

LUCIE MARKOVÁ

**Women in a Men's
Collective in the 1970s
and 1980s: The Czech
Philharmonic Orchestra
as an Example**

175

LUCIE MARKOVÁ

THE CZECH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, INSTITUTE OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, PRAGUE

MARKOVA@USD.CAS.CZ

UDC 785.11.071.2-055.2(437):316.423.6>“1970/1980“

<https://doi.org/10.32728/flux.2021.3.8>

Original scientific paper

Women in a Men’s Collective in the 1970s and 1980s: The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra as an Example¹

For many years, the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra was an exclusively male organization despite the increasing number of women in Czechoslovakia joining the workforce. This paper, which is based on oral history interviews with members of the orchestra, the paper will attempt to identify the reasons why almost no women were employed there during the period of Czechoslovak Socialism and under what kind of conditions the only two female members worked. Through interpretation and depth analysis of the oral history interview with one of the two female musicians employed by the Philharmonic before 1989, the paper will primarily map the issue of how women reconciled work and family life, which was considered one of the main obstacles for female musicians, while also taking into consideration the Philharmonic’s prestige and its frequent tours abroad. The acquired experience of a female musician is interpreted within the context of male narratives and is embedded in the study’s theoretical framework. This framework is defined by the available research on women’s emancipation and transformations of the gender order of the Czechoslovak socialist society, as well as research comparing the career patterns of musicians (both female and male) and the inclusion of women in the world’s leading symphony orchestras.

177

KEYWORDS:

Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, oral history, socialist society, female employment, business trips

¹ The research for this article was funded by Czech Grant Agency as a part of Project 410/19-09594S “Business trips abroad from Czechoslovakia in the years 1945–1989” (The Czech Academy of Sciences, Institute of Contemporary History).

When the Communists took over Czechoslovakia in February 1948, one of the basic features of the new society was an emphasis on equality and the equal rights and responsibilities of all citizens.² At the same time, the regime of the people's democratic and later state socialist society presented itself as a fighting for the equality of men and women. Social equality for citizens and women's emancipation were often emphasized in official propaganda,³ and images of women working in almost any sector were strongly promoted. For example, in the 1950s, depictions of female tractor drivers or crane operators became quite popular.⁴ Nevertheless, the reality was different. Although women's employment in Czechoslovakia increased significantly in comparison with Western countries after World War II, and especially after 1948, there were still fields in which women were very rarely employed.⁵ An interesting example of one of these was the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. Founded in 1896, the orchestra did not employ women until 1970, and by 1989, there were only two women among the more than 120 members of the collective.

As part of oral historical research with members of the Czech Philharmonic carried out as part of a project for the Oral History Centre of the Institute of Contemporary History, I was able to interview one female musician, whom I will refer to as Mrs. P, whose life story conveyed the

² This fact was also enshrined in the new constitution of May 9th, 1948. ("Zákon č. 150/1948 Sb. Ústavní zákon ze dne 9. května 1948, Ústava Československé republiky" [Act No. 150/1948 Coll. Constitutional Act of May 9, 1948, Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic], Poslanecká sněmovna, accessed November 11, 2020, https://www.psp.cz/docs/texts/constitution_1948.html.)

³ Hana Havelková, "Women in and After a 'Classes' Society," in *Women and Social Class: International Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Pat Mahony and Christine Zmroczek (London: Routledge, 1999), 70.

⁴ Květa Jechová, "Cesta k emancipaci. Postavení ženy v české společnosti 20. století. Pokus o vymezení problému" [The road to emancipation. The position of women in Czech society in the 20th century. An attempt to define the problem], in *Pět studií k dějinám české společnosti po roce 1945*, ed. Oldřich Tůma and Tomáš Vilímek (Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny, 2008), 105.

⁵ Alena Wagnerová, *Žena za socialismu. Československo 1945-1974 a reflexe vývoje před rokem 1989 a po něm* [Woman under socialism. Czechoslovakia 1945-1974 and reflections on developments before and after 1989] (Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2017), 55.

experience of these two women working in the orchestra before 1989.⁶ This paper is based on interpretation and in-depth analysis of her life story. In it, I map the women's standing within the ensemble and determine the positive or negative aspects of female musicians' lives during the period of state socialism. I will also address the following topics: interpersonal relations within the collective, daily work routines, and how female musicians reconciled work and family on a day-to-day basis and during the Philharmonic's frequent business trips abroad. These partial topics will be interpreted and compared with interviews conducted with the male members of the orchestra.⁷ This microhistorical perspective can provide deep insight into the everyday lives of musicians working in one of the most prominent Czech (and Czechoslovak) symphony orchestras before 1989 and add to existing knowledge about women's standing in socialist Czechoslovak society.

A Brief History of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra

The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra has been performing classical music since the end of the nineteenth century, and ever since its beginnings during the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938), the ensemble has built up a considerable international reputation through its concerts abroad.⁸ However, the 1940s (and especially the late 1940s) were a crucial period in the Philharmonic's development. The ensemble was nationalized by the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 129/1945 Coll., on the State Orchestra Czech Philharmonic, which changed how it was funded, and it became a state-owned organization in 1946.⁹ At this time, the orchestra also acquired the

⁶ The second woman, Mrs. K, declined to be interviewed in person due to health issues, but she was willing to answer questions in writing. Although each life story is unique, the life stories of both women have many similarities, which is why it was possible to use Mrs. P's story as a framework for researching the status of female musicians in the male collective. Although they came from different family backgrounds (one of Mrs. K's parents was a music teacher and the other was a lawyer, while Mrs. P came from a more sports-oriented family), they both felt drawn to music from a young age. They started learning to play the piano from age six, and by the age of either thirteen or sixteen, they had started to play the harp. After finishing primary school, they enrolled at the Prague Conservatoire; later, they studied the Music and Dance Faculty at the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague. They were both taught by Professor Karel Patras, a prominent Czech harpist and pedagogue and also the first harpist of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. Both women were married to viola players in the Philharmonic. Neither had an ambition to develop a solo career. Both women became fully self-realized during their time with the Philharmonic, and also played with chamber ensembles. They were part of the Czech Philharmonic for over thirty years (and one of them still is). They were both proud they had become fully self-realized and had built their career in a high-quality orchestra and considered it a dream come true.

⁷ Altogether, ten interviews with former and current members of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra who worked in the ensemble before 1989 were recorded as part of this research project. These interviews were conducted between March 2019 and September 2020.

⁸ Míchaela Iblová, *Česká filharmonie pod tlakem stalinské kulturní politiky v padesátých letech* [The Czech Philharmonic under the pressure of Stalin's cultural policy in the 1950s] (Prague: Karolinum, 2014), 56, 62.

