-minded and willing to programme so-and-so's work, without having to classify it as e.g. dance or theatre. (Nevertheless), programming schedules in different institutions are highly similar, there are rigid categories. (...) I don't mind having my work classified as dance if it is for an informed or 'educated' dance audience, such as that for contemporary dance. But one of my struggles, even out of respect for the public, is not to have my work defined as dance. This is because members of the public see my work advertised as 'dance', and when they attend the show they may be disappointed! I fully understand this, when an audience doesn't share my background in contemporary dance. They are expecting to see a specific type of product and are exposed to another. Programmers have a certain degree of responsibility in this area, and their attention should be drawn to this issue. It's quite a different matter whether you programme a show in Lisbon, or somewhere like in Viana do Castelo⁷⁸».

78 A city in the North of Portugal. «As a result of our experience of performing in different parts of Portugal, we became more aware of this problem and started to alter our definitions, in order to make sure that the public isn't disappointed when it goes to see the show. The key question is how to educate the public? This is a problem of classifications and the public needs to understand that dance is no longer what it used to be. When I'm asked, in Castelo Branco or wherever, after the show: 'I thought this was supposed to be dance but that's not exactly what it was...?', I reply:

This is especially interesting for the dissemination and reception of (new) media art. There are even voices who question the «digital literacy» of arts critics – and other discussants in the arts world – and wonder about their competence to understand the new languages based on technological developments. It does not necessarily mean that all artists working in this field are disregarded or excluded. On the contrary, there may even be artists who are praised as pioneers and paradigms of new art forms on the basis of «misunderstood recognition» as one net artist told us in regard to himself, «with very few people in Portugal able to talk about my work».

Therefore the problem is not so much an unwillingness to acknowledge new art forms, there is rather a lack of reference systems and hermeneutics for the new aesthetic rules involved. Digital literacy and discourses are therefore also important in the assessment systems used by gate-keepers of new media:

«In Portugal, the critics themselves are unable to talk about a multimedia work, except for rare exceptions in the world of academia or two or three enlightened critics. Most traditional art critics writing for the newspapers etc., are unable to understand an interactive work of art because they don't share the same codes. It's even complicated in terms of image manipulation (...) The Portuguese are very prudent when discussing something that lacks major coverage outside the country, and for which there are few references and no established discourse.» (net artist)

Another perspective from the field of the visual arts - important in terms of recognition and consecration - is provided by the composition of several leading art collections. This helps us understand how recent trends have been absorbed or not. Many important collections exclude new generations (or new formats introduced in the field of art, especially since the beginning of the 1990s, such as mixed media in installations and a reduced proportion of new media). It was not possible to provide a full identification of the digital/technological component of works in such collections. As a result, Table 22 includes a very broad comparative category (photography, video and other audiovisual tools), together with the date of creation of works, by decade⁷⁹. It identifies works created by women and the share of women among the total number of living artists included in the collections.

'my basic training is in the field of dance and Sérgio's is in music, but we wanted to approach other artistic forms, we studied, took courses, researched and our experience is thus much more diversified and extensive. What you see on stage is the result of that experience. I try to explain things in this manner to people, in order to give them a fuller perspective of the work.'»

79 The designation of works is not uniform or complete in all collections. Collections also differ in terms of their framework, acquisition strategies and collection history, in certain cases of long duration. For the purposes of this study, only collections or incorporated (or assembled) groups of more recent works were considered.

