



Anna Ramstedt

***Homophily and genre boundaries:
Inequalities in classical music networks
in Finland***

Anna Ramstedt (anna.ramstedt@helsinki.fi) is a pianist, music educator and PhD student in Musicology at the University of Helsinki, Finland. In her article-based dissertation she studies whiteness, gendered and sexual misconduct, emotional abuse, and gender inequality within the classical music scene in Finland.

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2356-4023>.

*This work was supported by Suomen Kulttuurirahasto
(The Finnish Cultural Foundation)*

DOI: [10.51816/musiikki.131301](https://doi.org/10.51816/musiikki.131301)

*Homofiliaa ja genrerajoja:
epätasa-arvo klassisen musiikin verkostoissa Suomessa*

Tässä artikkelissa pohdin, miten sukupuolittunut epätasa-arvo ilmenee klassisen musiikin verkostoissa. Artikkelin tutkimusmateriaali koostuu 14 klassisen musiikin muusikon haastattelusta. Haastateltavat olivat 25–45-vuotiaita suomalaisia valkoisia naisia. Kysyn, millä tavoin sukupuolittunut epätasa-arvo ilmenee haastateltavien kokemuksissa klassisen musiikin verkostoista ja työelämästä. Tutkiakseni sukupuolittuneen epätasa-arvon muotoja haastattelumateriaalissa sovellan feministifilosofi Moira Gatensin (2003 [1996]; 2004) käsitettä sosiaaliset mielikuvastot (engl. *social imaginaries*). Artikkelissa tutkin, miten sukupuolta koskevat normit, narratiivit ja käsitykset – sosiaaliset mielikuvastot – ilmenevät klassisen musiikin kulttuurin sosiaalisissa verkostoissa ja genrerajauksissa, ja millä tavoin nämä mielikuvastot ylläpitävät epätasa-arvoa. Väitän, että epätasa-arvon keskeinen ja toistuva ilmenemismuoto klassisen musiikin verkostoissa on homofilia ja siihen liittyvä kromyismi. Homofilia määritellään usein tiedostamattomaksi mieltymykseksi samastua henkilöihin, jotka edustavat samaa ikäryhmää, sukupuolta, rotua tai sosioekonomista luokkaa ja jotka jakavat samoja mielipiteitä (Scharff 2018a, 60). Kromyismilla puolestaan viitataan ystävän, alaisen tai kollegan suosimiseen työtehtävään nimittämisessä tai uramahdollisuuksien antamisessa (Khatri & Tsang 2003). Väitän, että klassisen musiikin verkostoissa ilmenevät käytännöt ja narratiivit ylläpitävät ja vahvistavat eriarvoistavaa binääristä sukupuolihierarkiaa.

Homophily and genre boundaries: Inequalities in classical music networks in Finland

Anna Ramstedt
.....

The many forms of inequality in the classical music culture in Finland have received attention both in academic research and in the Finnish media in the past decade. Media has tackled issues such as gender inequality and male dominance in classical music in terms of musical repertoire and professions (e.g., Kvist 2020a; 2020b; Sirén 2019; Ramstedt 2021), sexual harassment and abuses of power (e.g., Saarikoski 2020a; 2020b), oppressive structures and societal responsibility in criticising such structures (e.g., Torvinen 2019; 2020), and colonial structures, nationalism, racism, and whiteness (e.g., Koivisto-Kaasik 2020; Kvist 2021; Kivinen 2022b). In opposing these criticisms, artists and conductors have commented on the issues of inequality, for instance by arguing that musical repertoire diversification would wreck the perceived meritocracy of the classical music field and pose a threat to its valuable traditions (Kvist 2019; Malmgren 2022). As conductor Hannu Lintu (Kvist 2019) has argued, for example, “[i]t is obvious that the [musical works] that have stood out throughout history are those that have something very personal to say, or those [works] that have had a significant impact on the development of Western art music.”¹ Indeed, the phenomenon of perceiving the supposed meritocracy and quality of the repertoire as valid justifications for inequality in the field of arts has been discussed by many researchers (e.g., Gill 2014; Cannizzo & Strong 2020; Bull & Scharff 2021).

The ways in which intersections of whiteness, gender, racism, and class produce the qualifications for performing classical music have been demonstrated by several researchers (e.g., Yang 2007; Yoshihara 2007; Lepänen 2015; Thurman 2021; Bull, Scharff & Nooshin 2023). For example,

¹ “Det är uppenbart att de som har vaskats fram under historiens gång är de som har haft någonting mycket personligt att säga eller de som har inverkat på den västerländska konstmusikens utveckling på ett avgörande sätt” (Kvist 2019). Translated from Swedish into English by the author.

sociologist Kristina Kolbe (2021, 2) writes that classical music has been “framed as the utmost expression of cultural value” while interlinking with the “power of social elites as embodied by white Western upper- and middle-classes” (see also Bull 2019). Moreover, in her study on how gender, race, and class-based inequalities unfold in the classical music profession, sociologist Christina Scharff (2018a, 41) highlights the role of “informal recruitment, networking, and education, as well as gendered, racialized, and classed constructions of who constitutes the ideal cultural worker and classical musicians”. However, research on how networking and informal recruitment in the Finnish classical music culture partake in the reproduction of intersecting inequalities remains scarce to date. In this article, I aim to offer new understanding of how gender inequalities are (re)produced through social networks, and genre boundaries in the field of classical music in Finland. As such, this article falls within the scope of feminist music research, in which Western classical music is studied as a social and cultural phenomenon from the perspectives and with the conceptual tools of interdisciplinary gender studies. Aligning with previous feminist scholarship in musicology, the article aims to reveal and respond to inequalities, and promote change in classical music culture (McClary 2002 [1991]; Citron 2000 [1993]; Moisala 1994; Rojola & Väättäinen 2004; Macarthur et al. 2017; Wahlfors 2021).

This qualitative study is based on interviews with Finnish classical musicians. I ask, firstly, how gendered power dynamics and inequality are manifested in the participants’ experiences of working life and networking. Secondly, I ask how gender inequality is related to the genre boundaries of classical music, and how genre boundaries also structure gender inequality in classical music culture in Finland. I conduct a thematic analysis of the interview material in dialogue with a feminist theoretical framework (Gatens 2003 [1996], 2004; Churcher & Gatens 2019) to examine how social norms, narratives regarding repertoire and gender dictate networking and career possibilities.

Although the interviewees did not explicitly mention race, the male dominance under discussion here is more specifically *white* male dominance. This silent assumption of racially divided categorisation denotes white normativity (Dyer 2002 [1997]; Keskinen, Mkwesha, & Seikkula 2021, 59–60). Gender and associated white normativity emerge in the interview material as white male domination, and over-representation of white male authorities. Such inequality is described in the interview material as both subjectively internalised and as operating on an intersubjective level (Chiu et al. 2010). Hence, the notion of “social imaginaries”

formulated by feminist philosopher Moira Gatens (Churcher & Gatens 2019, 154; Gatens 2003 [1996], 2004) is a suitable concept with which to analyse the underlying meanings, narratives, values, and metaphors – social imaginaries – that appear in the interviewees’ experiences of gendered inequality in classical music culture, and in the associations and connotations related to musical repertoire and genre boundaries.

