

Gender disparities in the performing arts labour market

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyse gender inequalities in the performing arts sector in Spain, and more specifically, the disparities evident in relation to remuneration. Based on a sample of 800 professionals, our results revealed that the employment situation in Spain is worse for women, who continued to be paid less than their male counterparts. This held true even when women performed the same duties, had a higher level of training, held the same positions, or had been working in the sector for the same number of years as men. An understanding of these inequalities, and especially of their multidimensional character, could help both government agencies and private sector organisations to develop and implement measures that promote gender equality, which now forms the basis for cultural diversity in the performing arts.

Keywords: performing arts, gender inequalities, women, labour market

SUMMARY

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INTRODUCTION

It was not until very recently that gender inequalities in the cultural sector began to generate interest in the fields of sociology and employment studies (Banks and Milestone, 2011; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Conor, Gill, and Taylor, 2015; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015; Hennekam and Bennett, 2017; Eikhof, Newsinger, Luchinskaya, and Aidley, 2019). Among the issues that have aroused the greatest interest among researchers is the underrepresentation of women in the cultural workforce (particularly in creative roles and decision-making positions), their limited access to resources, as well as the conditions of more precarious jobs. This is despite women representing the majority of students undertaking university degrees related to professions in cultural fields (Guerra, 2009; Carreño, 2010; European Union, 2019; Fundación SGAE, 2021).

Most of the studies published in this area to date have focused on the Anglo-Saxon cultural sphere and the most industrialised sectors of culture (especially the audiovisual arena) and have used qualitative

techniques to examine the experiences of women in the industry (Eikhof et al., 2019).

Although the professional profile and socioeconomic situation of the collective of artists and other cultural professionals most closely linked to the performing arts sector have been the subject of debate and interest for years (Benhamou, 1997; Steiner and Schneider, 2013; Lena and Lindemann, 2014; AISGE Foundation, 2016), knowledge regarding the differentiated reality of men and women in this area is still scarce. Only recently have gender inequalities in the labour market of these professionals captured the attention of national and international professional associations, as well as academia.

Thus, the following sections of this study present a review of the main studies, both international and in Spain, that have addressed gender inequalities in the performing arts sector. Next, reference is made to the methodology used and results obtained, and finally, the main conclusions of the analysis are summed up.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: GENDER INEQUALITIES IN THE PERFORMING ARTS SECTOR

At an international level, it is worth noting the studies promoted by professional associations such as the *Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques* (Society of Dramatic Authors and Composers or SACD) in France that, since 2012, has periodically published figures on the presence of women in live shows. Another example is the League of Professional Theatre Women that, as part of the 'Women Count' initiative, assesses progress towards the equal and equitable recruitment of female playwrights, directors, designers, and other professionals in off-Broadway theatres (Wade Steketee and Binus, 2015).

Other studies promoted either by the sector itself or by its administration, have influenced the existence of inequalities both in terms of access and professional progression, as well as knowledge of the main barriers that women artists must face. In the former group, it is worth highlighting the study by Freestone (2012), who, after analysing the 10 most subsidised theatres during the 2011–2012 season in England, came to the conclusion that women continued to be under-represented in the theatrical sector by a persistent ratio of 2:1. Moreover, based on an analysis of the gender stereotypes encompassing the hiring of female performers in several European countries, and also considering the age variable, Dean (2008) concluded that, in general, men enjoy longer professional careers as performers than women do. Therefore, as a group, men are more evenly distributed by age group, professional category, and income levels. For their part, women are concentrated in the younger age groups, have fewer opportunities to choose their occupations, have shorter professional lives, receive lower incomes, and frequently occupy the lowest professional categories. These authors also showed that a higher proportion of women were in lower income brackets and fewer were present in those with higher incomes.

In France, several studies commissioned by the French Government's Department of Culture

and Communication also highlighted gender inequalities in the cultural labour market. Thus, using data from 2011 referring to the audiovisual and live performance sectors, Gouyon (2014) concluded that women represented only 29% of the authors of the SACD and received just 24% of the royalties generated by the society. Behind these results is the lower participation of women in theatre and street arts, the fact that they perform activities other than those carried out by men, and their reduced presence as composers and increased presence as authors of texts and as choreographers. The study also highlighted how, in cases of the same category and discipline, remuneration differences were observed for live shows.

