Co-funded by the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union

MEWEM europo

THE ROLE OF MENTORING

ON THE CAREER PATHS OF WOMEN IN MUSIC.









music austria/ RAWmusic

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Summary

In 2018, FELIN, VUT and Le LABA launched MEWEM - Mentoring Programme for Women Entrepreneurs, the first mentoring programme for women entrepreneurs in music, in France. MEWEM offers mentees the opportunity to be accompanied by experienced mentors in the development of their professional project. It also offers participants workshops on personal and professional development. In 2021, the programme was exported to the European level with MEWEM Europa, in which six partner countries participated: Germany, Austria, Belgium, Spain, France and Romania. This report highlights the impact of mentoring on the career paths of the participants in the MEWEM Europa programme.

Within the music sector and the world of entrepreneurship, gender barriers make it difficult for both female music professionals and entrepreneurs to develop their careers, inflicting a double penalty: in addition to the difficulties encountered in a male-dominated music world, female entrepreneurs face challenges in creating their professional project. In the face of these difficulties, participation in the MEWEM Europa programme is an indispensable opportunity to be accompanied by women who share the same experiences and who provide the necessary human support for career development. The mentoring relationship provides mentees with subjective learning linked to the development of soft skills as well as objective benefits linked to a form of know-how. It allows mentees to develop both professionally and personally. Mentoring also benefits the mentors in that it offers them a better understanding of a constantly evolving professional world, through exchanges with their mentee. In a sector where networking and professional ties are essential, MEWEM Europa enables its participants to create a community of women that draws on the strength of the collective and establishes itself as a European support network.

MEWEM Europa is an indispensable tool for the professional training of women in music and a promising mechanism for combating the gendered mechanisms at work within this sector. Moreover, the programme raises the profile and legitimacy of women professionals, and is therefor a corrective tool that acts as a *soft power* throughout Europe on all professionals and organisations in the music sector.

The author of this report, **Sarah Bouhatous**, has worked in the music sector for ten years and is a specialist in gender inequalities in music. Coordinator of the Scivias platform in Brussels, she has also coordinated the Mewem Europa programme in Belgium and conducted a study on mentoring issues for female music professionals.



THE PROFESSIONALS IN THE

MUSIC SECTOR

Where are the women?

The 1960s witnessed an unprecedented increase in the number of female workers in the professional sphere and a movement towards the feminisation of cultural professions, which had previously been dominated by men. In France, from 1991 to 2013, the share of women in cultural professions rose from 39% to 43%, compared to 43% to 48% of women in the working population as a whole¹. Although the cultural professions are gradually becoming more feminised, the music remains among the least feminised of all artistic professions.

There is a double segregation at play for professional musicians: a "horizontal" segregation confines women professionals to highly feminised positions (particularly reception and administration), while "vertical" segregation keeps them out of positions of authority. They face a *glass ceiling* (a set of visible and invisible obstacles) which prevents them from reaching the top of the organisational hierarchy, particularly as directors or programmers.

A perpetuation of the boys club

Within the music sector, men occupy decision-making positions in a 'same to same' power shift² and male co-option within the sector perpetuates the exclusion of women. Moreover, when women miraculously reach these positions of power, they have difficulty staying in them.³ **These decision-making positions are precisely the ones that would lead to a possible transformation of male norms and gendered representations of music.** The *glass ceiling* thus feeds the vicious circle of gender inequalities in music.

The over-representation of directors and programmers, a veritable *boys club* in the music sector, contributes to the perpetuation of the under-representation of women, particularly on stage. **The programming work, essentially based on a "listening relationship"**⁴ **between men who look alike, favours the programming of artists who look like them.** This masculine programming also feeds a certain conception of musical genius, or at least of what is commonly accepted as musical *quality.* Thus, "the audience that hears for the umpteenth time a symphony by

Beethoven often doesn't know why some people have called it 'great' but it has learned that it is, and the mere fact that it recognises what it already knows serves as a guarantee".⁵

The power to make musical expression seen and heard, mainly in the hands of men, has a wider impact on society as a whole. Musical expression, insofar as it "contributes to shaping the perception of gender in our societies, to questioning it or to consolidating its features"⁶ confers a certain power on professionals in the sector who offer audiences "states of the world". Music, as an art of representation, conveys social and gendered representations that can directly impact our societies.