⁹ "Dekret č. 129/1945 Sb. Dekret presidenta republiky o státním orchestru Česká filharmonie" [Decree No. 129/1945 Coll. Decree of the President of the Republic on the state orchestra Czech Philharmonic], *Zákony pro lidi*, accessed March 25, 2020, <https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1945-129>; Yveta Koláčková, *The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra 100 plus 10* (Prague: Academia, 2006), 19.

Rudolfinum, which had previously housed the first Czechoslovak parliament. It was then renamed *Dům umělců* (the House of Artists).¹⁰

After the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in February 1948, the Philharmonic (like many other institutions) had to adapt to contemporary ideology. Soviet models were implemented in the cultural sector, and along with maintaining a high level of professionalism, the Philharmonic was also expected to become more “popular” and become more accessible to the general public.¹¹ As a result, the Philharmonic performed some concerts for workers in factories and production halls as well as on its home stage.¹² In the early 1950s, the Czech Philharmonic increasingly became a sort of showcase of Czechoslovak culture and a valuable export. Several chamber ensembles and choirs¹³ were assigned to the ensemble, and it was chosen to fulfill the role of a model Czechoslovak symphony orchestra. The Philharmonic's new status offered more significant opportunities to travel abroad and even to countries beyond the Iron Curtain. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Philharmonic toured almost thirty countries and performed on world-famous stages such as the Vienna Musikverein and New York's Carnegie Hall.¹⁴

Even after 1968, during the period of so-called normalization, the Philharmonic maintained a similar touring schedule abroad and a stable (and privileged) status.¹⁵ At that time, after a period of some degree of liberalization during the 1960s, culture once more came under the control of art associations and Communist Party bodies. Significant changes for the Philharmonic came only after the fall of the Communist Czechoslovak regime in 1989. During the 1990s, the Philharmonic underwent numerous personnel changes and experienced a lack of creative work and a clear artistic concept.¹⁶ The situation did not stabilize until the beginning of the twenty-first century. Currently at the time of writing, the Philharmonic is made up of over 120 musicians who are divided into several sections (string, brass, woodwinds, keyboards, and percussion) and are led by the chief conductor Semyon Bychkov.

¹⁰ Koláčková, *The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra*, 52.

¹¹ Jiří Křesťan, *Zdeněk Nejedlý: politik a vědec v osamění* [Zdeněk Nejedlý: politician and scientist in solitude] (Prague: Paseka, 2012), 259–60.

¹² Ibllová, *Česká filharmonie*, 118.

¹³ For example, the Czech Nonet, the Smetana Quartet, the Prague Philharmonic Choir or the Prague Philharmonic Children's Choir. (Koláčková, *The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra*, 19–20.)

¹⁴ “Potlesk Herberta von Karajana” [Applause from Herbert von Karajan], accessed March 25, 2020, <https://www.ceskafilharmonie.cz/o-nas/historie>.

¹⁵ Normalisation refers to the authoritarian system in Czechoslovakia between 1969 and 1989. At that time, Czechoslovakia became completely subordinate to the Soviet Union and abandoned the concept of national communism. Jan Rataj and Přemysl Houda, *Československo v proměnách komunistického režimu* [Czechoslovakia in the changes of the communist regime] (Prague: Oeconomica, 2010), 351.

¹⁶ Koláčková, *The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra*, 20.

Working Women in Czechoslovak Society

Up until 1989, the Czech Philharmonic was a prominent – and almost exclusively male – musical ensemble. As previously mentioned, the first woman joined the Philharmonic in 1970, and the second one fifteen years later. The Philharmonic had thus copied the trend of other top symphony orchestras, which, until the 1960s, were a privileged domain for men only.¹⁷ The first ensemble to employ a female musician was London's Queen's Hall Orchestra in 1913, followed by the Philadelphia Orchestra in the United States, which hired a female musician in 1930.¹⁸ Central European countries, however, were somewhat more restrained. The Berliner Philharmoniker first welcomed a woman in 1982,¹⁹ and the Vienna Philharmonic did not hire one until 2003. In fact, the Vienna Philharmonic did not even permit women to be hired until 1996, when the Austrian government threatened the Philharmonic with budget cuts.²⁰ Globally, the Czech Philharmonic's approach to women was quite standard. However, was such a representation of women typical of the "normalized" Czechoslovakia of the 1970s?

Since the era of the First Czechoslovak Republic, the Czechoslovak (Socialist) Republic had a large proportion of working women in comparison to other European countries.²¹ This trend continued after World War II; by 1946, women were already 39 percent of the workforce. Even though women's participation in the workforce increased, and there were certain occupations specific to women (wage/hired breastfeeding), they were still banned from certain kind of jobs (especially night work). When the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took power in 1948, emphasis began to be placed on equality and equal status for men and women. To help restore the Czechoslovak economy after the war, women began to be employed in industry, construction, agriculture, and other sectors.²² The official propaganda emphasized this concept, and iconic depictions of female tractor drivers, tram drivers, crane operators, and locomotive stokers were created during this period. Nevertheless, the status quo continued to be maintained in areas traditionally considered to be either preferable for women or not suitable for them (this division mostly corresponded the persistent gender hierarchy).

¹⁷ "Education and Outreach," Salisbury Symphony Orchestra at Salisbury University, accessed November 10, 2020, <https://web.archive.org/web/20161106214148/https://www.salisbury.edu/sso/education/nsfaqs.html>.

¹⁸ Cynthia Collins, "Contribution of Women Musicians to Symphony Orchestras," CMUSE, accessed November 10, 2020, <https://www.cmuse.org/contribution-of-women-musicians-to-symphony-orchestras/>.

¹⁹ Desmond C. Sergeant and Evangelos Himonides, "Orchestrated Sex: The Representation of Male and Female Musicians in World-Class Symphony Orchestras," *Frontiers in Psychology* 10 (August 2019): 2, doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01760. 2019.

²⁰ Jane Burgermeister, "First woman takes a bow at Vienna Philharmonic," *The Guardian*, January 10, 2003, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jan/10/gender.arts>.

²¹ For example, the share of women in the workforce reached 32 percent in 1921. Veronika Šprincová, "Postavení žen v Československu v období let 1948–1989 v dobových sociologických výzkumech a datech" [The position of women in Czechoslovakia in the period 1948–1989 in contemporary sociological research and data], in *Vyvláštěný hlas: Proměny genderové kultury české společnosti 1948–1989*, ed. Hana Havelková and Libora Oates-Indruchová (Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2015), 83–124.

²² Jaroslava Bauerová, *Zaměstnaná žena a rodina* [The Working Woman and the Family] (Prague: Práce, 1974), 64.