Regarding the gender inequalities related to professional progression, the study by Freestone (2012) also showed that fewer women participated in the management of the governing bodies of the 10 theatres analysed (33%), or in the authorship of productions (35%), artistic direction (36%), or hiring of artists (38%), with women representing the majority only at the level of executive direction (67%). Of all the employed personnel (direction, design, sound and light technicians, and composers, etc.), only 23% were women. With the aim of examining the determining causes of these inequalities, Freestone (2012) also analysed female representation in these theatres and identified a relationship between the low number of female playwrights and relative absence of roles for actresses in the theatre sector.

Indeed, Kerbel (2012) came to a similar conclusion in a study for the United Kingdom on opportunities for young women in youth theatre. Of note, in their survey study of 291 teachers and young residents at theatres across the country, 75% of the participants described their organisation as predominantly female. Despite this, both teachers and theatre residents pointed out the difficulty in finding scripts with enough female roles given the high number of female students.

The study by Dean (2008) also delved into the perceptions of the performers. Thus, while women perceived their gender as a disadvantage in many of the dimensions considered in the study (number and range of roles, income, and ageing, etc.), men saw their gender as a neutral factor. Dean also found differences in performers' perceptions of employment opportunities, with 57% of women compared to 6% of men believing there was a lack of opportunities for gender reasons.

At the level of the Spanish state, the studies in the performing arts sector published to date have mainly analysed gender inequalities either in stage programming or in the configuration of work teams. Within the former group, it is worth noting the pioneering study by the Coordinator of Spanish State Performing Arts Fairs (or COFAE, from *Coordinadora de Ferias de Artes Escénicas del Estado Español* in its original Spanish) on the participation of women in the programming of COFAE fairs in 2016 (Fernández, 2016). Of the seven disciplines analysed, five (71.5%) were dominated by men (performance, direction, authorship, set design, and technical) while women outnumbered men in only two (28.5%) areas (costume design and distribution).

Ramón-Borja Berenguer and Pastor Eixarch (2017) obtained similar results when they analysed the participation of women in devising the programming for a range of public theatres and auditoriums in Spain in the 2015–2016 season. According to the authors, the participation of women in the shows was 6% for direction or musical composition; 18% for writing, versioning, adaptation, or the production of dramatics; and 44% for choreography. In addition, only 21% of the venues were directed and/or managed by women. In a similar study for the Autonomous Community of Aragon, Pastor Eixarch (2015) estimated the presence of women in creative processes (authorship and composition, etc.) as well as in the management of the performing arts sector (theatre, opera, dance, and popular music concerts) to be around 22% in this community.

In addition, with a local scope as well as a gender focus, Cabó and Sánchez (2017) also analysed the cultural programming of the Barcelona City Council between 2016 and 2017. They found that, for festivals, the role of the main performer or soloist went to women in only 27.3% (2016) and 35.1% (2017) of cases, respectively, and that it exceeded 40% for large auditoriums. Finally, in performing arts centres, only 24% of the productions (in 2016) and 32% (in 2017) were performed by women.

This latter group of studies related to working groups shows that, as in other cultural sectors, women form the majority presence in these teams, although their presence was token in technical and managerial tasks. Furthermore, the study by Fernández (2016) revealed an equal presence of women in work teams (comprising 51% women and 49% men), although their analysis by professional category showed how positions of responsibility and decision-making were mostly occupied by men (with the exception of production, a role performed by women in 73% of cases). Their work also observed that in fairs with executive direction or management roles occupied by women, the working team also comprised a female majority. However, the reverse was true when these aforementioned positions were occupied by men, whereby the majority of these roles were then occupied by men.

In the same year, Veiga Barrio (2016) carried out a gender analysis of the Centro Dramático Nacional (National Dramatic Centre, or CDN), the first theatrical production unit created by the National Institute of Performing Arts and Music (INAEM from the *Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música*), an autonomous body of the Spanish state Ministry of Culture and Sport. This work also showed the unequal participation of men and women in the management teams of the CDN, with more men fulfilling artistic and technical tasks. Furthermore, the study highlighted the invisibility of women as a consequence of their lower participation in management activities, use of sexist

language and images, favoured dissemination of works written by men, and greater participation of men in training and educational activities.

More recently, a report carried out by the SGAE Foundation (2021) also found high percentages of gender discrimination in the performing arts, music, and audiovisual sectors. Based on an analysis of the employment situation of its members, the study pointed out the existence of two types of discrimination: on the one hand, the presence of more men than women in positions of power (vertical segregation), and on the other hand, and a wage gap. In this context, this present article aimed to deepen the analysis of gender inequalities in the performing arts sector in Spain and to specifically examine the inequalities manifested in terms of remuneration.

METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach of this study was based on reviewing the relevant literature on the subject at both the national and international levels. Given the absence of a registry or census of professionals in the Spanish performing arts sector that would allow us to approach the characteristics of their occupations from a gender perspective, in the empirical part of this research we designed, administered, and analysed an appropriate questionnaire to complete this task. Similar problems are also present in other cultural sectors, as highlighted by Gallego, Muntanyola-Saura, and Gil Escribano (2020) in their analysis of gender inequalities in the Spanish music industry.

The questionnaire we devised contained questions related to the sociodemographic characteristics of the participants as well as the nature of their employment, and was validated (in terms of response time, understanding of the issues, relevance of the research, and possible contributions) through a pilot test carried out on 16 individuals with similar characteristics to the target population. The primary

information obtained from the questionnaire came from a group of professionals who, throughout 2018, attended one of 14¹ specific fairs from the total of 18 fairs organised by COFAE at that time. The aim of this study was to analyse, from a gender perspective, the main sociodemographic (age, gender, and highest level of education) and employment variables (employment type, annual salary in 2017, professional profile, functions performed, artistic sector, years of experience in the sector, field of activity, and autonomous community) of the performing arts professionals in Spain. Thus, we administered our questionnaire to attendees of COFAE fairs to allow us to reach the agents involved in the processes of creation and production (companies and individual artists), distribution, commercialisation, contracting shows (technical staff in public administrations or cultural facility managers), as well as other agents that form the backbone of the sector (such as professional or festival associations), all of them at the level of the Spanish state.

As spaces whose primary objective is revitalisation and generation of the performing arts sector market, fairs help to forge relationships between producers and consumers (programmers who attend to buy) while also serving as an exhibition space and distribution channel for the performing arts (Llacuna Ortínez, 2017). The fairs fulfil three operational objectives: they (1) are forums for discussion and exchange of experiences and projects; (2) promote contact between professionals which facilitates commercial exchange; and finally, (3) serve as platforms to distribute products more quickly and efficiently (San Salvador del Valle Doistua and Lazcano Quintana, 2006). According to these same authors, after organising any type of theatre fair, the hope is that it will have served to help companies conduct their professional activities and make it easier for

1 Madferia, Feten, dFERIA, Mostra Igualada, Feria de Artes Escénicas y Musicales de Castilla-La Mancha, Fira de Teatre de Titelles de Lleida, Umore Azoka, Mostra de Teatre d'Alcoi, Galicia Escena PRO, Palma - Feria de Teatro en el Sur, Feria de Teatro de Castilla y León, Fira Tàrrrega, Feria Internacional de Teatro y Danza de Huesca, and FIET.

programmers to discover new shows or creators and increase sales, thereby boosting the market.

In this sense, as a meeting point for cultural professionals (Doistua Nebreda, 2016), the market for performing arts fairs offers a rich ecosystem of professional profiles already present in the sector and, therefore, were appropriate scenarios for completing our analyses.

To determine the definitive scope of this study area, we analysed and filtered the 4,090 accredited professionals that attended the 14 fairs considered. In this process, international professionals as well as anyone who had attended several of these fairs were eliminated, leaving us with a final sample of 2,778 professionals. During the fieldwork process, which took place between May and November 2018, the survey was sent electronically (through the SurveyMonkey platform) four times during four different periods, each coinciding with the end of different fairs. During this period, to ensure an adequate response rate, a minimum of one reminder was sent for each survey mailing (Dillman, Smyth, and Christian, 2014). Considering the final sample range, and given that we obtained 800 valid survey responses, a final sampling fraction of 0.287 was reached. In the event that this sample of 800 individuals had been randomly selected from the pool of 2,778 identified professionals, the assumed margin of error would have been $\pm 2,926$ (when applying a 95% confidence interval).

The statistical analysis of the data was carried out using SPSS software (version 25.0; IBM Corp., Armonk, NY) for Macintosh. Specifically, we first performed a descriptive analysis of the sociodemographic and employment variables linked to gender, followed second by adding the salary level variable. In both circumstances, we used various statistics to study possible significant relationships. Thus, where the associated significance was less than 0.05 when applying Pearson's chi-squared test, ANOVA, or Pearson's coefficient, the null hypothesis (independence of all the variables) was rejected and the existence of a statistically significant relationship between the as-

essed variables was confirmed. However, when using ANOVA, if it was possible to assume the normality of the data but not its homogeneity or homoscedasticity, we instead used the non-parametric Kruskal–Wallis H and Mann–Whitney U tests through the Levene statistic. In addition, in the latter case we rejected the null hypothesis if the associated significance was less than 0.05. Only results for which statistically significant differences were observed are presented in the following sections.