It is important to contextualise the interview material, and my analysis of it, within Western classical music culture. Moreover, classical music and its canon of composers “were developed through the mid-nineteenth century and disseminated during its last decades, a period which also saw the apogee (or perhaps more accurately the nadir) of European colonial occupation and empire” (Walker 2020, 5; see also Ewell 2020). The discussion on gender in this article is centrally contextualised by these factors, even though the Western binary construction of gender and its roots in coloniality will not be explicitly examined (for a discussion on this, see e.g., Oyěwùmí 1997; Lugones 2007).

Lastly, I argue that inequality in Finnish classical music culture is maintained and reiterated through homophily and associated cronyism. Homophily is described in sociological research literature as the often subconscious tendency for homosocial behaviour, including socialising with people with similar characteristics, such as age, social class, gender, race, and so on (e.g., Scharff 2018a, 60; see also Ibarra 1992; McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook 2001; Sang, Dainty & Ison 2014, 249; Wreyford 2015). Cronyism, on the other hand, is described as favouritism of either subordinates or peers (Khatri & Tsang 2003, 292). In this article, I argue that homophily in classical music culture perpetuates socio-cultural conditions that involve and reinforce gender inequalities, hierarchies, and privileges.

Musicians’ experiences of gender inequality

The research material for this article consists of 14 interviews with white Finnish classical music women pianists, cellists, violinists, and violists between the ages of 25 and 45. Thirteen of the interviews are thematically sectioned in-depth interviews (Johnson and Rowlands 2012), and one is in written form.² The interviews were conducted between December 2019

² One of the interviews was conducted in written form according to the participant’s wishes. The interview involved sensitive topics that were easier for the participant to communicate in writing.

and May 2020. Two of the participants were personally invited by me. The rest of the participants signed up for the research through an invitation directed towards women identifying as classical music pianists, violinists, and cellists, which was posted on the website of the activist music research association Suoni in February 2020, and later shared in social media. The interviews were conducted in the two official languages of Finland: Finnish and Swedish. When translating the original versions into English, any colloquialisms that might lead to recognition have been faded. The interviews were transcribed verbatim.

The interviewees were asked about possible experiences of inequality in their work in the classical music field. They were not explicitly asked about their socio-economic status, and hence class will only be discussed to the extent to which it appears in relation to the other themes in the present research. To this end, I focus on understanding gender inequality, its associations with white normativity, and genre boundaries that emerge from the interviewees' experiences in the classical music profession. The interviewees were also asked about their opinions on the active societal debate concerning inequalities within the classical music culture that took place in the Finnish media in 2019 and 2020. The interview material in question is also used elsewhere (Ramstedt 2023; Ramstedt forthcoming 2023a; Ramstedt forthcoming 2023b) in research on sexual harassment and emotional abuse. Not to build connections between the citations used here, and citations used elsewhere, the citations in this article are not associated with pseudonyms nor even with interview dates in order to protect the interviewees anonymity. Through thematic analysis, I examine the underlying background of prejudices and inequalities that the participants faced during their professional life in classical music culture.

Like the participants in this research, I myself am a classically trained white woman musician with a background as a pianist and piano teacher. However, my research position is blurred by the myriad ways in which I position myself in relation to gender, race, ethnicity, professional status, and language (Savvides et al. 2014). My location "in between" different statuses and spaces (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle 2009) has impacted this research in the choosing of the theoretical and methodological framework of this study. My position in the "in between" has also inspired me to pursue activist music research. Thus, written by a member of the Finnish research society Suoni, this article also falls under the category of societal and action-orientated music research, with the aim of producing new in-

formation that can be used to repair problems caused by and pertaining to different forms of social inequality.

Understanding inequality in artistic careers through homophily and social imaginaries

Sociologists Bridget Conor, Rosalind Gill, and Stephanie Taylor (2015, 1) point out that while the cultural and creative industries might be famously “open”, and “diverse” (e.g., Gill 2002), these industries, comprising film, television, music and various art fields, are also “marked by stark, persistent and in many cases worsening inequalities relating to gender, race and ethnicity, class, age and disability”. Research shows that inequality is perpetuated in the cultural and creative industries by many means (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2015; Berkers & Schaap 2018; McAndrew & Widdop, 2021; Rantakallio 2021; Bull, Scharff & Nooshin 2023). Expanding on this issue, sociologist Diana L. Miller (2016, 120) distinguishes three ways in which an “ideal-typical artist” builds upon a masculine model. Firstly, Miller (2016, 120) mentions that the collective understandings of creative genius designate this figure as a masculine subject. Secondly, Miller (2016, 120) points out that aesthetic evaluations favour men (see for example Cannizzo & Strong 2020, 1354; Alacovska & O’Brien 2021). Thirdly, Miller (2016, 120) argues that the particular practices and mentalities of entrepreneurial labour are more acceptable for men than for women, such as being “continually available for networking on top of one’s artistic practice”, assuming also implicitly the idea of “masculinized artist-subject unencumbered by family or domestic responsibilities” (Miller 2016, 126). Miller (2016, 126) also points out that informal networks advantage men, as networks in artistic fields often revolve around men’s friendship networks (see Wreyford 2015).

In her research on women musicians and their experiences of inequality in the classical music industry, Scharff (2018b) shows how social networks, and access to them, also have an important role in the classical music profession (see also Bull 2018; Scharff 2018a; 2020, 17). Moreover, Scharff (2018b, 146) states that “the successfully networked and networking individual seems to be from a middle-class background”, and adds that “class background is not the only factor that affects musicians’ perceived ability to network; it also intersects with gender and national background” (as discussed in e.g., Yoshihara 2007; Bull, Scharff & Nooshin 2023).

The severity of exclusion is further emphasised by research that demonstrates the importance of networks for employment and career opportunities in the cultural and creative industries (e.g., Bennett 2016 [2008]; Connor, Gill & Taylor 2015; Millward, Widdop & Halpin 2017; Wreyford 2015). For example, Bull (2018, 126) has shown that “inequalities affect young people’s pathways once they are already heavily engaged in classical music”. In her research based on an ethnographic study in a youth orchestra in the United Kingdom, Bull (2018, 128) shows that those young musicians that were heading towards “high status” careers in the classical music world were exclusively male, and from professional or upper-middle classes. Moreover, according to Bull (2018, 128), these young people had been “promised a high status within the classical music world” by winning awards, gaining entry to highly selective music programmes, and through encouragement from high-status teachers or mentors. Bull (2018, 130) summarises that the future and identities of these young musicians were already formed before higher education.

