FEMINISATIONS OF ARTISTIC WORK: LEGAL MEASURES AND FEMALE ARTISTS' RESOURCES DO MATTER

FEMINIZAÇÃO DO TRABALHO ARTÍSTICO: AS MEDIDAS LEGAIS E OS RECURSOS DAS ARTISTAS FEMININAS SÃO IMPORTANTES

FÉMINISATION DU TRAVAIL ARTISTIQUE: LES MESURES LÉGALES ET LES RESSOURCES DES FEMMES ARTISTES SONT IMPORTANTES

FEMINIZACIÓN DEL TRABAJO ARTÍSTICO: LAS MEDIDAS LEGALES Y LOS RECURSOS DE LAS ARTISTAS FEMENINAS SON IMPORTANTES

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ABSTRACT: While all legal and formal barriers limiting women's access to art worlds have disappeared in democratic countries, getting access to artistic work, maintaining oneself in one's art world, and being recognized as an artist remain more difficult for women than for men in all observed art worlds whether dominantly 'masculine', nearly mixed, or 'feminine'. Recent empirical research has identified several key social processes which cumulate over time to produce gendered differences between women's and men's career paths in democratic societies. But research has also shown that female artists do get more and more access to artistic work and to artistic recognition over time, thanks to several resources which they, consciously or not, use to do so.

Keywords: artistic work, feminisation, gendered differences, art worlds.

RESUMO: Não obstante as barreiras legais e formais que limitam o acesso das mulheres aos mundos da arte tenham desaparecido nos países democráticos, ter acesso ao trabalho artístico, manter-se no mundo artístico e ser reconhecido como artista continua mais difícil para as mulheres do que para os homens em todos os mundos artísticos observados, sejam predominantemente 'masculinos', quase mistos ou 'femininos'. Investigações empíricas recentes identificaram vários processos sociais chave que se acumulam ao longo do tempo para produzir diferenças de género entre as carreiras de mulheres e homens nas sociedades democráticas. Mas a investigação mostrou também que as artistas femininas têm cada vez mais acesso ao trabalho artístico e ao reconhecimento artístico ao longo do tempo, graças a vários recursos que, conscientemente ou não, usam para o fazer.

Palavras-chave: trabalho artístico, feminização, diferenças de género, mundos da arte.

RÉSUMÉ: Alors que tous les obstacles légaux et formels limitant l'accès des femmes aux mondes artistiques ont disparu dans les pays démocratiques, accéder aux œuvres artistiques, se maintenir dans son monde artistique et être reconnu comme artiste demeure plus difficile pour les femmes que pour les hommes, que ce soit «masculin», presque mixte ou «féminin». Des recherches empiriques récentes ont identifié plusieurs processus sociaux clés qui se cumulent au fil du temps pour produire des différences entre les sexes entre les trajectoires professionnelles des femmes et des hommes dans les sociétés démocratiques. Mais la recherche a également montré que les artistes femmes accèdent de plus en plus au travail artistique et à la reconnaissance artistique au fil du temps, grâce à plusieurs ressources qu'elles utilisent, consciemment ou non, pour le faire.

Mots-clés: travail artistique, féminisation, différences de genre, mondes d'art.

RESUMEN: Apesar de que las barreras legales y formales que limitan el acceso de las mujeres a los mundos del arte hayan desaparecido en los países democráticos, tener acceso al trabajo artístico, mantenerse en un mundo artístico y ser reconocido como artista continúan siendo mas difícil para las mujeres que para los hombres en todos los mundos artísticos observados, ya sean predominantemente masculinos, casi mixtos, o femeninos. Investigaciones empíricas recientes identificaron varios procesos sociales clave que se acumulan a lo largo del tiempo para producir diferencias de género entre las carreras de mujeres y hombres en las sociedades democráticas.

Pero la investigación mostró también que las artistas femeninas tienen cada vez más acceso al trabajo artístico y al reconocimiento artístico a lo largo del tiempo, gracias a varios recursos que, de forma consciente o no, utilizan.

Palabras-clave: trabajo artístico, feminización, diferencias de género, mundos del arte.