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

As shown in table 1, a total of 800 professionals from the performing arts sector in Spain answered the questionnaire. Representing 54% of the sample, women predominated, alongside professionals with a higher education (78.2%). The average survey responder age was 45.82 years, and they had a mean 18.4 years of experience in the sector. It is worth noting the high educational level of the majority of the sample, with more of these professionals having a higher education than the average for individuals in this cultural occupation (69.1%) and in Spain (42.9%), according to data from the Cultural Statistics Yearbook (*Anuario de Estadísticas Culturales*) for 2018 (Ministry of Culture and Sports, 2018).

The distribution, by gender, of the professionals that participated in the survey differed from that collected in the Cultural Statistics Yearbook, nor were the activities exactly the same. Thus, in 2018, while the percentage of women employed in 'design, creation, translation, artistic, and entertainment activities' was 41.1%, the percentage of professional women in the performing arts rose to 54% in our sample. At the remuneration level, 40% of performing arts professionals had a gross annual income of less than €24,001. In 2017, the mean annual earnings per worker amounted to €23,646.50, according to the Spanish National Statistics Office (Instituto Nacional de Estadística or INE) data. This data accounts for the high precariousness of the performing arts sector, in particular, and of the cultural sector, in general, as also

highlighted in previous studies (Zafra, 2018; Muro, 2019; Gallego, Muntanyola-Saura, and Gil Notary, 2020; SGAE Foundation, 2021).

The predominant professional profiles of the COFAE fair attendees were those of theatre company members (36%), technical personnel from public administrations (22%) and permanent facilities (13%), and finally, festival and fair staff (10%). Therefore, there was a balance between professionals who had attended the different fairs with the aim of buying or selling. The former accounted for 45% of the attendees (including public administration, facilities, and festival staff), while the latter represented 44% (bringing together theatre companies and distribution companies).

Regarding the different job roles of the professionals, 37% performed directive and management functions, followed by technical and management tasks (28%), and creative and/or artistic tasks (21%). In terms of their field of occupation, more than a third stated that they worked in the public sphere (28% in local administration and 9% in other bodies). The remaining 72% worked

in the private sector, with the most important group being freelancers and self-employed businesses (26%).

At the territorial level, the autonomous communities of the survey participants attending the COFAE fair were distributed into three groups: 49% from communities with the highest income per inhabitant (Madrid, the Basque Country, Navarra, and Catalonia); 30% from communities with an intermediate income level per inhabitant (Aragón, La Rioja, the Balearic Islands, Castilla y León, Cantabria, Galicia, and the Valencian Community); with the remaining 21% being from the communities with the lowest income per inhabitant. This distribution did not differ excessively from the that of the cultural employment by autonomous communities included in the Cultural Statistics Yearbook. According to this source, in 2018, cultural employment in the first group of communities accounted for 50% of all employment, while in the second and third groups it represented 26% and 24%, respectively. However, caution should be applied when considering these figures because they refer to overall cultural employment and not only that of the performing arts sector.

Table I Description of the sociodemographic and employment variables of the sample

VARIABLE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
GENDER IDENTITY		
Women	430	54 %
Men	366	46 %
Non-binary	4	1 %
Total	800	100 %
AGE		
Under 35 years	102	13 %
Between 35 and 44 years	257	32 %
Between 45 and 54 years	282	35 %
Over 54 years	159	20 %
Total	800	100 %

MAXIMUM EDUCATION LEVEL		
Doctorate degree	25	3%
Postgraduate or specialised master's degree	226	28%
Undergraduate university degree (4–5 years)	241	30%
Undergraduate university degree (3 years)	134	17%
Other non-university-level education	174	22%
Total	800	100%
YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN THE SECTOR		
More than 20 years	246	36%
Between 13 and 20 years	218	32%
Between 6 and 12 years	148	21%
Less than 6 years	77	11%
Total	689	100%
ANNUAL REMUNERATION (2017)		
Less than €18,000	291	40%
€18,001–€24,000	177	24%
€24,001–€36,000	129	18%
More than €36,000	131	18%
Total	728	100%
PROFESSIONAL PROFILE		
Theatre company member	251	36%
Public administration technician	158	22%
Worker at a permanent facility	90	13%
Festival and fair staff	67	10%
Distributor	58	8%
Others	54	8%
Management team member in another type of activity (professional associations or association coordinator, etc.)	27	4%
Total	705	100%
PREDOMINANT WORK ACTIVITY FUNCTION		
Direction and management	258	37%
Creation and/or artistic	148	21%