Those young people that were encouraged, and that aspired to reach a high status in their classical music careers, were also the ones that appeared to be able to fulfil the requirements of “ideal” classical musicians, as described by Scharff (2018b; see also Prokop and Reitsamer 2023). Further, music researchers Rainer Prokop and Rosa Reitsamer (2023, 40–41) argue, “teachers’ self-concepts as white, classically trained musicians from (upper) middle-class backgrounds can inform their valuation practices to an extent that they result in acts of self-affirmation and self-reproduction”, resulting in reproducing also classical music profession as white and middle class. One way to view this perpetuation of hegemonic power relations and associated social constructions is through the notion of homophily. As positions of power and prestige in classical music in Finland are dominated by white men, homophily could explain why inequalities persist. For example, sociologist Steve McDonald (2011, 328) argues that: “[w]hite men can rely on white male connections in order to mobilize high status contacts. Bearing out of their social circles would provide them with no status benefit.” However, as Bull (2018; Bull & Scharff 2017; Bull & Scharff 2021) and Scharff (2018b) show in their studies, inequalities in classical music culture are also intertwined not only with the social categories of gender, race and class, but also with ideals, and musical genre divisions. Culture sociologists Ana Alacovska and Dave O’Brien (2021, 646–647) point out that as structuring forces “[g]enres ‘sort out’ people according to racial, gendered and class traits” (see also Bull & Scharff 2017; Bull & Scharff 2021; McAndrew & Widdop 2021).

Feminist philosopher Moira Gatens (2003 [1996], viii) uses the notion of “social imaginary” in a “loose but technical sense” to refer to “images, symbols, metaphors and representations which help construct various forms of subjectivity”. In this article, I expand on Gatens’ notion to discuss the connection between dominating social imaginaries and inequality in the networking practices of the classical music field in Finland. I use the term gender, firstly, as an analytical tool (Gatens 1996/2003, 3), and examine how gender appears in the emerging social imaginaries as a structural phenomenon through which social hierarchies are categorised and dominant power structures operate. Secondly, I examine gender as a lived phenomenon (Gatens 2003 [1996], 9) by discussing the interviewees’ experiences in relation to broader gendering practices and norms.

*“A good guy’ is given more chances”
– Gender inequality in classical music networks*

Most of the interviewees reported that the majority of conductors, concert masters, principals of instrumental sections in orchestras, or teachers in higher music education institutions that they had encountered were men. As one of the interviewees stated: “[t]he important people are often men. This is such a male-dominated field.”³ While gender inequalities and male dominance, apart from white normativity, were recognised (Scharff 2021) in the interview material, the continuation of gender inequalities was described as persisting due to “hidden” intersubjective beliefs (Chiu et al. 2010). One interviewee explained that gender impacts “internally, between people’s ears”. Another interviewee was annoyed that she could not “go and complain that I’m not getting a gig because I’m a woman. Because if you say that aloud then [they say] ‘no, it’s not that’, because [inequalities] are [based on] hidden [and] subconscious images”. The ways that inequalities are described in these examples suggests that there are social imaginaries that help structure “embodied identity and belonging, social meaning and value” (Gatens 2004, 283). What underlies the interviewees’ experiences of work and networking in the classical music culture is a social imaginary in which professionalism and credibility are associated primarily with white men, thus aligning with an abundance of research emphasising the impact of situating the white male as the

³ Henceforth, every “interviewee” I refer to is a participant in the interview material described in pages 2–3.

archetypal ideal artist (Bull 2019; Leppänen 2015; Miller 2016, 128–129; Scharff 2018a, 2018b; Thurman 2021; Yang 2007; Ramstedt 2023).

Sociologist Fabian Cannizzo and music and media researcher Catherine Strong (2020, 1354) argue that “the naturalization of a masculine subjectivity as the ideal artist makes this subjectivity invisible to those who possess it, and so the industry appears to be meritocratic” (see also Miller 2016; Taylor & O’Brien 2017; Bull 2018). This was clearly illustrated by one interviewee in my study who explained that men get job opportunities easily because “[e]veryone has this [image] that ‘they [(white) men] are just so good’”. This comment exemplifies how ready-made images (Gatens 2003 [1996], viii) of who is considered a professional may result in an increased number of career opportunities for white men. Moreover, in these narratives and images, gender functions as a categorising factor in networking. How this appeared in practice is illustrated below.

It was frequently reported in the interview material that men tend to give career opportunities to other men – demonstrating the prevalence of homophily. One interviewee stated that “I often have a feeling that ‘a good guy’ is given more chances than a skillful woman”. Such homophily was illustrated by one interviewee as follows:

Generally, all high-status jobs, like teaching positions and solo positions [in orchestras] are usually occupied by men in Finland. I don’t know if it’s because women don’t have the guts to apply – – Or then it’s [about] a certain culture of recruitment. A specific pattern that has been learned. And for men it’s easy to repeat what they have got used to. – – But it’s a problem that should somehow be acknowledged.

What is suggested by this interviewee is that a culture of homophily that entails repeatedly choosing men for positions of authority and prestige could be explained by structural inequality that manifests itself in patterned practices of recruitment. Such a recruitment pattern was illustrated particularly clearly by another interviewee, who explained that men professors sometimes ask their students,

who also happen to be men, to apply for a certain job, to ‘just submit the application’. And then [the professor] happens to sit on the jury. There’s no sense in that. [It’s a] completely corrupt [system]. – – They prefer to keep the same kind of culture. – – It’s also related to a fear of something else.

Her comment indicates that homophily and cronyism may often appear in tandem, as part of a corrupt system. Firstly, the interviewee suggests

the presence of conscious homophily in that there is a will on the part of many male authorities to reiterate a culture that favours men. She even suggests that there is “fear” about breaking the status quo. Moreover, dominant power structures appear to rely on social differentiations based on binary gender dynamics, which privileges one over the others. These differentiations could be viewed as related to social imaginaries that affirm white men as the most skillful and professional. Secondly, the interviewee declares the recruitment, and the social networks in classical music culture to be corrupt, duly describing cronyism.

Cronyism, more specifically *vertical* cronyism, which is based on a “superior-subordinate relationship”, can be defined as “favoritism shown by the superior to [their] subordinate” (Khatri & Tsang 2003, 291). In vertical cronyism, personal relationships and loyalty count more than merit (Khatri & Tsang 2003, 291). The prevalence of vertical cronyism was further supported by other interviewees, with one explaining that:

[y]ou have to know someone or be recommended by someone special, so that you have the possibility to become better or get into professional studies or the best educational institutions

In other words, the interview material strongly implies that networks, career advancement and career opportunities in the Finnish classical music culture are impacted by homophily and cronyism, in which structural gender power dynamics play an important role.

Some interviewees pointed out that an individual’s family and last name can also play a role in accessing networks and career opportunities indicating nepotism (Salminen & Mäntysalo 2013, 23). One interviewee noted that opportunities are also limited if “you are not from a family known to be musicians”. While nepotism was mentioned quite rarely in the interview material, homophily, and favoring friends or colleagues – *horizontal* cronyism – (Khatri & Tsang 2003, 290–291) was described by more interviewees. As one explained:

Usually, it’s the same persons in all competitions, juries – – They [(white) men] write articles in journals. They are always up front and boost one another. There’s a very strong “dear brother network”.