1. Introduction

While all legal and formal barriers limiting women's access to 'art worlds' (Becker, 1982) have disappeared in democratic countries, getting access to artistic work, maintaining oneself in one's art world, and being recognized as an artist remain more difficult for women than for men in all observed art worlds whether dominantly 'masculine' – jazz (Buscatto, 2007), television comedy (Quemener, 2011), 'popular' music (Whiteley, 1997; Perrenoud & Chapuis, 2016; Guerra, 2016), movie directing (Bielby, 2009, Sellier, 2012), punk music (Guerra *et al.*, 2017; Abreu *et al.*, 2017; Brun, 2005), street art (Trajtenberg, 2016), or electronic music (Reitsamer, 2011) -, nearly mixed - orchestra music (Goldin & Rouse, 2000; Ravet 2003; Scharff, 2015; Segnini, 2006), literature (Naudier, 2007, 2010), circus (Cordier, 2009; Garcia, 2011), or visual arts (Pasquier, 1983; Provansal, 2018; Quemin, 2013) - or 'feminine' - theatre (Eikhof et *al.*, 2014; Rolle & Moeschler, 2014; Doyon, 2015) and dance (Laillier, 2016; Rannou & Roharik 2009; Sorignet, 2004). While most art worlds are deregulated – except for 'classical' music -, men always fare better than women as artists.

Recent empirical research has identified several key social processes which cumulate over time to produce gendered differences between women's and men's career paths – gendered socialisations, networks, norms, stereotypes, roles or conventions. But this same body of research has also shown that women do get more and more access to artistic work and to artistic recognition over time, thanks to several individual and collective resources which they, consciously or not, use to do so – art schools, public policies, families, collective individual actions... More and more female artists do find individual and collective ways throughout their careers and do build-up autonomous trajectories in order to enter, to remain and to get recognized in such antagonistic worlds.

Based on numerous empirical examples drawn from most art worlds and led in several democratic countries – mainly France, Great Britain, USA, Canada, Austria, Portugal, Greece, Israel, Switzerland, Belgium and Germany - this article will thus try to understand how legal measures and artists' individual and collective resources help women getting access to art worlds[2]. In other words, how do legal measures and female artists' specific individual and collective resources give them ways to overcome such a 'cumulative disadvantage' (Acker, 2009)? Once described how this cumulative disadvantage is built up within all art worlds (1), we will describe how

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[2] All those studies - not one exception to be found yet -, whether quantitative or qualitative, conclude that male artists always fare better than female artists in contemporary democratic societies, whatever the art world, the country or the percentage of women acting as artists in any specific art world – acting as a minority, a majority or on parity. Based on a systematic comparison of all the case studies mentioned in this article, it appears that, if the specific ways men are favoured as artists vary from one art world to the other, depending on how the art world functions and how art works are valued, general social processes which produce inequalities as well as help limit them are found in all cases. This overall empirically-based conclusion thus founds the demonstration developed in this article.

legal measures (2) as well as female individual and collective artists' resources (3) do matter in art worlds in order to reduce inequalities between female and male artists.

Please note that empirical research, whether qualitative or quantitative, is now numerous and ripe enough to enable us to consistently present general processes producing as well as reducing inequalities between men and women in democratic contemporary art worlds. This demonstration will lead us, in our conclusion, to discuss how far the high level of competition affecting art worlds as well as its "talent ideology" explain the recurring difficulties women experience, as compared to their male colleagues, while art worlds pretend to be avant-garde and open to diversity and change. It will also entice us to discuss social logics which make it so difficult for art world makers – artists, critics, producers, schools, technicians, art events organizers, audience, curators or artists – to counteract discriminatory practices affecting artistic work despite their recurring discourses calling for an open, diverse and non-discriminatory society.

2. A negative cumulative dynamics

The difficulties encountered by women, as compared to men, are due to four main general processes which tend to cumulate over time, at different stages of women's potential careers – to develop artistic practices at an early age, to choose to act as professional artists, to get trained, to get recruited, to experience art in favourable conditions, to be able to make a living with art, to get recognized, to maintain oneself as artists over time… Each of those four general processes varies in its specific form from one art world to the other and may also have an impact more or less powerful on women's abilities to act as artists depending on how people get trained, recruited, paid, and valued in each specific art world. But current empirical research does repeatedly show that those processes do cumulate over time in all art worlds, one way or the other, to limit women's abilities to enter, to maintain themselves and to get recognized as professional artists.