A history written in the masculine

Although present in the music world⁸, history has repeatedly erased women. **The 'legitimacy to tell the story'**⁹, **held by men, has given rise to a history of music written in the masculine, which has obscured the presence of women.** This concealment has been all the easier since professionalisation is most often alien to the fate of women. The public and visible historical exercise of music as a male privilege immediately inscribes men in a musical history in which their presence is manifest. Even today, the history of music, which is written in particular through the awards publicly attributed to artists, seems to obscure women. Their legitimacy and that of their works continue to be denied: this is evidenced in particular by the share of women among the winners of the Victoires de la musique, classical music and jazz awards in France: between 2010 and 2019, only four award-winning albums were performed by women¹⁰. The denial of legitimacy to women contributes to making them invisible and accentuates the imaginary of a male artistic genius, although it is now very clear that music is "historically dated and culturally situated."¹¹

When entrepreneurship gets involved

Like the music sector, the world of entrepreneurship has few women. In Europe, women are less likely than men to be entrepreneurs: they represent only 34.4% of the self-employed in the European Union, and 30% of start-ups¹². Their businesses are still newer and on average smaller than those started by men, and female entrepreneurs seem to have more difficulties than their male counterparts in starting up. On the one hand, they do not receive the same financial support as men to start their businesses. Not only do they face a certain reluctance in the financial support they receive from banks, but they are also more cautious in their business decisions.

On the other hand, women find it more difficult to develop their network, although association with other people can increase the development of the enterprise and its activity.

The difficulties women face in accessing entrepreneurship are directly linked to gender stereotypes and to gendered socialisation that produces inequalities. In social representations, entrepreneurship has long been associated with a specifically male domain. The qualities associated with female entrepreneurs are far removed from those implicitly attributed to women in Western societies. This is due in particular to gendered socialisation and to all the processes by which "individuals who are assigned to a gender class from birth learn to behave, feel and think in socially associated ways".¹³ Little girls are taught less qualities related to the figure of the entrepreneur who must lead, speak publicly and convince. Little girls are told to be wise and gentle when "the great fortune of the boy is that his way of existing for others encourages him to pose for himself.¹⁴

Towards awareness

Faced with the gender inequalities present in the music sector, women have never remained silent. Voices were first raised by associations and activist groups before the awareness of the need for action reached institutional levels. The public authorities first took these issues into consideration by showing a need to quantify the extent of inequalities, as shown by the increasing number of surveys and reports in recent years highlighting the under-representation of women.

At the European level, studies to quantify and understand inequalities in the cultural sector are also multiplying, following the example of the report commissioned by the conductor and MEP Claire Gibault, which testifies to gender inequalities and discrimination within the artistic professions at the European Union level. Following the publication of this report, a resolution was adopted by the European Parliament in 2009 on the equal access of men and women to the performing arts, which proposes a set of recommendations to move towards greater equality.

The multiplication of these different initiatives, now recognised by the public authorities, has led women "to assert themselves, to feel legitimate, to stand as candidates, to do their work.¹⁵

MENTORING AS A

REMEDIAL TOOL

Personalised support

Although the figure of the mentor appears for the first time in Homer's Odyssey, the concept of mentoring remains little known today. Studies on mentoring have developed exponentially since the 1980s, but to date there is no commonly accepted definition among researchers. Bell Rose Ragins defines mentoring as a relationship between "a senior and influential individual with a great deal of experience and knowledge who is committed to fostering the upward mobility and career support of a protégé"¹⁶. More specifically in terms of entrepreneurs, Etienne St-Jean sees mentoring as **"a supportive relationship towards a novice entrepreneur (called the mentee), through the support of an experienced entrepreneur (called the mentor), enabling him or her to develop as a person".¹⁷ While mentoring is directly related to career development, it can also be a personal development process that goes beyond the strict confines of the workplace.**