Management or services staff, etc.	199	28%
Others	75	11%
Administrative staff	20	3%
Aide/assistant	5	1%
Total	705	100%
OCCUPATION SCOPE		
Local management	191	28%
Freelancer or self-employed (business or professional)	177	26%
Public limited company or limited company, etc.	132	19%
Associations and foundations, etc.	95	14%
Other public bodies	64	9%
Cooperative	32	5%
Total	691	100%
AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITIES		
Madrid	318	49%
The Basque Country		
Navarra		
Catalonia		
Aragon	196	30%
La Rioja		
The Balearic Islands		
Castile and Leon		
Cantabria		
Galicia		
The Autonomous Community of Valencia		
Asturias	135	21%
The Canary Islands		
Murcia		
Castilla La Mancha		
Andalusia		
Extremadura		
Total	649	100%

GENDER INEQUALITIES AMONG PERFORMING ARTS PROFESSIONALS IN SPAIN

Analysis from a gender perspective shows how women receive lower salaries (45% receive salaries of less than €18,000 compared to 34% of men), are less represented in leadership and management roles (29% perform management functions compared to 45% of men), and more represented in process management and services (33% compared to 23%). This is despite having a higher educational level (36% of the survey participants in this work had specialised postgraduate and master's degrees compared to 19% of their male counterparts). These results account for the vertical segregation and 'sticky floor' that mainly affects women by keeping them in the

lowest levels of the labour pyramid, with little upward mobility and invisible barriers to their professional advancement.

Likewise, the mean age of the female surveyees was younger compared to men (15% were aged over 54 years compared to 25% of the men), which became a possible disadvantage for professional progression, especially when this is dependent on years of experience in the sector. Another aspect to highlight was the predominance of women living in the group of autonomous communities with the highest incomes per inhabitant, probably because of the increased opportunities for job placement as a result of the generally greater cultural offer (both public and private) in these areas.

Table 2 Significant differences between gender and the remaining variables.

VARIABLE	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY (%)	
	WOMEN	MEN
ECONOMIC REMUNERATION		
Less than €18,000	176 (45%)	113 (34%)
€18,000–€24,000	68 (17%)	60 (18%)
€24,001–€36,000	95 (24%)	81 (24%)
More than €36,000	50 (13%)	81 (24%)
Total	389 (100%)	335 (100%)
FUNCTIONS		
Creation and/or artist	66 (17%)	81 (25%)
Direction and management	111 (29%)	145 (45%)
Management or services staff, etc.	123 (33%)	76 (23%)
Administrative staff	17 (4%)	3 (1%)
Aide/assistant	4 (1%)	1 (0%)
Others	57 (15%)	18 (6%)
Total	378 (100%)	324 (100%)

EDUCATION LEVEL		
Doctorate degree	11 (3%)	14 (4%)
Postgraduate or specialised master's degree	154 (36%)	71 (19%)
Undergraduate university degree (4–5 years)	132 (31%)	109 (30%)
Undergraduate university degree (3 years)	63 (15%)	70 (19%)
Other non-university level education	70 (16%)	102 (28%)
Total	430 (100%)	366 (100%)
PROFESSIONAL PROFILE		
Local administration technicians	85 (22%)	72 (22%)
Team member at a permanent facility	36 (10%)	54 (17%)
Festival team member	28 (7%)	39 (12%)
Theatre company member	130 (34%)	120 (37%)
Member of a management team for another type of activity	20 (5%)	7 (2%)
Staff member for a distributor	44 (12%)	14 (4%)
Other profiles	35 (9%)	18 (6%)
Total	378 (100%)	324 (100%)
AGE		
Less than 35 years	59 (14%)	41 (11%)
Between 35 and 44 years	141 (33%)	116 (32%)
Between 45 and 54 years	164 (38%)	116 (32%)
Over 54 years	66 (15%)	93 (25%)
Total	430 (100%)	366 (100%)
YEARS OF EXPERIENCE		
Less than 6 years	52 (14%)	24 (8%)
6–12 years	95 (26%)	52 (16%)
13–20 years	117 (32%)	100 (32%)
More than 20 years	105 (28%)	141 (44%)
Total	369 (100%)	317 (100%)

AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITIES		
Low per capita income	51 (15%)	94 (31%)
Average per capita income	104 (30%)	81 (27%)
High per capita income	191 (55%)	125 (42%)
Total	346 (100%)	300 (100%)

One of the most important findings from this analysis was the salary differences between men and women. This aspect is explored in depth in the following sections, relating it to other variables

such as age, professional profile, years of experience in the sector, and the type of tasks performed by different groups.