2.1. Overrepresentation of female artists in devalued 'feminine' fields

Women tend to be overrepresented in so-called 'feminine' styles, genres or instruments while men tend to be overrepresented in so-called 'masculine' styles, genres or instruments. Those words ('feminine' and 'masculine') are to be taken in two socially-constructed senses here: practiced primarily by women/men and socially conceived of as feminine/masculine[3]. Indeed, some fields, styles or instruments - wind instruments (Green, 1997; Monnot, 2012), rock music (Whiteley, 1997), punk music (Guerra *et al.*, 2017) or instrumental jazz (Buscatto, 2007) - are associated with 'masculine' qualities such as technical mastery, virtuosity, virility or self-assertion (Buscatto, 2014a; Connell 1995) while others - such as singing

[3] Please note that this reasoning has already been exposed in Buscatto, 2014b and 2016a.

(Buscatto, 2007a; 2014b; 2016) or dance (Laillier, 2016; Marquié, 2016; Sorignet, 2004) - are associated with 'feminine' qualities such as grace, softness, emotion, fragility, with emphasis on relationships. And women tend to be overrepresented in specific 'feminine' arts, styles or specialisations and men in 'masculine' arts, styles or specialisations. For example, women are a majority in dance or harp playing while they are a minority in jazz playing or movie directing.

And those same studies also show that 'feminine' roles, arts, specialisations or genres tend to be devalued as compared to 'masculine' ones. The fact is that the way artistic practices are hierarchically ordered tends to devalue practices, instruments or specializations perceived as 'feminine'. This inequality becomes apparent in different ways in various art worlds. Research studies have amply demonstrated the devaluing of the feminine 'side' of literature (Naudier, 2001), circus (Cordier, 2009), electronic music (Reitsamer, 2011), hip-hop dancing (Faure, 2004), classical music (Monnot, 2012), visual arts (Pasquier, 1983), jazz singing (Buscatto, 2007) or Hollywood movie-making (Bielby, 2009), to name a few. In conclusion, not only are artistic practices gendered in that women tend to choose specializations and practices associated with 'their' sex, but 'feminine' ways are devalued in relation to 'male' ones in the practice of a given art (Buscatto, 2014b).

2.2. 'Feminine' negative stereotypes limiting women's access and recognition as artists

This leads us to the second of the social processes that fosters reproduction of gender-related differences; namely, the strength and persistence of gender stereotypes. As already partly suggested above, this is quite damaging to women's long-term commercial, musical and professional success. Whether the female stereotypes associated with women artists pertain to sexuality, seductiveness, motherhood, creative dependence or virtuosity, they often go along with a disparaging attitude when it comes to assessing women's professional artistic abilities or the quality of the works of art they produce as shown for female clowns (Garcia, 2011), television humourists (Quemener, 2011), orchestra direction (Graber, 2004), jazz or classical musicians (Buscatto, 2007; Scharff, 2015), or visual artists (Dumont, 2008; Goyon, 2011; Levy & Quemin, 2011; Provansal, 2018).

Those female artists have thus difficulty to perform and to be valued as 'universalist' artists (and not as 'feminine' or 'feminist' ones). Those stereotypes may also affect ways an artist may perform as a leader as for jazz female instrumentalists who find it difficult to be considered as efficient leaders in their musical world (Buscatto, 2007). Women tend to confine themselves, and to be confined, to less valued practices than those engaged in by men. And when they do practice a 'male' art, they tend to be denigrated for practicing it in ways defined as 'feminine' as was

also shown for electronic music (Reitsamer, 2011), literature (Naudier, 2007) or visual arts (Provansal, 2018).

2.3. 'Masculine' social networks

Various research studies have demonstrated the importance of social networks for getting into fluid, open art worlds, staying in them, and building a reputation for oneself in them (Becker, 1982). Those studies also bring to light how co-optation, here based on being and staying in a social network, is located at the intersection of technical skill criteria and judgments bearing on an individual's 'personal' qualities (Bourdieu, 1992). Co-optation is also facilitated by the intervention of close intermediaries: critics (Buscatto *et al.*, 2017), external sources of support. The fact is that artistic worlds are men's worlds, even when they are constituted of a majority of women as theatre (Doyon, 2015; Rolle, Moeschler, 2014) or dance (Rannou & Roharik, 2009), and they prove relatively unwelcoming to women. Women are more likely than their male colleagues to find themselves 'naturally' marginalized and even excluded from networks of the sort that ensure co-optation.