A multitude of studies have painted different characteristics of the mentoring relationship: it is reciprocal; it provides developmental benefits; it is a regular and constant interaction. It is also a long-term relationship and involves an emotional commitment from both parties, mentor and mentee. The mentoring relationship is a balance between the support and challenges provided by the mentor and the project envisaged by the mentee, in that it allows a mentee to be accompanied in a caring manner, to be challenged in his or her career development and to take the necessary distance from his or her professional projects. The mentor benefits from a wisdom and expertise that gives him or her the legitimacy of his or her position; they are facilitators, catalysts of beings and "revelators of people".¹⁸

Mentoring develops careers ...

The numerous studies on mentoring have made it possible to define several types of learning received by mentees by identifying different functions performed by mentors. Mentoring fulfils three main functions: it enables **career development**, since it offers activities that help career advancement; and it enables **psychosocial development**, particularly by fostering a sense of competence and personal development. In the 1990s, authors¹⁹ highlighted a third function of mentors, that of **success models**.

Within organisations, studies show that mentoring leads to both promotions and better pay. For entrepreneurs in particular, mentoring helps to develop cognitive and emotional learning, as it has a direct impact on the career by increasing management knowledge, clarifying the entrepreneurial project, and identifying development opportunities. It also offers support to mentees and allows them to develop their confidence, thanks to psychosocial support that focuses on the development of skills mainly related to life skills.

... and compensates for inequalities

In the 1980s, the majority of mentoring relationships within organisations were informal: mentors and mentees entered into a mentoring relationship on their own, without the guidance of a programme. Within these informal relationships, a series of barriers prevent women from accessing a mentoring relationship on the same level as their male colleagues. On the one hand, they have difficulties when looking for a mentor; on the other hand, male mentors rarely choose female mentees. Furthermore, women mentors themselves choose to mentor women less often than men, fearing that 'coaching' of women would be badly perceived within the organisation.

Mentoring programmes, as a "premeditated, organised and planned intervention strategy"²⁰, have been developing widely in recent decades. While the resurgence of mentoring programmes can be explained by the need to recreate educational circles, create a motivating and nurturing environment, and build social bonds, it seems that these programmes have also grown dramatically as a result of a growing awareness of professional inequalities. The development and institutionalisation of gender studies and the increase in research on mentoring have led to an enrichment of mentoring issues through a gender lens. Mentoring programmes, initially implemented to develop professional careers, now appear to be a tool favoured by public policy to address gender inequalities within the professional sector.

Mentoring - a different impact for women and men?

Some studies have shown a gender-differentiated effect on the benefits women derive from a mentoring relationship. Female mentors would give more importance to the emotional quality of the mentoring relationship than men.²¹ Women were also more likely than men to be involved in personal mentoring and more likely to participate in social activities after work with their mentors than men.²² In addition, female mentees reported more self-confidence and better use of their skills as a result of mentoring than male mentees, and more often saw their mentor as a role model than male mentees. In the **face of inequalities in access to informal mentoring and in light of the moderating effect of gender on the mentoring relationship, formal mentoring programmes specifically for women are particularly effective.**

THE IMPACTS OF

MEWEM EUROPA

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on the experience of several European mentors and mentees, participants in the Mewem Europa programme. Their testimonies were collected through two online interview questionnaires, one for mentors and one for mentees.

The interview guide for mentor functions is loosely based on the Étienne St-Jean model.²³ However, a number of items were added and modified in order to adapt to the specificity of the music sector and to take into account the moderating effects of gender.