The healthcare sector became the most feminized, and in 1955, 72.1 percent of its employees were women, followed by trade and hospitality with 61.9 percent, and education and culture with 55.9 percent. In the following years, the ratio of women employed in these industries increased even more.²³ For example, in 1968, 59 percent of those working in education and culture were women,²⁴ and this increased to 64.2 percent two years later.²⁵ However, according to statistics from 1955, fewer women were working in construction (10 percent), transport (14.4 percent), and science and research (23.6 percent).²⁶

Apart from the contemporary political environment, women's employment and their standing in society was also influenced by their biological role. Research conducted in the 1960s showed that the relationship between employment and motherhood was considered at the time to be a problematic issue for the general public.²⁷ Society tended to look at women from a traditional perspective, that is as mothers caring for their offspring. This attitude began to change, with women returning to work after maternity leave and men becoming more involved in caring for the home.²⁸ However, this trend was reversed in the early 1970s with a "return to the family" phase during which women's emancipation was an obstacle. The Normalization regime in Czechoslovakia supported population growth and introduced several tendentious measures. For example, maternity leave was extended for up to two years.²⁹ On the other hand, a network of childcare facilities was also built to facilitate women's return to work after maternity leave. Some women returned to work shortly after giving birth, mainly due to their family's financial situation.³⁰ Men were not entitled to "maternity allowance" until 1984, and only if the woman (mother) was absent or if she was unable to care for her

²³ Wagnerová, *Žena za socialismu*, 55.

²⁴ Jechová, "Cesta k emancipaci," 104-06.

²⁵ The fact that some professions have been highly feminised comes from prejudices concerning "male" and "female" jobs, in terms of the financial and social stereotypes mentioned above. Women were considered to be less competent than men and more passive. Therefore, they worked (not only) in the cultural sector in service and auxiliary positions (e.g., as clerks in cultural institutions) rather than in management positions. See (Nicole Kozera: *Czech Women in the Labor Market Work and Family in a Transition Economy*. Prague: Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 1997) 9-10).

²⁶ Wagnerová, *Žena za socialismu*, 55.

²⁷ Šprincová, "Postavení žen v Československu," 88.

²⁸ Marcela Linková, "Disidentická herstory: Ženy a jejich činnost v prostředí Charty 77" [Dissident Herstory: Women and Their Activities in the Environment of the Charter 77], in *Bytová revolta: Jak ženy dělaly dissent*, ed. Marcela Linková and Naďa Straková (Prague: Academia, 2017), 373-89.

²⁹ Kateřina Lišková, *Sexual Liberation, Socialist Style. Communist Czechoslovakia and the Science of Desire, 1945-1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 158-59.

³⁰ Wagnerová, *Žena za socialismu*, 58.

children.³¹ Even though socialist society sought to create an impression of equal status between men and women,³² the reality was different. Although women gradually started to contribute to household finances in the same way as men (women made up 47 percent of the workforce in 1971),³³ men did not participate in household chores in the same way.³⁴ As a result, when women came home from work they started a “second shift,” which included domestic work and resulted in less free time.³⁵ According to some studies, this situation started to change in the 1980s, mainly due to technological advances making it easier for women to care for the home and their family. Nevertheless, the concept of the mother as a caregiver persisted, and was mainly derived from women being absent from the workplace when they took care of sick children.³⁶ In such a situation, parents were generally provided with three days of paid leave,³⁷ which was often insufficient, and it was therefore the woman who often took additional days of unpaid leave.³⁸

As the statistics of the time show, women made up a significant part of the workforce in Czechoslovakia, and they were especially predominant in the education and culture sector—the sector that also included the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. Although this (higher) percentage could be attributed to employment in education, which had become highly feminized,³⁹ positions related to culture were not primarily filled by men. In jobs related to

31 Hana Maříková, “Rodičovská (je) pro oba rodiče!” [Parental (is) for both parents!], in *Práce a péče: proměny „rodičovské“ v České republice a kontext rodinné politiky Evropské unie*, ed. Alena Křížková (Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2008), 71–83. The change did not occur until 1990, when a man could take care of a child in the same way as a woman. However, employers were not obligated to hold their positions for them, so men could lose their jobs if they chose to stay home and care for children. This remained unchanged until 2001, when parental leave was amended in the new Labor Code, and employers were obligated to comply with men’s requests for parental leave. See Hana Maříková, “Rodičovská dovolená a muži” [Parental leave and men], *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum 4*, no. 1–2 [2003]: 6–7, https://www.genderonline.cz/incpdfs/inf-200301-0000_10_003.pdf.

32 The equality between men and women at work, in the family, and in public service was also established in the Constitution, in 1948 (Articles 1 and 27) and in 1960 (Article 20). “Zákon č. 150/1948 Sb.”; “Zákon č. 100/1960 Sb. Ústavní zákon ze dne 11. července 1960, Ústava Československé socialistické republiky” [Act No. 100/1960 Coll. Constitutional Act of July 11, 1960, Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic], Poslanecká sněmovna, accessed November 11, 2020, https://www.psp.cz/docs/texts/constitution_1960.html.

33 Havelková, “Women in and After a ‘Classes’ Society,” 73. Although it was stipulated by law that women should receive the same wages as men for the same work, and although women contributed to the household budget, their salary usually differed from men’s. Between the 1960s and 1980s, women in general received only about two thirds of the average man’s wages. Such salary disparity was related to the feminisation of certain industries and the lower representation of women in management positions. Jechová, “Cesta k emancipaci,” 108.

34 Linková, “Disidentská herstory,” 376.

35 Linková, “Disidentská herstory,” 378.

36 Šprincová, “Postavení žen v Československu,” 88, 102.

37 Wagnerová, *Žena za socialismu*, 46.

38 Šprincová, “Postavení žen v Československu,” 102.

39 In 1970, women made up 73.1 percent of all teachers. Stanislav Bendl, “Feminizace školství a její pedagogické konsekvence” [Feminization of education and its pedagogical consequences], *Pedagogická orientace 12*, no.4 (2002): 19–35.

music, for example, women worked as singers or teachers.⁴⁰ But why, then, did they not occupy a more prominent role in the most important Czech symphony orchestra?

According to Mrs. P, who was a member of the Czech Philharmonic before 1989, this was mainly the result of a patriarchal society.⁴¹ Even her colleagues agreed with this statement, and it also corresponds with the situation in Czechoslovakia during this period. Because women were perceived primarily as mothers, the Philharmonic's members and management worried that their maternal obligations or extended maternity leave would jeopardize the way the orchestra operated. An absent female musician would be a sort of missing link in the chain of a well-coordinated ensemble, and finding a replacement for such a musician was not easy.⁴² Once the female musician returned to work, a sick child that needed to be cared for could potentially complicate how the ensemble functioned and the regular rotation of musicians on tour. To avoid such problems, male musicians were reluctant to accept women into the Philharmonic. In the spirit of gender stereotypes, men, as musicians, did not mention in their narratives that they, as fathers, might also be obligated to care for a sick child. They did not even mention that women's spouses could have taken on the role of caregiver. In this context, the narrators did not reflect on their own fatherhood; their wives took care of the children so they would be able to devote themselves entirely to their work.⁴³

Concerns about the effect musicians' absences might have on the quality of the symphony orchestra was amplified by the nature of these ensembles. Such musical ensembles are elite professional organizations and are often closely followed by the media; thus, each individual and perfect overall harmony are of the utmost importance. Any change could affect the orchestra's sound and ultimately have an impact on its social and professional status. The members of the collective could have believed that women joining the orchestra could endanger the ensemble's high status and devalue all its previous work.⁴⁴

However, the lack of women in orchestras could also have been influenced by their organizational structure. Female musicians were mainly

⁴⁰ Jutta Allmendinger and J. Richard Hackman, "The More, the Better? A Four-Nation Study of the Inclusion of Women in Symphony Orchestras," *Social Forces* 74, no. 2 (December 1995): 426-60.