At the different stages of career-building in French dance choreography (Rannou & Roharik, 2009), French, German and Swiss theatre (Doyon, 2015; Rolle & Moeschler, 2014; Eikhof *et al.*, 2014), French circus (Cordier, 2009), US Hollywood script-writing and directing (Bielby, 2009), French jazz music (Buscatto 2007) or Swiss popular music (Perrenoud & Chapuis, 2016), artistic social networks tend to favour men. In those social worlds, whether women are a minority (popular music, movie directing or top-level visual artists), are close to parity (literature or visual arts) or are a majority (dance or theatre), co-optation modes favour men even when there is no apparent desire to exclude women and part of this co-optation is dealt with by other women. Researchers have not been able to offer a simple, univocal explanation for this, namely because it appears so 'natural' to members of the implicated art worlds—including women—and the vast majority of observers, but a few explanations do concur to explain such a phenomenon. On the one hand, feminine stereotypes, as stated above, make it more difficult for women than for men to be considered as worthwhile, reliable, exciting artists. On the other hand, art worlds tend to function along masculine conventions and rules which make it easier for men than for women to behave in appropriate ways and to feel comfortable in such masculine environments. Being socialised in feminine ways, they tend not to adapt themselves as effectively and smoothly as men in 'masculine' environments (for developments about gendered socialisations, see Buscatto, 2014a).

2.4. 'Reconciling' professional life and family life

The difficulty of combining professional and family life is often put forward to explain women's difficulty to gain access to managerial, scientific, political and leading activist positions or high, demanding social positions once they are getting

older. This difficulty is indeed to be found in the lives of women artists in all art worlds once they reach their thirties and partly – but only partly - explains their tendency to withdraw from the artist life in their "career", as shown in all studies devoted to male and female inequalities in arts, even if some women do find ways to do differently.

Male artists' wives or female partners play a major part in managing their private and professional lives. They adapt themselves to their partners' schedules. If the couple has children (usually when the woman is over 30), the woman partner is in charge of most of the daily upbringing tasks and organization. These women also often help organize their partners' professional lives and artistic success, either directly, as when the woman herself works professionally in the art world in question, or indirectly by providing a great deal of advice—and in some cases financial support—over time. For instance, studies of contemporary dancers (Sorignet, 2004), visual artists (Sinigaglia-Amadio & Sinigaglia, 2015), jazz musicians (Buscatto, 2007), writers (Naudier, 2010) or classical musicians (Ravet, 2003) show their heavy involvement in their male spouse's or partner's artistic path and how they make themselves available to handle family tasks. These same studies also reveal that women artists themselves tend not to not have male partners willing to play this same role for them, meaning that these women artists have to ensure not only that their own family and professional lives fit together but also that their professional life dovetails with their male partner's. Most studied women artists seem simply not to have met men willing to play the role of accompanying their careers over time, nor do they seem to expect their men to make themselves available in this way.

The issue then seems to focus on whether, or not, female artists have children. Professional women artists generally seem to adhere to the ideology that the role of high-quality mother and the artist life are incompatible. But while that ideology informs the choices made by the women observed, it also seems subject, as a "constraint", to several interpretations, running from giving up one's art career altogether to managing motherhood in an atypical manner or, even, to refusing to have children. Thus, to be able to realize their chosen "vocation", a segment of women artists make radical choices consistent, in their minds, with that choice: not having children, not having stable partners. This was the case for some French writers (Naudier, 2010), visual artists (Pasquier, 1983) or jazz instrumentalists (Buscatto, 2007). Among pioneer women artists who have had children, career management modes (highly variable) may prove innovative. Some women, helped by their own mothers, male partners, sisters or friends, manage to rear their child while continuing along their chosen artistic path. A tiny minority of women artists share both private and professional roles with their male partner. Yet others put their

careers on hold for the time it takes to raise children, or, either voluntarily or not, only begin an artist career after seeing their children through childhood.

3. Legal measures help reduce inequalities between female and male artists

As just described, several social processes cumulate to ensure that men always fare better than women as artists. But those negative social processes tend to be partly overcome by women when legal measures are implemented, either thanks to the development of art schools which enable women to be trained and have access to networks (partly) as well as their male counterparts, or thanks to the development of specific rules or policies which enable them to be more easily trained, recruited or financed than would 'normally' occur – if things were left to artists only.