Table 3 Significant differences between gender, financial remuneration, and other sociodemographic and employment variables.

ECONOMIC REMUNERATION						
VARIABLE		LESS THAN €18,000	BETWEEN €24,001 AND €36,000	BETWEEN €18,001 AND €24,000	MORE THAN €36,000	TOTAL
AGE						
Women	Under 35 years	76%	18%	0%	6%	100%
	From 35 to 44 years	47%	22%	24%	7%	100%
	From 45 to 54 years	40%	14%	32%	14%	100%
	Over 54 years	29%	16%	26%	29%	100%
	Total	45%	17%	24%	13%	100%
Men	Under 35 years	71%	14%	6%	9%	100%
	From 35 to 44 years	40%	20%	21%	19%	100%
	From 45 to 54 years	24%	19%	29%	28%	100%
	Over 54 years	23%	16%	29%	32%	100%
	Total	34%	18%	24%	24%	100%

EDUCATION LEVEL						
Women	Doctorate degree	55%	0%	18%	27%	100%
	Postgraduate or master's degree	42%	17%	25%	16%	100%
	Undergraduate university degree (4–5 years)	39%	20%	29%	12%	100%
	Undergraduate university degree (3 years)	40%	19%	28%	14%	100%
	Other non-university -level education	69%	15%	11%	5%	100%
	Total	45%	17%	24%	13%	100%
Men	Doctorate degree	31%	8%	31%	31%	100%
	Postgraduate or master's degree	15%	17%	32%	35%	100%
	Undergraduate university degree (4–5 years)	36%	12%	27%	25%	100%
	Undergraduate university degree (3 years)	33%	27%	22%	19%	100%
	Other non-university -level education	47%	20%	16%	18%	100%
	Total	34%	18%	24%	24%	100%
PROFILE						
Women	Public administration technician	8%	14%	58%	20%	100%
	Permanent facility staff	28%	19%	31%	22%	100%
	Festival and fair staff	71%	25%	0%	4%	100%
	Theatre company member	65%	16%	9%	9%	100%
	Staff member for a distributor	48%	9%	23%	20%	100%
	Others	51%	27%	18%	4%	100%
	Total	45%	17%	24%	13%	100%

Men	Public administration technician	7%	14%	49%	31%	100%
	Permanent facility staff	20%	11%	31%	37%	100%
	Festival and fair staff	41%	26%	18%	15%	100%
	Theatre company member	56%	17%	12%	16%	100%
	Staff member for a distributor	29%	21%	21%	29%	100%
	Others	28%	24%	20%	28%	100%
	Total	34%	17%	25%	24%	100%
YEARS OF EXPERIENCE						
Women	Less than 5 years	65%	15%	15%	4%	100%
	Between 6 and 12 years	47%	23%	19%	11%	100%
	Between 13 and 20 years	37%	19%	32%	13%	100%
	More than 20 years	41%	12%	27%	20%	100%
	Total	45%	18%	25%	13%	100%
Men	Less than 5 years	46%	13%	29%	13%	100%
	Between 6 and 12 years	44%	10%	23%	23%	100%
	Between 13 and 20 years	31%	20%	25%	24%	100%
	More than 20 years	31%	16%	26%	27%	100%
	Total	34%	16%	25%	24%	100%
FUNCTIONS						
Women	Creation and/or artist	65%	15%	9%	11%	100%
	Direction and management	32%	17%	32%	19%	100%
	Management or services staff, etc.	41%	20%	28%	11%	100%
	Total	43%	18%	25%	14%	100%
Men	Creation and/or artist	54%	15%	17%	14%	100%
	Direction and management	27%	15%	26%	32%	100%
	Management or services staff, etc.	18%	22%	37%	22%	100%
	Total	32%	17%	26%	25%	100%

As shown in table 3, the moment considered in their professional lives does not influence men and women in the same way. Analysis of the lowest economic remuneration interval, less than €18,000, showed how women more often received lower salaries in every age group. These differences were accentuated in the 45 to 54 years age group, in which four out of 10 women received this average salary, with this proportion reducing by almost half in the case of men. At the highest economic remuneration level, that of more than €36,000, the percentage of women was also lower than that of men in every age group. Although these differences still existed in the case of the youngest group, they were smaller.