Like the other interviewees, this interviewee describes positions of power and prestige as being occupied by white men. However, she also connects the male dominance to an “dear brother network”, which is a direct trans-

lation of the Finnish notion *hyvä veli -verkosto* used by the interviewees in this study. Researchers of Finnish organisational governance Ari Salminen and Venla Mäntysalo (2013, 25) describe these webs of relations as secluded networks based on *quid pro quo*, mutual benefit and protection for its members. Salminen and Mäntysalo (2013, 24) contend that while these networks are often male-dominated, both women and men can be members. The social phenomenon of gendered cronyism bears similarities in different cultural contexts (e.g., Heemskerk 2007, 178; Salminen & Mäntysalo 2013, 24). McDonald (2011, 328) states, in turn, that “gender and race segregation in social networks help to consolidate the resources advantage of white men, while also limiting female and minority access to these resources”. Similarly, in this interview material, dear brother networks are associated with access to career opportunities and social power while reaffirming and reproducing (white) men in positions of power and privilege at the expense of excluding other genders. This was illustrated by another interviewee: “men can compete with each other, exchange ideas, and they have that dear brother network where they can encourage each other ... and play each other’s musical works. Women have been very isolated.” The interviewee implies that there are both present and past dear brother networks in classical music culture from which other genders, such as women, have also been excluded historically.

Sociologist Natalie Wreyford (2015) emphasises the role of trust in explaining why people turn to homophily. In her research on film industry networking, Wreyford (2015, 93) writes that “[w]hile white, middle-to upper-class men still dominate decision-making positions in the film industry, this in turn upholds the status quo and these powerful men are able to draw on the established discourses” of trust to present “exclusionary practices as logical, understandable and indeed, good business practice”. Still, Wreyford (2015, 93) asks why it is considered difficult to trust others of a “different gender, ethnicity, class, age, sexuality or indeed physical ability”. I suggest that in classical music culture the “established discourses” are affirmed in narratives, representations, and ready-made images that reproduce the social imaginary that white men are skillful and professional, and thereby illustrate those individuals as more likely to succeed.

This idea was illustrated in the way that many interviewees described how the reliance on reified social imaginaries can start as early as in music education institutions. Indeed, the fact that boys and young men had already been favoured in music schools came up in several interviews. One interviewee, who recalled that boys and young men students were usually

given more opportunities than their girls and young women, stated that “[e]ducational institutions have realised that male students have better chances of finding a career and getting that high status job”. Another interviewee, who had similarly witnessed how boys and young men had been given more opportunities, reported that her teacher had explained this inequality by stating that “[the male student] will become a star. He needs all the opportunities”. A third interviewee reported that girls are not as easily seen as child prodigies. This finding is supported by Bull’s (2018, 126, 130; see also Prokop & Reitsamer 2023) research, in which she argues that young people’s pathways were already formed before entering higher education in that individuals thought to head towards this promised future were all “exclusively male”, and “from the professional or upper-middle classes”. Gatens (2003 [1996], viii) also understands social imaginaries as partly determining individuals’ “value, their status and what will be deemed their appropriate treatment”. The findings of my study suggest that the reduced value of women students in relation to their privileged (white) men counterparts impacted the way the interviewees were treated, showing how social imaginaries play a role in systemic gender inequality in the field of classical music.

“It’s difficult to gain credibility” – Women’s experiences of gender inequality

Gatens (2004, 282) emphasises the importance of understanding “how social meaning, narratives and norms motivate and drive social actors”. Gatens (2004, 282) explains that: “[o]ur day-to-day encounters are embodied encounters guided by both habitual and practical orientations towards the general business of living. All this takes place against culturally specific normative backgrounds that are largely taken for granted.” Building on Gatens’ argument, the dominant social imaginaries of classical music culture could be seen as impacting my interviewees’ daily experiences in classical music networks. Consequently, I discuss below how gender emerged as a lived experience in the interviewees’ reports.

Firstly, gender was experienced in how it affected access to social spaces important for networking. Informal, but obviously important, networking spaces that were mentioned in the interview material included dressing rooms, sauna evenings, and informal social gatherings with only men students and a man teacher. Being excluded from these networking situations could potentially limit access to networks that were considered highly important for improving one’s chances of being accept-

ed to higher music education institutions, as well as for accessing career opportunities such as permanent teaching positions in such institutions, or getting opportunities to perform as a soloist, and gaining permanent positions in orchestras (see also Bennett 2016 [2008], 132). While many informal networking spaces were structured by gender, gender's structuring mechanism also appears in how the interviewees were treated and how they were encountered.

This was clearly depicted by one interviewee who had been asked in a job interview whether she had plans to start a family. She was subsequently advised not to tell anyone that this question had been asked during the interview. Further, some interviewees had faced comments suggesting that women were assumed to bicker and be more competitive with each other than men. One interviewee had experienced in an orchestra audition that men were preferred because it was assumed that they would bring more balance and tranquillity to instrumental sections that included many women players. Other interviewees' experiences portrayed that there were underlying gendered norms of how women should or should not behave. This was illustrated by one interviewee, who explained that:

I have a feeling that a lot of the problems I have faced have been with people who find it difficult to accept that a young woman can have a strong sense of what they want. I have a feeling that if I'd been more compliant and hadn't spoken my mind [I would have been accepted more easily].

The following exchange occurred in another interview:

Interviewee: They don't want to listen to certain types [of comments]. Or certain individuals. Or certain opinions about things. I find it very interesting. For a long time, I had a feeling that you need to be able to speak in a certain way, or else you cannot say anything. --

AR: So power and hierarchy were reaffirmed in this way?

Interviewee: Yes. You were silenced. In many ways.

These examples reflect similar findings in Cannizzo and Strong's (2020, 1352) research, which exemplifies how women screen composers' reputation is contingent on "gendered norms". Women were expected to be modest and not transgress femininity norms and be seen as "pushy" (Cannizzo & Strong 2020, 1352; Scharff 2018a, 74). What the extracts above illustrate is that if women do not behave according to the prevailing norms of femininity, it is thought that need to be "balanced" or controlled by

men, rejected, or even “silenced”. Moreover, one of the interviewees experienced that when she openly spoke her mind, she was reduced to a “hysterical woman”.