This result is quite striking at first, since, with the notable exception of classical music, which is part of the school curriculum, and strictly regulated through music contest rules (Ravet, 2003), artistic worlds do not set educational hurdles or pre-qualification rules that have to be overcome or complied with before a work of art can be sold or performed. However, in accordance with the democratization of education and the rising level of educational certification, art worlds have been 'taken in hand by the school' (Verger 1982). Likewise, the 'democratization of culture' has been instrumental in funding new art spaces, structures and activities (Dubois, 1999). Lastly, certain measures, part of a more general concern to promote women, have been put in place to facilitate women's professional practice of art. An example is the use of screens for classical orchestra instrumentalists during hiring auditions as will be shown below. These legal changes seem to explain in part the relative feminization of most art worlds in democratic countries, as will be now discussed[4].

3.1. Equal access to art schools

Access to art schools is key in explaining the feminisation of most art worlds in contemporary democratic societies whether already mixed such as orchestra music (Goulding & Rouse, 2000; Ravet, 2003; Segnini, 2006), visual arts (Pasquier, 1983) or literature (Naudier, 2007) or still very 'masculine' such as jazz (Buscatto, 2007), circus (Cordier, 2009), Greek music (Andronikou-Hatzipetrou, 2011) cinema directing (Sellier, 2000) or rock music (Ortiz, 2004). Women's access to educational institutions has facilitated their entry into and maintenance within professional art worlds by making it possible to remove certain social barriers. Current studies provide three main reasons why such an access is key in explaining the feminisation of artistic work.

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[4] Those ideas have been partly exposed in Buscatto, 2014b and 2016a.

First of all, access to education programs ensures acquisition of the technical knowledge and skills as well as the social rules and conventions necessary to take the entrance examinations and other tests that enable a candidate to advance in the given world – in classical music - or to be able to perform adequately in any given artistic situation. Those skills are technical, social, relational, and personal. Thanks to art schools women have the opportunity to master the vocabulary needed to express oneself, the conventions organizing social and professional interactions, the techniques needed to deliver one's performance or work of art along expected criteria... This conclusion was reached in visual arts (Pasquier, 1983), in circus (Cordier, 2009) or in music as will be now discussed. This is indeed one of the reasons mentioned by Coulangeon and Ravet (2003) to explain the fact that in France women are present to a greater degree in classical music worlds—worlds, that is, organized around educational institutions—than in "popular" music- worlds, founded above all, on the principle of co-optation by friends and peer regulation. Liliana Segnini, in her comparison of Brazilian and French orchestra musicians reaches the same conclusion in both countries while this is also confirmed by studies led on "popular music" which show how difficult it is for female popular musicians to learn all the required skills, as compared to their male counterparts (see for example Aterianus-Owango, 2016; Buscatto, 2007; Guerra *et al*., 2017; Perrenoud & Chapuis, 2016; Reitsamer, 2011; Whiteley, 1997). Within 'popular' music, art schools also play an active role in helping some women to get access to art, as shown by Buscatto in her study of French jazz music (2007): most female instrumentalists who entered the French jazz world as professional musicians have attended a jazz curriculum while only part of male instrumentalists have done so. Access to jazz schools was key in explaining their access to the Jazz world.

The second explanation, directly related to the understanding that art worlds operate on the basis of active social networks, is that education experiences work to construct lasting social ties. This applies to female rock musicians, as they are likely to meet their playing partners in educational institutions (Ortiz 2004), as well as to visual artists (Pasquier, 1983), French jazz musicians (Buscatto, 2007), theatre (Rolle & Moeschler, 2014) or circus artists (Cordier, 2009). Those women who become part of art worlds have often met their first colleagues – as in performance arts – or their first intermediaries – as in literature or visual arts – through their art schools, which will help them get their first professional jobs or contracts and operate in more efficient ways when starting to try to make a living with their art. This is for instance one of the reasons cited by Dominique Pasquier (1983) to explain the greater presence of women in the visual arts world in France in the 1980s.

The third reason, found by some studies, is that institutional training gives some young women the skills necessary to "dare" to venture into this art world, enabling them to feel they are skilful enough to give it a try and embuing them with

confidence about their chances of success. This analysis applies to women's access to French literature (Naudier, 2007) as well as the recent entry into traditional Greek music, a phenomenon due to their training in Greek high schools, which is now equal to that of young men (Hatzipetrou-Andronikou, 2011).