Table 22
Works of Women in the Leading Art Collections

	Public Art Collections			Private Art collections			
I. Date of Creation	Initiare IAC ¹	Chiado Museum ²	Serralves Museums ³	Caixa Geral de Depósitos ⁴	CAM ⁵	EDP ⁶	António Cachola ⁷
No. of works	N = 33	N = 256	N = 497	N = 104	N = 312	N = 51	N = 82
1910-1930's		6.6	0.4		27.9		
1940's-1950's		48.8	1.2		15.7		
1960's-1970's		18.8	63.0	4.8	21.8	21.6	
1980's		3.1	2.0	4.8	6.7	9.8	
1990's	97.0	4.7	7.8	40.4	15.7	25.5	97.6
2000+		2.7	2.0	48.1	1.6	39.2	
Several Decades		1.2	3.2	1.0	1.3		
No Date	3.0	14.1	20.3	1.0	9.3	3.9	2.4
II. Several Formats							
Works with Photography, Video and other Audio-visual Tools	69.7	18.8	38.6	26.9	11.0	5.9	15.8
Specifications:							
Photography	(a)	16.0	12.3	24.0	6.7	5.9	8.5
Video	27.3 (a)	2.3	24.3	1.9	1.3	(b)	6.0 (c)
III. Gender							
% Works by Women	24	22	24	34	9	18	26
% Women Among Living Artists	29	28	21	40	12	27	35

Source: Research of OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities

Notes:

1) IAC – Institute of Contemporary Art, whose *Initiare* collection was brought together in the mid-1990s. Acquisitions specified herein for the 1997-1999 period, presented in the exhibition of the Centro Cultural de Belém (2000-2001).

2) Acquisitions, 1998-2002.

3) Acquisitions and donations 1997-2002.

- 4) Acquisitions 2000-2002.
- 5) Centre of Modern Art Gulbenkian Foundation.
- 6) Acquisitions 2000-2002.
- 7) Acquisitions in the 1990s. Intergrated in the exhibition «António Cachola Collection. Portuguese Art 1980's-1990's» (MEIAC, 1999-2000).
 - a) Various in installations, a category that represents around 85% of the total number of works of the collection.
 - b) Video is not distinguished even in the global category of «installation» (3.9% of the total number of works of the collection)
 - c) This collection includes 1 CD-ROM work

The last two decades (1990s and 2000+) have a disproportionately large amount of works in their collections – especially in one public collection (*Initiare*) and other private collections (*António Cachola*, *EDP*). Nonetheless, it is the two public collections of the IAC and Serralves Museum that include the greatest number of works using photography, video and other audiovisual formats – above all *Initiare* (around 70%), focused on latest trends, dominated by *mixed media* installations that represent almost 85% of works in this collection.

The share of works by women among living artist lies within the range of 20-30%. The two main exceptions are the Caixa Geral de Depósitos collection with 34% of works by women, and 40% of women among living artists. A lower share is found in the recently founded CAM collection (9% of female works, 12% women among living artists). In the António Cachola collection, the share of women was 35%, but the number of works was 26%.

The data do not show a linear correlation between the gender of gate-keepers in charge of collections – mainly men⁸⁰ – and the share of female artists in the collections. Where women are in charge of collections, the picture is not clearer. There are, for example, two women among the five members of the IAC's consultative committee for the acquisition of works, and one woman is on the panel of the Caixa Geral de Depósitos collection which has two members. The CGD collection has the highest proportion of female artists and respective works, but the same pattern is not found in the IAC collection.

The distribution of main awards among women and men does not show any linear associations between *female* gate-keeping and *greater representation of women*. Table 23 presents the share of women on juries and among award winners.

80 In general, there are only one or two curators: Four collections with one male curator and two collections with two curators (of which one has a male and female curator). The IAC collection is an exception - with five members in the consultative committee for acquisitions (including two women).

Table 23
Presence of Women in Art Prizes

	EDP* Prize		Celpa/Vieira da Silva Prize**		Latin Union Prize ***	
	Individuals	Multiple Representation ****	Individuals	Multiple Representation	Individuals	Multiple Representation
JURY	N = 14	N = 52	N = 8	N = 30	International Jury (a)	
					N = 22	N = 37
	W = 3 (21%)	W = 9 (17%)	W = 0 (0%)	W = 0 (0%)	W = 8 (36%)	W = 10 (27%)
					National Jury (b)	
					N = 8	N = 20
					W = 1 (13%)	W = 2 (10%)
ARTISTS	N = 7	-	N = 5		N = 7	
Awarded	W = 3 (43%)	-	W = 2 (40%)	-	W = 2 (29%)	
Selected for prize-winning	N = 27	-	N = 9	-	N = 23	
	W = 8 (30%)	-	W = 5 56%	-	W = 8 35%	

Source: Research of OAC – Observatory of Cultural Activities

Notes:

* Three prize editions (2000-2002), award winners unknown for 2002.