I want to draw attention, firstly, to the fact that while all the interviewees identified as women, these experiences illustrate cisnormativity, in that gendered norms, and codes of conduct were imposed on them based on their gendered bodies. This was most clearly exemplified in the interviewees’ experience of being asked about their intentions of having children and, most probably, concerns about possible maternity leave. Further, as Gatens (2003 [1996], 24–25) has pointed out, a strategy of silencing entails “reducing a woman to her ‘sex’”, which “involves treating her speech and her behavior as hysteria”. The example of reducing the woman interviewee to a hysterical woman, as well as the idea that men instrumentalists are required to bring balance and tranquillity to women-dominated sections of the orchestra, also imply essentialist gender narratives in which femininity is constructed as inherently lacking, and women are understood to be “less able to control the passions of the body” (Gatens 2003 [1996], 50). Secondly, I want to draw attention to how the imposed gender binary implements the social arrangements of working life and networking in spaces and social interactions. The interviewees’ experiences suggest that there are certain boundaries relating to how to speak, what to speak about and, most significantly, *who* can speak. As discussed in the previous subchapter, gendered cronyism and homophily are also related to the wish “to keep the same kind of culture”, and “fear of something else”. Gatens (2003 [1996], 25) elaborates that the prevalent images of bodies display their “contemporary influence in our social and political behavior which continues to implicitly accord privilege to particular bodies and their concerns as they are reflected in our ways of speaking and in what we speak about”. Whilst Gatens (2003 [1996]) has theorised this issue in relation to the history of the constitution of the body politic, as well as modern forms of the body politic, I apply her approach to discuss what constitutes the premises of classical music culture. I suggest that the gendering narratives in the interviewees’ experiences construct and reify the idea that the imagined body, to which privileges are accorded, is based on the ideal-typical white masculine model (Miller (2016, 120; see also Ramstedt 2023).

Moreover, the narratives depicted in the interviewees’ accounts create social surroundings in which people other than men can experience alienation and otherness. Gatens (2003 [1996], 35) argues that: “the body – and the way we each ‘live’ the body – has about it an eerie anonymity and

otherness that is especially strongly felt at times of illness – – [or] times at which we feel alienated from our social surroundings and times at which we are vulnerable to objectification by others.” This out-of-placeness and feeling of “otherness”, in relation to gendered norms, can be detected in the interview comments above, but is also exemplified in how some of the interviewees that worked in orchestras reported that women conductors were often targets of misogynist and sexist comments.⁴ In many interviews, the informants explained that women conductors faced harsh and sexist critique and comments by men orchestra players in particular. “She can’t conduct, but she is nice to look at” was one of the comments that an interviewee had heard about a woman conductor. One interviewee also told me that even though sexist comments were directed at the women conductors, and not against her, she still experienced these comments as insulting as it revealed to her a generally accepted way of speaking about women in a degrading manner.

Interviewees also experienced their gender in relation scepticism and doubt. This was illustrated by one interviewee who stated that:

Particularly if you’re a petite beautiful woman, it’s difficult to gain credibility – as in professional credibility. In a way, it’s very deep [in the culture] that the men think that “yeah, it [women classical musicians’ work] is okay but... It’s a young woman’s hobby [amateur work]”.

This comment by the interviewee suggests that at times young women are not seen as capable, whereas men are seen as more reliable in terms of professional skills and results. This view was emphasised by another interviewee, who stated that “a woman artist needs to immediately be incredibly good”. She further elaborated that women are not given as many chances as men, even though failing and learning from those experiences is an intrinsic part of becoming a successful artist. Lastly, while gender inequalities were criticised and recognised by the vast majority of the interviewees, many of them also rejected the idea that women form a coherent group. Indeed, while binary gender power dynamics emerge as a key building block of the system of domination and subordination I have discussed above, these dynamics are also inherently insufficient in representing the actuality of gender identities and expressions.

⁴ See Ramstedt (forthcoming 2023) on research and discussion on gendered and sexual misconduct in Finnish classical music education, based on the same interview material.

*“[T]alent means that the repertoire and the style affirm traditionality”
– Intersections of gender inequality and genre boundaries*

In the interview material, a connection was repeatedly made between musical repertoire and access to career opportunities. One interviewee explained that while exceptionally talented individuals get more opportunities than individuals considered average music students, “there might be more layers [behind this perceived meritocracy] – – talent means a specific thing and appears in a certain expected way – – talent means that the repertoire and the style affirm traditionality”. Another interviewee explained that holding on to traditions can also be associated with conservatism, in which “all music outside of the ‘traditional’ [classical music repertoire] is stigmatized as crap”. As such, the idea of a “traditional” classical music repertoire is also an example of gendered storytelling (Cannizzo and Strong 2020, 1354; see also Werner, Gadir & De Boise 2020, 639, 643) because canonised, or “traditional”, classical music also reaffirms the ideals associated with them: white, men, Western identities (Bull & Scharff 2021, 679; see also Miller 2016, 120; Cannizzo & Strong 2020). Sociologists Alacovska and O’Brien (2021, 639) have argued that genres “draw boundaries, shaping and normalizing the gendered and racialized professional values and norms that underpin unequal patterns of access, distinction and career advancement within creative occupations”. Moreover, they argue that the power of genres is so normalised that this power of exclusion and discrimination “only becomes transparent when conventions are disrupted and expectations subverted” (Alacovska & O’Brien 2021, 648). This issue came up in the interview material in that many of the interviewees had encountered situations where music composed by women was inherently considered as less good. Some interviewees declared that attitudes towards women composers’ music were systemically misogynistic and sexist.

In their research, Bull and Scharff (2021, 686) recognise sub-categories within the genre of classical music, in which “being a soloist was perceived as the most prestigious, followed by being an orchestral musician”. Bull and Scharff (2021, 682) also argue that “the association of classical music with [w]hiteness, masculinity, western culture and being upper class is not separate from, but instead linked to the position of classical music at the top of the hierarchy of musical genres”. Further, music historian Margaret E. Walker (2020, 14) argues that “[a]s long as the message that the legacy of Europe and thus Western Art Music remains comparatively ‘great’ and ‘distinctive’ is not examined and unpacked from its colonial baggage, its barely concealed message that European people are probably superior

to other peoples will continue” (see also Ewell 2020; Kajikawa 2020). In other words, what is considered the classical music genre thus coordinates and structures deep-seated inequalities (Alacovska & O’Brien 2021, 643). Therefore, it is crucial to unpack what is meant by “tradition” and quality in classical music, and to examine how these narratives are related to systemic inequality, such as racial and gender inequality.

My findings suggest that music outside of the canonised repertoire, and specifically music composed by women, is, according to the interviewees’ experiences, described as a less valued subgenre of classical music. Further, social imaginaries associated with musical works outside of the canon are also reflected in how the performer of such works is perceived and valued. For example, one interviewee stated that “sometimes I think that, okay, let them think that ‘she [the interviewee] is not capable of anything more than playing that women’s music’”. What the interviewee meant was that women’s music is often considered less valuable, and this connotation is also associated with the musicians who perform it. This echoes what music historian and gender studies researcher Marcia J. Citron (2000 [1993], 123) already observed nearly 30 years ago: “In analogies with art history, we see how ideologies of gender in genre affect how women practice in these fields and how that affects their location in canonicity.” Another interviewee exclaimed that when planning to perform music composed by women, she was even warned that such plans might give her a “bad reputation”. These experiences illustrate the ways in which genre boundaries play into unequal gendered structures by impacting these individuals’ possibilities to gain recognition, or possibly even career opportunities. However, according to many interviewees, the connection between repertoire and societal inequality was seldom acknowledged in their social surroundings. This again confirms how the power of divisions by genre only become obvious when contradicted (Alacovska & O’Brien 2021, 648), while also showing how gendered social imaginaries that can be understood as the foundation of inequality in the classical music field can be taken for granted (Gatens 2004, 282).