Obstacles faced by music professionals

The challenges of the music sector ...

For women who wish to become professional in the music sector, it appears to be a **closed shop**which is difficult to enter.

"The music business can be very closed. It's a microcosm of people who work with each other, and for me it was very complicated to fit in."

Most music professionals are passionate about music from a young age and enter the profession as a vocation. They work in **sometimes difficult conditions** and are particularly prone to burn-out during their career.

"I was young and I gave a lot of myself, it was a passion job. (...) I think it was too much for me."

The **global pandemic** linked to Covid19 is often mentioned as an additional difficulty, which strongly impacted on the careers of female professionals in a sector that was at a standstill for several months.

"Because of Corona, I started, like many people working in the sector, to wonder in which direction I would like to see my career develop."

... and entrepreneurship

Lack of funding, administrative complexity, isolation and loneliness are all obstacles mentioned by professionals who wish to create or develop a business ortheir entrepreneurial project in music.

"In the beginning, we faced obstacles related to the know-how of the music industry, how to run a business in this sector and the specifics of the legal requirements. We had no money to hire a music lawyer to draft our contracts."

Gendered barriers

In addition to the challenges inherent in the music sector and the world of entrepreneurship, there are gender-specific barriers for female professionals who operate in environments that are numerically male-dominated and where the norms for success and career development are written in the masculine gender.

Music, a man's world

Female professionals work in a music sector that is numerically over-represented by men and in which they have to try to make a place for themselves.

"Being both an artist and a woman in the music industry has been difficult for me at times, as I've had to raise my voice to men who think they know better than me, simply because they are men."

Cumulative discrimination

From an intersectional perspective, gender discrimination is sometimes compounded by other types of discrimination, notably age discrimination.

"I sometimes felt that my opinion was less valid because I am young and I am a woman."

Double segregation for female music professionals

While female professionals face horizontal segregation, the *glass ceiling* prevents them from reaching the top of professional hierarchies:

"Careers are difficult and it's hard to move up (...) and in fact there are few ways to move up"

What causes the "glass ceiling"?

The distance between women and positions of power is historically linked to the development of 'feminine' careers which confined women to sedentary positions on the periphery of power, supposedly adapted to their personal and family life, while men occupied operational and mobile positions with high responsibilities. The importance of informal relationships and the professional network, which are necessary to obtain a promotion in particular, also prevents women from gaining access to positions of power. Finally, symbolic expectations linked to the figure of the manager, which are far removed from the gender stereotypes attributed to women, prevent them from reaching positions of responsibility in the same way as men.

Male professional networks

The exclusion of women from the male networks that make up the music sector perpetuates their under-representation in a sector where strong professional relationships are essential. The need to be present at informal times outside of working hours (often incompatible with family responsibilities) prevents women from developing their professional relationships and therefore their careers to the same extent as men. For women entrepreneurs too, there is a lack of presence of women in business networks that are built around informal practices that indirectly favour men.

Lack of successful role models

The lack of successful role models on the one hand does not allow young women to identify themselves in entering the music business and contributes to the under-representation of women in the sector.

"I would have loved to have had role models but I felt very alone for a long time."

The risk of gender-based and sexual violence

Within these male professional worlds, many female music professionals confide in situations of aggression during their career, a violence historically crystallised around the female body. A survey²⁴ reveals that 31% of women have already been victims of sexual harassment at least once.

Internalised brakes

Female music professionals face norms and "societal expectations of gender roles" that can make them feel illegitimate. Many feel an "imposter syndrome": convinced that they are incompetent, their successes fuel their fear of being found out at any time.

"Each time, I was told it was too complicated for a woman."

Faced with these obstacles, mentees need ...

... to be guided and advised.

"There was a time when I didn't know exactly what to do in the music industry, there were so many options."

... to meet professionals and develop their network.

"I thought it would be a great opportunity to meet people, network, get feedback and grow as a professional woman in music."