⁴¹ Interview with Mrs. P (harpist) recorded by Lucie Marková, September 2020. Sbíрка Rozhovory, Centrum orální historie, Ústav pro soudobé dějiny (Oral History Interviews Collection, Centre of Oral History, Institute of Contemporary History; following as ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection).

⁴² Similar reasons were also used when describing the situation, for example, in symphony orchestras in the former East Germany. Allmendinger and Hackman, "The More, the Better?," 451.

⁴³ "My poor wife got up at night to care for our son who was in pain; I needed to sleep to perform double frequencies at work the next day and so on." Interview with Mr M., [oboist], recorded by Lucie Marková, August 2019, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

⁴⁴ Allmendinger and Hackman, "The More, the Better?," 426.

hired for the strings section or as harpists, but less so for the wind section.⁴⁵ But according to some narrators, in Czechoslovakia, there was still another reason why women were a minority in the Philharmonic. The fact that the Philharmonic did not favor female musicians was well known. Women suspected their chances of success were small, so they rarely even applied to audition.⁴⁶ If they did apply, jurors might intentionally give them a lower score for their performance, simply so they would not qualify for admission.⁴⁷ All of these factors contributed to creating a closed circle that resulted in a purely male orchestra.

Women's Standing in the Men's Collective

However, were the concerns regarding women's maternity-related absences from the orchestra justified? In her interview, Mrs. P clearly shows that both women did not choose to extend their maternity leave. Quite the contrary. They prioritized the needs of the Philharmonic and returned to work shortly after the birth of their children.⁴⁸ And even the male musicians did not mention any specific complications caused by their colleagues' maternity leave. The reasons why women returned to work soon after giving birth were probably the Philharmonic's high status and prestige, along with the demands of the profession. All the interviews (with both men and the woman) revealed respect, sympathy, and loyalty to the Philharmonic, as well as the narrators' pride in their work. At the same time, however, it was evident how demanding the profession was for time and family life. Musicians must continuously work on improving themselves, practice the current repertoire

⁴⁵ According to some opinions, women were not sufficiently built to play them. Amy Beth Shapiro, *Sixty Years at the New York Philharmonic Through the Eyes of Clarinetist Stanley Drucker: An Oral History of the Philharmonic Community, 1948–2008* (PhD diss., Stony Brook University, 2015), 26, 29–30. However, this claim is refuted by the current representation of women in the orchestras. For example, in the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, women are represented in the horns or oboes section "Členové orchestru" [Members of Orchestra], Česká filharmonie, accessed December 10, 2020, <https://www.ceskafilharmonie.cz/o-nas/orchestr/clenove-orchestru/>.

⁴⁶ Daniel Konrád, "Žen v českých orchestrech přibývá. Nemělo by jich ale být příliš, říkají hráčky" [The number of women in Czech orchestras is increasing. But there shouldn't be too many of them, say the female players] *Hospodářské noviny*, January 23, 2016, <https://art.ihned.cz/klasicka-hudba-a-opera/c1-65123760-zeny-v-ceskych-orchestrech-ceska-filharmonie>.

⁴⁷ One of the narrators mentioned this assumption, saying that it was possible, but not that it necessarily happened. Interview with Mr. Č [bassist], recorded by Lucie Marková, December 2019, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection. The Czech Philharmonic auditions were done in two rounds. Initially, the candidates were selected based on their written application and were subsequently invited to an audition. The first round was a blind audition in which the candidate plays behind a plinth. Those who succeeded in the first round advanced to the next phase, during which their identity was already known. Blind auditioning has become common practice for some orchestras. Thus, women could potentially be excluded based on their applications, or possibly during the second round. The fact that women's representation has increased in some countries that have adopted the practice of blind auditions could indicate that such discrimination may indeed have occurred. Anette Eva Fasang, "Recruitment in Symphony Orchestras: Testing a Gender Neutral Recruitment Process," *Work Employment & Society* 20, no. 4 (December 2006): 801–09; Sergeant and Himonides, "Orchestrated Sex."

⁴⁸ E.g., Mrs. P's colleague returned to the Philharmonic four months after giving birth (Mrs. K, personal correspondence with the author, July 2020).

even in their free time, and spend part of the year on tours abroad. Because of this, female musicians may have been concerned that their artistic level would decline during an extended maternity leave, thus making their return even more complicated. They may have been afraid they would lose their place in the top orchestra in the country and be replaced by someone else.

I'm very family oriented. I was raised that way; I'm a family type. And I knew that if I'd had a second child, I probably wouldn't be able to come back to work because I would want to be with the children.⁴⁹

Even though this female musician characterized herself as a "family type," which was evident later on in her interview, she had to choose between career and family at a particular moment in her life. Any possible harmonization of the two roles was not taken into account (and within the context of the time, it was actually not possible at all).

The complexity of the profession could also have played a role in decision-making. With two children, free time—and thus time for preparation—would decrease significantly, which could then have an impact on other members of the Philharmonic. Mrs. P was aware of that, too. Thus, women were at a disadvantage in comparison to men. Because the law before 1989 did not allow men (except in certain exceptional cases) to take "maternity leave," they were spared such decisions. On the other hand, there is still the question of status, because family care was not (and still is not) valued enough to be considered "equal" to paid work (and even more so in a top symphony orchestra).

186

When Mrs. P joined the Philharmonic, she characterized it as a conservative ensemble of older men, and she was nervous at the beginning about being a member the Philharmonic:

It was, however, probably not very pleasant for me. I was very grateful to be under the wonderful protective wing of [my colleague].⁵⁰

A noteworthy word in this quotation is *probably*, which could just be "padding" inadvertently inserted into the sentence; but it could also point to many other meanings. For example, it might indicate that the narrator did not remember much about when she joined the Philharmonic, and there were no significant or surprising events that would have stuck in her memory. Alternatively, it could express common fears related to starting a new job, which in her case were amplified by entering an almost exclusively male group. She could have also used this word because she had the impression that such an answer was expected of her simply due to an assumption that, as one of the two women in the men's collective, it must have been difficult. On the other hand, men hardly mentioned any difficulties and, rather than commenting on interpersonal relationships at work, they discussed the complexity of the profession and its artistic side. Only some of them stated that the musicians' relationships with each other were very formal, and they

⁴⁹ Interview with Mrs. P (harpist), recorded by Lucie Marková, September 2020, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

⁵⁰ Interview with Mrs. P (harpist), recorded by Lucie Marková, September 2020, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

were somewhat cold toward newcomers when they first joined. However, none of them commented on when the women joined.