This trend coincided with the general trend in the economy, in which wage differences by sex were, in general, greater as the age of the workers considered increased. This can be explained by the better qualifications (occupation and education, etc.) of younger women compared to older ones (INE, 2019). The fact that, for both men and women, the youngest age group had the lowest levels of remuneration (although these young people usually had higher levels of training) was probably because of a generational gap in the occupation of positions of management (Cabañés Martínez, 2017) and may have also represented a trend in the economy in which older workers usually occupy the most senior roles and have the most experience in the workplace (INE, 2019).

From the theoretical perspective of human capital (Becker, 1983), one might argue that women received lower salaries and occupied worse jobs than men because of their lower productivity levels as a consequence of their lower endowment of human capital. Delving deeper into this approach, it can be seen that at all training levels, women more frequently received salaries of less than €18,000. Thus, more than 40% of women with a postgraduate level of training received a salary of less than €18,000 while, under the same conditions, 15% of men were in the same situation. For income levels exceeding €36,000, the exact opposite happened: regardless of their educational level, women

were less represented, with the greatest differences between them being at non-university levels (at 13% higher for men).

This difference could perhaps be explained by the late incorporation of women into the labour market in general, and into the cultural market in particular. In addition, the professionals benefiting from this difference were older and joined the workplace after the dictatorship in Spain. This would have coincided with the advent of public cultural policies and a time when there was a great demand to fill new positions in the administration and in which, in some cases (such as in cultural management), no official training regulated these professions (Carreño, 2010; Cabañés Martínez, 2017).

Based on all the above, we can deduce that the theory of human capital provides insufficient theoretical elements to explain this segregation in its entirety (Aldaz Odriozola and Eguía Peña, 2016) and so perhaps leading to the thought that the lower remuneration of women at the same age and with equivalent educational levels as men could correspond to differences in their professional profiles or the functions they perform. An analysis of job profiles showed that in the salary interval below €18,000, the presence of women in each of the profiles was higher than that of men. The most pronounced differences in this income bracket could be seen between staff working in the field of festivals (71% of women and 41% of men) and the distribution of men and women working in shows.

In the latter case, in which many more women work than men (Fernández, 2016), an explanatory factor could be the age of these professionals as well as particularities linked to the performing arts and training sectors. This may either be because of a lack of economic resources making it difficult to hire a team to specifically sell their products, or the theatre companies' lack of knowledge in relation to these tasks. Thus, there is a demand for new professionals with profiles enabling them to carry out all

the functions related to distribution. This increased demand may mean that distribution companies (usually set up by men) require highly trained personnel, the majority of whom are women—as shown by studies on the gender of training in the field of cultural management (Guerra, 2009; Carreño, 2010). At the other extreme—that of incomes exceeding €36,000—the differences between women and men persisted in every job profile and were more pronounced among technical professionals in public administrations. Only 20% of the women with this profile earned more than €36,000 compared to 31% of their male counterparts. In this specific case, the differences could be explained by age and years of experience, which were both linked to holding managerial positions (especially by men) within the [Spanish governmental] administration (Carreño and Villarroya, 2020). Thus, it can be observed how, in both men and women, the perception of higher levels of income was closely linked to the stability provided by work in a public administration or in cultural facilities. In both cases, 50% of workers who earned high incomes had one of these profiles.

It could be argued that the concentration of women in lower income brackets, even when not justified by their age, educational levels, or professional profiles, might have been because they performed different functions. However, the data still showed a concentration of women (41%) working in management and service roles that earned less than €18,000, while this figure dropped to 18% in the case of men. In artistic and managerial tasks, both of which are the most recognised functions, 65% and 32% of women were in the lowest income brackets, respectively, compared to 54% and 27% in the case of men. In the income range above €36,000, men were more often present in every category, with the greatest differences (13% more men) being detected in direction and management roles.

The corresponding increased perception of income being linked to management functions when carried out by men could also have responded to the masculinisation of spaces more commonly linked

to high culture (such as, for example, large auditoriums or theatres), while the presence of women would be more frequent in facilities and activities with more modest budgets and projections (Cabó and Sánchez, 2017). In general terms, it is also true that “in the collective imagination,

success is often identified with progressive and uninterrupted career paths, [which is] much more difficult for women, who are more likely to experience discontinuities and slowdowns in their careers due to the roles of care” (González Ramos, Vergés Bosch, and Martínez García, 2017, p. 76). Bearing in mind that experience in the sector may be a fundamental requirement, especially in job offers linked to leadership and management functions, this could be one reason for these salary differences.