3.2. Public policies

Other types of institutional guidance occasionally influence women's entry into art worlds, either by facilitating funding for the activities involved—art festivals, art-related publications, performance production—or developing cultural spaces that are more open to women (Lemieux, 2002). Those policies may be aimed at increasing the proportion of women practising as amateurs as in circus (Cordier, 2009), in hip hop dance (Faure, 2004) or rock (Ortiz, 2004) and may then help some young women to not only practice 'masculine' art, but also, sometimes, set them on the path to professional practice, as Laureen Ortiz (2004) has observed for women rock musicians, who are much more likely to practice, rehearse, and play in publically funded studios or schools than young male rock musicians who are more likely to play privately "with pals."

Public policies may also aim at developing female professional practice, or ensure women are not discriminated against when recruited. Such an example is found in the use of screens for auditions when hiring classical orchestra musicians. This use has had quite a favourable effect on women's entry into classical music worlds simply because the jury listens 'blindly', ignorant of the instrumentalist's sex. Two American economists have indeed proved that North American women orchestra musicians owe more than 30% of their increased presence in major North American orchestras to the systematic use of "screens" during hiring auditions, as the screen makes them invisible during those auditions (Goldin & Rouse, 2000).

Public policies may have nothing to do with helping female artists to practice or become professionals, but may have such an indirect effect anyway. Seeking to explain the slight improvement in the proportion of women hip-hop dancers at the amateur and professional levels in France, Sylvia Faure (2004) showed how public policies aiming at leading young people from the suburbs off the street, indirectly helped women to practice hip hop dance which was till then mainly practiced by young boys and men. In her study, Sylvia Faure showed how such public policies had enabled an increasing number of women to practice hip hop dance thanks to the development of dedicated places which were easier of access to them than streets and informal places which were ruled by boys and young men. Those women were then able to practice freely, to learn all the gestures and techniques, which were not allowed to them as girls and young women. They could also develop more 'feminine' ways to dance, less devoted to confrontation and competition, and more oriented towards choreographic and aesthetic hip hop dance. This did not create equality between the sexes since men remain a vast majority in hip hop dance, and

the valued figures remain "masculine" (the ones based on virtuosity and speed). Moreover, women are still not allowed to dance hip hop dance in the street, at least the masculine figures, the few women dancing in the street tending to respect this gendered and hierarchized segregation.

4. Artists' individual and collective resources

Though female artists run into more obstacles than men on the road to professional status and artistic recognition, they do have some resources for gradually obtaining a place for themselves in the professional artistic landscape, they do find ways to transgress negative processes within an otherwise antagonistic world. Like women police officers, engineers or scientists, a minority of women are managing to break through the 'glass ceiling' (Buscatto, 2009). They are gaining access to artistic worlds, managing to stay in them, and are in some cases recognized at the summit of the artistic hierarchy. This is accomplished thanks to individual and collective resources female artists, consciously or not, use and create some kind of feminization of professional art worlds[5].

4.1. 'Reverse the stigma'

One transgressive resource, often used unconsciously by women, at least in the beginning, is their 'feminine capital' which may help them get into and remain in art worlds. Those women may mobilize presumably unfavorable sexual stereotypes – emotion, elegance, seduction or weakness - to assert their 'femininity' and thereby obtain recognition based on this supposed gendered difference. In this case we are dealing with an attempt at 'reversing the stigma' (Goffman, 1963). Such moves have been observed in visual arts (Goyon, 2011; Levy & Quemin, 2011; Trajtenberg, 2016), in jazz (Buscatto, 2007), in literature (Naudier, 2001), in Greek music (Hatzipetrou-Andronikou, 2011) or in circus (Cordier, 2009; Garcia 2011). They help those women creating works of art, even if those works of art tend to be devalued and this tends to put such female artists in fragile positions.

Another 'feminine' resource mobilized by some women artists, again often unintentionally, at least at first, is to take advantage of the particular interest of critics, art program directors, and producers seeking to offer specific support to women. Those actors are favorable to programming 'female' groups, exhibitions, and performances in the various art worlds, and to generating events that advantageously show women artists (concerts, CDs, written reviews). They are usually driven by a profit motive, as women artists are likely to have strong seductive power with audiences and readers (Beauvoir, 1949). But their motivation may also be political. Though they may only occasionally program women artists or exhibit women's art, some critics, producers, and distributors are uncomfortable knowing

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[5] Those ideas have been partly exposed in Buscatto, 2014b and 2016a.

there are virtually no women in their particular art world. While women artists may fear being denigrated for engaging in 'women's art' or appearing 'sexy' on posters and CD or book jackets, some of them may nonetheless be willing to do so if it will have a favorable effect on their careers or a given performance situation, and in such cases they use their seductive power as a professional resource, at least in the short term. This applies to the activities of Swiss popular music (Perrenoud & Chapuis, 2016), jazz (Buscatto, 2007), electronic music (Reitsamer, 2011) or traditional Greek music (Hatzipetrou-Andronikou, 2011). When women artists become aware of what they are doing, they may try to dissociate themselves from stereotypes of female seductiveness that might work against them, while profiting from its commercial advantages.