One interviewee also stated that in the orchestra where she works “[m]usicians are very surprised [about assertions of inequality in the classical music culture] and the first reaction is that ‘we don’t have any problems [related to inequality]’”. While the interviewee in question described traditions as important, she also pointed out that the traditions in classical music are not always compatible with the surrounding Finnish society’s aspirations towards equality. This resonates with what Cannizzo and Strong (2020, 1347) refer to as the “art vs. equality” discussion, in which

“working towards equality can be framed as antithetical to artistic ideals”. Similarly, music, media, and gender studies researchers Ann Werner, Tami Gadir and Sam de Boise (2020, 641) point out that “[c]laims about musical quality generally are key to the way that cultural intermediaries justify their continued practices of informal discrimination against marginalised groups”. Moreover, gender inequalities in classical music culture are normalised and “unseen” because “tradition” is interlinked with the classical music canon, which perpetuates inequality in the form of white European male domination (Bull & Scharff 2021). Alacovska and O’Brien (2021, 644) summarise that “[g]enres furnish conventions and establish modes of thinking and practices in cultural production”. Indeed, the social imaginaries that homophily relies upon have an impact on musicians and their work from early career trajectories to networking – thus being transcribed to systemic inequality.

Conclusions

In this article, I have demonstrated and examined ways in which gendered inequalities are maintained and reproduced in classical music culture and networks in Finland. Moreover, intersubjective beliefs and values that could be discerned in my interviewees’ experiences seem to rely on social imaginaries, in which professionalism and artistic skills are primarily associated with white men. The findings suggest that male-dominated networks are also supported through homophily – a collection of behaviours and practices of continuously choosing, supporting, and giving opportunities primarily to other white men. I also connect homophily to vertical and horizontal gendered cronyism, described in this article as “dear brother networks”. Moreover, gender functions as a significant categorising factor in networking, through intersubjective beliefs, norms, social interactions, and spaces that are divided by gender. That gender is etched into the systemic inequality of the classical music world in Finland is illustrated in that boys and young men were described by my interviewees as being given more chances, support, and opportunities even in music schools. I argue that this has to do with how social imaginaries structured by gender support future career outcomes and success.

Gender inequality is, to a significant extent, constructed and reaffirmed through binary gendered power dynamics. This was highlighted especially by the interviewees’ experiences of being confronted with gendered norms, in which women were expected to acquiesce to certain types

of behaviour. I have argued how narratives that assume and impose an essentialist understanding of gender reify inequality based on the power dynamics of binary gender categories. Such gendered power dynamics are most clearly displayed in the sexist treatment and objectification of women (e.g., of women conductors), a theme that came to the fore in several interviewees' experiences.

Lastly, I have discussed how gendered norms and narratives – social imaginaries – are related to musical repertoire and the genre boundaries of classical music. Further, normative social imaginaries in classical music can be regarded as being associated with traditions, even forming the foundations of the classical music genre. Therefore, diversity and seeing other than white men in positions of power and prestige may appear as opposing the tradition and heritage of classical music, or even the very genre boundaries on which this musical tradition rests. Because tradition, and “quality”, are inherently metonyms for music by white European men, these narratives also uphold and support patterns of exclusion while supporting homophily and cronyism that appears in the Finnish classical music culture. Lastly, classical music culture continues to be dominated by white men, not only because positions of power and prestige are predominantly occupied by white men, but also because white men performers are preferred due to the way they fit within the prevailing social imaginaries that are reified through a canonised repertoire.

References

Research material

In order not to jeopardise the interviewees' anonymity, quotations are not associated with specific dates.

Interviewee 1. Interview in person by author in Helsinki, 29 Nov 2019.

Interviewee 2. Interview in person by author in Helsinki, 13 Dec 2019.

Interviewee 3. Interview in person by author in Helsinki, 6 Mar 2020.

Interviewee 4. Interview in person by author in Helsinki, 7 Mar 2020.

Interviewee 5. Interview in person by author in Helsinki, 8 Mar 2020.

Interviewee 6. Interview via video call by author, 1 Apr 2020.

Interviewee 7. Interview via video call by author, 2 Apr 2020.

Interviewee 8. Interview via video call by author, 3 Apr 2020.

Interviewee 9. Interview via video call by author, 7 Apr 2020.

- Interviewee 10. Interview via video call by author, 9 Apr 2020.
Interviewee 11. Interview via video call by author, 14 Apr 2020.
Interviewee 12. Interview via video call by author, 15 Apr 2020.
Interviewee 13. Interview via video call by author, 15 Apr 2020.
Interviewee 14. Interview in writing, 21 May 2020.

Literature

- Alacovska, Ana, and Dave O'Brien. 2021. "Genres and inequality in the creative industries." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 24(3): 639–657. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494211006095>
- Bennett, Dawn. 2016 [2008]. *Understanding the Classical Music Profession: The Past, the Present and Strategies for the Future*. New York: Routledge.
- Berkers, Pauwke, and Julian Schaap. 2018. *Gender Inequality in Metal Music Production*. UK: Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Bull, Anna, and Christina Scharff. 2017. "'McDonald's Music' Versus 'Serious Music': How Production and Consumption Practices Help to Reproduce Class Inequality in the Classical Music Profession." *Cultural Sociology* 11(3): 283–301. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975517711045>
- Bull, Anna. 2018. "Uncertain Capital: Class, Gender, and the 'Imagined Futures' of Young Classical Musicians." In *Classical Music Industry*. Edited by Chris Dromey and Julia Haferkorn. New York: Routledge.
- Bull, Anna. 2019. *Class, Control, and Classical Music*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bull, Anna, and Christina Scharff. 2021. "Classical music as genre: Hierarchies of value within freelance classical musicians' discourses." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 24(3): 673–689. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494211006094>
- Bull, Anna, Christina Scharff, and Laudan Nooshin (eds.). 2023. *Voices for Change in the Classical Music Profession: New Ideas for Tackling Inequalities and Exclusion*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cannizzo, Fabian, and Catherine Strong. 2020. "'Put some balls on that woman': Gendered repertoires of inequality in screen composers' careers." *Gender Work Organ* 27: 1346–1460. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12496>
- Chiu, Chi-Yue, Michele J. Gelfand, Toshio Yamagishi, Gariy Shteynberg, and Ching Wan. 2010. "Intersubjective Culture: The Role of Intersubjective Perceptions in Cross-Cultural Research." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 5(4): 482–493. <https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1177/1745691610375562>
- Churcher, Millicent, and Moira Gatens. 2019. "Reframing Honour in Heterosexual Imaginaries." *Angelaki – Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 24(4): 151–164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0969725X.2019.1635834>