... to feel supported and to gain confidence in their project.

The richness of the mentoring relationship

A reciprocal relationship

The mentoring relationship is based on the mentors' desire to pass on information and on the mentees' need to be accompanied.

For the mentors, the desire to pass on their experience and to enable a mentee to obtain support that they themselves did not always receive in their early days is a priority. Becoming a mentor is an "existential imperative", that of ensuring a "generativity task", leaving their mark and passing on their experience to the next generation.

For mentees, the mentoring relationship is in fact established on the basis of one or more shortcomings. It is because mentees have a sense of lacking that they see in a mentor a behaviour, an attitude, or a quality that they would like to acquire. The desire to pass on and the need to be surrounded complement each other in a mentoring relationship that allows the needs of some to be met through the sharing of experience by others.

A professional friendship

The mentoring relationship within the Mewem Europa programme takes place in a defined timeframe, mostly in the context of a "mentoring agreement" that commits each pair to set professional and personal goals. Within this formal relationship, however, exchanges are free and informal. The mentees' needs are at the heart of the mentoring relationship and the mentors respond to them in a personal way by sharing their advice and experience.

While the exchanges between mentors and mentees revolve around various themes related to the mentee's professional development, the topics discussed are also personal. The mentoring relationship goes beyond a benevolent professional relationship; it sometimes turns out to be a true friendship in a professional setting, based on trust, reciprocity and exchange.

"We talked about sponsorship and funding, ticketing, the music business in Europe, concert halls, running a promotion company ... we also talked about ourselves, our personal problems and the problems of being a woman in the music industry."

A space for sisterhood

The mentoring relationship is entirely based on a presupposed similarity in the experiences of the music professionals. This recognition of the experiences and difficulties encountered allows exchanges to take place in a safe and secure framework, allowing the expression of free speech and the sharing of a feeling of sisterhood.

"It was really comforting to know that in her career she had had to deal with similar problems to mine and that I could therefore get some very good advice from her."

A mentor?

Some studies show that there are relational differences between pairs whose participants identify with different genders. Mentors are reported to place more importance on the emotional quality of the relationship and to give it a more personal aspect than mentees. More specifically, women would favour the relational aspects over those specifically related to professional tasks. The mentoring relationship between women is more likely to develop into a friendship than a mentoring relationship between men, which more often ends in conflict due to the fact that men are socialised to behave in a competitive way.

What did the mentees learn?

The mentees learnt many things from their participation in the Mewem Europa mentoring programme. These learnings were categorised according to functions that the mentees attribute to their mentor.

Psychosocial learning

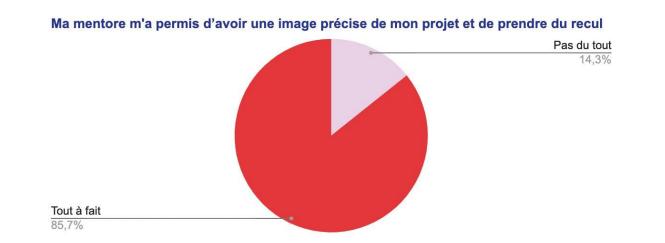
The Mewem Europa programme provides mentees with **life skills** training through psychosocial functions developed by their mentors. This psychosocial support is essential for women at the beginning of their careers to strengthen their sense of competence and legitimacy in traditionally male-dominated professions.

THE MIRROR FUNCTION

The mentor allows her mentee to provide feedback on her career and professional project. She allows her to become aware of the image she projects to others and enables her to make her own professional and personal assessment, with a view to identifying strengths to build on and weaknesses to work on.

"She has really helped me to see my work in a different way, to understand my purpose and to push my limits."

86% of the mentees consider that their mentor has helped them to improve their professional situation.