** Three prize editions (2000-2002)

*** Seven prize editions (1990-2002), award winners unknown for 2002. Individuals / Participants = no. of persons/ no. of jury members. % F = % of women; (no. of women/no. of female participants).

**** Multiple Representation includes those individuals counted more than one time as they were involved in multiple projects.

a) Prize jury: 17 foreigners, 1 residing in Portugal / director of Serralves Contemporary Art Museum (Oporto) and 5 Portuguese

b) Selection jury: all Portuguese

Although these awards only occasionally include (new) media artists, they are important gateways for recognition. The scholarship grant Arte Experimental Intermedia⁸¹ – an important award in the field of (new) media, reveals that in 9 award cycles (1992 to 2002), the share of female award winners (33%) was lower than the share of women among award winners in art in general (for example, the EDP Prize or Celpa/Vieira da Silva Prize, with 43% and 40% of women amongst the award winners). The share of female jury members for the Arte Experimental Intermedia was around 21% out of a total of 14 jury members during this time.

81 Also known as the «*Ernesto de Sousa*» scholarship, as referred to above.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we can only remind ourselves that Culture-Gates implies a complex and multi-dimensional system of mediating influences that impedes the establishment of linear causal links in the various aspects of our study on women and gate-keeping in different art worlds. Such mediating influences may be of a substantive, relational, professional, distributive, territorial, judicative and even discursive nature – in terms of the languages available to describe (new) media art works. As stated in the introduction, it is these mediating influences that govern the definition of the *feminine condition*, and the manner in which it is presented in terms of profiles and places that are more typically associated to their *professional status*, where there are clearly recognised forms of *artistic identity*.

The inclusion of women in the worlds of music and (new) media arts depends on these mediating influences. The tradition of inequalities suffered by women in different art worlds is now undergoing a transformation. This study highlights prevailing contrasts and pyramids of gender, especially in the area of serious music, and also in certain aspects of contemporary art and (new)media. The study indicates that women are still underrepresented in certain spheres of these art worlds and that they face more difficulties in passing through certain «doorways and corridors» in order to attain status in an *artistic profession*⁸².

The current situation and future trends are shown to extend and consolidate changes in terms of inequality. Signs of such change include marked feminisation processes in the artistic and teaching worlds (including areas of serious music), with more women present in the cultural labour markets. Even so, the fine arts and music in general have not been areas with the highest proportion of female involvement, nor were they the areas with greatest professional growth in the 1990's, as revealed by the recent *Census* data. Women may also play an important role in emerging scenarios as illustrated by movements in the world of (new)media. While (new)media continues to include areas that are very male dominated such as electronic music, there seems to be possible room for new artistic profiles and female roles.

The relationship between the status of women, their professional recognition and artistic identity runs throughout this study. This is intended to demonstrate how this relationship differs in distinct contexts and how it has also been subject to change. Nonetheless, in addition to such differentiation there is also a common, transversal aspect that should be emphasised, which provides a better understanding of how

82 Idalina Conde, «Mulheres-artistas: umbrais e passagens» (Female Artists: Doorways and Corridors). In: Maria Antónia Fiadeiro (coord.), *Mulheres, Século XX, 101 Livros* (Women, XX Century, 101 Books). Published by the Department of Culture of Lisbon Municipal Council, Lisbon, 2001.

questions of gender and inequalities in the worlds of art are *specifically* placed.