However, as shown in table 3, regardless of the years of experience in the sector, more women still remained in the lower income brackets. This inequality was especially notable among professionals with fewer than five years of experience in the sector: while 65% of women with less than five years of experience earned less than €18,000, this percentage dropped to 46% for men. There were also gender differences in the income segment above €36,000, regardless of the years of experience in the sector. The difference between the sexes was smaller in the group of workers aged over 20 years regardless of sex. A possible explanation for this profile of closer parity may be that the few women who do manage to enter the labour market early in their professional careers and gain more than 20 years of experience are able to cover senior management positions that balance, to a certain extent, the percentage in the bracket with the highest perceived salary. Indeed, the study on gender in the Spanish music industry by Gallego, Muntanyola-Saura, and Gil Escribano (2020) also highlighted experience (years in the sector, which entails an increased reputation and knowledge of culture jobs) and adaptive strategies to gain authority as factors that favour successful career paths.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on this survey study which gathered a sample of 800 professionals working in the field of performing arts in Spain, we were able to analyse gender inequalities among those employed in this sector and, in particular, relate this information to salary remuneration. It has already been shown that women receive lower salaries (Muro, 2019; Villarroya and Barrios, 2019; Fundación SGAE, 2021), are underrepresented in creative roles and management positions (Fernández, 2016; Veiga Barrio, 2016; Villarroya and Barrios, 2019), and work more frequently in the third sector without holding positions of responsibility in the same proportion as men, despite having higher educational levels (TBR, 2008; Villarroya and Barrios, 2019).

In line with other studies in cultural fields, women in this labour market were also slightly younger than their male counterparts (Dean, 2008; Carreño, 2010; Cabañés, 2011; Muro, 2019; Villarroya and Barrios, 2019; Gallego, Muntanyola-Saura, and Gil Escribano, 2020), which, in the case of female artists, could be explained by the increased difficulty of working, after a certain age, in the performing arts (Muro, 2019). This could become a disadvantage for career progression, especially when advancement is dependent on years of experience in the sector. Previous studies, such as the one conducted by Villarroya and Barrios (2019) on gender inequalities in cultural employment in Catalonia, point to opportunities for professional progression as the area in which there is the greatest discrimination between men and women. Both men and women suggest that care tasks and the consequent difficulties in reconciling professional, personal, and family life as the main limiting factor for professional progression among women. This factor is also accompanied by other aspects such as the 'glass ceiling,' a term that alludes to the artificial obstacles and invisible barriers preventing women from reaching higher positions in the organisational pyramid, whether public or private, and regardless of the domain.

Another notable aspect highlighted in studies on the cultural sector (Villarroya and Barrios, 2019;

Carreño and Villarroya, 2020; SGAE Foundation, 2021) and in other sectors such as technology (González Ramos, Vergés Bosch, and Martínez García, 2017) is the overqualification of women. This, together with constant work and the greater effort required, makes it possible for women to reach the same positions as men in masculinised environments (González Ramos, Vergés Bosch, and Martínez García, 2017).

Beyond these results regarding gender inequalities in the performing arts sector, this research also made it possible to gain a more accurate understanding of the wage discrimination to which women are subjected. Thus, we saw how the differences in income in the cultural sector were not caused by lower educational levels as the theory of human capital might suggest, nor by poorer job profiles, the types of functions performed, age, or years of experience in the field. Even when controlling for all these factors, many more women were concentrated in lower income level brackets compared to men, thereby confirming the results of international studies on the performing arts sector (Dean, 2008; Gouyon, 2014) and national studies with a broader scope (SGAE Foundation, 2021).

All of the above puts the gender inequalities that artists and other performing arts professionals in Spain must face squarely on the table. The characterisation of these inequalities can help both public administrations and the private sector, either in the establishment of new measures to promote egalitarianism in the sector or in the development and application of artist's statutes. In any case, it is important to point out that the demand for gender equality in the cultural sector, in general, and in the performing arts, in particular, must be understood from a broad perspective that encompasses inclusion, accessibility, and democratisation in the arts (Joseph, 2015, 2017). In this sense, the culture sector is vital when it comes to breaking harmful and outdated stereotypes and promoting cultural diversity based on gender equality (EIGE, 2016).

The future lines of research this study have opened up include, on the one hand, the need to deepen our understanding of the distinctive features behind each performing arts discipline. In this sense, gender inequality may manifest in vastly different ways, for example, in the dance versus the theatre sectors. On the other hand, these peculiarities may also differ depending on the nature of the agents, be they technical professionals from public administrations

or members of a theatre company, for example. Finally, it would also be interesting to investigate other variables related to gender discrimination in the performing arts sector, such as, for example, our knowledge of the barriers that make it difficult for women to access certain professions in the sector or to achieve positions of responsibility and decision-making roles, professional recognition, or make their work more visible.

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