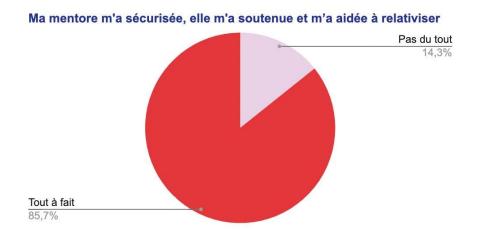
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THE SECURITY FUNCTION

The mentor gives the mentee security in difficult times, can act as a safety valve in times of stress, and allows the mentee to put her problems into perspective by sharing her own experience.

"I learned a lot about how to handle difficult situations as a woman."

86% of the mentees consider that their mentor helped them to face difficult Situations

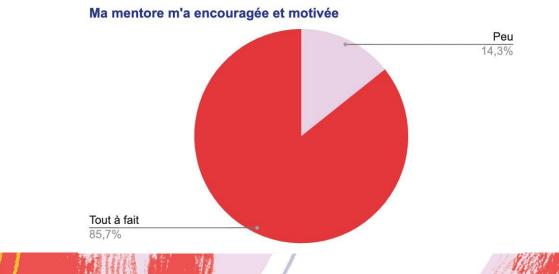


THE MOTIVATIONAL FUNCTION

The mentor motivates and encourages the mentee, encourages her to persevere in times of doubt and gives her the strength to achieve her professional goals.

"It really gave me a new lease of life, every time there was a meeting, a gettogether, a workshop, I left feeling refreshed!"

86% of mentees say that their mentor was a source of motivation

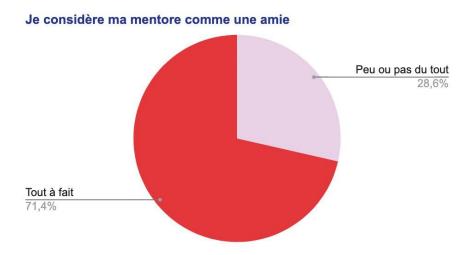


THE ROLE OF THE CONFIDANT

Trust and benevolence are at the heart of the mentoring relationship and the mentor's support is based on both professional and personal issues. This friendly relationship allows the mentee to acquire a certain professional and personal serenity in her life.

"I knew she was there if I ever needed anything and I could text her on her mobile if I had any doubts or wanted to talk."

71% of the mentees claim to have developed a form of friendship with their mentor.

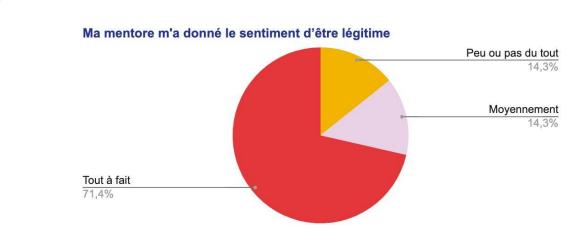


THE LEGITIMISING FUNCTION

Often struggling with impostor syndrome, professionals have a strong need for legitimacy.

"MEWEM is a safe space in which I have become aware of the validity of my musical project."

71% of the mentees consider that their mentor has made them feel more legitimate.



THE TRUST FUNCTION

The mentoring relationship allows mentees to gain confidence in themselves and in their project. They become stronger in facing the challenges that come their way.

"She gave me the confidence and strength to believe in myself and my abilities and also gave me the temperance to deal with my mistakes and failures."

71% of the mentees say that their mentor gave them confidence.



THE SORORITY FUNCTION

Mentors give their mentees a sense of belonging to a supportive community of women and gender minorities who often share the same experiences, difficulties and goals.

"Being among women gives me a different kind of security, a sense of identity, understanding and a lot of motivation."

86% of the mentees consider that their mentor gave them a sense of belonging.

Ma mentore m'a donné le sentiment d'appartenir à une communauté de femmes Peu ou pas du tout 14,3% Tout à fait 85,7%

"I have learned that every experience counts and makes you grow professionally and personally. It is essential to be open-minded at all times to be inspired and improve in all aspects of life."