Almost all the interviews we conducted with creative artists, performers and other protagonists in the two fields under study emphasised that this relationship concerns discontinuities on three respective levels. The fact of being a woman does not determine all artists' sphere of work and professional career path – even in the field of serious music, which continues to be one of the most unbalanced fields in terms of gender equality. Professionalisation implies adhesion to a universal concept of artistic identity that is common to both men and women and displaces the question of inequality to one of equality, i.e. in terms of merit, performance and relevance. There is a refusal for the art and music of women to be «art apart»⁸³ from the rest.

This does not imply that women are not fully aware of the problems of inequality that persist in education, artistic professions, recognition and consecration. Most women are aware and in particular emphasise the difficulties they experienced in reconciling an artistic career with motherhood and family, emphasising the need for support at this level. This is particularly evident in the statements given by older women – that have experienced such difficulties – or by women about to bring up children – that anticipate the difficulties ahead. There were more statements on this subject in the field of serious music, above all because there is a greater generational differentiation, whereas in the field of (new)media we focused on a younger generation of women, many of whom still lack direct experience with these issues associated with the feminine condition.

Thus, without underestimating these aspects, and the manner in which they may have an impact on female artists' lives, the statements of those women interviewed for the project have tended to *divert attention* away from the question of women, especially whenever the issue of artistic identity was raised. This reveals the importance placed on individual expression or authorship, irrespective of the difference between men and women, and also explains the fact that attention is diverted from the technological question. This phenomenon is particularly noted in the specific area of (new)media. Technology is of relative importance as a defining criteria in this area: it is always considered an instrument far more so than a goal or priority of artistic creation.

Both forms of diversion are found throughout the interviewees' statements. This demonstrates that questions of gender cannot be disassociated from the general set of problems posed by artistic fields (and by intellectuals in general): that of processes constructing singularity or self-references whereby it is possible to increase an indi-

83 Paraphrasing the title of a book that reflects upon art and women: M. Antonietta Tranforini (ed.), *Arte a parte – donne artiste fra margini e centro*. Franco Angeli, Milan, 2000.

vidual's self-perception⁸⁴. Even in emerging (new)media areas with collective forms of artistic work (in teams, projects and networks)⁸⁵, where an alteration has been made in traditional notions of authorship. In particular, this alteration takes place in terms of the characteristics of interactivity that underlie the «digital paradigm», where transmission and reception are merged in a logic of co-authorship. This type of individual self-perception may also arise within institutional bodies, such as orchestras, which are of a collective nature and have official hierarchies. Individualist features also arise among instrumentalists, because the musician's profession is seen in terms of personal identity and an individual career path. It should be remembered that this study did not cover soloists working outside orchestras, who, as a result of individual career demands, probably accentuate this point.

On the other hand, it is important to interpret the discourses and the statistical data we have collected for Culture-Gates in the light of the specific Portuguese context. This is also important in order to understand the diversion of attention away from gender questions and its shortfalls, as a sign of the value placed (and sometimes excessive value placed) on achievements so far attained by women in the arts, current changes and a promising future – eventually with increasingly re-balanced professional markets where there may be possible artistic competition between equals.

In effect, women in general have played a fundamental role in the trajectories of modernity of Portuguese society, with growing participation of women in the field of education and labour markets since the end of the 1970s. In addition to this delayed, hybrid and unfinished process of modernity – compressed into a period of 15–20 years – Portugal's cultural landscape has changed profoundly. It is important to understand this background since in many aspects Portugal's cultural landscape does not fit into the traditional «canon» of so-called Southern Europe, and certainly not when we think about the postmodernity of leading art forms that have such a globalised and contemporary feel. Portugal's situation has specific or singular conditions in Europe today due to this non-alignment with European regional «categories». As a result Portugal has a more intermediate situation in many cultural dimensions, including the status of women in the arts.