4.2. 'Masculinise' artistic practices

Another 'strategy' might be to 'masculinize' one's appearance, behavior, artistic skills in order to neutralize as far as possible the difficulties linked to the fact that they are viewed and experienced as women. Some women decide not only to refrain from any attempt to appear seductive but even to disguise or blunt their female identity. Though this behavior may close certain commercial doors it may also enable the women in question to be perceived more as artists 'like the others'. This strategy has been observed by Perrenoud and Chapuis on the Swiss popular music scene (2016), by Quemin and Levy in visual arts (2011), by Reitsamer on the European electronic scene (2011), by Buscatto on the French Jazz scene (2007), by Krefa in Tunisian literature (2014), by Brun on the French punk scene (2005), or by Aterianus-Owango on the Gabonese rap scene (2016).

Those female artists do early on learn that being perceived as a woman will get in the way of being co-opted, valued positively and considered as a real colleague and may learn to perform in 'masculine' ways as far as possible... They intend not to be considered as passive, weak, dependent, poorly creative or overly sexual, and assert their creative artistic abilities. For instance, Krefa (2014) shows how some female Tunisian writers do use masculine narrative voices to have readers and critics forget about their feminine devalued identity.

4.3. Family 'over-socialisations'

Women who succeed in entering and remaining in very masculine worlds and/or in getting recognized at the highest artistic level tend to benefit from what we have called 'over-socialisations' (Buscatto, 2007). In other words, as compared to their male colleagues, they tend to benefit from stronger family resources which enable them to make it in art worlds. More often than men, they tend to be raised in artistic families or from privileged families. They tend to live with a companion (or successive companions) who belong to their art world – as an artist, a producer or

an art critic for instance. They tend to attend high-level art schools, even if this is not officially needed for them to succeed.

All those experiences help them overcome the obstacles they are confronted with. Indeed, these women better know how to take advantage of social networks built up by relatives, close friends, teachers, or a companion already present in the art world in question, be it Swiss popular music (Perrenoud & Chapuis, 2016), jazz (Buscatto, 2007), theatre (Rolle & Moeschler, 2014), punk (Brun, 2005; Guerra et al., 2017) or circus (Cordier, 2009). They learn the needed informal skills to succeed and develop a professional expertise through their school, thanks to their families or with their companion. They get access to the intermediaries more easily and know better how to 'deal' with them to build-up trust. In some instances professional women artists make use of their 'feminine' capital in the way mentioned above to attract audience or commercial producer attention. In the end, they may specialize in areas primarily occupied by women, becoming singers, dancers, or writers of sentimental novels so as to get themselves accepted 'just the same' in the art world in question, even if those areas are dominated rather than dominant within those particular worlds.

Consider the world of French jazz studied by Buscatto (2007). In this heavily male, gender-marked world, women singers or instrumentalists often live with professional jazzmen, usually musicians but in some cases jazz producers or program organizers (Buscatto, 2007). The fact is that the woman jazz musician's network is usually the same as her male partner's, which is first and foremost his— this is not an equally shared network. In such cases, when the love relationship comes to an end, the 'network' disappears for the woman musician, who then has to rebuild both her personal and professional life from scratch. For the minority of women jazz musicians who do not have a male jazz-professional life partner it is hard not only staying in the jazz world but also maintaining professional work partnerships over the long term. The 'natural' way these women then develop is to find relationships outside the jazz world, and in some cases even to withdraw entirely from that world.