Career-related learning

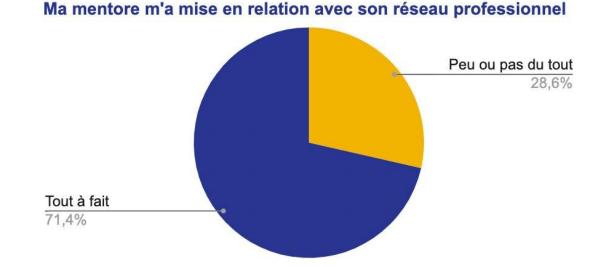
Some of the roles taken on by mentors enable mentees to develop their **careers** and professional projects more precisely through learning related to **knowledge** and **know-how**. Mentors support their mentees by helping them to better understand the challenges of the professional sector in which they are evolving; they sponsor them and offer them a certain visibility by sharing their network; they protect them and prevent them from finding themselves in delicate situations; and finally, they allow them to save time by sharing sound advice.

THE INTEGRATION FUNCTION

Mentors facilitate the integration of their mentee into the music and/or entrepreneurial sector by introducing them to professionals and sharing their professional network with them. The mentors thus enable their mentee to develop their network.

"She invited me to a lot of events, she introduced me, she connected me. It helped me build a stronger network."

71% of the mentees consider that their mentor helped them to develop their network.



THE INFORMATION FUNCTION

The mentor provides her mentee with valuable information about the professional sector in which she operates. She transfers professional and personal knowledge about certain operations, business management, laws in force, useful information about the sector of activity, etc. The sharing of experience and knowledge enables the mentee to better understand the challenges of the musical and entrepreneurial ecosystem.

"I had just started my business and had no previous experience in the music industry."

"I wanted to find out how to achieve the different stages of the process of becoming an independent artist."

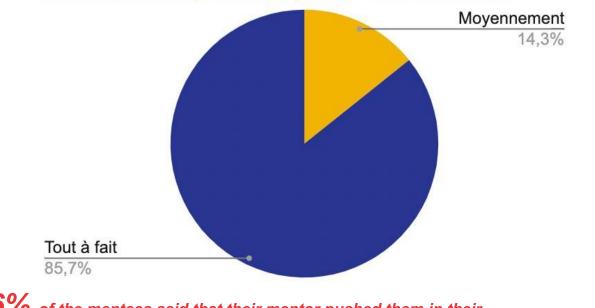
100% of the mentees consider that their mentor helped them to acquire knowledge related to the music sector.

57% of the mentees consider that their mentor helped them to acquire knowledge related to the world of entrepreneurship.

THE CONFRONTATION FUNCTION

The mentor sometimes confronts the mentee's ideas to allow her to think further. This confrontation takes place in a caring context that aims to resolve a problematic situation where the mentee may be part of the problem itself, due to beliefs or attitudes that prevent her from moving forward towards her goals.

"My mentor is a very honest person who is not afraid to tell the truth to myface. That's exactly what I wanted."



Ma mentore n'a pas hésité parfois à me contredire

86% of the mentees said that their mentor pushed them in their thinking.

THE GUIDING FUNCTION

In order to solve a challenging situation, the mentee is helped by her mentor to improve her understanding of the problem and to broaden her view of the context. If necessary, the mentee offers suggestions and advice.

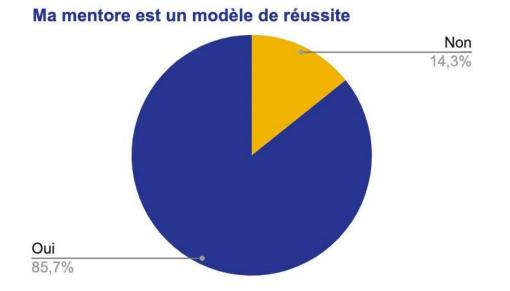
100% of the mentees consider that their mentor has guided them in the development of their professional project.