What the women's positions were can be seen mostly in the excerpt from Mrs. P's narration down below. She said she did not encounter any difficulties or sexism from colleagues or conductors and did not have many bad experiences related to men's behavior. If any disagreements arose, they were not, in her opinion, a result of a male-female dichotomy, but were rather the kinds of disagreements that might appear in any such large group of people. Even though she said she did not encounter any immediate comments from her colleagues, being one of two women among 120 men put some pressure on her:

I tried really hard so that no one could say, "Well, she can't do this, or she can't do that." I was definitely careful so that no one could say, "Well, it turns out she doesn't really belong here." Or something like that.⁵¹

And she returned to this issue when she mentioned the complexity of the profession:

Well, of course, it's definitely challenging, I would say. Especially psychologically, because certainly you always are or will be under some, let's say, under scrutiny and pressure, because you know that the people sitting around you—they don't have to be evil or anything like that—but, of course, they can hear you, so they know what you can and can't do there.⁵²

But were these statements typical only for the women? According to the narrators, conditions for all members were the same, and exacting demands were placed on all of them. This would not necessarily be characteristic only for women, but for any member of the Philharmonic.

However, such statements were utterly absent in the male musician's interviews. In their opinion, the vocation was physically and psychologically demanding, but mainly due to the amount of time associated with studying the repertoire and "external pressures," rather than pressure from other colleagues. None of the male musicians expressed any doubts about fitting in to the Philharmonic nor were they worried about the level of their artistic performance. It would seem, then, that the quotation mentioned above is more characteristic of female narratives.

The female musicians knew that they were "different" due to their gender. They tried even harder to fit in with the collective and not give rise to any doubts about their presence in the orchestra. Despite their claims that they did not face any discrimination and had the same conditions as their male colleagues, a more in-depth analysis of their memories shows that there were, however, certain (sub-threshold) disadvantages. Although they had the same artistic qualities as their male colleagues, they had to earn an equal position in the orchestra and made a more significant effort to integrate.

⁵¹ Interview with Mrs. P (harpist), recorded by Lucie Marková, September 2020, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

⁵² Interview with Mrs. P (harpist), recorded by Lucie Marková, September 2020, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

In addition to the profession's psychological demands, women also faced other obstacles, namely the need to reconcile work and family life. The work schedule was the same for all members of the Philharmonic—the current concert program was studied and practiced from Monday to Wednesday, rehearsals were on Thursday mornings, and Thursday and Friday evenings were reserved for concerts. Outside of this schedule, recording sessions were also arranged, and the number of these increased significantly in the 1970s and 1980s.⁵³ Since the current repertoire sometimes had to be worked on during members' free time (depending on the composition and which instrument the musicians played), according to the men, almost the entire day was taken up by work.

The day was actually completely full, since your own preparation was part of it. So, when we had some free time, we still had to rehearse the current repertoire on our own. It was very time consuming, very time consuming.⁵⁴

Such work thus required a considerable amount of tolerance from family members, and especially from the narrators' wives. However, for the women, both married to other members of the orchestra, childcare necessarily interfered with daily "operations." Mrs. P's colleague, with whom it was unfortunately not possible to record an interview in person, summarized her working day, at least in writing, as follows:

I suppose your question suggests that I practiced intently all morning and prepared to perform in the evening. If that's the case, I will probably disappoint you a little. We're talking about the time of the Communist regime; so, an ordinary day could be summarized as the ordinary day of any other working woman. Rehearsal with the orchestra, housekeeping, cleaning, shopping (it was a slightly different process then it is than today), arranging childcare for the evening, leaving for a concert at six at the latest, and returning after ten in the evening, sometimes even later.⁵⁵

While men could spend their free time practicing the repertoire, women had to devote themselves to the household and their children. In addition to describing a female musician's daily routine, this particular quote is noteworthy from another perspective. According to Mrs. K, her ordinary workday was no different from that of any other working woman—meaning a mother. In her opinion, all women had the same or identical conditions, although not every working woman had to arrange for childcare on Thursday and Friday nights. She was referring mainly to the "second shift" and a lack of free time.⁵⁶ Such statements clearly show that the supposedly equal

⁵³ Interview with Mr S. (oboist), recorded by Lucie Marková, June 2019, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

⁵⁴ Interview with Mr Sl. (cellist), recorded by Lucie Marková, April 2019, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

⁵⁵ Mrs. K, personal correspondence with the author, July 2020.

⁵⁶ According to a 1974 opinion poll, women's workloads on weekdays were three times higher than that of men and twice as high in childcare. Women thus had twice less leisure time than men "Občané k životní úrovni a životnímu způsobu (stručná zpráva z výzkumu 74-2 a 74-3" [Citizens' standard of living and way of life (research summary 74-2 and 74-3)] (Prague: Kabinet pro výzkum veřejného mínění při Federálním statistickém úřadu, 1974, 5. For more on the "second shift," see also the second section of this paper.

conditions for men and women during the period of state socialism were not applied very well in practice. Although there was a network of support institutions that helped women return to work and care for their children, household chores rested almost exclusively on their shoulders. In the case of female musicians, therefore, their employment placed demands not only on themselves but also on their immediate surroundings and the families who provided evening childcare. And as Mrs. P's story revealed, these demands were amplified, especially when the orchestra was on tour.

Family Life in During Tours Abroad

Even before 1989, the Czech Philharmonic toured dozens of countries, including those outside the Iron Curtain. Mrs. P traveled to the West for the first time as a single, childless conservatory student, and she evaluated her first foreign experience with Western countries mainly from the point of view of material culture. Just as her colleagues did in their narratives, she included in her narrative common statements used to characterize the differences mentioned throughout Czech society between Eastern and Western Bloc countries,⁵⁷ and in particular the shortages in Czechoslovak shops of goods and food that were commonly available in Western countries. At the same time, however, her memories showed a certain degree of self-reflection. While recounting her story, she admitted that as a young woman, her perception was somewhat simple, and that she especially appreciated shops full of goods. Over time, she realized that some Western countries at the time were not particularly rich, and the feeling of prosperity she experienced there stemmed mainly from comparing them with Czechoslovakia. And while she remembered her conservatory tour from the perspective of Western countries' well-being, her memories of touring with the Philharmonic were significantly different.