4.4. Collective actions organised by artists

Women who want to keep on creating works of art may also try to create collective feminine groups or feminine-only working conditions. Collective actions may be conducted jointly by several women to assert their rightful place and in some cases their gender difference (defending a 'feminist' or a 'feminine' art). While this seems a secondary explanation for successful attempts to overcome or transgress the established gender order in a given art world, the creating of such collective actions might help artists to produce art and remain as artists as has been observed in visual arts by Dumont (2008), in literature by Naudier (2001) and Détrez (2010), in cinema by Rollet (1998), or on the European electronic music scene by Reitsamer, (2011). In

the 1970s, several organizations, groups, and regular gatherings were formed by what at the time, were radical feminist movements, or with their help or in connection with them.

Other ways of proceeding, less engaged with feminist demands, have also been observed. In the worlds of jazz (Buscatto, 2007), rock music (Tripier, 1998; Guerra, 2016) or Swiss popular music (Perrenoud & Chapuis, 2016), for example, the aim of such groups may simply be to take advantage of producer or audience interest in having women participate, as already discussed early on. Finally, some women wish to create a context deemed more calm and pleasant, given that "there is a widespread sense [among interviewed women musicians] that relations in a music group [made up exclusively of women] are gentler and more democratic [than in a group where women play alongside men]" (Tripier, 1998: 23).

5. Conclusion

Contemporary art worlds are not yet favourable to female artists' entry, nor to their maintaining themselves in those worlds or gaining artistic recognition in them. The strength of depreciative 'feminine' stereotypes, 'feminine' maternal roles, heavily masculine social networks, 'feminine' socialisations, all those social processes add up and work against women becoming active professional artists, making the artist life harder for them to realize than it already is for male artists. But up against those difficulties specific to their position as women in men's worlds, some women artists use resources that enable them to partially defy or overcome this social reality. Favourable public policy measures, such as the use of a screen during classical music hiring auditions, and access to prestigious artistic education institutions are major resources for women musicians. They also learn to either use 'feminine capital' or 'masculinise' their behaviours in order to be regularly hired and recognized as artists. They are likely to be 'over-socialised' and benefit from family resources – parents and companions - to learn informal skills, build-up efficient networks and feel confident in their artistic abilities. Lastly, female artists may develop feminine-only actions in order to either defend 'feminine' or 'feminist' works of art or to attract producers and the audience's interest for 'female' artists.

Some female artists thus demonstrate a high ability to develop individual and collective actions in order to maintain themselves and/or to get recognized at the highest level of artistic recognition despite the 'cumulative disadvantage' (Acker, 2009) they face over time. Their ability to either overcome/make an efficient use of feminine stereotypes, or to develop collective actions to produce works of art 'anyhow' do prove how individuals may act in contemporary art worlds to overcome obstacles and be able to create and to be valued as "real" artists. However, research studies do show, as for all other prestigious professions (Buscatto, 2009), that main

resources which help women to overcome such a cumulative disadvantage are socially and collectively produced.

On the one side, the more public policies and legal rules enable women to be trained, to be recruited and to be recognized in non-discriminatory ways, the more equality between the sexes one art world tends to promote. Women's equal access to art schools, the financing of women's artistic activities or the implementation of non-discrimination practices such as screening auditions in classical music appear as quite effective in countering men and women's tendency to unconsciously favour male artists in the long run. In other words, openness and lack of legal anti-discriminatory measures is clearly bad news if one is to promote equal artistic rights between men and women. On the other side, if we look at those women who do overcome obstacles, one finds they tend to be 'over-socialised' and benefit from specific individual resources - such as a privileged upbringing, a high-level artistic training or an artistic life-companion - which reinforce inequalities between men and women on other social grounds. Here again, art worlds tend not to be favourable to less privileged persons' access to professional practice since it favours those who get access to the meaningful skills, knowledge and networks based on heavy social differences – sex, social origins, diploma. An intersectional approach is here key to better grasp how unequal situations are shaped within art worlds, gendered inequalities being only one way to discriminate between artists (Buscatto, 2016b).

Art worlds do then appear as highly hierarchized worlds which are partly produced on social grounds which have nothing to do with artistic abilities, far from the myths of talent or genius which would be uniquely revealed through interaction and tournaments as currently described by sociologists such as Pierre-Michel Menger (2009). And this belief in the talent-only myth does reinforce art worlds' tendency to be as open and free of rules as possible, and thus produce and legitimate social and gendered differences, since most actors - critics, government, teachers, producers, audience or artists - who could act to help develop measures against discrimination do believe talent would be hindered by such actions and tend to fight against any kind of anti-discrimination measures – or denigrate them if they have to be part of them.

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