Mentors as role models

The role model function is indispensable within the mentoring relationship. During their exchanges, mentors share their successes and failures with their mentees and provide them with an essential identification. The mentor is a source of inspiration, or at least an opportunity for comparison for her mentee. She allows her to envisage her own success positively and to believe in the very possibility of her project.

"Even the most brilliant mentors have had problems in the past and knowing about them helped me to calm down and realise that my path was already going in the right direction."

86% of the mentees consider their mentor to be a successful role model.



What about mentors?

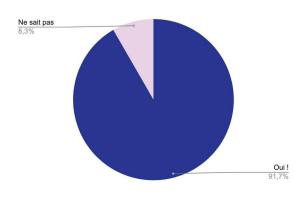
The reciprocity of exchanges within the mentoring relationship allows mentors to derive clear benefits from their participation in Mewem Europa. Mentors can increase their professional skills by being in contact with a sometimes younger professional who can be a source of discovery and learning. The benefits are also relational and related to the personal development of the mentors. The mentoring relationship allows them to be challenged, to take a step back, and to develop their professional vision in a constantly changing world. Participation in the Mewem Europa programme also provides mentors with visibility and a rewarding reputation that legitimises them as successful role models.

Benefits beyond the MEWEMEuropa programme

While the mentoring relationship develops between a mentor and a mentee, the MEWEM programme also allows for relational exchanges between all the participants in general, since the group meetings during the programme are multiple, plural and cross-over. All the participants thus tend to form a community of women which becomes a **new professional network** in itself. As a result, the programme gives rise to a real network of women professionals through exchanges and a sisterhood that is perpetuated beyond the framework of the programme.

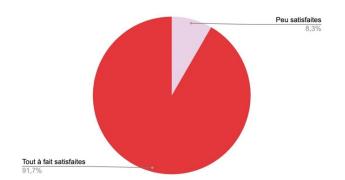
"It's very rich to have a lot of different mentors in the band, it was very inspiring, and even all the other people were very interesting too. I feel like we're a community within the music community and we're a force."

The satisfaction of the participants



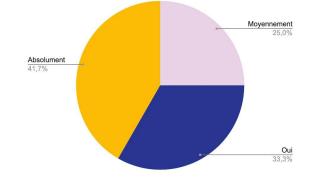
92% of participants plan to stay in touch with their mentor/mentee at the end of the Mewem Europa programme.

92% of participants say they are satisfied with the relationship with their mentee.



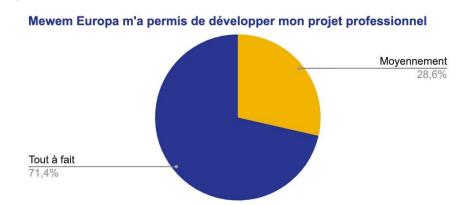
J'ai atteint mes objectifs fixés en début de programme

the



75% of mentees say they have achieved goals they set at the beginning of the programme.

71% of the mentees believe that MEWEM Europa has helped them develop their career plans.



NOTES

1. Gouyon, M., Patureau, F., & Volat, G. (2016). The slow feminization of cultural professions. Culture etudes, 2(2), 1-20.

2. Prat, R. (2021). Exploser le plafond: Précis de féminisme à l'usage du monde de la culture. Rue de l'Échiquier, p.11.

3. Reine Prat proposes two hypotheses to explain this phenomenon: men in management positions tend to delegate unpleasant tasks to assistants, thus avoiding possible team conflicts; problematic behaviour by managers is more often excused than that of women, who are considered to be alien to 'female nature'.

4. Picaud, M. (2021). When gender enters the scene: Professional configurations of musical programming and artists' inequalities in two European capitals. Sociétés contemporaines, N° 119(3), 143-168.

5. Traversier, M., & Ramaut, A. (2019). Does music have a genre? Éditions de la Sorbonne.

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