The Czech Philharmonic went on short tours lasting a few days and longer tours lasting several weeks. Longer tours were perceived to be more challenging, considering the demands of touring and travel to more distant destinations. Mrs. P considered these tours to be relatively demanding, mostly when they traveled to multiple cities often traveled in rented buses. At the same time, however, she perceived the opportunity to travel as something rare and was grateful she could participate. The narratives of her colleagues contained similar views. Although the tours were demanding, they provided their participants with benefits inaccessible to Czechoslovak citizens prior to 1989.

However, this experience of the tours changed when Mrs. P became a mother. Because she went on tour with her husband, her parents had to care for their daughter in their absence. Although it may have seemed that, unlike the other members, she could enjoy traveling with her husband, in fact

⁵⁷ The recollections of members of musical subcultures, for example, included similar narratives Lucie Marková, *"Plzeňská alternativní hudební scéna v letech 1983–1995"* [Alternative music scene in Pilsen (1983–1995)] (PhD diss., Charles University, 2020). On the image of the West, see Miroslav Vaněk and Pavel Mücke, *Velvet Revolutions. An oral history of Czech society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 81–84.

the opposite was true. For her, the joy of traveling turned into concerns about her loved ones' health and about how her parents would manage working and caring for their granddaughter.

And all the time, you're just worried if everything is okay, if the little girl is healthy, if my mother can handle her. We always promised to try to make phone calls whenever possible. So we called from the States and from Japan. When we were in Europe—Europe in general was very well equipped in this respect. We had a phone at home, and so we called, say, once a week. And we wrote lots of letters; for example, when we were in Japan for six weeks. And the postal service worked great there, so during those six weeks, we could respond to several letters from home; the responses were delivered within a week.⁵⁸

Compared to her colleagues, she was at a disadvantage. The men also left their children at home, but with their wives who took care of them. Thus, the family's routine was not disrupted (even when considering the environment described in the second part of this paper)⁵⁹ to the extent it was when the mother was on tour.

Although the men were also separated from their families, their narratives did not contain similar concerns as Mrs. P's. And even though some of the men's accounts of touring showed noticeable longings of fathers for their families, almost no one expressed their feelings openly. The only exception was one musician who spoke very candidly about his emotions:

There were times when I felt it very intensely when I was a young member of the Philharmonic and went to Japan or America for five weeks. I missed my children and my wife terribly. Really terribly. Moreover, at that time, there was no internet. Phone calls were expensive. We could not afford that at all. In Japan, I got two letters in five weeks, so I really suffered from homesickness and missed my children terribly.⁶⁰

190

Not even Mrs. P spoke so openly about her feelings. In the male narrator's case, the longing could have been amplified by the lack of connection and contact with family. Other narrators also mentioned the problem of insufficient contact with their families during tours. Some stressed the contrast with the present in which modern technology and the internet make family contact much more effortless.⁶¹

To at least partially compensate for her and her husband's absence, Mrs. P brought her daughter various gifts from abroad, even after 1989. Most of them were clothes or plush toys.

⁵⁸ Interview with Mrs. P (harpist), recorded by Lucie Marková, September 2020, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

⁵⁹ Above all, it was the statement that woman should take care of the home and the children, but also legislation that until 1984 prevented men from taking "maternal allowance."

⁶⁰ Interview with Mr. Č (bassist), recorded by Lucie Marková, December 2019, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

⁶¹ "It wasn't so long ago, I was really surprised, that a young colleague on a trip talked to his family and he used a webcam and his wife said to him, 'Look, I need to go mix something, look after the baby for a while, okay?' She pointed the camera at the baby, and he was watching over the baby and talking to it. And after a while, the wife came back." Interview with Mr. D [cellist], recorded by Lucie Marková, April 2019, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

I was very happy when I brought my daughter something. We brought our daughter beautiful things, clothes. And toys that were not available here at all.⁶²

In this respect, the men's and women's memories did not differ much. The men also mentioned bringing items back to Czechoslovakia that were entirely or almost entirely unavailable in stores at home and served as compensation for their absence. Like their female colleagues, men mostly bought yogurt, various sweets, and toys for children. For their wives, the musicians mostly brought cosmetics, clothes, shoes, or electronics, which were imported in large quantities from Japan.

I've even brought shoes for my wife twice; just imagine—buying shoes for a woman. To do that, you have to know her very well. And surprisingly, the shoes fit perfectly—I was that good. I sometimes brought her skirts from Italy, Germany, America, but nothing significant. I brought her a dress from America. It was very nice, white and red. It looked so good on her.⁶³

It is clear that, although men did not put a strong emphasis on their families in their narratives, they too were aware of the negative influence their vocation had on their marriages and family life. However, women experienced these effects more intensely. Even though the tours brought all participating musicians the same opportunities (traveling to countries an ordinary Czechoslovak citizen could only dream of visiting, purchasing sought-after goods from abroad) women never fully “enjoyed” them. Their worries about their families still persisted, and they perceived their families as their concern and responsibility due to the contemporary societal milieu. Even though they were several hundred or thousands of kilometers from home, the “second shift” still manifested itself, albeit on a symbolic level.

191

Conclusion

The life of a female artist—in this case, a member of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra—placed high demands on women not only professionally, but also especially when trying to reconcile work and family life. While other working mothers received at least partial assistance through a network of state-owned support facilities that provided childcare during the day, female musicians still needed regular childcare in the evenings during concerts or for several weeks during business trips abroad. In this respect, state support was not particularly relevant for them, and they had to rely far more on friends and extended family. For the women interviewed for this study, this was amplified by the fact that both women were married to other members of the Philharmonic. Their situation was thus more complicated than if their spouses had professions that did not require them to travel abroad or work evening shifts. Excellent support from friends or extended family was absolutely essential for them and contributed to a relatively quick return to work after giving birth. Despite the presumption of the time that

⁶² Interview with Mrs. P (harpist), recorded by Lucie Marková, September 2020, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

⁶³ Interview with Mr. M (oboist), recorded by Lucie Marková, August 2019, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.

women were mothers and caregivers, due to family support and their own efforts to balance their work and family life, these female musicians had opportunities that were not available to most people in Czechoslovakia, such as the possibility of traveling abroad and bringing home rare goods. This, together with a stable background and a coveted professional career in a top, prestigious symphony orchestra, could be among the reasons why they stayed with the Czech Philharmonic for so long.⁶⁴

Women's representation in the Philharmonic improved only after 1989 when the Czech population's demographic behavior changed and the means for reconciling work and family (personal) life improved. Women have begun to delay motherhood and choose to become pregnant later in life,⁶⁵ and various family-friendly policies have been introduced that contribute to a better work-life balance.⁶⁶ Moreover, an amendment to the Labor Code, in force since January 2001, entitles all men to paternal leave.⁶⁷ In the world of classical music, the belief that women's maternal obligations would negatively influence how the orchestra operated has gradually ceased to apply, and it is even possible to speak of a trend of feminization in this particular field.⁶⁸ More women are studying at art schools, and according to some musicians, men have started leaving this industry, preferring to work in more lucrative professions.⁶⁹ A similar trend of increasing women's

⁶⁴ As female musicians said, "My engagement with Philharmonic was exactly what I'd longed for and what really fulfilled me." (Mrs. K, personal correspondence with the author, July 2020.) "I'm so moved to think I really managed something in my life that I never thought I would be able to do so well and in such an amazing orchestra to work and play." (Interview with Mrs. P [harpist], recorded by Lucie Marková, September 2020, ÚSD, COH, Oral History Collection.)