The 1990s had a particularly significant impact on the cultural sphere, both in more «transmissive» worlds such as serious music and orchestral music,

84 Idalina Conde, «Duplo écran na condição artística» (Split Screen in the Artistic Condition). In: Helena Carvalho Buescu and João Ferreira Duarte (coords), *Narrativas da modernidade: a construção do outro*, (Narratives of Modernity: Construction of the Other). Colibri, Lisbon, 2001; I. Conde, «Artistas e cientistas: retrato comum» (Artists and Scientists: A Joint Portrait). In: António Firmino da Costa and José Manuel Viegas (orgs), *Portugal: que modernidade?*, op. cit.

85 Prototype of global transformations in cultural fields and society in general. See the book by Pierre-Michel Menger, *Portrait de l'artiste en travailleur – métamorphoses du capitalisme* (Portrait of the Artist as a Worker – Metamorphoses of Capitalism). Seuil, Paris, 2002.

and in «emerging» or «convulsive» sectors of contemporary art and trends in (new)media. Changes also took place, in parallel, inside institutional structures – and in the educational field that has such an important role to play in the dynamic evolution of the world of music, as seen in this study – and above all in recently emerging areas such as (new)media. Or, in more general terms, throughout the horizon of «emerging art forms»⁸⁶ which is more clearly identifiable with the arrival of the new millennium, with new places, practises and protagonists, reflecting the impulse of new generations endowed with more qualifications and information – another fundamental aspect of Portuguese society over recent years. The cultural sphere has thus experienced transformations and forms of diversification that influence established categories, creative processes, identities and the organisation of artistic work. At the same time, the cultural sphere encompasses new forms of precariousness, inconsistency or problems of sustainability in terms of its framework and recognition⁸⁷.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the arrival of the «information society» in Portugal during this period and its respective technological devices – computers – that entered into the mainstream from the mid-1990s onwards⁸⁸. These processes arrived later than in many countries, and their principal impact and benefits have been felt by younger generations. Even so, the arts have suffered from a lack of equipment and infrastructures in this field. The area of (new) media suffered in this regard, with a shortage of specific educational systems and specialised training at the institutional level. However this did not prevent Portuguese artists from attaining the same level of contemporary creativity seen in other better-equipped countries. Often Portuguese artists worked with «analogue» resources while artists in other countries achieved the same effects with «digital» resources. This is the dominant characteristic of the recent history of photography and video, integrated in installations with new *mixed media* formats of Portuguese contemporary art.

Finally, certain observations should be made on policies and measures for cultural spaces and promotion of equality, especially in this landscape – that still bears the

86 Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos, «Deambulação pelos novos mundos da arte e da cultura» (A Stroll Through the New Worlds of Art and Culture). *Análise Social* XXIX (125-128), 1994; Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (coord), Vítor Sérgio Ferreira, Teresa Duarte Martinho and João Sedas Nunes, *O mundo da Arte Jovem: protagonistas, lugares e lógicas de acção* (The World of Emerging Art: Protagonists, Places and Logic of Action). Oeiras, Lisbon, Celta, 2003 (to be published shortly).

87 Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos, «Amador ou Profissional?... Peças de um puzzle» (Amateur or Professional? – Pieces of a Puzzle). OBS nº 11, November 2002, Published by the Observatory of Cultural Activities.

88 Rui Telmo Gomes, «Le cas du Portugal» (The Case of Portugal). In: *Objectifs de la politique culturelle et mesures stratégiques au plan national en vue de la société de l'information* (Cultural Policy Objectives and National Strategic Measures for the Information Society). Bonn, ERICarts, 2001.

mark of so many inequalities between men and women. First of all, an important role is played by artistic policies that improve the conditions and development of the two sectors under study, providing them with specific incentives, infrastructures and resources. Among the various aspects that may be cited, there is a major need to consolidate, qualify and articulate training/educational systems and labour markets: an ongoing problem in Portugal that awaits responses from the public authorities⁸⁹. There is also a need for diversified support mechanisms for artistic creation and dissemination, at the level of both national distribution, and various aspects to support the internationalisation of creative artists and their works.