- Citron, Marcia J. 2000 [1993]. *Gender and the musical canon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Conor, Bridget, Rosalind Gill and Stephanie Taylor. 2015. "Gender and creative labour." *The Sociological Review* 63(S1): 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12237>
- Corbin Dwyer, Sonya, and Jennifer L. Buckle. 2009. "The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1): 54–63.
- Dyer, Richard. 2002 [1997]. *White*. New York: Routledge.
- Ewell, Philip A. 2020. Music theory and the white racial frame. *Music Theory Online*, 26(2). <https://doi.org/10.30535/mto.26.2.4>
- Gatens, Moira. 2003 [1996]. *Imaginary Bodies: Ethics, Power and Corporeality*. New York: Routledge.
- Gatens, Moira. 2004. "Can Human Rights Accommodate Women's Rights? Towards an Embodied Account of Social Norms, Social Meanings, and Cultural Change." *Contemporary Political Theory* 3: 275–299. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300178>
- Gill, Rosalind. 2002. "Cool, creative and egalitarian? Exploring gender in project-based new media work in Europe." *Information, Communication and Society* 5 (1): 70–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691180110117668>
- Gill, Rosalind. 2014. "Unspeakable Inequalities: Post Feminism, Entrepreneurial Subjectivity, and the Repudiation of Sexism among Cultural Workers." *Social Politics* 21(4): 509–528. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxu016>
- Heemskerk, Elke M. 2007. *Decline of the corporate community: network dynamics of the Dutch business elite*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Hesmondhalgh, David, and Sarah Baker. 2015. "Sex, gender and work segregation in the cultural industries." *The Sociological Review* 63(S1): 23–36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12238>
- Ibarra, Herminia. 1992. "Homophily and Differential Returns: Sex Differences in Network Structures and Access in an Advertising Firm." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 37: 422–447.
- Johnson, John M., and Timothy Rowlands. 2012. "The interpersonal dynamics of in-depth interviewing." *The SAGE handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft* (99–114). Edited by Jaber F. Gurbrium, James A. Holstein, Amir B. Marvasti & Kevin D. McKinney. California: SAGE Publications.
- Kajikawa, Loren. 2020. "The Possessive Investment in Classical Music – Confronting Legacies of White Supremacy in U.S. Schools and Departments of Music." *Seeing Race Again: Countering Colorblindness Across the Disciplines*. Edited by Kimberlé W. Crenshaw, Luke C. Harris, Daniel Martinez HoSang, and George Lipsitz. California: University of California Press.

Keskinen, Suvi, Faith Mkwesha, and Minna Seikkula. 2021. “Teoreettisen keskustelun avaimet – rasismi, valkoisuus ja koloniaalisuuden purkaminen.” *Rasismi, valta ja vastarina: rodullistaminen, valkoisuus ja koloniaalisuus Suomessa*. Edited by Suvi Kesinen, Minna Seikkula, and Faith Mkwesha. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Khatri, Naresh, and Eric W. K. Tsang. 2003. “Antecedents and Consequences of Cronyism in Organizations.” *Journal of Business Ethics* 43(3): 289–303.

Kivinen, Marika. 2022a. “Anti-Blackness and Resistance Through Performance.” Conference presentation in *Gender and Musicianship Days* 24.1.2022.

Kivinen, Marika. 2022b. “Black History Month i musikhistorien”. *Åbo Underrättelser* 7.2.2022. Accessed 10.2.2022. <https://abounderrattelser.fi/black-history-month-i-musik-historien/>

Kvist, Wilhelm. 2019. “Hannu Lintu: ‘Helt onaturligt att åstadkomma en 50-50 fördelning.’” *Hufvudstadsbladet* 4.9.2019. Accessed 4.7.2022. <https://www.hbl.fi/artikel/hannu-lintu-helt-onaturligt-att-astadkomma-en-50-50-fordelning/>

Kvist, Wilhelm. 2020a. “HBL granskar: 93,92 procent av konserterna dirigeras av män – med nuvarande takt kommer kvinnorna ikapp år 2098.” *Hufvudstadsbladet* 16.9.2020. Accessed 10.2.2022. <https://www.hbl.fi/artikel/hbl-granskar-939-procent-av-konserterna-dirigeras-av-man-med-nuvarande-takt-kommer-kvinnorna-ika/>

Kvist, Wilhelm. 2020b. “Jämställdhetsombudsmannen om mansdominansen bland dirigenterna: ‘Hela branschen borde vakna’.” *Hufvudstadsbladet* 23.9.2020. Accessed 23.9.2020. <https://www.hbl.fi/artikel/jamstalldhetsombudsmannen-om-mansdominansen-bland-dirigenterna-hela-branschen-borde-vakna/>

Kvist, Wilhelm. 2021. “Visst har den klassiska musiken en kolonialistisk historia”. An interview with Marika Kivinen. *Hufvudstadsbladet* 27.7.2021. Accessed 10.2.2022. <https://www.hbl.fi/artikel/visst-har-den-klassiska-musiken-en-kolonialistisk-historia/>

Kolbe, Kristina. 2021. “Playing the system: ‘Race’-making and elitism in diversity projects in Germany’s classical music sector.” *Poetics* 87: 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2021.101532>

Koivisto-Kaasik, Nuppu. 2020. “Seinät leveällä ja katto korkealla – säveltäjien ‘suomalaisuus’ musiikin historiankirjoituksessa.” *The UniArts Helsinki History Forum Blog* 16.12.2020. Accessed 11.2.2022. <https://blogit.uniarts.fi/en/post/seinat-levealla-ja-katto-korkealla-saveltajien-suomalaisuus-musiikin-historiankirjoituksessa/>

Leppänen, Taru. 2015. “The West and the Rest of Classical Music: Asian Musicians in the Finnish Media Coverage of the 1995 Jean Sibelius Violin Competition.” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 18 (1): 19–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549414557804>

Lugones, María. 2007. “Heterosexualism and the Colonial / Modern Gender System.” *Hypatia* 22(1): 186–206.

Macarthur, Sally, Dawn Bennett, Talisha Goh, Sophie Hennekam, & Cat Hope. 2017. "The rise and fall and the rise (again) of feminist research in music: What goes around comes around." *Musicology Australia*, 39(2): 73–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08145857.2017.1392740>

Malmgren, Martin 30.4.2022. "Tasa-arvon ideaalit ja todellisuus." *Rondo Classic*. Accessed 27.9.2022. <https://rondo.fi/artikkelit/lehtiartikkeli/tasa-arvon-ideaalit-ja-todellisuus/>

McAndrew, Siobhan, and Paul Widdop. 2021. "'The man that got away': Gender inequalities in the consumption and production of jazz." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 24(3): 960–716. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494211006091>

McClary, Susan. 2002 [1991]. *Feminine Endings: Music, gender and sexuality*. USA: University of Minnesota.

McDonald, Steve. 2011. "What's in the 'old boys' network? Accessing social capital in gendered and racialized networks." *Social Networks* 33: 317–330. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2011.10.002>

McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. 2001. "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 415–444. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415>

Miller, Diana L. 2016. "Gender and the Artist Archetype: Understanding Gender Inequality in Artistic Careers." *Sociology Compass* 10(2): 19–131. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12350>

Millward, Peter, Paul Widdop, and Michael Halpin. 2017. "'A Different Class'? Homophily and Heterophily in the Social Class Networks of Britpop." *Cultural Sociology* 11(3): 318–336. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975517712045>

Moisala, Pirkko. 1994. "Musiikin naistutkimus, feministinen kritisismi ja sukupuolistava musiikintutkimus." *Musiikki* 24(3): 241–245.