⁶⁵ In 1995, women aged 20-24 were predominant, but five years later it was women aged 25-29, and in 2008 it was women aged 30-34. ("Živě narození, potraty a ukončená těhotenství podle věku žen" [Live births, abortions, and terminated pregnancies according to age], Český statistický úřad, accessed January 12, 2021, <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/2-1413-10-10>.)

⁶⁶ Alena Křížková, "Základní formy flexibility na českém trhu práce a pracovní podmínky žen" [Basic forms of flexibility on the Czech labor market and working conditions for women], *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum 4*, no. 1-2 (2003): 2, https://www.genderonline.cz/incpdfs/inf-200301-0000_10_003.pdf.

⁶⁷ Maříková, "Rodičovská dovolená a muži," 7.

⁶⁸ Konrád, "Žen v českých orchestrech přibývá."

⁶⁹ In 2017, for example, women represented 59 percent of all students at the Faculty of Music and Dance at the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague; in 2018, it was 57 percent, and 56 percent in 2019. "Výroční zpráva o činnosti a hospodaření AMU za rok 2017" [Annual Report on the Activities and Management of AMU for 2017] (Prague: AMU, 2018), 63, https://www.amu.cz/cs/uredni-deska/strategicke_dokumenty/vyrocní-zpravy/; "Výroční zpráva o činnosti a hospodaření AMU za rok 2018" [Annual Report on the Activities and Management of AMU for 2018] (Prague: AMU, 2019), 55, https://www.amu.cz/cs/uredni-deska/strategicke_dokumenty/vyrocní-zpravy/; "Výroční zpráva o činnosti a hospodaření AMU za rok 2019" [Annual Report on the Activities and Management of AMU for 2019] (Prague: AMU, 2020), 81, https://www.amu.cz/cs/uredni-deska/strategicke_dokumenty/vyrocní-zpravy/.

participation in orchestras became apparent in Germany between 1999 and 2002.⁷⁰ Even so, women are still a minority in the world's major orchestras.⁷¹

Yet there is still inequality, especially regarding wages, and the Czech Republic has the third-worst gender pay gap in the European Union.⁷² In orchestras, such inequality is mainly a result of individual salary scales linked to one's position in the orchestra, in which soloists earn more money than regular members of the ensemble. These positions are more often filled by men.⁷³

⁷⁰ Fasang, "Recruitment," 802.

⁷¹ The Vienna Philharmonic currently employs eighteen women and 120 men, the London Symphony Orchestra has thirty-three women and fifty men, and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra has "only" thirty-five women out of nearly one hundred musicians. "Musicians," Wiener Philharmoniker, accessed January 12, 2021, <https://www.wienerphilharmoniker.at/en/orchester-mitglieder>; "Players," London Symphony Orchestra, accessed January 12, 2021, <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/players.html>; "CSO Musicians by Section," Chicago Symphony Orchestra, accessed January 12, 2021, <https://cso.org/about/performers/chicago-symphony-orchestra/>.

⁷² "Gender pay gap, mezinárodní srovnání" [Gender pay gap, international comparison], Český statistický úřad, accessed January 12, 2021, <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/4-prace-a-mzdy-7eld72ywbq>.

⁷³ Fasang, "Recruitment," 802-03.

SOURCES

INTERVIEWS

All interviews are available in Oral History Collection of the Oral History Centre of the Institute of Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

1. Mr Č., bassist, recorded by Lucie Marková, December 2019.
2. Mr D., cellist, recorded by Lucie Marková, April 2019.
3. Mrs. P, harpist, recorded by Lucie Marková, September 2020.
4. Mr M., oboist, recorded by Lucie Marková, August 2019.
5. Mr S., oboist, recorded by Lucie Marková, June 2019.
6. Mr Sl., cellist, recorded by Lucie Marková, April 2019.

ONLINE SOURCES

1. Burgermeister, Jane. "First woman takes a bow at Vienna Philharmonic." *The Guardian*, January 10, 2003. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jan/10/gender.arts>.
2. Collins, Cynthia. "Contribution of Women Musicians to Symphony Orchestras." CMUSE. Accessed November 10, 2020. <https://www.cmuse.org/contribution-of-women-musicians-to-symphony-orchestras/>.
3. Česká filharmonie. "Potlesk Herberta von Karajana" [Applause from Herbert von Karajan]. Accessed March 25, 2020. <https://www.ceskafilharmonie.cz/o-nas/historie>.
4. Česká filharmonie. "Členové orchestru" [Members of Orchestra]. Accessed December 10, 2020. <https://www.ceskafilharmonie.cz/o-nas/orchestr/clenove-orchestru/>.
5. Český statistický úřad. "Živé narození, potraty a ukončená těhotenství podle věku žen" [Live births, abortions and terminated pregnancies by age of women]. Accessed January 12, 2021. <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/2-1413-10-10>.
6. Český statistický úřad. "Gender pay gap, mezinárodní srovnání" [Gender pay gap, international comparison]. Accessed January 12, 2021. <https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/4-prace-a-mzdy-7eld72ywbq>.
7. Chicago Symphony Orchestra. "CSO Musicians by Section." Accessed January 12, 2021. <https://cso.org/about/performers/chicago-symphony-orchestra/>.
8. Konrád, Daniel. "Žen v českých orchestrech přibývá. Nemělo by jich ale být příliš, říkají hráčky" [The number of women in Czech orchestras is increasing. But there shouldn't be too many of them, say the female players]. *Hospodářské noviny*, January 23, 2016. <https://art.ihned.cz/klasiccka-hudba-a-opera/c1-65123760-zeny-v-ceskych-orchestrech-ceska-filharmonie>.
9. London Symphony Orchestra. "Players." Accessed January 12, 2021. <https://lso.co.uk/orchestra/players.html>.
10. "Občané k životní úrovni a životnímu způsobu (stručná zpráva z výzkumu