In relation to artistic creation in the area of serious music, for example, regular commissioning policies of musical works play a vital role, as a guarantee of public presentation – and the consequent renovation of artistic repertoires, in particular in orchestras whose repertoires tend to be excessively crystallised. Another important factor is the release of music records and respective distribution. In (new) media arts, their specific creative works require artistic policies to be updated, ideally making them less bureaucratic and more versatile and eclectic. In short, artistic policies for this area need to be sufficiently transversal in order to embrace aspects of art, technology, electronic music, design and other ingredients of contemporary projects. Specific support should also be provided to the laboratory and experimental component – that characterises a significant part of these projects and the interests of the creative artists – as well as the inclusion and recognition of these emerging, heterodox «languages» in more «institutional» areas of the cultural system.

In relation to equality policies in particular, which should cut across artistic policies in general, it is rather difficult to identify isolated measures, at least on the basis of the data and interview statements of our study. The Culture-Gates study in Portugal revealed how the gender equality cannot be isolated from the artistic condition, in the broad sense of the term. This is the reason why the majority of interviewees did not support positive discrimination measures – such as quotas – especially when applied to the arts. While certain female artists accepted such proposals, although with certain reservations, they saw them more as a pragmatic/operational tool to be applied in the wider political system to increase women's political representation, rather than as an ideal solution. Within the world of the arts, quotas are viewed as intrusive and are rejected on the grounds of a strong artistic identity. For the majority, such methods are considered to be «extrinsic» to the artistic field and therefore

89 Augusto Santos Silva (coord), *A educação artística e a promoção das artes na perspectiva das políticas públicas*, (Artistic Education and the Promotion of the Arts in the Perspective of Public Policies). Report of the Contact Group between the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Culture, Lisbon 2000. Also see, on various aspects and problems of the arts: AA.VV., *Ser artista em Portugal, como vive, o que faz* (Being an Artist in Portugal, Living and Working). Centro Nacional de Cultura, Lisbon

«illegitimate» in the light of other fundamental questions of «equality» in artistic fields – in particular the «quality» of works and creative trajectories.

Several suggestions may be made to contribute towards a more equal or balanced form of artistic citizenship – also an important challenge faced by democracy and modernity. The first is to extend and reinforce a *mainstream* approach to questions of equality, that goes beyond the realm of *gender studies* and *gender policies*, in order to place such issues permanently on the agenda of major issues facing the art world today. In this manner it will be possible to arouse or integrate a new civic culture.

The second suggestion is to implement support measures that reconcile family and work – one of the most frequently cited requirements in order to develop women's professional careers.

A third suggestion is to introduce specific incentives and opportunities for women – e.g. awards and study scholarships (in particular study abroad), that many cited as some principal *gates*. Such factors assume as great an importance as the fundamental influence of «persons», gate-keepers, colleagues or interlocutors in the sphere of interpersonal relationships and networks, that are always opportune and crucial in opening doors.

Other important gates are the places – positions, structures, institutions, etc – which artists come across during the course of their careers, often serving as launch pads for other contacts, horizons and perspectives.

Lastly, but not least, incentives are required for the dual process of increasing the visibility and value of the role of women in art history and in contemporary creation. Attention should be drawn to the words of the current director of the Music Conservatory (Escola Superior de Música) in Lisbon, a renowned harpsichordist, who recalls an often forgotten female genealogy.

«Very little attention has been paid to female artists, even though the role of women has been far more important than the version normally taught in schools. There are fantastic women in the history of music and many are ignored, not to mention the countless prima donnas that have existed over the centuries. There is a great deal more to be explored on the influence and importance of women in music, even rather interesting books written by men. We have the example of one quite extraordinary woman in Portugal – Maria Bárbara, daughter of D. João V. She was a very fine harpsichordist and said to be a good composer, but no work by Maria Bárbara de Bragança, married to the King of Spain, has been handed down to us. »

This is vitally important in order to (re)construct references, promote role-models in the process of artistic socialisation and even rewrite a considerable part of women's history.