Oyèwùmí, Oyèrónkẹ́. 1997. *The Invention of Women: Making an African sense of Western gender discourses*. Minnesota: The University of Minnesota.

Prokop, Rainer, and Rosa Reitsamer. 2023. "The Role of Music Conservatoires in the Making of Classical Music Careers" in *Voices for Change in the Classical Music Profession: New Ideas for Tackling Inequalities and Exclusion*. Edited by Anna Bull, Christina Scharff, and Laudan Nooshin. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ramstedt, Anna. 21.7.2021. "'Den stora och goda musik de små fruntimren åstadkommer' – Cellons historia är full av fördomar och förenklande uttalanden." *Hufvudstadsbladet*. Accessed 28.4.2023. <https://www.hbl.fi/artikel/den-stora-och-goda-musik-de-sma-fruntimren-astadkommer-cellons-historia-ar-full-av-fordomar-och/>

Ramstedt, Anna. 2023. "'A Man is practically the general norm' – A Case Study of Gender Inequality and Whiteness in the Classical Music Scene in Finland." *NORA – Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 31(1): 91–107.

Ramstedt, Anna. Forthcoming 2023a. “You just had to learn to live with it’: Gendered and Sexual Misconduct in Classical Music Culture in Finland” in [Special Issue on Emerging Perspectives on Instrumental and Vocal Pedagogies]. *The Finnish Journal of Music Education*.

Ramstedt, Anna. Forthcoming 2023b. “Emotional abuse in classical music education in Finland: A study of Finnish women musicians’ experiences.” *ACT – Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education*.

Rantakallio, Inka. 2021. “Femcees Finland, NiceRap ja vastatilojen voima: Suomiräpin naisten vertaisverkostojen historiaa.” *Etnomusikologian vuosikirja* 33: 67–93. <http://hdl.handle.net/10138/338884>

Rojola, Sanna and Hanna Väättäinen. 2004. “Kymmenen vuotta feministisiä tulkintoja musiikista.” *Musiikki* 34(1): 3–12.

Saarikoski, Sonja. 2020a. “Pitkät jatkot – Me too -keskustelu on vallannut alan toisensa jälkeen, mutta klassisen musiikin kenttä on ollut yllättävän hiljaa.” *Image* 2020(2).

Saarikoski, Sonja. 2020b. “Nöyryytyksen kulttuuri elää klassisen musiikin piireissä: Pilasit kaiken – Kannattaisi käydä vähemmän jääkaapilla ja keskittyä soittamiseen.” *Apu* 19.2.2020. Accessed 10.2.2022. <https://www.apu.fi/artikkelit/noyryytyksen-kulttuuri-kllassisesa-musiikissa-pilasit-kaiken>

Salminen, Ari, and Venla Mäntysalo. 2013. *Epäeettisestä tuomittavaan: korruptio ja hyvä veli -verkotot Suomessa*. Vaasa: Vaasan yliopiston julkaisuja. Selvityksiä ja raportteja 182. <https://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-476-429-2>

Sang, Katherine J., Andrew RJ Dainty, and Stephen G. Ison. 2014. “Gender in the UK architectural profession: (re)producing and challenging hegemonic masculinity.” *Work, Employment, and Society* 28(2): 247–264. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017013491306>

Savvides, Nicola, Joanna Al-Youssef, Mindy Colin, and Cecilia Garrido. 2014. “Journeys into inner/outer space: reflections on the methodological challenges of negotiating insider/outsider status in international educational research.” *Research in Comparative and International Education* 9(4): 412–425. <https://doi.org/10.2304/rcie.2014.9.4.41>

Scharff, Christina. 2018a. *Gender, Subjectivity, and Cultural Work: The Classical Music Profession*. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315673080>

Scharff, Christina. 2018b. “Inequalities in the Classical Music Industry: The Role of Subjectivity in Construction of the ‘Ideal’ Classical Musician” in *The Classical Music Industry*. Edited by Chris Dromey and Julia Haferkorn. New York: Routledge.

Scharff, Christina. 2021. “From Unspeakability to Inequality Talk: Why Conversations about Inequalities May Not Lead to Change.” *Open Library of Humanities* 7(2): 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.16995/olh.4674>

Sirén, Vesa. 2019. “Suomen klassisen musiikin festivaaleilla vain viisi prosenttia säveltäjistä on naisia, mutta Pekka Kuusisto päätti koota all female -festivaalin ja se oli yllättävän helppoa.” *Helsingin Sanomat* 9.9.2019. Accessed 10.2.2022. <https://www.hs.fi/paivanlehti/09092019/art-2000006232076.html>

Suoni ry. No date. Accessed 4.5.2022. <https://www.suoni.fi/>

Taylor, Mark, and Dave O'Brien. 2017. "Culture is a Meritocracy': Why Creative Workers' Attitudes May Reinforce Social Inequality." *Sociological Research Online* 22(4): 27–47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1360780417726732>

Thurman, Kira. 2021. *Singing Like Germans: Black Musicians in the Land of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.

Torvinen, Juha. 2019. "Klassisen musiikin pitää kohdata sortohistoriansa". [Classical music needs to confront its history of oppression]. *Helsingin Sanomat*. 9.10.2019. Accessed 10.2.2022. <https://www.hs.fi/mielipide/art-2000006278022.html>

Torvinen, Juha. 2020. "Ääriajattelu uhkaa taidemusiikkikulttuuria". *Toiminta soi – Kirjoituksia yhteiskunnallisesta, toiminnallisesta ja aktivistisesta musiikintutkimuksesta*. Suoni blogi 29.10.2020. Accessed 10.2.2022. <https://www.suoni.fi/etusivu/2020/10/16/aariajattelun-uhka>

Wahlfors, Laura. 2021. "Suku puoli, seksuaalisuus, musiikin esittäminen ja muusikous – muusikot ja tutkijat ajankohtaisten kysymysten äärellä." *Musiikki* 51(2), 3–22.

Walker, Margaret E. 2020. "Towards a Decolonized Music History Curriculum." *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 10(1): 1–19.

Werner, Ann, Tami Gadir, Sam De Boise 2020. "Broadening research in gender and music practice." *Popular Music* 39(3-4): 636–651. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143020000495>

Wreyford, Natalie. 2015. "Birds of a feather: informal recruitment practices and gendered outcomes or screenwriting work in the UK film industry." *The Sociological Review* 63(S:1): 84–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12242>

Yang, Mina. 2007. "East meets west in the concert hall: Asians and classical music in the century of imperialism, post-colonialism, and multiculturalism." *Asian Music* 38(1): 1–30. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4497039>

Yoshihara, Mari. 2007. *Musicians from a Different Shore: Asians and Asian Americans in Classical Music*. USA: Temple University Press.