- 74-2 a 74-3)" [Citizens' standard of living and way of life (research summary 74-2 and 74-3)]. Prague: Kabinet pro výzkum veřejného mínění při Federálním statistickém úřadu, 1974.
11. Poslanecká sněmovna. "Zákon č. 150/1948 Sb. Ústavní zákon ze dne 9. května 1948, Ústava Československé republiky" [Act No. 150/1948 Coll. Constitutional Act of May 9, 1948, Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic]. Accessed November 11, 2020. https://www.psp.cz/docs/texts/constitution_1948.html.
 12. November 11, 2020. https://www.psp.cz/docs/texts/constitution_1948.html.
 13. Poslanecká sněmovna. "Zákon č. 100/1960 Sb. Ústavní zákon ze dne 11. července 1960, Ústava Československé socialistické republiky" [Act No. 100/1960 Coll. Constitutional Act of July 11, 1960, Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic]. Accessed November 11, 2020, https://www.psp.cz/docs/texts/constitution_1960.html.
 14. Salisbury Symphony Orchestra at Salisbury University. "Education and Outreach." Accessed November 10, 2020. <https://web.archive.org/web/20161106214148/https://www.salisbury.edu/sso/education/nsfaqs.html>.
 15. "Výroční zpráva o činnosti a hospodaření AMU za rok 2017" [Annual Report on the Activities and Management of AMU for 2017]. Prague: AMU, 2018. https://www.amu.cz/cs/uredni-deska/strategicke_dokumenty/vyrocnizpravy/.
 16. "Výroční zpráva o činnosti a hospodaření AMU za rok 2018" [Annual Report on the Activities and Management of AMU for 2018]. Prague: AMU, 2019. https://www.amu.cz/cs/uredni-deska/strategicke_dokumenty/vyrocnizpravy/.
 17. "Výroční zpráva o činnosti a hospodaření AMU za rok 2019" [Annual Report on the Activities and Management of AMU for 2019]. Prague: AMU, 2020. https://www.amu.cz/cs/uredni-deska/strategicke_dokumenty/vyrocnizpravy/.
 18. Wiener Philharmoniker. "Musicians." Accessed January 12, 2021. <https://www.wienerphilharmoniker.at/en/orchester-mitglieder>.
 19. Zákony pro lidi. "Dekret č. 129/1945 Sb. Dekret presidenta republiky o státním orchestru Česká filharmonie" [Decree No. 129/1945 Coll. Decree of the President of the Republic on the state orchestra Czech Philharmonic]. Accessed March 25, 2020. <https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1945-129>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Allmendinger, Jutta and Hackman, J. Richard. "The More, the Better? A Four-Nation Study of the Inclusion of Women in Symphony Orchestras." *Social Forces* 74, no. 2 (December 1995): 426-60.
2. Bauerová, Jaroslava. *Zaměstnaná žena a rodina* [Employed woman and family]. Prague: Práce, 1974.
3. Bendl, Stanislav. "Feminizace školství a její pedagogické konsekvence" [Feminization of education and its pedagogical consequences]. *Pedagogická orientace* 12, no. 4 (2002): 19-35.

4. Fasang, Anette Eva. "Recruitment in Symphony Orchestras: Testing a Gender Neutral Recruitment Process." *Work Employment & Society* 20, no. 4 (December 2006): 801-09.
5. Havelková, Hana. "Women In and After a 'Classes' Society." In *Women and Social Class: International Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Pat Mahony and Christine Zmroczek, 69-84. London: Routledge, 1999.
6. Iblová, Michaela. *Česká filharmonie pod tlakem stalinské kulturní politiky v padesátých letech* [The Czech Philharmonic under the pressure of Stalin's cultural policy in the 1950s]. Prague: Karolinum, 2014.
7. Jechová, Květa. "Cesta k emancipaci. Postavení ženy v české společnosti 20. století. Pokus o vymezení problému" [The road to emancipation. The position of women in Czech society in the twentieth century. An attempt to define the problem]. In *Pět studií k dějinám české společnosti po roce 1945*, edited by Oldřich Tůma and Tomáš Vilímek, 69-129. Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny, 2008.
8. Koláčková, Yvetta. *The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra 100 plus 10*. Prague: Academia, 2006.
9. Kozera, Nicole. *Czech Women in the Labor Market Work and Family in a Transition Economy*. Prague: Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 1997.
10. Křesťan, Jiří. *Zdeněk Nejedlý: politik a vědec v osamění* [Zdeněk Nejedlý: politician and scientist in solitude]. Prague: Paseka, 2012.
11. Křížková, Alena. "Základní formy flexibility na českém trhu práce a pracovní podmínky žen" [Basic forms of flexibility on the Czech labor market and working conditions for women]. *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum* 4, no. 1-2 (2003): 2-4. https://www.genderonline.cz/incpdfs/inf-200301-0000_10_003.pdf.
12. Linková, Marcela. "Disidentská herstory: Ženy a jejich činnost v prostředí Charty 77" [Dissident Herstory: Women and Their Activities in the Environment of the Charter 77]. In *Bytová revolta: Jak ženy dělaly dissent*, edited by Marcela Linková and Nada Straková, 373-89. Prague: Academia, 2017.
13. Lišková, Kateřina. *Sexual Liberation, Socialist Style. Communist Czechoslovakia and the Science of Desire, 1945-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
14. Marková, Lucie. "Plzeňská alternativní hudební scéna v letech 1983-1995" [Alternative music scene in Pilsen (1983-1995)]. PhD diss., Charles University, 2020.
15. Maříková, Hana. "Rodičovská dovolená a muži" [Parental leave and men]. *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum* 4, no. 1-2 (2003): 6-7. https://www.genderonline.cz/incpdfs/inf-200301-0000_10_003.pdf. 2003.
16. Maříková, Hana. "Rodičovská (je) pro oba rodiče!" [Parental (is) for both parents!]. In *Práce a péče: proměny „rodičovské“ v České republice a kontext rodinné politiky Evropské unie*, edited by Alena Křížková, 71-83. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2008.
17. Rataj, Jan and Houda, Přemysl. *Československo v proměnách komunistického režimu* [Czechoslovakia in the changes of the communist regime]. Prague: Oeconomica, 2010.

18. Sergeant, Desmond C. and Himonides, Evangelos. "Orchestrated Sex: The Representation of Male and Female Musicians in World-Class Symphony Orchestras." *Frontiers in Psychology* 10, (August 2019): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01760>.
19. Shapiro, Amy Beth. "Sixty Years at the New York Philharmonic Through the Eyes of Clarinetist Stanley Drucker: An Oral History of the Philharmonic Community, 1948–2008." PhD diss., Stony Brook University, 2015.
20. Šprincová, Veronika. "Postavení žen v Československu v období let 1948–1989 v dobových sociologických výzkumech a datech" [The position of women in Czechoslovakia in the period 1948–1989 in contemporary sociological research and data]. In *Vyvlastněný hlas: Proměny genderové kultury české společnosti 1948–1989*, edited by Hana Havelková and Libora Oates-Indruchová, 83–124. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2015.
21. Vaněk, Miroslav and Mücke, Pavel. *Velvet Revolutions. An oral history of Czech society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
22. Wagnerová, Alena. *Žena za socialismu. Československo 1945–1974 a reflexe vývoje před rokem 1989 a po něm* [Woman under socialism. Czechoslovakia 1945–1974 and reflections on development before and after 1989]. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2017.